

und asche, wie imgleichen in den eingemauerten döpfen...“, so wird der besondere Realitätscharakter der Grabanlage vollends anschaulich: Indem Johann Moritz seinen eigenen Sarkophag den Grabsteinen und den sterblichen Überresten in der Exedra beifügte, „stellte er sich selbst in den Kreis der antiken Heroen, die vor ihm in diesem Lande gelebt hatten“ (Kat. S. 211) und deren Ruhm er zu seinem eigenen Nachruhm heraufbeschwor.

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WIE DIE ALTEN DEN TOD GEBILDET; WANDLUNGEN DER SEPULKRALKULTUR 1750—1850

Ausstellung der Arbeitsgemeinschaft Friedhof und Denkmal e. V., Wissenschaftszentrum Bonn-Bad Godesberg, 2. 8.—2. 9. 1979.

(Katalog von Hans-Kurt Boehlke, Marc Poulain, Gerhard Seib, Cornelius Steckner und Hansmartin Ungericht)

(Mit 2 Abbildungen)

The late Erwin Panofsky, in his by now classic *Tomb Sculpture* (New York, 1964; simultaneously published by DuMont Schauberg in the excellent German translation of Lise Lotte Möller) justified his decision not to trace the history of his subject beyond 1700 with the following observation: „Im allgemeinen...befanden sich die, die nach Bernini kamen, in einem Dilemma — oder eigentlich einem Trilemma — zwischen Großsprecherei, Sentimentalität und bewußtem Archaismus. Wer versucht, die Geschichte der Kunst des achtzehnten, neunzehnten und zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts zu schreiben, muß sein Material außerhalb der Kirchen und außerhalb der Friedhöfe suchen.“ He admitted to sensing an occasional „Hauch von Originalität, ja Größe,“ in the tombs of Canova and Sergel, but these seemed to him the last flickerings of a dying tradition.

In view of the fact that the book was essentially the transcript of four lectures delivered eight years earlier, the great scholar's attitude is fully understandable; his negative view of post-Baroque tomb sculpture represents the consensus of scholars and critics at that time. Until very recently the great cemeteries of the Western world, once pointed to with pride in every guidebook, slumbered in embarrassed silence. People would still visit Père Lachaise in Paris, the Camposanto di Staglieno in Genoa, even the alten Friedhof in Bonn, but only in order to gaze upon the final resting places of great men, rather than because of their art historical or cultural significance. To the well-educated, even those who, like Panofsky, had little sympathy for modern art, the cemeteries were monuments of *Kitsch* (a vogue word, like the French *art pompier*, coined against the enemies of the

avant-garde). How things have changed since then! After Abstract Expressionism, the last great triumph of Modern Art in the 1950's, came the explosion of Pop Art — and Pop culture — in the 1960's, and with it the critical term "Post-Modern," abused like all convenient labels but valuable nonetheless in that it put some distance between the dogmas of Modernism and the present. One symptom of this change of cultural climate was a new respect among scholars for the art of the nineteenth century; instead of limiting their attention to the "pioneers of Modernism" — as if nineteenth century art were a kind of twentieth century art *manqué* — they began to see it as an entity in its own right, rather than as a battle ground of the Academy versus the Avant-Garde (the two turn out to have had a good deal in common). In sculpture, this rediscovery came somewhat later than it did in painting and architecture but resulted in an even greater change of focus: instead of concentrating on Daumier and Degas — neither of whom was thought of as a sculptor by the public of his day — and Rodin, the solitary giant, on the threshold of Modernism, art historians began to realize that they had to deal with the „Jahrhundert der Friedhöfe und Denkmäler“, a lost world far enough removed from ours to inspire a degree of nostalgia. (For a prophetic statement of this new attitude, see the all-too-brief but deeply thoughtful and thought-provoking treatment of sculpture by Hans-Gerhard Evers in the nineteenth-century volume of the Propyläen-Kunstgeschichte, 1966.) The aim was not to rehabilitate the aesthetic worth of these monuments but to comprehend them in their cultural, social, and scientific-technical context.

The Arbeitsgemeinschaft Friedhof und Denkmal, whose seat is in Kassel, reflects these concerns. *Wie die Alten den Tod gebildet* evidently marks the first public presentation of its work. It seems to be coextensive with the Zentralinstitut für Sepulkralkultur, both headed by Dr. Boehlke, who is also the editor of *Kasseler Studien zur Sepulkralkultur* (v. Hase & Koehler, Mainz), of which the volume accompanying the exhibition is the first. As exhibitions go, even didactic ones, this must be among the strangest on record. How indeed could the changes of *Sepulkralkultur* during the decisive hundred years 1750—1850 be demonstrated visually except by borrowing entire cemeteries or at least individual tombs? There were in fact a few scattered tombs on the lawn outside the Wissenschaftszentrum, but otherwise the exhibition consisted of plans, prints, photographs, and a few paintings — 301 items altogether. Not a negligible number, yet it represents only a tiny fraction of the available material, even within the German-speaking areas to which the exhibition was largely confined. What one saw, therefore, inevitably looked thrown-together. It would have done so no matter how carefully the whole enterprise was planned — and it clearly was not planned very carefully. The same may be said of the volume accompanying the show; a small part of it is indeed the catalogue of the

