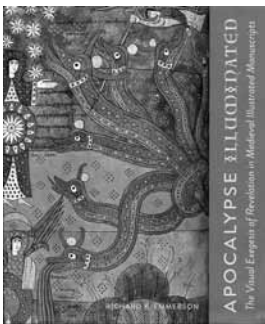


Pazzi-Bank. Manche Individuen wie etwa Tommaso Bombelli lassen sich über zwanzig Jahre hinweg in den Quellen nachweisen. So wird es möglich, die Biographien einzelner Personen zu rekonstruieren und deren Einfluss im Verbund der Italiener nachzuzeichnen.

Die thematische Objektliste lässt auf einen Blick erkennen, welche Produkte zwischen Nord und Süd gehandelt wurden: Tiere, Kleidung, Stoffe, Möbel, Rüstungen, Edelsteine, Skulpturen, Bilder, Bücher, Handschriften, ebenso Rohstoffe wie Alaun und Kupfer. Innerhalb dieser Gruppe nimmt die lange Liste der Textilien eine Sonderstellung ein. Die große Nachfrage an kostbaren Stoffen dieser Art spiegelt das Statusbewusstsein und das Repräsentationsbedürfnis des niederländischen und deutschen Adels wider.

Das hier besprochene Buch ist ohne Frage ein wichtiges Referenzwerk für die Präsenz und den regen Handel mit italienischen Waren. Gleichmaßen legt diese Studie offen, wie die Beziehungen zwischen italienischen Händlern, Agenten und Bankern und den Vertretern der burgundisch-habsburgischen Gesellschaft konkret aussahen. Es werden Fragen der Diplomatie, der Wissensvermittlung und des sich wandelnden Geschmacks angesprochen, die unser Bild vom Lebensstil und den kosmopolitischen Handlungsräumen der Menschen in den südlichen Niederlanden in ein neues Licht stellen. Das hier veröffentlichte Quellenmaterial ist eine Fundgrube für weitere Forschungsvorhaben, die sich aus den ersten Interpretationsansätzen entwickeln lassen. Es zeigt sich, dass die Netzwerke der bedeutendsten italienischen Familien genauso breit aufgestellt sind wie die der Hanse und der süddeutscher Handelsimperien, etwa der Fugger. Mit Blick auf die enge Verflechtung dieser international agierenden Konglomerate mit den Spitzen der Gesellschaft wird die Bedeutung dieser Studien abermals offenkundig. Die klassischen Bereiche der Patronage und der Sammlungsgeschichte werden von den Ergebnissen dieser fundierten Forschungsarbeit genauso profitieren, wie diejenigen Untersuchungen, die sich mit Kulturtransfer, Künstlerreisen oder diplomatischen Beziehungen beschäftigen.

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An 'Apocalypticist' View of Medieval Apocalypse Illustration

Richard K. Emmerson; *Apocalypse Illuminated: The Visual Exegesis of Revelation in Medieval Illustrated Manuscripts*; University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press 2018; XIV + 269 pp., 37 color- and 63 b&w-ill.; \$ 59,95

The last surveys of medieval Apocalypse illustration date back to the early 1990s and even the 1970s. Hence, it is all

