

gemein, daß sie wie „Gesetze“ als Grundlagen seiner weitgehenden Schlußfolgerungen taugen? Ist nicht das Raisonement im allgemeinen zu abstrakt? Hier möchte der Rezensent (und wohl auch mancher Leser) Zweifel anmelden. Auch erweist sich das Rahmengerüst der Dialektik für das Künstlerische — selbst bei einem *peintre-philosophe* wie Poussin — mit all seinen undefinierbaren, für das Ergebnis aber doch bedeutungsvollen Komponenten immer wieder als ein Prokrustesbett (vgl. besonders die Einwände von Otto Pächt gegen die Annahme des rational Intendierten in der Kunst in vielen Arbeiten, zuletzt: *Methodisches zur kunsthistorischen Praxis. Ausgewählte Schriften*, München 1977).

Gleichwohl bleibt Bättschmanns Buch ein wichtiger Versuch, nicht nur das in der Kunstgeschichte bisher Erreichte kritisch zu beurteilen, sondern auch konstruktiv einen neuen Weg zu suchen — einen Weg, der nach des Verfassers Wunsch so wenig subjektiv und so wissenschaftlich wie möglich sein sollte.

Jan Bialostocki

URSULA MENDE, *Die Bronzetüren des Mittelalters, 800—1200*. Aufnahmen von Albert Hirmer und Irmgard Ernstmeier-Hirmer. Munich, Hirmer 1983. 422 pp., 220 photos on 190 plates, 36 color plates. DM 178,—

Mende and the Hirmer's *Bronzetüren* follows the attractive and now consecrated Hirmer Verlag formula. There is a narrative first section which is self-contained and presents a comprehensive though generally-keyed treatment of the subject. This is followed by an excellent and detailed pictorial record of the principal monuments surveyed. With the exception of the doors of St. Sophia at Novgorod, which were not accessible, these works were newly photographed by the Hirmers, with many telling views for each monument, most of them in black and white, but with a generous sprinkling of color plates. The last section of the book is a catalogue of the monuments designed for the specialized reader, with appropriate documentation, diagrammatic reconstructions and bibliography for each item. Mende was in most cases able to make use of an extensive older literature, particularly the volumes of the *Mittelalterliche Bronzetüren* corpus begun in 1926 with Adolph Goldschmidt's work on the early Medieval bronze doors in Germany and continued by him and by Albert Boeckler with books on the doors of Novgorod and Gniezno (Gnesen) by the first author, and Verona, Bonanus of Pisa and Barisanus of Trani by the second. In a Tübingen Dissertation of 1969 entitled *Die Bildprogramme der Kirchentüren des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts* (Bamberg, 1971), Ute Götz catalogued the historiated series of doors as a whole and brought the relevant bibliography up to date. The Mende-Hirmer publication is nevertheless most welcome, since it offers an informed and readable account of this important material, as handsomely produced, moreover, as one could wish.



The introductory section of the book begins with a consideration of the material, workshop practices, stylistic character and iconographic content of the Medieval bronze doors. The author then discusses each of the monuments according to their chronological sequence in successive short chapters. The series begins with the four sets of doors made for Charlemagne's Palatine Chapel at Aachen, and continues with the equally aniconic doors made for the archbishop of Mainz Willigis in the early eleventh century, the somewhat later doors of Bernward at Hildesheim and the doors of the cathedral of Augsburg. Next come the doors made for the mausoleum of the Norman prince Bohemund I at Canosa (1111—1118), followed by chapters on the doors of Oderisius at Troia, the doors of the Capella Palatina of Roger II in Palermo and the doors of San Zeno in Verona. We return to Germany with the doors made at Magdeburg for the cathedral of Plock in Poland, though later transferred to Novgorod (ca. 1152—56), and the doors with scenes of the life of St. Adalbertus in Gniezno. Mende's discussion concludes with the doors made by Barisanus of Trani for the cathedrals of Ravello, Trani and Monreale, Bonanus' doors for Pisa and Monreale, and lastly, the doors of the cathedral of Benevento. The latter, dated by the author near the beginning of the thirteenth century, were badly damaged in a bombardment of 1943, and what survives of them is a series of separate panels, some of them only partially preserved, and movingly recorded in the present volume.

As this enumeration of the book's contents will have indicated, Mende-Hirmer are exclusively concerned with bronze doors made in the Latin West. The series of Byzantine doors with engraved and damascened subjects imported into Italy during the second half of the eleventh century are therefore omitted from the catalogue, though they are mentioned and discussed in Mende's narrative first section, and rightly so in connection with the engraved decoration of the Canosa and Troia doors. There is, however, some inconsistency in the omission from the catalogue of two Italian monuments, the doors of San Clemente in Casauria and the two sets of doors cast by artisans from Piacenza for chapels in the Baptistery of the Lateran Basilica in Rome, although both of these doors are also briefly described and illustrated in the introductory chapters of the book. Perhaps more debatable was Mende-Hirmer's decision, no doubt justifiable on practical grounds, to limit themselves to doors made of bronze. This has had the effect of excluding from consideration altogether the doors of Alba Fucense and from S. Maria in Cellis at Carsoli (Aquila, Museo Nazionale d'Abruzzo), Andrea Buvina's doors of 1214 for the cathedral of Spalato, and the doors of Gurk Cathedral, all of them made of wood, yet surely pertinent for issues of both style and iconography raised by the bronze series. There is no mention either of the Central French group of doors dealt with by this reviewer (W. Cahn, *The Romanesque Wooden Doors of Auvergne*, New York, 1974), nor of the very interesting panels, again in wood, of St. Nicholas at Ochrid (L. Bréhier, *La sculpture et les arts mineurs byzantins*, Paris, 1936, p. 81, pl. XLIII). Although the last named work, like the later doors of Balkan origin from Rila and Snagov, was produced in what we would call the Byzantine domain,



it is carved in relief, and therefore resembles the German and Italian monuments treated by Mende rather than the engraved and inlaid type imported to Italy from the East. The fantastic creatures and warriors on horseback at Ochrid remind one also of the doors of Barisanus and his workshop in Sicily and southern Italy.

