TRANSLATORS OF RUINS: JOHANN JOACHIM WINCKELMANN AND
KARL FRIEDRICH SCHINKEL

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ABSTRACT

TRANSLATORS OF RUINS: JOHANN JOACHIM WINCKELMANN AND KARL FRIEDRICH SCHINKEL

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Translation is usually related to verbal languages; however, it can also define processes in architecture. The process from drawing to building is a translation, and with the development of archaeology in eighteenth-century Europe, a reverse translation appeared from ruin to the print as a new medium. The interest in the ancient Greek and Roman past increased, and the Graeco-Roman controversy came on the scene. Johann Joachim Winckelmann favored the Greeks and wanted to define an identity for Germans in parallel with nationalist sentiments. His reception of Greek art and antiquity revolved around aesthetics and freedom, and his translation of ruins to text emerged in *Reflections on the Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture* (1755) and *History of the Art of Antiquity* (1764) based on his conception of imitation as verbal narratives. In the nineteenth century, Winckelmann's classicist views paved the way for Karl Friedrich Schinkel, who was also interested in intuition and nature, and believed that ancient Greeks provided lessons for architects searching for a German national style. His translation of ruins to building was embodied in his project proposal for a royal palace on the Acropolis (1834), going beyond verbal and visual narratives. This study aims to investigate and compare how verbal and visual

narratives derived from the way ruins were perceived and studied by Winckelmann and Schinkel shaped their scholarly approaches and work as translations.

ÖZ

KALINTILARIN ÇEVİRMENLERİ: JOHANN JOACHIM WINCKELMANN VE KARL FRIEDRICH SCHINKEL

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Çeviri genellikle dillerle ilişkilendirilir; ancak, mimarlıkta da süreçler belirleyebilir. Çizimden binaya kadar olan süreç bir çeviridir, ve onsekizinci yüzyılda Avrupa'da arkeolojinin gelişmesi ile birlikte, kalıntıdan yeni bir araç olan baskıya ters yönde bir çeviri ortaya çıkmıştır. Aynı zaman diliminde, Antik Yunan ve Roma geçmişine olan ilgi de artmış ve Grekoromen Tartışması gündeme gelmiştir. Johann Joachim Winckelmann bu konuda Yunan tarafını desteklemiş ve ulusçu duygularla paralel bir şekilde Almanlar için kimlik tanımlamak istemiştir. Kendisinin Yunan sanatı ve antikite anlayışı estetik ve özgürlük üzerinden şekillenirken, kalıntılardan yazıya çevirisi *Reflections on the Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture (Resim ve Heykelde Yunan Eserlerinin Taklidi Üzerine Düşünceler)* (1755) ve *History of the Art of Antiquity (Antik Sanatın Tarihi)* (1764) adlı kitaplarında taklit kavramı bağlamında yazılı anlatılar olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Ondokuzuncu yüzyılda ise, Winckelmann'ın klasikçi görüşleri, sezgi ve doğa ile de ilgilenen ve antik Yunanlıların bir Alman ulusal kimliği arayışında olan mimarlar için dersler sağladığına inanan Karl Friedrich Schinkel için yol gösterici olmuştur. Onun kalıntılardan binalara olan çevirisini Akropolis Üzerinde Bir Kraliyet Sarayı (1834) adlı projesinde yazılı ve

görsel anlatıların ötesine geçmiş bir şekilde görmek mümkündür. Bu çalışma, Winckelmann ve Schinkel'in kalıntıları algılayıp araştırmalarından türeyen yazılı ve görsel anlatıların, onların akademik yaklaşımlarını ve eserlerini çeviriler olarak nasıl şekillendirdiğini inceleyip karşılaştırmayı amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Çeviri, Kalıntı, Klasik Anlayış, Taklit, Onsekizinci ve Ondokuzuncu Yüzyıl Alman Sanatı ve Mimarisi

To my family…

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Translation usually brings languages to minds; however, it can be used in various disciplines and contexts. Unlike transformation and metamorphosis, in which a subject's character changes into something else, it refers to a process that invents a way to understand a phenomenon. In this way, it involves multiple layers and signifies creativity.

1.1.   Translation as a Creative Act and the Nature of Ruin

Vitruvius related the origins of language with the origins of architecture.[1] Many meanings and associations that form architectural rules are derived from what he wrote on ancient architecture.[2] Until more was discovered about extant Greek and Roman buildings, we had to rely on what Vitruvius described. Later, it became apparent that he neglected some important buildings of his time and wrongly depicted the ones he had not seen. Nevertheless, he had the obvious advantage of experiencing Classical Antiquity firsthand. Now we are left with what he told us in his treatise.[3] In this respect,

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[1] Marcus V. Pollio Vitruvius, *The Ten Books on Architecture*, trans. M. H. Morgan (New York: Dover, 1960), II, i, 1.

[2] Vitruvius's writings have served as a source on ancient Greek and Roman Architecture since the fifteenth century, although he could actually see only a few imperial buildings in the early times of Augustus's reign. Since no other text exists, after Vitruvius, his formulations have continued to be valid for scholars. See William L. MacDonald, ''Form and Meaning,'' in *The Architecture of the Roman Empire, Volume II: An Urban Appraisal* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986), 248.

[3] George L. Hersey, *The Lost Meaning of Classical Architecture: Speculations on Ornament from Vitruvius to Venturi* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1988), 2-3.

the way Vitruvius used language and words plays an important role in understanding his architectural approach.

Languages are alive, and words can acquire different meanings in time. For instance, ''Doric'' and ''echinus'' referred to different things in the time of Vitruvius than they do now. Greek culture praised playing with words and enhancing them with new meanings. Plato also agreed with this and mentioned Socrates's saying about Artemis that she ''appears to get her name from her healthy and well-ordered nature, and her love of virginity; or perhaps he who named her meant that she is learned in virtue, or, possibly, too, that she hates the sexual intercourse of man and woman.'' After Vitruvius, in the same way, Clement of Alexandria wrote that all the gods' names were such tropes. Similarly, Taphius called the people of his colony ''Teleboans'' as he had traveled far from his homeland.[4] Such verbal plays are called tropes.[5] In *The Oxford English Dictionary*, trope is defined as ''a figure of speech which involves the use of a word or phrase in a sense other than that which is proper to it, hence (more generally); a figure of speech; (an instance of) figurative or metaphorical language.''[6] Trope refers to puns, homonyms, and associations. It is also playful and poetic, lacking scientific attributions as it is often etymologically incorrect. However, it is the way Vitruvius and his contemporaries usually interpreted words. Trope connects objects that have little in common through the pun or homonym.[7] For some, it derives from human nature. In Sigmund Freud's view, most minds would not ''accept the similarity

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[4] cited in Hersey, *The Lost Meaning of Classical Architecture: Speculations on Ornament from Vitruvius to Venturi*, 4. The Teleboan (in Ancient Greek: Τηλεβόαι, *Tēlebóai*) were an Acarnanian tribe in Greek mythology (H.G. Liddel and R. Scott, *A Greek–English Lexicon* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1940), s.v. τηλεβόας, where the name is analyzed as meaning ''shouting afar.'')

[5] Hersey, *The Lost Meaning of Classical Architecture: Speculations on Ornament from Vitruvius to Venturi*, 4.

[6] ''trope, n.''. OED Online. September 2019. Oxford University Press. https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/206679?rskey=bKJqsm&result=1 (accessed November 07, 2019).

[7] Hersey, *The Lost Meaning of Classical Architecture: Speculations on Ornament from Vitruvius to Venturi*, 4-5.

between two words as having no meaning; they consistently assume that if two things are called by similar-sounding names, this must imply the existence of some deep-lying point of agreement between them.''[8] Furthermore, Claude Lévi-Strauss argued that tropes came before practical communication, quoting Jean-Jacques Rousseau: ''As emotions were the first motives that induced man to speak, his first utterances were tropes. Figurative language was the first to be born. In the beginning, only poetry was spoken.''[9]

Regarding the ''beginning,'' Vitruvius wrote that the first humans ran away from big fires that began on their own; however, when they approached a calmer fire, they realized that it kept them warm. Therefore, they added more wood to such fires and learned to continue this action. As a result of this social activity, people began to stay together and use words to name this act. This referred to the *poiesis* of architecture, the possibility of making. It was also an architectural action with social, cultural, and linguistic aspects.[10] Here it is possible to suggest that there is a flow that begins when the human instinct to run away from big fires is translated into the social act of gathering around the fire to feel warm. Then, this social act becomes an architectural act and is eventually translated into the use of words and language. In this case, the architectural act triggers language through translation, and translation becomes a tool for a creative act.

In the general context, Esra Akcan defined translation as the process of change that the bilateral and multilateral transportation of people, ideas, technology, information, and images create.[11] In addition to languages, this can also be between mediums or places

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[8] Sigmund Freud, *Totem and Taboo* [1913] (New York: Routledge & Paul, 1950), 5.

[9] quoted from Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Essai sur l'origine* des *langues* (Paris, 1783): III, in Hersey, *The Lost Meaning of Classical Architecture: Speculations on Ornament from Vitruvius to Venturi*, 5.

[10] Steven Holl, Juhani Pallasmaa, and Alberto Perez-Gomez, *Questions of Perception: Phenomenology of Architecture* (San Francisco, CA: William Stout, 2006), 9.

[11] Esra Akcan, *Architecture in Translation: Germany, Turkey, and The Modern House* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012), 3. Translation has recently been a common topic of debate and used in different contexts and disciplines. It is interesting to see that there are

and derives from a cultural flow from one place to another. As such, translation addresses ''the process of transformation during the act of transportation.''[12] It is also a term related to the fields of theology, philosophy, literary studies, and critical theory. Since the beginning of its early theological history, studying translation has brought a polyvalent understanding of language. This polyvalency also led to regarding language as polysemous. As a result, diverse theories have emerged in different fields of study.[13] Walter Benjamin was one of the most prominent scholars who wrote on translation. In his article ''The Task of the Translator,'' he elaborated on the relationship between the text to be translated and the text that is translated, together with how the translator should approach translation.[14] Benjamin argued that different from art, translation could not expect its product to be permanent; its aim was to achieve a final and decisive stage of linguistic creation. Furthermore, the task of the translator was not to lose the echo of the original in the translation. For him, this was what differentiated translation from poetry as it was about linguistic contextual aspects.[15] A real translation would be transparent, and not conceal the original, reflecting the pure language.[16] Benjamin also

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symposia and other scientific events about the concept. For instance, a workshop, ''Spoliation as Translation: Medieval Worlds in the Eastern Mediterranean'' was organized by Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul (SRII) and Koç University's Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations (ANAMED) on December 12-13, 2019 by conveners Ivana Jevtić and Ingela Nilsson. For further information on the workshop, see https://anamed.ku.edu.tr/en/events/spoliation-as-translation-spoliation-as-translation-medieval-worlds-in-the-eastern-mediterranean/

[12] Akcan, *Architecture in Translation: Germany, Turkey, and The Modern House,* 4.

[13] Mieke Bal, and Joanne Morra, ''Editorial: Acts of Translation,'' *Journal of Visual Culture* 6, no. 1 (2007): 5.

[14] Walter Benjamin, ''The Task of Translator,'' in *Selected Writings Volume I 1923-1926*, eds. Marcus Bullock and Michael W. Jennings (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1996), 253-263.

[15] Walter Benjamin, ''The Task of Translator,'' 258.

[16] Walter Benjamin, ''The Task of Translator,'' 260.

put forward the idea that translation did not serve the original; however, it freed its potential.[17]

Like Benjamin, Paul Ricoeur was also a significant scholar and philosopher who wrote on the nature of translation. His views addressed philosophy as translation and a philosophy of translation.[18] For him, it was possible to understand the act of translating in two different ways. The term ''translation'' either referred to the transfer of a spoken message from one language to another, or it implied a relation to a coherent whole within the community that spoke the same language.[19] In ''Translation as challenge and source of happiness,'' he also suggested a connection between how Benjamin described the ''translator's task'' and two meanings that Freud attributed to the word ''work,'' ''work as remembering'' and ''work as mourning.'' Ricoeur believed that translation work also included ''some salvaging and some acceptance of loss.'' Accordingly, to illustrate how translation operated, he referred to *The Experience of the Foreign* by Antoine Berman. Two parties were brought together during the act of translation, and here the term ''foreign'' pointed to the work, the author, and his language. Meanwhile, the translator carried the message, and later the reader received the translated work. For Ricoeur, Franz Rosenzweig presented this as a paradox.[20] Rosenzweig wrote that ''to translate means to serve two masters,'' and although it was theoretically impossible, everybody did it.[21] When somebody speaks, he translates his

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[17] Bal and Moora, ''Editorial: Acts of Translation,'' 5.

[18] Richard Kearney, ''Introduction: Ricoeur's philosophy of translation,'' in Paul Ricoeur, *On Translation*, trans. Eileen Brennan, and with an introduction by Richard Kearney (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), viii.

[19] Paul Ricoeur, ''The paradigm of translation,'' in Ricoeur, *On Translation*, 11.

[20] Ricoeur, ''Translation as challenge and source of happiness,'' in Ricoeur, *On Translation*, 3-4.

[21] Franz Rosenzweig, ''On the Scriptures and their Language,'' in *Franz Rosenzweig: His life and Thought*, eds. Franz Rosenzweig and Nahum N. Glatzer (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 1998), 254.

thoughts for the expectation of being understood by another person in front of him.[22] In this case, it becomes a bilateral process. Ricoeur elaborated on Rosenzweig's idea that the translator served the foreigner with his work and the reader with his desire for appropriation, while the issue of faithfulness and betrayal to the parties emerged.[23] Furthermore, he maintained that Friedrich Schleiermacher's approach simplified this paradox into two main parts, ''bringing the reader to the author'' and ''bringing the author to the reader.''[24] Throughout this task, the translator could use the advantage of linguistic hospitality, in which ''the pleasure of dwelling in the other's language is balanced by the pleasure of receiving the foreign word at home, in one's own welcoming house.''[25]

In the act of translating, the resulting translation should be coherent with both parties. However, as there are significant grammatical differences among languages, translation seems impossible in theory. Since it existed, there should be a common ground that languages share, such as an *a priori* set of codes and universal structures. For translation, they should be reconstructed.[26] Translation also includes the act of deconstruction.[27] Jacques Derrida was interested in translation regarding his ideas on deconstruction. He wrote that ''the question of deconstruction is also through and through *the* question of translation.''[28] His approach can be explained with references

[22] Rosenzweig, ''On the Scriptures and their Language,'' 255.

[23] Ricoeur, ''Translation as challenge and source of happiness,'' 4.

[24] Friedrich Schleiermacher, "On the Different Methods of Translating," in *Translating Literature: The German Tradition from Luther to Rosenzweig*, ed. and trans. André Lefevere (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1977), 67-89.

[25] Ricoeur, ''Translation as challenge and source of happiness,'' 10.

[26] Ricour, ''The paradigm of translation,'' 15-16.

[27] Mark Wigley, *The Architecture of Deconstruction: Derrida's Haunt* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1993), 23.

[28] Jacques Derrida, ''Letter to a Japanese Friend (1983),'' in *Derrida and Différance*, eds. David Wood and Robert Bernasconi (Warwick: Parousia Press, 1985), 1.

to architecture, and his view of translation even derived from the Tower of Babel, which was an architectural edifice. The failure of the tower caused translation, and the collapse also resulted in a regulated construction. In Derrida's ''Des Tours de Babel,''[29] the tower appears as the common point of translation, philosophy, architecture, and deconstruction.[30]

Compared with translation, Akcan claimed that the terms ''transportation,'' ''transfer,'' ''import,'' ''export,'' and ''flow'' do not indicate any change, whereas ''translate'' means change, including place. However, ''transformation'' refers to no change in place, and it does not involve displacement. ''Translation'' is also used to understand transformation during the act of transportation.[31] In addition to language, it consists of any act of changing from one place, position, condition, and medium. Akcan exemplified that translations in the context of architecture can be from drawing to building, from diagram to project, from one place to another, from a different discipline to architecture, and from text to visual image.[32] During the act of translation, nothing is lost; yet all are multiplied with displacement and replacement. Furthermore, the points of departure and arrival continuously change, become connected to each other, and contribute to making a history.[33]

From an architectural perspective, in ''Translations from Drawing to Building,'' Robin Evans explored how drawings on paper are transformed into actual building.[34]

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[29] Jacques Derrida, ''Des Tours de Babel,'' trans. Joseph F. Graham, in *Difference in Translation*, ed. and introduction by Joseph F. Graham (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), 165-207.

[30] Wigley, *The Architecture of Deconstruction: Derrida's Haunt*, 23.

[31] Akcan, *Architecture in Translation: Germany, Turkey, and The Modern House,* 291.

[32] Akcan, *Architecture in Translation: Germany, Turkey, and The Modern House,* 8.

[33] Akcan, *Architecture in Translation: Germany, Turkey, and The Modern House,* 26.

[34] Robin Evans, ''Translations from Drawing to Building,'' in *Translations from Drawing to Building and Other Essays* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1997), 153-193.

Drawing constitutes the core of architecture from the conceptual phase to construction and is the central act that architects perform. Architects' imagination works through drawing, and it serves as the source and record of ideas.[35] Imagination also allows architectural representation to be projective.[36] Unlike a mimetic representation, architectural drawing is a projective representation that involves clues to predict a future.[37] It represents a building to be built yet does not exist. The architect sees the drawing board like a building site where the design derives from imagination.[38] Drawing is the primary tool of an architect. Through drawing, ideas are conveyed onto paper and turned into forms. Indicating a link between architecture and translation, Evans regarded one of the technical drawing methods, the orthographic projection, as ''the language translator's dream'' since it allows even complicated forms to be produced and drawn in a precise way.[39] He also wrote that history, in this case, architectural history, would deal with the ''gap'' between drawing and building.[40] In his view, the process between drawing and building, that gap, is translation. The former, drawing, is translated into the latter, to building as a creative act. This has been true for actual construction; however, in the eighteenth century, there was a reverse translation between prints and ancient ruins.

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[35] Paul Emmons, ''Introduction,'' in *Drawing Imagining Building: Embodiment in Architectural Design Practices* (New York: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, 2019), 1.

[36] Emmons, ''Introduction,'' in *Drawing Imagining Building: Embodiment in Architectural Design Practices,* 5.

[37] Emmons, ''Introduction,'' 6.

[38] Emmons, ''Drawing Genera,'' in *Drawing Imagining Building: Embodiment in Architectural Design Practices,* 33.

[39] Evans, ''Translations from Drawing to Building,'' 181.

[40] Evans, ''Translations from Drawing to Building,'' 186.

Ruin can be defined as the remains of a human construction by a destructive action or process which no longer has the integrity of its original state.[41] It has frequently been a common topic of interest and debate for a wide range of scholars in various fields. It is possible to examine ''ruin'' regarding its form, function, incongruity, site, what it symbolizes, and offers as aesthetic experience;[42] however, it initially appears as matter in front of our eyes.

In relation to its being matter, the materiality of ruin plays an important role in how it is perceived. Materiality can be regarded as the intersecting point of matter and imagination, and it can be analyzed based on distinctions such as surface/depth, vision/touch, subject/object, absence/presence, visibility/invisibility, meaningfulness/meaninglessness, and image/medium. In the same context, the terms corporeality, physicalness, substance, voluminosity, texture, tangibility, thingness, and touchability can also be used.[43] Although it refers to the imagination, it can obstruct thinking or looking, decreasing transparency. However, it is also a medium with a visual agenda and results in thickness and the sensuous materiality of an artwork with structure and image.[44]

Translation can involve several steps such as the linguistic, the visual, and the material.[45] From the architectural perspective, after verbal texts and prints, there is the possible material aspect of translation in the case of ruins, which could carry them into

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[41] Robert Ginsberg, *The Aesthetics of Ruins* (Amsterdam, New York, NY: Rodopi, 2004), xvii.

[42] Ginsberg, *The Aesthetics of Ruins*.

[43] Martha Rosler, Caroline Walker Bynum, Natasha Eaton, Michael Ann Holly, Amelia Jones, Michael Kelly, Robin Kelsey, Alisa LaGamma, Monika Wagner, Oliver Watson & Tristan Weddigen, ''Notes from the Field: Materiality,'' *The Art Bulletin* 95, no. 1 (2013): 15.

[44] Rosler, Bynum, Eaton, Holly, Jones, Kelly, Kelsey, LaGamma, Wagner, Watson & Weddigen, ''Notes from the Field: Materiality,'' 16.

[45] Ruth B. Philips, ''Materiality and Cultural Translation: Indigenous Arts, Colonial Exchange, and Postcolonial Perspectives,'' in *Cultural Histories of the Material World*, ed. Peter N. Miller (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2013), 137.

buildings as a generative force in their forms and functions. Such a flow of creative acts follows textuality to visuality and from there, results in materiality.[46] In the eighteenth century, similar flows of translation emerged in the case of ruins, and mediums began to change with the increasing usage of prints in architecture.

1.2. Ruins in the Eighteenth Century: Archaeology as a New Scientific Discipline and Changing Mediums in Architectural History

The Eighteenth Century signaled a period of great success for science. This was when the older attitudes and approaches were replaced with new ways of thinking, and there were attacks on the established religion by the organized natural science and the old medieval hierarchy by new secular administrations.[47] The Enlightenment became a product of these new ways of thought. It also revolved around the idea that human beings could understand how the universe worked by using reason. This way of thinking included observing, measuring, and categorizing natural events. The Enlightenment also aimed to illuminate the dark parts of human nature, make it more visible to everyone and organize public institutions in such a way that the society could become more familiar with reason and moral sense, leading to a feeling of self-fulfillment and happiness.[48] Most of the intellectual movements in the period were based on reason. Using their reason, scientists could solve scientific problems, and in this way, they could discover and articulate the laws of nature. Also, philosophers who studied society and human nature began to think that reason would help them form a series of laws that could be applied to solve existing social problems.[49] On the whole, the Enlightenment was about law, administration, economics, education, health, and

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[46] Philips, ''Materiality and Cultural Translation: Indigenous Arts, Colonial Exchange, and Postcolonial Perspectives,'' 139.

[47] Isaiah Berlin, *The Roots of Romanticism*, ed. Henry Hardy (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2001), 46.

[48] David Blackbourn, *History of Germany 1780-1918: The Long Nineteenth Century* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 25-26.

[49] Robin W. Winks and Joan Neuberger, *Europe and the Making of Modernity, 1815-1914* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 3-4.

welfare. In the case of the German-speaking world of the period, it depended on local conditions without being confined to a single place. It developed in several cities, including Berlin, Hamburg, and Leipzig. Unlike Britain and France, the German Enlightenment gained power in institutions such as universities, state academies of science, and churches, especially after the 1760s.[50] However, it may be said that Germans did not stand out with significant intellectual figures except Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz until the early eighteenth century.[51] In the second half of the eighteenth century, there were important German writers and thinkers, including Immanuel Kant, Gottfried Ephraim Lessing, Johann Gottfried Herder, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, and Friedrich von Schiller, who all contributed to the development of the German Enlightenment in different fields. For instance, Kant played a fundamental role in preparing the intellectual background for modern German philosophy and aesthetics.[52] His *Kritik der reinen Vernunft (Critique of Pure Reason)* (1781), *Kritik der praktischen Vernunft (Critique of Practical Reason)* (1788), and *Kritik der Urteilskraft (Critique of Judgment)* (1790) provided the epistemological, ethical, and aesthetic foundations of Nineteenth-Century German Idealism.[53] Furthermore, Goethe and Schiller were interested in Nationalism. Goethe's festive play *Des Epimenides Erwachen* (*Epimenisdes' Awakening*) was a depiction of a specific historical event about a figure from Greek mythology, Epimenides. The play had a neoclassical style of narration with a clear reference to national feelings.[54] In this way, Goethe associated Nationalism with the ideals of Ancient Greece, indicating a

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[50] Blackbourn, *History of Germany 1780-1918: The Long Nineteenth Century*, 26.

[51] Berlin, *The Roots of Romanticism*, 34.

[52] Harry Francis Mallgrave, *Modern Architectural Theory: A Historical Survey, 1673-1968* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 91.

[53] Mallgrave, *Modern Architectural Theory: A Historical Survey, 1673-1968*, 91-92.

[54] Patricia Anne Simpson, ''Visions of the Nation: Goethe, Karl Friedrich Schinkel, and Ernst Moritz Arndt,'' in *The Enlightened Eye: Goethe and Visual Culture*, eds. Evelyn K. Moore and Patricia Anne Simpson (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007), 128.

difference between the German movement and the Nationalism of France, which was based on the idealization of political institutions and social organizations.[55] Nationalism became a product of the philosophical and political consequences of the Enlightenment. At this time, an avid interest in the past also accelerated, and two main cultural movements, Neoclassicism and Pre-Romanticism, emerged.[56]

The Enlightenment also led to the appearance of required means for archaeological work, such as numismatics, epigraphy, travel, topography, and a conscious interest in landscape, including the relationship between surface and soil together with its layers. Similar to the German case, there were also various national and regional traditions. Scandinavians were interested in ruins and exploration, the British were trying to describe local antiquities, and the French and Italians were busy with a more traditional desire to collect Greek and Roman antiquities. All these activities referred to a different kind of archaeology in the eighteenth century than in the Renaissance, and it became necessary to bring order to the increasing quantity of antiquities.[57] Consequently, archaeology began to develop as a scientific discipline, fed by the interest in ruins. In relation to ruins, the usage of the print as a new medium instead of verbal texts contributed considerably to the formation of a bond between archaeology and architecture from a historiographical perspective. Moreover, in the 1750s, archaeological exploration and architectural theory also became more linked, lasting into the nineteenth century.[58]

In the eighteenth century, history and archaeology were in the process of change. Since scholars became more interested in artifacts as evidence than verbal texts, the validity

[55] Francis D. K. Ching, Mark M. Jarzombek and Vikramaditya Prakash, *A Global History of Architecture*, 3rd ed. (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley, 2017), 606.

[56] Margarita Diaz-Andreu, *A World History of Nineteenth-Century Archaeology: Nationalism, Colonialism, and the Past* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 41.

[57] Alain Schnapp, *The Discovery of the Past* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1997), 234.

[58] Barry Bergdoll, *European Architecture 1750-1890* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 9.

of verbal texts became a topic of debate.[59] In this case, the print as a new medium gained importance, and the concept of visual history emerged. Discovering antiquity through the medium of the print was common for all of Europe, as the visual language of the printed image could pass the boundaries of the nations, unlike verbal texts in different languages. Printed images of the monuments of antiquity and the Middle Ages in Britain and other places in Europe, particularly in terms of architecture, may also be regarded as histories since they show a different way of interpreting the past than verbal texts. Artifacts came to be considered as parts of evidence about the past, and thus, their reproduction became a crucial part of the historical narrative on a par with verbal sources and histories. In this way, new visual histories could challenge the hegemony of verbal historiographies.[60] However, all monuments, together with texts, had to have a representative process of transformation in order to be reproduced on a page. Antiquarians had to navigate between textualizing monuments from a visual or tactile object to a verbal text or reproducing their materiality.[61]

With the increasing availability of concrete material evidence, especially in the archaeological sites, architects began to play an important role in the task of recording and visual presentation of ancient art and architecture.[62] They had different ways of interpreting Classical Antiquity than philologists, numismatists, antiquarians, and historians who were also interested in the materials from the past. Their focus was on the built environment, separating them from others who dealt with ancient literary texts, sculptures, or artifacts such as coins and lamps. They had a three-dimensional, visual, practical, and at the same time, literary and historical approach, which was

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[59] John A. Pinto, *Speaking Ruins: Piranesi, Architects, and Antiquity in Eighteenth-Century Rome* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2012), 4.

[60] Dana Arnold and Stephen Bending, ''Introduction: Tracing Architecture: The Aesthetics of Antiquarianism,'' in *Tracing Architecture: The Aesthetics of Antiquarianism*, eds. Stephen Bending and Dana Arnold (Malden, MA, Oxford, Melbourne: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 1-3.

[61] Maria Grazia Lolla, ''Monuments and Texts: Antiquarianism and the Beauty of Antiquity,'' in *Tracing Architecture: The Aesthetics of Antiquarianism*, 12.

[62] Pinto, *Speaking Ruins: Piranesi, Architects, and Antiquity in Eighteenth-Century Rome*, 4.

more comprehensive. Thanks to the archaeological remains, ruins offered a new perspective through the restoration of their missing parts, and architects participated in the creative act of designing new forms. In this respect, antiquity became a source of inspiration. For instance, for architects like Giovanni Battista Piranesi, the past provided a storage of forms for their creative trials. They had some knowledge of history as an advantage for their approach to ancient ruins. Many publications of the period focused on the reconstruction of the architectural context. In this case, architects took the role of decontextualizing, and the material incompleteness of ruins encouraged them.[63] Such incompleteness provided them an opportunity to be creative. Fragments tended to be complete on paper and stimulated creative imagination, serving as a source of usable images. In this way, ruins could be transformed into plans or a modern building. This process can also be regarded as a translation since it included decontextualization followed by recontextualization.[64]

In the eighteenth century, the fragment, as well as the ruin, became a separate aesthetic category. Both were often valued for their incompleteness rather than for what they had actually been in the past.[65] Hence, prints enhanced their function and effect, leading to the construction of visual histories of architecture rather than verbal ones with the help of archaeological studies. Prints also eased the distribution of knowledge on ruins and played an important part in the spreading of the Graeco-Roman Controversy, which led to different analyses and interpretations of Greek and Roman antiquities.

1.2.1. The Graeco-Roman Controversy

The Graeco-Roman Controversy emerged in the 1750s and lasted into the 1760s. It revolved around the question of whether Greek or Roman art was superior to the other

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[63] Pinto, *Speaking Ruins: Piranesi, Architects, and Antiquity in Eighteenth-Century Rome*, 7-9.

[64] Peter Burke, ''Cultures of Translation in Early Modern Europe,'' in *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Peter Burke and R. Po-Chia Hsia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 38.

[65] Pinto, *Speaking Ruins: Piranesi, Architects, and Antiquity in Eighteenth-Century Rome*, 10.

in terms of historical and artistic significance, especially in architecture. The most active phase of the controversy ensued when Julien-David Le Roy made his first publication on Greek architecture by using the knowledge of actual measurement. Piranesi objected heavily to the ideas of Le Roy and his objection may also have arisen from Johann Joachim Winckelmann's *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst (Reflections on the Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture)* from 1755, since it conflicted with the superiority of Roman art which Piranesi claimed.[66]

Although Winckelmann and Piranesi stood out as two significant figures in the debate, the Graeco-Roman Controversy became a European-wide phenomenon in the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, Romantic and Gothic-based approaches were also present simultaneously. Classicists and Romantics were both interested in ruins, and their aims were symbolic, consisting of searching for the reflections of the past with their contemporary consciousness while preserving or restoring the images of beauty.[67] However, there was a dichotomy between the direct and emotional experience of ruins based on the fantasy that Romantics were interested in and the analytical experience of ruins deriving from measuring and recording precisely, which was a feature of the Enlightenment in relation to archaeology, as well as to architecture.[68]

Publications on Greek architecture based on exact measurements like Le Roy's, led to an awakening regarding Greek antiquities in the late 1750s and early 1760s, as the latter had been ignored until that time. For an extended period, Roman monuments had

[66] Marcel Baumgartner, (Gießen RWG), ''Graeco-Roman Controversy,'' in *Brill's New Pauly*, edited by Hubert Cancik and, Helmuth Schneider, English Edition by: Christine F. Salazar, Classical Tradition volumes edited by: Manfred Landfester, and English Edition by: Francis G. Gentry. Accessed August 5, 2022. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e1403060.

[67] Theodore Ziolkowski, ''Ruminations on Ruins: Classical versus Romantic,'' *The German Quarterly* 89, no.3 (2016): 278.

[68] Pinto, *Speaking Ruins: Piranesi, Architects, and Antiquity in Eighteenth-Century Rome*, 3.

been regarded as the only source of ancient architecture. Since the reign of Mehmet the Conqueror (1451-1481), as the Ottomans expanded their lands towards Greece and Athens, Europeans became estranged from those regions and their culture.[69] Although there was an interest in Classical Antiquity during the Renaissance, Greece appeared to be only in the mind. It was often believed that there was nothing left of Classical Greece. For instance, painters who focused on Italian antiquities could depict them by combining their imagination with what they read in books. In those times, ancient and modern Greece were not considered together. After the Crusaders' sack of Constantinople in 1204 and the breaking of the continuity with the classical past, modern Greeks tried to return to their roots in the ancient world and began to refer to themselves as Greeks (Hellenes) rather than Romans (*Romaioi*.)[70] In the wake of English and French travelers, the rediscovery of Greece would begin in the 1670s. Charles-François Ollier, Marquis de Nointel, the French ambassador in Constantinople, visited Athens for an official mission, and Jacques Carrey, one of his companions, drew the pediment sculptures of the Parthenon before they were destroyed due to an explosion in 1687.

Such journeys to Greece and Asia Minor became common in the 1730s and 1740s.[71] Travelers to these lands were also collectors like the antiquarians before them; however, their taste for antiquities was not only theoretical but also reflected a new technical interest and desire to imitate, which were peculiar to the eighteenth century. The visit of the French ambassador in Constantinople, Nointel, to Athens had diplomatic purposes; however, the ambassadors also began to fund collecting expeditions. For instance, Richard Worsley, the British ambassador to Venice, Choiseul-Gouffier, the French ambassador to Constantinople, Lord Elgin, the British ambassador to the same city, and Sir Willian Hamilton in Naples all had their own

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[69] Baumgartner, "Graeco-Roman Controversy."

[70] Richard Stoneman, ''The Origins of European Philhellenism,'' *History Today* 34, no.12 (1984): 21.

[71] Baumgartner, "Graeco-Roman Controversy."

antique collections together with their illustrators, cast-makers, and sometimes even their employees in Athens, such as the Frenchman Fauvel for Choiseul and the Italian Lusieri for Elgin. In 1733, the Society of Dilettanti was founded in London, and it became the center of such activities and a meeting place for English gentlemen who constituted the most determined and crowded group among the travelers. Along with their curiosity and need to finance the expeditions, there was also the issue of pillage. For instance, there was the question of whether the British or the French would protect the Parthenon sculptures.[72] Italy was also the center of attraction. Travelers had the opportunity of seeing Italian antiquities that were retrieved from the excavations of Rome, Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Etruscan sites. Later, the voyage began to be called the Grand Tour, a prestigious activity for the aspiring young and wealthy social elite, sometimes lasting months, or a few years. For the antiquarians, the Greek and Roman past became the source of a model.[73] Ancient Greece had already become a focal point of reference for the European Enlightenment, and with these developments, the demand for Greek antiquities increased.[74]

The interest in the Greek and Roman past played an important role in the Graeco-Roman Controversy. In addition to the question of whether the Greeks or Romans were superior in art and architecture, it also included the investigation of whether Romans had other examples to be inspired from in their art and architecture. Piranesi claimed that the Romans were already advanced before their contact with the Greeks and that they had learned from the Etruscans. However, Carlo Lodoli maintained the idea that ancient architecture originated from the Egyptians and was passed on to Romans through Etruscans. Marc-Antoine Laugier further argued that the ideal architecture was Greek.[75] Winckelmann's ideas were parallel with Laugier, and he described the

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[72] Schnapp, *The Discovery of the Past*, 260-261.

[73] Diaz-Andreu, *A World History of Nineteenth-Century Archaeology: Nationalism, Colonialism, and the Past*, 43.

[74] Arygro Loikaki, *Living Ruins, Value Conflicts* (Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), 26.

[75] Mallgrave, *Modern Architectural Theory: A Historical Survey, 1673-1968*, 32-33.

Greeks as free and independent from an authority in their approach to art and architecture. In his view, Roman architecture was corrupted.[76]

Winckelmann was a dedicated Hellenist. Before Winckelmann, there had been a generally negative attitude towards ancient Greece in the educated public of Germans. With the development of archaeology, the excavations at Pompeii and Herculaneum, which began in 1738 and 1748, stimulated their imagination and curiosity about Roman life and culture.[77] Furthermore, at the same time, the Graeco-Roman Controversy, which involved Greeks, played an important part in the rise of their interest in antiquities and Hellenism. Hellenism can be defined as ''Greek culture; the national character or nature of the Greeks, especially the ancient Greeks.''[78] It was not unique to the German-speaking world in the eighteenth century, rather it was ''one of the most pervasive Western intellectual and social phenomena.''[79] For instance, the writings of French or British travelers' on their journeys to Greece were more common than Germans' in this period.[80] The eighteenth century became a time period in which Greece began to reflect projections and aspirations of European culture. Winckelmann also promoted this way of thought and became interested in the aesthetic decisions of previous generations while leading the way for forthcoming ones in terms of

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[76] Michael Shanks, *Classical Archaeology of Greece* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 67.

[77] John Harry North, *Winckelmann's ''Philosophy of Art'' – A Prelude to German Classicism* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012), 58.

[78] ''Hellenism, n.''. OED Online. September 2019. Oxford University Press. https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/85658?redirectedFrom=hellenism (accessed November 28, 2019).

[79] Yannis Hamilakis, *The Nation and Its Ruins: Antiquity, Archaeology, and National Imagination in Greece* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), viii.

[80] Helen Roche, ''The Peculiarities of German Philhellenism,'' The Historical Journal 61, no: 2 (2018): 543.

ideology.[81] German Hellenism distinguished itself from others with nationalistic concerns, especially regarding Winckelmann's ideas. His understanding of Greek freedom played an important role in shaping his idea of constructing German national identity as opposed to French dominance, even though a German nation-state did not exist at that time. In his view, Rome addressed everything not German.[82] Hellenism also led to Philhellenism in the nineteenth century. Meaning ''love of Greece or Greek culture,''[83] it was also used to name northern and western Europeans' supporting the Greeks in the 1820s for their struggle to gain political independence from the Ottoman Empire.[84] In this process, the rise of Nationalism later in the nineteenth century would play a decisive role for the Greeks.

The Graeco-Roman Controversy was also related to theoretical and visual conflicts, which mainly originated from prints rather than the actual buildings themselves.[85] Prints became the products of using archaeology and the archaeological survey to enhance the imagination and formulate new ways to re-tell history.[86] Arguments that revolved around the idea that Greeks were superior to Romans challenged the cultural status of Italy at that time, as ancient Roman art and architecture had been regarded as the highest achievement of the West. In this way, archaeology became a part of

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[81] Ralph Stern, ''Winckelmann, Piranesi and the Graeco-Roman Controversies: A late exchange in the Querelle des anciens et des modernes,'' *Architectura – Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Baukunst* 33 (2003): 64.

[82] Roche, ''The Peculiarities of German Philhellenism,'' 545-546.

[83] ''Philhellenism, n.''. OED Online. September 2019. Oxford University Press. https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/237140?redirectedFrom=philhellenism (accessed November 28, 2019).

[84] Katherine Harloe and Nicoletta Momigliano, ''Introduction: Hellenomania: ancient and modern obssesions with the Greek past,'' in *Hellenomania*, eds. Katherine Harloe, Nicoletta Momigliano, and Alexandre Farnoux (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2018), 2.

[85] Arnold, ''Facts of Fragments? Visual Histories in the Age of Mechanical Production,'' 37.

[86] Arnold, ''Facts of Fragments? Visual Histories in the Age of Mechanical Production,'' 39.

Rome.[87] The Graeco-Roman Controversy also referred to aesthetic concerns with a focus on verbal histories. For instance, both sides of the debate claimed that the temples at Paestum (Figures 1, 2, and 3) were a part of the development process of the architecture that they favored, whether Greek or Roman.

Figure 1. Temple of Serapis, Paestum (Source: Collection of Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal)

Figure 2. A View of a Temple at Paestum (Source: Collection of Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal)

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[87] Arnold, ''Facts of Fragments? Visual Histories in the Age of Mechanical Production,'' 37.

Figure 3. A View of a Temple at Paestum (Source: Collection of Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal)

Although Paestum had already been known since the sixteenth century, it had received little attention before the 1750s. As the remains of the imposing temples there did not correspond to the notions indicated in Vitruvius's writings regarding ancient architecture, they had not been considered as a part of antiquities that formed the standard architectural treatises. Furthermore, the rich ornament and polished refinements from late baroque architecture conflicted with the temples' primitive ambiance. This attitude became influential in their lack of popularity. However, in almost three decades from the 1750 visit of Jacques-Germain Soufflot to Piranesi's trip in 1777-78, the situation changed. Site studies on Paestum in this period demonstrated the emergence of new ways to look at classical architecture, and the creative vision required for this transition came from architects, although their vision derived from measurement as a result of new theoretical and conceptual models.[88] In his interpretation of classical architecture, ruins were the center of attention for Piranesi. He wrote that ''I have portrayed ... the ruins, representing more than their exterior facades, but also their plans, their interiors, distinguishing their parts in section and profile and indicating their materials and the manner of their construction

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[88] Pinto, *Speaking Ruins: Piranesi, Architects, and Antiquity in Eighteenth-Century Rome*, 198.

- according to what I could derive in the course of many years of exact observation, excavation and research.''[89] His ultimate aim was to process all related information and create a reconstruction of Ancient Rome through his imagination.[90] In the context of Paestum, in *Della Magnificenza ed Architettura De'Romani (On the Grandeur and the Architecture of the Romans)* (1761), he objected to Laugier and created plates of the temples for his arguments on the supremacy of Roman architecture over Greek. Those plates were published in *Differentes Vues de Quelques Restes de Trois Grands Edifices qui Subsistent encore dans le Milieu de L'Ancienne Ville de Pesto autrement Posidonia*, two months after his death, in 1778, by his son. Unlike Piranesi, Winckelmann based his ideas on texts and continued the verbal tradition.[91]

In addition to his contribution to the Graeco-Roman Controversy, Winckelmann is now widely regarded as the founder of modern methodologies in archaeology and art history. He worked on classical Greek architecture and tried to analyze classic works of art and architecture by creating categories of style.[92] His stay in Rome and work with the foundation of a scientific study of classics at the University of Göttingen constituted the basis of classical archaeology on German soil in the 1760s.[93] He arrived in Rome in 1755 and by focusing on Roman architecture, he examined the collections of art and antiquities in many Roman villas that then belonged to famous families like

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[89] Giovanni Battista Piranesi, *Antichità Romane*, 4 vols, (Rome: Angelo Rotili, 1756) vol. 1, Introduction, quoted in Susan M. Dixon, ''The Sources and Fortunes of Piranesi's Archaeological Illustrations,'' in *Tracing Architecture: The Aesthetics of Antiquarianism*, 54.

[90] Dixon, ''The Sources and Fortunes of Piranesi's Archaeological Illustrations,'' in *Tracing Architecture: The Aesthetics of Antiquarianism*, 55.

[91] Arnold, ''Facts of Fragments? Visual Histories in the Age of Mechanical Production,'' 38.

[92] David Carter, ''Introduction,'' in Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Johann Joachim Winckelmann on Art, Architecture, and Archaeology*, translated with an introduction and notes by David Carter (Rochester, New York: Camden House, 2013), 1.

[93] Stephen L. Dyson, *In Pursuit of Ancient Pasts: A History of Classical Archaeology in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2006), 1.

the Medici. He also undertook research trips while he was there and became interested in the archaeological excavations in the Kingdom of Naples. Between 1758 and 1767, he visited the area four times to see the excavations of the towns destroyed by the eruption of Vesuvius in AD 79, including Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Stabiae. After his second trip in 1762, he published his thoughts and observations in *Open Letter on the Herculanean Discoveries* and had already composed an extended study on ancient scripts from Herculaneum, namely *Report on the Ancient Herculanean Scripts*. He was also interested in Greek architecture, and during his visit to Naples, he had the chance to visit the temples at Paestum, which were among the best-preserved Greek temples in Italy. After his second trip in 1762, he recorded his observations and published his renowned essay *Remarks on the Architecture of the Ancients*.[94] Winckelmann believed that the temples at Paestum were the oldest remaining examples of Greek architecture, although there were not. He had never visited Greece, and his ideas regarding architectural history derived from the drawings of architects. His theories were based on analytical examination of both literal and physical evidence and a general system of classification in which Greek architecture was the absolute model to be learned from.[95] Winckelmann's approach and work had important impacts. Throughout the eighteenth century, his classical aesthetics influenced art and literature in the German-speaking world.[96] Furthermore, his work served as a primary source of inspiration for the classical German view of antiquity, and he became the first scholar to analyze the monuments of classical art in a historical context.[97]

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[94] Carter, ''Introduction,'' in Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Johann Joachim Winckelmann on Art, Architecture, and Archaeology*, 6-7.

[95] Pinto, *Speaking Ruins: Piranesi, Architects, and Antiquity in Eighteenth-Century Rome*, 198.

[96] Patricia Anne Simpson, and Evelyn K. Moore, ''Introduction: The Enlightened Eye: Visual Culture in the Age of Goethe,'' in *The Enlightened Eye: Goethe and Visual Culture*, eds. Evelyn K. Moore and Patricia Anne Simpson (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007), 11.

[97] Volker Riedel, ''Germany and German-Speaking Europe,'' in *A Companion to the Classical Tradition,* ed. Craig W. Kallendorf (Hoboken, NJ: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 179.

As the Graeco-Roman Controversy demonstrates, with the rising interest in antiquity and archaeological activities, analyzing and interpreting classical architecture became a major concern in eighteenth-century European architecture. In this case, using prints as a new medium played a decisive role. The print emerged as an alternative to verbal text and led to the construction of visual histories as an alternative to verbal ones. Considering the relationship between drawing and building as translation, there was a reverse translation between ruins and the print. Ancient ruins, in this case, already stood as incomplete at that time. They were translated into prints, and along with the contribution of archaeological activities and individual imagination, they became a source of inspiration for the art and architecture of the period. Although he benefitted from their prints and drawings, engaging in a creative act, Winckelmann translated ruins into text in his work with his interpretation and imagination. Later, in the nineteenth century, the German architect Karl Friedrich Schinkel was inspired by classicist ideas that were promoted by Winckelmann and had a different interpretation of ruins which resulted in translation to building.

1.3. Aim, Significance, and Construction of the Study

This study seeks to investigate and compare how verbal and visual narratives derived from the way ruins were perceived and studied by Winckelmann and Schinkel shaped their scholarly approaches and work as translations. Examining translation as a creative act in art and architectural history, it aims to contribute to the literature by elaborating on how the conceptual processes of translations occur from material ruins to text and building based on reception. While there are many studies on either Winckelmann or Schinkel, which revolve around the relationship of their individual works with broader phenomena in the contexts of art and architectural history, this study is an attempt to demonstrate how the utilization of ruins stimulated the creative imaginations of an art historian and an architect in unique ways and shaped their works as verbal and visual narratives.

Studies and interpretations of Classical Antiquity in Eighteenth and Nineteenth-Century German Art and Architecture constitute the frame of the study, and the scope is limited to Winckelmann's and Schinkel's views and works in their particular times. Its methodology consists of the scrutinization of the scholarships of both figures in

various aspects, evaluating how they translated ruins, and comparing their ways and mediums of translation.

The study includes three main discussion chapters. Following the Introduction, where a general conceptual background is provided on translation and its implications together with what is meant by ruins and the significance of the Graeco-Roman Controversy, the second chapter, ''Winckelmann and His Approach to Ruins: Translation From Ruin to Text,'' begins with exploring the relationship between the Enlightenment and antiquarianism with regard to the interest in ancient Greece and ruins in the German-speaking regions of the eighteenth century. Then, Winckelmann's early life and intellectual background are examined. This chapter is also an attempt to investigate Winckelmann's view on Greek art history based on two primary concepts, aesthetics, and freedom. With how he analyzed the sculptures of the Laocoön, the Niobe, the Belvedere Torso, the Apollo Belvedere, and the Belvedere Antinous according to his conception of aesthetics, Winckelmann's perception of ancient Greek art is discussed. Furthermore, his understanding of freedom in relation to ancient Greece is evaluated. The last part of the chapter explores the term reception and imitation *(Nachahmung),* aiming to show Winckelmann's translation of ruins to text as verbal narratives in relation to his classical reception and how he employed this term in *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst) (Reflections on the Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture)* (1755) *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums (History of the Art of Antiquity)* (1764).[98]

The third chapter, ''Karl Friedrich Schinkel and His Approach to Ruins: Translation From Ruin to Building,'' provides a picture of the German-speaking regions in the nineteenth century under the changing sociopolitical conditions. It underlines the reception of Nationalism on German soil at that time and the development of Prussia with reforms after Napoleon was defeated. Due to the French invasion, there was an awakening of the nationalist senses of Germans, and among the other states, Prussia was developed with reforms after Napoleon was defeated. Parallel with the Nationalist movement, this led to debates on how to indicate a German national style for

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[98] From now on, throughout the dissertation, for these two books of Winckelmann, the English titles will be used except for the quotes from the German versions.

architecture in the nineteenth century. Although such debates dated back to German orientalism, which led to Philhellenism, the increase of archaeological studies, the rise of Classicism, and Neoclassicism with a focus on the search for origins have to be noted. This chapter also elaborates on the debates of indicating a German national style for architecture in the nineteenth century. While Goethe contributed to such debates with his romantic views on architecture that praised the Gothic style, Hirt became a significant figure with his classicist ideas. Hübsch's *Welchem Stil Sollen Wir Bauen?* (*In Which Style Should We Build?*) (1828) regarding the search for a German national style in architecture also initiated further stylistic controversies. Then, the chapter moves on to Schinkel and divides his overall career into two main sections. The former section probes into his training, approaches, and early career works in terms of his conceptions of intuition and nature between 1806 and 1814. As Prussia was under French invasion and architectural opportunities were limited at that time, he produced paintings, stage designs, and panoramas during this period. Schinkel's relationship with Friedrich Gilly, who became his mentor, and his trip to Italy in 1803-1804 are also discussed. To explore his approaches derived from his perceptions of intuition and nature, his selected works such as *Morning* (1813), *A View of Schloss Predjama* (1816), *Landscape with Gothic Arcades* (1812), *Antique City on a Mountain* (1805), *Medieval City by the Sea* (1813), *The Fire of Moscow* (1812), *Panorama of Palermo* (1808), Stage Set for *The Magic Flute* by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1816), Stage Set for *Vestal Virgin* by Gaspare Spontini (1818), Stage Set for *Undine* by E. T. A. Hoffmann (1815-1816) are analyzed. Furthermore, The Mausoleum for Queen Louise (1810) and his projects for the commemoration of the Wars of Liberation (1814) are examined with their Gothic styles. The latter section delves into Schinkel's career as the state architect of Prussia with a classicist attitude and investigates his major built projects in Berlin, the Neue Wache (1816-1818), the Schauspielhaus (1818-1821), and the Altes Museum (1823-1830). From the same period, his painting *A View of Greece in its Prime* (1825) is also examined. Later, the chapter looks into his urban residence projects in the 1820s, such as the Schloss Tegel (1820-1824), built for Wilhelm von Humboldt, who was an essential figure in Schinkel's career. This part also includes the examinations of the Jagdschloss Antonin (1822-1824), the Schloss Charlottenhof (1826), and the Friedrich-Werder Kirche (1824-1830). In 1826, Schinkel visited France and Britain for work, and that led to a change in his architectural design

approach as he had the opportunity to observe the industrial development in architecture together with new construction techniques such as fireproofing, and the usage of iron structure, and materials, especially brick. The Feilner House (1828-1829) and the Bauakademie (1832-1836), which he completed after this trip, are included as two significant projects in this period. In addition to these realized buildings, the chapter focuses on the unbuilt projects of a royal palace on the Acropolis in Athens (1834) and Schloss Orianda (1838). Then, the last part of the chapter reveals Schinkel's translation from ruins to building as the result of his classical reception and visually embodied in the project for a royal palace on the Acropolis, which also emerged as a visual narrative.

The fourth chapter, ''Imagining and Narrating the Past: Winckelmann's Greece vs. Schinkel's Greece'' presents a comparison of Winckelmann's and Schinkel's translations of ruins to text and building in their works that emerged as verbal and visual narratives. Focusing on imagination and narration, it is an exploration depending on the contexts of history and archaeology in relation to Winckelmann's and Schinkel's works.

The conclusion summarizes the main points of arguments and results in the previous chapters. It also highlights the findings of the study that may pave the path for future investigation.