the more surprising that within two years two publications on this subject appeared: the book by David and Ulrike Ganz¹ and the present study by Richard K. Emmerson, a prominent medievalist specialized in Gothic Apocalypses. Both books have a comparable structure. After some general remarks on the Book of Revelation and its exegesis, they start with the early medieval Apocalypses in Trier, Valenciennes and Bamberg, followed by the illustrated manuscripts of the Apocalypse commentary by Beatus of Liébana. They rather pass over the Romanesque cycles and discuss them together with some of the Gothic Apocalypses, which does not make much sense. In regard to the Gothic cycles, Emmerson differentiates between the Anglo-French Apocalypses of the 13th and 14th centuries, the “epitome of Apocalypse illustration” and by far the largest group, and the Apocalypses “at the End of the Middle Ages” (111): manuscripts as well as woodcuts and printed books. The best chapters of the book are those on the Gothic Apocalypses, which profit from the author’s wide knowledge of this subject. He convincingly explains the specific layout and different types of exegesis in the Apocalypse cycle of the *Bible moralisée*. He emphasizes the radical historicism of the illustrated Apocalypse commentary by the Franciscan Alexander of Bremen and the distinct features of the Anglo-French Apocalypses with their various kinds of ‘reception’: devotion and instruction as well as cultivated entertainment, corresponding to different types of patrons (clerics, monks/nuns, pious laity as well as royalty and high aristocracy). Less plausible is the author’s explanation of the origin of the Anglo-French Apocalypses in England around 1240/50, which, on the one hand, he relates to apocalyptic expectations caused by the Mongol invasions in Eastern Europe in 1241/42. On the other hand, he denies any impact of Joachimist writings and their expectation of the End of time in 1260, though there are several testimonies to this kind of expectations in England, some of them with reference to Joachim of Fiore or as an orthodox reaction to Joachimist ideas.²

The chapters on the early medieval Apocalypses of the Carolingian, Ottonian and ‘Mozarabic’ period are much less persuasive. Their various traditions are not marked by a “process of accretion” (197), as Emmerson assumes, but by an alternation of expansion and reduction. Moreover, there is no noticeable influence of exegesis before the Romanesque period (except in the Beatus manuscripts). The description and analysis of some illustrations are not correct. Let me give only two examples from the Carolingian Apocalypse in Trier (Stadtbibliothek, Hs 31), which the author considers to be under the influence of contemporary ecclesiological exegesis. However, this assumption is based on rather problematic interpretations. In the illustration of the Message to the Church of Smyrna of Ap 2,8–11 (fig. 1), he considers the church-like architecture to the right of the angel as an image of the “symbolic Ecclesia” being

1 *Visionen der Endzeit: Die Apokalypse in der mittelalterlichen Buchkunst*, Darmstadt 2016. See Peter K. Klein, “Mittelalterliche Apokalypsen als dekontextualisierte Monaden. Zu einem neuen Buch über die Apokalypse in der mittelalterlichen Buchkunst”, in: *Journal für Kunstgeschichte* 21 (2017), pp. 116–137.

2 See e.g. Marjorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages. A Study of Joachimism*, Oxford 1969, pp. 6–12, 45–50.



Fig. 1: Trier, Stadtbibliothek,
Hs 31 (*Apocalypse*), fol. 7v:
Letter to Church of Smyrna (2)

contrasted with “Synagoga”, the “barrel-vaulted basilica” in the lower zone (31).³ Inside that building sits the devil (partially redrawn on rasure) pulling chained members of the Church of Smyrna into prison (cf. Ap 2,10: “Behold, the devil will cast some of you into prison that you may be tried: and you shall have tribulation ten days”). Hence the barrel-vaulted building is not “Synagoga”, but the profane prison mentioned in the biblical text.⁴ Also, for yet another reason the barrel-vaulted architecture cannot mean Synagoga, since in the Trier cycle religious buildings generally have a saddleback roof and gable, like the small architecture of the upper register. This is not “Ecclesia” (as the author assumes), but corresponding to the biblical text it represents the church of Smyrna together with the angel of that community (cf. Ap 2,8: “And to the angel of the church of Smyrna write: [...]”). This combination recurs in most of the illustrations of the letters to the churches of Asia Minor (Ap 2–3) in the Trier Apocalypse as well as in some other medieval cycles.⁵ Moreover, the

3 The author does not give any specific source for his interpretation.

4 The “synagogue of Satan” is mentioned in the preceding verse of Ap 2,9, where it is a synonym of the false Jews who have blasphemed the faithful of Smyrna. This verse, however, is not illustrated here.

5 See e.g. Gertrud Schiller, *Ikongraphie der christlichen Kunst*, V, 2 (Bildteil), Gütersloh 1991, fig. 50, 56–58; Peter K. Klein (ed.), *Die Trierer Apokalypse* (Glanzlichter der Buchkunst 10), Graz 2001, fol. 5v, 8v, 10v, 11v, 12v.

