

has thoughtfully provided English translations together with the Latin texts relevant to his discussion. My insufficient proficiency with Latin does not permit me to judge the merits of the author's interpretation of *exaedra* as the crypt; or of the location of the burial sites of bishops and priests either there, in the choir, or in the crossing. However, the lack of comparison with other monuments leaves me with lurking doubts. On the matter of choirs extending into the nave, the author says this was characteristic of Northern Italy, but in Florence Santa Croce had one also behind its rood screen where its location is commemorated by a marble inlay in the nave floor. Santa Maria Novella in Florence also had such an enclosure.

Some of van Os' excellent earlier studies have, I fear, spoiled me for this volume. His *Marias Demut und Verherrlichung in der Sienesischen Malerei 1300—1450* (The Hague, 1969) was a pioneer work on the Marian cult in Siena and its imagery. It is a mine of historical and theological information and made one aware of the meanings of these pictures and the circumstances which gave rise to them. Therefore, it is with regret rather than ingratitude, that the reviewer finds that this new volume simply does not make the most of its theme. Perhaps this is due to the fact that Van Os' six chapters are based upon lectures rather than upon the kind of sustained interdisciplinary research which characterized *Marias Demut*.

Eve Borsook

GERT KREYTENBERG, *Andrea Pisano und die toskanische Skulptur des 14. Jahrhunderts (Italienische Forschungen, 3. Folge, Bd. 14). München, Bruckmann 1984. 424 Seiten mit 499 Abbildungen. DM 358,—.*

The major virtue of this book lies in its magnificent series of 499 excellent plates. There are numerous well-chosen details and the figures in the round are, for the most part, shown in two, three, or even four, equally well selected views. The definition is generally excellent and the lighting has been designed to give clear and informative, rather than dramatic and misleading, results. A photographic corpus of this quality and completeness constitutes a work of scholarship in itself and, all in all, it is hard to see how it could have been done better. As an introduction to the sculptures for the general reader and as a working tool for succeeding scholars, it will prove invaluable for years to come.

As far as the text is concerned, the main body is naturally devoted to Andrea Pisano and above all to the Baptistry doors and the problems surrounding the sculpture of the Campanile, but there is also a substantial Appendix on his sons Nino and Tommaso, together with his grandson, Andrea di Nino. This is followed by a further Appendix containing 31 rejected attributions to Andrea and Nino which seems to be entirely reasonable.

Another virtue of the book is that it sets out all the documentary records, together with full references, including those to their previous publication. The setting out of documents is, however, one thing and the analysis of their implications quite another.



Simple methodological errors in the latter process can lead to disastrous consequences and in the case of Andrea Pisano's bronze doors appear to have done so.

The originals of the documents concerned do not survive and they have only come down to us in the form of the transcripts from various account books and other records which were made by Senator Carlo Strozzi in the seventeenth century. All that is left, as far as the doors are concerned, is a small, haphazard collection of miscellaneous references which certainly represent no more than a tiny fraction of the original documentation.

Even when fourteenth century account books survive in their original form, they present innumerable pitfalls, since payments and receipts for widely differing activities and projects follow one another in a wholly fortuitous order, dependent solely on the sequence in which the various bills were presented and payments made. Worse still, from the point of view of the historian, payments were often made to a Giovanni or a Jacopo without further qualification, and with no indication of the individual's occupation or even, in many cases, of the precise nature of the work done. As a result, there is often no way of telling to which Giovanni or Jacopo the entries may refer, and connecting a given payment with a known artist, or relating an otherwise unknown artisan with a particular project, becomes extremely difficult.

As far as the making and raising of the bronze doors are concerned, the only five names which occur among the 26 pathetically brief recorded references are those of Piero di Jacopo, Maestro Andrea di Ser Ugolino da Pisa, Lippo Dini, and Piero di Donato, all referred to as goldsmiths, and, Maestro Lionardo quondam Avanzi, a bell-founder, together with his two unnamed "compagni". What is more, nothing at all has survived of any initial contracts with any of the named men, either for the work as a whole or for any individual part of it. As regards subsequent contracts in connection with particular aspects of the work as it went ahead, of which there were quite possibly a number, all that has survived is a reference to the "pacts and conventions made with Andrea d'Ugolino, goldsmith, for gilding and making good the bronze door of S. Giovanni etc." made on 15th March 1336, when the work was nearing completion.

In such a situation, when perhaps five per cent, or very probably a good deal less, of the original documentation has survived in any form, it is asking for trouble to assert, as does the author, that the documents "reveal the progress of the work in all its details from the modelling of the forms in wax to the casting after melting out by a Venetian bell-founder up to the polishing and gilding". It is therefore no surprise that he comes to what appear to be a number of very strange conclusions.