CHAPTER 2

JOHANN JOACHIM WINCKELMANN AND HIS APPROACH TO RUINS: TRANSLATION FROM RUIN TO TEXT

2.1.   Attitude Towards Art in the Eighteenth Century: The Enlightenment and Antiquarianism

In the eighteenth century, Classical Antiquity played a significant role in the reception of the Enlightenment. This period included the development of a bourgeois society, and meanwhile, *Querelle des Anciens et des modernes* (*Quarrel of The Ancients and The Moderns*) was a propelling force for intellectual thought. As a result, a conflict regarding the classical heritage as normative or historical appeared. Prevailing conventions lost their effects with the increasing archaeological activities, and classics paved the way as a source of refreshed directions. Furthermore, the attention on classical Rome began to shift towards Greece.[99]

The antiquarians of the eighteenth century developed new ways of thinking and became interested in the emerging fields of geology and paleontology, as well as modern historiography.[100] The approach to history was an essential part of the Enlightenment, especially in the German-speaking region. It is possible to characterize the German Enlightenment through historicist lenses. Historicism tries to balance bilateral concepts such as change and continuity, individuality and communal being,

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[99] Riedel, ''Germany and German-Speaking Europe,'' 178.

[100] Françoise Choay, *The Invention of the Historic Monument* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 55.

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freedom and necessity, value, and causality.[101] Such divergent opinions in the German-speaking region of the eighteenth century carried importance as there were unresolved factions in German thought. Unlike France and Britain, there was a clash between intellectual and political traditions in wanting to be superior. In the second half of the century, German thinkers also faced dilemmas of favoring one side between a religion of the heart and rational religion, claims of the absolute and the feudal state, cosmopolitan universalism and provincial localism, and a literature based on French classical forms, and one based on expressionism. Throughout this process, German thinkers and writers benefitted from historical analysis.[102] Such an approach also involved nationalistic concerns to be independent of the French and become German.

In addition to historical and nationalist thinking, nature and aesthetics lay at the core of the German Enlightenment. Unlike France and Britain, where art reflected social and political reality, with its art, the German-speaking region aimed at presenting ''pure humanity of the mythical,'' which nature dominated and would not be dependent on the conditions of any particular historical period. The German approach to art in this era may be considered mythical, primitive, and poetic.[103] Moreover, before Kant, no art was regarded as autonomous. In the eighteenth century, however, with the rise of the Enlightenment, social, pedagogical, theological, and economic programs were seen to have a role in the production of art. Furthermore, epistemological questions and the practical value of art, together with the nature of the work of art and beauty, became a part of an organized and independent philosophical discipline that would come to be known as aesthetics. Prior to such developments, ''aesthetics,'' derived from *aisthesis* in Greek, meaning perception, indicated the philosophical theory of sense perception.[104] Aesthetics was primarily understood as a science of beauty in this era. Another critical thinker of the German Enlightenment,

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[101] Peter Hanns Reill, *The German Enlightenment and the Rise of Historicism* (Berkley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 1975), 213.

[102] Reill, *The German Enlightenment and the Rise of Historicism,* 213-214.

[103] Thomas Mann, *Pro and contra Wagner*, trans. Allan Brunden (London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1985), 201.

[104] Kai Hammermeister, *The German Aesthetic Tradition* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), ix.

Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten, described this as ''*die Wissenschaft des Schönen*'' (the science of beauty).[105]

In the German-speaking region, together with architecture, art was one of the primary concerns of the Enlightenment. Scholars of this period were enthusiastic about searching for archetypical forms and the roots of ancient architecture. With this aim, the desire to visit and explore ancient Eastern lands became common.[106] Together with Roman antiquity, Greek antiquity also became an attractive venue for learned travelers. As a result, the Grand Tour, which was organized by the Society of Dilettanti, began to include Greece after Italy, as Greek lands ''offered a fresh challenge to the adventurous and the acquisitive.''[107] Many of these travelers were interested in antiquarianism, and they contributed to the accumulation of knowledge in this field. In the middle of the eighteenth century, some antiquarians had started to indicate correlations between the quality of painting, sculpture, and architecture from different nations and periods and other conditions of the time.[108] This attitude included the exploration of how art and architecture interacted with history, society, politics, culture, and nation. Winckelmann emerged as the most important representative of such an approach that incorporated historical thinking into the interpretations of art.[109]

As mentioned before, Winckelmann was a Hellenist. His historicist scholarship played an essential role in the neohumanist admiration of Greek culture. For him, Greece

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[105] Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten, *Metaphysica* (Magdeburg: Hemmererde, 1779), Editio VII, 533, quoted in Frederick C. Beiser, *Diatoma's Children: German Aesthetic Rationalism From Leibniz to Lessing* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 3.

[106] Lena Lambrinou, ''The Parthenon from the Greek Revival to modern architecture,'' in *Hellenomania*, ed. Katherine Harloe, Nicoletta Momigliano and Alexandre Farnaoux (London: Routledge, 2018), 127.

[107] J. M. Crook, *The Greek Revival: Neo-Classical Attitudes in British Architecture, 1760–1870* (London: John Murray Crook, 1972), 6-7.

[108] Francis Haskell, *History and Its Images: Art and the Interpretation of the Past* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 218.

[109] Haskell, *History and Its Images: Art and the Interpretation of the Past*, 218.

possessed an autonomous and unique historical culture, and her language, art, religion, and politics formed a meaningful whole.[110] He was the one who established the schematic study of Greek antiquities and considered classical Greek art a reference to aesthetics for the first time since it was lost after the Renaissance.[111] In this chapter, I will examine how Winckelmann perceived ancient ruins and came up with his interpretations that became a translation to text. His conception of Greek antiquity revolved around aesthetics together with freedom, and mainly, imitation constituted the framework of his interpretations and analyses. These concepts reveal how his verbal text can be regarded as a translation of material ruins in *Reflections on the Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture* and *History of the Art of Antiquity*. *History of the Art of Antiquity* became known as his masterpiece, and in addition to the verbal narrative, this book also presented his translation as an invention of antiquity with supporting illustrations.

2.2.   Early Beginnings and Intellectual Background of Winckelmann

Winckelmann was born in 1717 as the son of a cobbler and a weaver's daughter in Stendal, which was a small town in Prussia. Despite the circumstances, he was able to study theology and the classics, together with Greek and Latin, at the universities of Halle and Jena. After the university, his first job was to work as a private tutor and schoolteacher at Seehausen, in rural Prussia. In 1747, he was appointed as a librarian by Heinrich, Graf von Bünau. Bünau was a significant figure at the court of Friedrich August II, who was the elector of Saxony in Dresden. Winckelmann began to be interested in the writings of the ancient Greeks during his stay as a schoolteacher in Seehausen; however, he also had other inclinations while working at Bünau's library. For instance, one of his initial works as a scholar at the Saxon court was on modern political history and had a Voltaire-like approach. During his stay at the library, he also read scientific and medical literature. Winckelmann's scholarly activities began to represent more consistent approaches by the time of his first publication in 1755,

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[110] George S. Williamson, *The Longing for Myth in Germany: Religion and Aesthetic Culture From Romanticism to Nietzsche* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2004), 8.

[111] Fani-Maria Tsigakou, *The Rediscovery of Greece: Travellers and Painters of the Romantic Era* (New Rochelle, N.Y.: Caratzas Brothers, 1981), 8.

Reflections on the Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture. This was a fifty-page treatise and included his argument that to return to the true principles of art, the Greek ideal should be thoroughly understood. This text brought him success and fame and was later translated into French and English. Around those times, he moved from Nöthnitz to Dresden, where one of the first public art galleries of Europe was located at that time and which would become the art capital of Germany today.[112] He came to Rome at the end of 1755 and became a librarian to Archinto, who was papal secretary of state in early 1756. After Archinto died in 1758, he joined the service of Cardinal Alessandro Albani as the librarian and custodian of Albani's inclusive collection of antiquities. This was Winckelmann's last post which lasted ten years until he died in 1768.[113]

As Winckelmann could rise from being a cobbler's son to one of the most significant scholars and ''men of letters'' in his lifetime, he became an inspiration to the forthcoming generation of German writers and thinkers.[114] His background was an example of what the German education system in the second quarter of the eighteenth century could offer. Similar to Winckelmann, boys coming from uneducated families could access good education and reach an upper social level. The church supported their educational progress, and eventually, such competent young men began to work in clerical positions and administrative offices.[115] Therefore, religion stood as a dominant factor in the education system. As mentioned before, Winckelmann studied theology, and it would be decisive in the formation of his scholarly approaches. He

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[112] Alex Potts, ''Introduction,'' in Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *History of the Art and Antiquity*, trans. Harry Francis Mallgrave (Los Angeles, Calif.: Getty Research Institute, 2006), 7.

[113] Potts, ''Introduction,'' in Winckelmann, *History of the Art and Antiquity*, 9.

[114] Potts, ''Introduction,'' in Winckelmann, *History of the Art and Antiquity*, 16.

[115] Katherine Harloe, *Winckelmann and The Invention of Antiquity: History and Aesthetics in the Age of Altertumswissenschaft* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 36.

also became familiar with physics, medicine, and anatomy at the university[116] and all contributed to the multidisciplinarity of his later works.

Like Winckelmann's early educational background, his arrival in Rome in 1755 also played a significant role in shaping his ideas and views. Rome in the eighteenth century was the most important place to visit and explore for anyone interested in classical antiquities. The city had the wealthiest collections of antique statuary in Europe. With its renowned antique statues, which mainly were Graeco-Roman works acquired from excavations in and around the city, it had become a center for studying antiquity. The Saxon court funded Winckelmann's trip to Rome. For him to receive the grant, Leo Rauch, Friedrich August II's Jesuit confessor, and Archinto, the papal nuncio to the court of Saxony, were also supportive. Although Winckelmann was Lutheran, he had good relations with Catholic officials at the court in Dresden. Archinto offered Winckelmann help on the condition that he would convert to Catholicism. The conversion was beneficial for Archinto regarding the papal hierarchy and provided career opportunities for Winckelmann. Without patronage and local contacts of Archinto, Winckelmann could not have come to Rome and stayed there. However, religion did not become a primary factor in his later life in the city.[117]

During Winckelmann's stay in Rome, Anton Raphael Mengs, a neoclassical painter, became one of his earliest and most essential acquaintances. Mengs emboldened Winckelmann to focus on detailed research on ancient sculpture, and together they began to work on a treatise that aimed at analyzing ancient Greek artists by the examination of the most famous extant antique statues in Rome. Even though this study was not finished, it contributed to Winckelmann's later works on ancient art.[118] As mentioned before, Winckelmann also visited the excavation sites in Rome and went to Naples with Mengs in 1758 to observe the results of the excavations at Pompeii and Herculaneum. His writings about these served as the source of a report published in 1762. Then, in 1763, he was assigned to the position of *Prefetto dell' antichità di Roma*

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[116] Wolfgang Leppmann, *Winckelmann* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970), 48.

[117] Potts, ''Introduction,'' in Winckelmann, *History of the Art and Antiquity*, 8.

[118] Potts, ''Introduction,'' in Winckelmann, *History of the Art and Antiquity*, 10.

(the head of antiquity in Rome). His presence in Rome became an attraction for visitors interested in exploring the culture there, and his status enabled him to explore the important art collections of Rome together with the influential groups in the Vatican hierarchy.[119] With his antiquarian background, he even wrote *Monumenti antichi inediti (Unpublished Ancient Monuments)* (1767) in Italian, and it represented him as a publisher of monuments there so that he could reach a larger audience.[120] Different from *History of the Art of Antiquity* with its heavily visual content, it also stood out among Winckelmann's other text-based works.[121]

Yet, Winckelmann was critical of Roman culture from a scholarly perspective, although he held a dominant administrative position that provided him access to different types of sources from various disciplines. He wrote that Roman artists had not produced their own styles, and it was likely that they copied from the Etruscans in earlier times. According to Winckelmann, it was only in their later periods that they could encounter Greeks and had the opportunity to learn from them.[122] As mentioned already, he also believed that Roman architecture was corrupted.[123] In his championing of Greek artistic merits, Winckelmann was undisputedly a Hellenist. Under his official circumstances, this was indeed a bold and unusual stance. While the rich inventory of antiquities in Rome pointed to the autonomy of Roman art, Winckelmann attempted

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[119] North, *Winckelmann's ''Philosophy of Art'' – A Prelude to German Classicism*, 17-18.

[120] Lolla, ''Monuments and Texts: Antiquarianism and the beauty of antiquity,'' 12-13.

[121] Stefano Ferrari, ''Winckelmann's *Monumenti antichi inediti* between publishing history and cultural transfers (1760-1823),'' in *J.J. Winckelmann: (1717-1768): Monumenti antichi inediti: Storia di un'opera illustrata = History of an illustrated work*, eds. Stefano Ferrari and Ossanna Cavadini (Milano: Skira, 2017), 17.

[122] ''*... es werden sich auch die römischen Künstler keinen eigenen Stil gebildet haben, sondern in den allerältesten Zeiten ahmten sie vermutlich die Etrurier nach, von welchen sie viele, sonderlich heilige Gebräuche, annahmen, und in ihren späteren und blühenden Zeiten werden ihre wenigen Künstler Schüler der griechischen gewesen sein.''* Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* (Dresden: Waltherischen Hof-Buchhandlung, 1764), 291. Unless otherwise stated, German-English translation and paraphrases belong to the author.

[123] Shanks, *Classical Archaeology of Greece*, 67.

to trace its roots and praised Greek art as its predecessor. His admiration of Greece played a central role in this scholarly endeavor.

2.3.   Winckelmann's Scholarly Output and Views

The eighteenth-century rediscovery of Greece paved the way for the conclusive promotion of the classical canon that had directed Western European architecture since the Renaissance.[124] With the emergence of modern archeology, the Greek Revival in this century tried to indicate a distant and reliable past for modern European Classicism.[125] Winckelmann was both a follower and a generator of Classicism and classical approaches.

Classicism may be defined as ''the principles of classical literature, art, architecture, etc.; adherence to classical ideals, styles, etc.'' It also means ''in language, literature, music, etc.: a classical idiom, form, or style; esp. a linguistic or literary form derived from ancient Greek or Latin models.''[126] Furthermore, ''classical'' now often refers to both Greek and Roman antiquities as a whole.[127] In the architectural context, ''classical'' architecture still addresses antiquity, the Greek and Roman worlds, the temple architecture of the Greeks, and the military and civil architecture of the Romans.[128] A ''classical'' building can be differentiated by the usage of elements taken directly or indirectly from the ancient architectural language. These elements are

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[124] Mitchell Schwarzer, *German Architectural Theory and the Search for Modern Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 38.

[125] Dora Wiebenson, *Sources of Greek Revival Architecture* (London: A. Zwemmer, 1969), 59, cited in Schwarzer, *German Architectural Theory and the Search for Modern Identity*, 38.

[126] ''Classicism, n.''. OED Online. April 2020. Oxford University Press. https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/33888?redirectedFrom=classicism#eid (accessed April 4, 2020).

[127] ''classical, adj. and n.''. OED Online. April 2020. Oxford University Press. https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/33881?redirectedFrom=classical#eid (accessed April 5, 2020).

[128] John Summerson, *The Classical Language of Architecture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980), 7.

easy to detect and applied in standard ways, such as columns of five standard orders. In this case, ''classical'' architecture allows identifying what uniform is within a particular category of buildings.[129] However, in the historical context earlier, ''classical'' had been used to indicate the powerful influence of Greek styles on Roman image-making. This view assumes mimicry of the Classical Greek styles from the fifth and early fourth centuries B.C.E. in particular.[130] Understanding Classicism as mimicry of previous artistic forms is straightforward. In this case, a dual relationship based on chronological relativity emerges based on what a familiar norm as ''classic'' was. Very often, ''classicism'' and ''classical'' tend to address a past to be proud of, and their meanings have kept changing in time.[131] According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the first usage of the word ''classic'' in the English language dates back to 1548 and addresses ''of the highest rank.'' It was only in 1798 that the word began to refer to ''relating to Greek and Roman antiquity in general.'' Later in the first half of the eighteenth century, ''classic'' came to German as ''*klassisch.*''[132] Then, starting primarily with Winckelmann's ideas, Classical Antiquity began to receive attention in the eighteenth-century German-speaking region.[133]

Winckelmann contributed to the expansion of the Greek Revival with his views on the Graeco-Roman Controversy. The revival unwittingly challenged the universal supremacy of classicism. Artistic forms of Greek were, in fact, different than what had

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[129] Summerson, *The Classical Language of Architecture*, 8.

[130] Jaś Elsner, ''Classicism in Roman Art,'' in *Classical Pasts: The Classical Traditions of Greece and Rome*, ed. James I. Porter (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2006), 270.

[131] James I. Porter, ''Introduction,'' in *Classical Pasts: The Classical Traditions of Greece and Rome*, ed. James I. Porter (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2006), 12.

[132] ''classic, adj. and n.''. OED Online. April 2020. Oxford University Press. https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/33880?rskey=3noOHy&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid (accessed April 5, 2020).

[133] Porter, ''Introduction,'' in *Classical Pasts: The Classical Traditions of Greece and Rome*, 12.

been accepted as classical architecture since the Renaissance.[134] The moderns discovered another kind of artistic approach, unlike that of the Renaissance and Baroque, after seeing the early Greek Doric temples at Paestum in South Italy.[135] In this way, a new artistic awareness emerged. The Greek Revival went beyond being a history-bound phenomenon and became the initiator of a modern aesthetic sensibility. This approach prioritized individuality and reason over collective faith and persuasion, referring to the German Enlightenment.[136]

Winckelmann is regarded as ''the greatest champion of Greek youth and purity in the mid-eighteenth century.'' He believed that aesthetics constituted the core of the success of Greeks.[137] He constructed the history of Greek art and was innovative even in his first book, *Reflections on the Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture.* In his time, while Graeco-Latin antiquity was treated as a whole, he dared to argue that there had been a Greek civilization that had not been affected by the Roman tradition. His aesthetic theory stemmed from his search for the ideal of beauty.[138] The conception of ideal was integral to Winckelmann's ideas. It is claimed that his understanding of the classical ideal had a political character in the form of aesthetic-based approaches.[139] His view of ideality concerning Classical Greece derived from the naturalness of artistic production and political institutions of the

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[134] Schwarzer, *German Architectural Theory and the Search for Modern Identity*, 38.

[135] J. Mordaunt Crook, *The Greek Revival: Neo-Classical Attitudes in British Architecture, 1760-1870* (London, Murray, 1972), 21-23.

[136] Schwarzer, *German Architectural Theory and the Search for Modern Identity*, 38.

[137] Martin Bernal, *Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization, Volume I: The Fabrication of Ancient Greece 1785-1985* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1987), 212.

[138] Roland Etienne, *The Search for Ancient Greece* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1992), 61.

[139] K. Fast and J. Thorbecke, *Griechen und Deutsche: Bilder vom Anderen* (Stuttgart: Würtembergisches Landesmuseum Stuttgart-Hessisches Landesmuseum Darmstadt, 1982), cited in Loikaki, *Living Ruins, Value Conflicts*, 32.

ancient city-state.[140] Furthermore, he believed that Greek architecture was a universal style applicable to fulfill the individual and communal needs of modernity.[141] It was the highest artistic achievement of all time as the Greeks copied from nature in the most perfect way.[142] For him, ''good taste, which is spreading more and more throughout the world, first started to develop in the climate of Greece.''[143] His appreciation of Greek homosexuality also increased his love of Greece as he was homosexual.[144]

Winckelmann was a productive writer. His notable books, *Reflections on the Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture* and *History of the Art of Antiquity*, contained guidelines to promote the formation of a national Germanic artistic culture deriving from Greek antiquity. In Winckelmann's view, Greek art set the standard for all art universally. Greek sculptures of the male body represented sedate grandeur in taste and expression. Furthermore, Greeks had the classical artistic vision of a unity and noble harmony of parts. In sensible form, they used reason. However, only free individuality could produce beautiful art and rational thought. From a social point of view, Winckelmann claimed that Greek art was a result of individual liberty rather than strict laws,[145] and Greeks produced an ideal model of nature as they could achieve

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[140] Loikaki, *Living Ruins, Value Conflicts*, 32.

[141] Schwarzer, *German Architectural Theory and the Search for Modern Identity*, 39.

[142] Karl Borinski, *Die Antike in Poetik und Kunsttheories von Ausgang des klassischen Altertums bis auf Goethe und Wilhelm von Humboldt*, 2 vols. (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1965), vol. 2: 201, cited in Schwarzer, *German Architectural Theory and the Search for Modern Identity*, 39.

[143] Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Johann Joachim Winckelmann on Art, Architecture, and Archaeology*, trans. with an introduction and notes by David Carter (Rochester, New York: Camden House, 2013), 31.

[144] cited in Bernal, *Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization, Volume I: The Fabrication of Ancient Greece 1785-1985*, 213.

[145] Schwarzer, *German Architectural Theory and the Search for Modern Identity*, 39.

it freely.[146] For him, freedom was one of the most propelling notions that contributed to the flourishing of Greek art. He also argued that ''the only way for us to become great, if this be possible, inimitable, is to imitate the ancients.''[147] After *Reflections on the Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture*, he presented his more mature views in *History of the Art of Antiquity*. *History of the Art of Antiquity* is considered Winckelmann's most prominent work. With this book, as his most remarkable achievement, he was able to compose a detailed and comprehensive chronological narrative of all antique art, mainly through sculpture. Before him, no one had compiled such a corpus. His creation of stylistic categories backed with a concern for chronology became an impressive illuminator for contemporary and later readers.[148] The book first came out in 1764; however, he worked on it continuously, and newer editions were published after he died in 1768.[149]

Winckelmann's understanding and presentation of art history based on Greek art revolved around a conception of the ideal, referring to a reconstruction of the past. In this case, his approach can be regarded as close to Neo-Platonic idealism.[150] He had read Plato's writings and was inspired by his views.[151] In addition, Winckelmann also favored such a method derived from Plato's views. He maintained that the imitation

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[146] Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Reflections on the Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture*, trans. Elfriede Heyer and Roger C. Norton (Lasalle, Ill.: Open Cort, 1987), 11-13.

[147] *''Der einzige Weg für uns, groß, ja, wenn es möglich ist, unnachahmlich zu werden, ist die Nachahmung der Alten.''* Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst*, 2nd ed. (Dresden & Leipzig: Walther, 1756), 3, as translated in Winckelmann, *Reflections on the Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture*, 5.

[148] Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, *Taste and The Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture, 1500-1900*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 101.

[149] Potts, ''Introduction,'' in *Winckelmann, History of the Art and Antiquity*, 14.

[150] Harry Francis Mallgrave, ''Preface,'' in Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *History of the Art and Antiquity*, ix.

[151] Beiser, *Diotima's Children: German Aesthetic Rationalism from Leibniz to Lessing*, 158.

of ancients should not only be limited to art but also include their way of thinking.[152] By imitation, Winckelmann directly suggested that artists copy from ancient art. He implied that painters and sculptors should focus on a classical model and imitate it on canvas and stone. This was not unusual for that time, and art schools in Europe had such an education system based on the reproduction of ancient models. In this way, Winckelmann promoted this approach and indicated imitation as the core of artistic education. He also criticized the modernist view that imitation should only be the first phase in curricula.[153]

Winckelmann was interested in analyzing Greek art via his conception of ideal; however, his approach had a different basis. Instead of regarding the classical tradition as a timeless ideal, he tackled the subject in the form of a historical phenomenon and suggested that there was a development process of styles in Greek art. He divided it into four parts; oldest and simple (*der ältere Stil*,) early classical, refined, and high (*der hohe Stil*,) later classical and beautiful (*der schöne Stil*), and a style characterized by imitation and decline (*der Stil der Nachahmer*.) This categorization of him between an early, pure, and superior Greek tradition and a later, imitative and inferior Graeco-Roman style also addressed a modern view. Consequently, such a new historical perspective on antiquity paved the way for archaeological activities in Greece and the Near East at the beginning of the nineteenth century.[154] Regarding the idea of development in art history, Winckelmann wrote that the history of art should give us information on the origin, growth, change, and fall of art, together with the various styles of peoples, periods, and artists, and should do this as far as possible concerning the surviving works of antiquity.[155] His focus on the rise and decline in art referred to

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[152] cited in Beiser, *Diotima's Children: German Aesthetic Rationalism from Leibniz to Lessing*, 159.

[153] Carl Justi, *Winckelmann und seine Zeitgenossen*, I (Köln: Phaidon Verlag, 1956), 444.

[154] Potts, ''Introduction,'' in Winckelmann, *History of the Art and Antiquity*, 3.

[155] *''Die Geschichte der Kunst soll den Ursprung, das Wachstum, die Veränderung und den Fall derselben, nebst dem verschiedenen Stile der Völker, Zeiten und Künstler lehren, und dieses aus den übriggebliebenen Werken des Altertums, so viel möglich ist, beweisen.''* Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, x.

the concept of historical change that emerged with the Enlightenment and could be associated with progress and decline in contemporary culture.[156] The logic of historical development was considered a part of ''a great century'' theory, whose most significant promoter was Voltaire. According to this theory, the history of art and culture was based on several classic moments when there were the highest achievements of a tradition.[157] Therefore, using such historical methods was not uncommon at those times. For instance, Charles-Louis de Secondat, baron de Montesquieu's *De l'esprit des lois* (1748) was an example of modern historical analysis of social and political formations. Winckelmann's originality came from presenting a history of art in an extensive framework of the aesthetic, ideological, and cultural significance of visual artifacts.[158] Nevertheless, he had read from Voltaire that history was not limited to wars, and it also included economic and cultural aspects together with military issues. From Montesquieu, he learned that changes in history appeared as a result of constant factors.[159] Winckelmann's focus on the Greek achievement as a classical ideal was also not totally new in his time. Still, his ability to regard the history of art also as a history of freedom independent of imperial and royal patronage was unique.[160] *History of the Art of Antiquity* also became a leading work on Neoclassical theory and a guide for enriching historical ideas on Rome in the 1750s.[161]

In its organization, Winckelmann's *History of the Art of Antiquity* can be seen as a successor of Giorgio Vasari's *Le Vite de' piu eccelenti Architetti, Pittori et Scultori*

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[156] Potts, ''Introduction,'' in Winckelmann, *History of the Art and Antiquity*, 23.

[157] Potts, ''Introduction,'' in Winckelmann, *History of the Art and Antiquity*, 21.

[158] Potts, ''Introduction,'' in Winckelmann, *History of the Art and Antiquity*, 6.

[159] Leppmann, *Winckelmann*, 81.

[160] Can Bilsel, *Antiquity on Display: Regimes of the Authentic in Berlin's Pergamon Museum* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 32.

[161] Mallgrave, *Modern Architectural Theory: A Historical Survey, 1673-1968*, 28.

(*Lives of the Most Famous Architects, Painters, and Sculptors*) (1550). In his book, Vasari had a conceptual schema of biographies and works of famous artists of the Renaissance. He examined the history of modern Italian art in three stages, indicating a development from the beginnings to the excellence of the figures of the High Renaissance. His approach was parallel to *Naturalis Historia*, an ancient text by Pliny the Elder; however, it was more developed. Vasari also prepared an outline for the history of ancient Greek and Roman art. Yet, unlike Winckelmann, he did not aim to associate his history of a series of developments with the concepts of rise and decline. [162]

During the Enlightenment, the idea of a systematized history was thought to be valid only for the origins and early development of culture, such as in *Scienza nuova* (*New Science*) (1725) by Giambattista Vico, *Essai sur l'Origine des connaissances humaines* (*Essay on the Origin of Human Knowledge*) (1746) by E. B. Condillac, and *Essai sur l'Origine des langues* (*Essay on the Origin of the Languages*) (1781) by Jean-Jacques Rousseau. These works were about prehistoric history, and factual evidence was almost lost. Winckelmann's theory that revolved around the history of a tradition even after its early times in a systematized way indicated a new approach. Other Greek histories of the period included *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776) by Edward Gibbon and *Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et de leur décadence* (*Thoughts on the Causes of the Greatness of the Romans and their Decadence)* (1734) by Montesquieu. They did not propose any system and only consisted of narratives. Differently, Winckelmann's history of ancient Greek and Roman art stood out with its schematic organization that included a period. As there was related historical evidence and a chronology of facts was already known, it was possible to conduct such research.[163] The antiquities that Winckelmann attributed to the ancient Greeks are now known as Graeco-Roman, and they reflect the artistic style of imperial Rome, different from the archaic and classical Greek works that were

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[162] Alex Potts, *Flesh and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Origins of Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 40.

[163] Potts, *Flesh and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Origins of Art*, 34-35.

excavated in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Depending on these newer works, the concept of ancient Greek sculpture has changed since Winckelmann.[164] However, with his aspiration in this area, Winckelmann is still widely regarded as the creator of a new, empirical, and historical approach to art based on a close examination of ancient monuments in his time.[165]

History of the Art of Antiquity consists of two main parts (Figures 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8.) In Part One, ''Investigation of Art with Regard to Its Essence,'' Winckelmann tried to identify a system for the framework of his research. He claimed that his focus was on the ''essence of art.''[166] In the rest of this part, he presented the historical narratives of the history of art according to nations in a chronological manner; Egyptians, Phonecians, Persians, Etruscans, and their neighbors, Greeks, and finally, Romans. In these narratives, he also followed an analytical approach. He began by providing information on the political conditions of the period and talked about the history of art depending on the relevant classical sources. Then, he focused on the surviving monuments of the period and described them in detail.[167] Part Two was dedicated entirely to the Greeks. In this section, Winckelmann had a four-fold discussion of ancient Greek art. Firstly, he elaborated on the reasons and causes of the development of Greek art, together with its superiority to other nations. Secondly, he focused on the essentials of art, and then thirdly, he explained the growth and fall of art. Fourthly, he wrote about the mechanical aspect of art and included his statements on antique painting in the end.[168]

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[164] Potts, ''Introduction,'' in Winckelmann, *History of the Art and Antiquity*, 5.

[165] Harloe, *Winckelmann and The Invention of Antiquity: History and Aesthetics in the Age of* Altertumswissenschaft, 68.

[166] ''*Das Wesen der Kunst aber ist in diesem sowohl als in jenem Teile der vornehmste Endzweck…*'' Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, x.

[167] Potts, ''Introduction,'' in Winckelmann, *History of the Art and Antiquity*, 32.

[168] ''*Diese Abhandlung über die Kunst der Griechen besteht aus vier Stücken: Das erste und vorläufige handelt von den Gründen und Ursachen des Aufnehmens und des Vorzugs der griechischen Kunst vor andern Völkern; das zweite von dem Wesentlichen der Kunst; das*

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Figure 4. The Content Page of the Latest Edition (2006) of *History of Art of Antiquity*

(Source: Winckelmann, *History of the Art of Antiquity*, 2006)

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dritte von dem mechanischen Teile der Kunst. Den Beschluß dieses Kapitels macht eine Betrachtung über die Malereien aus dem Altertume.'' Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, 128.
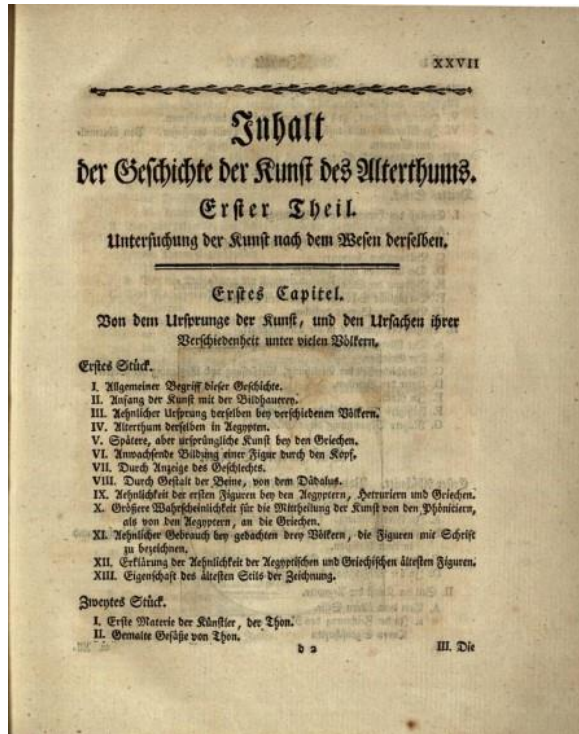
Figure 5. The Content Page for the First Part of the Earliest Edition (1764) of *History of Art of Antiquity* (Source: Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*. Dresden: Waltherischen Hof-Buchhandlung, 1764), 27.)
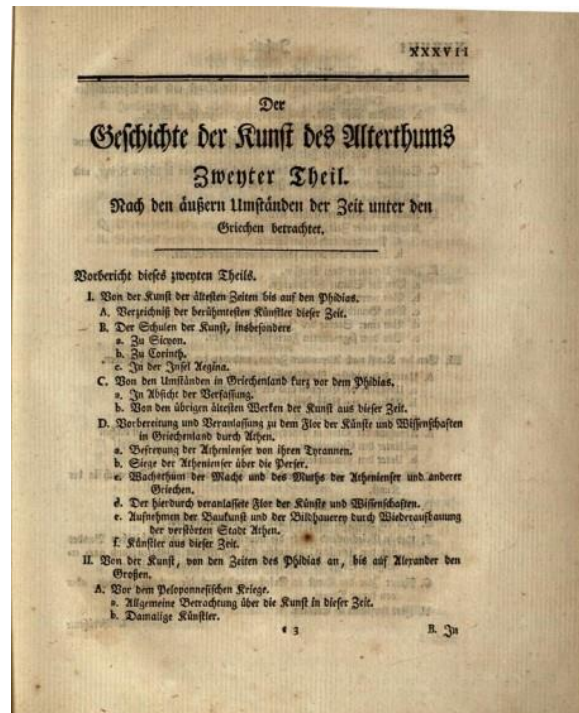
Figure 6. The Content Page for the Second Part of the Earliest Edition (1764) of *History of Art of Antiquity* (Source: Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*. Dresden: Waltherischen Hof-Buchhandlung, 1764), 37.)

Figure 7. The Title Page of the 1764 Edition of *History of Art of Antiquity*
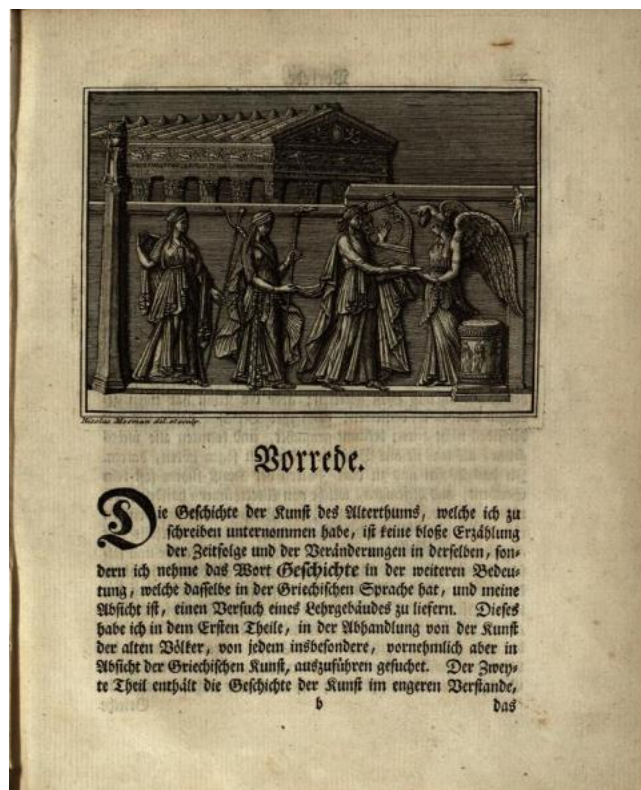
Figure 8. The Opening Page of *History of Art of Antiquity*

Although *History of Art of Antiquity*'s organization and arrangement of the sections pointed to a modern concern for history, Pliny's old text helped Winckelmann in terms of chronology. Thanks to two details in this text, he could indicate the period of ancient Greek art. First, from the information Pliny provided on the early Greek bronze statuary, Winckelmann inferred that sculpture reached its classical perfection during the generation of Pheidas and Polykleitos in the late fifth century B.C. Second, Pliny's account that after a period when several influential artists came forward in the late fourth century B.C. made Winckelmann believe that the classical period of Greek art ended at this time as the Hellenistic order replaced the Greek city-state.[169]

Winckelmann's success with *History of the Art of Antiquity* derived from his contributions to the establishment of the taste for and knowledge of Graeco-Roman antiquities. The interest in antiquity dates back to the classical age; however, the enthusiasm for monuments and objects came with the Enlightenment. Furthermore, Winckelmann presented a new aesthetic notion to Europe at that time, where Greek art was considered subjective. Instead of the antiquarian model in which history was confined to objects, he came up with a history-based approach. While other antiquarians had tried to analyze objects, he sought to identify a culture through its objects. In this way, his audience involved scholars together with artists. Moreover, he had a universal idea when he declared that Greek art could achieve a high degree of perfection thanks to being one of the freest societies in world history. In Winckelmann's view, beauty emerged after liberty.[170]

In *History of the Art of Antiquity*, Winckelmann also presented Greece as a historical formation.[171] Furthermore, he made a translation of the absence of available evidence into the presence of an ideal.[172] He formulated a new vision of Greece to be perceived

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[169] Potts, ''Introduction,'' in Winckelmann, *History of the Art and Antiquity*, 27-28.

[170] Schnapp, *The Discovery of the Past*, 262.

[171] Damian Valdez, *German Philhellenism: The Pathos of the Historical Imagination from Winckelmann to Goethe* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 6.

[172] Bilsel, *Antiquity on Display: Regimes of the Authentic in Berlin's Pergamon Museum*, 42.

by contemporary society and aesthetics, which could be used as a tool to understand ancient art in time.[173] His detailed and imaginative descriptions of antique sculpture in Rome contributed to reflecting the Greek ideal in his mind and putting it into a historical context. For instance, in his analysis, he placed only the sculptures of the Laocoön and the Niobe under the classical period when there was freedom and Greek art was perfect. However, he associated all the other sculptures, such as the Apollo Belvedere, the Belvedere Torso, and the Belvedere Antinous, with the line of the declined phase of Greek art.[174]

Winckelmann's ideas and approaches to the history of art and antiquity can be analyzed in terms of aesthetics and freedom. The relationships he formed between these notions based on ancient Greek art express how he interpreted and benefitted from antiquity in his work, leading to the formation of a translation from material ruin to verbal text.

2.3.1. Aesthetics

During the Enlightenment, the concept of aesthetics became a primary concern for scholars. In the German-speaking region, the movement of aesthetic rationalism arose, and some significant thinkers of the eighteenth century, like Christian Wolff, Johann Christoph Gottsched, Moses Mendelssohn, Lessing, and Baumgarten, together with Winckelmann developed such approaches. Aesthetic rationalism contributed to literary criticism, the establishment of modern art history, and aesthetics as scientific disciplines. In this way, the German-speaking region could compete with France and England on the intellectual level. Furthermore, with aesthetic rationalism, aesthetic thought became integral to philosophy and culture.

In the course of aesthetic rationalism, both the central concept and the main concern is beauty, which comes from perceiving what perfect is. Perfection exists in harmony, which signifies unity in variety. Furthermore, there are rules of aesthetic criticism and production, and the philosopher should aim to discover, systematize, and reduce them.

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[173] Schnapp, *The Discovery of the Past*, 263.

[174] Potts, *Flesh and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Origins of Art*, 60-61.

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For aesthetic rationalists, the essential value is perfection, and it involves truth, beauty, and goodness altogether. As another leading thinker of the same period, Kant attacked this approach in his *Critique of Judgement*. In his mind, the sublime and beauty were separate and equal. However, he agreed with the aesthetic rationalist thought that beauty constituted the core of aesthetics.[175]

Aesthetic rationalism became a part of the Enlightenment, and adherents of this movement shared the main principle of reason. The Enlightenment promoted the use of reason in every part of life. Like religion, morality, and politics, art also became a topic of criticism and had to be analyzed with reason. Rational order involves harmony and unity in variety as it derives from a concept or rule, which regards many things as one.[176] Following this, the theory of aesthetic judgment emerged. Rationalists believed that their cognitive theory fulfilled the requirements of the principle of sufficient reason, whereas the empiricist theory fell short of reaching this target. Regarding the conflict between rationalists and empiricists of the period, Kant leaned more towards empiricists disputing the cognitive status of aesthetic judgment. For him, the act of aesthetic judgment was utterly subjective as it concerned the feelings of pleasure that we received from an object. However, the rationalists claimed that the sufficient reason for an aesthetic judgment arose from some features of the object. Therefore, the cognitive aspect of aesthetic judgment referred to the object, and that was an aspect of rationality. Furthermore, rationalists did not disavow that aesthetic judgments included the concern for pleasure like Kant and other empiricists; still, they believed that pleasure was a cognitive issue, which was the perception or intuition of perfection itself.[177] Like Kant, rationalists believed that beauty included the feeling of pleasure; however, for them, feeling was objective rather than subjective regarding the object.[178]

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[175] Beiser, *Diotima's Children: German Aesthetic Rationalism from Leibniz to Lessing*, 1-2.

[176] Beiser, *Diotima's Children: German Aesthetic Rationalism from Leibniz to Lessing*, 24.

[177] Beiser, *Diotima's Children: German Aesthetic Rationalism from Leibniz to Lessing*, 5-7.

[178] Baumgarten, *Metaphysica*, 655, cited in Beiser, *Diotima's Children: German Aesthetic Rationalism from Leibniz to Lessing*, 9.

Among the aesthetic rationalists, Baumgarten is regarded as the founder of the modern study of aesthetics in the German-speaking region of the eighteenth century.[179] He was also the most systematic thinker of aesthetics as a rationalist. In his mind, beauty was ''the perfection of phenomenon.''[180]

Winckelmann was a student of Baumgarten at Halle. He attended his lectures and was considered to have left a good impression on Baumgarten.[181] It is also possible to encounter echoes of Baumgarten's ideas in Winckelmann's later writings. While he was studying at Halle, he also participated in Wolff's lectures. However, he despised the methodology of Wolffianism, which Baumgarten advocated.[182] Still, his views were parallel with theirs regarding the concept of reason. For instance, the Greek Revival, which Winckelmann favored regarding the Graeco-Roman controversy, encouraged using the precision of rational form. In this case, building forms could be considered to exemplify this notion. The formal and structural logic behind the Greek temple corresponded to the reason Wolff and Baumgarten described. Indeed, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the rational style of the Greek Revival would take the place of Baroque and Rococo Architecture, which had relatively more irrational forms.[183]

Although Winckelmann was interested in Baumgarten's ideas, it is not easy to label him as a rationalist. He denied the mathematical method and followed a historical approach in his works. From Wolff to Baumgarten, rationalists benefitted from the mathematical methodology and had a specific view on the issue of taste. However, it is also difficult to consider Winckelmann utterly distant from the rationalist tradition

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[179] North, *Winckelmann's ''Philosophy of Art'' – A Prelude to German Classicism*, 58.

[180] Baumgarten, *Metaphysica*, 662, quoted in Beiser, *Diotima's Children: German Aesthetic Rationalism from Leibniz to Lessing*, 9.

[181] Leppmann, *Winckelmann*, 42.

[182] Beiser, *Diotima's Children: German Aesthetic Rationalism from Leibniz to Lessing*, 156-157.

[183] Schwarzer, *German Architectural Theory and the Search for Modern Identity*, 38.

as he affirmed its aesthetic of beauty. Like rationalists, he advocated beauty as perception with his interest in Plato's ideas and was a follower of the Enlightenment. He believed that his historicist methodology would comply with rationalist thought. In this way, he offered a new perspective on the tradition and enhanced it. Furthermore, with his ideas, he developed a new historical method to validate his view on beauty, establishing a link to the classic.[184]

While Winckelmann's ideas seemed parallel with aesthetic rationalists, in the second half of the eighteenth century, art historians had the critical dilemma of choosing between a history of antiquities based on textual evidence and one based on aesthetic judgment. That choice also included considering objects and non-literary sources illustrations for literary history or artistic artifacts as they were. A contemporary of Winckelmann in France, an amateur, connoisseur, and collector, Comte de Caylus, preferred to focus on scholarship, following the Renaissance tradition. However, he also leaned towards a more systematic organization of textual and aesthetic evidence with a specific chronological order and geography. He believed that with such an elemental method, a general classification of art objects in time and place would emerge. In this way, he referred to a problem of providing an internal, formal, and aesthetic treatment for an external, context-based history of art objects that would become a significant methodological issue for the discipline of art history in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[185] This was also a question that arose from contradictions between indicating a typology of objects based on non-historical criteria of functional or aesthetic and forming a narrative of the same objects chronologically in terms of their appearances. The former addressed a normative and systematic organization derived from natural and physical sciences, whereas the latter concentrated on the relativity of significance and changes in society. Nevertheless, in the 1750s, a concern for ''aesthetic history'' derived from the idealism of the high period of the Greeks suppressed those ideas. This new approach was based on a chronological order and monuments. History was categorized into specific periods

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[184] Beiser, *Diotima's Children: German Aesthetic Rationalism from Leibniz to Lessing*, 157-158.

[185] Anthony Vidler, *The Writing of the Walls: Architectural Theory* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1987), 125.

depending on aesthetic criteria. It was also like what Vasari proposed in his history of the Renaissance and signified the ideas of progress and decadence. In the eighteenth century, Le Roy, Jean-Nicolas-Louis Durand, and Jean Baptiste Séroux d'Agincourt developed this way of thought by incorporating a systematic comparison of building types in their periods – *parallèle*, whereas Winckelmann and Quatremère de Quincy put forward a judgment of ancient art based on Greek aesthetics. Depending on existing visual and literary evidence and with a combination of history and archaeology as a narrative that regarded cultures as political, social, and artistic wholes, Winckelmann also paved the way for imaginative restitution and restoration of statues or buildings.[186] Winckelmann's understanding of aesthetics derived from his aesthetic judgment that he enriched by considering Ancient Greece with its cultural, political, and social values collectively based on a historical methodology. Furthermore, as mentioned before, Winckelmann was homosexual, and his excitement for Greek homosexuality contributed to his interest in the subject.[187] He imagined a past cultural construction of Classical Greece, where sexualized eroticism in society approved aesthetic judgment on art and other relevant issues.[188] His avid interest in Greek sculptures, which mostly depicted young male bodies, proved that his sexual identity became a significant factor in the development of his ideas and taste for Greek art.

Among the arts, Winckelmann believed that sculpture and painting emerged before architecture in ancient Greece. For him, architecture was more idealistic as it could not imitate something that did not exist and, therefore, had to depend on specific rules and methods of proportion. On the one hand, sculpture and painting began with imitation, and their rules were derived from human beings. On the other hand, for architecture, there had to be procedures decided after many trials and appreciation by society. He also argued that sculpture was around before painting, and the former directed the

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[186] Vidler, *The Writing of the Walls: Architectural Theory*, 126.

[187] cited in Bernal, *Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization, Volume I: The Fabrication of Ancient Greece 1785-1985*, 213.

[188] Whitney Davis, *Queer Beauty: Sexuality and Aesthetics From Winckelmann to Freud and Beyond* (New York; Chichester, West Sussex: Columbia University Press, 2010), 8.

latter parallel to Pliny's text.[189] In Winckelmann's view, sculpture enriched religious practice, while painting did not. However, some paintings were still dedicated to religious entities such as deities and temples.[190] The fact that Winckelmann regarded sculpture as the earliest art instead of painting and architecture explained his primary focus on it in *History of Art and Antiquity.* In his detailed examinations of Greek sculpture, he also provided formal and contextual analyses, including materials and techniques.
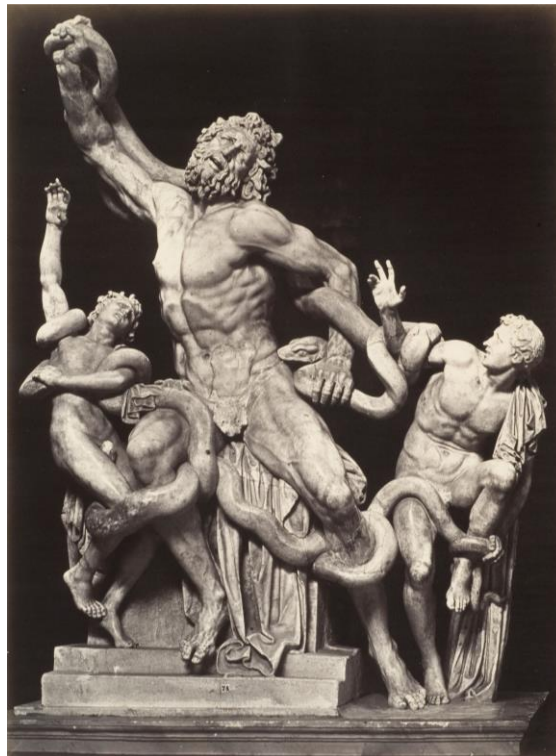
Figure 9. The Laocoön (Source: Collection of Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal)

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[189] *''Die Bildhauerei und Malerei sind unter den Griechen eher als die Baukunst zu einer gewissen Vollkommenheit gelangt: denn diese hat mehr Idealisches als jene, weil sie keine Nachachmung von etwas Wirklichem hat sein können, und nach der Notwendigkeit auf allgemeine Regeln und Gesetze der Verhältnisse gegründet worden. Jene beiden Künste, welche mit der bloßen Nachahmung ihren Anfang genommen haben, fanden alle nötigen Regeln am Menschen bestimmt, da die Baukunst die ihrige durch viele Schlüsse finden und durch den Beifall festsetzen mußte. Die Bildhauerei aber ist vor der Malerei vorausgegangen und hat als die ältere Schwester diese als die jüngere geführt; ja Plinus ist der Meinung, daß zur Zeit des Trojansichen Krieges die Malerei noch nich gewesen sei.''* Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, 137-138.

[190] *''... die Bauhauerei den Göttendiesnt ertweitert hat, so ist sie wiederum durch diesen gewachsen. Die Malerei aber hatte nich gleichen Vorteil: sie war den Göttern und den Tempeln gewidmet...''* Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, 139.

Winckelmann argued that Greek masterpieces reflected a noble simplicity and quiet grandeur in their postures and expressions. He surmised how their figures appeared to the depths of the sea and wrote that even though there might be disorders on the surface, the depth of the sea always maintained its calm status. In his view, the Laocoön (Figure 9) had such a meaning and appearance.[191] Winckelmann became interested in the Laocoön not only for the fact that it was seen as a masterpiece of Greek art, but he also believed that it could validate his aesthetic views against the Baroque. Baroque artists had thought that the Laocoön reflected grief and suffering.[192] Winckelmann wanted to exclude such sharp feelings from art. Although Laocoön seemed to be in misery as he was close to death, Winckelmann pointed out the impression that he did not scream and suffered quietly. Even in such an unfortunate situation, his face showed his dignity and control.[193]

Although it does not belong to the classical period, Winckelmann believed that the Laocoön presented some of the finest qualities of classical Greek art. Created by the Rhodian sculptor Agesander, it was rather Hellenistic in both concept and form. During the Renaissance in 1506, it was rediscovered in Rome by Michelangelo, who wanted to rebuild the father's right arm, which had been broken. Later, it was bought by Pope Julius II and brought to the Vatican. The sculptor Agostino Cornacchini mended the missing parts, the father's and younger son's right arms and the older son's right hand in the eighteenth century. The story behind the sculpture was that the priest Laocoön was punished by the partisan goddess Athena or Apollo for warning the citizens of Troy against the wooden horse left by the Greeks as they backed down. Two sea serpents attacked him with his sons while he was sacrificing to Poseidon on

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[191] *''Das allgemeine vorzügliche Kennzeichen der griechischen Meisterstücke ist endlich eine edle Einfalt, und eine stille Größe, sowohl in der Stellung als im Ausdrucke. So wie die Tiefe des Meers allezeit ruhig bleibt, die Oberfälche mag noch so witen, ebenso zeiget der Ausdruck in den Figuren der Griechen bei allen Leidenschaften eine große und gesetzte Seele. Diese Seele schildert sich in dem Geschichte des Laokoons, und nicht in dem Geschichte allein, bei dem heftigsten Leiden.''* Winckelmann, *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst*, 21-22.

[192] Germain Bazin, *Baroque and Rococo Art* (New York: Praeger, 1964), 24.

[193] Beiser, *Diotima's Children: German Aesthetic Rationalism from Leibniz to Lessing*, 171-172.

the shore.[194] Winckelmann mentioned the calmness in Greek sculptures; however, the Laocoön seems like one of the least calm pieces of the period.[195] Winckelmann wrote that Laocoön seemed to be in great pain, and he focused on his facial expressions. The shape of his mouth represented sorrow, yet, he still conveyed the sense of the wisdom between pain and resistance.[196] The Laocoön became a topic of hot debate in eighteenth-century art discussions as how such a statue with a horrifying story behind could convey a calming experience. In this case, it was an example of how such a disturbing object could also become a beautiful artwork simultaneously. For instance, about the Laocoön, instead of arguing that its struggle against death contributed to its beauty, like Winckelmann, Lessing pointed out the emergence of visual art from visual representation and verbal narrative as it derived from poetry and drama and created strong emotional effects on the spectator.[197] While Winckelmann believed in the beauty of the statue, he did not think that it decreased its power of expression. In terms of both the Laocoön and the Niobe (Figure 10), he aimed to demonstrate how such an ideal form could convey an intense drama.[198]

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[194] Leppmann, *Winckelmann*, 117.