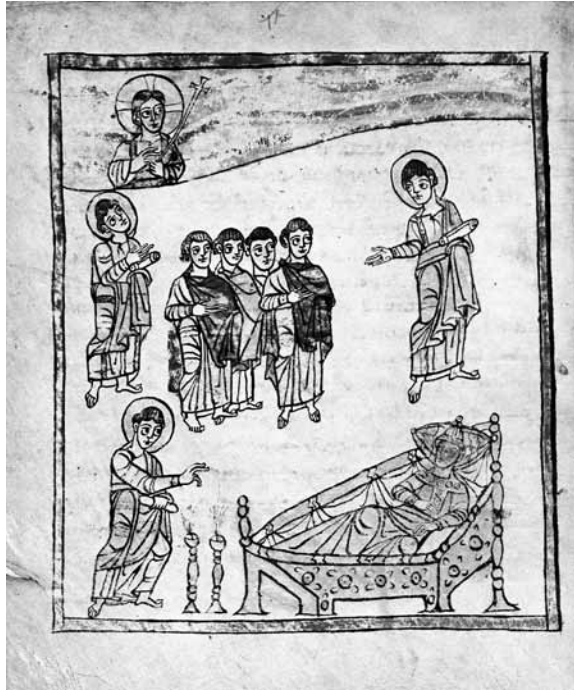


Fig. 2: Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Hs 31 (*Apocalypse*), fol. 9v: Letter to Church of Thyatira (3)

presumed “contrast between *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga*” does not appear either in another one of the Message illustrations in Trier, the Letter to the Church of Thyatira of Ap 2,18–24 (fig. 2). In the lower zone, we see the recumbent false prophetess Jezebel, ailing because of her “adultery” (Ap 2,20–22). Referring to Bede’s *Apocalypse* commentary, the author identifies Jezebel with “*Synagoga*” here (31). However, Bede uses the term “synagogue of pseudo-apostles” as a metaphor for the false Christians and explicitly the “heretics”, he does not mean ‘*Synagoga*’ in the proper sense.⁶ And the contrasting figure of ‘*Ecclesia*’ is not present here at all. Instead, we see those who “committed fornication” with the prophetess (Ap 2,20), standing before her bed. The author’s effort to demonstrate an exegetical influence also in the contemporary Carolingian *Apocalypse* in Valenciennes (Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 99) is likewise unconvincing. Emerson refers here to the *Apocalypse* commentary by Ambrosius Autpertus, written between 758 and 767 in the abbey of San Vincenzo al Volturno in Southern Italy.⁷ However, its reception north of the Alps did not start before the

6 “[...] pseudoapostolorum synagogam, quae se christianam fingit. [...] Nomen Jezebel [...] convenit hereticis” (*Bedaes presbyteri expositio Apocalypseos* [Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina 121A], ed. Roger Gryson, Turnhout 2001, pp. 259, 261).

7 *Ambrosii Autperti expositio in Apocalypsin* (Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio medievalis 27), ed. Robert Weber, Turnhout 1975, p. XI.

middle of the 9th century and was rather restricted.⁸ Hence, Ambrose Autpert's commentary can hardly have influenced the common ancestor of the Valenciennes Apocalypse and its late Carolingian sister manuscript in Paris (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. nouv. acq. lat. 1132), a lost early Carolingian codex probably dating about 790.⁹ Apart from this question of the beginning of Autpert's influence north of the Alps, Emmerson's exegetical interpretation of one of the Valenciennes Apocalypse illustrations is problematic also in another regard. In the illustration of the Two Witnesses of Ap 11,3–7 (Emmerson, fig. 12), according to a widespread exegetical tradition these two are called "Elias" and "Enoch". The author points to the fact that while Elias carries a book, Enoch holds a scroll,¹⁰ the older 'book' type. He refers this to Autpert's commentary, which identifies Enoch with the time before the Law and Elias with that under the Law (36).¹¹ However, according to the common reading order in Christian book illumination, the person signifying the older period (Enoch) should come first, i.e. should be placed on the left and the person of the more recent time (Elias) on the right, just the contrary of what we see in the Valenciennes Apocalypse and its Paris companion! Another issue in this context is the author's concept of 'visual exegesis'. At the very beginning of his introduction he emphasizes that pictures not only illustrate but often "interpret" the "Apocalyptic visions" and that "a major focus of analysis in this book will therefore be the ways manuscript images produce meaning beyond the text they illustrate, how they develop their own visual exegesis. To understand how this visual exegesis works, we need to recognize the internal coherence of images and *shun the temptations to focus only on their textuality* [the emphasis is mine], since [...] their compositions and forms generate meaning by interacting within the manuscript matrix not only with texts but also with other visual signifiers." (3) In theory this sounds interesting and reasonable. But in practice it may open the gates to all kinds of speculative interpretations and subjective associations, especially if control criteria are not considered, like empirical evidence, textual, visual, cultural and social context as well as stylistic and iconographic traditions. The examples discussed above seem to indicate that the author has not always escaped the pitfalls mentioned.