Firstly, he deduces that, because Piero di Jacopo, who is simply referred to as "orefice" and never as "Maestro" in any of the surviving records, was ordered in November 1329, to go and make drawings of the doors at Pisa and then to go to Venice to look for a master 'per lavorare la forma di detta porta di metallo', it was he who not only made, but also designed the framing of the doors, though this is nowhere indicated in the remainder of the few surviving documents. Indeed, he is not mentioned again until April 1332, in connection with a review of his salary 'per il tempo, che fu a lavorare nelle porte di bronzo'. This is over two years after 'the wooden doors were begun by unnamed workers on 13th January 1330'. Whatever interpretation is put on the term



'wooden doors', it is clear that the first few days must have been occupied by simple carpentry, and it is only nine days later, on 22nd January 1330, that it is stated that Andrea Pisano, referred to simply and succinctly as "Maestro delle Porte", "comincio a lavorare dette porte" — "began to work the said doors" on the basis of a preceding lost contract or contracts. This terminology and sequence of events hardly supports the conclusion that Andrea was solely concerned with the making of the reliefs and had nothing to do either with the overall design, over which he had no control, or with the making of the structural frame, apart from the decorative lion's heads.

The author's belief that this was, nevertheless, the case leads on to the further conclusion that, because he was unconcerned with the overall design of the doors, he failed to relate his narrative compositions in any proper way to the pierced quatrefoils in which they were set. The fact that both the height of the figures and the rectilinear emphasis within the designs connect them clearly with the outer rectangles does not necessarily prove that Andrea was unsuccessful in adapting his compositions to the inner quatrefoils, and that these were merely a hindrance as far as he was concerned. Indeed, I myself have argued long ago, and would still argue now, that the way in which Andrea, in his narrative design, exploits the pierced quatrefoils of the immediate frame, thereby escaping invidious comparison with the representational achievements of the fresco painters, whilst still maintaining a strong connection with the rectangular main frame, is a mark of genius, and not of failure or incompetence. Even beyond the narrative reliefs, the way in which the repeated, rectilinear accents of the benches of the Virtues certainly can, and in my own opinion should, be seen as providing a marvellously firm base for the decorative complexities of the doors as a whole, is a notable witness to the sensitivity of his approach. In this respect Andrea's Virtues are well able to stand comparison with Ghiberti's later, technically more sophisticated, but visually less stable, variations on the theme.

Andrea's assertion that he made the doors, enshrined in the inscription on the doors themselves, is dated 1330, the year in which the first work on the wooden door is recorded, and makes no reference to other names. It shows, as the author himself agrees, that both Andrea and the commissioning authorities regarded the doors as his. It also renders it more than ever unlikely that he was not responsible for their overall design. What it does not do, on the other hand, is prove, in conjunction with the few entirely haphazard documentary remains, anything at all about the nature of his workshop. It cannot be used, as it is in this study, to support the idea that Andrea worked substantially alone apart from a few unknown manual workers and did not possess a workshop. A similar line of argument would lead to the patently erroneous conclusion that Giovanni Pisano had worked without significant sculptural assistance on his two pulpits, with their very much longer, more assertive, and no less solipsistic, inscriptions.

The section on Andrea's activity as an architect presents a very different picture. Following an earlier article, the author presents what seem to be convincing arguments, based on physical evidence, for revising the hypothesis that Giotto's original design for the Campanile of the Florentine Duomo had involved improbably insubstantial walls and that Andrea had been forced to double their thickness as soon as he took over as Capomaestro. This theory, which had been put forward in 1971 by Marvin Trachtenberg



in his book on the Campanile, also on archaeological grounds, had likewise seemed to be convincing in its day. Nevertheless, it does now appear that he was wrong and that the present author, who has tended to downgrade Andrea as a designer of bronze reliefs, has successfully rehabilitated Giotto as an architect, at least for the time being, and hopefully on a more permanent basis. Here again, however, one becomes increasingly aware that 'physical facts', like 'documentary evidence', are always subject to interpretation and are only given more or less precise meaning by the inevitably subjective activities of successive observers.

The inherent subjectivity of the human mind, however much historians, or even scientists, for that matter, may aspire to objectivity and try to establish ever more refined rules and methods of procedure, is naturally nowhere more apparent than in matters of attribution, and over half of the present text is taken up with questions of this kind. The note in which the author, with meticulous thoroughness, records the previous efforts to distinguish Andrea's own contribution to the Campanile sculpture from that of his assistants and successors, takes up almost eight large, double column pages of small print. Whether his own attributions and re-attributions, will in the long run, do more than add to a continuously and evermore rapidly expanding list, time alone will tell. His acceptance of the headless statue of St. Stephen in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo seems more likely than most to have entered permanently into the canon of Andrea's own work, but for many of the other groupings and attributions, and notably the gathering under the name of Maso di Banco of the work which is usually attached to the name of Alberto Arnoldi, together with two technically dissimilar figures in the round, neither of which seem to bear much visible relationship either to the reliefs or, in the sinuosity of their fold forms, to Maso's paintings, the auguries appear to be a good deal less propitious.

The situation in respect of Andrea, Nino and Tommaso is, if anything, more complex still and, in the absence of new evidence which substantially changes the existing situation, the reshuffling of a pack which has already been shuffled and reshuffled on so many previous occasions is unlikely to do much to convince the unconvinced or to convert those who have, by examining exactly the same material, come to different, or even opposite conclusions.

There is no doubt, however, that for those who have the inclination or the heart to play the game again, and yet again, this book has the considerable merit of presenting for the first time, not some, but arguably all the necessary cards within a single handsome packet. For those who are already confirmed addicts, it will undoubtedly provide an irresistible temptation.

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