[195] Potts, *Flesh and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Origins of Art*, 4.

[196] *''Laokoon ist eine Natur im höchsten Schmerze, nach dem Bilde eines Mannes gemacht, der die bewußte Stärke des Geistes gegen denselben zu sammeln sucht; und indem sein Leiden die Muskeln aufschwellt und die Nerven anzieht, tritt der mit Stärke bewaffnete Geist in der aufgetriebenen Stirn hervor, und die Brust erhebt sich durch den beklemmten Atem und durch Zurückhaltung des Ausbruchs der Empfindung, um den Schmerz in sich zu fassen und zu verschließen… Der Mund ist voll Wehmut und die gesenkte Unterlippe schwer von derselben; in der überwärts gezogenen Oberlippe aber ist dieselbe mit Schmerz vermischt, welcher mit einer Regung von Unmut, wie über ein unverdientes unwürdiges Leiden, in die Nase hinauftritt, dieselbe schwülstig macht und sich in den erweiterten und aufwärts gezogenen Nüstern offenbart.''* Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, 348-349.

[197] G. E. Lessing, *Laokoon oder Über die Grenzen der Malerei und Poesie* (Stuttgart: Reclam 1964), 20, cited in Potts, *Flesh and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Origins of Art*, 136.

[198] Potts, *Flesh and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Origins of Art*, 136.
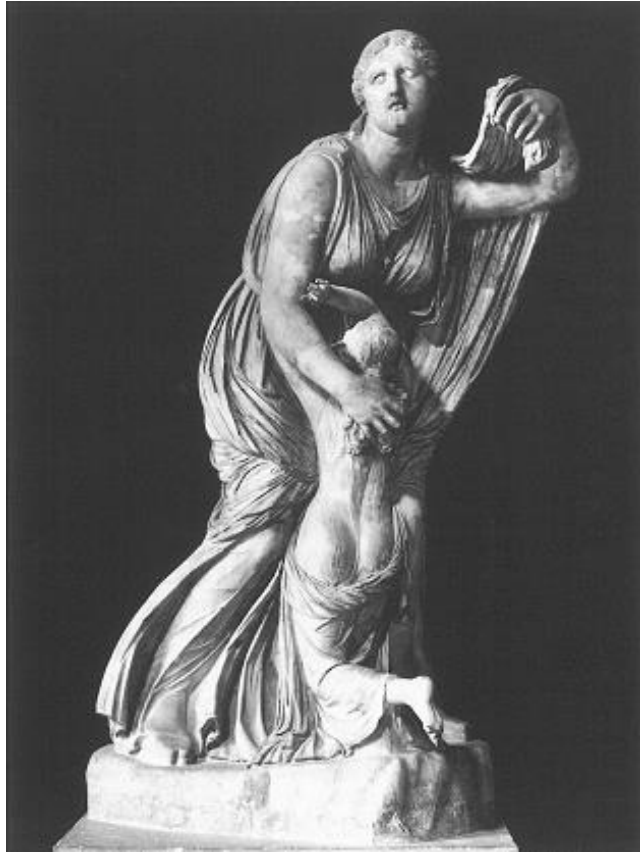
Figure 10. The Niobe (Source: Potts, *Flesh and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Origins of Art*, 104.)

About the Niobe, Winckelmann wrote that Diana pointed her arrows at the daughters of Niobe, and this caused them to feel fear. Feeling death made them unable to think, and fear transformed Niobe into stone. Still, the artist achieved the highest beauty with his work.[199] Similar to the Laocoön, he categorized the Niobe under the classic period. Nevertheless, rather than being examples of classic Greek sculpture, both ensembles represent opposite styles in the scope of the Greek ideal.[200] As a female figure, the

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[199] *''Die Töchter der Niobe, auf Welche Diana ihre tödlichen Pfeile gerichtet, sind in dieser unbeschreiblichen Angst mit übertäubter und erstarrter Empfindung vorgestellt, wenn der gegenwärtige Tod der Seele alles Vermögen zu denken nimmt; und von solcher entseelten Angst gibt die Fabel ein Bild durch die Verwandlung der niobe in einen Felsen: daher führte äschylus die Niobe stillschweigend auf in seinem Trauerspiele. Ein solcher Zustand, wo Empfindung und Überlegung aufhört, und welcher der Gleichgültikeit ähnlich ist, verändert keine Züge der Gestalt und der Bildung, und der Große Künstler konnte hier die höchste Schönheit bilden, so wie er sie gebildet hat: denn Niobe und ihre Töchter sind und bleiben die höchsten Ideen derselben.''* Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, 170.

[200] Potts, *Flesh and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Origins of Art*, 61.

Niobe shows a high and sublime status with sedate beauty, whereas the male figure Laocoön gives the feeling of ''a greater refinement and sensuality.''[201] In Winckelmann's view, the contrast between the Laocoön and the Niobe mainly derived from their facial expressions. While Niobe had an emotionally empty yet beautiful face without any expressions, Laocoön gave the feeling of pain and the effort to keep it. Furthermore, although Niobe had drapery covering her body, Laocoön's muscular torso was visible. The difference between the clothing of Niobe and the alive and naked appearance of Laocoön also contributed to this contrast.

Winckelmann had a negative view of the Niobe in terms of what it symbolized, although he considered it as a Greek masterpiece from the classical period. He believed she could not be a heroine as she had no self and no connection to the viewer. For him, Laocoön showed fatherly compassion for his sons; however, he neglected Niobe's motherly act to protect her daughter. He thought that Niobe's act did not represent any power; instead, it was involuntary as her feminine identity and consciousness vanished. In Winckelmann's mind, Laocoön's fight referred to an act of male heroism that was triggered when the hero faced death. His description of the body and the pain in Laocoön's facial expressions contributed to this view. The spectator could be terrified; however, there could also be a perverted pleasure for them.[202] Winckelmann mentioned beauty in Greek art for both male and female figures, as in the Laocöon and the Niobe.[203] Nevertheless, his interest in the Laocoön and analysis of the statue in terms of formal and contextual features corresponded to his homosexual character. Instead of the femininity and motherhood of Niobe, he admired male heroism and fatherhood in the name of the Laocoön. Furthermore, for him, to save and protect were heroic acts and inherently male characteristics.

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[201] quoted in Potts, *Flesh and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Origins of Art*, 61.

[202] Potts, *Flesh and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Origins of Art*, 137-138.

[203] Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, 162-164.

While Winckelmann focused on the Laocoön and the Niobe as the products of the high style in Greek art, he also examined some other works that he believed belonged to the stages of decline, such as the Belvedere Torso, the Apollo Belvedere, and the Belvedere Antinous. The Belvedere was a terrace designed by Donato Bramante in the Vatican and had an octagonal courtyard with a fountain and green space. Starting with the reign of Julius II, the popes decorated this courtyard and surrounding rooms with statues. Among them, Winckelmann admired the Apollo, the Antinous, and the Torso most, together with the Laocoön.[204] Apart from the Laocoön, they were named after ''Belvedere'' later.

Figure 11. The Apollo Belvedere (Source: Collection of Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal)

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[204] Leppmann, *Winckelmann*, 160-161.

In *History of the Art and Antiquity*, Winckelmann analyzed the Apollo Belvedere (Figure 11) under the part that he described art in the reign of Nero and noted that it was excavated from the ruins of Antium, which was a favorite of Nero as it was his birthplace. Winckelmann also assumed that the statue dated back to pre-Roman times, and it could have been one of the pieces that were stolen for Nero from ancient Greek sites.[205] It was depicted as showing his divine authority and giving a sense of violence while he moved and killed the Pythian serpent.[206] Winckelmann regarded it as the highest ideal of art among other works from antiquity that survived. He argued that the artist aimed to reach the ideal and benefitted from the material world for his work as much as necessary to realize his project. With this statue, Apollo's build reached beyond human dimensions, and his stance reflected his grandeur. Focusing on his body, Winckelmann also wrote that ''an eternal spring time, like that of the blissful Elysian Fields, clothes the alluring virility of mature years with a pleasing youth and plays with soft tenderness upon the lofty structure of his limbs.''[207] Such a statement indicated that Winckelmann saw the Apollo Belvedere as an ideal male figure and made erotic references.[208] He also compared the Apollo Belvedere with the Laocoön in terms of beauty. In his view, the Laocoön was created with more scientific methods, and its artist was more skilled than the Apollo Belvedere's. However, he praised the

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[205] Potts, ''Introduction,'' in Winckelmann, *History of the Art and Antiquity*, 20.

[206] Potts, *Flesh and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Origins of Art*, 4.

[207] *''Die Statue des Apollo ist das höchste Ideal der Kunst unter allen Werken des Altertums, welche der Zerstörung derselben entgangen sind. Der Künstler derselben hat dieses Werk gänzlich auf das Ideal gebaut, und er hat nur ebenso viel von der Materie dazu genommen, als nötig war, seine Absicht auszuführen und sichbar zu machen. ... Über die Menschheit erhaben ist sein Gewächs, und sein Stand zeugt von der ihn erfüllenden Größe. Ein ewiger Frühling, wie in dem glücklichen Elysien, bekliedet die reizende Männlichkeit vollkommener Jahre mit gefälliger Jugend und spielt mit sanften Zärtlichkeiten auf dem stolzen Gebäude seiner Glieder.''* Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, 392, as translated in Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *History of the Art and Antiquity*, trans. Harry Francis Mallgrave (Los Angeles, Calif.: Getty Research Institute, 2006), 333.

[208] Potts, *Flesh and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Origins of Art*, 118.

latter as it had ''a more elevated spirit and a more tender soul.'' Furthermore, it had a sublimity, whereas the Laocoön did not.[209]


Figure 12. The Belvedere Antinous (Source: Potts, *Flesh and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Origins of Art*, 147.)

The Belvedere Antinous (Figure 12) was another statue that Winckelmann examined regarding his understanding of ideal beauty. For him, it was a symbol of an ideal or ideally desirable self. It is now considered to be depicting the god Mercury; however, it was known as a portrait of Hadrian's lover at that time. Winckelmann objected to this view and argued that it was a figure from Greek religion or mythology. He thought that it was the young Greek hero Meleager. Such a free-standing male nude who stood almost still and did not show any movement was the best-known and typical example

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[209] *''Man merke aber, daß ich hier bloß von Empfindung und Bildung der Schönheit in engerem Verstande rede, nicht von der Wissenschaft im Zeichnen und im Ausarbeiten: denn in Absicht des letztern kann mehr Wissenschaft liegen und angebracht werden in starken als in zärtlichen Figuren, und Laokoon ist ein viel gelehrteres Werk als Apollo; Agesander, der Meister der Hauptfigur des Laokoon, mußte auch ein weit erfahrnerer und gründlicherer Künstler sein, als es der Meister des Apollo nötig hatte. Aber dieser musste mit einem erhabeneren Geiste und mit einer zärtlicheren Seele begabt sein; Apollo hat das Erhabene, welches im Laokoon nicht stattfand.''* Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, 154.

of Greek sculpture.[210] In Winckelmann's view, the head was one of the most beautiful youthful heads in antiquity, and the face reflected youth and beauty, unlike that of Apollo, which gave the impression of majesty and pride. The body parts also had harmony and a soul. The eyes reflected love without desire and innocence. Furthermore, the chest seemed sublime, and the shoulders and the hips were beautiful.[211] Winckelmann still believed that most of the masterpieces from antiquity that he and others championed unlikely dated to the highest, classical period of ancient Greek art. However, he also predicted that their mature style corresponded to the early times of imperial Rome.[212]

Historical aspects stood out as the most innovative feature of Winckelmann's aesthetic theory. For him, beauty involved not only understanding the object by senses and intellect but also interpreting it within the relevant cultural context and analyzing it according to the national characteristics. In this case, he believed that beauty derived from expression as much as it depended on senses and intellect. What he thought of the Belvedere Torso (Figure 13) in *History of Art and Antiquity* was an excellent example of this view. It was actually in the state of a ruin, the torso of a male body. However, Winckelmann believed that it once belonged to a statue of Hercules.[213]

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[210] Potts, *Flesh and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Origins of Art*, 146-150.

[211] *''Der Kopf ist unstreitig einer der schönsten jugendlichen Köpfe aus dem Altertume. In dem Geschicte des Apollo herrscht die Majestät und der Stolz; hier aber ist ein Bild der Grazie holder Jugend und der Schönheit blühender Jahre, mit gefälliger Unschuld und sanfter Reizung gesellt, ohne Andeutung irgendeiner Leidenschaft, welche die Übereinstimmung der Teile und die jugendliche Stille der Seele, die sich hier bildet, stören könnte. In dieser Ruhe, und gleichsam in dem Genusse seiner selbst, mit gesammelten und von allen äußeren Vorwürfen zurüchgerufenen Sinnen, ist der ganze Stand dieser edlen Figur gesetzt. Das Auge, welches, wie an der Göttin der Liebe, aber ohne Begierde, mäßig gewölbt ist, redet mit einnehmender Unschuld; der völlige Mund im kleinen Umfange häuft Regungen, ohne sie zu fühlen zu scheinen; die mit lieblicher Fülle genahrten Wangen beschreiben, mit der gewölbten Rundung des sanft erhobenen Kinnes, den völligen und elden Umriß des Haupts dieses edlen Jünglings. ... Die Brust ist mächtig erhaben, und die Schultern, Seiten und Hüften sind wunderbar schön.''* Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, 409.

[212] Potts, ''Introduction,'' in Winckelmann, *History of the Art and Antiquity*, 20.

[213] Beiser, *Diotima's Children: German Aesthetic Rationalism from Leibniz to Lessing*, 186.
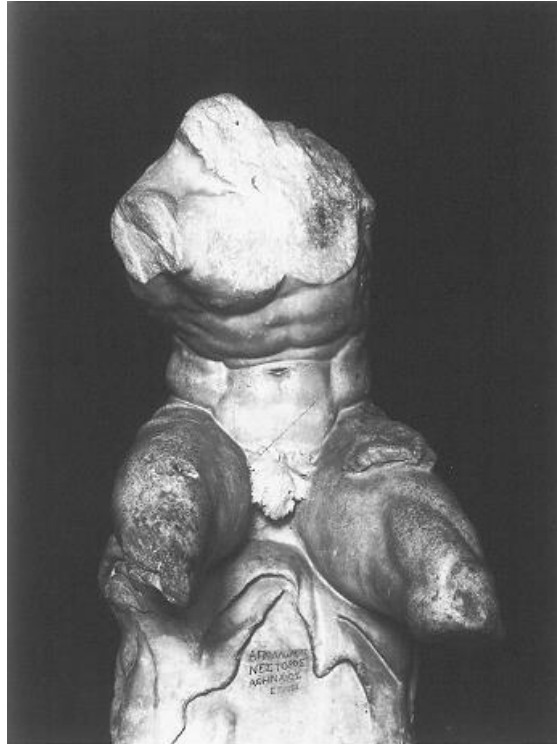
Figure 13. The Belvedere Torso (Source: Potts, *Flesh and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Origins of Art*, 175.)

The Belvedere Torso was also an example of Winckelmann's view of beauty. Instead of regarding it as a heroic ideal, he considered it a perfectly formed body in the first place. Although he agreed that this statue depicted Herakles, whose muscles expressed his superhuman acts, Winckelmann saw it not like a hero and analyzed it as a human. For him, it was probably the best surviving example of Greek art.[214] He wrote that ''the bones seem clothed in a fleshy skin, the muscles are plump but without excess, and such a balanced fleshiness is found in no other figure. Indeed, one could say that this Herakles comes nearer to a higher period of art than even the Apollo.''[215] In this way, Winckelmann indicated a distinction between an aesthetic view of Greek antiquity and a heroized one. This was integral to his understanding of ancient Greek

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[214] Potts, ''Introduction,'' in Winckelmann, *History of the Art and Antiquity*, 34.

[215] *''Die Gebeine scheinen mit einer fettigen Haut überzogen, die Muskeln sind feist ohne Überfluß, und eine so abgewogene Fleischkeit findet sich in keinem andern Bilde: ja man könnte sagen, daß dieser Herkules einer höhern Zeit der Kunst näher kommt als selbst der Apollo.''* Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, 370, as translated in Winckelmann, *History of the Art and Antiquity*, 323.

art and history and visible in his categorization of the classical phase of Greek art into two parts; an earlier and strict high style and a later, sensual, and beautiful one.[216]

Considering his detailed analyses of these statues, Winckelmann's theory of aesthetics mainly derived from ancient Greek sculptures. His admiration of the male body with homosexual instincts probably became a factor in the development of his aesthetic perception of ancient Greek art. He praised masculinity not only formally but also contextually. Although statues that depicted females also reflected beauty, in his mind, characteristics like heroism and divinity were inherently manly.

Although his analyses of ancient Greek sculptures constituted most of Winckelmann's aesthetic theory, he also examined ancient Greek painting in his writings. For instance, he devoted a separate chapter to painting in *Reflections on the Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture* and also included his views on painting in *History of Art and Antiquity*. As mentioned before, he believed that painting succeeded sculpture.[217] His work on sculpture had an archaeological background as there were surviving sculptures partially or as copies, and there were no existing ancient paintings at that time. This situation enhanced his view that sculpture was more significant in ancient art.[218] Nevertheless, he still argued that Greek painting had similar good qualities to Greek sculpture, even though representative examples had been damaged in time and due to human intervention. For instance, he wrote that ancient Greek

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[216] Potts, ''Introduction,'' in Winckelmann, *History of the Art and Antiquity*, 34.

[217] *''Die Bildhauerei und Malerei sind unter den Griechen eher als die Baukunst zu einer gewissen Vollkommenheit gelangt: denn diese hat mehr Idealisches als jene, weil sie keine Nachachmung von etwas Wirklichem hat sein können, und nach der Notwendigkeit auf allgemeine Regeln und Gesetze der Verhältnisse gegründet worden. Jene beiden Künste, welche mit der bloßen Nachahmung ihren Anfang genommen haben, fanden alle nötigen Regeln am Menschen bestimmt, da die Baukunst die ihrige durch viele Schlüsse finden und durch den Beifall festsetzen mußte. Die Bildhauerei aber ist vor der Malerei vorausgegangen und hat als die ältere Schwester diese als die jüngere geführt; ja Plinus ist der Meinung, daß zur Zeit des Trojansichen Krieges die Malerei noch nich gewesen sei.''* Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, 137-138.

[218] Beiser, *Diotima's Children: German Aesthetic Rationalism from Leibniz to Lessing*, 187.

painters knew contour and expression.[219] However, he compared them with the moderns and claimed that the ancients were superior thanks to their development of the perspective technique. Furthermore, he claimed that modern painters were better at composition and arrangement, together with the usage of color. They also reached a higher degree of perfection in painting landscapes and animals.[220]

As Winckelmann argued that the moderns were more successful at painting than ancients based on his theories of ancient art, the question of why we should imitate the ancients emerged. Despite his generally critical view of Greek paintings, he still firmly promoted the belief that they were of high quality. Greek sculptors were also painters; therefore, it is possible that they wanted to maintain the same high standards they had for sculpture in painting. The answer to why we should imitate the ancients, as Winckelmann insisted, depended on interpreting the concept of imitation. If imitation were the same as copying, it would be impossible for paintings. Since it was also generally understood in the context of aims and methods, it should rather be possible, as in the case of sculpture. In this case, Winckelmann wrote that it was possible to learn what ancient painters wanted to achieve from ancient writings. Their aim was to depict the insensible going beyond sensible. In this context, insensible referred to what universal, conceptual, or archetypical was and implied some reflection from the senses. Furthermore, their method was not to copy but produce a universal ideal in their minds and transfer it to a solid form to achieve its embodiment. Therefore, to imitate the ancients in painting, contemporary artists should create what universal was in their specific works rather than copying what the ancients did.[221] Winckelmann stated that for painting, ideas should be in a poetic form that would be provided by figures and images, and artists should look for inspiration in mythology from both the ancient and modern sources, different nations, and various materials of antiquity such

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[219] *''Man gestehet den griechischen Malern Zeichnung und Ausdruck zu…''* Winckelmann, *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst*, 36.

[220] Winckelmann, *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst*, 58.

[221] Beiser, *Diotima's Children: German Aesthetic Rationalism from Leibniz to Lessing*, 188-189.

as gems, coins, and utensils. Artists should interpret all these and adjust them to their methods. In this way, there would be an opportunity for imitation and the transfer of the taste of antiquity to contemporary works.[222]

In relation to painting, Winckelmann also wrote about allegory as a chapter in *Reflections on the Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture*. He claimed that ancient painters wanted to demonstrate their poetic abilities by painting important figures in an allegorical way.[223] He implied that painting achieved perfection only when it was allegorical. Its scope should go beyond copying so that it could be interesting for the spectator. For him, drawing, coloring, perspective, and composition were the technical issues of painting and like its body. However, allegory was like the soul of the painting and created the actual message behind it. For him, a painting should also appeal to the mind to give long-time aesthetic pleasure. Furthermore, he believed that painting and poetry were close to each other.[224] To support this idea, he cited Simonides's saying that painting is a silent form of poetry and poetry is a speaking form of painting.[225] As they both had a purpose and constraints, a painting should also try to depict universal issues such as tragedy and epic-like poetry.[226]

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[222] *''Der Künstler hat ein Werk vonnöten, welches aus der ganzen Mythologie, aus den besten Dichtern alter und neuerer Zeiten, aus der geheimen Weltweisheit vieler Völker, aus den Denkmalen des Altertums auf Steinen, Münzen und Geräten diejenige sinnliche Figuren und Bilder enthält, wodurch allgemeine Begriffe discterisch gebildet worden. Dieser reiche Stoff würde in gewisse bequeme Klassen zu bringen, und durch eine besondere Anwendung und Deutung auf mögliche einzelne Fälle, zum Unterricht der Künstler, einzurichten sein. Hierdurch würde zu gleicher Zeit ein großes Feld geöffnet, zur Nachahmung der Alten, und unsern Werken einen erhabenen Geschmack des Altertums zu geben.''* Winckelmann, *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst*, 42.

[223] *''...Er (Ein Künstler) suchet sich als einen Dichter zu zeigen, und Figuren durch Bilder, das ist, allegorisch zu malen.''* Winckelmann, *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst*, 40.

[224] Beiser, *Diotima's Children: German Aesthetic Rationalism from Leibniz to Lessing*, 189.

[225] Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Versuch einer Allegorie* (Dresden: Walther, 1766), 2, cited in Beiser, *Diotima's Children: German Aesthetic Rationalism from Leibniz to Lessing*, 189.

[226] Beiser, *Diotima's Children: German Aesthetic Rationalism from Leibniz to Lessing*, 189.

These interpretations of several ancient Greek sculptures and paintings constituted the core of Winckelmann's aesthetic view. In addition to aesthetics, freedom was the other primary component of his approach to the history of art and antiquity, particularly ancient Greek art.

2.3.2. Freedom

The notion of freedom was integral to Winckelmann's understanding and interpretation of the history of art and antiquity. It was essential for his approach in two ways. Firstly, he believed it was the primary factor for art to prosper together with climate.[227] As mentioned before, in his mind, climate played a significant role in shaping how people thought, together with government, contributing to the rise and decline of art.[228] In this case, nature emerged as a significant factor that Winckelmann considered in *History of Ancient Art and Antiquity.* By nature, he generally meant climate and geography and believed these played vital roles in how art developed in a particular nation and place throughout history. In *History of the Art and* Antiquity, after investigating the origin of art and materials used, he mentioned ''the influence of climate'' and defined it as how different localities, weather, and food affected inhabitants' appearances and ways of thinking.[229]

Winckelmann believed that in addition to separating countries, geographical formations such as mountains and rivers also led to differences between inhabitants of different lands. Especially in remote ones, it was possible to see such differences in a person's height and body. He noted that nature was also a factor on animals as much as humans, and they tended to share similar characteristics with them in a particular place. In his view, human faces differed as much as languages and dialects did. For

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[227] Potts, *Flesh and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Origins of Art*, 54.

[228] Winckelmann, *History of the Art and Antiquity*, 186, cited in Potts, *Flesh and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Origins of Art*, 54.

[229] Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, 19-20.

instance, in warmer countries, humans could use their tongues more flexibly.[230] As nature caused such variations, it is possible to argue that despite his great Graecophilia, Winckelmann did not have racist ideas against other civilizations. He wrote that at the beginning of time, all humans, Egyptians, Etruscans, and Greeks, were probably the same as he read from the ancient sources.[231] For him, the temperate climate was a primary factor in the development of nations and the characters of their citizens in various aspects, including art and culture.

Winckelmann's idea of high beauty highlighted the excellence of skin, eyes, and form. He argued that it existed in countries with temperate climates.[232] For him, the most beautiful race of Greeks lived in the Ionian climate of Asia Minor, where Homer also spent his life. He explained that the climate was warmer in that region and on the islands of the Archipelago, thanks to their locations. In Greece, the weather was also similar and stable in the coastal areas. Furthermore, he described the advantages of this temperate climate. For instance, smallpox was less dangerous in warmer countries and did not spread like an epidemic. Most importantly, he claimed that climate had an influence on how people thought. Ways of thinking had visible consequences in terms of education, constitution, government, and works of art.[233] He stated that thanks to the pleasing climate, the Greeks in Asia Minor possessed a language richer in vowels, softer, and more musical after they migrated from Greece. This favorable climate also

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[230] ''… in kalten Ländern die Nerven der Zunge starrer und weniger schnell sein müssen als in wärmeren Ländern…'' Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, 19.

[231] cited in Winckelmann, *History of the Art and Antiquity*, 113.

[232] ''Es findet sich also die hohe Schönheit, die nicht bloß in einer sanften Haut, in einer blühenden Farbe, in leichtfertigen oder schmachtenden Augen, sondern in der Bildung und in der Form besteht, häufiger in Landern, die einen gleichgültigen Himmel genießen.'' Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, 22.

[233] Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, 23-25.

became a source of inspiration for the first poets. Greek philosophy also emerged in this land together with the first historians.[234]

In addition to the influence of climate, Winckelmann argued that the superiority of ancient Greek art derived from their constitution and government, their way of thinking in accordance with this specific political order, and the respect for artists and art regarding usage and application.[235] He examined the effect of ancient Greeks' constitution and government on the development of art as three-fold; the presence of freedom, rewarding athletic training and other efforts with statues, and a way of thinking that was formed by freedom.[236] In his conception of the Greek ideal, he regarded freedom as the core of ancient Greeks' intellect and the stimulator of their art.[237]

Winckelmann's idea of freedom had both political and individual dimensions. Nevertheless, although he mentioned forms of government, he was not interested in associating the ideal of freedom with a specific government system. For him, freedom was somewhat subjective, and political liberty could only contribute to achieving it. In the realm of the French Revolution of 1789, similar views that revolved around the idea of free consciousness were influential. Winckelmann's ideas on freedom concerning politics were closer to Rousseau's as he believed that freedom meant self-determination without any confinement or stress. However, Winckelmann referred to freedom as a state of consciousness, bringing him closer to German idealist philosophy

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[234] *''Man muß also in Beurteilung der natürlichen Fähigkeiten der Völker, und hier insbesondere der Griechen, nicht bloß allein den Einfluß des Himmels, sondern auch die Erziehung und Regierung in Betracht ziehen.''* Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, 27.

[235] *''Die Ursache und der Grund con dem Vorzuge, welchen die Kunst unter den Griechen erlangt hat, ist teils dem Einflusse des Himmels, teils der Verfassung und Regierung und der dadurch gebildeten Denkungsart, wie nicht weniger der Achtung der Künstler und dem Gebrauche und der Anwendung der Kunst unter den Griechen zuzuschreiben.''* Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, 128.

[236] Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, 130-132.

[237] Potts, *Flesh and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Origins of Art*, 54.

than the French revolutionaries. His French contemporaries had a secular approach that regarded freedom as a feature of citizens in a free republic; however, this was not true for Winckelmann, although his conception of the Greek ideal included a libertarian aspect. While his conception of freedom had a less public side, his contemporaries in France saw antiquity as the model for an art derived from republican liberty.

Winckelmann wrote about how he understood political freedom and its relation to art mainly while he mentioned the issue of patronage with its adverse effects or absence in the Hellenistic and Imperial periods in Greek antiquity. He was opposed to the court and monarchical ideology, determining the core of his view on the rise and decline of Greek art. He declared his negative opinions of courtly or princely patronage differently than Voltaire and other historians of the Enlightenment who were interested in the more considerable rise and decline of culture. Voltaire also demanded a theory about prioritizing culture rather than royal figures' actions; however, he did not identify a great or classic period of art and relate it with the patronage of a great ruler. In his historical approach, he still preferred to associate great centuries in the history of culture with the reigns of celebrated monarchs. For instance, he regarded the great age of Greece as the age of Alexander the Great. Unlike him, for Winckelmann, a classic period could be identified with art, not with any figure of a great ruler. Winckelmann separated the prospering of art from the benevolent patronage of a court or a king. Furthermore, he argued that the highest efforts of art did not fit court culture. He wrote that neither Hadrian nor Augustus nor even the Greek monarchs of the Hellenistic period could reach the highest degree of art as the freely-ruled early Greek city-states did.[238] In this way, he despised the intervention of a court and a king in art. However, interestingly, he still implied that political relations were important regarding scientific and cultural activities in his time. For instance, he dedicated *Reflections on the Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture* to Friedrich August II, who was a significant patron of arts.[239]

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[238] Potts, *Flesh and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Origins of Art*, 55-56.

[239] Potts, ''Introduction,'' in Winckelmann, *History of the Art and Antiquity*, 8.

Winckelmann imagined Greece as a utopia, where society had enough freedom, order, and wealth. Under these favorable conditions, citizens could demonstrate their artistic talents in the best way. They could produce perfect works of art, unlike Egyptians.[240] In his writings, Winckelmann did not clearly state why he thought there was such an interaction between arts and freedom. However, he considered that strict laws and censorship would be an obstacle for citizens when they wanted to show their creativity and talent.[241] For instance, he claimed that the art of Egyptians did not develop as much as the ancient Greeks' and listed four reasons to justify this argument. First, their physical appearance was not inspiring for the artist to imitate in their works to reach the idea of high beauty.[242] Second, their ways of thinking, characters, and laws differed from the Greeks'. They did not have music, and it was even forbidden together with poetry. Due to their character, they became violent to express their imagination. They also wanted to be governed by harsh laws and praised the kingdom.[243] Third, their artists were not ambitious and passionate, and they were in the lowest class of society. In this case, they could not reach a degree of originality in their works. Fourth, Egyptian artists did not have the required technical knowledge to produce high-quality artworks, such as anatomical rules.[244] Regarding his historical reconstruction of ancient Greece, Winckelmann also saw political freedom as the condition for sciences to develop alongside art. He wrote that as the Greeks in Ionic Asia could not defend themselves against the Persians and found free states like the Athenians did, art and sciences could not develop there.[245]

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[240] Leppmann, *Winckelmann*, 116.

[241] Beiser, *Diotima's Children: German Aesthetic Rationalism from Leibniz to Lessing*, 178.

[242] Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, 31.

[243] cited in Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, 33-34.

[244] Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, 36-37.

[245] Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, 26. This statement of Winckelmann was not historically accurate but ironic because of his obsessively Hellenistic attitude. In contrast to what he wrote, art, science, and especially philosophy were incredibly advanced in

Winckelmann's understanding of freedom based on individuality was visible in his examination of ancient Greek sculpture. In this way, he suggested a link between the contemporary culture and the antique male nude through the homoerotic sexual content of the fantasies. Looking at his analyses, it is possible to see the most lively example of how the Greek nude was suggested to embody the ideal of personal and political freedom in the eighteenth century. Like other writers, he did not simply believe that the truly beautiful art of ancient Greeks belonged to a free society. For Winckelmann, freedom and relevant conceptions constituted the core of the ideal subjectivity he imagined with the beautiful ancient statues. In his view, freedom did not only pave the way for the creation of an ideal beauty but also meant the subjective status that was defined by that beauty. This included the embodiment of a narcissistic attitude that he associated with being self-absorbed, free-standing, and naked male figure. It was the absolute freedom; however, it also implied a subjective oneness and detachment, being far from alive. With his descriptions of the Laocoön and the Apollo Belvedere, Winckelmann pointed out that absolutely free subjectivity came from the conflict that the figures encountered and struggled with. In the end, there would either be death or a narcissistic isolation for them. These violent narratives were not coherent with the idea of an absolutely free self. However, the most significant and striking part of his writings on Greek art was his reading of the Greek male nude in terms of homoeroticism. He explicitly expressed an erotic enjoyment of the male nude together with praising male friendship and love. Considering the difference between the terms homoerotic and homosexual that we use today and the conditions of Winckelmann's era, it is possible to name this sensation as homosocial rather than homosexual. Winckelmann could not openly suggest a link between ideal manhood and sexual desire between men. Such actions were taboo in public in the eighteenth century. Furthermore, at that time, his focus on the homoerotic aspect of the ideal male nude

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Ionia. For instance, Ionia is widely known with Ionian School, which referred to the school of Greek philosophers of the 6th to 5th century B.C., such as Thales, Anaximander, Anaximenes, Heracleitus, Anaxagoras, Diogenes of Apollonia, Archelaus, and Hippon. (*Britannica Academic*, s.v. "Ionian school," accessed January 15, 2021, https://academic.eb.com/levels/collegiate/article/Ionian-school/42699.) For further information and a multilayered analysis of Greek development in Ionia, see *Greeks: in Ionia and the East* by J. M. Cook. (J. M. Cook, *Greeks: in Ionia and the East* (Thames and Hudson: London, 1962.)) Winckelmann's strong focus on the role of freedom in the development of art and sciences in Ancient Greece and his interpretation of this notion might have led him to come up with such an inference.

undermined the contemporary conception of ideal masculinity. The embodiment of the Greek ideal in terms of desirable manhood encouraged homoerotic feelings rather than forbidding sexual desire between men, as homosexuality was common in ancient Greek society.

Regarding the individual aspect of freedom in his approach, Winckelmann's conception of the Greek ideal revolved around the idea of a free self. For instance, his letters included what he thought of his social and erotic self, freedom, and desires. While he was trying to reach his scholarly aims, his desire to have freedom contributed to shaping his view that political freedom constituted the core of Greek art's beauty. However, his ideas on the relationship between Greek art and freedom were under the influence of his culture and period in terms of understanding and interpreting antiquity as a construct based on imagination and ideology. In his letters, his understanding of eroticism of the Greek ideal in art was also related to the idea of male friendship and love. With his public antiquarian and private autobiographical writings, he became one of the most passionate, ambitious, and expressive advocates of a homosocial ideal. Still, the ideal Greek manhood that he imagined and described in *History of Art and Antiquity* never reflected his erotic fantasies and desires explicitly. It was only a cultural construction, not related to contemporary views on masculinity that limited Winckelmann in talking about his desires.[246]

The notions of aesthetics and freedom in Winckelmann's overall approach to Greek antiquity formed and reflected his idea of the Greek ideal. In this case, by providing a historical account of Greek art, he invented an antiquity depending on his scholarly views. In his reconstruction, he primarily benefitted from antique sculptures that were in a ruined condition. Therefore, there was an act of translation of these artifacts to his writings.

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[246] Potts, *Flesh and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Origins of Art*, 4-6.

2.4.   From Ruin to Text: Winckelmann's Act of Translation

In *History of Art and Antiquity*, Winckelmann depicted ancient Greece in the form of a historical reconstruction. His book also included textual and visual analysis, and in this way, it could present more than a traditional history book.[247] He stated that he aimed to provide a system of history depending on the Greek language.[248] Although it was a verbal text, *History of Art and Antiquity* offered an examination of classical Greek sculpture as a visual embodiment that represented Greek culture in many ways.[249] At that time, any attempt to reconstruct the early history of Greek sculpture would run into obstacles due to the lack of any substantial evidence; therefore, a traditional narrative was also not possible as there was no extant visual evidence that dated back to pre-Roman times. Still, Winckelmann and his contemporaries could learn about antique sculpture from both textual and visual sources. There were also references to the masterpieces and famous artists of the classic age of Greek culture and the fifth and fourth centuries B.C in the antique writings, and Graeco-Roman statues excavated in Rome were available. As scholars admired the nudity and abstract classical drapery of these pieces, they considered them equal to the masterpieces of ancient Greek sculpture in terms of quality.[250] During his stay in Rome, in addition to possessing engravings, Winckelmann also had the advantage of visiting excavation sites and observing artifacts such as the sculptures of the Laocoön, the Niobe, the Apollo Belvedere, the Belvedere Torso, and the Belvedere Antinous, which were

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[247] Potts, ''Introduction,'' in Winckelmann, *History of the Art and Antiquity*, 28.

[248] ''*Die Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums, welche ich zu schreiben unternommen habe, ist keine blosse Erzahlung der Zeitfolge und der Veranderung in derselben, sondern ich nehme das Wort Geschichte in der weiteren Bedeutung, welche dasselbe in der griechischen Sprache hat, und meine Absicht ist, einen Versuch eines Lehregebaudes zu liefern.*'' Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, ix.

[249] Potts, *Flesh and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Origins of Art*, 20.

[250] Potts, *Flesh and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Origins of Art*, 37.

elaborated on above, in person. His analysis and interpretation of these sculptures contributed to the originality of his approach.

The notions of verbal and visual played a significant role in Winckelmann's historical reconstruction of Greek antiquity. His description of the styles in ancient Greek art was based on analogies with the linguistic analysis of style in two ways. Mentioning rhetorical modes in languages helped him develop a more robust concept of style than contemporary debates on visual art, and his usage of linguistic models derived from his historical approach. The most evocative analogies he suggested between verbal and visual styles were based on ancient Greek and Roman rhetoric studies. In this way, he could have a more comprehensive understanding of how style had been conceived in antiquity by neglecting vague references to the visual arts.[251] Winckelmann's endeavor of inventing a history of ancient Greek art was a translation using the available textual and visual evidence. In this case, translation emulated from ruin, the ancient Greek sculpture, to verbal text, his writings.

Winckelmann's approach to antiquity can be understood as his classical reception. Classical reception can be described as "a complex dialogic exchange between two bodies of writing, rather than a one-way "transmission" of fixed and known entities.''[252] This also involves the ways of how Greek and Roman sources have been conveyed, translated, interpreted, rewritten, reimaged, and represented.[253] The main understandings of reception theory emphasize the indirect, established, and dependent aspects of both our readings and ones from the past.[254] Reception is where all meaning

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[251] Potts, *Flesh and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Origins of Art*, 96.

[252] *The Oxford History of Classical Reception in English Literature*, Vol. 3: 1660-1790. eds. David Hopkins and Charles Martindale (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), x.

[253] Lorna Hardwick and Christopher Stray, ''Introduction: Making Connections,'' in *A Companion to Classical Receptions*, eds. Lorna Hardwick and Christopher Stray (Malden, MA; Oxford: Blackwell, 2008), 1.

[254] Charles Martindale, ''Introduction: Thinking Through Reception,'' in *Classics and the Uses of Reception*, eds. Charles Martindale and Richard F. Thomas (Malden, MA; Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 3.

is formed,[255] and reception theory enhances the meaning of the past while releasing it for the reader in the present.[256] The process of reception begins with reading. Reading is the action of perceiving words of another and making them correspond to the linguistic structure and context in our minds. It introduces new contexts and analogies that depend on old contexts and figures. Furthermore, it can lead to rediscovering our existing yet long-neglected ideas or new combinations. During reading, new metaphors can also be produced by the reader. Reception emerges where the text and the reader encounter and contribute to each other. In this way, the text becomes alive in the consciousness of the reader.[257] Through verbal text, this progress primarily refers to reception in literature; however, classical traditions are also concerned with the material aspect of the past. They are constituted based on ideals as there is usually a lack of material evidence. With what remains, archaeology and material culture have formed their reception histories. In this case, Winckelmann's work can be considered an example of classical reception based on perception and ancient ideas as well as objects.[258] Winckelmann's reception of Greek antiquity and how he translated it to his work revolve around his understanding of the concept of imitation, together with copying and emulation. Imitation can be described as ''the action or practice of imitating or copying.''[259] As this basic definition shows, it refers to copying; however,

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[255] Charles Martindale, *Redeeming the Text: Latin Poetry and the Hermeneutics of Reception* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 3.

[256] Martindale, *Redeeming the Text: Latin Poetry and the Hermeneutics of Reception*.

[257] William W. Batstone, ''Provocation: The Point of Reception Theory,'' in *Classics and the Uses of Reception*, 17.

[258] James I. Porter, ''Reception Studies: Future Prospects,'' in *Classics and the Uses of Reception*, 477.

[259] ''imitation, n.''. OED Online. April 2021. Oxford University Press. https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/91777?redirectedFrom=imitation& (accessed April 25, 2021).

it is different. It is also related to mimesis and emulation, suggesting a creative process beyond.

Imitation was a primary element in ancient rhetoric and essential for the classical tradition.[260] During the Renaissance, artists, writers, and scholars from various disciplines became interested in imitation. For them, it became a way of interpreting history and comparing the past with the present. Furthermore, with imitation on their minds, they attempted to understand cultural evolution and establish an education system. In this case, it played a significant role in perceiving antiquity regarding the arts and letters and the Renaissance. Imitation could be used in many fields; however, it derived from poetics and rhetoric in the first place. Both in antiquity and the Renaissance, it had a two-fold meaning: the imitation of nature or human behavior and the imitation of preceding writers and artists. The latter was more common in antiquity, and Renaissance humanists referred to this perception of imitation with a focus on rhetoric. Aristotle favored the former meaning of imitation, imitation as mimesis. In his *Poetics*, art reflected nature on human behavior. Plato also advocated the imitation of ideas; however, the way that Aristotle understood imitation had a lasting impact on Pliny the Elder and Renaissance humanists in representing human action and art production.[261] In the eighteenth century, Winckelmann's contemporaries, aesthetic rationalists, also advocated imitation of nature. They believed that imitation was required to produce a good work of art, considering artworks successful as much as they could imitate nature.[262]

The concept of modern art history referred to evaluating artworks depending on their likeness to nature, mimesis, and regarded history as a progressive narrative of overcoming difficulties to reach mimesis. It dates back to the Renaissance and was initially dependent on antiquity. Later, rather than an idea of progress based on

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[260] James S. Ackerman, *Origins, Imitation, Conventions* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2002), x.

[261] Ackerman, *Origins, Imitation, Conventions*, 126.

[262] Beiser, *Diotima's Children: German Aesthetic Rationalism from Leibniz to Lessing*, 10.

mimesis in terms of ancient artworks, a more sophisticated historical awareness emerged first in Vasari's Lives *of the Most Famous Architects, Painters, and Sculptors*.[263] His approach that emphasized significant figures, their works, and mimesis was already present in Pliny the Elder's writings, where he listed artists who went beyond their predecessors in terms of achieving a certain degree of mimesis.[264] As mentioned before, Vasari categorized modern Italian art into three stages,[265] and his categorization was similar to what Cicero did by naming styles as *aetas* (age, era). In this manner, Vasari identified a historical evolution of Renaissance art. Like Pliny the Elder and Cicero, ancient authors had different interpretations of imitation; however, they all believed that imitation was imminent and alluring as much as the imitator reshaped the source for his work depending on his intellectual ability. For them, this act would allow art to flourish and maintain its high status.[266] With the Renaissance, the imitation of ancient writers led literature and history writing with a concern of which ancients to imitate and whether to choose one model or more.[267] Under the impact of ancient rhetoricians, Renaissance artists, scholars, and scientists believed that imitation should be a primary component of their works. They aimed to excel in their skills by examining and copying the best of the past and considered such ancient artworks a part of the foundation of their culture.[268] For instance, the discipline of history itself can be considered an imitation in its unique way. It can be evaluated as theoretical, practical, or productive; yet, when it is productive, it leads to imitation.

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[263] Ackerman, *Origins, Imitation, Conventions*, 2.

[264] Ackerman, *Origins, Imitation, Conventions*, 4.

[265] Potts*, Flesh and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Origins of Art*, 40.

[266] Ackerman, *Origins, Imitation, Conventions*, 127-129.

[267] Ackerman, *Origins, Imitation, Conventions*, 13.

[268] Ackerman, *Origins, Imitation, Conventions*, 90.

A historian's imitation is different from an artist's imitation. On the one hand, by investigating sources, historians copy words, and they do not have what they copy in front of them. They imitate during their work, and this turns into a creation. On the other hand, artists can create even when they have their models, which does not prevent them from imitating.[269] In the end, both parties demonstrate creative and artistic talents in their ways.[270]

Winckelmann's understanding of imitation is a unique combination of both a historian's and an artist's imitation, thanks to his multidisciplinary background and approach. His imitation like a historian emerged as a verbal production, and his translation of ruins to text suggested an artist's imitation that required creativity and offered visual implications to the audience. As an art historian and scholar, he dealt with written historical sources, and his writings referred to relevant archeological remains that were available to him in different forms. In addition to being a historian, he produced a past in the present as an archaeologist.[271] The archeological archive is a stable entity that should be translated according to the changing nature of past cultures. For this purpose, a set of scientific methods and rules should be applied to decipher the record.[272] Winckelmann's act of translation also derived from the archaeological aspect of his writings. Like historians, archaeologists also produce texts, and this constitutes an integral part of the discipline. In this way, archaeological publication emerges as a translation of the material traces from the past and the transformation of a particular object into a linguistic medium.[273] The progress from archaeological

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[269] Arthur Child, ''History as Imitation,'' *The Philosophical Quarterly (1950-)* 2, no: 8 (1952): 193.

[270] Child, ''History as Imitation,'' 194.

[271] Michael Shanks and Christopher Tilley, *Re-Constructing Archaeology: Theory and Practice*, 2nd. ed. (London: Routledge, 1992), 7.

[272] cited in Shanks and Tilley, *Re-Constructing Archaeology: Theory and Practice*, 13.

[273] Shanks and Tilley, *Re-Constructing Archaeology: Theory and Practice*, 16.

materials to verbal text[274] can be identified as construction[275] , and they would also include data networks.[276] In Winckelmann's case, his work was also a translation.

With its close relation to text, archaeology also involves rhetorical aspects.[277] As Theodor W. Adorno stated, ''in philosophy, rhetoric represents that which cannot be thought except in language.''[278] Here, the dependence of archaeology on language indicates a relationship with an audience. Otherwise, its verbal aspect would not imply a practical dimension. Text production in archaeology also implies the difference between the objects of the past and their representation in the text. This gap can be explained by exploring Ricoeur's use of the term distanciation.[279] Ricoeur mentioned the opposition between the concepts of alienating distanciation and belonging. In his view, alienating distanciation provided objectification that was important in the social sciences and made them scientific. However, it undermined the relationship between us and the historical reality that we wanted to treat as an object. In order to solve this dilemma, Ricoeur suggested that distanciation could be relatively positive and productive. For him, text derived from intersubjective communication and referred to distanciation in communication. It was also communication that operated both in and through distance. In this way, it demonstrated the historical aspect of the human experience.[280] In the case of archaeology, considering the past an isolated entity of its

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[274] Jean-Claude Gardin, *Archaeological Constructs: An Aspect of Theoretical Archaeology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 7.

[275] Gardin, *Archaeological Constructs: An Aspect of Theoretical Archaeology*, 13.

[276] Gardin, *Archaeological Constructs: An Aspect of Theoretical Archaeology*, 148-150.

[277] Shanks and Tilley, *Re-Constructing Archaeology: Theory and Practice*, 17.

[278] Theodor W. Adorno, *Negative Dialectics* (New York: Seabury Press, 1973), 55.

[279] Shanks and Tilley, *Re-Constructing Archaeology: Theory and Practice*, 17.

[280] Paul Ricoeur, *Hermeneutics and the Human Sciences: Essays on Language, Action, and Interpretation*, ed., trans., and introduced by John Brookshire Thompson (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 93.

own time for the archaeologist can be an example of alienating distanciation, whereas efforts to cover the distance via empathy or imagination can be named as participatory belonging. Here the archaeologist also acts as a storyteller while overcoming this distance and trying to bring the past closer to the present. Storytelling is the act of reflection and creation of a world in which experience is formed by continuity and flow. In storytelling, meaning and time are related to each other in an organic way, and history and archaeology include an organic series of events based on meaning. Memory and remembering are essential parts of storytelling that are also mnemonic practices. They integrate the past into the present for an audience and become rhetoric. Nevertheless, the storyteller is not interested in giving an untouched version of the past, and it is combined with life and society. The story comes from an individual; however, it develops a collective aspect later.

With textual production, archaeologists also tell stories; however, their stories are not conventional historical narratives based only on rhetoric. Narratives in archaeology are rather analytical and provide a perspective to observe the past from the lenses of the present. In this case, the concept of truth plays a key role in their formation. Here the usage of the truth of the past is metaphorical. It is both hidden in the traces of the past and the present. Such traces address an absent truth that would be interpreted depending on the reception of the traces by the archaeologist. This truth also brings the perfect and imperfect aspects of the past together. Instead of focusing on the truth of the past, archaeologists work with the past through their differences from it, and their practice connects the past and with the present. Accordingly, truth emerges from this process. Archaeologists cover gaps in the past that already exist by interpretation. Their interpretations and relationships that they form with the past also include mimesis. The mimetic text does not copy reality; instead, it imitates in a creative way.[281]

Winckelmann's *Reflections on the Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture* and *History of the Art and Antiquity* both emerged as archaeological and historical texts. At the intersection of these aspects, there is how he interpreted Greek antiquity

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[281] Shanks and Tilley, *Re-Constructing Archaeology: Theory and Practice*, 17-21.

and presented his reception based on his interpretations together with his understanding of imitation. The German equivalent of imitation, *nachahmung*, is a term that Winckelmann frequently used in both of his books. It is an exciting word to understand his approach. Its prefix ''*nach*'' means a later time in German. Therefore, it implies a secondary action. In order to imitate, there has to be a primary source at the beginning for the imitator. For Winckelmann, that source was ancient Greeks. As mentioned before, in *Reflections on the Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture*, he stated that ''the only way for us to become great or, if this be possible, inimitable, is to imitate the ancients.''[282] However, his argument included a paradox. He associated being great with being inimitable and simultaneously argued that the ancients should be imitated to be great. This paradox refers to how he regarded Greek antiquity as an ideal.

While talking about imitation in the context of Greek antiquity and nature, Winckelmann had a didactical tone in *Reflections on the Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture*. He argued that the imitation of beauty in nature reflected itself through one single object or used several to form a whole.[283] He also believed that the imitation of the Greeks could teach them about nature and the most perfect nature that exceeded itself during imitation. Furthermore, by imitation, artists could learn to think and draw as it would give them confidence and involved the highest degrees of what humanly and divinely beautiful was. If they strictly followed ancient Greeks' rules of beauty both mentally and physically, they would be imitating nature eventually in a safe way.[284] On nature and imitation, Winckelmann favored an Aristotelian approach.

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[282] ''*Der einzige Weg für uns, groß, ja, wenn es möglich ist, unnachahmlich zu werden, ist die Nachahmung der Alten.*'' Winckelmann, *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst*, 3, as translated in Winckelmann, *Reflections on the Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture*, 5.

[283] ''*Die Nachahmung des Schönen der Natur ist entweder auf einen einzelnen Vorwurf gerichtet, oder sie samlet die Bermerkungen aus verschiedenen einzelnen, und bringet sie in eins.*'' Winckelmann, *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst*, 13-14.

[284] ''*Ich glaube, ihre Nachahmung könne lehren, geschwinder klug zu werden, weil sie hier in dem einen den Inbegriff desjenigen findet, was in der ganzen Natur ausgeteilet ist, und in dem andern, wie weit die schönste Natur sich über sich selbst kühn, aber weislich erhegen kann. Sie wird lehren, mit Sicherheit zu entwerfen, indem sie hier die höchsten Grenzen des*

For him, nature could provide artists with everything they needed to imitate. However, he claimed they still had to learn about the true contour from the Greeks.[285] He believed that to achieve a greater imitation, artists should study natural beauty, contour, and drapery together with the noble simplicity and quiet grandeur of Greek masters and examine their methods.[286] Through such ideas, rather than the simple act of copying what already existed, Winckelmann advocated an analytical approach to Greek antiquity that encouraged contemporary artists to learn from their predecessors in ancient times to create imitation.

While *Reflections on the Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture* included Winckelmann's suggestions for contemporary artists on how to create better artworks through imitating ancient Greeks, *History of Art of Antiquity* presented Winckelmann's survey of ancient art history focusing on Egyptians, Phonecians, Persians, Etruscans, together with Greeks and Romans as mentioned before. In his writing about art history, imitation was the primary concern, and it formed the framework of his approach, especially the imitation of Greeks. For instance, Winckelmann measured the evolution of art in Etruscans by how much Greeks were imitated and included in their art. He claimed that, like Egyptians' and Greeks', Etruscan art developed through stages, and it eventually reached an ultimate state after

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menschlich und zuglelich des göttlich Schönen bestimmt siehet. ...Wenn der Künstler auf diesen Grund bauet, und sich die griechische Regel der Schönheit Hand und Sinne führen lässet, so ist er auf dem Wege, der ihn sicher zur Nachahmung der Natur führen wird.'' Winckelmann, *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst*, 14.

