

brushstrokes of the bird are not equally linear, and seem to point to a considerably later time (the earlier attribution to Jan Weenix may indicate the right period).

No. 88, *Study of a Large Beech* (Heirs of van Regteren Altena; VRA no. 989), in spite of a similarity in the rendering of foliage with drawings like no. 89 (Rijksprentenkabinet), is marked by a more decorative movement of branches and leaves that are defined with less assuredness, and by a lack of clear definition of space in the lower part of the drawing. These aspects seem to make an attribution to Jacques de Gheyn uncomfortable, as does the observation of Sam Segal (p. 29) that the beech was not known in the Netherlands at the time.

No. 91, *Mountainous Landscape with Chapel* (Private Collection, Amsterdam; VRA no. 962a). The drawing (formerly in the J. T. Cremer Collection, New York) is undoubtedly by the same hand as one in the National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh (K. Andrews, *Catalogue of Netherlandish Drawings...*, 1985, p. 103, no. D4918, fig. 703, as by Cornelis Claesz van Wieringen; also reproduced in *Master Drawings*, V, 1967, pl. 13, as "circle of Hendrick Goltzius"). I do not believe Cornelis van Wieringen is the author either.

But these are marginal blemishes on a fine selection and useful catalogue.

Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann

Rezensionen

INGO HERKLOTZ, "*Sepulcra*" e "*Monumenta*" del medioevo, Edizioni Rari Nantes, Rome 1985, 268 pp and 87 plates, Lit. 25000.

(with four illustrations)

This deceptively slim book constitutes an important contribution to the study of mediaeval tomb sculpture. As Herklotz claims it is not continuous history but a series of closely integrated studies, concentrating on sculpture in Italy from the Late Antique period until the late thirteenth century. The book is neatly produced, the plates legible and often unfamiliar, the price modest. The text is a reworking of the author's Berlin dissertation submitted in the spring of 1982, but it shows few of the vices of the genre, for its argument is coherent, trenchantly phrased, yet it rarely exaggerates and furnishes the reader with a thought-provoking variety of new ideas. Herklotz is a thoroughly equipped historian, as interested in *mentalités* as artefacts, and willing to develop his themes across a long time span. The most recent literature is thoroughly assimilated and throughout he handles his often complex argument deftly, demonstrating an impressive command of a wide range of historical sources. Refreshingly too, the chronicle material is systematically exploited, and a knowledge of the liturgy put to illuminating use. The translation, by Francesca Pomarici, reads fluently enough, with few slips, the most diverting of which transmogrifies the pacific Franciscan Jerome of Ascoli into the first French general to become Pope. It is the most original book to be published on Italian tomb sculpture of the middle ages for many years, and it is to be hoped that a German version also will appear in due course.

The essential strands of the argument are four in number. The first is the transition of antique sepulchral practice into the middle ages, a theme richly developed with apposite quotation from a wide range of sources in various sections of the book. Then the establishment of a dynastic necropolis by the Hauteville family at Santa Trinità at Venosa. Thirdly, the renewed importance of the Lateran basilica as a papal burial church in the twelfth century, and the reasons for this development. Finally, Herklotz considers the incidence of the monumental tomb and effigy in thirteenth century Italy. A continuous source of strength to the main thread of discussion is the continuity which the author can bring to the treatment of his chosen themes, and he can often phrase his results in a pleasantly aphoristic manner.

In the first chapter he deals with the growing devaluation of the antique tomb monument during the first centuries of the Christian epoch. Here, as in the succeeding two chapters Herklotz makes the most sustained attempt at sketching a synthetic development that we have. The Roman practice of ancestral portraiture and the representative nature of the tomb monument in Antiquity are considered, although here the author's discussion would have benefited from the sceptical remarks of R. R. R. Smith (*Journal of Roman Studies*, 1981, pp. 30 ff). Similarly one must now take less seriously the problem of *ius imaginis*, a verbal conjunction which occurs but once in ancient literature (Cicero, *Verr.* 2. 5. 36), in the light of the remarks of Smith (*Journal of Roman Studies*, 1985, pp. 211 ff).

Epigraphic and liturgical evidence is profitably employed to explain the growing desire for interment *ad sanctos*. This sentiment gathered impetus after the fifth century, which for Herklotz marks the end of the Late Antique sepulchral monument. In this discussion of the progressive etiolation of Late Antique ideas about sepulchral ideology Herklotz' argument is not wholly free of that covertly christianizing exegesis which has recently been devastatingly exposed by Simon Price (*Rituals and Power*, Cambridge 1984, pp. 11 ff). But the extended chronological treatment accorded to burial traditions yields considerable benefits, as for instance the growing wish for burial near altars. Close attention to the written sources on Old Saint Peter's produces illuminating results also, and Herklotz suggests that there carved sarcophagi served not merely for display, but also for inhumation.