exhibition (the last two dozen pages out of a total of 274) but the bulk consists of 20 essays on the *Themen der Ausstellung* (pp. 174—247) and 22 longer essays, by the five scholars responsible for the exhibition and the catalogue and by 13 "guest contributors", on a variety of subjects suggested by the material in the exhibition (pp. 1—172). They constitute a kind of „Festschrift auf das Sterben“; what they lack in cohesiveness is more than compensated for by their originality and variety. Apart from art historians, the authors include jurists, architects, theologians, and other disciplines or walks of life. Their subjects range from monographs on specific cemeteries (Ulm, Braunschweig, Bonn, Frankfurt, Nürnberg) and types of monuments to such rarely treated questions as the origin of the *Todesanzeige* or the *Leichenhaus* and the juridical status of communal and religious cemeteries. Some are broadly *geistesgeschichtlich* („Todesanschauungen um 1800“, „Denkmal und Grabmal“, „Der Tod aus der Sicht der Hinterbliebenen“) while a few deal with *Arcana* such as „Tuiskon, der Gerechtigkeit Gott“ and „die Luftangst.“ Thoroughly documented, all these essays are bound to be of interest to historians of almost any stripe. On the debit side, we must note the absence of a bibliography and index; the catalogue fails to indicate whether a given item is illustrated or not (by a rough count, about half of them are, in the essays under „Themen der Ausstellung“). Oddest of all is the frontispiece (*Abb. 3*), the only colorplate in the book, reproducing an early nineteenth century print identified only as „Grabmal von Canova in der Kirche von Penzing.“ Evidently this item was added at the last minute, since it has no entry in the catalogue. Where is Penzing? Does the monument still exist? Is it by Canova? Who is the deceased? Most of these questions could have been easily answered, as they were for me by the kindness of Dr. Werner Krause at the University of Vienna, to whom I sent an inquiry, since the Penzing monument seems to be the earliest example anywhere on the European Continent of the "Rising Soul" type of tomb originated in England by Flaxman in the 1780's, and is thus of considerable importance quite apart from the question of authorship. Dr. Krause informed me that the tomb does indeed exist in the parish church of Penzing, a suburb of Vienna now „eingemeindet“ (*Abb. 4*). The tablet on its base, illegible in the print, identifies the deceased as Frau Barbara Rottmann, the wife of a high Austrian civil servant, and bears the date 1812. The present location of the monument was meant to be provisional but turned out to be permanent. This is not the place to air the many questions about the tomb to which we lack a clearcut answer (apparently it is unknown to the Canova literature). I for one am more than willing to forgive the organizers of the exhibition their lack of the proverbial German *Gründlichkeit* in this instance and congratulate them on their serendipitous decision to reproduce the print. They too must have found it of great interest, even if they did not know the exact reason (the image of the human soul as a funerary theme is omitted

in the exhibition and the companion volume, although it clearly belongs there). Still, their treatment of the Penzing monument seems symptomatic of a more general shortcoming of the whole enterprise. The theme obviously calls for an interdisciplinary approach, and the work of the Arbeitsgemeinschaft shows full awareness of this. But it also demands an international perspective, and here the exhibition as well as its „Festschrift“ must be found wanting. One can only hope that they will overcome this limitation in the future, since their subject is one of the great themes of all time.

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REZENSIONEN

JORG TRAEGER (Hg.), *Die Walhalla. Idee, Architektur, Landschaft* (Beiträge von W. Gauer, V. Loers, J. Traeger, U. Zahn). B. Bosse Verlag Regensburg 1979. 131 S. mit 6 Farbtaf., 63 Abb., 14 Plänen, Planzeichngn. DM 28,—

Seit der Neubewertung des 19. Jahrhunderts ist der historische wie der ästhetische Rang der Walhalla wieder — oder vielleicht überhaupt erst — ins Licht getreten: eines der wenigen gelungenen Werke in der merkwürdigen Reihe der Nationaldenkmäler, ein Hauptwerk des romantischen Klassizismus, Legitimation eines Monarchen aus der Geschichte, Selbstdarstellung der in Kultur und Geschichte ihrer Identität gewissen Nation jenseits von Staaten und Parteien, die Erhebung des Bürgers durch die Kunst ins Lichte, Hohe, Ewige, der Menschheit zur Freiheit. Das Denkmal ist mit Touristen- und Andenkenbetrieb in steigendem Maße populär; und der Herausgeber dieses Bandes würdigt diese Popularität zu Recht — gegen billigen Intellektuellenspott — als positive Realität. Der vorliegende Band gibt vier Vorträge wieder, die aus Anlaß der Bedrohung der Walhalla durch Klärschlammdeponie und Brückenbau in ihrer Umgebung auf Initiative des Kunsthistorischen Instituts der Universität Regensburg gehalten worden sind. Aus dieser aktuellen Abwehr zieht die wissenschaftliche Reflexion Gewinn, weil das sonst fast Selbstverständliche (Schöne), der Zusammenhang von Denkmal und Landschaft, nun eigens historisch thematisiert wird. Ausgezeichnete Abbildungen illustrieren den Text.

Traeger geht zunächst aus von dem immer als Provokation empfundenen Widerspruch, daß das deutsche Nationaldenkmal mit einem germanischen Namen als Tempel gebaut worden ist, und diesen Widerspruch will er auflösen. Dazu dient zuerst eine höchst originelle Analyse der Architektur. Neben der freien Aneignung der griechischen Tempelform steht das ungriechische Innere. T. deutet es als einschiffige Wandpfeilerkirche, gemäß der „Walhalla“-idee bezogen auf Tod und Unsterblichkeit. Von daher wird die bisher meist wenig beachtete Gruft im Terrassenunterbau wichtig, die in