[285] *''Könnte auch die Nachahmung der Natur dem Künstler alles geben, so würde gewiß die Richtigkeit im Kontur durch sie nicht zu erhalten sein; diese muß von den Griechen allein erlernet werden.''* Winckelmann, *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst*, 16.

[286] *''Nach dem Studio der schönen Natur, des Konturs, der Draperie, und der edlen Einfalt und stillen Größe in den Werken griechischer Meister, wäre die Nachforschung über ihre Art zu arbeiten ein nötiges Augenmark der Künstler, um in der Nachahmung derselben glücklicher zu sein.''* Winckelmann, *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst*, 28.

the imitation of Greeks, marking a significant change from its previous states.[287] Furthermore, he wrote that during the time of the Republic, Roman artists designed the roller-shaped metal vessel in the gallery of the Collegii S. Ilginatii in Rome by imitating Etruscan art.[288] He also mentioned several marble sculptures from Rome again; two in the Massini House, one in the Verospi Palace, and a sleeping Cupid in the Villa Albani, next to the child in the Campidoglio, who played with a swan. For him, these were among the most beautiful children of marble in the city who introduced love and indicated that how old artists were happy imitating a childlike nature.[289]

In *History of Art of Antiquity*, Winckelmann also clearly stated that the primary aim of his narrative was the art of the Greeks for contemplation and imitation as ancient Greek art was ''preserved in innumerable beautiful monuments.'' Therefore, he believed that it should be carefully examined not to explore false features and focus on imaginary descriptions but to teach what in the core was. Furthermore, this attempt at teaching should lead to not only knowledge on a theoretical basis but also teaching for practice.[290] This supported his enthusiasm for the act of imitation.

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[287] *''Der Stil der etrurischen Künstler ist sich selbst nicht beständig gleichgeblieben, sondern hat wie der ägyptische und griechische verschiedene Stufen und Zeiten, von den enfältigen Gestaltungen ihrer ersten Zeiten an bis zu dem Flor ihrer Kunst, welches ich endlich nachher durch Nachahmung griechischer Werke, wie sehr wahrscheinlich ist, verbessert und eine von den ältern Zeiten verschiedene Gestalt angenommen hat.''* Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, 105.

[288] *''Von der Nachmung der erturischen Kunst in Werken römischer Künstler in der Zeit der Republik gibt ein walzenförmiges Gefäß von Metall in der Galerie des Collegii S. Ignitatii zu Rom einen deutlichen und unwidersprechlichen Beweis.''* Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, 291.

[289] *''Unter den schönsten Kindern von Marmor in Rom, welche die Liebe vorstellen, sind zwei im Hause Massini, einer im Palaste Verospi, ein schlafender Cupido in der Villa Albani, nebst dem Kinde im Campidoglio, welches mit einem Schwan spielt; und diese allein können dartun, wie glückich die alten Künstler in Nachahmung der kindlichen Natur gewesen.''* Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, 234.

[290] *''Die Kunst der Griechen ist die vornehmste Absict dieser Geschichte, und es erfordert dieselbe, als der würdigste Vorwurf zur Betrachtung und Nachahmung, da sies ich in unzählig schönen Denkmalen erhaltet hat, eine umständliche Untersuchung, die nicht in Anzeigen unvollkommener Eigenschaften und in Erklärungen des Eingebildeten, sondern im Unterricht*

Winckelmann argued that imitation was the shared source of sculpture and painting. As mentioned before, for him, that was the reason why they emerged before architecture in ancient Greece. While they were dependent on human beings, architecture had to form its own set of rules.[291] In his mind, imitation also led to the formation of beauty. It could be either individual or refer to a whole, which he named as ideal. Through the imitation of a beautiful approach, the formation of beauty was derived from individual beauty.[292] In relation to beauty, he also defined expression as an imitation of the functioning and suffering condition of soul and body, together with passion and actions.[293] This approach of him was evident in how he interpreted the Laocoön. Winckelmann believed that the silence of the soul could be understood only by a high mind. In this case, he quoted Plato that ''for the imitation of the violent can happen in different ways; but a quiet, wise being cannot be easily imitated, nor can the

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des Wesentlichen bestände, und in welcher nicht bloß Kenntnisse zum Wissen, sondern auch Lehren zum Ausüben vorgetragen würden.'' Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, 127-128.

[291] *''Die Bildhauerei und Malerei sind unter den Griechen eher als die Baukunst zu einer gewissen Vollkommenheit gelangt: denn diese hat mehr Idealisches als jene, weil sie keine Nachachmung von etwas Wirklichem hat sein können, und nach der Notwendigkeit auf allgemeine Regeln und Gesetze der Verhältnisse gegründet worden. Jene beiden Künste, welche mit der bloßen Nachahmung ihren Anfang genommen haben, fanden alle nötigen Regeln am Menschen bestimmt, da die Baukunst die ihrige durch viele Schlüsse finden und durch den Beifall festsetzen mußte. Die Bildhauerei aber ist vor der Malerei vorausgegangen und hat als die ältere Schwester diese als die jüngere geführt; ja Plinus ist der Meinung, daß zur Zeit des Trojansichen Krieges die Malerei noch nich gewesen sei.''* Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, 137-138.

[292] *''Die Bildung der Schönheit ist entweder individuell, das ist, auf das einzelne gerichtet, oder sie ist eine Wahl schöner Teile aus vielen einzelnen und Verbindung in eins, welche wir idealisch nennen. Die Bildung der Schönheit hat angefangen mit dem einzelnen Schönen, in Nachahmung eines schönen Vorwurfs…''* Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, 151.

[293] *''Nach der Betrachtung über die Bildung der Schönheit ist zum zweiten con dem Ausdrucke zu reden. Der Ausdruck ist eine Nachahmung des wirkenden und leidenden Zustandes eunserer Seele und unseres Körpers und der Leidenschaft sowohl als der Handlungen.''* Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, 167.

imitated be easily understood.''[294] Through this quotation, Winckelmann considered the imitation of the Greeks, whom he associated with noble simplicity and quiet grandeur, a difficult task to complete and comprehend. He also maintained that the ideas of the gods and heroes were available in all types and conditions, making it difficult to imagine new ones. In his mind, this situation paved the way for imitation.[295]

Winckelmann's reception of Greek antiquity in these ways had both archaeological and historical aspects. Especially in *History of Art of* Antiquity, the verbal text was supported with relevant illustrations from his approach based on his interpretations of the notions of aesthetics and freedom and referred to the available archaeological remains, emerging as an archaeological publication on ancient Greece. Through and with his perception of imitation, Winckelmann constructed his history of art and presented ancient Greece as a historical formation. In this way, his action also became a translation of material ruins into verbal text emerging as a verbal narrative.

With his revolutionary approach to the history of art, Greek antiquity in particular, Winckelmann served as a source of inspiration in various fields, including architecture. After him, in nineteenth-century Germany, Neoclassicism rose above stylistic debates when there was a concern for constructing a German national identity as a result of the ongoing political and cultural changes. Meanwhile, Karl Friedrich Schinkel became a leading figure in architecture with his views in relation to Classicism and contributed to the architectural and urban development of Berlin. His approach also led to a translation of his interpretations of ruins; however, different from Winckelmann, he wrote, painted, and practiced as an architect, carrying his translation to beyond text, to building.

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[294] *''Denn die Nachahmung des Gewaltsamen kann, auf verschiedene Weise geschehen; aber ein stilles, weises Wesen kann weder leicht nachgeahmt, noch das nachgeahmte leicht begriffen werden.''* quoted in Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, 229-230.

[295] *''Die Vorgestellungen der Götter und Helden waren in allen möglichen Arten und Stellungen gebildet, und es wurde schwer, neue zu erdenken, wodurch also der Nachahmung der Weg geöffnet wurde.''* Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, 235.

CHAPTER 3

KARL FRIEDRICH SCHINKEL AND HIS APPROACH TO RUINS: TRANSLATION FROM RUIN TO BUILDING

3.1. German-Speaking Regions in the Nineteenth Century: Concern for a Nation and an Identity

The Nineteenth Century became a period of significant changes in the world, particularly in Europe. There were transformations in industry, art, and architecture. The Industrial Revolution had started in England in the previous century, and then it spread quickly. It eased transportation via new technologies, and agriculture developed.[296] Furthermore, new building typologies such as factories, public libraries, museums, and hospitals emerged.[297] All these became the results of a changing economy together with the social and cultural life. In the background, the Enlightenment, which began in the seventeenth century, and science had paved the way for the rise of secular human reason, scientific observation, and experimentation for the next two centuries. In terms of politics, with rising Nationalism, nation-states were founded, and they contributed to the formation of a new world.[298]

In the eighteenth century, despite sharing the same language, German-speaking regions of Europe, Prussians, Bavarians, Bohemians, and Silesians, had different governmental systems. Their common language was not enough to be regarded as a single nation. However, this period became the starting point of a major political shift

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[296] Jürgen Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 729.

[297] Bergdoll, *European Architecture 1750-1890*, 5.

[298] Bergdoll, *European Architecture 1750-1890*, 2.

from the absolutism of Frederick the Great to the liberalism of Friedrich Wilhelm IV in the nineteenth century. Nationalism emerged during this time in Prussia and led to its transformation into a unified nation, marking it as the new German empire from 1871 onwards. Furthermore, on the cultural side, literature, and music also developed together with philosophy. Kant's idea of personal self-determination led to national self-determination, exemplified by the work of Johann Gottlieb Fichte. Nevertheless, Germany still fell behind Britain and France in founding a nation, and these two countries shaped the development of German Neoclassicism.

German-speaking regions in the eighteenth century consisted of diverse states and other political units that were connected until 1806. Although they all spoke German, they belonged to different denominations of Christianity divided by north and south due to the Thirty Years War in the seventeenth century. While the north was mostly Protestant, the south was Catholic. The main Protestant states included Prussia, Saxony, the Thuringian duchies, Hesse-Darmstadt, Hanover, Mecklenburg, and Brunswick. Austria, Bavaria-Palatinate, two-thirds of Baden, and half of Wüttenberg were the primary Catholic states. This religious difference caused varieties in church designs in the eighteenth century. Furthermore, there were social and cultural divisions between the two areas. The Catholic states had a more conventional and feudal administration, whereas the Protestants were more eager to have reforms and embrace ideas of the Enlightenment. In this case, Prussia became a prominent example to show progress from being a province to a national leader. With discipline, order, severity, and piety as the governing principles, the state was influential during the reign of Friedrich Wilhelm I, who also compromised with the Franco-Prussian style in Prussian architecture of the late eighteenth century. After him, his son Frederick the Great became the King of Prussia in 1740 and continued his father's reforms. In this order, the aristocracy supervised the army and civil service, and the middle classes ran trade and industry. Frederick the Great gave importance to construction, built roads together with canals to ease transportation, and founded provinces in the east. He also established the first building department that preceded the Ober-Bau Deputation, where Schinkel would work. In this way, the state made progress in architecture and urban design.

While Prussia was changing with the implementations of Frederick the Great, other kings such as Duke Karl Eugen also followed the ideas brought by the Enlightenment and founded the Karlsschule at Stuttgart, even though he was known for his despotism. Schiller, a leading figure in the Enlightenment, was a student at this school yet not a supporter of the duke. Meanwhile, nationalist approaches were developing in various fields. The ducal court at Brunswick also funded Lessing, who objected to the dominance of French drama and tried to form a German literature. Furthermore, Justus Möser, a writer, philosopher, and politician, put forward the idea of the Germanic past, and in *Messiah*, Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock promoted patriotism. In such ways, German intellectuals benefitted from the Enlightenment ideals and found their identities, forming a culture. Their attempts paved the way for a new neoclassical architecture when mostly French architects designed in Louis XVI style on German soil. There was also German Baroque on the local scale. In the 1790s, the works of Prussian architects like Johann Heinrich Gentz and Friedrich Gilly, who would later be the mentor of Schinkel, indicated a reaction to these cultural conditions. In their view, Classicism was not meant to be adopted; but a way to form a language for them as a national style. The search for a national identity was one of the primary concerns of German Neoclassicism. The *Sturm und Drang* movement of 1760-1780 and the foundation of *jardin anglaise* also contributed to this aim. Both regarded Greek architecture as the source of the ideal of freedom, truth, and humanity and derived from reaching the truth through senses. For instance, Goethe associated temples and classical structures with Greeks' humanist ideals in the picturesque landscaped garden, marking the arrival of a Golden Age. *The Sturm und Drang* movement also had a romantic aspect, in which nationalistic senses gained a political character. As mentioned before, Goethe was an important figure in German Romanticism and Nationalism, his *Götz von Berlinchingen (Göts of the Iron Hand) (1773)*, Schiller's *Jungfrau von Orleans (The Maid of Orleans) (1801),* and *Wilhelm Tell (1804)*, and later Heinrich von Kleist's *Herrmannsschlacht (The Herrmann Battle) (1808)* were all essential works that revolved around the theme of national independence. Nationalism

fed by Romanticism would also inspire Schinkel later in his design of a neo-Gothic cathedral in 1815 and the completion of Cologne Cathedral in 1842.[299]

The French Revolution and following political conditions played a decisive role in the development of Nationalism in the German-speaking regions, including Prussia. Napoleon's army defeated Prussian forces in 1806,[300] and after this defeat, State Chancellor Karl August von Hardenberg and Minister of Culture Karl von Altensein wanted to revise the feudal institutions of the state. For this purpose, they made political and economic reforms. Furthermore, on the cultural side, Wilhelm von Humboldt, Director of the Department of Public Education between 1809 and 1810, began to design Prussian higher education with a neo-humanist attitude. All of these aimed to restore the trust of Prussia's citizens and handle the financial issues caused by Napoleon's impositions.[301] Meanwhile, Romantic Nationalism continued to attract advocators, and during the liberation wars between 1813 and 1815, the Prussian King also favored German nationalist views and wanted to bring divided groups of people together against Napoleon.[302] Such nationalist trends of this period emerged as an outcome of Germans' historical consciousness. At this time, they began to regard themselves as the shareholders of a particular German culture that had justified itself through history. Historical associations enhanced the spreading of this awareness, contributing to the awakening of Germans in the national sense regarding Romantic Historicism.[303] However, even though Friedrich Wilhelm III became successful, he

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[299] David Watkin and Tilman Mellinghoff, *German Architecture and the Classical Ideal, 1740-1840* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1987), 8-11.

[300] Bilsel, *Antiquity on Display: Regimes of the Authentic in Berlin's Pergamon Museum*, 58.

[301] Steven Moyano, ''Quality vs. History: Schinkel's Altes Museum and Prussian Arts Policy,'' *Art Bulletin* 72/4 (December 1990): 585.

[302] Bilsel, *Antiquity on Display: Regimes of the Authentic in Berlin's Pergamon Museum*, 58-59.

[303] John Edward Toews, *Becoming Historical: Cultural Reformation and Public Memory in Early Nineteenth-Century Berlin* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), xviii-xix.

did not fulfill his promise of founding a connotational order. In this case, Prussia added the brotherly states to its lands and increased its power instead of uniting the other German communities as a nation. With the Carlsbad Decree of 1819, the administrative and liberal reforms in Prussia were terminated. Still, the establishment of a modern bureaucracy became a lasting result of the Prussian reforms. Receiving education during the Romantic and Nationalist movements under the impact of Napoleonic wars and the years of educational reforms, Schinkel and his contemporaries usually chose careers as civil servants later.[304]

With his designs, Schinkel contributed to the urban development of Berlin in the nineteenth century. In this chapter, I will examine Schinkel's views that derived from his reception of Classicism and Nationalism and analyze his significant works in painting, stage design, and architecture to explore his translation of ruins. Like Winckelmann, with his focus on antiquity, Schinkel's approach led to a translation of ruins in his works. However, unlike Winckelmann, who dealt with text, Schinkel's translation went beyond text and visuality, and emerged as a material embodiment of his ideas in architecture.

3.2. Issue of Style in Nineteenth-Century German Architecture

As explored above, Germans had different political conditions than France and Britain in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Unlike them, Germans had various small states and would not be called an empire until the last quarter of the nineteenth century. However, in the nineteenth century, while knowledge expanded in newly emerging disciplines such as philology, geography, and ethnology, German scholars became especially prominent in these areas.[305] Still, probably due to their political and economic status, they had a smaller role than France or Britain in the eighteenth-century voyages of discovery.[306] This situation was also a result of the difference in

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[304] Bilsel, *Antiquity on Display: Regimes of the Authentic in Berlin's Pergamon Museum*, 59.

[305] Blackbourn, *History of Germany 1780-1918: The Long Nineteenth Century*, 27.

[306] Blackbourn, *History of Germany 1780-1918: The Long Nineteenth Century*, 31.

their Orientalist approach from other European countries. In *Orientalism*, Edward Said defined Orientalism as ''a system of representations framed by a whole set of forces that brought the Orient into Western learning, Western consciousness, and later, Western empire.''[307] The Enlightenment contributed to Europe's knowledge about the East, including Germans'.[308] However, Said left Germans out on purpose, although German scholars were the leading European scholars in almost every field of Oriental studies between 1830 and 1930.[309] While English, French, and Dutch orientalists preferred to play a role in the Orient as officials or travelers, German orientalists chose to become academics, mainly focusing on old languages.[310] Still, with a rather political approach, Said noted that Britain and France were the leading nations in the Orient and Oriental studies.[311]

German Orientalism operated differently than others and resulted in a cultural change that included abandoning Christianity and focusing on Classical Antiquity as the new universal norms.[312] With the rise of sciences in the nineteenth century, philology provided opportunities for scholars to access the cultures of antiquity, and in this way, Classicism began to play a significant role in institutions.[313] German Philhellenism

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[307] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 202-203.

[308] Suzanne Marchand, *German Orientalism in the Age of Empire: Religion, Race, and Scholarship* (Cambridge, England; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 15.

[309] Marchand, *German Orientalism in the Age of Empire: Religion, Race and Scholarship*, xviii.

[310] Suzanne Marchand, ''German Orientalism and the Decline of the West,'' *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 145, no.4 (2001): 466.

[311] Marchand, *German Orientalism in the Age of Empire: Religion, Race and Scholarship*, xviii.

[312] Marchand, ''German Orientalism and the Decline of the West,'' 465.

[313] Marchand, ''German Orientalism and the Decline of the West,'' 467.

was based on Greek art, and by the nineteenth century, with the developments in archaeology, archaeologists were discovering, interpreting, and popularizing ancient art.[314] In this case, the ideas and works of Winckelmann also had a remarkable impact on art and architecture.[315] His views also contributed to the flourishing of the Nationalist movement.[316]

With such changes, the relationship of architecture with the historical past became a topic of debate in nineteenth-century Europe. In this regard, archaeological studies played an important role in rising Neoclassicism as a revival of the classical style.[317] The search for origins also had become common in the eighteenth century with the emergence of archaeology as a scientific discipline. For instance, in France, Marc-Antoine Laugier explained his conception of the primitive hut as an attempt to indicate an origin for architecture. In his view, the primitive hut included three classical components, the column, entablature, and the pediment.[318] Such structural and rational interpretations became a base for Neoclassicism, which was mainly about using classical elements and styles with a concern for reason and order. It was a revival of Classicism, including the contemporary styles of the period, with archaeological references. By the 1850s, antiquity would become a significant component of architecture. The classical approach already had contributed to shaping architecture

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[314] Suzanne Marchand, *Down from Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750-1970* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2003), xix.

[315] Carter, ''Introduction,'' in Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Johann Joachim Winckelmann on Art, Architecture, and Archaeology*, 1.

[316] Schwarzer, *German Architectural Theory and the Search for Modern Identity*, 39.

[317] Bergdoll, *European Architecture 1750-1890*, 3.

[318] Bergdoll, *European Architecture 1750-1890*, 12.

since the Renaissance times.[319] However, the main difference between Neoclassicism and the other previous classical revivals was the archaeological aspect.[320]

In addition to questioning the relationship of architecture with the past through archaeological studies, there were also debates on style among Germans in the nineteenth century. German classical architects in the second half of the eighteenth century paved the way for establishing a German theory towards the end of the century; however, their works were mainly inspired by France and Britain. Their travels to the south, Rome, increased their classical tendencies and became a step towards their independent style. In the 1780s, intellectuals and artists such as Goethe, Aloys Ludwig Hirt, Karl Philip Moritz, Heinrich Meyer, Hans Christian Genelli, and Johann Gottfried Schadow together with the architects Heinrich Christoph Jussow, Peter Joseph Krahe, Christian Frederik Hansen, and Johann August Arens visited Rome. Later in the 1790s, the architects Gentz and Friedrich Weinbrenner stayed there with the painter Asmus Jacob Carstens. Most of these figures believed they excelled in art when they returned home. Moritz, Hirt, Genelli, and Schadow began to teach at the Berlin Academy of Fine Arts and Weinbrenner promoted Classicism in Karlsruhe. As mentioned before, the *Sturm und Drang* movement raised a cultural awareness of Classicism and Romanticism that referred to forming a German national identity.[321] Being associated with this line of thought and one of the most prominent intellectuals of the era, Goethe contributed to spreading the idea of awakening German national senses with his writings. He also inspired Schinkel with his architectural ideas and belief that the Gothic style was suitable for the Germans.[322]

In parallel with the doctrines of the Enlightenment, Goethe played a significant role in deciphering how the mind worked. He believed in the autonomy of the mind and the

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[319] Bergdoll, *European Architecture 1750-1890*, 9.

[320] Richard Ingersoll, *World Architecture: A Cross-Cultural History*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 640.

[321] Mallgrave, *Modern Architectural Theory: A Historical Survey, 1673-1968*, 93-94.

[322] Toews, *Becoming Historical: Cultural Reformation and Public Memory in Early Nineteenth-Century Berlin*, 122.

importance of experience. In his view, the idea of evolution was the key to comprehending the mind instead of structuralism, and there could be an alternate science that was not based on mathematical principles.[323] For him, writing was crucial, and he always produced verbal expressions of what he observed as the outcomes of his experiences.[324] Furthermore, architecture was an integral part of his thinking. For instance, architectural approaches became a source of inspiration for his ideas on education that involved building the self by using rational methods. Together with Kant, they benefitted from architecture in their analyses of knowledge.[325]

Goethe frequently wrote about architecture and buildings he visited as the accounts of his experiences from a visual perspective.[326] He declared his architectural views in ''On German Architecture'' (1772) and ''On Gothic Architecture'' (1823). These two renowned texts both focused on the impact of architecture on the viewer and included Goethe's narrations of aesthetic experiences in terms of interacting with the built environment. While the former was based on the subjective judgment of the observer, the latter revolved around the feeling of an embodiment for the observer. For Goethe, architecture was an art that existed in three-dimensional space and was dependent on its place.[327] Therefore, it was different from engineering and addressing the soul; it should lead to such a sense of the observer. He also argued that the function of art derived from religion.[328]

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[323] Walter Kaufmann, *Discovering the Mind, vol. 1, Goethe, Kant, and Hegel* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1991; originally published in 1980 by McGraw-Hill), 54.

[324] Kaufmann, *Discovering the Mind, vol. 1, Goethe, Kant, and Hegel*, 47.

[325] Daniel L. Purdy, *On the Ruins of Babel: Architectural Metaphor in German Thought* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2011), 146-147.

[326] Purdy, *On the Ruins of Babel: Architectural Metaphor in German Thought*, 197.

[327] Dorothea E. von Mücke, ''Beyond the Paradigm of Representation: Goethe on Architecture,'' *Grey Room* 35 (2009): 7.

[328] von Mücke, ''Beyond the Paradigm of Representation: Goethe on Architecture,'' 10-11.

Figure 14. A View of Strasbourg Cathedral, Strasbourg, France (Source: Collection of Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal)

''On German Architecture'' begins with Goethe's expressing his admiration for Strasbourg Cathedral (1439) (Figure 14) by Ervin von Steinbach. Praising the Gothic style in the context of this building and his own experience, Goethe mentioned the importance of the details, dignity, magnificence, and harmony among the proportions.[329] Furthermore, he considered Gothic architecture the equivalent of German architecture that he envisioned.[330] In this text, Goethe also participated in the contemporary debates on the origin of architecture at that time. He directly addressed and criticized Laugier, for whom the column was an integral part of architecture, instead claiming that their houses originated from walls.[331] The idea that the column was an essential element in architecture emerged with the conception of the primitive hut and dated back to Vitruvius's writings. Like Vitruvius, Laugier believed the wall was not a required architectural component; however, Goethe wrote that German architecture derived from the wall. Regarding the Strasbourg Cathedral, he argued that walls served to achieve the required designs against the harsh climatic conditions of

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[329] Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, ''On German Architecture,'' in *Essays on Art and Literature (Goethe: The Collected Works, Vol. 3)*, ed. John Gearey and trans. Ellen von Nardroff and Ernest N. von Nardroff (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994), 6.

[330] Goethe, ''On German Architecture,'' 8.

[331] Goethe, ''On German Architecture,'' 5.

northern Europe and provided security.[332] In contrast to Laugier's ideas, Goethe also believed that form was not bound to function, and it came from the abundant source of nature for the architect, who was the true artist.[333]

Goethe's ideas on architecture were also coherent with the eighteenth-century doctrines that buildings acquired the criterion of aesthetics through the feelings they evoked in the viewers.[334] In his mind, architecture was something to view, and that educated the viewer both in technical aspects of buildings and aesthetic concerns of the architect, together with his interpretation of the present.[335]

With contrasting ideas to Goethe's, Hirt also contributed to shaping German architectural theory in this period. In *Die Geschichte der Baukunst bei den Alten (The History of Architecture Among the Ancients)* (1822), he raised questions about the identity of ancient architects[336] and wanted to learn where and how these architects excelled in building as the existing sources did not include any information on such issues. Since the 1740s, Greek and Roman architecture had been important topics of debate among Germans and Hirt had been an expert in antiquity with his over forty years of research experience. Therefore, his writings served as a source for Goethe together with Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel. Furthermore, the lack of relevant texts about ancient architects made Hirt attribute greater importance to ruins as they constituted the tangible evidence of ancient architecture. In order to overcome that obstacle, he also aimed at forming connections between Enlightenment theories of architecture and aesthetics, similar to Laugier and other French scholars, who

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[332] Purdy, *On the Ruins of Babel: Architectural Metaphor in German Thought*, 166.

[333] von Mücke, ''Beyond the Paradigm of Representation: Goethe on Architecture,'' 10.

[334] Purdy, *On the Ruins of Babel: Architectural Metaphor in German Thought*, 170.

[335] Purdy, *On the Ruins of Babel: Architectural Metaphor in German Thought*, 197.

[336] Aloys Ludwig Hirt, *Die Geschichte der Baukunst bei den Alten* (Berlin: R Reimet, 1822), 2: 138-139, cited in Purdy*, On the Ruins of Babel: Architectural Metaphor in German Thought*, 162.

attempted to associate feelings evoked by architecture with the conventional rational orders. While they held such views based on rationality, in terms of experiencing a building, Goethe advocated following senses only to achieve subjectivity and interaction with the spirit inside.[337]

In German architectural theory, the foundation of the Berlin Architecture Academy in 1799 became a turning point. Friedrich Wilhelm II was an advocator of Classicism and interested in constructing a German taste through the Greeks' legacy. He ordered the architect Friedrich Wilhelm Freiherr von Erdmannsdorff to renovate the Berlin Schloss in a classical style and Carl Gotthard Langhans built the Brandenburg Gate between 1789 and 1791. Friedrick Wilhelm also invited the architect David Gilly to Berlin in the 1780s. In 1783, David Gilly was supervising a small architectural school that used French teaching methods in Settin. After he came to Berlin, Gilly reopened his school as an institute in 1793. The crown officially approved his school as the Bauakademie in 1799. At that time, Gilly's son Friedrich Gilly, who would become Schinkel's mentor, had surpassed his father with his architectural skills.[338]

Following such developments in art and architecture fed by Classicism and Nationalism, in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, German architects were concerned with reflecting their German identity in their buildings. With *Welchem Stil Sollen Wir Bauen?* (*In Which Style Should We Build?*) in 1828, architect Heinrich Hübsch referred to such ideas and discussions of defining an architectural style. These were about forming a German national style while different movements, including Nationalism and Neoclassicism, were on the rise. In this case, Hübsch pointed out an uncertain situation and argued that only one style could fulfill the requirements and demands of any society. To describe such a style, he followed an analytical approach to history and considered the past a source of inspiration.

After Winckelmann, Hübsch's writings in the 1820s became the most long-term criticism of Neoclassicism regarding aesthetics and historical perception that shaped German architectural approaches. Hübsch was directly opposed to the views of Hirt.

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[337] Purdy, *On the Ruins of Babel: Architectural Metaphor in German Thought*, 162-164.

[338] Mallgrave, *Modern Architectural Theory: A Historical Survey, 1673-1968*, 94.

His ideas also contrasted with his mentor, Weinbrenner. In *Die Baukunst nach den Grundsätzen den Alten (Architecture according to the Principles of the Ancients)* (1809), Hirt explained his neoclassical understanding of antiquity, and the book served as a textbook for architecture at that time. Furthermore, such ideas constituted the core of the earliest and most renowned German architectural textbook, Weinbrenner's *Architektonisches Lehrbuch (Architectural Textbook)* (1810-1825). Both Schinkel and Hübsch criticized Hirt's book, and Hübsch structured his theory according to his objection to Hirt's ideas. Unlike Augustus Pugin in England and Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc in France, who declared manifestos about a new style deriving from national heritage, Hübsch attempted to indicate a historical model that would shape contemporary architectural practice. In this way, he despised the archaeological aspects of eighteenth-century Neoclassicism and developed a historical approach. With Hübsch's *Über Griechische Architectur (On Greek Architecture)* (1822), the controversy between him and Hirt began. Hübsch attacked Hirt's ideas regarding antiquity in this text. Through other publications, they continued to criticize each other. Hirt believed that ancient Greek temples derived from earlier wooden structures; therefore, components of classical orders corresponded to timber construction (Figure 15).
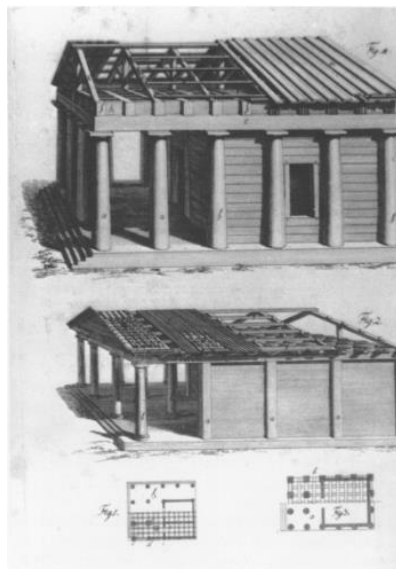
Figure 15. Aloys Ludwig Hirt, *The Tuscan Temple after Vitruvius* (Source: Barry Bergdoll, ''Archaeology vs. History: Heinrich Hübsch's Critique of Neoclassicism and the Beginnings of Historicism in German Architectural Theory,'' *Oxford Art Journal* 5, no. 2 (1983): 4.)

Hirt's view was supported by Goethe, architect Leo von Klenze and Hegel. However, Hübsch objected to Hirt's historical approach and the Vitruvian tradition that had dominated architecture since the Renaissance. Although the debate originated from archaeological aspects, it was also about questioning the relationship between architecture and history. For Hübsch, architecture depended on materials and their socio-historic contexts. In this case, temples were not the predecessors of stone temples, and contemporary architects could not imitate the Greeks by copying their forms.[339] Hübsch also subscribed to the idea that history was a paradigmatic process rather than a formal model. Regarding the creation of architectural forms, he rejected theories based on *a priori* ideals, such as the primitive hut conception of Laugier.[340] His views referred to Historicism, which dominated architectural theories of the nineteenth century and resulted from the development of art history as a scientific discipline and a Hegelian attitude. It was also a new analytical understanding of history based on the idea of process. With his ideas, Hübsch defined a dialectical relationship between the present and the past and tried to approach architecture in the historical context.[341] Such investigations of historical styles were typical for the nineteenth century. While classical buildings were being constructed, they did not resemble only Greek or Roman but also reflected different stages in the development of classical style since antiquity. In this way, the past served as a source of ideas.[342] Neoclassicism also maintained its status in all arts as architects like Schinkel formed new connections with archaeologists.[343]

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[339] Bergdoll, ''Archaeology vs. History: Heinrich Hübsch's Critique of Neoclassicism and the Beginnings of Historicism in German Architectural Theory,'' 3-4.

[340] Bergdoll, ''Archaeology vs. History: Heinrich Hübsch's Critique of Neoclassicism and the Beginnings of Historicism in German Architectural Theory,'' 7.

[341] Bergdoll, ''Archaeology vs. History: Heinrich Hübsch's Critique of Neoclassicism and the Beginnings of Historicism in German Architectural Theory,'' 11-12.

[342] Summerson, *The Classical Language of Architecture*, 108.

[343] Dyson, *In Pursuit of Ancient Pasts: A History of Classical Archaeology in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, 65.

While debates on architectural style revolved around history, archaeology, and Classicism, Schinkel's view on art and architecture included his interpretations of all together with his nationalistic concerns. His views derived from his reception of antiquity, and his approach led to a translation of ruins embodied in building.

3.3. Training, Approaches, and Early Career of Schinkel: Intuition and Nature

Schinkel was born in 1781 in Neuruppin, a town in the northwest of the capital. His father, a local pastor and inspector of schools and churches, died in the enormous fire of 1787 that destroyed much of the town. Due to this tragic event, Schinkel grew up in an environment under constant reconstruction.[344] Seeing his neighborhood in ruins may have been decisive in his future architectural career. Furthermore, thanks to his father's insight into his artistic talents, he became involved with music, drawing, and theater, and this led to the emergence of his interest in aesthetics and the urban environment.[345] Starting from his childhood, Schinkel's intellectual development revolved around intuition (*Anschauung*) and nature. These notions played a vital role in his early works and shaped his perception of antiquity, together with his relationship with Gillys and his trip to Italy.

The concept of *Anschauung* corresponds to intuition in English and was a part of Kant's philosophy. Kant argued that space and time were readily available to the viewer and appeared as independent data themselves, like impressions that derived from the senses. Also, he named the knowledge gathered from these objects of knowledge *Anschauung*. Senses were subjective as they varied for every individual, and sensibility led to sensation (*Empfindung*), while space and time emerged as the

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[344] Barry Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: An Architecture for Prussia* (New York: Rizzoli, 1994), 15.

[345] Hermann G. Pundt, *Schinkel's Berlin: A Study in Environmental Planning* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972), 35. In this book, Pundt provides a detailed account of Schinkel's urban design concerns and interventions for Berlin. His calling Berlin Schinkel's clearly hints his focus on Berlin's urban development in the first half of the nineteenth century as an outcome of Schinkel's design and planning.

manifestations of sensibility.[346] Here observation played a key role in the formation of sensations. Schinkel's approach derived from his intuitions can be traced back to his early school days in his hometown. His education included the pedagogy of Philipp Julius Lieberkühn, a German educator and writer, and it was based on intuition by providing opportunities for students to express and focus on what they felt about their observations.[347] Emphasizing contemplation that enhanced the imagination skills of students, this educational approach was new and radical at that time. *Anschauung* for Lieberkühn also referred to beholding, and throughout his career, instead of memorization to remember, Schinkel preferred to behold to understand.[348] Furthermore, as mentioned before, Fichte, who wrote on self-determination[349], directed his conception of self and its tendency to behold and behold itself. In this way, Schinkel's work acquired a self-reflexive aspect.[350] Fichte's ideas had such an impact on him that he took his *Vocation of Man (Die Bestimmung des Menschen)* (1800) with him when he began his trip to Italy in 1803. In this book, Fichte focused on the process of indicating the moral for action from the development of self-consciousness. He believed that the state should be formed as a rationalization of collective consciousness that derived from individual consciousness.[351] Following such ideas of Fichte, observation became an integral part of Schinkel's thinking. Also, being inspired by Goethe and his ideas on viewing and nature regarding architecture, his act of observing fueled Schinkel's interest in nature and became an essential part of his approach to art and architecture in time.

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[346] "What Does Anschauung Mean?" *The Monist*, vol. 2, no. 4 (1892): 527-528.

[347] Kurt W. Forster, *Schinkel: A Meander Through His Life and Work* (Boston, MA: Birkhauser, 2018), 27.

[348] Forster, *Schinkel: A Meander Through His Life and Work*, 48-50.

[349] Watkin and Mellinghoff, *German Architecture and the Classical Ideal, 1740-1840*, 8.

[350] Forster, *Schinkel: A Meander Through His Life and Work*, 25.

[351] Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: An Architecture for Prussia*, 19.

Schinkel moved to Berlin in 1795 with his family after the death of his father. While he was at the Gymnasium zum Grauen Kloster, his education was classics-based, and he quit it to attend David Gilly's private architecture school in 1798. In this period, he also stayed with David and his son Friedrich, forming a companionship. After one year, he became one of the first students of the new Bauakademie, which was under the Ober-Bau Deputation. He was among the first architects trained by the state and passed the examination to earn the position of building conductor. During his study at the Bauakademie, he took courses on hydraulics, mathematics, mapmaking, and architectural history. He also attended lectures of Hirt at the Academy of Fine Arts, which were about classical architecture and society as the highest fulfillment of aesthetic ideals. Still, he remained in contact with Gillys,[352] and this highly contributed to the shaping of his architectural career.

With Gentz, Friedrich Gilly was a significant figure in Franco-Prussian architecture, as the successor of Langhans and his father, David Gilly. He received a classics-based education and read writings of Winckelmann and Goethe, leading him to regard antique forms as pure and noble. Accordingly, his architectural designs included primary abstract forms. As an essential step in his career, he entered the competition for a monument to Frederick the Great in 1796. His project proposal was a temple complex with Doric colonnades that brought a Greek propylaea and a Roman ceremonial arch together. On the left side, the arch emerged as an abstraction of the Brandenburg Gate by Langhans, under the influence of Étienne-Louis Boullée and Claude Nicolas Ledoux's abstract geometrical style. Furthermore, on the right side, he preferred to place obelisks (Figure 16.)[353] Prior to their meeting in 1797, Schinkel had come across this design of Friedrich Gilly in Berlin, and it had become what inspired him to study architecture in the first place.[354] This project of Gilly, which will be further discussed in the following pages, would also play a significant role in

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[352] Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: An Architecture for Prussia,* 15.

[353] Watkin and Mellinghoff, *German Architecture and the Classical Ideal, 1740-1840*, 66.

[354] Peter Betthausen, ''Karl Friedrich Schinkel: A Universal Man,'' in *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: A Universal Man,* ed. Michael Snodin (New Haven: Yale University Press in association with the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1991), 4.

Schinkel's career regarding his reception of antiquity and translation of ruins into building.
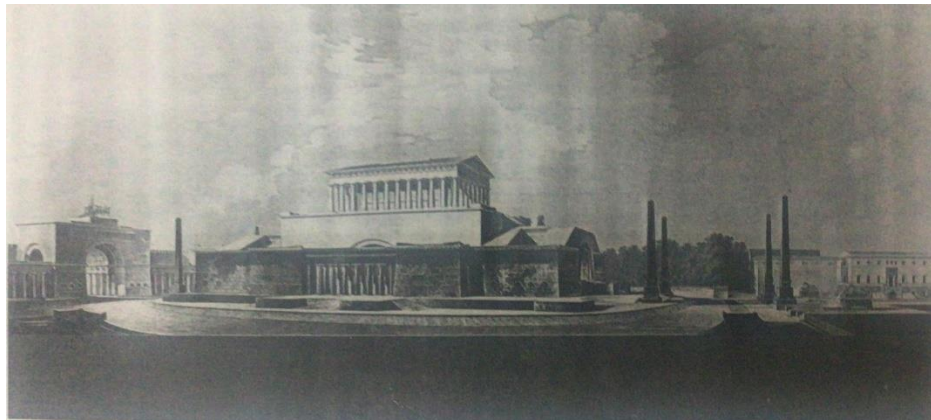
Figure 16. Friedrich Gilly, The Design for the Monument to Frederick the Great, 1797 (Source: Watkin and Mellinghoff, *German Architecture and the Classical Ideal*, 1740-1840, 66.)

Schinkel not only studied at their school and became close with Gillys but also had the opportunity to benefit from Gillys' knowledge and experiences in a wide range of topics. For instance, on the technical side, he learned how to draw perspectives from Friedrich Gilly. Furthermore, with David Gilly, he became familiar with pragmatic philosophy that regarded tectonics as the primary order of architecture, and Friedrich Gilly introduced him to philosophical aesthetics and romantic literature. In 1798, Friedrich Gilly also formed a small group of young architects in which he added Schinkel. He shared his library, which included books with plates and engravings. The group used to gather once a week to discuss texts on architecture; nevertheless, they were also engaged in philosophical debates about programs that Gilly prepared. In some of these programs, Gilly was inspired by literary text and investigated whether architecture could have literary qualities, like most of his drawings. For instance, in *The Temple of Loneliness* (*Der Tempel der Einsamkeit*) (1799-1800), he described a self-portrait that referred to his romantic conception of the artist who sought higher truths alone[355] (Figure 17). The building was small and circular, situated on a hill open to the sky. It reflected the sense of a calm place that offered consolation to an exhausted

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[355] Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: An Architecture for Prussia*, 16.

traveler through deep thinking.[356] Friedrich Gilly's other projects included public buildings, theaters, civic assembly halls, and public baths. They were mostly attempts to propose solutions to designs of modern urban building types and criticize ongoing building projects in Berlin at that time. Being inspired by Gilly's activities, Schinkel also designed a museum as one of his earliest projects in 1800 (Figure 18). His presentation of the building with perspective, the high level of abstraction, massing, and the relationship with walls and portico hinted at his loyalty to Gilly.[357]

Figure 17. Friedrich Gilly, *The Temple of Loneliness,* 1799/1800 (Source: Neumeyer, ''Introduction,'' in Friedrich Gilly, *Friedrich Gilly: Essays on Architecture*, *1796-1799*, 45.)

Figure 18. Schinkel, The Design for a Porticoed Museum, 1800 (Source: Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: An Architecture for Prussia*, 17.)

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[356] Fritz Neumeyer, ''Introduction,'' in Friedrich Gilly, *Friedrich Gilly: Essays on Architecture, 1796-1799*, introduction by Fritz Neumeyer and translated by David Britt (Santa Monica, CA: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1994), 45. It is interesting that Bergdoll translated *Der Tempel der Einsamkeit* as ''The Temple of Loneliness,'' whereas Neumeyer preferred to use ''solitude'' in his translation. The meaning of solitude has a better coherence with the context of Gilly's drawing and what it represents.

[357] Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: An Architecture for Prussia*, 16.

Friedrich Gilly regarded Schinkel as his heir. When he passed away in 1800, he left him his drawings, and they became sources of inspiration for Schinkel. Schinkel began his professional career in the shoes of Gilly and worked in his style between 1802 and 1805. The Steinmeyer House in the Friedrichstrasse and Schloss Buckow near Berlin were examples of his work in this period. Together with the unbuilt designs for four villas on the water and the building for the colossal Schloss Köstriz (Figure 19) that included Egyptian nuances, these projects reflected the stereometric aspect of the Franco-Prussian style, also Gilly's preference to show buildings in their environment.
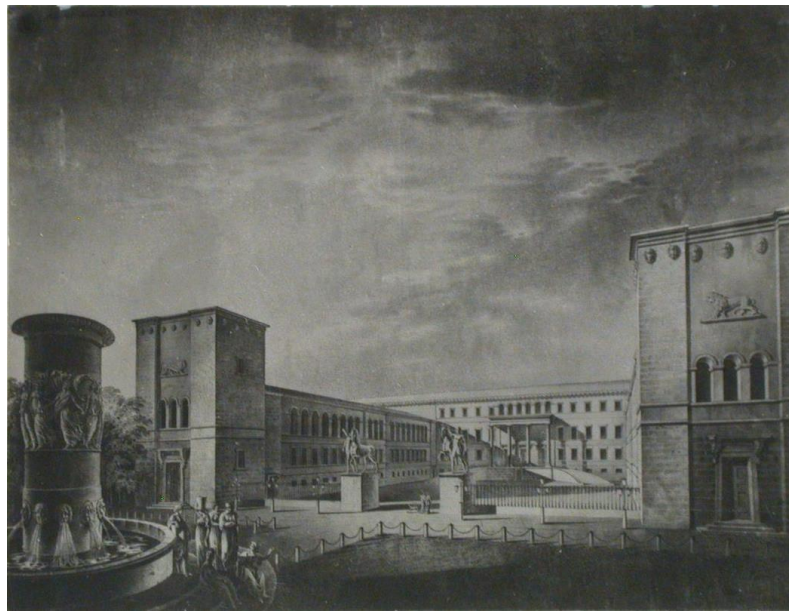
Figure 19. Schinkel, The Design for a Schloss in Köstritz, 1802 (Source: Collection of Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal)

In 1803, Schinkel left Berlin for his trip to Italy, and together with Friedrich Gilly's mentorship, it directed his career. Upon his arrival, he was amazed by the richness and variety of Italian medieval and regional architecture. Instead of monuments, he preferred to focus on issues related to construction. For instance, he adored Milan Cathedral's acoustics and wrote to David Gilly that he valued honesty and quality in construction most. He was not interested in measuring everything in technical ways and studying existing buildings; however, he formulated his own creative approach from what he observed. In 1804, he wrote to Gilly that ''for the most part, the monuments of antiquity do not offer anything new for an architect, because one has been acquainted with them since one's youth. However, the sight of these works in their natural setting holds a surprise which comes not only from their size but also

from their picturesque grouping.'' Furthermore, he claimed that ''Gothic has everything in common, except for style, with the Greek.''[358] As mentioned before, he took Fichte's *Vocation of Man* with him when he left Berlin, not Winckelmann's texts on antiquity, despite what one might expect. In parallel to Fichte's views, Schinkel wanted to observe the landscapes, monuments, and cultures that he only could learn about through other architects who relied on Winckelmann's writings in terms of interpreting antiquity so far.[359] This aim showed that Schinkel was more interested in seeing and experiencing classical buildings that he was already familiar with in their environment at this point of his career. That enhanced his understanding of Classicism and broadened his ways of thinking. Meanwhile, he also developed a neutral approach towards historical styles.

Schinkel admired the Greek temples and Norman Romanesque style during his stay in Sicily for the winter of 1803-4. He produced a significant number of topographical drawings and paintings in which he included panoramic views of towns and landscapes. Through these works, he investigated the relationship between individual buildings and their surroundings, both in natural and urban environments.[360] (Figure 20) In fact, he had always been interested in nature, and this tendency significantly contributed to the formation of his approach to art and architecture.

Figure 20. Schinkel, The Italian Vernacular House, Sicily, 1803-4 (Source: Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: An Architecture for Prussia*, 22)

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[358] Watkin and Mellinghoff, *German Architecture and the Classical Ideal, 1740-1840*, 86.

[359] Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: An Architecture for Prussia*, 19.

[360] Watkin and Mellinghoff, German Architecture and the Classical Ideal, 1740-1840, 86.

At the end of the eighteenth century, the rise of sciences and poetic imagination had opened new ways for creativity together.[361] Through his education and career, Schinkel had the opportunity to experience such an intellectual climate. Poetic imagination led to the incorporation of nature into processes of thought. In addition to observing ancient architecture in original sites, Schinkel's interest in nature motivated him to go on a trip to Italy. Regarding nature, geology as a developing science was also a significant part of Schinkel's approach to architecture.[362] As evident by the notes from his trip to Italy, with a desire to explore and have adventures, his imagining and representation of buildings often addressed geological aspects of sites.[363] In this respect, he preferred to focus on landscapes in the early stages of his career.

During his travels, Schinkel saw stretches in the Alps, lakes, grottoes, mines, and shorelines as elements of the landscape. For him, these features had a decisive role in architecture, and he spent his time studying them to enrich his architectural thinking.[364] His travel notes included a wide variety of details on the landscapes he visited after seeing the grottoes and mines in Carinthia, Austria, and Slovenia. He was also interested in water as a natural element; for instance, the crystal-like water of a periodic lake near Zirknitz (Cerknica, Slovenia) fascinated him with its relation to the mountains. Here his excitement went beyond observing the technical qualities of the water to the point of enhancing his poetic imagination.[365] In his architectural thinking, when a building was placed, an area in a landscape would emerge as a composition of rock, water, and trees.[366]

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[361] Forster, *Schinkel: A Meander Through His Life and Work*, 20.

[362] Forster, *Schinkel: A Meander Through His Life and Work*, 9.

[363] Forster, *Schinkel: A Meander Through His Life and Work*, 22.

[364] Forster, *Schinkel: A Meander Through His Life and Work*, 24.

[365] Forster, *Schinkel: A Meander Through His Life and Work*, 72.

[366] Forster, *Schinkel: A Meander Through His Life and Work*, 69.

Following his excitement for nature, Schinkel began to make landscape paintings. While in Rome, he participated in a group of German artists and writers, including Humboldt and the painters Joseph Anton Koch, Gottlieb Schick, and Karl Ludwig Kaaz. These painters guided him in painting. Being a painter provided him financial benefit when there were relatively few architectural work opportunities during the French invasion of Berlin, resulting from Prussia's defeat at Jena in 1806. He began to work as a diorama and panorama painter for the theatrical impresario Wilhelm Gropius and lived with his two sons, who were also painters. From English artists, Germans had learned about the panorama technique that involved the illusionistic painting of scenes, artificial lighting, and music and could be used to depict not only cities or nature but also events from history or the present day.[367] Schinkel produced most of his paintings at this time, especially between 1805-1815, when he was primarily a Romantic and favored the Gothic style, which was widely accepted as the national style of Prussia at that time.[368] Apart from paintings, he also produced several stage designs, panoramas, and dioramas in this period.

In relation to his interest in observation and nature, Schinkel had a wish to see the world from above.[369] Upon climbing Mount Etna on his trip to Italy, he made a painting of his view (1804) (Figure 21) and recorded his feelings about seeing land and sea together below as such: ''I saw the sun declining sharply as I approached the mountainside. Until that point I had no concept of the effect of such a natural scene. From that stony wasteland I was suddenly peering down on the vast surface of the Adriatic Sea, which, its waves gleaming in the evening sunlight, encircled the steep foothills many thousands of feet below me. Vineyards clustered on the mountains, forming slopes; many hundreds of country villas, behind thick foliage, shone brightly

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[367] Watkin and Mellinghoff, *German Architecture and the Classical Ideal, 1740-1840*, 86-87.

[368] Betthausen, ''Karl Friedrich Schinkel: A Universal Man,'' in *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: A Universal Man*, 5.

[369] Helmut Börsch-Supan, ''Schinkel the Artist,'' in *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: A Universal Man,* ed. Michael Snodin (New Haven: Yale University Press in association with the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1991), 9.

out of the green or hid in the valleys.''[370] In another painting, he also tried to represent this scenery by forming a composition through the ruins of the ancient theater at Taormina (1809) (Figure 22).

Figure 21. Schinkel, *The View from the Summit of Etna with the Sunrise on the Distant Horizon,* 1804 (Source: Börsch-Supan, ''Schinkel the Artist,'' in *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: A Universal Man*, 10.)

Figure 22. Schinkel, *The View of Mount Etna from the Ancient Theater at Taormina*, 1809 (Source: Forster, *Schinkel: A Meander Through His Life and Work*, 264.)

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[370] Gottfried Riemann, ed. *Reisen nach Italien, Tagebücher, Briefe, Zeichungen, Aquarelle* (Verlag: Berlin Verlag Ruetten & Loening, 1979), 280, quoted in Börsch-Supan, ''Schinkel the Artist,'' in *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: A Universal Man*, 10.

Schinkel continued to include ruins in his paintings. In *Morning* (1813) (Figure 23), he had a historical approach that depicted ruins on the grass. Furthermore, with his concern to emphasize the effect of sunlight through light and dark areas, the people in the painting indicated the lively and human aspect of the scene.[371] In Schinkel's mind, human presence was an essential feature of nature: ''Landscape views are particularly interesting when we detect signs of human existence within them. An overall view of a land on which no human has ever set foot can have a quality of awesome beauty; but the viewer becomes uncertain, uneasy, and unhappy because what a human being most wants to experience is the way fellow human beings tame nature, live within her and enjoy her beauty.''[372] With such an approach, his ideas contrasted with Caspar David Friedrich's, a widely known Romantic painter. Friedrich regarded landscapes as creations and reflections of God and, accordingly, depicted what tangible was together with the sense of divine and eternal.[373] However, for Schinkel, landscapes had a human aspect. Since architecture was also a human creation, he integrated humans directly or through architecture into his paintings.