The chapter on the dynastic tombs at Santa Trinità at Venosa is important from several points of view. Convincingly, Herklotz integrates the apparent wish of the Hautevilles to establish a necropolis there with their political pretensions. Like Cefalù or Monreale Venosa was a monument to a resoundingly successful political *arrivisme*. Here, as at times elsewhere in this imaginative book, given the exiguous nature of the sources, the author can be too apodictic, and the reader's doubts too vigorously dismissed. Venosa may indeed be given a trifle more attention than it merits. Nonetheless the gains of this thorough-going historical approach greatly outweigh occasional misgivings of this kind. The tomb of Alberada is more convincingly placed in context than ever heretofore. Herklotz has revealing comparisons to draw between Norman intentions in Southern Italy and those in Normandy, where no substantial historical precedents were apparently to be found (p. 64). The links between the Normans in the south and Byzantine imperial sepulchral traditions are, for the writer, more significant.

During the twelfth century the status of the Lateran basilica was reasserted as a location for papal entombment. The reappraisal of the Lateran in the twelfth century is completely convincing, and is one of several enduring contributions of this book. Earlier papal tomb traditions are first surveyed and Herklotz develops and refines the findings of the seminal paper by J. Picard on the placement of early mediaeval papal tombs (*Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, 1969. pp. 725 ff), by fruitful speculation on their form. As the earlier burial tradition drew towards its close in the tenth century, the papal tomb was more commonly placed in the Lateran basilica. For Herklotz the spur of this shift was *imitatio imperii*, and here, as in his connexion of the Hautevilles with Byzantine tradition it is evident that the author has drunk deeply of the writings of P. E. Schramm. To speak of a 'politicization' of the Lateran '*a scopo propagandistico*' would have rung strangely on twelfth century ears. Karl Leyser's cautionary remarks on such interpretations should perhaps be borne in mind (*English Historical Review*, 1975, pp. 121 ff). On all the papal tombs Herklotz has something novel and instructive to say, although to link the redness of the tombs of Adrian IV and Lucius III to an evocation of porphyry is perhaps overstressed. It is after all somewhat difficult to think of a mediaeval tomb in Verona, where Pope Lucius III was interred, which is not red. On this tomb Herklotz is particularly enlightening, noting its reminiscences of a northern European *gisant* and the figure of the pontiff '*a deo coronatus*'. One will not be able to look at twelfth century papal monuments again in the same light after this penetrating analysis. With Celestine III (†1198) the recrudescent Lateran necropolis declined in importance, and revived only fleetingly thereafter with the tomb of the Dominican Innocent V (†1276), a creature of Charles I d'Anjou, and later Martin V, whose family, the Colonna, had a long established and specific connection with the basilica. The author's principal contention, abundantly demonstrated is, that the papacy, from the eleventh century onwards, generally devoted great attention to tomb monuments.

With his review of thirteenth century tombs Herklotz is on more familiar ground, but the strengths of his historical approach are much to the fore. The link with *arcosolia*, or rather the survival of that earlier tomb type is given new substance. Sensitive use is made of the Eclissi copies as well as preserved examples in Naples, and here as elsewhere Herklotz makes full use of, and extends, earlier studies by, among others, John Osborne (*Papers of the British School at Rome*, 1983, pp. 240 ff). Here, exceptionally, one might cavil at the early dating he ascribes to one of his sources, the *Liber Historiae Romanorum*, which a recent palaeographical examination by I. Acciai would date in the 1320s, that is some thirty years later than the date accepted by the writer (p. 116) of 1280/1290.

Another notable contribution to knowledge in this section is Herklotz's re-evaluation of a tomb, until recently in the rotunda attached to SS. Cosma e Damiano, the so-called Temple of Romulus, and regarded by its first publishers Biasiotti and Whitehead as a tabernacle. Herklotz persuasively demonstrates its sepulchral function, and connects it with the tomb of the papal chamberlain Alfanus in the portico of Santa Maria in Cosmedin. This is an important addition to the meagre score of twelfth century tombs in Rome and as importantly extends our awareness of the activities of the Cosmati, although one might not wish to go as far as does the author in attributing the Forum tomb

to the workshop responsible for Alfanus' monument. Since it seems certain, as the author suggests, that the tomb was that of Cardinal Guido of SS. Cosma e Damiano it provides a significant precedent for the tomb of Cardinal Guglielmo Fieschi in San Lorenzo fuori le mura. This latter, Herklotz is the first to remark, had already been substantially restored before its partial destruction in 1944.

Herklotz' familiarity with the sources, both graphic and textual, permits him to enlarge the number of known tombs from the thirteenth century in the Roman region. He makes an interesting case for the importance of the tomb of Paul, bishop of Paphos, who died at the curia, probably in 1268, and known from a drawing in Viterbo, as a precocious effigial tomb preceding that of Clement IV, although the arguments are not wholly persuasive. Herklotz accepts Francesco Negri Arnoldi's ascription of a lost tomb at Santa Trinità di Mileto to the same Pietro di Oderisio whose signature was reported by Papenbroeck on the tomb of the French pope at Viterbo, dismissing the recent attempt by Lucia Faedo to date it earlier.

