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MIDDLE AGES AND NINETEENTH CENTURY. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF HISTORICAL INTERVENTIONS IN THE DOCUMENTATION OF AND RESEARCH ON STAINED GLASS – A SHORT WORKING REPORT FROM CVMA POTSDAM

Research on medieval stained glass is linked in various ways to that on nineteenth and early twentieth century glazing. This report takes a cursory look at the activities of the Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi (CVMA) Potsdam, regarding research and documentation of nineteenth and early twentieth century stained glass. It also looks at some issues on stained glass supplements from that time that relate to the currently ongoing studies. The aim is to illustrate the importance of detailed examinations of nineteenth and twentieth century stained glass that were made as supplements to or in combination with medieval stained glass. Such research provides a solid foundation for the interpretation of medieval stained glass that has undergone restoration, as well as a better understanding of the artistic and technological procedures carried out by stained glass workshops in the eras of romanticism and historicism.

In the 1990s, heavy losses of nineteenth and early twentieth century glasses as a result of neglect and extensive mechanical and environmental damage motivated the CVMA Arbeitsstelle in Potsdam to embark on documentation and research in this field. The exhibition *Glasmalerei des 19. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland* presented at Erfurt (1993/1994)¹ was followed by an inventory project starting in 1999, targeting the remaining ecclesiastical stained glass of the period 1800 to 1914 in Berlin, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania, Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt and Thuringia.² The aim was not only to register all

remaining stained glass of the referenced period, but in so doing, to also foster awareness of the significance of the glazing, in terms of technique and artistic relevance, as integral parts of church interiors, as crucial elements of ecclesiastical iconographic programmes, as important cultural and liturgic testimonies, and as important sources of local history. The underlying philosophy was that the registration of the glazing units and the given information about their contexts may bring them back to the awareness of communities, parishes, architects, art historians and conservators, and thus contribute to their protection. The project was funded by the Ostdeutsche Sparkassenstiftung, which supports regional cultural projects, with a particular focus on the survey and preservation of cultural heritage. Thanks to this sponsorship, and, in the case of the Thuringia volume, in cooperation with the Thüringisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege und Archäologie (Thuringian Office for the Preservation of Historic Monuments) and the Sparkassen-Kulturstiftung Hessen-Thüringen, five inventories were published in the years 2001 to 2006.³ Altogether 2477 glazing units are documented in the catalogues. The descriptions are short, including relevant information about the architectural and historical context, dates, benefactors or donors, models, techniques, iconography, inscriptions, restorations

until its completion in 2006 under the direction of Frank Martin.

³ *Die Glasmalereien des 19. Jahrhunderts. Die Kirchen*, vols 1–5, Leipzig, 2001–2006: *Mecklenburg-Vorpommern* (R. KUHL, 2001), *Sachsen-Anhalt* (C. AMAN, 2003), *Berlin, Brandenburg* (A. KLAUKE and F. MARTIN, 2003), *Sachsen* (A. HÖRIG, 2004), *Thüringen* (F. BORNSCHEIN, U. GASSMANN, 2006).

¹ *Glasmalerei des 19. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland*, exh. cat., Angermuseum Erfurt 23.09.1993–27.02.1994, Leipzig, 1993.

² The project was initiated by Erhard Drachenberg, then head of the CVMA Arbeitsstelle in Potsdam, and continued from 2002





1. *Saint Erasmus in a cauldron*, 1460/1470 and Königliches Institut für Glasmalerei 1886–1889, Bad Wilsnack, St Nicholas' Church, window nII,2–4a–c. Photo: CVMA Potsdam, R. Roloff

and the condition of the glazing. The attached indexes allow one to search for artists, glass workshops, iconographies and dates, thereby providing information beyond the scope of the specific church or region. Regarding the extensive nineteenth and early twentieth century restorations of medieval stained glass and related supplements, only complete windows and those large-scale window parts with a significant proportion of supplementary glass are documented. Although all this stained glass has been photographed,⁴ only a small selection of pictures could be added to the text in the publications. Furthermore, the financial framework of the nineteenth and early twentieth century inventory project did not cover the use of scaffolds, so that observation and photo documentation at close range was in many cases not possible. It was always very helpful to find preliminary studies where available or if there was a chance to consult it, a volume of the *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi*. In addition, the authors of the *Corpus Vitrearum* volumes kindly granted insight into their research, which was at this time not yet published.⁵