Figure 23. Schinkel, *Morning,* 1813 (Source: Börsch-Supan, ''Schinkel the Artist,''
in *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: A Universal Man*, 11.)

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[371] Börsch-Supan, ''Schinkel the Artist,'' in *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: A Universal Man*, 10.

[372] Alfred Freiherr von Wolzogen, *Aus Schinkels Nachlass, Reisetagebücher, Briefe und Aphorismen*, vol.3 (Berlin: Decker, 1862-3), 367, quoted in Börsch-Supan, ''Schinkel the Artist,'' in *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: A Universal Man*, 10.

[373] Börsch-Supan, ''Schinkel the Artist,'' in *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: A Universal Man*, 10.

The largest drawing that Schinkel made was a view of Schloss Predjama[374] (1816) (Figure 24) and it represented how a single building was constructed into a cavity of a rock. He placed the Schloss in the center of his canvas and showed how it fitted into a composition with its surrounding land, water, trees, and other settlements in the landscape for the observer. In *A View of Schloss Predjama*, it is not easy to distinguish the architectural style of the Schloss as the building was placed at a distance from the observer. However, Schinkel's interest in Gothic and ancient architecture was also evident in his paintings. For instance, in *Landscape with Gothic Arcades* (1812) (Figure 25), he preferred to frame the landscape through the view from the inside of Gothic arcades where the observer stood. Like in *Morning*, he placed two people and included light and shadow to increase the drama effect of the scene. Furthermore, in *Antique City on a Mountain* (1805) (Figure 26), he depicted an ancient city with its surrounding nature. Placing the temple in the center, he also included several ancient buildings located along the hill, demonstrating a concern for showing the urban scene together with the landscape. With human and animal presence, his painting also appeared as a moment from history.
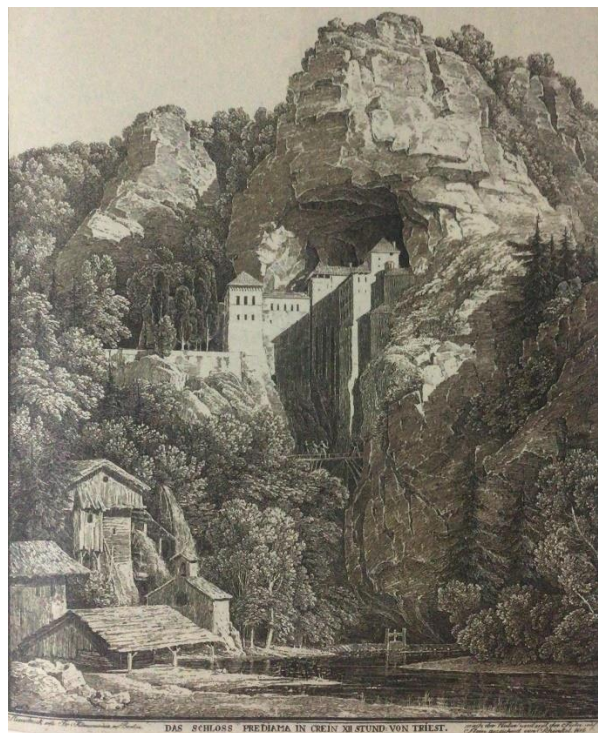
Figure 24. Schinkel, *A View of Schloss Predjama,* 1816 (Source: Forster, *Schinkel: A Meander Through His Life and Work*, 103.)

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[374] Forster, *Schinkel: A Meander Through His Life and Work*, 102.

Figure 25. Schinkel, *Landscape with Gothic Arcades*, 1812 (Source: Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: An Architecture for Prussia*, 25.)

Figure 26. Schinkel, *Antique City on a Mountain*, 1805 (Source: Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: An Architecture for Prussia*, 25.)

Unlike *Antique City on a Mountain,* which depicted an ancient city with classical architecture buildings and components, *Medieval City by the Sea* (1813) (Figure 27) represented a city from the Medieval times, becoming one of Schinkel's most renowned paintings. Here he attempted to create an effect of sublime, like in Friedrich's works. His interpretation of the scenery focusing on the panoramic view

and careful details referred to a nostalgia for the Middle Ages, demonstrating a modernized medieval town with neoclassical buildings that included a palace, a viaduct, and a small Greek Doric portico near the water.[375] In this painting, Schinkel showed his romantic inclinations and described a drama by using light and dark colors together to address emotions. However, unlike Friedrich's works that included ruins, his scenery consisted of completed buildings.[376] Furthermore, with its composition of buildings and different types of architectural components, his painting gave the impression of an imaginary urban scene.

Figure 27. Schinkel, *Medieval City by the Sea*, 1813 (Source: Collection of Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal)

Figure 28. Schinkel, *The Fire of Moscow*, 1812 (Source: Forster, *Schinkel: A Meander Through His Life and Work*, 50.)

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[375] Watkin and Mellinghoff, *German Architecture and the Classical Ideal, 1740-1840*, 87.

[376] Hermann G. Pundt, ''K. F. Schinkel's Environmental Planning of Central Berlin,'' *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 26, no. 2 (1967): 115.

While *Antique City on a Mountain* and *Medieval City by the Sea* derived from Schinkel's conception of history, *The Fire of Moscow* (1812) (Figure 28) addressed a current issue at that time. In September 1812, Napoleon defeated the Russians, invaded Moscow, and, due to the battle, there was a large fire. Schinkel learned about this event from the papers, which probably saddened him as he had a tragic childhood memory of the enormous fire that caused his father to die and destroyed his hometown Neuruppin.[377] He had seen the fire in Neuruppin and its causalities himself. Although he did not physically witness the one in Moscow, he could create a mesmerizing impression that went beyond the experiences of a regular eyewitness.[378] In *The Fire of Moscow*, like *Antique City on a Mountain* and *Medieval City by the Sea*, he also portrayed an urban scene with different types of buildings along the hill toward the river and a bridge. However, this time he preferred to use mostly dark tones like brown, showing the city under clouds of fire smoke and with people in the background, who were probably trying to escape from the fire. Although the scene was about a disastrous event, with clouds in the sky and moving people, Schinkel could add a lively aspect to the painting.

As evident from these three paintings, Schinkel had the concern of representing buildings in the form of a city, showing the urban scene in various scenarios. In relation to such ideas, he also produced panoramas. To view panoramas, spectators should follow a certain path on a raised platform. Considering the conditions of the nineteenth century, this act of viewing different frames in sequence may have been interesting for Schinkel as it referred to the transition to the rush of early modern life offering an urban experience from the old stable order.[379] It also highlighted the position of the observer to perceive the composition and Schinkel's focus on the observation.

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[377] Forster, *Schinkel: A Meander Through His Life and Work*, 50.

[378] Forster, *Schinkel: A Meander Through His Life and Work*, 53.

[379] Forster, *Schinkel: A Meander Through His Life and Work*, 171.

Coinciding with the French invasion of Prussia at that time, *Panorama of Palermo* (1808) (Figure 29) became one of Schinkel's greatest achievements.
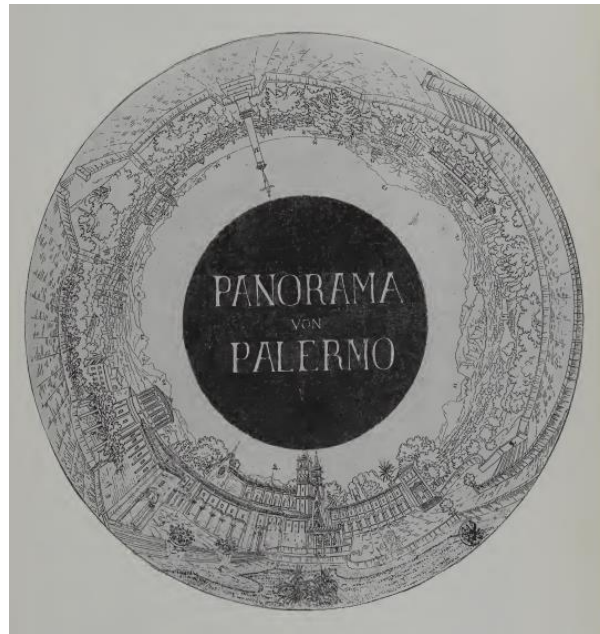
Figure 29. Schinkel, *Panorama of Palermo*, 1808 (Source: Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: An Architecture for Prussia*, 27.)

Panorama of Palermo was enormous with the size of 15 by 135 feet and placed in the king's Schloss. Involving delicate details, it derived from the sketches that Schinkel made during his travel to Sicily several years ago. It also reflected his desire to see the city from above the Norman villas. Furthermore, he added a viewing platform on the bottom, like he imagined when he visited the Campo Santo in Pisa in 1804.[380] Schinkel's interest in panoramas has been associated with his later approach to public architecture.[381]

The way Schinkel approached panoramas with his focus on the stage hinted at his interest in stage design and theater. In the early nineteenth century, the theatre was the most significant institution that directed education and entertainment in Berlin.

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[380] Forster, *Schinkel: A Meander Through His Life and Work*, 164-165.

[381] Kurt W. Forster, ''Schinkel's Panoramic Planning of Central Berlin,'' *Modulus* 16 (1983): 62-77.

Schinkel's travel records from his trip to Italy in 1803-1804 reflected his experiences related to the stage. His overall approach derived from how he regarded drama. With his stage set designs, he could bring words and music in opera together and transform them into another whole art.[382] Furthermore, Schinkel declared that his attraction to theater dated back to his childhood. His passion was also related to his perception of theater in ancient Greece. He argued that ''in ancient Greece, the theater was, as a religious object, a pure Ideal, which made it impossible that it should become, as it has among us, the most impoverished and frivolous aspect of everyday life. Even the indecent was raised to a higher life in its rebirth through art, which freed it of common lust.''[383]

In 1815, Schinkel was hired for designing stage scenery at the Royal Opera House. In this period, he made more than forty productions, including Christoph Willibald Gluck's *Alceste*, Gaspare Spontini's *Olympia*, Carl Maria von Weber's *Der Freischütz*, and E. T. A. Hoffmann's *Undine*. Among these, his most widely known design was composed of the twenty-six scenes he painted for *The Magic Flute* by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart in 1816.[384] In this set, like his other works that featured Medieval churches and ancient Roman temples, Schinkel included figures from Egyptian architecture and exhibited historical architecture in a particular setting while trying to decrease the effect of the archaeological detail depending on the context of the play.[385] Furthermore, in one of the scenes (Figure 30), the composition of the lines in the background brings the inside of the Pantheon in Rome to mind. In 1818, Schinkel's stage design for Spontini's *Vestal Virgin* (Figure 31) became a remarkable manifestation of his architectural ideas. The rotunda in this composition would

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[382] Börsch-Supan, ''Schinkel the Artist,'' in *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: A Universal Man*, 14.

[383] It is Bergdoll's translation to English from Paul Ortwin Rave, *Schinkel Lebenswerk, Berlin I: Bauten für die Kunst, Kirchen, Denkmalpflege* (Berlin and Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1941), 79-87, in Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: An Architecture for Prussia*, 28.

[384] Watkin and Mellinghoff, *German Architecture and the Classical Ideal, 1740-1840*, 87.

[385] Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: An Architecture for Prussia*, 28-31.

reemerge in the Altes Museum later, which would occupy the real-life stage in Berlin. Accordingly, in every type of artwork, spatial representation was his primary concern that paved the way for his architectural approach that used building as a frame for the observer to provide a changed sense of the relationship between momentary experience and existing spatial settings.[386] Schinkel's stage designs also reflected his approach that centralized nature, particularly landscapes. For instance, in his work for the opera *Undine* (1815-16) (Figures 32 and 33), water dominated the stage on a chilly night. Furthermore, it conveyed a sense of immaterial deepness.[387]
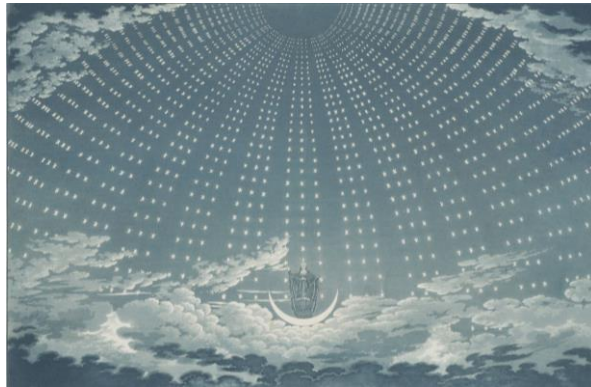
Figure 30. Schinkel, One Scene from the Stage Set for *The Magic Flute* by Mozart, 1816 (Source: Collection of Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal)

Figure 31. Schinkel, One Scene from the Stage Set for *Vestal Virgin* by Spontini, 1818 (Source: Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: An Architecture for Prussia*, 31.)

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[386] Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: An Architecture for Prussia*, 31.

[387] Forster, *Schinkel: A Meander Through His Life and Work*, 54.

Figure 32. Schinkel, Stage Set for *Undine* by E. T. A. Hoffmann, 1815-6 (Source: Forster, *Schinkel: A Meander Through His Life and Work*, 55.)

Figure 33. Schinkel, Stage Set for *Undine* by E. T. A. Hoffmann, 1815-6 (Source: Pundt, *Schinkel's Berlin: A Study in Environmental Planning*, 102.)

Such stage designs of Schinkel above combined his approaches to nature, architecture, and theater on the stage, distinguishing him as a versatile designer. With his *Panorama of Palermo*, he already had acquired royal attention in Prussia, including Queen Louise

at that time.[388] Upon her death, he designed a mausoleum for her in Doric style with Gentz, and it was built in the gardens of Schloss Charlottenburg (Figures 34 and 35).[389]

Figure 34. Schinkel and Gentz, The Mausoleum for Queen Louise, 1810 (Source: Watkin and Mellinghoff, *German Architecture and the Classical Ideal, 1740-1840*, 89.)

Figure 35. Schinkel, The Classical Interior of The Mausoleum for Queen Louise, 1810 (Source: Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: An Architecture for Prussia*, 37.)

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[388] Forster, *Schinkel: A Meander Through His Life and Work*, 265.

[389] Watkin and Mellinghoff, *German Architecture and the Classical Ideal, 1740-1840*, 89.

Figure 36. Schinkel, The Proposal for The Mausoleum for Queen Louise, 1810
(Source: Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: An Architecture for Prussia*, 36.)

Figure 37. Schinkel, A Perspective from the Gothic Interior, Proposal for the
Mausoleum for Queen Louise 1810 (Source: Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: An
Architecture for Prussia*, 36.)

In the same year, Schinkel also wanted to show his act of commemoration for the Queen with a separate project in which he transformed his conception of the stage into a natural setting as an architectural design.[390] He exhibited his design proposals involving a Gothic-style mausoleum at the Berlin Academy, near Friedrich's romantic paintings (Figures 36 and 37). In this case, this work of Schinkel became his interpretation of Romanticism. Furthermore, he distinguished himself from Friedrich with his use of complete Gothic buildings, not the ruins. For Schinkel, the Gothic style also addressed the idea of the infinite.

Friedrich Gilly had considered his Doric-style monument to Friedrich the Great as a tribute to the Prussian order, and similarly, Schinkel believed that Gothic represented the national spirit of the Prussians. It was ''the outward and visible sign of that which united Man to God and the transcendental world.'' For Schinkel, materials and construction directed classical architecture; however, as it conveyed an idea, Gothic was ''higher in its principles than antiquity.'' Still, he preferred to combine Gothic and classical architectural elements in his design as he aimed to allow both to advance each other in order to create a new style. Accordingly, the mausoleum appeared as a small temple with steps and a portico of pointed arches. However, the unadorned wall surface above the arches was not consistent with the Gothic style.[391] This structure can be regarded as an example of Schinkel's trials to come up with a German national style embodied in the mausoleum of Prussia's queen, coherent with the purpose and context of the project.

Through the development of his views on the Gothic style as the architecture of the Germans, Schinkel was inspired by the *Sturm und Drang* movement of 1760-1780, to which Goethe contributed with his writings.[392] He already had been studying Gothic architecture for his attempts to define a German national style for a long time. During his trip to Italy, he also had become interested in construction techniques and methods

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[390] Forster, *Schinkel: A Meander Through His Life and Work*, 265.

[391] Watkin and Mellinghoff, *German Architecture and the Classical Ideal, 1740-1840*, 89-90.

[392] Toews, *Becoming Historical: Cultural Reformation and Public Memory in Early Nineteenth-Century Berlin*, 122.

used to create suitable forms and spaces that could represent the historical character of the region. When he returned to Berlin, and after the French invasion was over, he continued his search for a national architectural style that would reflect the character of the Prussians both in terms of history and the present. He tried to revive the Old German culture by analyzing the Gothic churches and cathedrals. In this case, his individual design proposal for the mausoleum for Queen Louise showed his interpretation of Gothic as German in the modern context.[393]

After the proposal for the mausoleum of the deceased queen of Prussia, Schinkel's tendency to use the Gothic style to express a German national spirit revealed itself again in the project dedicated to celebrating the process leading to the ultimate German victory over Napoleon in 1815. During the invasion of Berlin in 1807-8, Fichte had made nationalist declarations that aimed to awaken all the German-speaking states in terms of patriotism and culture which became a source of inspiration for Schinkel. His initial design involved a Gothic cathedral, in which he believed he could find the efforts and skills of a nation (Figure 38). For him, it had the potential to fulfill the current national needs of Germans. The enormous Gothic facade of the cathedral would also define a public plaza. In his imagination, citizens would contribute to the construction by carrying pieces of brick that were the regional material of Prussia and, unfortunately, kept under stucco for a long time. Schinkel regarded this as a reanimation of the *Bauhütte* convention, which referred to the construction of Gothic cathedrals in the form of workshop organizations. Such ideas reflected his revivalist view that prioritized Gothic for development and combined national and biological concerns to identify a new style, also addressing the decisive impact of the artist on the future. As a result of this progressive outlook, Schinkel used cast iron in the realized version of the project that emerged as a monument in a form that recalled an obelisk with its long and thin appearance (Figure 39). At that time, iron was a new material that could be used for the future of Gothic and, after the national campaigns

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[393] Toews, *Becoming Historical: Cultural Reformation and Public Memory in Early Nineteenth-Century Berlin*, 121.

to motivate citizens to bring their jewelry for manufacturing weapons, it acquired national importance along with the idiom ''I gave my gold for iron.''[394]

In all these selected pieces, between 1805 and 1814, when architectural opportunities were limited in Prussia, Schinkel explored the relationships among architectural form, public space, and the formation of a national identity. His works conveyed the resistance instinct of the Germans to the French invasion and demonstrated his goal to represent Prussia as a free state with its free citizens.[395]

Figure 38. Schinkel, The Project for a Cathedral to the Wars of Liberation, 1814
(Source: Bergdoll, *European Architecture 1750-1890*, 148.)

Figure 39. Schinkel, A View from the Memorial for the Wars of Liberation (Source: Collection of Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal)

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[394] Bergdoll, *European Architecture 1750-1890*, 148-149.

[395] Toews, *Becoming Historical: Cultural Reformation and Public Memory in Early Nineteenth-Century Berlin*, 123.

3.4.   Schinkel as a State Architect: Lessons from the Ancients

Along with all the industrial developments and transformed city life, the Nineteenth Century led to the distinction between home and workplace. Accordingly, architectural programs such as the factory, department store, office building, and apartment house became common. At the same time, museums, theaters, and opera houses emerged to fulfill the increasing cultural needs of society. Architectural thinking in the nineteenth century also centralized perceiving and configuring modern built environments from a perspective derived from art and imagination.[396] Schinkel's buildings generally reflected his approach that revolved around intuition and nature, also incorporating his reception of antiquity.

Schinkel believed in the decisive force of the Nineteenth Century regarding revolutions. In parallel to the doctrine of German Idealism, he felt that he could shape society according to his way of thinking. In this case, his choice to work for the king as a state architect in 1810 became another turning point in his career. He became a civil servant as an *Oberbauassessor* (Senior Building Inspector) under the *Königlichen Technischen Oberbaudeputation* (Royal Technical Superstructure Deputation) of Prussia. In 1815, he was promoted to the position of *Oberbaurat* (Councillor), and in 1830, he was assigned as *Oberbaudirektor* (Senior Building Director) and chief of the same department. With this prominent position, he did not only architectural design but also managed all construction work in Prussia.

When the Germans finally defeated Napoleon in 1815, new architectural opportunities began to emerge in the after-war environment, and the king ordered Schinkel to work on the Neue Wache (New Guardhouse) (1816-1818). Later, he also designed the Schauspielhaus (Theatre) (1818-1821) and the Altes Museum (1823-1830) as the state architect of Prussia.[397] These three buildings stand out not only as they became significant contributions of Schinkel to Berlin on the urban scale but also for their neoclassical style that highly differed from his initial Gothic designs, such as the

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[396] Schwarzer, *German Architectural Theory and the Search for Modern Identity*, 3.

[397] Betthausen, ''Karl Friedrich Schinkel: A Universal Man,'' in *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: A Universal Man*, 1-3.

mausoleum for Queen Louise in 1810. Schinkel imagined that classical style would reflect the pride and ambition of the German nation to reach its ultimate aims despite the harsh conditions. With such an attitude, the Neue Wache became an early example of German Neoclassicist Architecture.

Schinkel's initial design sketches for the Neue Wache (Figure 40) involved round arches and addressed both Gothic and classic styles. Considering its relation to the near Zeughaus (Arsenal), he planned to separate it with trees. Nevertheless, in this way, the king would not be able to see the guarding soldiers in front of the building where he resided, the Schloss. Upon his order, Schinkel pushed the building towards the road. Furthermore, he changed the design and used Doric, even though the columns on the facade gave the impression of Egyptian style. Still, in Schinkel's mind, the building was like a Roman castrum. Corresponding to his general design approach, it had an asymmetrical plan organization combined with a symmetrical facade that looked like Friedrich Gillys' and formed a coherent relation with trees and statues around it,[398] reflecting Schinkel's concern with using natural elements. Furthermore, being located on Unter den Linden, the primary official axis of Berlin as a military monument, it became a part of the city life in Prussia and contributed to awakening the national senses of Prussians at that time.[399] In Schinkel's career, The Neue Wache also became a significant manifestation of his classical approach and interest in Berlin regarding urban design[400] (Figure 41). It acquired the status of the Central Memorial of the Federal Republic of Germany to the Victims of War and Dictatorship in 1993 and still stands today.

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[398] Watkin and Mellinghoff, *German Architecture and the Classical Ideal*, 1740-1840, 91-92.

[399] Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: An Architecture for Prussia*, 48.

[400] Gottfried Riemann, ''Schinkel's Buildings and Plans for Berlin,'' in *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: A Universal Man,* ed. Michael Snodin (New Haven: Yale University Press in association with the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1991), 16.
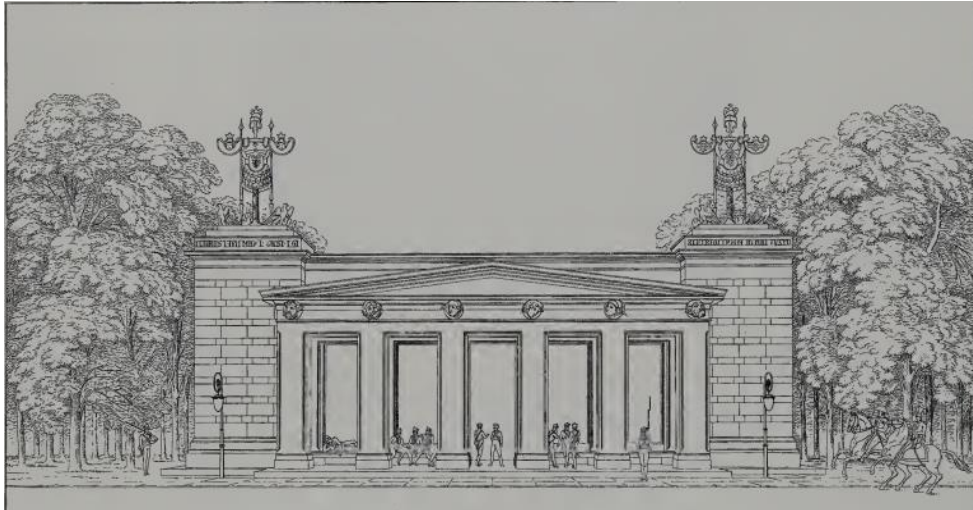
Figure 40. Schinkel, The Neue Wache, Perspective of the First Design, 1816-1818

(Source: Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: An Architecture for Prussia*, 50.)
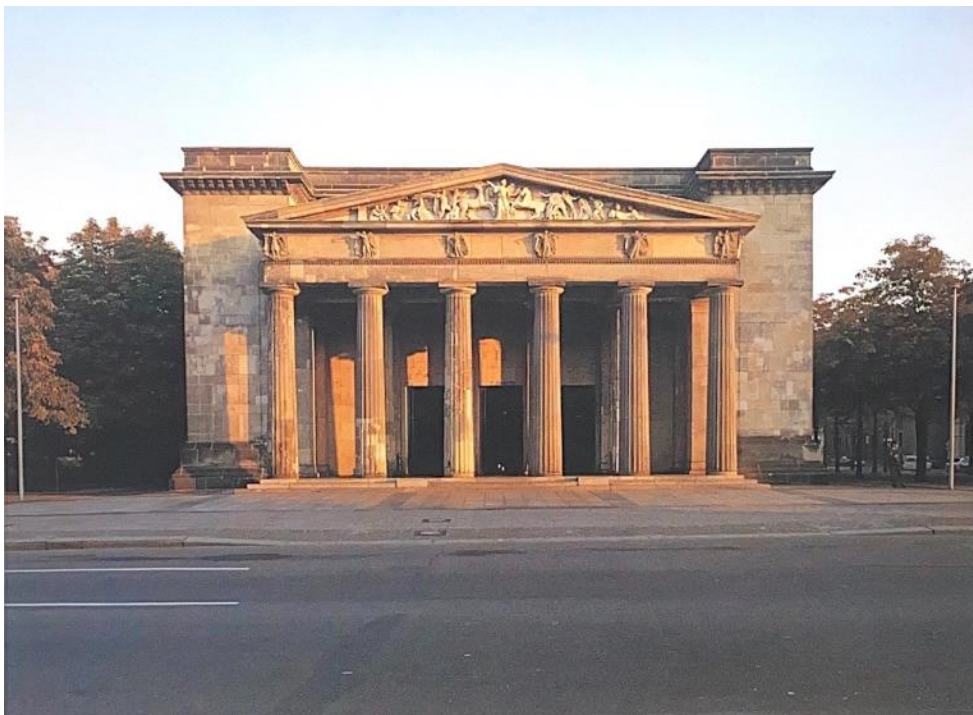
Figure 41. Schinkel, The Main Facade of The Neue Wache, 1817-1818 (Source:

Riemann, ''Schinkel's Buildings and Plans for Berlin,'' in *Karl Friedrich Schinkel:*

A Universal Man, 17.)

In the Neue Wache, Schinkel expressed the military alertness of Prussia through ancient Greek forms and defined a connection among the building and the other monuments of Unter den Linden.[401] With such an urban design concern, he also

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[401] Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: An Architecture for Prussia*, 58.

prepared a master plan for Berlin and submitted it to the king in 1817. It involved a redesign of the center of the city There is no information on what happened to this plan later;[402] however, it became a significant demonstration of Schinkel's design ideas on both building and urban scales.
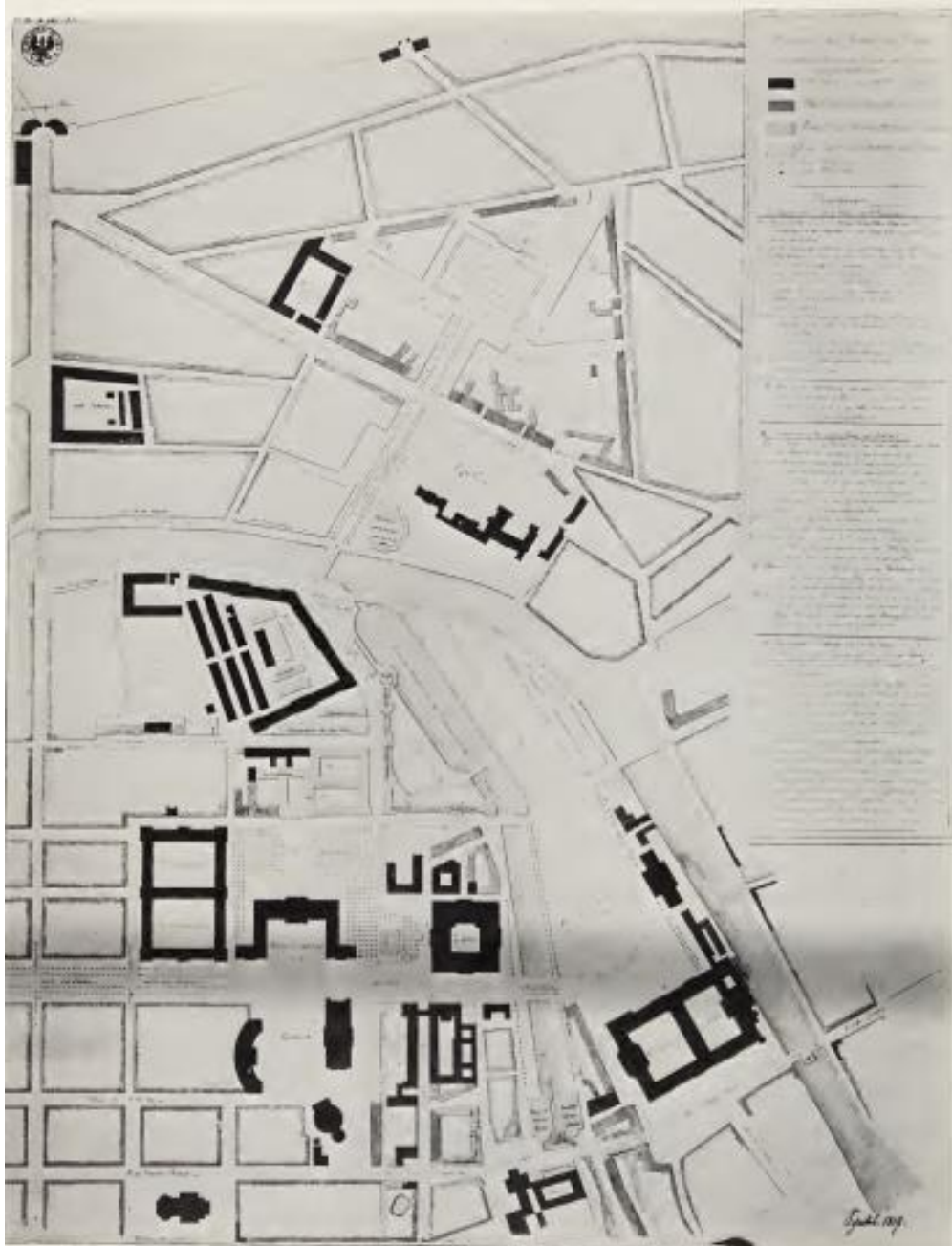
Figure 42. Schinkel, The Master Plan for the Redesign of Central Berlin, 1817

(Source: Pundt, *Schinkel's Berlin: A Study in Environmental Planning*, 124.)

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[402] Pundt, *Schinkel's Berlin: A Study in Environmental Planning*, 123.

Schinkel's urban design proposal for Berlin (Figure 42) was a systematic representation of his imagination. His project included a division of areas depending on function, namely public, commercial, and residential. Furthermore, he envisioned new parks and avenues[403], which referred to his interest in nature and integrating it into modern city life. Although this proposal was not executed, Schauspielhaus played an essential role in realizing his urban planning ideas regarding Berlin. When the National Theater by Langhans was destroyed due to the fire in 1817, Schinkel was ordered to design a new theater at the plaza of Gendarmenmarkt.[404] It defined an area in the west of the city plaza and formed a composition with two neighboring French and German churches on the north and south (Figures 43 and 44).[405]
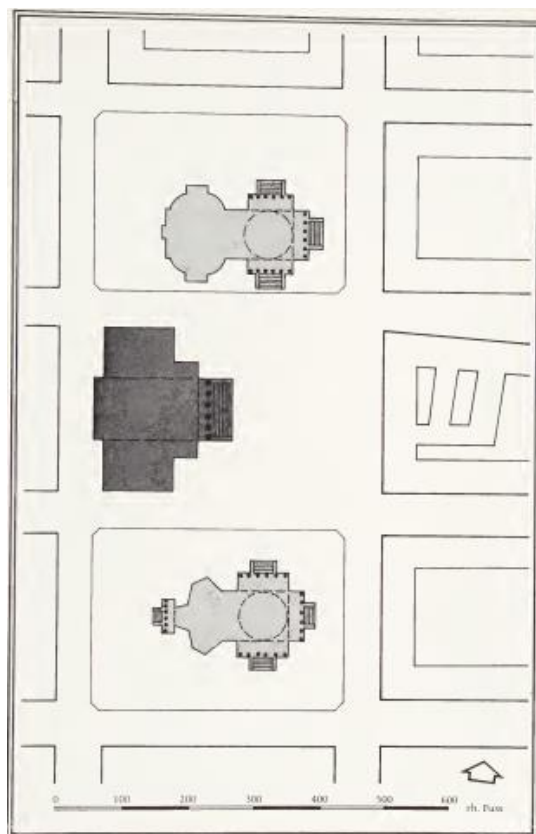
Figure 43. The Site Plan of the Gendarmenmarkt (Source: Pundt, *Schinkel's Berlin: A Study in Environmental Planning*, 131.)

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[403] Pundt, *Schinkel's Berlin: A Study in Environmental Planning*, 126.

[404] Pundt, *Schinkel's Berlin: A Study in Environmental Planning*, 128.

[405] Pundt, *Schinkel's Berlin: A Study in Environmental Planning*, 130.

Figure 44. A View of the Gendarmenmarkt Showing the German Church in the left foreground, Schauspielhaus on the left, and French Church in the center (Source: Collection of Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal)

Schauspielhaus (Figures 45 and 46) became the first manifestation of Schinkel's distinguished style. It derived from a simplified classical approach and involved a trabeated grid that conveyed a poetic and visual expression. The plain mullions and horizontal entablatures that surrounded the enormous mass also provided a lighter impression of the structure. In this way, Schinkel could also place windows at the maximum size as a functional benefit.[406] For his source of inspiration, he pointed to ancient Greece: ''in general, concerning the style of the architecture in which I created the building, I tried to emulate Greek forms and methods of construction insofar as this is possible in such a complex work.''[407] With its axial and symmetrical plan organization and pedimented portico, the classical-looking Schauspielhaus was similar to its surrounding buildings that had reflected French and Italian styles of architecture. However, thanks to his innovative interpretation and usage of Greek and Renaissance architectural components, Schinkel achieved to make his building stand out among its neighbors. Schauspielhaus also marked his first international success. The elevated

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[406] Watkin and Mellinghoff, *German Architecture and the Classical Ideal*, 1740-1840, 92-93.

[407] quoted in Rave, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel Lebenswerk: Berlin,* Volume I*, Bauten für die Kunst, Kirchen, Denkmalpflege*, 131.

main part of the building included the stage, orchestra and auditorium, and the concert hall. The symmetrical wings on the sides housed the rehearsal areas.[408]

Figure 45. Schinkel, The Ground, Main, and Upper Floor Plans of Schauspielhaus, 1818-1821 (Source: Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: An Architecture for Prussia*, 61.)

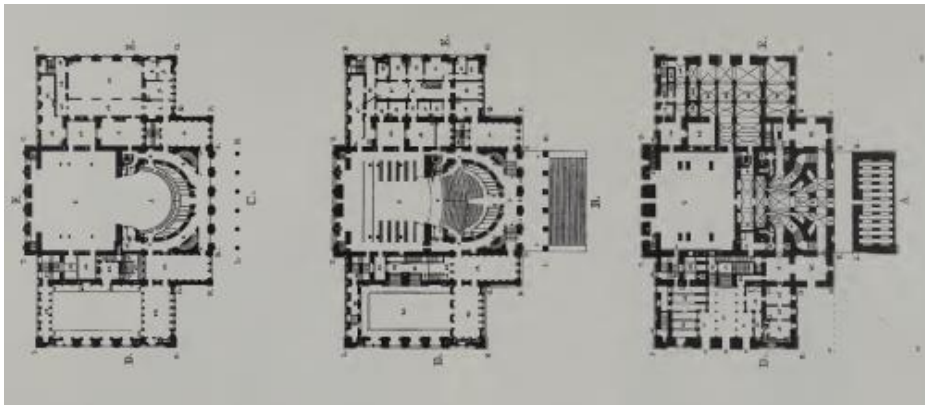Figure 46. Schinkel, The Main Facade of Schauspielhaus, 1818-1821 (Source: Collection of Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal)

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[408] Pundt, *Schinkel's Berlin: A Study in Environmental Planning*, 129-130.

In Schauspielhaus, symmetry enhanced the classical impression of the building. Vitruvius stated that symmetry dominated the classical components of a structure and contributed to the formation of proportion, providing a conceptual harmony among the elements.[409] The tectonics of architecture also aims to convey the meaning through design. In Schinkel's view, buildings that served the public should go beyond the potential of mere construction in terms of function to highlight the tectonic order. He followed a similar approach also for the interior, especially for the auditorium. Schinkel wanted not only to design the stage but also to encourage the public to act, corresponding to the doctrine of Fichte, who believed that aesthetic experience derived from self-consciousness. The auditorium resembled the Roman theater with its semicircular plan, and accordingly, more seats had a spacious view of the stage. Schinkel also placed open balconies near the boxes like the ones in traditional theaters. This addressed the wish of Prussian society to embrace a more democratic culture. In this way, the audience from different classes also could see each other while seeing the actors play. Schinkel believed that this led to the nature of drama as it linked reality and art.[410] For the opening night of the Schauspielhaus and the first play, Goethe's *Iphigenie auf Tauris*, he also designed a panoramic backdrop that portrayed the new urban design of the Gendarmenmarkt (Figure 47). On that day, in the auditorium, a painting that depicted an urban scene by an architect welcomed the audience. The scene presented the actual urban setting they were in at that moment in the building, and the spectators also had the chance to realize the spatial and formal relationships around the Gendarmenmarkt on the stage. This can be seen as a reference to Schinkel's interest in Idealism from an architectural perspective.[411] In this way, the audience also had an ideal and comprehensive architectural experience both on the building and urban scales. The building still stands and is in active use today.

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[409] Forster, *Schinkel: A Meander Through His Life and Work*, 229.

[410] Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: An Architecture for Prussia*, 60-61.

[411] Pundt, *Schinkel's Berlin: A Study in Environmental Planning*, 138.
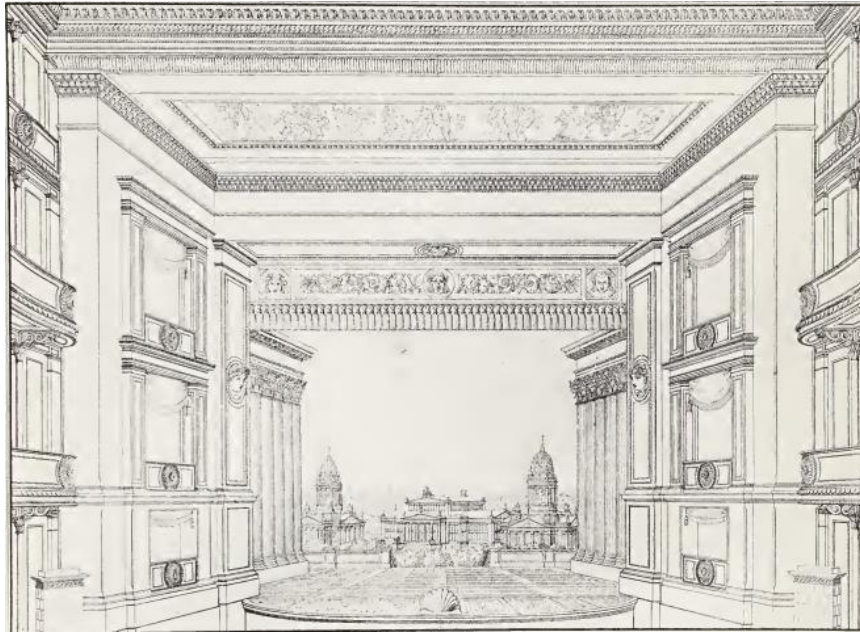
Figure 47. Schinkel, The Stage Backdrop for the Opening of the Schauspielhaus, 1821 (Source: Pundt, *Schinkel's Berlin: A Study in Environmental Planning*, 137.)

Together with the Neue Wache and the Schauspielhaus, Schinkel continued to shape central Berlin. With the Schlossbrücke (1821-1824) (Figure 48), he linked two parts of the city through the Spree River. The bridge was significant with its design that included sculptures depicting war and peace. It also provided a passage among the Neue Wache, the Zeughaus, and the Schloss.[412]
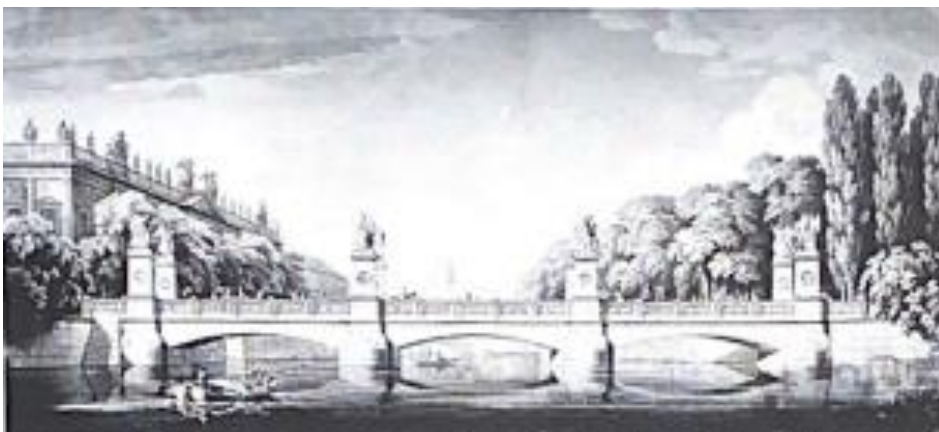
Figure 48. Schinkel, The Design for the Schlossbrücke, Berlin, 1819 (Source: Riemann, ''Schinkel's Buildings and Plans for Berlin,'' in *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: A Universal Man*, 20.)

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[412] Riemann, ''Schinkel's Buildings and Plans for Berlin,'' in *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: A Universal Man*, 20.

The Altes Museum became Schinkel's most remarkable contribution to the urban fabric of Berlin in terms of both form and context. After several proposals that were not accepted, including his, Schinkel came up with a design to be constructed facing the Royal Palace, between the Lustgarten (Figure 49) and the settlements on the river (Figure 50).[413] In addition to its significant location, the museum would contribute to fulfilling the cultural demands of the middle class at that time.

Figure 49. The Plan of Berlin, the Lustgarden on the right, by F. C. Rhoden, 1772 (Source: Richard Bormann, *Die Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler von Berlin* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1982.))

Figure 50. Schinkel, The Site Plan of the Altes Museum, 1823-1830 (Source: Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: An Architecture for Prussia*, 73.)

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[413] Bilsel, *Antiquity on Display: Regimes of the Authentic in Berlin's Pergamon Museum*, 61.

The Altes Museum was a rectangular two-story building (Figure 51). It also involved two courtyards, and its facade with eighteen Ionic columns above the ground faced the Lustgarten.[414] Similar to the Neue Wache, trees became an integral part of the landscape and served to form views through the square.[415] Regarding the plan (Figure 52), Schinkel put a domed rotunda surrounded by a row of Corinthian columns in the center and designed the other spaces around it. In addition to the rotunda, he placed antique statues between those columns, strengthening the resemblance of the interior to the Pantheon (Figure 53).[416] The colonnade also conveyed the impression of an ancient stoa (Figure 54).[417] Schinkel's usage of Ionic order on the facade reflected his aim to bring the plain tectonics of classical Greek architecture and *Anschauung* (intuition) of people closer in terms of architectural experience. He believed that unlike the complicated structural systems of the Gothic, post and lintel construction of ancient Greeks was easy for uneducated people to perceive through intuition. This view also corresponded to the purpose and program of the project as a museum.[418] It would contribute to the changing and developing artistic culture of the society at that time. Today the museum is still open.

Figure 51. The Altes Museum in Perspective View from the Lustgarten, 1823-1830

(Source: Collection of Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal)

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[414] Riemann, ''Schinkel's Buildings and Plans for Berlin,'' in *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: A Universal Man*, 20.

[415] Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: An Architecture for Prussia*, 73.

[416] Bilsel, *Antiquity on Display: Regimes of the Authentic in Berlin's Pergamon Museum*, 63.

[417] Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: An Architecture for Prussia*, 80.

[418] Bilsel, *Antiquity on Display: Regimes of the Authentic in Berlin's Pergamon Museum*, 66.
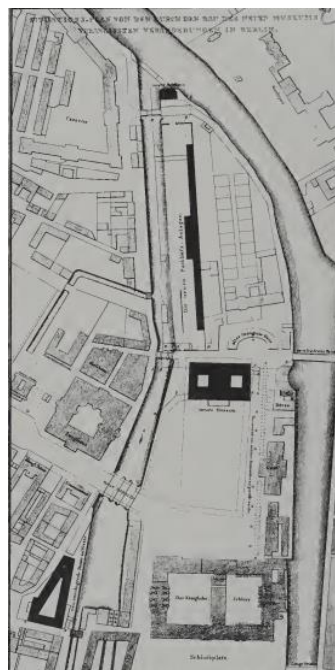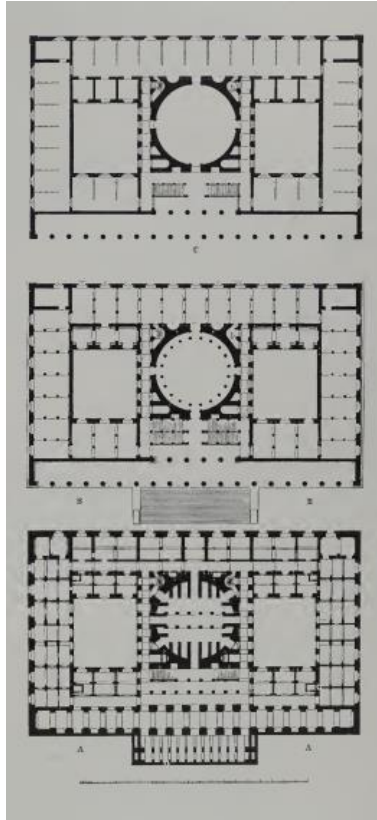
Figure 52. Schinkel, The Floor Plans of the Altes Museum, 1823-1830 (Source:

Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: An Architecture for Prussia*, 83.)

Figure 53. Schinkel, The Rotunda of the Altes Museum, 1823-1830 (Source:

Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: An Architecture for Prussia*, 81.)
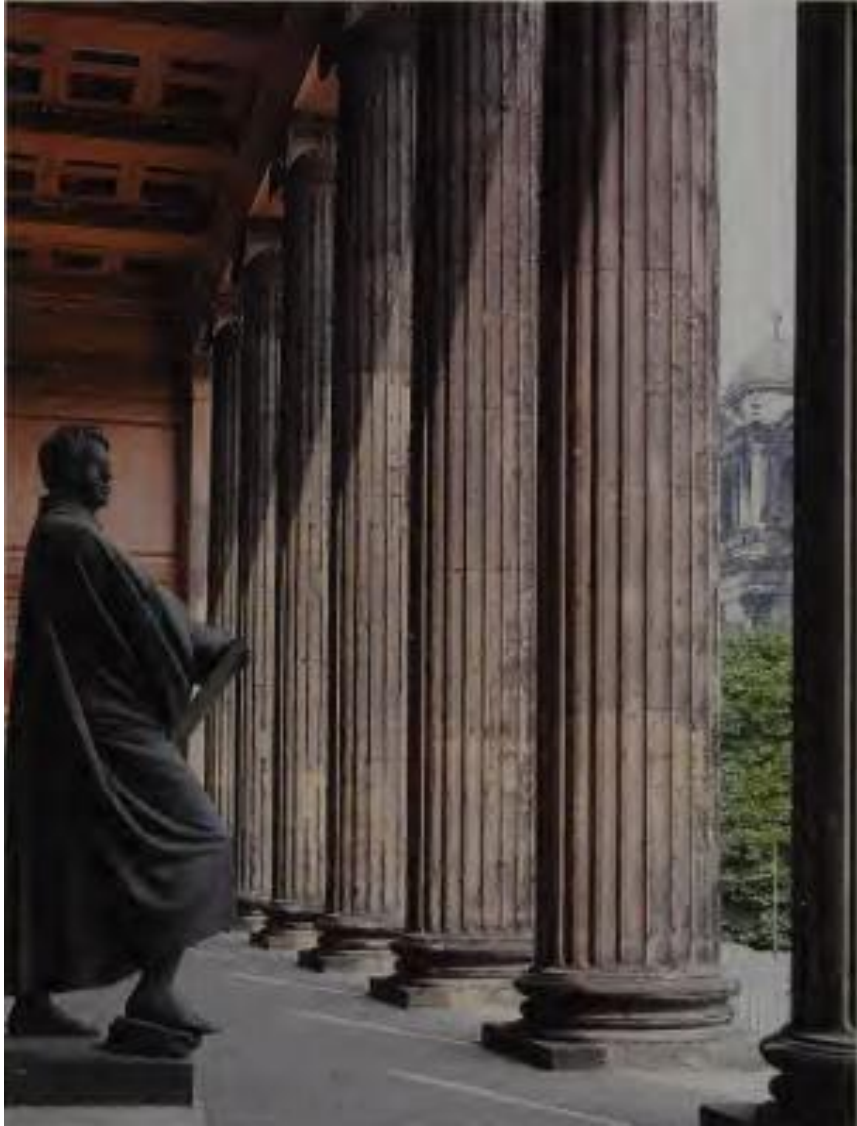
Figure 54. Schinkel, The Altes Museum, 1823-1830

(Source: Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: An Architecture for Prussia*, 78.)

Schinkel also reflected his interest in the act of observing via the Altes Museum. He placed a staircase that linked the two floors from the outside. In this way, Ionic columns on the facade served as a frame to see Berlin for the visitors who climbed the stairs. Furthermore, through this view, Schinkel's usage of the Ionic order, which consisted of columns, capitals, entablature, beams, and ceiling coffers, became visible (Figure 55). He maintained a similar approach while depicting a scene through a frame of architectural components in his paintings, particularly in *A View of Greece in its Prime (Blick in Griechenlands Blüte)* (1825) (Figure 56).[419]

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[419] Bilsel*, Antiquity on Display: Regimes of the Authentic in Berlin's Pergamon Museum*, 67.
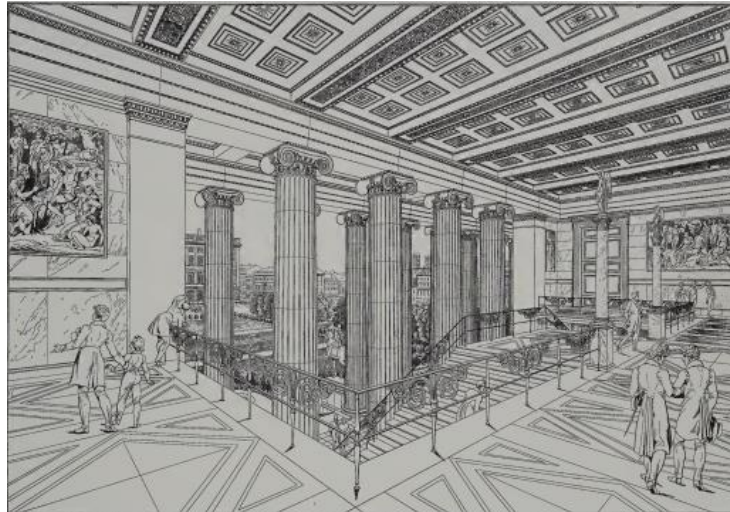
Figure 55. Schinkel, Perspective View through the Vestibule, Altes Museum, 1823-1830 (Source: Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: An Architecture for Prussia*, 85.)

Figure 56. Schinkel, *A View of Greece in its Prime*, 1825 (Source: Bilsel, *Antiquity on Display: Regimes of the Authentic in Berlin's Pergamon Museum*, 30.)

