

Kroos (letztere in: Kat. *Die Zeit der Staufer* I, Stuttgart 1977, Nr. 717) dem Kolophon mit dem Datum 1148 die Anerkennung versagten und die Handschrift in das 3. Viertel des 12. Jahrhunderts datierten. Wer immer der Koloristen-Team-These der Autorin folgt, wird einer weiteren Schwierigkeit begegnen, nämlich der Datierung und Lokalisierung der glossierten Berliner Paulusbriefe Cod. theol. lat. fol. 192 in Hildesheim um 1150, deren Initialornamentik mit derjenigen der Hildesheimer *Vita Bernwardi*, F 5 im Staatsarchiv zu Hannover, nur schwerlich in Übereinklang gebracht werden kann. Vergleicht man die Argumentation von Frau Kroos (Kat. *Die Zeit der Staufer*, Nr. 759) für die spätere Datierung und ungesicherte Lokalisierung dieser Handschrift im Niedersächsischen, wünschte man sich von Frau Cohen eine ausführlichere Darlegung der Gesamtzusammenhänge, wird die *Vita Bernwardi* doch gewissermaßen ein Ausgangspunkt für die Koloristen der Wormser Bibel. Trotz solchen Einwänden glaubt auch der Rezensent an die Strahlkraft niedersächsischer Kunst zum mittleren und oberen Rhein um die Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts, doch möchte er gegenüber Hildesheim Helmarshausen den Vorzug geben. Wer das Helmarshausener Evangeliar, Ludwig Ms. II 3 des J. P. Getty Museums, Malibu, mit dem aus Kloster Gengenbach stammenden Evangeliar Cod. Bibl. fol. 28 der Württembergischen Landesbibliothek zu Stuttgart vergleicht, erkennt die Gemeinsamkeiten und Modifizierungen.

Zusammenfassend ist zu sagen, daß die Arbeit von Aliza Cohen weit über das Spezialfach Kunstgeschichte hinaus für jeden Leser eine große Bereicherung und für manchen Forscher eine Bestätigung eigener Erfahrungen bringt. Die Harmonie zwischen Bild und Text ist einmalig gelungen, auch das Einstreuen der entscheidenden Bilder in Farbe. Der Ballast des wissenschaftlichen Apparates ist nicht überladen, vor allem nicht im letzten Kapitel, das wie die vorangegangenen die klare Linie weiterzuführen versucht.

Anton von Euw

PETER KLEIN, *Endzeiterwartung und Ritterideologie: Die englischen Bilderapokalypsen der Frühgotik und MS Douce 180*. Codices Selecti LXXII \*. Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1983.

The recent growth in scholarly attention to apocalypticism and its influence in early Christianity and the Middle Ages has resulted in new studies of Revelation and apocryphal apocalypses as a genre; new editions of Adso of Montier-en-Der, Hildegard, Joachim of Fiore and other authors crucial for our understanding of medieval apocalypticism and eschatology; and studies of Antichrist, the Cedar of Lebanon prophecy, and related traditions influencing medieval religiosity, history, literature, and art. The "Census and Bibliography of Medieval Manuscripts Containing Apocalypse Illustrations", which Suzanne Lewis and I are editing and which will be published in the next three volumes of *Traditio* (1984, 1985, 1986), offers dramatic proof of the scholarly interest in illustrated Apocalypse



manuscripts. In the past decade no one has contributed more to the study of medieval illustrated Apocalypses than has Peter Klein. A brief list of his major contributions to date would include his commentary on the Trier Apocalypse (with R. Laufner, *Codices Selecti XLVIII \**, 1975) and his masterful study of the Madrid Beatus Apocalypse and the tradition of Spanish illumination (*Studien zur Kunstgeschichte* 8, 1976). In "Les cycles de l'Apocalypse du haut Moyen Age (IX—XIIIe s.)", published in *L'Apocalypse de Jean* (ed. Yves Christe, Geneva, 1979), he organized the various strands of early Apocalypse iconography. Working through the Middle Ages, Klein has now focused his remarkable scholarly skills on the English Gothic Apocalypse.

Despite its title, *Endzeiterwartung und Ritterideologie* is essentially a study of the beautiful Apocalypse manuscript in Oxford's Bodleian Library, MS Douce 180, and a companion commentary for the facsimile published in 1981 as *Codices Selecti LXXII*. Although the manuscript has been available in a 1922 edition by M. R. James, such a high quality facsimile and systematic scholarly commentary have been long overdue, as Klein makes clear in his very helpful, fair, and up-to-date survey of scholarship on the manuscript and the thirteenth-century Apocalypses. As expected, the study includes a detailed codicological description of the manuscript and an extensive discussion of its provenance and date. Little here is dramatically new. Drawing on the stylistic relationships noticed by others between Douce 180 and the Westminster wall paintings and especially the Westminster retable, Klein establishes that the manuscript is a product of the school of Westminster and that it was written and painted around 1270—1274. Developing his thesis, Klein also includes a very helpful discussion of the "Douce Master" and his relationship to the school of Westminster and the Parisian style of St. Louis. These and later arguments are supported by references to the volume's 30 color reproductions from Douce 180 and its 175 black-and-white photographs from Douce, related manuscripts, and other medieval art.