Furthermore, the author's 'apocalypticist' interpretation of certain Apocalypses and of their historical context is especially problematic, as in the case of the Bamberg

8 The oldest preserved northern copy being Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Reg. lat. 96 (Saint-Denis, ca. 850 or third quarter of the 9th century). An early 9th-century Italian copy (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Laud Misc. 464) arrived in Saint-Denis in the course of the 9th century. See Robert Weber, "Édition princeps et tradition manuscrite du commentaire d'Ambroise Autpert sur l'Apocalypse", in: *Revue Bénédictine* 70 (1960), pp. 526–539, esp. pp. 531f.; *Ambrosii Autperti expositio*, p. XIII; Bernhard Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts*, II, Wiesbaden 2004, p. 382, no. 3868; III (2014), p. 422, no. 6615.

9 Peter K. Klein, *Apocalipsis carolingio de Valenciennes*, Madrid 2012, p. 60.

10 In the pendant illustration of the Paris Apocalypse Ms. nouv. acq. lat. 1132 (fol. 15v), probably by a misunderstanding Enoch does not hold a scroll, but grasps instead a fold of his mantle (cf. *Trésors carolingiens. Livres manuscrits de Charlemagne à Charles le Chauve*, ed. Marie-Pierre Laffitte and Charlotte Denoël, Paris 2007, fig. p. 218, no. 61). But its model must have looked like the version in Valenciennes.

11 *Ambrosii Autperti expositio*, p. 414.

Apocalypse and the contemporary reign of Otto III (983–1002). This emperor's concept of the *Renovatio imperii Romanorum* is associated with the legendary Last Emperor of the final days. See, however, the recent studies by Gerd Althoff, Knut Görich and Stefan Weinfurter,¹² which not only question the *Renovatio* concept as a guiding principle of Otto's political ideology, but also fail to mention any kind of apocalypticism in this regard. This leads us to the Emmerson's concept of 'apocalypticism', central to his book. At the beginning, he gives a definition of 'apocalypticism', which resembles the traditional notion of 'eschatology'. Generally one distinguishes between the 'eschatological present' (extending from the Incarnation to the Last Judgment) and the 'eschatological future', dealing with the End of Time properly speaking. Contrary to his initial definition, throughout his book the author uses the term 'apocalypticism' almost exclusively in terms of the eschatological future and its corresponding expectations. In this regard, he adopts Bernard McGinn's notion of 'psychological imminence',¹³ "a non predictive sense of the End that avoids date setting" and which "is useful in understanding the continuing power of apocalypticism, since it recognizes the conviction that the final drama of history is already underway" (37). This vague definition exempts the author from giving concrete evidence of apocalyptic expectations in specific periods. Still more important, with this highly selective definition the author gives a rather inadequate view of early and high medieval Apocalypse exegesis. This was not only ecclesiological, as the author rightly states, but to a large degree also 'un-apocalyptic' and 'de-eschatologized' ('enteschatologisiert'). This is well known and analyzed in the classical texts on medieval exegesis,¹⁴ but is passed over by the author in his interpretations. He is thus conceptually one-sided, but he is also highly selective in the material discussed: most of the illustrations dealt with concern apocalyptic catastrophes or other events and figures of the final days, like the Antichrist and the two Witnesses, the satanic beasts and Gog and Magog. By contrast, some of these figures and subjects are even not mentioned in one of the standard medieval manuals of dogmatics, i.e. Peter Lombard's *Sententiae*. In comparison, the numerous heavenly visions – in dogmatics certainly the most important part of the Apocalypse – are never discussed by Emmerson! A few of these visions are only mentioned in regard to the visionary experience of John.