A View of Greece in its Prime was commissioned to Schinkel as a wedding gift from Berlin to Princess Luise of Prussia and Crown Prince of the Netherlands, Frederick. For many scholars, it gave the impression of self-perfection, egalitarianism, and solidarity in the context of an ancient Greek city. In the background, Schinkel depicted a group of cheerful workers working in the construction of a temple situated in a Mediterranean landscape. Schinkel's such glorious portrayal of ancient Greece was also close to the doctrine of the Enlightenment.[420] It appeared as a visual representation of Winckelmann's Greece with its reference to freedom, the concept that has been

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[420] Bilsel, *Antiquity on Display: Regimes of the Authentic in Berlin's Pergamon Museum*, 29-30.

examined in the previous chapter as an integral part of his approach.[421] Furthermore, depending on its title, many critics argued that Schinkel also showed a group of soldiers who were possibly arriving at the city after the Persian wars.[422] With such a composition, Schinkel brought an ideally democratic ancient Greek city and the idea of a victory together. In this way, his work also suggested an analogy between this scene from a heroic narrative from ancient Greek history and the current situation of Prussia and the Germans, who had defeated the French almost a decade ago.[423]

A View of Greece in its Prime was like many of Schinkel's previous paintings that centralized the landscape as a part of nature. It also gave a similar impression with the Altes Museum in terms of framing the landscape view with architectural components of a Greek temple. However, in both cases, the spectators were not supposed to stand in the center; Schinkel rather regarded them as active parts of the scene.[424] This can be associated with his interest in following intuition and observation. Along with his design idea behind the Altes Museum, *A View of Greece in its Prime* can also be regarded as a manifestation of Schinkel's reception of *Bildung* in relation to his social and cultural concerns.[425] The term *Bildung* is difficult to translate directly from German to other languages, as it is intrinsic to their culture.[426] Different from official

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[421] Bilsel, *Antiquity on Display: Regimes of the Authentic in Berlin's Pergamon Museum*, 32.

[422] Bilsel, *Antiquity on Display: Regimes of the Authentic in Berlin's Pergamon Museum*, 35.

[423] Toews, *Becoming Historical: Cultural Reformation and Public Memory in Early Nineteenth-Century Berlin*, 151-152.

[424] Bilsel, *Antiquity on Display: Regimes of the Authentic in Berlin's Pergamon Museum*, 67-68.

[425] Bilsel, *Antiquity on Display: Regimes of the Authentic in Berlin's Pergamon Museum*, 33.

[426] Reinhart Koselleck, ''On the Anthropological and Semantic Structure of *Bildung*,'' in Reinhart Koselleck, *The Practice of Conceptual History: Timing History, Spacing Concepts*, foreword by Hayden White and translated by Todd Samuel Presner and Others (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), 173. In this book chapter, Koselleck explores the term of *Bildung* through its linguistic and conceptual meaning in the German language and culture.

education (*Ausbildung*) and imagination (*Einbildung*),[427] it can be described as ''a peculiar, self-inducing pattern of behavior and form of knowledge that remains reliant on economic presuppositions and political conditions in order to flourish.'' In nineteenth-century German culture, it had enormous impacts on the economy and politics. Furthermore, although individuals developed their *Bildung*, it also had an inevitable social aspect.[428]

Humboldt's scholarly views revolved around *Bildung*. As mentioned before, he was the director of the Department of Public Education between 1809 and 1810 in Prussia and led significant reforms in every step of education, also founding Berlin University. Fichte became the first rector of this university, and together with Humboldt, they contributed to the intellectual development of Berlin by inviting philosophers and scientists to the city. They also were both philhellenes. In parallel to Winckelmann, who idealized the Greeks, Humboldt believed that Greek culture was the true way for humans to achieve self-cultivation, namely *Bildung*. For him, in their society, it was the source of the new individual and public roles for the citizens that arose along with a national awareness. He also followed a similar approach in the case of public education and regarded analyzing Greeks as the sole means to achieve the maximum level of self-development. Again, like Winckelmann, he believed that individuals paved the way for national and political freedom. In his view, classics-based education also contributed to shaping modern life and German culture. A reformation of their German nation would be possible with *Bildung*, which addressed the development of the individual with knowledge and cultivation based on morals. Also, corresponding to the doctrines of the Enlightenment, Humboldt designed Prussian education in such a way that focused on science and classical languages instead of the traditional dominance of studying Latin and the Bible.[429] Along similar lines, Schinkel believed that architecture should go beyond what religion and function demanded and instead

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[427] Koselleck, ''On the Anthropological and Semantic Structure of *Bildung*,'' 170.

[428] Koselleck, ''On the Anthropological and Semantic Structure of *Bildung*,'' 173.

[429] Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: An Architecture for Prussia*, 46-47.

be concerned with culture to convey ideas and contribute to the education of the individuals, referring to the concept of *Bildung*.[430]

As mentioned before, Schinkel had become acquainted with Humboldt while in Rome, and it was even Humboldt who made it possible for him to earn the position of *Oberbauassessor* in the Prussian state.[431] While advancing his career with significant public buildings that shaped the main urban scene of Berlin, Schinkel also designed urban residences, especially in the 1820s. In that period, it was common for architects to receive such commissions from the bourgeois that brought town and countryside qualities together.[432] Due to their connection, Schloss Tegel, Schinkel's project for Humboldt, became special for them both. Together with Schloss Tegel, Jagdschloss Antonin also stood out among his residential projects. Both were built between 1820-1824, and in both, Schinkel carefully formed connections between the landscape, specific objects and his buildings while fulfilling his clients' demands.

At the Schloss Tegel (1820-1824), Schinkel integrated his design into a group of existing structures (Figure 57).[433] He placed a classical vestibule that divided the building on the short side and linked the entrance to the view of the grassland behind the house (Figure 58). Furthermore, two Doric columns provided the impression of an antique atrium for the users. The vestibule also marked the entrance to a small museum space in the building, which became the central part of the architecture. Schinkel also organized his design so that servants did not have to go through the vestibule.[434]

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[430] Toews, *Becoming Historical: Cultural Reformation and Public Memory in Early Nineteenth-Century Berlin*, 118.

[431] Bilsel*, Antiquity on Display: Regimes of the Authentic in Berlin's Pergamon Museum*, 59.

[432] Forster, *Schinkel: A Meander Through His Life and Work*, 183.

[433] Forster, *Schinkel: A Meander Through His Life and Work*, 198.

[434] Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: An Architecture for Prussia*, 68.
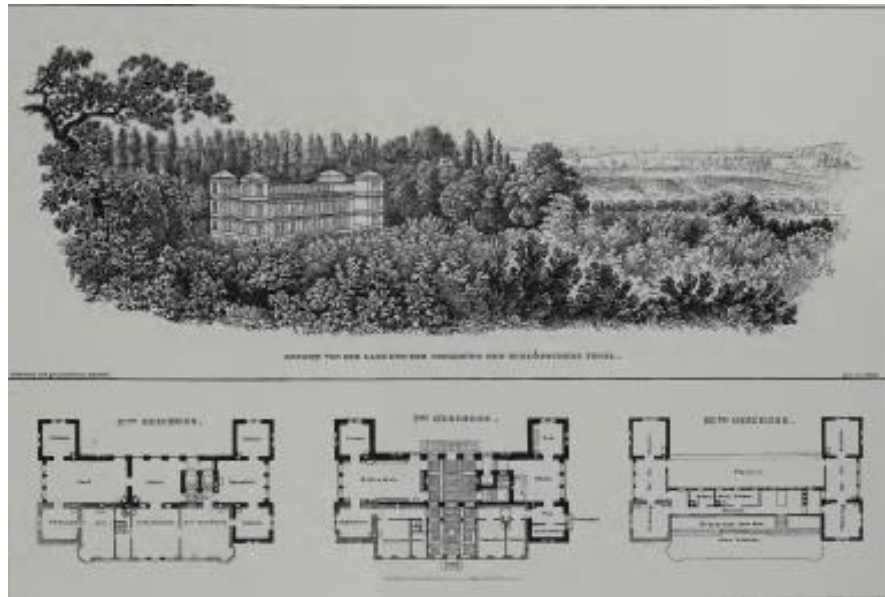
Figure 57. Schinkel, A Perspective View and Floor Plans of the Schloss Tegel, 1820-
1824 (Source: Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: An Architecture for Prussia*, 69.)

Figure 58. Schinkel, The Vestibule in the Schloss Tegel, 1820-1824

(Source: Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: An Architecture for Prussia*, 69.)

The most distinguishable feature of the residence was the small museum inside. Being
familiar with Humboldt's passion for antiques and affection for his collection that
included both original and cast models, Schinkel suggested devoting a separate area in
the house for the exhibition, named *Antikensaal* (salon for sculpture) (Figures 59 and
60).[435] Combining living spaces with such an exhibition area demonstrated Schinkel's

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[435] Forster, *Schinkel: A Meander Through His Life and Work*, 206.

ability to work with different programs in the same building and find creative design solutions that also satisfied the client.
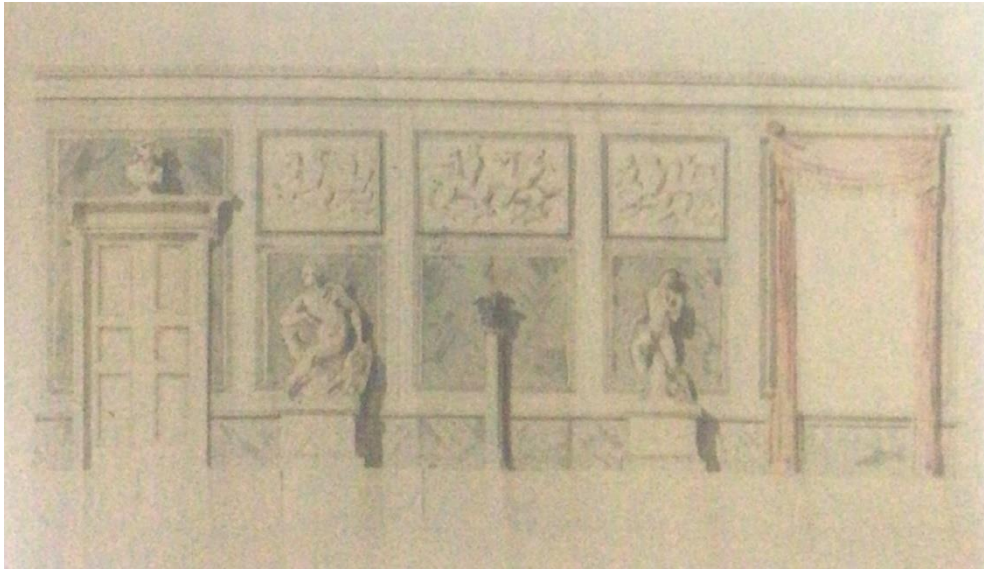
Figure 59. Schinkel, Studies for the Antikensaal in the Schloss Tegel, 1820-1824 (Source: Forster, *Schinkel: A Meander Through His Life and Work*, 202.)
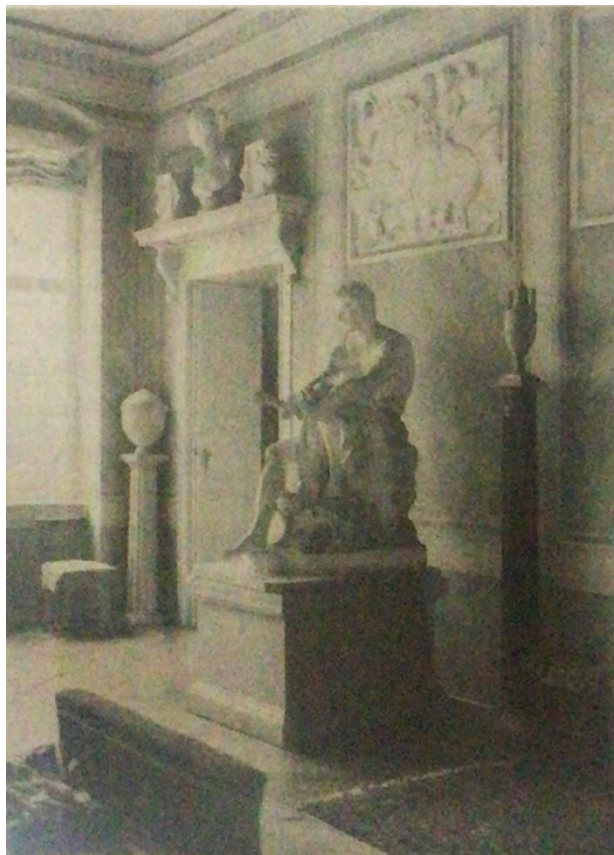
Figure 60. Schinkel, The Antikensaal in the Schloss Tegel, 1820-1824 (Source: Forster, *Schinkel: A Meander Through His Life and Work*, 203.)

While the Schloss Tegel offered a view of the landscape with forests and lakes and was linked to the town and the sea via the land and water, the Jagdschloss Antonin (1822-1824) (Figure 61) seemed like it was buried in the woods and was wholly built of wood. In this project, Schinkel's patron was Prince Radziwill, and the exact location was his choice. Prince Radziwill also wanted his house to be made of wood as it was the most common material there in Silesia. The building differentiated itself in the surrounding environment with its solid and thick design, which was unique to Schinkel's designs in the countryside. The prolific usage of wood in construction also contributed to this appearance.[436] Prince Radziwill would use the Jagdschloss Antonin as a temporary house where he would stay while hunting, as the name *Jagdschloss* (hunting lodge) implied. The building had three stories with an octagonal hall in the center (Figure 62). There were also two galleries, and Schinkel preferred to place an enormous chimney with the form of a column in the middle of the structure (Figure 63).[437]

Figure 61. Schinkel, The Jagdschloss Antonin, 1822-1824 (Source: Forster, *Schinkel: A Meander Through His Life and Work*, 212.)

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[436] Forster, *Schinkel: A Meander Through His Life and Work*, 209-210.

[437] Watkin and Mellinghoff, *German Architecture and the Classical Ideal, 1740-1840*, 108.
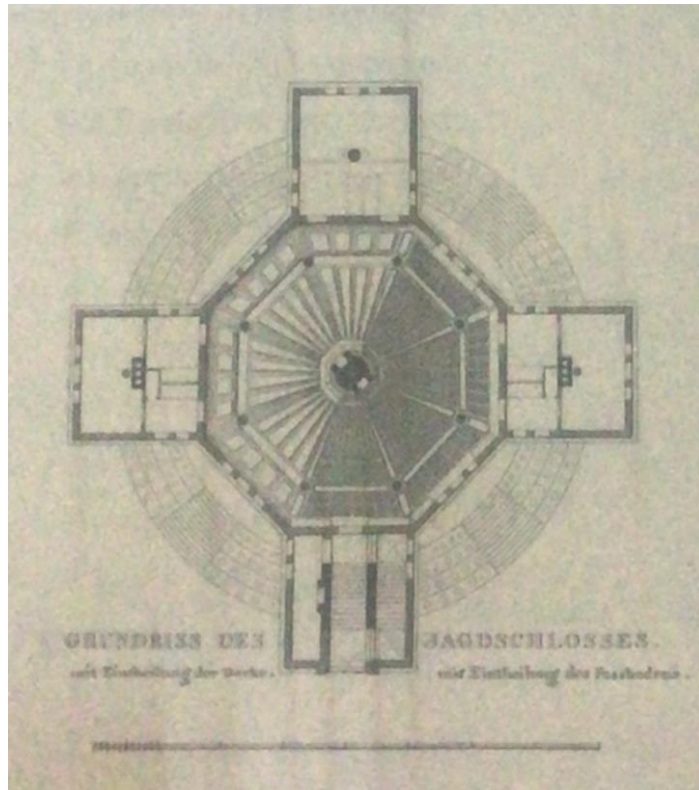
Figure 62. Schinkel, The Plan of the Jagdschloss Antonin, 1822-1824 (Source:

Forster, *Schinkel: A Meander Through His Life and Work*, 198.)
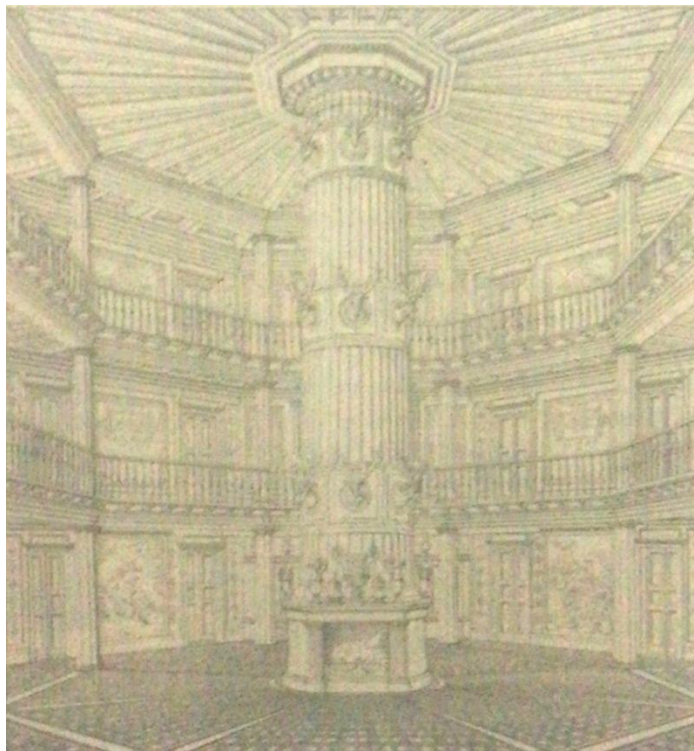
Figure 63. Schinkel, The Interior of the Jagdschloss Antonin, 1822-1824 (Source:

Forster, *Schinkel: A Meander Through His Life and Work*, 211.)

In both Schloss Tegel and Jagdschloss, Schinkel employed an architectural component in the design that took the role of organizing the other interior spaces around and reflected the nature of the dwelling together with the meaning of place. Furthermore, both buildings emerged as concealed interiors for their owners in contrast to their surrounding environments and aimed to attract users while on the site.[438] However, Schinkel followed a different design approach in the Schloss Charlottenhof (1826) and aimed at presenting multiple views of the landscape for the inhabitants of the house.

Schinkel received the commission for the Schloss Charlottenhof (Figure 64) from the members of the royal family for the crown prince. Like the Schloss Tegel, he began his design of the Schloss Charlottenhof from an existing structure in Potsdam. He mostly kept the walls and placed a portico in the front. Furthermore, to enrich the landscape, he worked with a landscape gardener and added a canal and terraced garden, together with a reproduced model of a tomb from Pompeii. The walls of the portico were also painted with bright colors of blue and red in the Pompeian style, similar to the interior of the house. The garden that was elevated from the canal at different levels also offered a panoramic view of the landscape, giving a theatrical impression. In this way, Schinkel seemed to use his skills as a stage designer. He also studied how each view would appear from different standing points. Following his idea that ''architecture is the continuation of nature in her constructive activity,''[439] he achieved to make his project appear as an integral part of the scenery. Furthermore, one of his perspective drawings for the Schloss Charlottenhof (Figure 65) brings *A View of Greece in its Prime* to mind regarding the usage of classical elements and composition. While the former implied an occasion from domestic life with the integration of a Roman bath in a semi-open space, the latter represented a public and epic event in ancient Greece facing the landscape.

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[438] Forster, *Schinkel: A Meander Through His Life and Work*, 213.

[439] Watkin and Mellinghoff, *German Architecture and the Classical Ideal, 1740-1840*, 104.
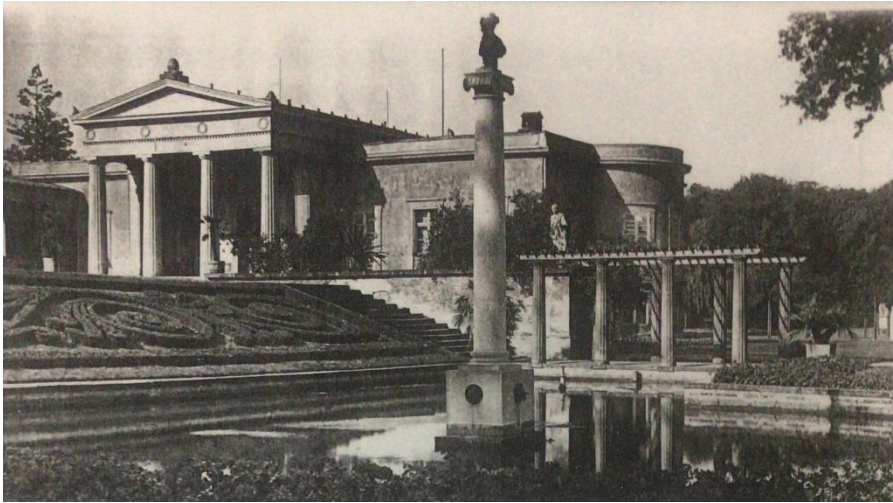
Figure 64. Schinkel, The Schloss Charlottenhof, Potsdam,1826 (Source: Watkin and Mellinghoff, *German Architecture and the Classical Ideal, 1740-1840*, 106.)
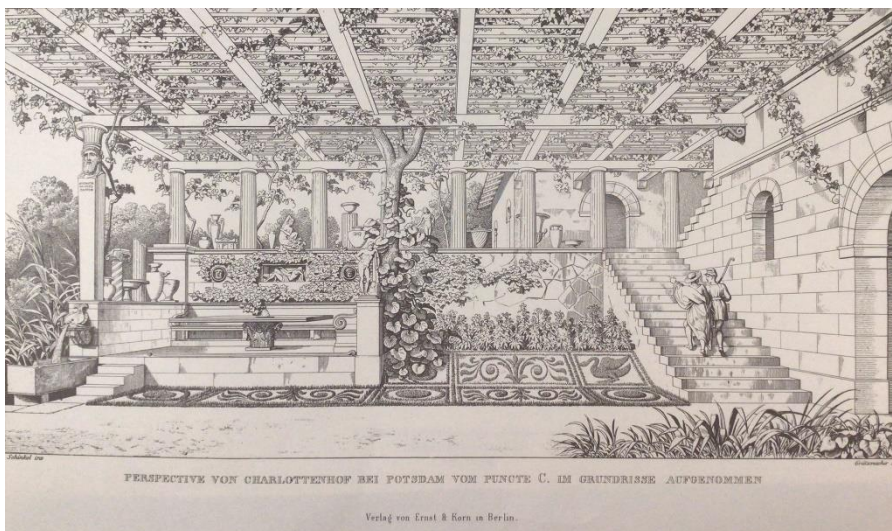

Figure 65. Schinkel, A Perspective from the Schloss Charlottenhof, Potsdam, 1826 (Source: Karl Friedrich Schinkel, *Sammlung architektonischer Entwürfe enthaltend theils Werke, welche ausgeführt sind, theils Gegenstände, deren Ausführung beabsichtigt wurde; in CLXXIV Tafeln [1] [1]* (Berlin: Ernst & Korn, 1858), 171.)

Schinkel's buildings as the state architect mainly included classical components and forms; however, he also used the Gothic style as he did in the early stages of his career. As discussed before, until 1821, he had designed an unbuilt Gothic cathedral project and a monument to the Wars of Liberation. In 1821, he received the commission for an actual project to build a new church in Berlin, the Friedrich-Werder Kirche (1821-1830) (Figure 66). Although he initially came up with classical designs, his final

design emerged as Gothic upon the idea of the crown prince.[440] Due to the cost limit and the small size of the site, it became a small building in terms of the conventional proportions of the Gothic style. Still, the clear, simple, and vertical form, together with the careful organization of structure and mass, marked it as one of Schinkel's typical churches. The appearance of the building involved references to both Gothic and classic, and the design of the interior reflected Schinkel's interpretation of Gothic forms.[441] The church is still in use today.
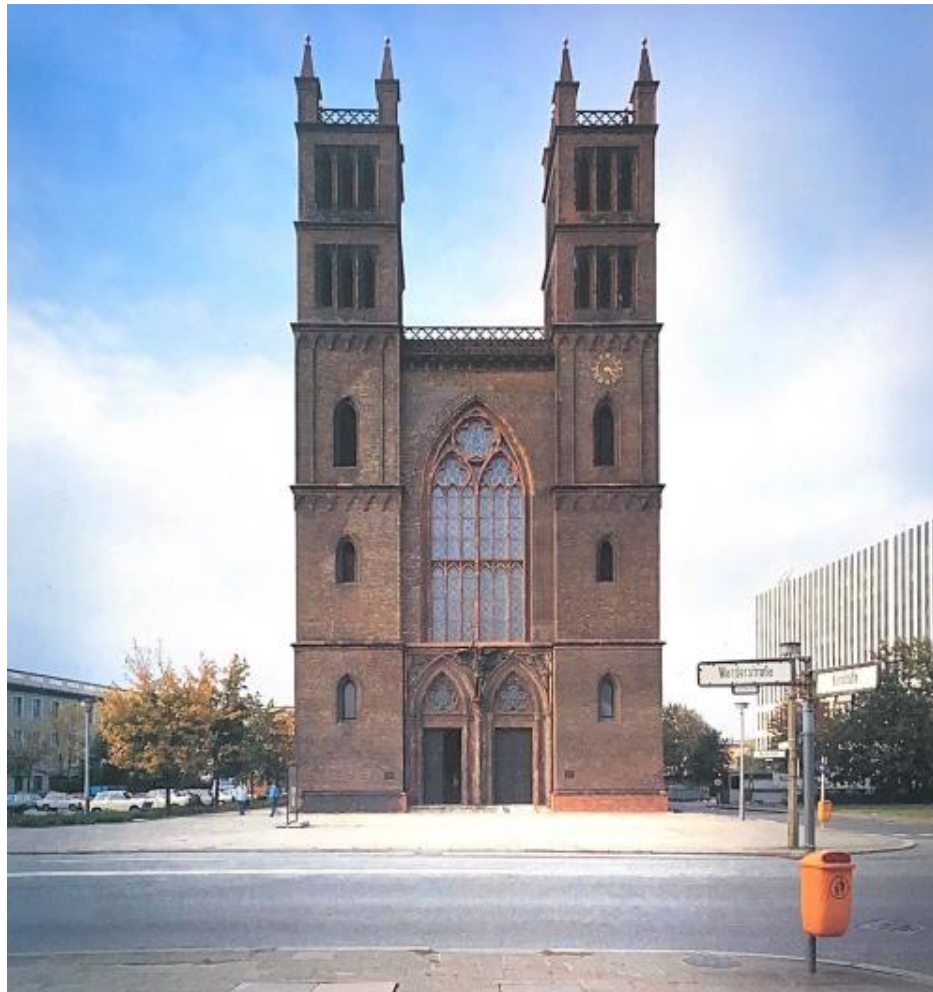
Figure 66. Schinkel, The Friedrich-Werder Kirche, Berlin, 1824-1830 (Source: Riemann, ''Schinkel's Buildings and Plans for Berlin,'' in *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: A Universal Man*, 22.)

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[440] Riemann, ''Schinkel's Buildings and Plans for Berlin,'' in *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: A Universal Man*, 20.

[441] Riemann, ''Schinkel's Buildings and Plans for Berlin,'' in *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: A Universal Man*, 23.

In addition to designing public buildings and residences in the 1820s, Schinkel continued to travel. As mentioned before, his trip to Italy in 1803-1804 significantly shaped his approaches and career in various ways. In 1826, he traveled to France and England as he had the assignment of investigating museums and architecture there for the state. This time, he was also accompanied by Christian Peter Beuth, who was ordered to examine issues related to industry and production.[442] Beuth had been the director of the *Technische Deputation für Gewerbe* (Technical Deputation for Trade) since 1819 and already been to England before, developing a passion for modern production methods to be used in the industry of Prussia.

Together with Beuth, Schinkel visited factories and other different types of industrial buildings. Furthermore, he also had the opportunity to investigate the materials regarding their practicality and construction qualities. Such aspects attracted Schinkel's attention.[443] However, he had a hesitancy towards industrial development as he believed that it undermined the artistic side of architecture and its stance in society.[444] Still, at the end of this trip, he developed his skill of experimentation in architecture and tried to combine classical components with new techniques and methods of construction, attempting to invent his modern style. In this case, his trials revolved around the usage of brick. Dating back to the Neue Wache, Schinkel had already used this material. However, while in England, he observed its advantages regarding aesthetics, structure, cost, and society in modern architecture. Considering its technical qualities, he first used it to build arches and vaults. Later, he broadened his way of design and produced projects made of brick.[445]

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[442] Forster, *Schinkel: A Meander Through His Life and Work*, 343.

[443] Betthausen, ''Karl Friedrich Schinkel: A Universal Man,'' in *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: A Universal Man*, 7.

[444] von Wolzogen, *Aus Schinkels Nachlass, Reisetagebücher, Briefe und Aphorismen*, vol.2, 361; vol.3, 358, cited in Betthausen, ''Karl Friedrich Schinkel: A Universal Man,'' in *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: A Universal Man*, 7.

[445] Betthausen, ''Karl Friedrich Schinkel: A Universal Man,'' in *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: A Universal Man*, 7.

Feilner House (1828-1829) derived from Schinkel's early trials with brick (Figure 67). The patron was Tobias Christoph Feilner, who ran a business of producing terra-cotta objects and building materials. Schinkel was already acquainted with Feilner as he designed a stove for his company in 1814.[446] When Feilner wanted to build a house for himself, Schinkel offered to see and revise the proposed design. Accordingly, he worked on the plans (Figure 68) and allocated *Berliner Zimmer*, a room with beveled edges to bring more daylight to the backside of the house. Furthermore, he redesigned the facade by using plain brick together with ornaments made of terra-cotta (Figure 69). In this way, the product catalog of the Feilner firm almost became visible on the facade, also promoting brick usage in residential architecture at that time.[447]

Figure 67. Schinkel, Feilner House, Berlin, 1828-1829 (Source: Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: An Architecture for Prussia*, 184.)

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[446] Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: An Architecture for Prussia*, 184.

[447] Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: An Architecture for Prussia*, 186.
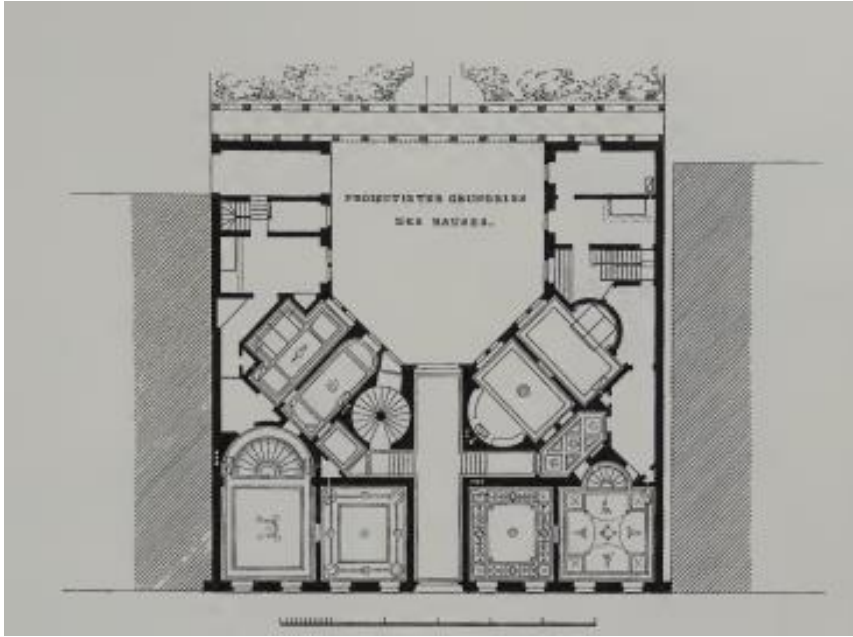
Figure 68. Schinkel, The Plan of Feilner House, Berlin, 1828-1829 (Source: Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: An Architecture for Prussia*, 185.)

Figure 69. Schinkel, The Ornaments of Two Terra-Cotta Window Spandrels on the Feilner House, Berlin, 1828-1829 (Source: Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: An Architecture for Prussia*, 185.)

After executing the Feilner House project, Schinkel was promoted to the position of *Geheimer Oberbaudirektor* (Secret Chief Construction Director) in 1830. His responsibilities included examining all the projects for state buildings in Prussia to provide coherence in architectural styles throughout the state. At the same time, together with Beuth, Schinkel founded the Allgemeine Bauschule, and Beuth became the first director of the school. The building of the institution, the Bauakademie (1832-1836), became the center of Prussian architecture as it housed the school of architecture, the offices of the Ober-Bau-Deputation, and Schinkel's private residence, where he lived with his family between 1836 and 1841 until he died. Schinkel's living and working there reflected his strong commitment to Prussian architecture. The building was unfortunately demolished in 1961.[448]

During his trip to England, Schinkel also observed new methods of fireproof construction, the iron structure, and using brick in vaults. Furthermore, he learned to make a building perceived as a frame. In the Schauspielhaus and the Schloss Tegel, he had already experimented with such a type of construction, and as he used brick and terra-cotta in the Friedrich-Werder Kirche, he was concerned with the relations between new materials and the execution of styles. In this case, his experiences in England broadened his horizons and led him to explore more relationships between the cultural aims of the state and the commercial demands of the private clients'.[449]

The Bauakademie (Figures 70 and 71) became Schinkel's last significant public building and stood out with its usage of brick.[450] The wish to create fireproof spaces and sufficient lighting shaped the design. Before Schinkel, brick was used in a coated form with stucco; however, he covered all the four facades of the Bauakademie with only brick. Being influenced by the usage of the British industry, he also placed vertical divisions that acted as arches made of brick and carried brick vaults. They were also connected in the horizontal direction by iron beams. However, this vaulting

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[448] Watkin and Mellinghoff, *German Architecture and the Classical Ideal, 1740-1840*, 111.

[449] Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: An Architecture for Prussia*, 180.

[450] Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: An Architecture for Prussia*, 201.

system did not continue in the interior. In this case, the facade also emerged as a primitive curtain wall.[451]

Figure 70. Schinkel, The Perspective View of the Entrance Facade of the Bauakademie, Berlin, 1832-1836 (Source: Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: An Architecture for Prussia*, 202.)
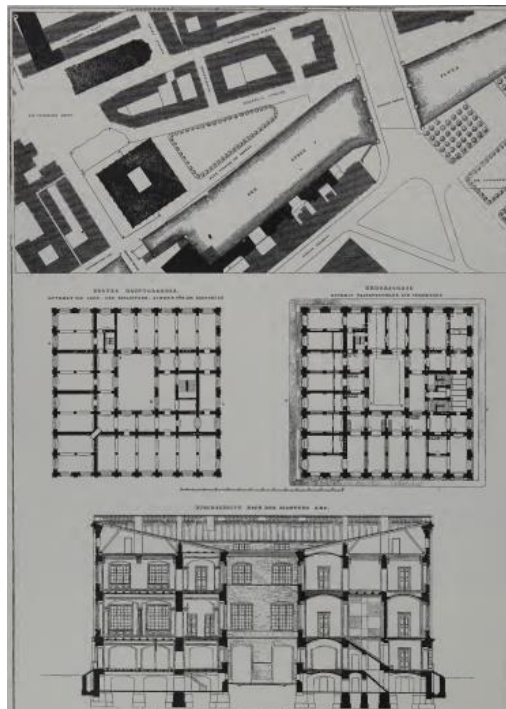
Figure 71. Schinkel, The Site Plan, Two Floor Plans, and A Section of the Bauakademie, Berlin, 1832-1836 (Source: Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: An Architecture for Prussia*, 200.)

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[451] Watkin and Mellinghoff, *German Architecture and the Classical Ideal, 1740-1840*, 112.

Such an extensive usage of terra-cotta in the Bauakademie directed Schinkel's trials towards an architecture that revolved around technical qualities of materials rather than formal aspects. Critics argued that the Bauakademie became a model as its construction reflected a dexterous technology to build on such a site, it required prefabrication of terra-cotta, and it involved technical features like ducted-air heating, skylights, and sliding windows.[452] Accordingly, it stood out as a symbol for Prussian industry at that time as it consisted of a system that was based on the functions of metal and terra-cotta, not on their formal qualities. Even the decorative features contributed to this system, and they dominated the appearance of the building by concealing the structure that was already covered with iron. With such an arrangement of the materials and components, Schinkel indicated a coherence between the solid masonry and tensile strength of tie rods.[453]

The Bauakademie was special to Schinkel. It reflected his ideals in architecture, construction, and education. The primary function of the building was also about architectural education, symbolizing Schinkel's ultimate aim of compiling an architectural textbook, *Das Architektonisches Lehrbuch*. While participating in the reformations of higher education in Prussia, he realized that such a textbook on architecture was necessary for students of architecture.[454] He wanted his book to serve as a guide that included solutions for architectural problems. However, it turned out to be a thing he failed to accomplish in his career as he did not finish it. Unfortunately, the book as a fragment did not provide meaningful statements on his architectural theory that viewed architecture as an art, bringing function and beauty together regarding the *utilitas, firmitas, and venustas* triad of Vitruvius.[455] However, apart from *Lehrbuch*, Schinkel's architectural engravings as his portfolio were later published

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[452] Forster, *Schinkel: A Meander Through His Life and Work*, 250-251.

[453] Forster, *Schinkel: A Meander Through His Life and Work*, 254-256.

[454] Harry Francis Mallgrave, *The Architect's Brain: Neuroscience, Creativity, and Architecture* (Chichester, West Sussex, U.K.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 62.

[455] Watkin and Mellinghoff, *German Architecture and the Classical Ideal, 1740-1840*, 112.

under the title of *Sammlung Architektonischer Entwürfe (Collection of Architectural Designs)*[456] (Figure 72).
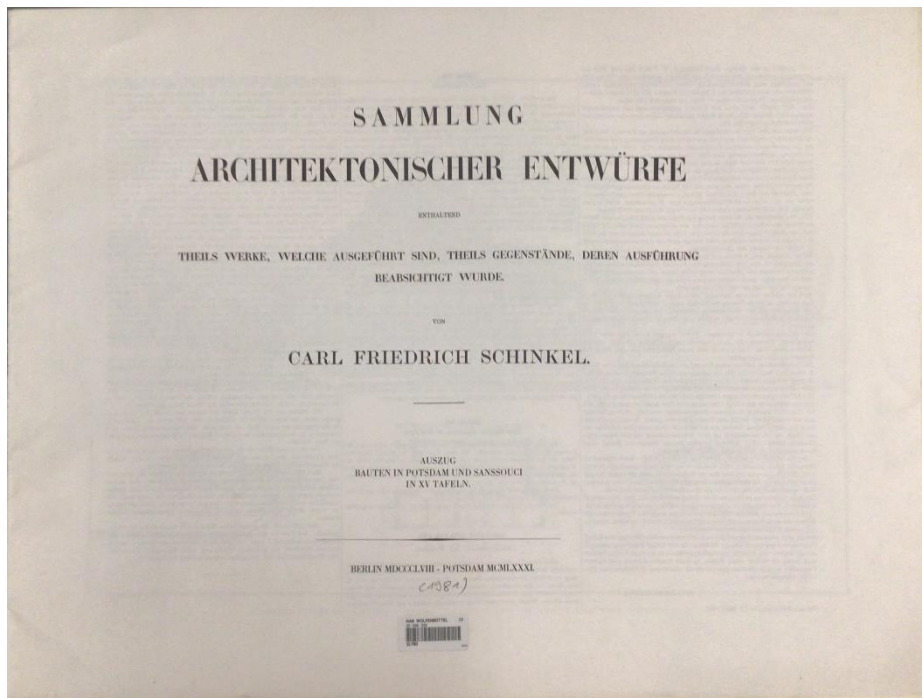
Figure 72. The Title Page of Schinkel's *Sammlung Architektonischer Entwürfe*

While he was busy trying to invent his style of architecture with new techniques and materials, Schinkel was still interested in following a classical approach. The palaces that he designed in Athens (1834) and Orianda (1838) became the outcomes of this tendency and demonstrated his view that buildings should go beyond their functions and convey higher ideals with their designs. When the Prussian crown prince recommended his works to Prince Otto von Wittelsbach in Athens, who had become the first king of Greece, in 1834, Schinkel proposed a design that situated a royal palace directly on the Acropolis.[457] Regarding his project, he listed three items that were integral to his design. First, he argued that it should be coherent with the vastness of the landscape. Second, it should be appropriate for the Greek climate. Last, for military purposes, it should be located on a site that was easy to defend, which

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[456] Karl Friedrich Schinkel, 1858. *Sammlung architektonischer Entwürfe enthaltend theils Werke, welche ausgeführt sind, theils Gegenstände, deren Ausführung beabsichtigt wurde; in CLXXIV Tafeln [1] [1]* (Berlin: Ernst & Korn, 1858).

[457] Watkin and Mellinghoff, *German Architecture and the Classical Ideal, 1740-1840*, 113.

addressed the current unstable political status of Greece as a newly founded
independent state. Considering these aspects, Acropolis would be an excellent place
to realize the project. Schinkel also believed that it symbolized the highness of ancient
Greece that would always last.[458]
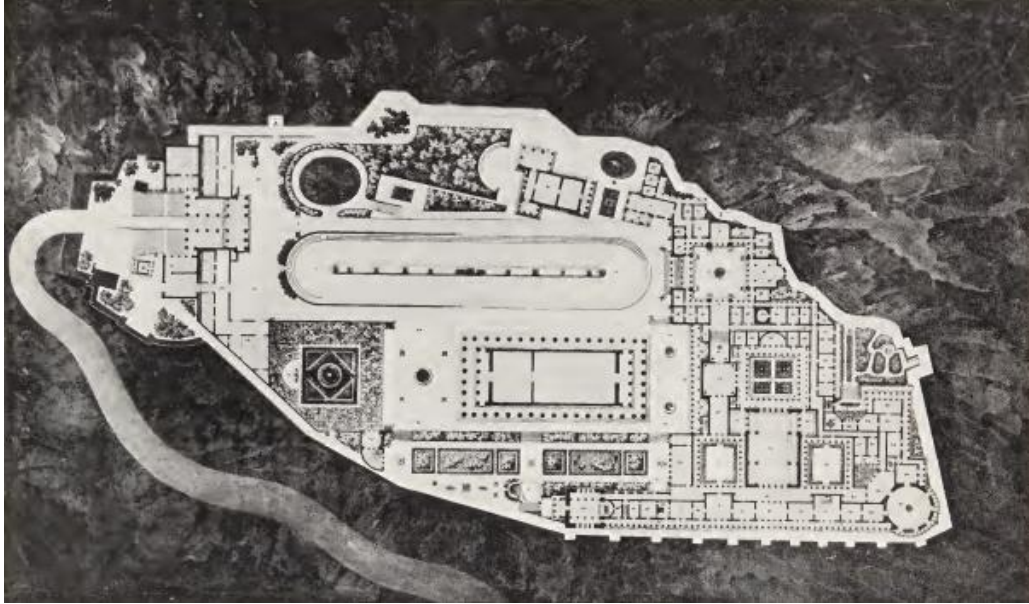
Figure 73. Schinkel, The Site Plan of the Project for a Royal Palace on the Acropolis
in Athens, 1834 (Source: Pundt, *Schinkel's Berlin: A Study in Environmental
Planning*, 89.)

In his design proposal (Figure 73), Schinkel divided the mass of the palace into small
parts and located them on the less-used Eastern and Southern corners of the Acropolis.
Like the ancient Acropolis, the entrance of the complex was from the Propylaea. He
also added a Roman hippodrome in the center, between the two significant ruins of the
Parthenon and the Erechtheion. It was in the same direction as the temple of Athena
on the horizontal axis. The hippodrome also served as the entrance to a ceremonial
hall that led to reception halls together with the private and royal residences.

Schinkel's project for a royal palace on the Acropolis also reflected monumentality;
however, his proposed structures did not interfere with the ruins. Instead, they became
frames to view them. Furthermore, he aligned most of the complex with the Parthenon

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[458] Rand Carter, ''Karl Friedrich Schinkel's Project for a Royal Palace on the Acropolis,''
Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 38 no.1 (1979): 36. accessed April 1, 2022,
https://www.jstor.org/stable/989347.

and the rest with the Erechtheion. Different from his villas, Schinkel presented a fragmented design rather than a whole with his project. It was the outcome of his imagination of an urban layout that did not exist anymore.[459] Although he had never been to Greece, he achieved that thanks to his stay in Rome, where he could see the monuments from the past and the present together.[460]

In the spatial arrangement of this complex project, Schinkel managed to provide easy circulation and access to areas with different functions. He also worked intensively on the design of the interiors. One of them was an archive area formed as a tholos and constructed as fire-proof. Named the Great Hall, the Repräsentations-Saal, stood out with its scale and technically innovative aspects, giving the impression of the cella of a Greek temple (Figure 74).[461] However, the roof was different from typical classical components and emerged when Schinkel creatively combined his knowledge of classical architecture with English timber roofs from both the medieval and modern times.[462] He abandoned the traditional method of placing transverse roof trusses on the side walls and employed longitudinal trusses that transferred the majority of the roof weight to the freestanding columns in front of the walls. In this way, while decreasing the length of the unsupported span as a solution to a technical issue, they also appeared monumental.[463] Unfortunately, this project was never realized, mainly due to the inadequate financial resources of Greece at that time.[464]

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[459] Bilsel, *Antiquity on Display: Regimes of the Authentic in Berlin's Pergamon Museum*, 73-74.

[460] Pundt, *Schinkel's Berlin: A Study in Environmental Planning*, 91.

[461] Carter, ''Karl Friedrich Schinkel's Project for a Royal Palace on the Acropolis,'' 43.

[462] Goerd Peschken, ''Technologische Asthetik in Schinkel's Architektur,'' *Zeitscrift des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft*, XXII no.1-2 (1968): 60-63, cited in Carter, ''Karl Friedrich Schinkel's Project for a Royal Palace on the Acropolis,'' 43.

[463] Carter, ''Karl Friedrich Schinkel's Project for a Royal Palace on the Acropolis,'' 43.

[464] Carter, ''Karl Friedrich Schinkel's Project for a Royal Palace on the Acropolis,'' 34.

Figure 74. Schinkel, The Project for a Palace on the Acropolis, Interior of the
Repräsentations-Saal, Athens, 1834 (Source: Carter, ''Karl Friedrich Schinkel's
Project for a Royal Palace on the Acropolis,'' 40.)

After the proposal for a royal palace on the Acropolis, Schinkel prepared a project for
a summer house near Orianda, on the Crimean Black Sea coast, in 1838 (Figures 75
and 76). It was for the Prussian crown prince's sister, Czarina Alexandra Feodorovna.
Different from the project for the Acropolis, it did not have an urban archaeological
aspect.[465] Therefore, it emerged as an autonomous structure. Schinkel placed the
building in the form of a Greek temple on a high podium located in the center of an
inner garden. Access to the building was through a Pompeian atrium that consisted of

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[465] Bilsel, *Antiquity on Display: Regimes of the Authentic in Berlin's Pergamon Museum*, 74.

frescoed walls and colonnades around an open-air pool. A set of octagonal columns ornamented with mosaics separated the atrium from the garden area.[466]
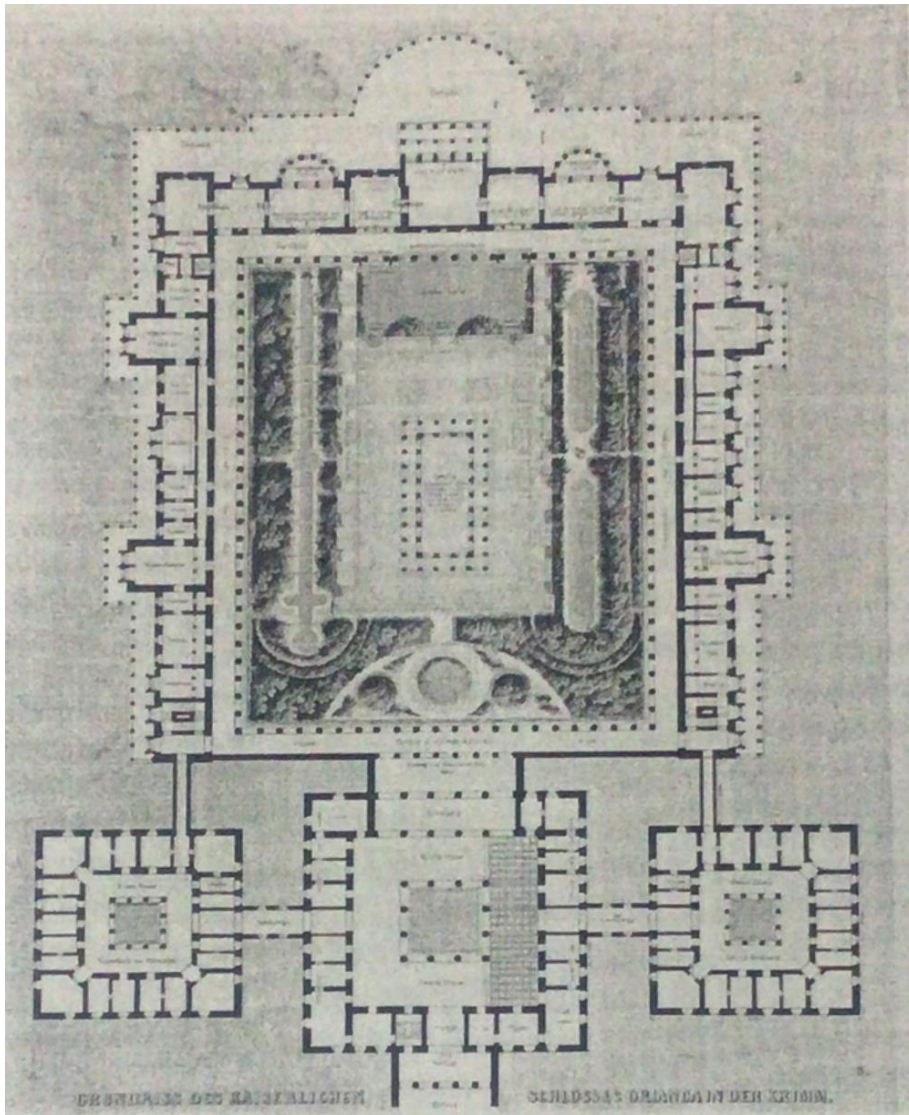
Figure 75. Schinkel, The Site Plan of the Schloss Orianda, 1838 (Source: Bilsel, *Antiquity on Display: Regimes of the Authentic in Berlin's Pergamon Museum*, 75.)

Schinkel preferred polychromy, modern metal frames, and glass in the construction, although there were also components from ancient architecture. In this way, the design differentiated itself from his other buildings that had neoclassical features. It also emerged as a representation of the Greek ideal in the archaic Near East. Furthermore, implying a political message, its location symbolized the Russian Empire's progress towards Ottoman lands, reunifying Western civilization with its roots in the south. The

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[466] Watkin and Mellinghoff, *German Architecture and the Classical Ideal, 1740-1840*, 114.

Schloss Orianda also included an underground museum, which was private and became history itself. Therefore, by creating various frames of view, the building offered transitions from the real world to the historical world of the museum.[467] Placing a museum inside the design was close to what Schinkel did at the Schloss Tegel for Humboldt; however, the museum space was more hidden at the Schloss Orianda, only accessible by the owner. Despite its unique aspects, unfortunately, this project was never realized.
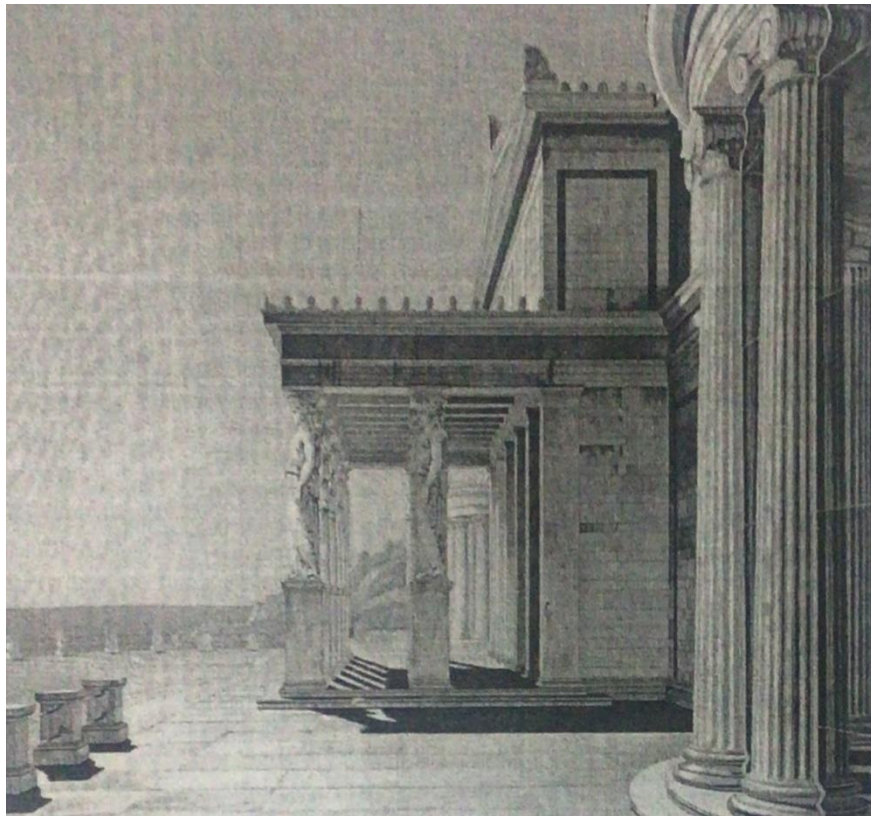
Figure 76. Schinkel, A Perspective View of the Schloss Orianda, 1838
(Source: Bilsel, *Antiquity on Display: Regimes of the Authentic in Berlin's Pergamon Museum*, 76.)