In the early *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi* volumes edited by the CVMA Potsdam, formerly in Berlin, the restoration campaigns were covered in the catalogue section with a standardized listing of the panels, including their

measurements, iconography and the workshops where they were produced, while at the same time they are mentioned briefly in the text discussing the glazing history.⁶ There is no detailed discussion of the iconographic or theological background of the supplementary parts and there is little information about their drafts or models. For those cases, further information on nineteenth century restoration campaigns is dependent on additional studies.⁷ However, in the more recent volumes of the CVMA, the additions to medieval glazing as well as the regroupings in the context of restoration campaigns and the underlying motivations are given special attention within the glazing history chapters. This provides essential information about the original state of and the changes to historic glazing. Beyond those features, this body of research provides an insight into the specific strategies used in the restoration, preservation and interpretation of stained glass in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

In the online photo archive of the CVMA Deutschland, which is currently under development, the photo documentation of nineteenth and early twentieth century glass implementations in medieval stained glass contexts is about to be published.⁸ Furthermore, the CVMA Potsdam provides online hyper image presentations of stained glass windows, located in eight cathedrals and churches, that allow one to select windows, scenes and single panels from a floorplan. In this way, both the medieval stained glass and the supplementary parts can be studied in detail.⁹ However, these IT approaches are for the documentation and online accessibility only of medieval stained glass and the directly added parts and panels. Those nineteenth and twentieth century windows that contain no medieval glass, but which are in a coherent architectural context with medieval glazing, have so far not been included. Future considerations should take into account the extent to which such glazing can be made part of CVMA's online presentations or alternatively be included in another online platform dedicated to nineteenth and twentieth century stained glass, ideally interlinked according to categories like workshop, iconography and date/date of restoration.

The research on stained glass restorations and supplementations, beyond very tangible aspects like the identification of newly made parts and the retracing of transfers and regroupings of medieval panels, also provides insight

⁴ The photo documentations are part of the CVMA Potsdam image archive.

⁵ Once more special thanks to Eva Fitz and Monika Böning, formerly of CVMA Potsdam.

⁶ For the publications of CVMA Deutschland, see <http://www.corpusvitrearum.de/projekt/publikationen/editionen.html> [retrieved 19 October 2019].

⁷ See, for example, F. BORNSCHEIN, U. BRINKMANN, I. RAUCH, *Erfurt – Köln – Oppenheim. Quellen und Studien zur Restaurierungsgeschichte Mittelalterlicher Farbverglasungen*. Mit einer Einführung von R. Becksmann, Berlin, 1996 (Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi Deutschland Studien II).

⁸ <http://www.corpusvitrearum.de/cvma-digital/bildarchiv.html> [retrieved 19 October 2019].

⁹ <http://cvma.bbaw.de/cvma-digital> [retrieved 19 October 2019].



2. *Saint Erasmus in a cauldron* (as Fig. 1), 1886–1889, detail

into specific strategies used in the restoration, preservation and interpretation of stained glass in the eras of romanticism and historicism. Considering the stained glass-workshops of that time, it broadens the knowledge about their capabilities in adopting historic techniques and stylistic features and about their understanding of medieval models and iconography. The examples outlined below illustrate the relevance of gaining a broader perspective that includes nineteenth and twentieth century stained glass restorations and newly made glazing of that time.

RESTORATION AND INVENTION I: THE KÖNIGLICHE INSTITUT FÜR GLASMALEREI BERLIN- CHARLOTTENBURG

In many cases, medieval glazing, which is the subject of research of the CVMA Potsdam, underwent restoration by the Königliche Institut für Glasmalerei Berlin-Charlottenburg. For this reason, it is very important to understand this workshop's capacity and concepts in stained glass restoration and supplementation.