There are two further shortcomings of the book: one concerns the pictorial tradition and the role of models, the other regards the use of the illustrated Apocalypses. As to the latter, the author supposes that the illustrated medieval Apocalypses were all destined for a private reader/viewer. However, only in the case of the Anglo-French

12 Knut Görich, *Otto III. Romanus Saxonicus et Italicus. Kaiserliche Rompolitik und sächsische Historiographie*, Sigmaringen 1993; Gerd Althoff, *Otto III. (Gestalten des Mittelalters und der Renaissance)*, Darmstadt 1996; Stefan Weinfurter, "Otto III. und Heinrich II. im Vergleich. Ein Resümee", in: *Otto III. – Heinrich II. Eine Wende?*, ed. Bernd Schneidmüller and Stefan Weinfurter, Sigmaringen 1997, pp. 387–413.

13 Bernard McGinn, "The End of the World and the Beginning of Christendom", in: *Apocalypse Theory and the Ends of the World*, ed. Malcolm Bull, Oxford 1995, pp. 58–89, esp. p. 60.

14 See e.g. the classical study by Wilhelm Kamlah, *Apokalypse und Geschichtstheologie. Die mittelalterliche Auslegung der Apokalypse vor Joachim von Fiore*, Berlin 1935 (Reprint 1965).

Apocalypses does he present convincing arguments for this assumption, while no arguments are advanced for the remaining Apocalypses. The possibility of a liturgical use is never considered, though in recent times a number of evidence has surfaced indicating that most of the Carolingian and Ottonian Apocalypses, like the Trier and Bamberg Apocalypse, as well as the posthumous edition of the Beatus commentary were primarily used for the readings in the Divine Office, especially at Matins.¹⁵ As liturgical books they must have been preserved in the church treasury where readers and viewers were rarely permitted. Therefore these manuscripts were probably seldom seen by anybody but the celebrant priest or monk, with far-reaching consequences for the interpretation of their illustrations: their images were not destined for the edification, contemplation and even meditation of a larger monastic audience, as is assumed by scholars including the author of the present study, but were conceived to structure the texts and to enhance their spiritual character and religious importance.

The role of models and pictorial traditions presents yet another major problem. At various instances, it is obvious that the author does not concern himself with this type of questions and that – in regard to the early medieval Apocalypses – he even rejects this research as futile and distracting from the main issues, assuming that these Apocalypse cycles were new creations. Instead of advancing concrete arguments for this assumption, he only quotes other scholars who share his opinion but also remain speculative. In contrast to these speculations, there is much circumstantial evidence that, for instance, the Carolingian Apocalypse in Trier is the copy of a Late Antique Italian model of the sixth century: The Apocalypse text, a combination of Vulgate and Pre-Vulgate elements, represents an African type also used by the sixth-century Italian author Cassiodorus in his Apocalypse commentary.¹⁶ The figure style of the Trier illustrations, which resemble the miniatures of the Late Antique Gospels of St Augustine in Cambridge,¹⁷ points to the same period. Moreover, numerous motifs of Antique origin, which were out of use in Carolingian times, are evenly distributed throughout the entire Trier cycle, while the sporadic Carolingian additions and changes, including a new text-picture layout, can readily be identified. Could all this, with its mixture of styles and its inconsistencies, be an entirely new Carolingian creation made in a provincial scriptorium in Northern France? This would seem rather unlikely, if not impossible.