Until his death in 1841, Schinkel carried on his architectural works. Although he passed away in the early stages of Frederick William IV's reign, due to his close relationship with the king and the implementation of significant public projects such as the Neue Wache, Schauspielhaus, and Altes Museum, the period between 1815 and

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[467] Bilsel, *Antiquity on Display: Regimes of the Authentic in Berlin's Pergamon Museum*, 75-76.

1840 continued to lead the cultural approaches of the state after Schinkel's death.[468] With his interest in antiquity, like Winckelmann, Schinkel also translated ruins into his work. However, his translation of ruins became a material embodiment of his ideas in architecture going beyond text and visuality.

3.5.   From Ruin to Building: Schinkel's Act of Translation

Schinkel was interested in history. Although he had a hesitancy towards historical forms in architecture during the early stages of his career, his view significantly changed over time.[469] Considering his study of the ancient and Gothic styles, he greatly benefitted from history as a source of inspiration for his innovative approaches, and it fed his imagination. In *Das Architektonisches Lehrbuch*, he stated that architectural imagination was derived from history. In his view, with the help of history, architects could achieve "to always have the new element at hand, to know that history is movement and to know how to continue history."[470] For Schinkel, the pairing of history and invention and archaeology and technology also relied on each other.[471] His relationship with Friedrich Gilly, which intensely directed his architectural career, was also crucial with its historical aspect. After Gilly passed away in 1800, the drawing of his design proposal for the Monument to Frederick the Great became one of the most valuable legacies that Schinkel inherited from him. This project was an outcome of the Franco-Prussian, neoclassical, and humanist background of Gilly's style and conveying the sensation of an ancient Greek city; it also demonstrated the contemporary national ideals of the Prussian monarchy in the age of the

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[468] Toews, *Becoming Historical: Cultural Reformation and Public Memory in Early Nineteenth-Century Berlin*, xvii.

[469] Mallgrave, *The Architect's Brain: Neuroscience, Creativity, and Architecture*, 62.

[470] Goerd Peschken and Karl Friedrich Schinkel, *Das Architektonische Lehrbuch* (München: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2001), 71.

[471] Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: An Architecture for Prussia*, 217.

Enlightenment.[472] Friedrich Gilly's first teachers were Langhans and Erdmannsdorff, who were two significant figures in the early phases of German Neoclassicism. Erdmannsdorff personally knew Piranesi and Winckelmann, and Langhans had designed the Brandenburg Gate, which became an important early Neoclassicist structure in Berlin and symbolized a revival of Doric.[473] As Friedrich Gilly was Langhans's student and Schinkel learned about antiquity from Gilly, there was a chronological and conceptual flow of employing classical components in architecture from Langhans to Schinkel through Gilly. The Brandenburg Gate, the design for the Monument to Frederick the Great, and the project for a royal palace on the Acropolis became examples of such a transfer of cumulative classical knowledge through consecutive generations of architects, and the former approaches constituted the basis of Schinkel's reception of antiquity. Following this scheme, the project for a royal palace on the Acropolis emerged as his translation from ruin to building.

By the early eighteenth century, the city founded by Friedrich, who was the Elector of Brandenburg and would be the first king of Prussia, was already called ''Athens on the Spree.''[474] This metaphor referred to an analogy between this Prussian city that would eventually lead to Berlin and Athens, praising the national ambitions of Prussians in military and education to reach the Greek ideal.[475] Later, Friedrichstadt grew towards the medieval and baroque structures in the west, Unter den Linden on the horizontal axis, and Friedrichstrasse on the vertical axis. The city also expressed the military accomplishments of Prussia, and the neoclassical monuments reflected the doctrines of the Enlightenment. In this urban organization, Langhans's Brandenburg

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[472] Toews, *Becoming Historical: Cultural Reformation and Public Memory in Early Nineteenth-Century Berlin*, 119.

[473] Neumeyer, ''Introduction,'' in Friedrich Gilly, *Friedrich Gilly: Essays on Architecture, 1796-1799*, 3-5.

[474] Pundt, *Schinkel's Berlin: A Study in Environmental Planning*, 25.

[475] Toews, *Becoming Historical: Cultural Reformation and Public Memory in Early Nineteenth-Century Berlin*, 155.

Gate highlighted the entrance of Unter den Linden from the west.[476] It also defined the Pariser Platz and led to the design of Leipziger Platz for a more interconnected urban planning.

Figure 77. Langhans, The Brandenburg Gate around 1798 (Source: Neumeyer, ''Introduction,'' in Friedrich Gilly, *Friedrich Gilly: Essays on Architecture*, *1796-1799*, 4.)

The Brandenburg Gate (Figure 77) contributed to spreading the fame of Berlin as ''Athens on the Spree'' with its form as a Greek propylaea derived from the Acropolis in Athens, which Langhans learned about by reading the publications of Le Roy, James Stuart, and Nicholas Revett at that time.[477] Regarding the national sense of the Prussians, it represented the transformations of a military triumph to divine greatness and war to peace. It also faced an avenue surrounded by several significant public buildings, such as the Royal Opera, the Royal Library, and the Academy of Fine Arts, together with the residences of the royal family, their stables, and the Arsenal. When Schinkel began to work for the state, one of his first assignments was to design this

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[476] Bilsel, *Antiquity on Display: Regimes of the Authentic in Berlin's Pergamon Museum*, 30.

[477] Neumeyer, ''Introduction,'' in Friedrich Gilly, *Friedrich Gilly: Essays on Architecture*, *1796-1799*, 40. Langhans was probably familiar with these books, James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens*, vol. 1 (London, 1762), and J. D. Leroy, *Les Ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grece, considerees du cote de I'histoire et du cote de l'architecture* (Paris, 1758).

avenue so that it could symbolize the success of the Prussian armies. His later works around this street also contributed to this aim.[478]

Friedrich Gilly was also interested in urban design. When the competition for a monument to Frederick the Great was announced in 1796, he was already familiar with urban planning ideas in the case of Paris through the writings of significant French figures such as Voltaire and Laugier. Being a student of Langhans with a classical-based background, he selected the Leipziger Platz to locate his design for the monument in the form of the Parthenon, which he considered necessary for their city as Athens of Prussia. While working on his design ideas, along with his sketches, he wrote, ''Athens is a model. Acropolis. Not so Rome,'' which also hinted at his urban planning intentions (Figures 78, 79, and 80).[479]
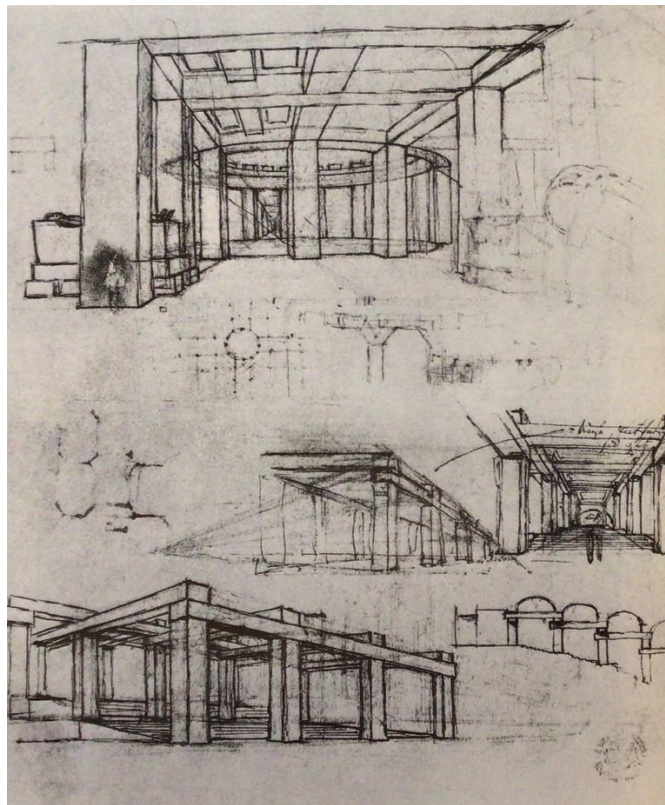
Figure 78. Friedrich Gilly, Design Studies for a Mausoleum (Source: Alste Oncken, *Friedrich Gilly 1772-1800* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1981), 20.)

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[478] Toews, *Becoming Historical: Cultural Reformation and Public Memory in Early Nineteenth-Century Berlin*, 155.

[479] Neumeyer, ''Introduction,'' in Friedrich Gilly, *Friedrich Gilly: Essays on Architecture, 1796-1799*, 39-41.
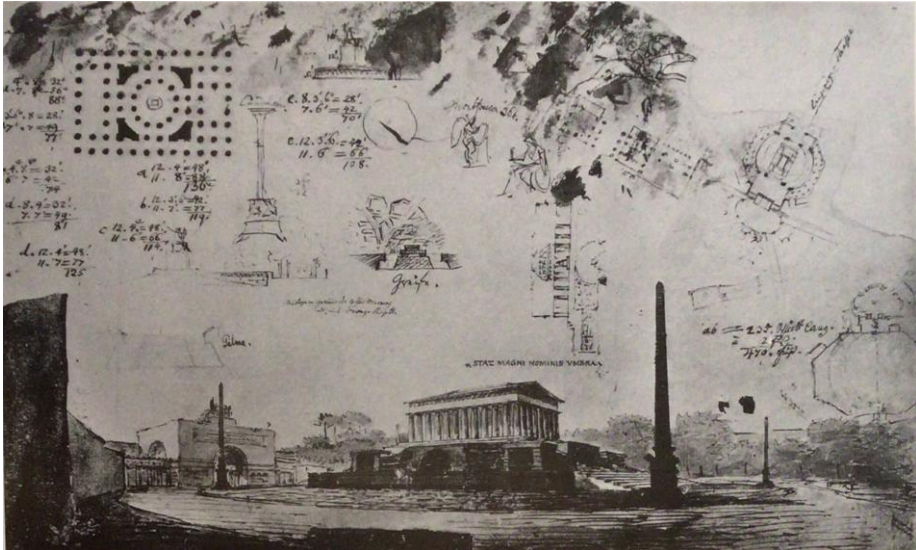
Figure 79. Friedrich Gilly, A Sketch for the Design of the Monument to Frederick the Great, 1796-1797 (Source: Oncken, *Friedrich Gilly 1772-1800*, 26.)
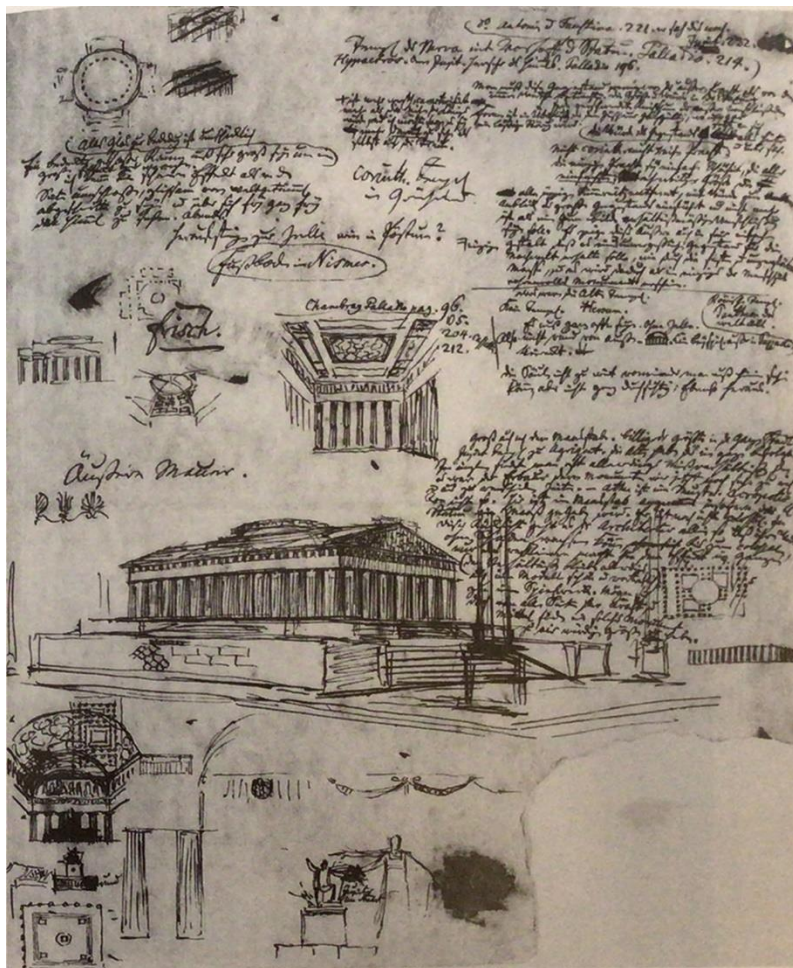
Figure 80. Friedrich Gilly, A Sketch for the Design of the Monument to Frederick the Great, 1796-1797 (Source: Oncken, *Friedrich Gilly 1772-1800*, 27.)

The competition on the monument to Frederick the Great required the competitors to convey the impressions of morality and patriotism in their proposals. Gilly aimed at demonstrating these through urban design. Being placed on the Leipziger Platz in the Potsdamer Tor, his proposed monument was also on the gateway to Berlin from the Potsdam Road, close to Frederick the Great' Sanssouci Palace, where he spent his summers.[480] With this comprehensive urban design approach, Gilly believed that his design proposal emphasized the national heroism of Frederick. In this way, his project would also play a significant role in the urban development of the city.[481] Such an urban-based approach to the Frederick the Great's memorial reflected Gilly's goal to reenact the forgotten ideal of Greek architectural principles, which he was familiar with through Hirt's lectures and Le Roy's, Stuart's, and Revett's books. He was also a follower of Winckelmann's doctrines; however, his project also had a practical aspect and symbolized the Greek architectural ideal through the usage of materials and construction techniques.[482]

As mentioned before, Gilly's proposal for the monument to Frederick the Great included Doric colonnades, obelisks, and a Roman ceremonial arch that was an abstracted version of Langhans's Brandenburg Gate.[483] The main mass rose above an enormous stone base made of hexagonal blocks and formed the pedestal, leading to the appearance of a Doric temple (Figure 16). Apart from the emergence of the ideal of the Parthenon like this, Gilly believed that it represented the revival of ancient Greek culture in terms of aesthetics and morals.[484] The monument also stood like an

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[480] Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: An Architecture for Prussia*, 12.

[481] Neumeyer, ''Introduction,'' in Friedrich Gilly, *Friedrich Gilly: Essays on Architecture, 1796-1799*, 38-39.

[482] Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: An Architecture for Prussia*, 12.

[483] Watkin and Mellinghoff, *German Architecture and the Classical Ideal, 1740-1840*, 66.

[484] Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: An Architecture for Prussia*, 12.

installation in the center of Leipziger Platz,[485] enriching the symbolic image. With this project, Gilly demonstrated not only his archaeological knowledge but also his expertise in contemporary architectural theory that focused on using mass, proportion, light, shade, rhythm, texture, and stimulated senses. His proposal also represented how the tectonics of construction turned into the embodiment of higher ideals. It emphasized using ideal forms and abstraction as the primary aspects of Gilly's architectural approach, together with designing framed views. For Gilly, this addressed patriotic senses and paved the way for forming a national identity through heroes and ideals.[486]

Regarding the nationalist senses of the Prussians, Gilly's monument to Frederick the Great would also provide views of the city, countryside, and nature. This experience as an architectural promenade would begin around the trees surrounding the Potsdamer Platz and lead the user towards the Doric colonnade of the propylaeum. Then, it would end in the temple's cella, where the statue of Frederick the Great was placed (Figure 81). The propylaea faced a broad view of Berlin, and the triumphal path defined a passage to the historic center of the city.[487] The relation of the monument with its site symbolized the noble climbing from the daily life of the Athenian agora to the divinity of the Parthenon on the Acropolis. Furthermore, users were supposed to move continuously from darkness to light in the complex through the framed views created by the columns. In this architectural journey, the cella as the last destination also offered a framed view of the sky.[488]

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[485] Neumeyer, ''Introduction,'' in Friedrich Gilly, *Friedrich Gilly: Essays on Architecture, 1796-1799*, 41.

[486] Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: An Architecture for Prussia*, 14.

[487] Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: An Architecture for Prussia*, 12.

[488] Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: An Architecture for Prussia*, 14.
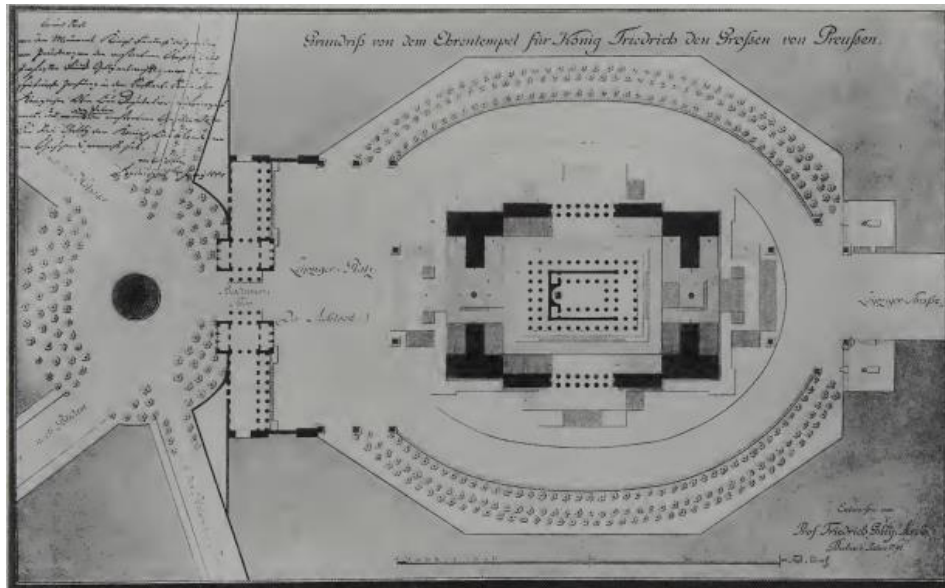
Figure 81. Friedrich Gilly, The Plan of the Design for the Monument to Frederick the Great, Berlin, 1797 (Source: Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: An Architecture for Prussia*, 13.)

Gilly's proposed monument also presented a panorama of the city.[489] It had a theatrical aspect as an outcome of his interest and expertise in stage design that he shared with Schinkel. Concerning stage sets, Gilly considered perspective drawing a means to portray architecture as a human experience.[490] In these contexts, observers and their impressions played a significant role. As mentioned before, intuition and observation were also important in Schinkel's views. The inclusion of observers and their experiences was typical in representing the Greek temple around the end of the eighteenth century. Later, from the first quarter of the nineteenth century, Schinkel's perspective drawing of the upper staircase for the Altes Museum can be interpreted both as an example of this approach and a tribute to what Gilly did in his proposed monument to Frederick the Great. In this project, Gilly also reinterpreted the boundaries of the urban space and its planning as the old doctrines of the Baroque had limited the size of urban areas. After Gilly, with his significant public buildings in

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[489] Neumeyer, ''Introduction,'' in *Friedrich Gilly, Friedrich Gilly: Essays on Architecture, 1796-1799*, 42.

[490] Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: An Architecture for Prussia*, 14.

Berlin, Schinkel maintained a similar neoclassical design attitude that promoted openness in the urban environment.[491]

Schinkel benefitted from all of Gilly's approaches and works, and the proposal for the monument to Frederick the Great became especially important to him. It reflected not only Gilly's reception of antiquity but also directed how Schinkel used classical components in his architecture as an outcome of a cumulative and transferred knowledge from Langhans through Gilly. Later, at an advanced phase of his career, it served as a source of inspiration for Schinkel in his project for a royal palace on the Acropolis (Figure 73), embodying his translation of ruins into building.

Schinkel's and Gilly's names are usually mentioned together; however, in the 1830s, Schinkel was not the only German architect who advocated and reinterpreted Friedrich Gilly's approaches. For instance, Klenze had parallel classical views. While Schinkel was a state architect of Prussia during the reign of Frederick William III, he had a similar position in Munich as the private architect of Ludwig, the Bavarian Crown Prince. Klenze also had studied in the Bauakademie and was acquainted with Gilly and Schinkel. He appreciated their works and shared their admiration of ancient Greek architecture. Even though they are now criticized, he even published his archaeological studies at that time.

The temple of Valhalla at Regensburg in Bavaria (1842) (Figure 82) is one of Klenze's most renowned projects. Although the term 'Valhalla'' originated from old Nordic mythology and referred to a mausoleum for war heroes and kings, the young Crown Prince Ludwig wanted to build such a building to exhibit statues of famous German men. By 1807, he even prepared plans; however, due to the French invasion, the project had to be postponed. Later, in 1814, a competition in which Klenze participated was held. Still, the construction of his proposal could not begin until 1830.

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[491] Neumeyer, ''Introduction,'' in *Friedrich Gilly, Friedrich Gilly: Essays on Architecture, 1796-1799*, 43-44.

Klenze's project had the form of a Doric peripteros, inspired by the Parthenon. It also involved an antique cella inside, covered with iron trusses.[492] The building was also located on a hill. Its form and relation to its site echoed Gilly's project for the monument to Frederick the Great. Klenze's usage of iron trusses also highlighted a modern approach to materials and construction techniques like the metal frames in the unrealized project of Schloss Orianda by Schinkel. Furthermore, the decoration in the interior of the Valhalla and the Reception Hall in Schinkel's project proposal for a royal palace on the Acropolis were similar in terms of realizing an ancient Greek cella on German soil in the nineteenth century (Figures 74 and 83).
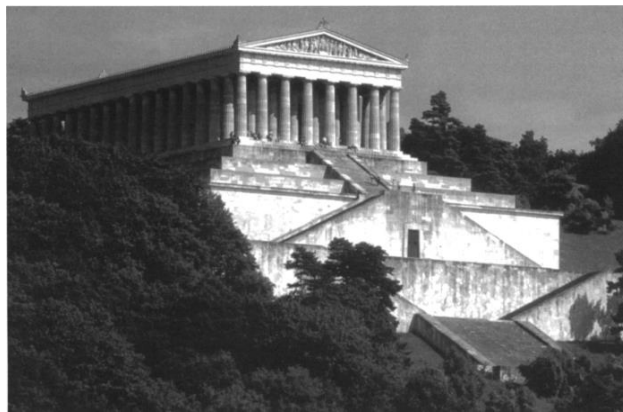
Figure 82. The Valhalla at Regensburg, 1842 (Source: Lorenz, Rohde, and Browne, ''Building with Iron in Nineteenth Century Bavaria – The Valhalla Roof Truss and its Architect, Leo von Klenze,'' 55.)

Figure 83. The Valhalla, Interior, 1842 (Source: Lorenz, Rohde, and Browne, ''Building with Iron in Nineteenth Century Bavaria – The Valhalla Roof Truss and its Architect, Leo von Klenze,'' 56.)

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[492] Werner Lorenz, Annegret Rohde, and Elke Browne, ''Building with Iron in Nineteenth Century Bavaria – The Valhalla Roof Truss and its Architect, Leo von Klenze,'' *Construction History* 17 (2001): 56-58.

Although there were obvious such similarities among Friedrich Gilly's proposal for the monument to Frederick the Great, Schinkel's project for a royal palace on the Acropolis, and Klenze's Valhalla, the relations among Langhans's Brandenburg Gate, Gilly's proposal for the monument to Frederick the Great, and Schinkel's project for a royal palace (Figure 73) on the Acropolis addressed a flow of knowledge in the form of a translation. Langhans had tried to make the past look like the present with the Brandenburg using the Greek propylaea. Later, as discussed in detail, Gilly combined an Egyptian obelisk and a Roman ceremonial arch with a Doric propylaea in his proposal for the monument to Frederick the Great. He did not attempt to retrieve the past, and accordingly, his project was not a regeneration of Langhans's work. However, by polishing the past, it emerged as an abstraction of it and a representation of ancient Greece architecture in the contemporary context of his time deriving from his reception of antiquity.

In his project for a royal palace on the Acropolis (Figures 84-87), Schinkel brought several ancient architectural components such as the Parthenon, Propylaea, Erechtheion, a villa, and a Roman hippodrome together in a similar way to what Gilly did in his proposal for the monument to Frederick the Great. Gilly and Schinkel both used Rome to construct an image of Greece as they had never visited Greece in person, and the Schinkelian gaze on ancient Greece interestingly resulted in placing a Roman architectural element on Greek soil. Schinkel's reception of antiquity had derived from the flow of the cumulative knowledge that started with Langhans and reached him through Gilly; however, unlike Langhans and Gilly, Schinkel imagined his project proposal to be built in Athens, not on German soil in Berlin.
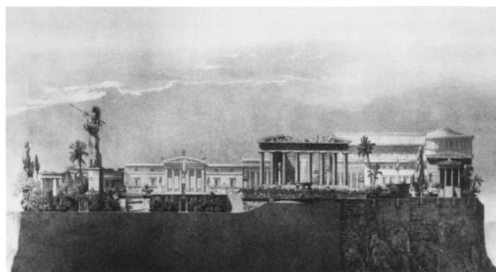
Figure 84. Schinkel, The View from the West, The Project for a Royal Palace on the Acropolis in Athens, 1834 (Source: Carter, ''Karl Friedrich Schinkel's Project for a Royal Palace on the Acropolis,'' 37.)

Figure 85. Schinkel, The View from the South, The Project for a Royal Palace on the Acropolis in Athens, 1834 (Source: Carter, ''Karl Friedrich Schinkel's Project for a Royal Palace on the Acropolis,'' 37.)
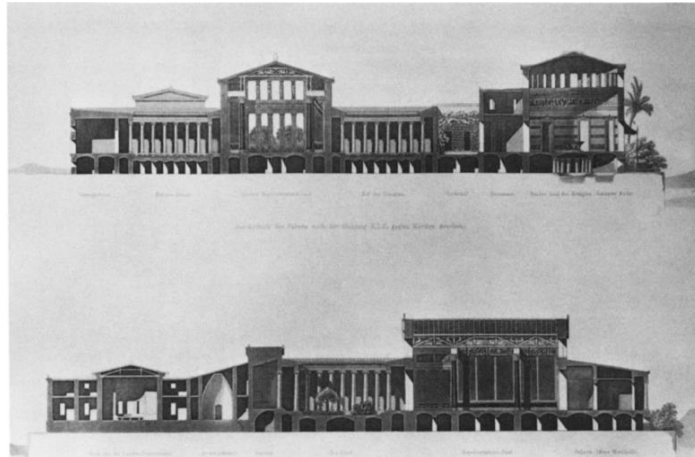
Figure 86. Schinkel, Sections through Residenz, The Project for a Royal Palace on the Acropolis in Athens, 1834 (Source: Carter, ''Karl Friedrich Schinkel's Project for a Royal Palace on the Acropolis,'' 38.)
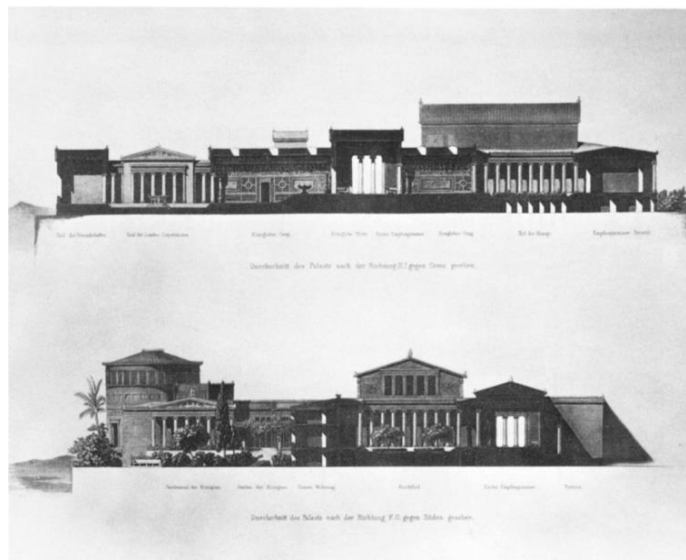
Figure 87. Schinkel, Sections through Residenz, The Project for a Royal Palace on the Acropolis in Athens, 1834 (Source: Carter, ''Karl Friedrich Schinkel's Project for a Royal Palace on the Acropolis,'' 39.)

Schinkel used the past as a source to understand the present and envision the future.[493] Before the project for a royal palace on the Acropolis in 1834, as previously discussed, with the painting of *A View of Greece* (1825) (Figure 56), he had already created the ambiance of an imaginary ancient Greek city in construction with Greek architectural components and attempted to depict a heroic return of the Greek army after a victory. In this painting, the location was unknown; however, in the design proposal for a royal palace on the Acropolis, Schinkel deliberately chose the site regarding the political conditions of the time. Although it was not realized, his project addressed a reestablishment of the spirit of ancient Greece for the newly founded Greek nation-state as a commemoration of their glorious past and against the Russian threat.

Regarding the flow of knowledge from Gilly to Schinkel in classical architecture, as a different media, the painting of *A View of Greece in its Prime* may be regarded as an intermediary step that led to the project for a royal palace on the Acropolis. Later, Schinkel's design proposal for such a complex signified a hypothetical transportation from Berlin to Athens in terms of site and from Prussia to modern Greece in terms of nationalist senses, emerging as his translation of ruins to building. As Schinkel had never physically been to Greece until that time, this creative and imaginative act also went beyond verbal and visual narratives and demonstrated his reception of antiquity, forming his translation as the material embodiment of his classical approach to architecture.

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[493] Toews, *Becoming Historical: Cultural Reformation and Public Memory in Early Nineteenth-Century Berlin*, 127.

CHAPTER 4

IMAGINING AND NARRATING THE PAST: WINCKELMANN'S GREECE VS. SCHINKEL'S GREECE

Classical receptions of Johann Joachim Winckelmann and Karl Friedrich Schinkel shaped their translations of ruin to text and building, respectively. They both imagined and reinvented ancient Greece using different creative methods in their works. Their shared interest was primarily the past and how to represent it in the present by combining knowledge and imagination. Their translations of ruins also emerged as their narrations of Greece. While Winckelmann wrote *Reflections on the Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture* and *History of the Art and Antiquity* based on the idea of imitating the ancient Greeks in text, going beyond text, Schinkel visually depicted his construction of ancient Greece in the form of a utopia via the project proposal for a royal palace on the Acropolis.

Attempting to render monuments equivalent to texts, Winckelmann focused on text production in antiquarianism[494], which constituted the basis for his translation of ruins. While he was trying to translate monuments into text, the London Society of Antiquaries was busy with the goal of visualizing texts at that time.[495] Treating monuments as autonomous entities independent from their historical and material contexts, Winckelmann believed that the materiality of the past could only be praised if it led to poetry.[496] Different from Winckelmann, going beyond text, Schinkel's translation of ruins in the nineteenth century would address the material and visual

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[494] Lolla, ''Monuments and Texts: Antiquarianism and the beauty of antiquity,'' 13.

[495] Lolla, ''Monuments and Texts: Antiquarianism and the beauty of antiquity,'' 18.

[496] Arnold and Bending, ''Introduction: Tracing Architecture: The Aesthetics of Antiquarianism,'' 4.

aspects of antiquity that he learned from ancient literature. Winckelmann's interest in writing originated from his studies of history and rhetoric, and Schinkel's architectural approach also had its roots in history.

History is an experiment conducted with the thought in mind.[497] In this case, history and talking about the past revolve around a certain degree of subjectivity depending on the historian. This subjectivity partly derives from imagination. Imagination can be defined as ''the power or capacity of humans to form internal images of objects and situations.''[498] Such a definition that mentions the role of image in the process implies a relation to the Latin word *imitatio* (imitation.)[499] Regarding this mimetic aspect, imagination is about the ability of humans to visualize something that cannot be sensed at the moment but once could and is familiar to the mind.[500] Although imagination is entirely subjective, it becomes a tool for historians when they link it to existing knowledge.[501] Their work becomes a product of imagination that is an expression of how they form connections among phenomena while scrutinizing the past. As they regard sources of the past as evidence, historians' task is also imaginative.[502]

As history is a scientific discipline with specific methods, the act of imagining in historical research differs from the general meaning of the term. Historians depict the past based on evidence, and their work derives from their imagination. In this process, imagination also leads to interpretations beyond readily available meanings and forms

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[497] John Lewis Gaddis, *The Landscape of History: How Historians Map the Past* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 41.

[498] Ann Pendelton-Jullian and John Seely Brown, *Design Unbound: Designing for Emergence in a White Water World*, Vol. 2 (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2018), 385.

[499] Eva T. H. Brann, *The World of the Imagination: Sum and Substance* (Savage, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 1991), 18.

[500] David J. Staley, *Historical Imagination* (Abingdon (GB): Routledge, 2021), 2.

[501] G. R. Elton, *The Practice of History* (Glasgow: Collins Fontana, 1967), 87.

[502] Vivienne Little, ''What is Historical Imagination?'', *Teaching History*, no. 36 (1983): 30.

their historical constructions. For the historian R. G. Collingwood, this is the result of ''a priori'' or ''structural'' imagination in history.[503] Using evidence and structural imagination, historians are known to structure their histories by ''filling in gaps'' depending on mimetic images that they develop. This act echoes archaeologists' usage of putty to mend broken or incomplete pottery pieces. When imagination does not derive from mimetics and involves insensible and unreal things, it becomes creative and artistic. Plato had disapproved of this type of imagination; therefore, Western scholars neglected this creative potential for a long time.[504]

Imagination as a term has two different ontological implications. First, it addresses the visualization of real things for the mind. This can also be regarded as mimesis and the Aristotelian imagination. Second, it refers to dealing with ontologically unreal creation and fiction and can be labeled as the Platonic imagination. Imagination in history involves visualizing both real and unreal things for the mind at the same time.[505] Kant agreed that imagination consisted of both mimetic and creative aspects,[506] and most historical studies fall somewhere between these two types and involve various combinations of them.[507] For instance, as mentioned in the introduction, from a historical perspective, ruins with their incompleteness led the creative imagination of architects like Piranesi in the eighteenth century.

Winckelmann's historical approach included the Aristotelian/mimetic imagination as he focused on analyzing ancient Greek sculptures. Using structural imagination, he attempted to represent a comprehensive picture of antiquity in text through the concept of imitation based on evidence. Furthermore, his imagination was creative when he

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[503] R. G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956), 241.

[504] Staley, *Historical Imagination*, 6-7.

[505] Staley, *Historical Imagination*, 10-11.

[506] Pendelton-Jullian and Brown, *Design Unbound: Designing for Emergence in a White Water World*, 391.

[507] Staley, *Historical Imagination*, 11.

wanted to emphasize the themes of heroism and nobility in ancient Greek culture, as in how he described the Laocoön. Schinkel's usage of classical architectural elements came out of his Aristotelian/mimetic imagination as well. *A View of Greece in its Prime* derived from structural imagination shaped by his classical reception. Following relevant evidence, Schinkel designed polychromatic interiors for the Schloss Orianda, a true yet undiscovered aspect of ancient architecture at that time. His approach also went beyond the boundaries of mimetic and structural imagination, becoming creative as he placed a Roman bath in a Greek interior in the Schloss Charlottenhof. Most strikingly, his project for a royal palace on the Acropolis involved placing a Roman hippodrome on Greek soil, and such an act of creative imagination formed his translation of ruins to architecture.

Like novelists, historians must arrange their scenes, portray their characters, plan their narratives, and make their statements.[508] A historian narrates the past depending on her or his perspective using descriptions. While description is related to the present time, narration is about the past.[509] Descriptions also become a means for contemporary readers to visualize what narrated is. Winckelmann's and Schinkel's translations both referred to their narrations of ancient Greek history in different ways, and both included descriptions that enriched their works. For instance, despite its ruined status as a piece of stone left of a statue of Hercules, Winckelmann vividly described the Belvedere Torso in an essay that would be included in *Monumenti antichi inediti*[510] (Figure 13).

Similarly, Schinkel's *A View of Greece in its Prime* and project proposal for a royal palace on the Acropolis included descriptions that strengthened his representation of ancient Greece (Figures 56 and 73). In *A View of Greece in its Prime*, he depicted regular workers during the construction of a temple as a scene from daily life and soldiers returning from a battle as a hint of an epic event. Furthermore, in the project

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[508] Little, ''What is Historical Imagination?'', 31.

[509] Georg Lukacs, ''Narrate or Describe'' in *Writer and Critic, and other Essays*, trans. Arthur Kahn (London: Merlin, 1978), 130.

[510] Lolla, ''Monuments and Texts: Antiquarianism and the beauty of antiquity,'' 15.

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proposal for a royal palace on the Acropolis, he presented his utopia for an ancient Greek city with its architectural and urban aspects.

Winckelmann and Schinkel both learned about antiquity by reading ancient literature as they had never been on Greek soil. In this case, one of their primary sources was Pliny's writings. In *Natural History*, Pliny talked about bronze statues and their sculptors[511]; however, neither Winckelmann nor Schinkel focused on this aspect, and they regarded stone as the main material in antiquity. Furthermore, interestingly, depending on his interpretation of classical architecture, Schinkel imagined and used polychromy in the design of Schloss Orianda without knowing that ancient buildings were, in fact, multicolored, and it was not possible to realize at that time.

As already demonstrated before, Winckelmann's translation from ruin to text revolved around the concept of imitation in *Reflections on the Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture* and *History of Art and Antiquity*. His classical reception shaped how he used imitation to represent the Greek ideal and ancient Greece in his imagination and was transformed into writing. Going beyond being both a historian and archaeologist, imitation for Winckelmann was a combination of both a historian's, who only has written sources and an artist's, who can move from materials at hand.[512] Furthermore, like an archaeologist, he also narrated about the past; however, he had rather an analytical approach and used Roman sources available to him to study ancient Greece in his time.[513] Schinkel had to do the same, and they both looked at Greece from Roman perspectives, which added more layers of creativity to their classical receptions.

Unlike Winckelmann, Schinkel's translation had a visual basis that emerged in building. As discussed in the third chapter, Schinkel's classical reception derived from the cumulative knowledge and experience that reached him from Langhans through

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[511] Carol C. Mattusch, "In Search of the Greek Bronze Original." *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome. Supplementary Volumes* 1 (2002): 99. https://doi.org/10.2307/4238448.

[512] Child, ''History as Imitation,'' 193.

[513] Shanks and Tilley, *Re-Constructing Archaeology: Theory and Practice*, 19.

Gilly, evident in the Brandenburg Gate, the project for the monument to the Frederick the Great, and the project proposal for a royal palace on the Acropolis, respectively. In this flow that led to his translation of ruin to building, *A View of Greece in its Prime* also signified an important milestone for Schinkel, which reflected his attempts to render Berlin as a new ''Athens on the Spree.'' The Neue Wache, the Altes Museum, the Schauspielhaus, and the Bauakademie all contributed to this aim.[514]

Although their classical knowledge and approaches both derived from verbal sources, Winckelmann's and Schinkel's translations from ruin differed in their scholarship. While Winckelmann's translation from ruin emerged in text through the concept of imitation and became a verbal narrative, the project proposal for a royal palace on the Acropolis became a demonstration of how Schinkel's classical reception was embodied in architecture and his translation from ruin to building went beyond verbal and visual narratives.

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[514] Jean-Francois Lejeune, "Karl Friedrich Schinkel: The New ''Athens-on-the-Spree'' and the Myth of Antique Greece," *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review* 24, no. 1 (2012): 33.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

As indicated at the outset, translation is usually associated with languages; however, it is also related to architecture. Regarding translation as a creative act, this study examined and compared how the ways Johann Joachim Winckelmann and Karl Friedrich Schinkel understood and analyzed ruins emerged as their verbal and visual narratives based on their views and as translations in their works with the impacts of the intellectual, cultural, and political environment. This dissertation also revealed how studying and interpreting ruins triggered creative imaginations of an art historian and an architect in different ways and made their works perceived as verbal and visual narratives. It also highlighted the importance of ruins not only for the scope of archaeology but also of art and architecture. Before Winckelmann and archaeology emerged as a scientific discipline, only textual sources on ancient art and architecture available were used to gather information while producing texts on ancient monuments. By utilizing ruins, Winckelmann used tangible data to produce his texts in the form of a verbal narrative and Schinkel went beyond this with his architecture, creating a visual narrative. This study is not on the individual works of neither Winckelmann nor Schinkel, but on how ruins became a source of inspiration for them while their interpretations emerged as verbal and visual narratives and the transitivity between their understandings. In this case, it also presented different readings of the same data that were considered translations.

In architecture, the processes from drawing to actual building are all different forms of translation, and in the eighteenth century, a reverse translation occurred from ruin to print as a new medium. Along with the Enlightenment and development of archaeology as a scientific discipline, this was a time when ruins received special attention. Ruins stimulated the imaginations of architects, and the usage of prints facilitated the distribution of knowledge. The interest in the Ancient Greek and Roman

past also expanded enormously, and accordingly, the Graeco-Roman Controversy, which stemmed from the views on the supremacy of Greeks and Romans over each other in art and became a contentious issue for European architecture of this century. With his ideas that championed the Greeks over the Romans, the thesis demonstrates how Winckelmann paved the way for the development of modern art history studies and contributed to the spreading of Philhellenism and Nationalism on German soil.

As shown in the second chapter, the Enlightenment contributed to the rise of antiquarianism regarding the interest in ancient Greece and ruins. In the context of the German-speaking regions of Europe in the eighteenth century, national thinking backed by a historical approach against the French became widespread together with the conception of nature and aesthetic rationalism. The thesis reveals how Winckelmann's early life and intellectual background shaped the development of his scholarly approaches. Accordingly, his views on Greek art history revolved around two main concepts, aesthetics, and freedom. Furthermore, his interpretation of aesthetics was close to aesthetic rationalism; however, it also had historical and classicist aspects. His analyses of the Laocoön, the Niobe, the Belvedere Torso, the Apollo Belvedere, and the Belvedere Antinous demonstrated his understanding of Greek art in terms of aesthetics together with a historical approach. Winckelmann associated the Laocoön and the Niobe with the high period of ancient Greek art, whereas he considered the Belvedere Torso, the Apollo Belvedere, and the Belvedere Antinous the products of a declining phase. In Winckelmann's view, freedom was a decisive factor in the development of art in Ancient Greece. The thesis emphasizes that his understanding of the concept of freedom was twofold; individual and political. At the individual level, he mentioned the free self to produce art. At the political level, he pointed out the issue of patronage in art and emphasized the importance of the independent status of artists from any kind of political figures. In his view, freedom also played a significant role in the development of art. He also considered nature and climate in relation to freedom and argued that the temperate climate shaped how people thought and contributed to artistic achievements. In addition, the thesis also highlighted how Winckelmann's perception and interpretation of Greek antiquity can be described as his classical reception that derived from how he understood imitation *(Nachahmung)*. In this regard, imitation is also related to the concepts of copying and mimesis. However, unlike copying, imitation addresses a creative act like translation.

Hence, it is seen that Winckelmann benefitted from imitation in his verbal productions that became a translation. His act of imitation was both a historian's and an artist's. The thesis clearly showed how like a historian, he studied written texts and copied from them, and like an artist, he had a model to work on. In the case of Winckelmann, it regarded damaged ancient sculptures such as the Belvedere Torso as ruin and included his analyses of them that derived from a consciousness for ruins. The study also revealed that with his archaeologist background, Winckelmann's text that involved his conception of imitation became a translation of ruins to text in *Reflections on the Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture* (1755) and *History of the Art of Antiquity* (1764) and emerged as verbal narratives.

Undoubtedly, the changing sociopolitical conditions of the German-speaking regions in Europe were instrumental in the nineteenth century as unveiled in the third chapter. With the impact of Nationalism and stylistic debates regarding the search for a German national style, the study examined Schinkel's overall career in two main phases. The first phase investigated his training, approaches, and early career works based on his interpretations of intuition and nature. In this period between 1806 and 1814, it was shown that Schinkel favored the Gothic style. The thesis also underscored how the role of the Gillys', especially Friedrich Gilly, who became his mentor, and his trip to Italy in 1803-1804 greatly shaped Schinkel's view on art and architecture. Especially highlighted are his conception of intuition and nature in different media through examinations of selected works such as *Morning* (1813), *A View of Schloss Predjama* (1816), *Landscape with Gothic Arcades* (1812), *Antique City on a Mountain* (1805), *Medieval City by the Sea* (1813), *The Fire of Moscow* (1812), *Panorama of Palermo* (1808), Stage Set for *The Magic Flute* by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1816), Stage Set for *Vestal Virgin* by Gaspare Spontini (1818), Stage Set for *Undine* by E. T. A. Hoffmann (1815-1816). The Mausoleum for Queen Louise (1810) and his projects for the commemoration of the Wars of Liberation (1814) were also included to demonstrate his interest in the Gothic architectural style. The second section examined Schinkel's career as the state architect of Prussia with a classicist attitude and concentrated on his major built projects in Berlin, the Neue Wache (1816-1818), the Schauspielhaus (1818-1821), and the Altes Museum (1823-1830). Through these three buildings, the study revealed how Schinkel shaped central Berlin and contributed to the urban fabric. As a different medium, his painting *A View of Greece in its Prime*

(1825) stands out as an example of his classical approach to art and as a demonstration of his interest in *Bildung*. In addition, Schinkel's urban residence projects in the 1820s, such as the Schloss Tegel (1820-1824), built for Humboldt, the Jagdschloss Antonin (1822-1824) and the Schloss Charlottenhof (1826) with their specific design solutions and classical components together with the Friedrich-Werder Kirche (1824-1830) in Gothic style reveal multiple perceptions. Trials with brick are conspicuous on different building typologies such as the Feilner House (1828-1829) and the Bauakademie (1832-1836) after Schinkel's trip to France and Britain in 1826. However, the epitome of Schinkel's multiple translation is seen in the palace on the Acropolis, which strikingly reflected Schinkel's classical attitude, creativity, and knowledge of new construction techniques on both building and urban scale. It also brought Greek and Roman architectural components such as propylaea and hippodrome together on Greek soil, conveying cultural and political implications. Another significant yet unbuilt project Schloss Orianda (1838) demonstrated Schinkel's innovative approaches with its polychromy, modern metal frames, and glass with a classicist organization in the plan. Lastly, the transfer of cumulative classical knowledge from Carl Langhans to Schinkel via Friedrich Gilly constitutes a backbone for Schinkel's translation from ruins to building. The thesis demonstrates that such a flow began with Langhans's Brandenburg Gate (1791) and continued with Friedrich Gilly's unbuilt project for the monument to Frederick the Great (1797). This resulted in and emerged as Schinkel's translation of ruins to building in the project of a royal palace on the Acropolis (1834). The thesis demonstrated that this unbuilt proposal of Schinkel represented his translation of ruins to building as going beyond verbal and visual narratives in several layers; transportations of the site and nationalist senses referring to a creative and imaginative act embodied in architecture reflecting his classical reception.

As revealed in the fourth chapter, Winckelmann and Schinkel perceived and interpreted ruins in their works using both verbal and visual communication. In different ways, both navigated between the frontiers of imagination, narration, and description in the contexts of history and archaeology while utilizing Aristotelian/mimetic, creative, and structural imagination. These three types of imagination were instrumental in their approaches and constituted the core of their translations of ruins that were reformulated as verbal and visual narratives fed by classical receptions.

Another assertation of the study is that for both Winckelmann and Schinkel, the Graeco-Roman Controversy in the eighteenth century and its implications stood out as a formative basis. Winckelmann favored the Greeks over the Romans in his works, shaping his translation of ruins based on the idea of imitation of the Greeks in *Reflections on the Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture* and *History of the Art of Antiquity*. However, Schinkel's attitude and translation of ruins can be seen as a different and innovative interpretation of the Graeco-Roman Controversy in the nineteenth century. The study clearly reveals that *A View of Greece in its Prime* addressed an intermediary phase in his translation of ruins reflecting freedom and military victory, and the project for a royal palace on the Acropolis, which included both Greek and Roman architectural components, emerged as his translation of ruins to building. In this way, Schinkel developed a unique approach of reviving ideas and architecture from both the Greeks and the Romans without praising one or censuring the other, unlike the common tendency that originated from the Graeco-Roman Controversy and Winckelmann. Above all, the study demonstrated that for his project for a royal palace on the Acropolis, in coherence with this scope, Schinkel appropriated the theme of political power from ancient Rome and the idea of freedom from ancient Greece together both contextually and materially on Greek soil in the nineteenth century. The fact that he designed this proposal as a building complex without balking at the existing structures on the site and even merged them into his project also signaled his consciousness for ruins and increased the creativity level of his project contributing to his polyvalent translation.

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A. CURRICULUM VITAE

Pınar Kutluay

Research Assistant

Kütahya Dumlupınar University
Faculty of Architecture
Department of Architecture
History of Architecture

Education

- **Master of Science in Architecture (MSc. in Arch.)**, August 2013 (GPA: 4.00/4.00)
  İzmir Institute of Technology-İzmir, Turkey

- **Bachelor of Architecture (B. Arch.)**, June 2010 (GPA: 3.16/4.00)
  İzmir University of Economics-İzmir, Turkey

Research Fellowships

- **CCA-Canadian Centre for Architecture,** Doctoral Research Residency
  Program 2021, Montreal, Canada

- **Herzog August Bibliothek,** June 2022-August 2022, Dr. Günther Findel-
  Stiftung/Rolf und Ursula Schneider-Stiftung-Herzog August Bibliothek
  Doctoral Fellowships 2022, Wolfenbüttel, Germany

Research Areas

- **History and Theory of Architecture**
  -18th and 19th Century German Art and Architecture

-Modern Architectural Discourse
-Classical Architecture
-Language and Architecture
-Translation Studies
-Usage of Text and Image in History of Architecture

- **Daylight in Architecture**

- **Cinema and Architecture**

Research Project

- **Scholarship Student** in ''A Quantitative Examination of Double-Skin Facades through Flow and Energy Modeling and A Qualitative Investigation of Their Architectural Possibilities [Çift Cidarlı Cephelerin Akış ve Enerji Modellemesi Yapılarak Performanslarının Nicel Olarak İncelenmesi ve Sundukları Mimari Olanakların Nitel Sorgulanması]'', funded by the Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (TÜBİTAK) under the Support Program for Scientific and Technological Research Projects-1001, January 2013- January 2015

Academic Experience

- **Research Assistant,** Kütahya Dumlupınar University-Kütahya, Turkey, January 2018-

- **Research Assistant,** Middle East Technical University-Ankara, Turkey, August 2016-January 2018

- **Research Assistant,** Kütahya Dumlupınar University-Kütahya, Turkey, April 2016-August 2016

- **Research Assistant**, İzmir Institute of Technology-İzmir, Turkey, December 2010-April 2016

Scholarly Work

Peer-Reviewed Article

- Pınar Kutluay, "Fredeick John Kiesler and The Körperkultur Movement: Body, Nature, And Perception", *Journal of Social, Humanities and Administrative Sciences* 8, no. 49 (2022): 159-167. https://dx.doi.org/10.31589/JO

Conference Presentations and Proceedings

- Pınar Kutluay, ''The Idea of Monumentality in Nineteenth-Century German Neoclassical Architecture'' essay presented in *ARCHTHEO'21, XV. International Conference on Theory and History of Architecture*, November 12, 2021, Online, and published in *ARCHTHEO'21, XV. International Theory and History of Architecture Conference Proceedings,* ed. Özgür Öztürk (İstanbul: Dakam Yayınları, 2021), 117-129.