One of the most sensational of the author's discoveries, now widely known to specialists in the field was that the Riccardo Annibaldi whose effigy is now in the Lateran cloister, and which was first published by Giacomo de Nicola as a work by Arnolfo di Cambio, was not Cardinal Riccardo Annibaldi della Molarra as universally thought, but a homonymous relation, the papal notary Riccardo who died in 1289, a date documented by a surviving epitaph. The effect of this discovery is not unlike that of the discovery of the true death date of Sir John Donne for the conventional chronology of Hans Memling. It demonstrated that Arnolfo's style was not as static as had previously been accepted and that a closer examination revealed a coherent stylistic development. It is appropriate that Herklotz has here had the opportunity to set his findings out at length. The new identification is wholly convincing, and the revised chronology allows the writer to redate the effigy of another papal notary Berardo Caracciolo, whose curial career is documented, and to place both effigies in a more plausible relationship to the tomb of the papal chaplain Stefanus '*dictus Surdus*' signed by Giovanni di Cosma and now in Santa Balbina. A significant result of this redating, which Herklotz does not perceive, is that the effigy tomb swiftly descends the ecclesiastical, if not the social hierarchy. Notaries, albeit well-connected curial officials — Stefanus was himself related to the Annibaldi — as well as popes, cardinals and bishops, might at a relatively early date be commemorated in an ostentatious tomb with an effigy. Herklotz makes here some important general comments about ecclesiastical dress on tombs. His comparative neglect of sculptural style, however, — one of the few genuine weaknesses of the book — causes him too readily to doubt the relationship between the frieze of clerics in the Lateran cloister and the effigy of the papal notary Riccardo Annibaldi (*Abb. 1a and b*). The relationship is made likely on stylistic grounds, and confirmed by other tombs which reflect the same common lost source (*Abb. 2 and 3*). The author's counter-suggestion that the frieze may be distantly derived from a Presentation in the Temple by Nicola Pisano at Pisa is weak, ironically an unconvincing example of that source-hunting of which he himself affects to disapprove. As with his observations on clerical dress he has some enlightening remarks to make on the iconographies of late thirteenth century tombs, and here the liturgical background is given due importance. He makes the

sensible point that the curtained bed was a common item of furniture, but his reference is to the *Decameron*, which prompts the thought that there curtained beds commonly served purposes other than the laying-out of defunct ecclesiastics. The range and grasp of his treatment commands admiration and here too he can indicate the wider context for both the encroachment of heraldry and the subject matter of epitaphs. Here his comment on the verses by Boniface VIII's court poet Bonaiuto da Casentino is particularly apt, with its traditional emphasis on *contemptus mundi*, but in this context the lack of awareness of French royal tombs is striking, and Herklotz is regrettably thin on relationships with Capetian France.

In a final chapter the author ambitiously essays the reinterpretation of a number of prevailing conceptions of late mediaeval art. *Antikenrezeption* and the symbolic use of *spolia* are among his targets. The pertinence of this chapter to the remainder of the book is not always clear, but it is rich in provocative ideas. On occasion there are passages where a stricter attention to the object rather than to a textual source would have modified an opinion. A pragmatic discussion of the mediaeval marble trade, such as that of C. Klapisch-Zuber, *Les Maîtres du Marbre*, Paris 1969 (which does not appear in his extensive bibliography) rather than an innate sympathy for abstractions would have toughened the argument. Whereas the function of the sepulchral monument as a sign of power is, as Herklotz emphasises, mentioned in mediaeval sources, it may be, as sometimes in this book, accorded too much weight. But like all the author's views it does possess considerable explanatory value, and the dishonour done to the equestrian painting over the monument of Jacopo da Enzo at Modena in the 1280s should give pause to those on both sides of the trenches in the Guidoriccio wrangle. The social function of funeral ceremonies and the regulation of ostentation are helpfully set out. One might cite here, in addition, the prohibition on the display of excessive grief by women, as at San Gimignano in 1255: they might not tear their hair, and men were forbidden to weep.

What this book does very convincingly is to extend the history of the monumental tomb in Italy backwards to a period well before the thirteenth century. If it at times overstresses continuities across religions and millennia, or occasionally proposes implausible semantic explanations, it does so always in a stimulating and thought-provoking manner. It is blessedly free from sterile discussion of attributions and the monographic treatment of imperfectly known sculptors. A number of its hypotheses will demand scrupulous testing, but it is a profoundly original book, and as undoubtedly the most interesting discussion about mediaeval sculpture in central Italy for a long time it must be very warmly welcomed.

Julian Gardner

ANTJE MIDDELDORF KOSEGARTEN, *Sienesische Bildhauer am Duomo Vecchio. Studien zur Skulptur in Siena 1250—1330* (Italienische Forschungen, herausgegeben vom Kunsthistorischen Institut in Florenz, Dritte Folge, Band XII), München, Bruckmann 1984, 368 S., davon 128 Tfn. mit 360 Abb. DM 248,—.

(mit zwei Figuren)

Ein umfangreiches Buch über *sienesische* Bildhauer am Alten Dom von Siena? Die Verwunderung ist zunächst gewiß unvermeidlich, denn die Skulpturen, denen der Siene-