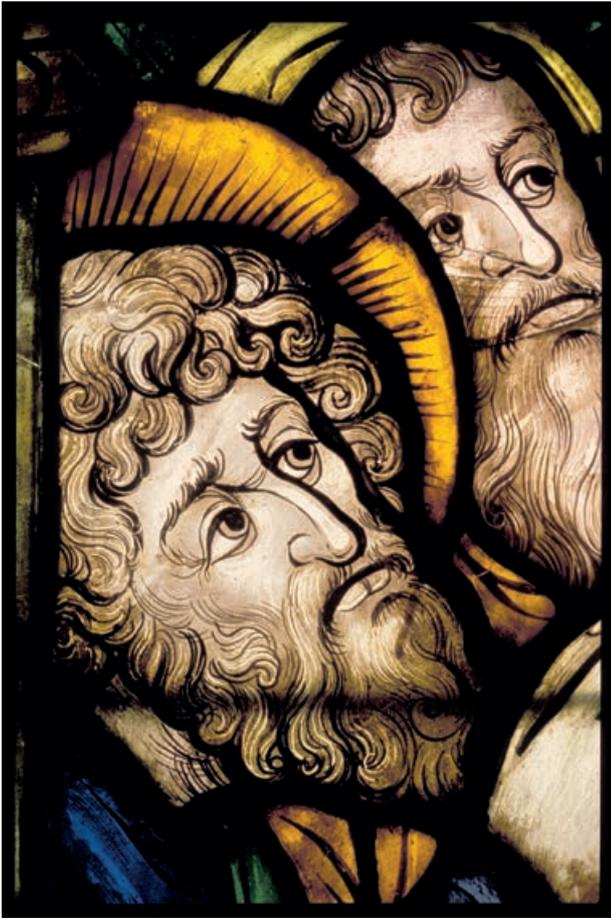
The Königliche Institut für Glasmalerei was founded in 1843 in Berlin, following the example of the Königliche Glasmalereianstalt in Munich, which had then been in existence for more than 15 years. The founding of the new Institut für Glasmalerei was in line with king Friedrich



3. *Saint Erasmus on a windlass*, 1460/1470, Bad Wilsnack, St Nicholas' Church, window nII,6c, detail. Photo: CVMA Potsdam, R. Roloff

Wilhelm IV's policy of supporting and promoting the art of stained glass in Prussia.¹⁰ Right from the start, the Königliche Institut für Glasmalerei worked mainly for

¹⁰ For the Königliche Institut für Glasmalerei Berlin-Charlottenburg, its autonomous glazing and restoration works, see K. BORSTEL, *Das Wirken des Königlich preußischen Glasmalerei-Institutes. Untersuchungen über die Förderung der Glasmalerei durch den preußischen Staat*, PhD diss., University of Würzburg, 1921; E. MAHN, *Deutsche Glasmalerei der Romantik 1790–1850*, PhD diss., University of Leipzig, 1980, pp. 128–142; A. NICKEL, 'Das Königliche Glasmalerei-Institut (1843–1905)', *Berlinische Monatsschrift*, 2, 1993, no. 9, pp. 8–16; E. FITZ, 'Die rekonstruktiven Restaurierungen des Königlichen Institutes für Glasmalerei in Berlin. Technische und ikonographische Methoden im Zeitalter des Historismus', in *Restaurierung und Konservierung historischer Glasmalereien*, ed. by A. Wolf, Mainz, 2000, pp. 36–46; A. BEESKOW, 'Die Ausstattung in den Kirchen des Berliner Kirchenbauvereins (1890–1904). Mit einem Verzeichnis zu 197 Kartons des Königlichen Instituts für Glasmalerei Berlin aus dem Archivbestand der Königlichen Porzellanmanufaktur', *Die Bauwerke und Kunstdenkmäler von Berlin*, Beiheft 30, ed. by Landesdenkmalamt Berlin, 2005, pp. 345, 357, 374, 376, 381, 391, 414f., 431–447; G. DATZ, *Partenheim versus Boppard. Geschichte und Rekonstruktion zweier spätgotischer Verglasungen am Mittelrhein*, PhD diss., University of Mainz, 2006, pp. 120–123 (<https://publications.ub.uni-mainz.de/thesen/volltexte/2013/3514/pdf/3514.pdf> [retrieved 19 October 2019]); F. MARTIN, 'Das Königliche Glasmalerei-Institut in