- Pınar Kutluay, ''Importance of Hereke Fabrika-i Hümayunu in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Architecture and Industry'' essay presented in *IGSCONG'21 International Graduate Studies Congress*, *June 17-20, 2021*, Online, and published in *IGSCONG'21 International Graduate Studies Congress*, *June 17-20, 2021 Proceedings Book,* eds. Dr. Muhammet Nuri Seyman and Dr. Mustafa Cem Aldağ, 2021, 13-22. ISBN: 978-605-68187-0-7

- Pınar Kutluay, ''New Perspectives on Architectural History Education: Redefining Architectural History in Light of the Issues of Linearity, Subjectivity and Globalisation'' essay presented in *IDES'19 International Design and Engineering Symposium-Sustainability, Innovation and Production,* October 10-11, 2019, İzmir Democracy University, Izmir and published in *International Design and Engineering Symposium Proceeding Book, İzmir Democracy University, IDES 2019,* eds. Hakan Doygun, Aslı Güneş Gölbey and Nurdan Erdoğan (İzmir, 2019), 362-367. ISBN: 978-605-69933-0-5

- Pınar Kutluay, Tuğba İnan, Ufuk Ersoy, Tahsin Başaran, ''Türkiye'den Dünyadan Örnekler Işığında Çift Cidarlı Cephenin Gelişimi [The Evolution of Double Skin Facades under the Light of Examples from Turkey and the World]'' essay presented in *12th HVAC&R Congress (TESKON 2015) and Teskon+SODEX Exhibition,* April 8-11, 2015, Tepekule Convention and Exhibition Center, Izmir and published in *12th HVAC&R Congress (TESKON 2015) Bildiri Kitabı, 8-11 Nisan 2015, Tepekule Kongre-Sergi ve İş Merkezi, İzmir* (İzmir: Can Dijital Baskı, 2015), 2249-2263. ISBN: 978-605-01-0700-5

- Pınar Kutluay, ''On the Way to Autonomous Wall: Cage Structure'' essay presented at the *ARCHTHEO 2013, Theory of Architecture Symposium, Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University*, *İstanbul, Turkey,* December 4-5, 2013, and published in *Creativity, Autonomy, Function in Architecture ARCHTHEO 2013 Proceedings, December 4-5, 2013, Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University*, eds. Neslihan Çatak and Efe Duyan (Istanbul: Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University Publishing, 2013), 237-241. ISBN: 978-9756264-97-3

- Pınar Kutluay, ''Facade in Traditional Japanese Architecture: A Predecessor Approach to the ''Dressing'' Metaphor of Gottfried Semper'' essay presented at the *ARCHTHEO 2011, Theory of Architecture Symposium, Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University, İstanbul, Turkey,* November 23-26, 2011 and published in *Theory for the Sake of the Theory: ARCHTHEO '11 Conference Proceedings, November 23-26, 2011, Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University*

vol.2, ed. Efe Duyan and Ceren Öztürkcan (Istanbul: Dakam Publishing, 2011), 111-118. ISBN-13: 9786054514052

- Pınar Kutluay, ''Minority Report: The Story of a Transparent Future'' poster presented at the *Design Cinema 2008, Third International Design and Cinema Conference*, *İstanbul Technical University*, *İstanbul, Turkey,* November 19-22, 2008.

Non-Peer Reviewed Article

- Pınar Kutluay, ''Azınlık Raporu: Şeffaf Bir Geleceğin Öyküsü [Minority Report: The Story of a Transparent Future],'' *Arredamento*, no. 256 (2012): 118-121. (in Turkish)

Awards

- **The Most Active Member of the Academic Staff in Borrowing Books from the University Library in 2013**, İzmir Institute of Technology, 2014

- **Honour Student** at İzmir University of Economics, Department of Architecture, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009 and 2010

- **Full-Tuition Scholarship** to study architecture at İzmir University of Economics in the Turkish National University Entrance Exam (ÖSS), 2005

Languages

- **English**-fluent (TOEFL iBT Special Home Edition: 93, September 2020)

- **German**-intermediate (Mandatory Program of Second Foreign Language for Undergraduates at İzmir University of Economics, September 2005-January 2010)

- **Turkish**-native

Professional Memberships

- TMMOB Chamber of Architects of Turkey, İzmir Branch, September 2019-

B. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Bu çalışma beş kısımdan oluşmaktadır. Giriş bölümünde kavramsal çerçeve, amaç, araştırmanın önemi ve yapısı ortaya konarak, ikinci ve üçüncü kısımlarda Johann Joachim Winckelmann ve Karl Friedrich Schinkel'in yaklaşımları sıra ile kalıntılardan nasıl çeviri yaptıklarıyla beraber analiz edilmiştir. Daha sonra, dördüncü kısımda ise ikisinin yaptığı işler karşılaştırıp, kalıntıların çevirisi olarak nasıl ortaya çıktıkları irdelenmiştir.

Çalışmada, genellikle dillere ait bir terim olarak bilinen çeviri, yaratıcı bir eylem olarak ele alınmıştır. Vitruvius, çeviriyi mimarlıkla bağdaştırıp, zamanla dile çeviriye dönüşen antik zamanlarda ateşin etrafında toplanılması sosyal eyleminden bahsetmiştir. Çeviri genel, dilsel, ve felsefi bağlamlarda incelendikten sonra, mimarlıktaki kullanımına odaklanılmıştır. Bu durum iki yolla gerçekleşmektedir. İlki, çizimden binaya doğru gerçekleşen geleneksel tasarım süreci iken, ikincisi de kalıntılardan çizime olan ve onsekizinci yüzyılda, kalıntıların ilgi çektiği zamanda, baskının icat edilmesi ile ortaya çıkan ters yönde bir çeviriye işaret etmektedir. Çalışma bu durumda kalıntıyı materyal olma durumu fiziksel özelliklerinden gelen bir madde olarak analiz etmiştir. Daha sonra, kalıntıların onsekizinci yüzyıldaki durumu incelenmiştir. Bu dönemde, Aydınlanma ile birlikte, mantık ve düzen önem kazanmıştı. Buna bağlı olarak, bilimin her dalı gelişmişti ve arkeoloji de yeni bir bilimsel disiplin olarak ortaya çıkmıştı. Ayrıca, antikiteye olan ilginin, arkeolojik araştırmaların ve kazıların önemli bir sonucu olarak sanat eserleri yazıdan daha popüler olmuştu. Bu durumda, baskının icat edilmesi bilginin yayılımını kolaylaştırdığı için anahtar bir rol üstlendi. En önemlisi de kalıntılar tamamlanmamış bir şekilde göz önünde durdukları için, mimarların hayal güçlerini tarihsel düşünme bağlamında geliştirdi.

Kalıntıların durumu ile ilgili olarak, Grekoromen Tartışması onsekizinci yüzyıl mimarisi açısından en önemli konulardan birisi olmuştur. Bu dönemde, Antik Yunan ve Roma topraklarını kapsayacak şekilde yapılan Büyük Tur, bu ihtilafın yayılmasına

büyük katkıda bulunmuştur. Söz konusu tartışma, temel olarak Yunanlıların mı yoksa Romalıların mı sanatlarının birbirinden üstün olduğu üzerineydi. Bu bağlamda, Winckelmann ve Giovanni Battista Piranesi arasındaki görüş ayrılığı kayda değerdir. Wincklemann, antik Romalıların antik Yunanlılar'dan ilham aldığını savunurken, Piranesi ise antik Roma sanatının onlar antik Yunanlılarla karşılaşmadan önce Etrüskler sayesinde zaten yeterince gelişmiş olduğuna inanıyordu. Öte yandan, Winckelmann bir Alman sanat tarihçisi olarak kalıntılarla ilgileniyordu ve Antik Yunanlılar'ın yaptıklarını koşulsuzca övüyordu. Onun bu Yunansever yaklaşımı ondokuzuncu yüzyılda da etkili olmuştur ve dönemin artan ulusçuluk eğilimleri ile birlikte, klasikçi düşünceleri de Schinkel gibi mimaride bir Alman ulus kimliği arayışında olan mimarlara bir ilham kaynağı olmuştur. Bu çalışma, Winckelmann ve Schinkel'in kalıntıları nasıl algılayıp çalıştıklarından ortaya çıkan yazılı ve görsel anlatıların onların bilimsel yaklaşımlarını ve işlerini nasıl çeviri olarak şekillendirdiğini inceleyip karşılaştırmaktır. Çalışma, bu anlamda söz konusu iki figürün herhangi biri hakkında genel bağlamda bir araştırma değildir.

Winckelmann'a ayrılmış olan ikinci kısımda, öncelikle kendisinin entelektüel geçmişi ve yaklaşımının nasıl geliştiği incelenmiştir. Onsekizinci yüzyılda, Aydınlanma sırasında, antikacılık, antikalara olan ilginin artmasıyla birlikte çok katmanlı bir pratik haline gelmişti. Antikalarla ilgilenenler tarih yazımı ile de haşır neşir olmuşlardı ve bu anlamda Alman Aydınlanması'nı tarihselci yaklaşımlarla karakterize etmek mümkün oldu. Winckelmann, tarihsel yöntemleri içeren estetik temelli yaklaşımıyla kendisini farklılaştırarak, antik Yunan eserlerinin incelemesini tarihsel bir yaklaşımla ele alıp, bu şekilde bir tarih icat etmesiyle ön plana çıktı. Kendisinin eğitim geçmişi de düşüncelerinin ve görüşlerinin şekillenmesinde önemli bir rol oynadı. Teolojiyle birlikte fizik, tıp, ve anatomi çalışmıştı, ve bunların hepsi onun multidisipliner yaklaşımının gelişmesine önemli katkılarda bulundu. Roma'ya gelişi ve orada kalışı güçlü bir idari pozisyonla beraber, ona antik Roma eserlerini inceleme ve kazı alanlarını ziyaret etme fırsatlarını sağladı. Winckelmann'ın antik Yunan sanatı hakkındaki görüşleri estetik ve özgürlük olmak üzere iki ana kavram üzerinden şekillenmiştir. Kendisinin kalıntılardan yazıya çevirisinin kaynağı ise taklit kavramıydı. Bunu *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst (Resim ve Heykelde Yunan Eserlerinin Taklidi Üzerine Düşünceler)* (1755) ve *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterhums (Antik Sanatın Tarihi)*

(1764) başlıklı iki ünlü kitabında görmek mümkündü. İlkinde, Winckelmann öğretici bir ton kullanmıştır, böylece kitabı sanatçılar için Antik Yunanlılar'dan resim ve heykele dair bir şeyler öğrenmelerine aracılık eden bir rehber haline gelmiştir. İkinci kitap ise bir sanat tarihi incelemesidir, Winckelmann bu eserinde antik Mısır, Pers, Etrüsk, Yunan ve Roma sanatlarını bir şema şeklinde analiz etmiştir. Yine de, odak noktası antik Yunanlılar olmuştur.

Estetik Winckelmann'ın antik Yunan sanatı ve antikitesine yaklaşımının temelini oluşturan ana kavramlardan birisiydi. Kendisi heykel ve resmin mimarlıktan önce ortaya çıktığına inanıyordu. Ayrıca, estetik algısını Antik Yunan sanatı bağlamında anlatmak için, heykelleri incelemiş ve onları bu sanatın farklı dönemleriyle ilişkilendirmiştir. Örneğin, Winckelmann'a göre, Laocoön ve Niobe Antik Yunan sanatının daha ileri bir seviyesinde yapılmıştı. Onun için, Laocoön sakin gözükmekteydi ve yüz ifadeleri acı ile birlikte bir bilgelik ifade ediyordu. Aynı eserde, erkeklik üzerinden bir kahramanlık övgüsü de vardı. Winckelmann Niobe'nin ise bir kadın figür olarak yücelik hissini temsil ettiğine inanıyordu. İki heykel arasındaki fark yüz ifadelerinden gelmekteydi; Niobe daha sakindi ve Winckelmann onu o sırada kızını korumasına rağmen herhangi bir güç eylemi ile ilişkilendirmemişti. Bunun yerine, büyük olasılıkla kendisi eşcinsel olduğu için Laocoön'un eril kahramanlığı ile daha çok ilgileniyordu.

Winckelmann, daha sonra Apollo Belvedere, Belvedere Antinous ve Belvedere Torso heykellerini Antik Yunan sanatının gerileme dönemleriyle ilişkilendirmiş ve güzellik kavramı üzerinden birtakım karşılaştırmalar yapmıştır. Örneğin, Winckelmann'a göre Laocoön'u yapan sanatçı Apollo Belvedere'yi yapandan daha yetenekliydi, çünkü bu eser bilimsel yöntemlere daha çok uymaktaydı. Bu şekilde bir sınıflandırma yapmasına rağmen, Belvedere Torso'nun da mükemmel bir vücut temsil ettiğine ve antik Yunan sanatının hayatta kalan en güzel parçası olduğuna inanıyordu.

Özgürlük Winckelmann'ın Antik Yunan sanatı ve antikiteye yaklaşımının özünü oluşturan bir diğer kavramdı. Kendisinin özgürlük anlayışı iki katmanlıydı, ilki politik özgürlüktü ve ülkedeki vatandaşların özgürlüğünü işaret ediyordu. Onlar mutlu ve sağlıklıydılar, Winckelmann bunun için Olimpik oyun geleneğini örnek vermişti. Winckelmann için, özgürlükle ilgili olarak, doğa bağlamında coğrafya ve iklim de

Antik Yunan'da sanatın gelişmesinde önemli etmenler olarak öne çıkmıştır. Örneğin, ılık Akdeniz iklimi de insanların nasıl düşündüğünü şekillendirmiş ve sanatsal başarılarına katkıda bulunmuştur. Onun görüşüne göre, özgürlük de sanatın gelişmesinde anahtar bir rol oynamıştır. Kendisinin özgürlük anlayışı bireysel ve politik olmak üzere iki katmanlıydı. Bireysel düzeyde, sanat üretimi için özgür kişiliğin öneminden bahsetmiştir. Politik düzey içinse sanatta hamilik kavramına dikkat çekmiş ve sanatçıların her türlü politik figürden bağımsız olmasının önemini vurgulamıştır. Bu daha çok eşcinselliğin ifade edilmesine de dayanıyordu, çünkü bir eşcinsel olarak kendisi büyük olasılıkla onsekizinci yüzyılın sosyokültürel şartlarında zorluklar yaşamıştı.

Winckelmann'ın sanata Antik Yunan bağlamındaki yaklaşımının temelinde estetik ve özgürlük varken, antikiteyi algılayışı ve anlayışı kendisinin kalıntılardan yazıya olan çevirisinin önünü açan klasik algısını oluşturmuştur. Bu durumda, temel olarak taklit kavramı (Almanca'da *Nachahmung*) onun kalıntılardan yaptığı çevirisini şekillendirmiştir. Almanca'da *nach* sonra anlamında gelmektedir, bu nedenle *Nachahmung* birincil bir eylem sonrası ikincil bir eyleme işaret etmektedir. Ayrıca, kopyalama ve mimesis kavramları ile de yakından ilişkilidir. Arthur Child ''History as Imitation,'' (Taklit olarak Tarih) adlı makalesinde, tarihçilerin ve sanatçıların farklı şekillerde taklit ettiğini öne sürer. Ona göre, tarihçilerin taklidi kaynaklarını inceleyip, sözcükleri kopyaladıkları zaman ortaya çıkar. Kopyaladıkları şeylere sahip değillerdir ve taklitleri bir yaratım olur. Sanatçılar da yaratıcı olmak için bir modele ihtiyaç duymazlar. Bu durumda, iki taklit de yaratıcı ve sanatçı yeteneklerden türer. Winckelmann'ın yaptığı taklit bu ikisinin bir bileşimi olarak görmek mümkündür. Michael Shanks ve Christopher Tilley'in *Re-Constructing Archaeology: Theory and Practice* (Arkeolojiyi Yeniden İnşaa Etmek: Teori ve Pratik) adlı kitabından yola çıkarak, o da eskiden kalan şeylerle günümüzde bir geçmiş ürettiği için, Winckelmann'ın işleri arkeolojik çalışmalar olarak düşünülebilir.

Winckelmann her iki kitabında da, düşüncelerini ve görüşlerini ifade etmek için taklit kavramını sıklıkla kullanmıştır. Çalışmada, bunların birkaç örneği incelenmiştir. Ona göre, bizlerin mükemmel olması için tek yol, mümkün olursa taklit edilemez olmak, eskileri taklit etmekti. Kendisi burada ideal olana ulaşmamız için taklit etmemiz gerektiğini belirtmiştir. Ancak, Winckelmann'ın bu ifadesi aynı zamanda bir

paradokstur, kendileri de taklit edilemez olan eskileri taklit etmekle taklit edilemez olunacaktır. Winckelmann, taklit ve güzellik arasındaki ilişkiden de bahsetmiştir. Ona göre, taklit güzelliğin ortaya çıkmasına olanak sağlamıştır. Bu güzellik, bireysel olabilirdi ya da bütüne ait bir şekilde ideali de temsil edebilirdi. Winckelmann için güzelliğin oluşması, güzel bir yaklaşımın taklidi aracılığıyla, bireysel güzelliğe dayanmaktaydı.

Winckelmann'dan sonra, ondokuzuncu yüzyıl'da Almanca konuşan bölgelerde politik birlik yoktu. İrili ufaklı birçok küçük eyalet bulunmaktaydı. Alman toprakları Fransızların işgali altındayken, Alman entelektüelleri de çoğu alanda bir Alman ulusal kimliği oluşturma çabası içindeydi. Bu dönemde, Schinkel de zamanının ileri gelen bazı figürleri Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Aloys Ludwig Hirt ve Heinrich Hübsch tarafından zenginleştirilen tarz tartışmalarını takip ederek, mimarlık aracılığıyla bir Alman ulusal kimliği arayışındaydı. Çalışmada, ona ayrılan üçüncü kısmın ilk bölümünde, doğum yılı 1781'den, 1815'te Prusya'nın devlet mimarı olarak atanmasına kadar geçen zaman içinde kendisinin görüş ve düşünceleri incelenmiştir. Bu dönemde, Schinkel'in yaklaşımları sezgi ve doğa olmak üzere iki temel kavram üzerinden şekillenmişti. David ve Friedrich Gilly ile tanışması ve İtalya gezisi de kendisinin görüşlerini geliştirmede önemli bir rol oynamıştı. Schinkel'in Gilly ailesi ile tanışıklığı kendisinin Friedrich Gilly'den Klassisizm'e dair çok şey öğrenip, ölümü sonrası bu konuda bir miras edindiği için oldukça kayda değerdir. Ancak, bu süreçte Schinkel Klassisizm'in yanısıra Gotik tarzı ile de ilgilenmekteydi. 1806 ve 1815 yılları arasında Prusya Fransız işgali altında kaldığı için mimarlıkta iş imkanları çok kısıtlıydı. Bu nedenle, Schinkel bu yıllarda birçok değişik türden farklı sanat eseri üretmeye yoğunlaşmıştır. Ürettiği eserlerin arasında resimler, sahne tasarımları, ve panoramalar bulunmaktaydı. Çalışma boyunca bunların arasından seçilen eserlerinin incelenmesinde, Schinkel'in sezgi ve doğayı nasıl yorumladığını görmek mümkündür. Üçüncü kısmın diğer bölümünde ise 1815'ten ölümüne kadar olan süreçle ilgili olarak kendisinin yine seçilmiş mimari eserleri kamusal binalar ve konutlar şeklinde analiz edilmiştir. Schinkel 1826'da Fransa ve İngiltere'ye de seyahat etmiş ve bu deneyim kendisinin mimari düşüncelerini ve yaklaşımlarını yönlendirmede önemli bir rol oynamıştır. Çalışma yine de onun tasarımlarını klasikçi anlayışına bağlı olarak inceleyerek, bütün bunların onun kalıntıdan binaya çevirisinin oluşumuna nasıl katkıda bulunduğunu göstermiştir.

Schinkel'in mimariye ve genel olarak sanata yaklaşımında ressam kimliği ve yaptığı resimler oldukça belirleyiciydi. Bu bağlamda, *Morning (Sabah)* (1813) adlı resmi dikkat çekiciydi. Schinkel bu eserinde, doğayı manzara bakımından betimlemiş ve çimenler üzerindeki kalıntıları da resmetmiştir. Ayrıca, ışık ve gölgeyle de oynayarak, kompozisyonuna özellikle sezgi kavramı açısından büyük bir zenginlik katmıştır. *Landscape with Gothic Arcades* (Gotik Sırakemerleri ile Manzara) (1812) adlı eserinde ise Gotik sırakemerleri kullanmıştır. Bu mimari ögelerle birlikte, sahneyi çerçeve içine almış ve eklediği insanlarla da gözlem temasına bir vurgu yapmıştır. Benzer şekilde, *Antique City on a Mountain (Bir Dağın Üzerinde Antik Şehir)* (1805) adlı eserinde bir antik kenti, içinde bulunduğu çevre ile beraber göstermiştir. Tapınağı merkeze koyarak, onun etrafına bir tepe boyunca sıralanan klasik tarzda binalar yerleştirmiştir. Bu nedenle, bir kentsel görünüm sunmayı hedeflediği söylenebilir. Ayrıca, kompozisyonuna eklediği insanlar ve hayvanlar da eserine tarihten bir sahne etkisi vermiştir. Bundan başka, kendisinin Schloss Predjama (1816)'yı betimlediği eseri yaptığı en büyük resim olmuştur. Söz konusu eserde, Schinkel bir yapının nasıl bir kayaya inşaa edildiğini de betimlemiştir. Schinkel kompozisyonunu kurarken, binayı ortaya yerleştirerek, onun etrafındaki nehir, ağaçlar ve diğer manzara elemanları ile nasıl bir uyum sağladığını da göstermiştir. Başka bir medya çeşidi olarak da, *Panorama of Palermo (Palermo'nun Panoraması)* (1808) adlı eserinde aşina olduğu farklı çizim teknikleri ile denemeler yaparak, Palermo kentini panorama şeklinde betimlemiştir. Bütün bunlara ek olarak, Schinkel bu eseri aracılığı ile kente yukardan bakmaya dair hevesini resmetmiştir. Oldukça büyük olan bu çizim, daha sonra kralın sarayında sergilenmiştir.

Schinkel bu dönemde tiyatro, sahne sanatları ve sahne tasarımları ile de ilgilenmekteydi. Ortaya koyduğu sahne tasarımlarından birisi Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart'ın *The Magic Flute (Sihirli Flüt)* (1816) içindi. Oyun boyunca sahnenin arka kısmına yerleştirilerek seyircilere gösterilen bu eserde, Schinkel'in Roma'daki Pantheon'un kubbesinden ilham aldığı çok belirgindi. Ayrıca, oyunun bağlamında daha etkili bir ortam yaratmak için yıldızlar ve bulutlar gibi mistik ögeler de eklemişti. Bundan başka, Gaspare Spontini'nin *Vestal Virgin (İffetli Bakire)* (1818) adlı eseri için hazırladığı sahne tasarımı da kendisinin mimari düşüncelerinin bir yansıması olmuştur. Kompozisyonun ortasına yerleştirdiği rotonda da daha sonraki müze tasarımı için bir ilham kaynağı olacaktı.

Schinkel'in sonraki eserleri arasında vefat eden Kraliçe Louise için hazırladığı mozole tasarımı da ön plana çıkmaktadır. İnşaa edilmemesine rağmen, cephesinde ve iç tasarımında Gotik tarzı ile dikkat çeken bu proje, Schinkel'in bu dönemde ilgili tarza olan ilgisinin sürdüğünün somut bir göstergesi olduğu için önemlidir.

Schinkel 1815'te Prusya devlet mimarı olarak çalışmaya başladıktan sonra, kral ona Berlin'de birkaç önemli bina tasarımı görevi vermiştir. Bu yapıların ilki The Neue Wache (Yeni Askeri Koruma Binası) (1816-1818) idi. Bu binada klasik bir yaklaşım benimseyen Schinkel, tasarımda kralın kişisel isteklerini de göz önünde bulundurarak, binanın cadde üzerindeki yerleşimini ona göre ayarlamıştır. Ancak, yine de genel olarak tasarımda kendi tarzını yansıtmaya çalışmıştır. Söz konusu bina günümüzde hala ayaktadır ve ziyarete açıktır. Bu dönem boyunca, kentsel tasarım konusu ile de yakından ilgilenen Schinkel, Berlin için bir kentsel plan hazırlayıp, krala sunmuştur. Söz konusu plan, uygulanmamış olmasına rağmen, kendisinin kentsel tasarıma dair görüşlerini yansıttığı için oldukça önemlidir. Schinkel daha sonra ise, var olan bina zarar gördüğü için, yine kralın isteği ile Schauspielhaus (Tiyatro)'yu (1818-1821) tasarlamıştır. Yeni Askeri Koruma Binası'na benzer bir şekilde klasik bir tarzı olan bu bina birçok klasik mimari elemanı içermekteydi. Binanın plan organizasyonunda bir başka klasik mimari özelliği olan simetriyi görmek de mümkündü. Daha sonra ise The Altes Museum (Eski Müze) (1823-1830) Schinkel'in en önemli binalarından birisi olarak ön plana çıkmıştır. Schinkel bu binada, klasik mimari ögelerine ek olarak, bazı resimlerinde de yaptığı gibi, üst İyonik kolonlar kullanarak Berlin manzarasını adeta bir çerçeve içine alarak müzeye gelen ziyaretçilere sunmuştur. Bu müze günümüzde hala açıktır. Kendisinin klasikçi yaklaşımı açısından, farklı bir medya olarak aynı dönemde yaptığı *A View of Greece in its Prime (En İyi Zamanında Yunanistan'dan Bir Görünüm)* (1825) adlı resmi de klasik mimari elemanların kompozisyonda kullanımı ve sunduğu sahneler açısından oldukça dikkat çekicidir. Schinkel bu resminde, diğer işlerine benzer bir şekilde, mimari elemanlarla çerçeve içine aldığı sahneyi merkeze alarak, antik Yunan'a dair hayal ettiği özgür hayata vurgu yapmıştır. Bir yandan bir inşaatta çalışan işçileri gösterirken, diğer yandan da büyük olasılıkla bir savaştan zafer kazanmış şekilde dönen askerleri birlikte betimlemiştir. Bu şekilde antik Yunan bağlamında, günlük hayattan bir sahneyi kahramanlık sonucu ortaya çıkan bir sahne ile aynı tablo içinde vererek, kendi idealindeki antik Yunan'ı ifade etmiştir.

Schinkel 1820'den 1830'a kadarki dönemde birçok konut projesi de yapmıştır. Bu bağlamda, Wilhelm von Humboldt için yaptığı Schloss Tegel (1820-1824) öne çıkmıştır. Schinkel bu projesinde de, daha önceki kamu binalarına benzer bir şekilde klasikçi bir mimari yaklaşım benimseyerek, tasarımını ona göre şekillendirmiştir. Ancak, bu binayı kendisinin diğer işleri arasında ön plana çıkaran en önemli özelliği içindeki küçük müzeydi. Humboldt da Schinkel gibi Klassisizm ile yakından ilgiliydi ve onun Prusya'da devlet mimarı olarak görev almasına aracılık ederek, hayatında oldukça önemli bir rol oynamıştı. Schinkel, o dönemde Humboldt ile Almanca'daki *Bildung* (kendi kendini eğitim) kavramı üzerine benzer görüşleri de paylaşıyordu. Bu kavram, Schinkel'in klasikçi anlayışına da bireyin kendi kendini eğitmesi ve geliştirmesi konusunda kayda değer bir ölçüde katkıda bulunmuştur. Humboldt'un klasiğe ve klasik eserlere olan ilgisine yönelik olarak, onun için malikanesinde küçük bir müze tasarlayan Schinkel, bu tasarımı ile ona kendi konutu içinde klasik koleksiyonunda bulunan eserlerini sergileyebilme fırsatı sunmuştur. Ayrıca, bu iç mekânı Humboldt'un kişisel alanı gibi düşünerek, konutta çalışan hizmetçiler için ev içinde ayrı bir güzergâh tasarlamış, binanın genel plan organizasyonunu da bu kısma göre şekillendirmiştir. Schinkel bu projede hem konut işlevini hem de müze işlevini başarılı bir şekilde bir araya getirerek, bu açıdan da özgün bir iş ortaya koymuştur. Schloss Tegel arazisi itibariyle de orman ve göl manzarası sunarken ve kente ve denize toprak ve su aracılığıyla bağlanmış gözükürken, Schinkel'in Prens Radziwill için tasarladığı Jagdschloss Antonin (1822-1824) bundan çok farklı bir karakterdeydi. Radziwill'in avcılık yaparken kullanacağı bir konut olarak düşündüğü bu bina, bölgede en çok bulunan malzeme olan ahşaptan yapılmıştı. Bina katı ve kalın gözüken tasarımıyla kendisini içinde bulunduğu çevreden çok farklılaştırmıştı ve ahşabın yapının hemen yerinde kullanılması bu algıya katkıda bulunmaktaydı. Schinkel, üç katlı olan binanın plan organizasyonunu, sekiz köşeli bir orta salonun etrafında şekillendirmişti. Ayrıca, yapının tam ortasına kolon şekline sahip büyük bir baca yerleştirmişti. Bu bağlamda, Schinkel'in hem Schloss Tegel hem de Jagdschloss Antonin projelerinde bir mimari eleman seçerek, binanın iç kısımlarını bunlara göre organize ettiğini söylemek mümkündür. Schnikel'in bu eğilimi, barınmanın doğasını yerin anlamı ile beraber ifade etmektedir. Schinkel ayrıca her iki projede de işverenlerinin kişisel isteklerine göre hareket etmiş ve onlar için sadece kendilerine ait, kendileri tarafından ulaşılabilecek iç kısımlar tasarlamıştır. Bu durumda, her iki

bina da kendi çevrelerinden soyutlanmışlardır. Ancak, daha sonra Schloss Charlottenhof (1826) projesinde daha farklı bir yaklaşım geliştirerek, kullanıcılar için çevre ile daha bağlantılı ve birçok manzara sunan bir tasarım ortaya koymuştur.

Schloss Charlottenhof da Schinkel'in bu dönemde yaptığı önemli konut projeleri arasında yer almaktadır. Bu konutta da Humboldt için yaptığı Schloss Tegel'deki gibi yenilikçi bir yaklaşım izlemiştir. Örneğin, antik Yunan tarzında tasarladığı iç kısıma bir antik Roma banyosu eklemiştir. Daha önce bahsedildiği gibi, binanın konumlandığı araziyi de göz önünde bulundurarak, kullanıcılar için buna dair bir deneyim hazırlamayı amaçlamıştır. Buradan hareketle, konutun bahçesini daha yüksek bir platform üzerinde şekillendirerek, manzaranın panoramik görünüşlerinin ortaya çıkmasını sağlamıştır. Ayrıca, bu tasarım fikrinin, kendisinin mimari tasarımı aracılığıyla tiyatral bir izlenim verme isteğini yansıttığı için önceki yıllarda yaptığı set tasarımlarına benzediği iddia etmek mümkündür. Böylesine bir tasarım, aynı zamanda yapıyı manzaranın doğal bir parçası gibi göstermiştir.

Schinkel vurgulandığı üzere bu dönemde daha çok klasik tabanlı bir mimari yaklaşımla hareket ederken, bir yandan da kariyerinin ilk zamanlarında olduğu gibi Gotik tarzda mimari tasarımlar üretmeyi sürdürmüştür. Buna en iyi örneklerden birisi Berlin'deki Friedrich-Werder Kilisesi'dir (1821-1830). Tasarım sürecinin başlarında yine klasik bir proje önerisi ortaya koymuşken, veliaht prensin isteği doğrultusunda yaklaşımını değiştirmiş ve sonuçta Gotik tarzı benimsemiştir. O zamanki bütçenin oldukça kısıtlı olmasından ve proje arazisinin küçüklüğünden ötürü, bu kilise benzerlerine ve Gotik tarzın geleneksel oranlarına göre kütle olarak oldukça küçük bir bina şeklinde ortaya çıkmıştır. Yine de, sade, basit ve dikey formuyla dikkat çeken yapı, aynı zamanda taşıyıcı elemanların ve kütlenin dikkatli uyumu sayesinde Schinkel'in tipik kilise tasarımlarından birisi olmuştur. Binanın cephesi hem Gotik, hem de klasik mimariye referanslar içerirken, iç kısımları Schinkel'in Gotik tarzı kendi özgün yöntemleriyle yorumlamasının bir sonucu olarak görülebilir. Söz konusu kilise bugün hala kullanıma açıktır.

Schinkel 1826'da devlette kendisi gibi önemli bir teknik pozisyonda bulunan Christian Peter Beuth ile birlikte Fransa'ya ve İngiltere'ye bir gezi gerçekleştirmiştir. Schinkel'in bu gezi boyunca endüstrinin mimarlık üzerindeki etkilerini yakından

gözlemleme şansı olmuştu. Ayrıca, bir malzeme olarak tuğla hakkında birçok şey öğrenmiş ve bu konuda kendisini bir hayli geliştirebilmişti. Buna bağlı olarak, Feilner Evi (1828-1829) Schinkel'in tuğla ile ilgili ilk tasarım denemelerinin bir sonucu olarak görmek mümkündür. Projeyi kendisine veren kişi o dönemlerde tuğla malzeme üreticisi olan Tobias Christoph Feilner'di. Schinkel Feilner ile daha önce onun için bir fırın tasarladığı için zaten tanışıyordu. Feilner kendisi için bir ev inşa ettirmek istediğinde, Schinkel tasarımı görmeyi ve revize etmeyi kendisi teklif etmiştir. Var olan planları geliştirip değiştirerek, iç kısımlara daha çok günışığı ulaşmasını sağlamak amacıyla evin arka kısmına köşeli bir oda eklemiştir. Ayrıca, cephede ise tuğlayı çeşitli süslemelerle birlikte kullanarak, projeye görsel anlamda bir zenginlik katmıştır. Onun bu yenilikçi yaklaşımının, o dönemde konut mimarisinde tuğla kullanımına dair özendirici bir rol üstlendiğini söylemek mümkündür.

Feilner Evi'nden sonra ise, The Bauakademie (Bina Akademisi) (1832-1836) Schinkel'in kamu ölçeğinde tuğladan yapılmış en önemli binası olarak ön plana çıkmıştır. Bu yapı ayrıca Schinkel'in genel mimari tasarım felsefesini ve bir mimarlık eğitimcisi olarak da rolünü yansıtan oldukça önemli bir eser olarak kayıtlara geçmiştir. Daha sonra ise, Akropolis Üzerinde Bir Kraliyet Sarayı Projesi (1834) ve Schloss Orianda (1838) yüksek amaçlar işaret eden ve kendisinin ütopik düşüncelerini ifade eden, ama türlü nedenlerle inşa edilemeyen tasarımlar olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Schinkel, Akropolis üzerindeki kraliyet sarayı projesini 1834'te yeni bir ulus devlet olarak kurulan Yunanistan'ın ilk kralı için hazırlamıştır. Birçok farklı yapıdan oluşan bir kompleks halindeki projesini, arazinin şekli ve iklimine uygun olacak şekilde tam üzerine yerleşecek konumda tasarlamıştır. Bu durum, olası bir savaş halinde şehrin askeri savunmasını da kolaylaştırabilecek bir avantaj sağlayacaktı. Schinkel, bu projesinin ayrıca antik Yunan'ın yüceliğinin bir sembolü olacağına ve bu şekilde onun ölümsüzlüğüne katkıda bulunacağına inanıyordu. Formal olarak parçalı bir tasarıma sahip olan proje, arazide var olan kalıntıları da hesaba katarak, onların görülmesine herhangi bir engel teşkil etmemekteydi. Aksine, proje bu kalıntılar için adeta bir çerçeve olacaktı. Schinkel tasarımında yer verdiği farklı nitelikteki mekanları da hem dikey hem de yatay ekseni takip edecek şekilde organize etmişti. Buna uygun olarak, Parthenon'un ve Erechtheion'un kalıntıları arasına bir antik Roma hipodromu yerleştirmişti. Proje ayrıca anıtsallık ve bir kentsel tasarım kaygısı da içermekteydi. Schinkel, iç kısımda ise, Büyük Salon adını verdiği bölümde, geleneksel ve modern

yapım tekniklerini birlikte kullanmıştı. Ne yazık ki Schinkel'in bu projesi Yunanistan'ın o dönemde içinde bulunduğu ekonomik durumdan ötürü gerçekleştirilemedi. Benzer şekilde, Schloss Orianda'nın tasarımı işi de ona Prusya Veliaht Prensi'nin kız kardeşi için Karadeniz'in Kırım kıyısında inşa edilmek üzere verilmişti. Schinkel, Schloss Orianda projesini, Akropolis projesinden farklı olarak, arazi üzerinde yüksek bir platforma yerleştirilecek şekilde, tek başına duracak özerk bir yapı olarak tasarlamıştı. Proje ayrıca, içinde bir Pompeii tarzı avlu barındırmaktaydı. Akropolis projesi ile benzer şekilde, Schinkel bu tasarımında da modern teknikler ve malzemeler kullanmıştı. Örneğin, modern metal çerçeveler ve cam kullanmayı tercih etmiş, ayrıca çok renklilikten de faydalanmıştı. Bu durumda kendi neoklasik tasarım çizgisinden ayrılmış oluyordu. Projenin arazisi aynı zamanda politik bir mesaj da içermekteydi. Çünkü bu yer, Rus İmparatorluğu'nun batıyı doğudaki kökleriyle yeniden buluşturmak üzere Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun topraklarına doğru ilerleyişini simgelemekteydi.

Akropolis Üzerinde Bir Kraliyet Sarayı Projesi Schinkel'in kalıntıları binaya nasıl çeviri yaptığını yansıtan bir örnek olmuştur. Kendisinin klasik anlayışı Carl Langhans'ın Brandenburg Gate (Brandenburg Kapısı) (1789-1791) adlı eseri ile başlayan kümülatif bilgi akışına dayanmaktadır. Brandenburg Gate, Dorik tarzının bir yeniden ortaya çıkışı olarak yorumlanabilecek bir erken neoklasik yapıdır. Onsekizinci yüzyıla gelindiğinde, Berlin zaten antik Yunan kentlerine benzetilmekteydi. Çünkü, Atina ile arasında Prusyalıların askeriyede ve eğitimdeki ideallerine ilişkin önemli paralellikler olduğu düşünülmekteydi. O dönemde, Langhans'ın Brandenburg Gate yapısı bu tür bir algının yerleşip yayılmasına katkı sağlamıştır. Bu proje ayrıca, şehrin kentsel dokusunu da tasarımı anlamında geliştirmiştir. Friedrich Gilly Langhans'ın öğrencisiydi ve II. Friedrich için tasarlamış olduğu anıt projesi ile kendisinin klasikçi geleneğini sürdürmüştür. O da Atina'yı bir rol model olarak görmüş ve kentsel tasarım konusu üzerine çeşitli çalışmalar yapmıştır. II. Friedrich için hazırladığı anıt projesine Dorik tarzında sıra sütunlar, dikilitaşlar, ve antik Roma tarzında bir törensel kemer eklemiştir. Bu bağlamda, yüksek bir platforma yerleştirilecek şekilde tasarladığı yapı, Leipziger Meydanı'nda bir sembol olarak gözükecekti ve Gilly'nin birçok alandaki bilgi birikiminin adeta bir yansıması olacaktı. Gilly, bu anıtı kullanıcılar için de mimari deneyim açısından birçok farklı manzara sunacak şekilde tasarlamıştı. Bu durum da onun vermek istediği anlamı zenginleştiren önemli bir etmen olacaktı. Daha sonra

Schinkel Gilly'in öğrencisi oldu ve ölümünden sonra onun çizimleri ve kütüphanesi ile birlikte, entelektüel mirasını ve en önemlisi de klasik bilgisini de devraldı. Langhans'ın Brandenburg Kapısı yapısı, Gilly'nin II. Friedrich için bir anıt önerisi, ve Schinkel'in Akropolis üzerinde bir kraliyet sarayı projesi arasında çeviri şeklinde bir klasik bilgi akışı olduğunu söylemek mümkündür. Brandenburg Gate projesinde, Langhans antik Yunan tapınak girişleri kullanarak, geçmişi bugün gibi göstermiştir. Ondan sonra ise, Gilly bir antik Mısır dikilitaşını ve bir antik Roma törensel kemerini bir araya getirerek, ortaya bir yeniden üretimden ziyade bir soyutlama koymuştur. Gilly ile benzer bir şekilde, Schinkel de Akropolis üzerinde bir kraliyet sarayı projesinde, Parthenon, Tapınak Girişleri, Erehteyon, bir villa ve antik Roma hipodromu gibi birtakım eski mimarlık ögelerini bir araya getirmiştir. Ne Gilly ne de Schnikel Yunanistan'ı hiç ziyaret etmedikleri için, her ikisi de onun kendisi ve geçmişi hakkındaki anlayışlarını ve görüşlerini oluştururken Roma'yı bir araç olarak kullanmışlardır. Buna bağlı olarak, farklı bir yorumlama ile Schinkel Akropolis üzerinde bir kraliyet sarayı tasarımı ile bir antik Roma mimari elemanını Yunan toprağı üzerine koyabilmiştir. Kendisinin klasiği anlayışı ona Langhans'tan Gilly aracılığıyla ulaşmış olan kümülatif bilgi akışının bir sonucu olarak şekillenmiştir. Ancak, Langhans ve Gilly'den farklı olarak, Schinkel kendi projesi Berlin'de değil, Atina'da yapılacak şekilde düşünmüş ve hazırlamıştır. Bu durumda, Schinkel'in geçmişten ilham aldığını söylemek mümkündür. Onun Akropolis üzerinde bir kraliyet sarayı projesi aynı zamanda Yunanistan'ın şanlı geçmişinin anılmasının bir yansıması olmuş, ayrıca ondokuzuncu yüzyıldaki Yunanistan'ın Rusya tehdidine karşı bir duruş şeklinde düşünülmüştür.

A View of Greece in its Prime (En İyi Zamanında Yunanistan'dan Bir Görünüm) adlı resmi, Schinkel'in kalıntılardan binaya Akropolis üzerinde bir kraliyet sarayı projesinde ortaya çıkan çevirisinde giden yolda bir ara durak olarak düşünülebilir. Bu proje, bir çeviri olmasının ötesinde, Berlin'den Atina'ya varsayımsal bir taşınmayı da çok katmanlı olacak şekilde simgelemekteydi. Çünkü, hem fiziksel olarak değişik bir proje arazisini, hem de ulusçu düşüncelerin Prusya'dan modern Yunanistan'a geçişini işaret ediyordu. Aynı zamanda, daha önce belirtildiği üzere, Schinkel Yunanistan'a hiç gitmediği için, onun bu yaratıcı ve hayalci eylemi görsel bir anlatıya dönüşmüştü. Bu şekilde, projesi onun klasikçi anlayışını da göstermiş olmuş ve mimarlığa olan klasik tabanlı yaklaşımının görsel anlamda somutlaştırılması olarak karşımıza çıkmıştı.

İkinci kısımda Winckelmann'ın, üçüncü kısımda ise Schinkel'in yaklaşımları ve işleri kalıntıdan yazıya ve binaya çevirileri bağlamında analiz edilirken, dördüncü kısım bu iki önemli figürün bakış açıları ve ortaya koydukları eserlerin benzerlikleri ve farklılıklarına odaklanan bir karşılaştırma olmuştur. Hem Winckelmann hem Schinkel geçmişi tarih tabanlı bir perspektif ile ele almış ve kendi çalışmalarında ona göre hayal edip, anlatmışlardır. Tarihsel bağlamda bir kavram olarak hayal gücünü iki şekilde anlamak ve yorumlamak mümkündür. Bunlardan birincisi, Aristoteles'in de kullandığı Aristoteles' ait, mimetik diye anılan ve bilinen hayal gücüdür. Diğeri ise Platon'un öne sürdüğü görüşlere uyan, Platonik, yaratıcı hayal gücüdür. Aristoteles'e ait / mimetik hayal gücü beş duyu organımızla algılayabileceğimiz şeyleri zihinlerimizde canlandırmayı işaret ederken, Platonik / yaratıcı hayal gücü ise gerçekte var olmayan, beş duyu organımızla hissedemeyeceğimiz yaratılardan bahsetmek için kullanılmaktadır. Tarih alanında yapılan çalışmalar, her iki türden de hayal gücünden farklı ve değişen şekillerde faydalanmaktadır. Ayrıca, bu iki hayal gücüne ek olarak, R. G. Collingwood'un öne sürdüğü görüşe göre tarihsel çalışma yapanların süreç boyunca kullandığı bir yapısal hayal gücü de vardır. Bu hayal gücü, tarihçilere var olan kanıtlar ve kaynakları kullanarak kendi tarihlerini ortaya çıkarırken karşılaştıkları boşlukları doldurmalarına yardımcı olmaktadır. Buna ilişkin, tarihin kendi bağlamı içinde, anlatı da genel olarak anahtar bir rol oynamaktadır. Anlatı temel olarak geçmişin kendisine işaret ederken, onunla ilgili bir başka kavram olan betimleme de var olan şimdiki zamanı ima etmektedir. Betimlemeler de tarih disiplini ve anlatısı açısından oldukça önemlidir; çünkü, okurların tarih metinlerini okurken okuduklarını kendi zihinlerine görselleştirmelerine yardımcı olarak daha akılda kalıcı bir deneyim kazanmalarına olanak sağlarlar.

Çalışma bütün bu sınıflandırmalar ve tanımlamalar ile birlikte, Winckelmann ve Schnikel'in hayal gücü ve anlatı bağlamında kalıntılardan kendi eserlerine nasıl bir çeviri yaptıklarını ve nasıl kendi Yunanistan versiyonlarını ortaya koyduklarını karşılaştırmasını sunmuştur. Örneğin, Winckelmann Aristoteles'e ait / mimetik hayal gücü ile, antik Yunan heykellerini analiz etmiştir. Ayrıca, Schinkel de benzer bir şekilde klasik mimari elemanlarına birçok tasarımında yer vermiştir. Daha önce bahsedildiği gibi, tarihsel bir yaklaşım temelinde de, Winckelmann taklit kavramını yazılarında kullanmıştır ve Schinkel'in de *A View of Greece in its Prime (En İyi Zamanında Yunanistan'dan Bir Görünüm)* adlı eseri onun antik Yunan'ı kendi

zihninde üretirken karşısına çıkan tarihsel boşlukları nasıl doldurduğunun bir göstergesi olmuştur. Winckelmann'ın antik Yunan kültürü bağlamında kahramanlık ve soyluluktan bahsetmesi de yaratıcı halay gücünün bir sonucu olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu doğrultuda, Laocoön heykelini analiz edip yorumlama tarzı buna önemli bir örnek olarak gösterilebilir. Schinkel'in de Schloss Orianda'nın iç kısımlarında çok renklilikten faydalanması, Schloss Charlottenhof'un içine bir antik Roma banyosu yerleştirmesi ve Yunan toprakları üzerine inşaa edilecek bir antik Roma hipodromu tasarlaması onun yaratıcı hayal gücünün önemli örnekleri arasında sayılabilir. Ayrıca, Winckelmann da, Schinkel de benzer şekillerde betimlemelerden faydalanıp, onlara kendi anlatılarında fazlaca yer vermişlerdir. Örneğin, Winckelmann Belvedere Torso heykelini yazılarında oldukça canlı bir şekilde betimlemiştir ve Schinkel de antik Yunan'daki günlük hayattan bir sahneyi başarılı bir şekilde *A View of Greece in its Prime (En İyi Zamanında Yunanistan'dan Bir Görünüm)* adlı eserinde bir kompozisyon halinde resmetmiştir. Daha sonra ise, Winckelmann'ın kalıntılardan yazıya yaptığı çeviri yazılı bir anlatı olarak kitaplarında ortaya çıkarken, Schinkel yazılı ve görsel anlatıların ötesine geçerek, kalıntılardan binaya olan kendi çevirisini Akropolis üzerinde bir kraliyet sarayı projesini kullanarak somutlaştırmıştır.

Sonuç kısmında ise, bu çalışma Winckelmann ve Schinkel'in kalıntıları nasıl anlayıp kendi eserlerinde çeviriler olarak kullandıklarını araştırıp irdelemiştir. Ayrıca, arkeolojik araştırmalar ve antikiteye olan ilginin bir sonucu olarak, kalıntıların hayal gücünü nasıl etkileyip tetiklediğini de ortaya koymuştur. Çalışmanın başında bahsedildiği gibi, onsekizinci yüzyılın başında kalıntılardan baskıya geleneksel olarak bilinenin tersi yönde bir çeviri ortaya çıkmıştı. Grekoromen Tartışması bunun en önemli sonuçlarından birisiydi ve antik Yunan ve antik Roma eserlerini anlayıp, analiz edip, birbirleriyle karşılaştırma düşüncesine dayanıyordu. Bu konuyla ilgili olarak, çalışmanın ikinci kısımda ele alındığı gibi, Aydınlanma ve onun yarattığı etkiler, antikacılığın gelişip yayılmasına antikiteye olan ilginin artması bağlamında katkıda bulunmuştu. Aynı zamanda, benzer zaman diliminde güç kazanarak taraftarları artan Ulusçuluk akımı, tarihsel araştırma yöntemleri ve Estetik Rasyonalizm temellerinde şekillenen sosyokültürel ortam Winckelmann'ın hayatının erken dönemlerinin ve entelektüel birikiminin şekillenmesini sağlamıştı. Bu çalışma ayrıca onun antik Yunan sanat tarihine olan yaklaşımının estetik ve özgürlük olmak üzere iki temel kavram üzerinden ilerlediğini vurgulamıştır. Buradan hareketle, çalışma Winckelmann'ın

kitaplarında taklit kavramını kullanmasının, kendisinin kalıntılardan yazıya yazılı anlatı şeklinde bir çevirisi olarak okunabileceğini açığa çıkarmıştır.

Çalışma üçüncü kısmında ise, antikite ve kalıntılara olan ilginin Winckelmann'dan sonra ondokuzuncu yüzyıl'da Almanca konuşulan topraklarda tüm hızıyla yayılarak devam ettiğini vurgulamıştır. Buna bağlı olarak, kendisi de zamanının akımlarının etkisi altında kalarak, mimari üzerinden bir Alman ulus kimliği arayışında olan Schinkel'in kariyeri iki ana bölüm şeklinde incelenmiştir. İlk kısım onun eğitimini, görüşlerini, ve yaklaşımlarını sezgi ve doğa kavramları üzerinden ele almıştır. Ürettiği farklı türlerde medyaların analizleri üzerinden de kendisinin sezgi ve doğa kavramlarını nasıl anlayıp yorumladığı gösterilmiştir. Daha sonra ise ikinci kısımda, eskilerden öğrenme teması altında mimari kariyeri incelenmiştir. Seçilen mimari eserlerinin analizleri, son olarak da Akropolis üzerinde bir kraliyet sarayı projesi üzerinden, Schinkel'in klasik anlayışı öncelikli olarak irdelenmiştir. Ayrıca, Langhans'tan kendisine Gilly aracılığıyla ulaştırılmış olan kümülatif klasik bilgi akışının takibi sonucu olarak, Akropolis üzerinde bir kraliyet sarayı projesinin Schinkel'in kalıntılardan binaya bir çevirisi şeklinde gösterilmiştir. Çalışma, Schinkel'in bu proje önerisinin aynı zamanda birçok katmandan oluşan, yazılı ve görsel anlatıların da ötesine geçen bir yaratı olduğunu ortaya koymuş, arazinin ve ulusçuluk hislerinin farklı yerler arasındaki taşınımını yaratıcı ve hayalci bir eylem olarak adlandırmıştır. Bunların ardından, çalışmanın dördüncü kısmı ise Winckelmann ve Schinkel'in kendi zihinlerinde hayal edip ürettikleri farklı antik Yunan yaratılarını, tarihsel bağlamda hayal gücü ve anlatı kavramları üzerinden bir karşılaştırma halinde sunmuştur. Buna bağlı olarak, her ikisinin de eserlerinde kullandıkları betimlemelerin onların klasikçi anlayışlarından türetilmiş yazılı ve görsel anlatılarını zenginleştirerek, kalıntılardan yaptıkları çevirilere katkıda bulunduğu ortaya konmuştur.

Çalışma ayrıca, Yunansever düşünce ve görüşlere sahip olan ve Grekoromen Tartışması'nda antik Yunan'ı her açıdan antik Roma'ya karşı yücelten Winckelmann'ın aksine, Schinkel'in daha farklı bir yaklaşım geliştirerek, her iki taraftan da beslenen tarih tabanlı bir anlayış ortaya koyduğunu vurgulamıştır. Böylelikle, Schinkel'in mimari tasarımları hem antik Yunan'dan hem de antik Roma'dan türlü mimari ögeler içermekteydi ve bu anlamda onların özgün oldukları iddia etmek mümkündü. Schinkel Winckelmann gibi düşünmeyip, herhangi birini

överken diğerini yermeyi seçmemişti. Bu anlamda, onun Akropolis üzerinde bir kraliyet sarayı projesinde arazide bulunan kalıntıları da hesaba katarak, onların geri planda kalmasını engelleyen, hatta onları kendi tasarımının bir parçası olarak düşünen, tasarladığı yapıları onları gösterecek bir çerçeve olarak hayal eden yaklaşımı, kalıntılara olan saygısının ve onlarla ilgili bilincinin yüksek olduğunun somut bir göstergesi olmuştur.

C. THESIS PERMISSION FORM / TEZ İZİN FORMU