Chapter five, the book's most extensive and important, is a study of the place of Douce 180 within the complex iconography of the Apocalypse. Attacking a subject of scholarly debate since 1901, when Leopold Delisle argued for the existence of two wide-ranging manuscript families, Klein organizes the manuscripts relevant for the study of the origins of the English illuminated Apocalypse cycles into four groups: the "Morgan Group", which comprises three key manuscripts from Delisle's "first family"; and the "Metz Group", "Cloisters Group", and "Westminster Group", which include manuscripts from Delisle's "second family". Of primary interest is the "Westminster Group". In addition to Douce 180 and its sister manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 10474, this group includes two earlier manuscripts, the Dyson Perrins Apocalypse (now in the Paul Getty Museum, Malibu) and the closely related Apocalypse in the British Library (Add. 35166). Not included in these groups, yet also important to Klein's study, is the Trinity College Apocalypse, as well as several earlier cycles of Apocalypse illustrations in the *Bible moralisée*, the *Liber Floridus*, and two manuscripts in the



Vatican Library (Vat. lat. 39 and Chigi A. 74. IV). Klein's method is to analyze the iconography of 31 key scenes portrayed in these manuscripts in order to argue that the thirteenth-century Apocalypses derive from a lost Romanesque Apocalypse, to show the relationship between the archetype of the "Morgan Group" and the other manuscript groups, and to create a stemma for the thirteenth-century English Apocalypses. Although at the time not known to Klein, the English Romanesque manuscript at Longleat House recently described by Michael A. Michael (*Burlington Magazine*, 126 [1984], 340—43) adds credence to his arguments. The manuscript (dated c. 1100) contains the text of the Apocalypse and the commentary of Berengaudus; more significantly, it opens with a prefatory miniature illustrating the enthroned Christ in an upper compartment and, below, St. John writing before an angel.

Given Klein's masterful work, it may seem unreasonable on the part of the reviewer to ask the author for yet more. Nevertheless, perhaps because so much of the analysis is intended to develop the larger arguments concerning the place of Douce 180 within the iconography of the English Apocalypses, Klein's description of the nearly 97 (and six missing) individual scenes in the manuscript is rather brief. He does include parallel description of the scenes from Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 10474, however. He also provides a helpful table listing the manuscript's scenes and outlining their relationship to scripture and the commentary of Berengaudus as edited by Migne. Klein rightly accepts the growing scholarly consensus that rejects a ninth-century date for Berengaudus. Instead he dates this important commentary to the late eleventh or early twelfth century, which gives it a key place in the development of medieval Apocalypses exegesis from the earlier Carolingian tradition to the later commentaries which reflect a greater awareness of history. A critical edition of the Berengaudus commentary along with further attention to its influence on the iconography of the English Apocalypses is now needed to complement the thorough stylistic analysis provided by Klein and other art historians.

The brief chapter investigating the topic for which the book is titled, although provocative, is somewhat disappointing, primarily because it does not fully develop the topic. It examines two related issues: the extent to which Joachim of Fiore and the Spiritual Franciscans influenced the thirteenth-century Apocalypses, especially the Morgan archetype; and the extent to which the later Apocalypses reflect the courtly ideology of chivalry best known from literary romances. Klein rightly qualifies the arguments of both Francis Klingender and Robert Freyhan (*Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 16 [1953], and 18 [1955]) that place undue emphasis on Joachist expectations concerning the year 1260. The problem with these and similar arguments, which see the English Apocalypses as either negative or positive reactions to Joachist thought, is that they fail to appreciate the orthodoxy of medieval apocalypticism and its profound influence on all aspects of medieval culture. Since there is nothing unusual in exegetical and artistic interest in eschatology or the figure of Antichrist, it is necessary to distinguish between the



various strands of the Antichrist tradition in the thirteenth century before interpreting such interest as reflecting a radical theology. The Joachist attitude toward Antichrist is significantly different from, although related to, the long-established tradition developing from the fathers, organized by Adso, and often illustrated in these manuscripts. Unless there is otherwise clear evidence pointing to a Joachist point of view — as is the case with the Apocalypses illustrating the commentary of Alexander of Bremen — one should not assume a relationship.

More promising is the hypothesis that the illuminated Apocalypses associated with Westminster reflect a courtly outlook attracted to the *aventure* of the apocalyptic scenes which corresponded to contemporary chivalric and religious ideals. In his seminal study of the English Apocalypses, George Henderson suggested that the popularity of illustrated Apocalypses in the thirteenth century was due not primarily to “religious or moral or political” reasons, but to “the fact that artists and patrons alike recognized in the Apocalypse the one biblical text which fell into line with the upper-class literary entertainment of the day. The Apocalypse, regarded superficially, dealt with the same subjects as, say, Chrétien de Troyes’ Romances, ladies in affliction, noble knights riding into battle, magic and mysteries and monstrous beasts” (*Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 30 [1967], 116). In contrast to the various theses associating the Apocalypses to Joachist thought, this approach tends to minimize contemporary religious and political concerns. By examining the Apocalypses not only within their historical context but also within a chivalric tradition developed in literary romances, Klein takes a more moderate position, interpreting the manuscripts of the “Westminster Group” as reflections of an ideology promoted by Edward that combined both secular chivalric ideals associated with the legend of Arthur and religious motivations related to the crusades. I am convinced that further study will show that the connection between chivalric romance and the illuminated Apocalypse is neither superficial nor necessarily dependent upon the ideological concerns of a particular court; the connection is fundamentally related to the narrative structure and themes of chivalric romances and the book of Revelation. Nevertheless, by investigating the ideological climate possibly motivating courtly patronage, Klein has conducted an important investigation of what I have elsewhere called “apocalyptic romance” and has made a significant contribution to our understanding of these Apocalypses and their place in thirteenth-century English religious and courtly culture. Whatever the exact relationship between the court of Edward and the illuminated manuscripts of the “Westminster Group”, Klein is right to conclude that they are “höchst komplexe ästhetisch-ideologische Gebilde” (p. 184). These Apocalypses — especially Douce 180 — are sophisticated works that with great beauty and subtlety blend religious and courtly expectations and interests.

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