Among the monuments of Mende's corpus, there are two long-standing problem children, and what the author has to say about them is bound to be read with particular interest. The Augsburg doors, as is well known, raise all sorts of difficulties. Its two valves are oddly of unequal width, the location for which the work was initially made and its date are uncertain, the original arrangement of the bronze panels appears to have been altered, and the identification of some of the subjects depicted, as well as the meaning to be ascribed to the whole, have tested the ingenuity of generations of commentators. On the question of date, Mende believes that the style of the panels argues for the early years of the eleventh century, but the comparison which she makes with the Pala d'oro of Aachen Cathedral does not seem to me sufficiently compelling to bear this out. If, as is generally assumed, the doors were indeed made for the cathedral of Augsburg, rebuilt between 995 and 1065, the later date, which has been broadly favored since Goldschmidt's time, ought to be upheld unless decisive evidence to the contrary is brought to light. With respect to the hypothetical first design of the doors, Mende has slightly amended her predecessor's reconstruction (pp. 39—40 and fig. 22) in the interest of making the arrangement of the panels more nearly symmetrical. It will be admitted that a completely satisfactory resolution of this problem has not yet been found and may well be impossible. Whatever can be said about the role which bilateral symmetry may have played in the initial design, the proposed rearrangement of the panels in the fourth tier does make the centaur along the inner rim of the left valve awkwardly appear to aim his bow and arrow at no visible target.

When Goldschmidt undertook to elaborate his interpretation of the imagery of the Augsburg doors, he had before him a body of older interpretation reaching back to the middle of the nineteenth century. Much of this he rightly rejected as fantastic and far-fetched, but he did not doubt that a coherent scheme of meaning informed the choice and the arrangement of the quite varied and sometimes puzzling images before him. His effort to elucidate the matter can therefore be seen as a characteristically intelligent attempt to preserve an accepted interpretive framework, while offering iconographically more cogent readings of motifs not understood or misinterpreted by earlier writers. Mende tends, perhaps with some justification, toward greater caution or at least to a more neutrally descriptive stance. We thus learn that Goldschmidt's personification of Summer is merely a man with a bottle (*Mann mit Flasche*) and his three other seasons have disappeared in the same way. Unidentified male figures are now men first of all and Prophets at best tentatively. The message thought to be imparted by the entire work is also formulated in broader, less incisive terms as having to do, in global fashion, with "the confrontation of good and evil, salvation and damnation" (p. 137):



The doors of San Zeno in Verona present their fair share of problems. It has long been recognized that they combine two separate sets of panels in markedly different styles. Boeckler, in his monograph of 1931, dated the first set around 1100 and the second in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, but the substantial literature that has been devoted to the monument shows that a considerable range of opinion exists on this question. Whether the work in its actual state embodies remnants of two once separate doors, as Boeckler thought, or represents a single enterprise that was later enlarged is also disputed. Mende dissents from views previously expressed on the San Zeno doors on a number of points. One of these concerns the subject of the panel occupying the left corner along the bottom of the left valve and showing two women nursing beasts. These figures are customarily interpreted as personifications of the Earth and the Sea, but Mende, focusing instead on the trees which appear behind the women, sees here rather an allegory of the Vices and the Virtues. This suggestion seems to me unpersuasive. But she makes a good argument for the view that the two series of reliefs were made within a fairly circumscribed span of time. The first, she proposes, was begun in connection with the beginning of the reconstruction of San Zeno after an earthquake in 1117, and a second atelier, reflecting the style of Niccolò, did no more than bring to completion the initially intended design around 1138, when Niccolò's work on the west portal of the church was either in progress or already complete. The thesis of a single door, carried out in two stages, is open to the not easily answerable objection that several subjects among the panels of the second workshop duplicate those of the first, but Mende's conclusions on the stylistic position of the doors within the chronology deserve serious consideration.

Walter Cahn

VIRGINIA CHIEFFO RAGUIN, *Stained Glass in Thirteenth Century Burgundy*. Princeton 1982, 182 S., 4 Textabb., 4 Farbtafeln, 161 Schwarzweißabb. \$ 55,50

Eine Beurteilung des vorliegenden Werkes hat zwischen dem methodischen Ansatz und den Ergebnissen zu unterscheiden. Der leitende Gesichtspunkt der Arbeit ergibt sich bereits aus dem Inhaltsverzeichnis: nach einem einführenden, weitgehend an den betreffenden Arbeiten R. Branners orientierten Kapitel über das „Architectural Framework“ der behandelten Bildfenster und einem weiteren, das, gestützt auf schriftliche Überlieferung, (jedoch notgedrungen ganz hypothetische) Überlegungen zu den verlorenen vorgotischen Verglasungen der Kathedrale von Auxerre enthält, wird im Hauptteil das eigentliche Material des Buches, nämlich die Reste der Verglasungen des 13. Jahrhunderts von Auxerre, Troyes, Semur-en-Auxois, Saint-Julien-du-Sault, Saint-Fargeau und Notre Dame in Dijon nach drei übergeordneten und thematisch verschiedenen Gesichtspunkten behandelt: „Médaille Composition and Ornament“ (Kap. III), „The Ateliers“ (Kap. IV) und