A more general problem presents Emmerson's questioning the research of pictorial traditions and its reconstruction of lost models and archetypes. He holds,

15 See a summary of arguments in Peter K. Klein, "Le Beatus de Saint-Sever. Contexte historique et iconographique", in: *Culture religieuse méridionale. Les manuscrits et leur contexte artistique* (Les Cahiers de Fanjeaux 51), Toulouse 2016, pp. 13–36, esp. pp. 14–16; idem, "The Cambrai Apocalypse and its Illustrations", in: *Die Apokalypse von Cambrai – The Cambrai Apocalypse – L'Apocalypse de Cambrai* (Facsimile commentary), Lucerne 2017, pp. 107–135, esp. pp. 113–114. See also Peter Wünsche, "Das Evangelistar in seinem liturgischen Gebrauch", in: *Das Buch mit 7 Siegeln. Die Bamberger Apokalypse*, Lucerne 2000, pp. 149–157, esp. p. 154; Irmgard Siede, "Die Ausstattung der Liturgie", in: *Karolingische und ottonische Kunst*, ed. Bruno Reudenbach, Munich 2009, pp. 435–495, esp. pp. 443, 462, no. 213.

16 See Roger Gryson (ed.), *Apocalypsis Johannis* (Vetus Latina, 26, 2), Freiburg 2000–2003, p. 85.

17 As already recognized by Francis Wormald, *The Miniatures in the Gospels of St Augustine*, Cambridge 1954, pp. 15–16.

especially in regard to the early illustrated Apocalypses, that this kind of scholarship “tends to restrict artistic originality to the ancient world and fails to appreciate the inventiveness of medieval art” (25). I would argue that only the knowledge of the pictorial tradition and of the model(s) used permits to adequately appreciate the genuine innovations of an illustrated manuscript. A meticulous collation of the iconographic elements even allows to detect whether a conflation of different models or traditions has happened. It is no coincidence that such a conflation gave rise to three masterpieces of Apocalypse illustration: the 11th-century Saint-Sever Beatus of Abbot Gregory Montaner,¹⁸ the 13th-century Trinity Apocalypse of Queen Eleanor of Provence¹⁹ and the 15th-century Escorial Apocalypse of the Dukes of Savoy;²⁰ only in the case of the latter, the author recognizes a conflation. It remains an open question whether it was the ambition of the patrons or of the artists that caused the choice of a second model, but the contrast of the diverging models must have inspired the creative imagination of the painters. Though lacking this kind of analysis and other aspects, Richard Emmerson’s excellently illustrated book remains a well informed, though somewhat ‘apocalypticist’ survey of medieval Apocalypse illustration, the chapters on the Gothic Apocalypses presenting an especially valuable contribution.

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18 Peter K. Klein, *The Saint-Sever Beatus and its Influence on Picasso’s Guernica*, Valencia 2012, pp. 284–298.

19 Nigel Morgan, “Iconography”, in: *The Trinity Apocalypse*, ed. David McKitterick, London 2005, pp. 45–73.

20 Laurence Rivière Ciavaldini, *Imaginaires de l’Apocalypse. Pouvoir et spiritualité dans l’art gothique européen*, Paris 2007, pp. 135–144.



Hans-Dieter Mück; Künstler in Weimars Kunstschule 1860–1919. Im Kontext der Kulturpolitik des Weimarer Fürstenhauses von Anna Amalia bis Wilhelm Ernst 1756–1918. Eine Dokumentation nach Quellen; Weimar: Weimarer Verlagsgesellschaft 2018; 496 S., durchg. farb. Abb.; ISBN 978-3-7374-0265-1; € 68

Nach dem Ausstellungskatalog des Jahres 2010¹ wurde der in Weimar beheimateten bildenden Kunst des ausgehenden 19. und beginnenden 20. Jahrhunderts erneut eine umfangreiche Publikation gewidmet. Das Buch hat

1 *Hinaus in die Natur! Barbizon, die Weimarer Malerschule und der Aufbruch zum Impressionismus*, Ausst.-Kat. Neues Museum Weimar, hrsg. von Gerda Wendermann, Bielefeld u. a. 2010. Vgl. auch *Journal für Kunstgeschichte* 15 (2011), S. 45–50.