4. Königliches Institut für Glasmalerei, *Entry into Jerusalem*, 1887/1888, Stendal, Cathedral, window I,3a, detail. Photo: CVMA Potsdam, R. Roloff

state commissions, on order by the king and for the nobility. Efforts to expand its circle of customers were only partially successful. This fact, and the increasing competition in the stained glass business, combined with the institutes' structural difficulties, led to growing economic problems. In 1883, the Munich-trained glass painter Heinrich Bernhard became the head of the stained glass workshop and four years later, it was transformed into a state-owned enterprise. While the Königliche Glasmalerei continued to manufacture new windows in an idealized academic style, Bernhard at the same time increasingly banked on restorations of medieval glazing and implemented high standards in this field. This was in line with the role of the Königliche Institut für Glasmalerei as a model institution – and it was an important *raison d'être*, especially in view of the growing criticism of the institute's autonomous works as expressed in the aesthetic discourse on ecclesiastical art and architecture of that time.¹¹

Berlin-Charlottenburg (1843–1905)', *Das Münster*, 62, 2009, no. 2, pp. 100–110.

¹¹ See F. MARTIN, 'Das Königliche Glasmalerei-Institut', pp. 101–108 (as in note 10).

Considering the large quantity of autonomous glazing made by the Königliche Institut für Glasmalerei by the time of its dissolution in 1904, the number of preserved examples of this glazing is very small. The loss was particularly dramatic in Berlin, where many churches had had stained glass windows from the Königliche Institut. Of these, the only stained glasses that exist today are three panels from the Elisabethkirche (Invalidenstraße), which are now deposited in a side room, and three windows in the Gethsemanekirche (Stargarder Straße). The windows in the Gethsemanekirche show fragments of Jesus in Gethsemane and two evangelists, both of which previously belonged to a five-window-series executed in 1893, based on cartoons by Franz Heynacher.¹² These windows demonstrate the high quality of the painterly stained glass technique the workshop was able to provide at that time.

Restorations of medieval stained glasses executed by the Königliche Institut für Glasmalerei often show a highly sensitive adaptation of stylistic characteristics and techniques that were based on intensive studies of the original glazing.¹³ At the Nikolaikirche in Wilsnack, the institute during the restoration campaign from 1886 to 1889 adopted the elegant style and technique of the so-called Altmarkwerkstatt, which had made the medieval windows around 1460/70 and whose characteristics are fine contour lines and delicate modelling in thin paint layers [Figs 1–3].¹⁴ At Stendal Cathedral the institute carried over from the medieval stained glass into the supplementary parts the cross-hatching drawing technique, and physiognomic characteristics like the long narrow noses, accentuated eyelids, and curly wisps of hair. Especially the newly made scenes, depicting the Entry into Jerusalem, Last Supper, Resurrection and Ascension (1887/1888),

¹² A. KLAUKE, F. MARTIN, *Berlin, Brandenburg*, pp. 31f., 36f. (as in note 3); C. AMAN, *Gutachten zur Kunsthistorischen Bewertung der bauzeitlichen Chorverglasung der Gethsemanekirche und kunsthistorisch-fachliche Vorbereitung eines Maßnahmekonzepts*, Berlin 2016 (typescript). – Photographs of the cartoons are preserved in the archive of the Universität der Künste Berlin (UdK).

¹³ In this respect Eva Fitz has called attention to the workshop's imitations of ageing phenomena like caverns and corrosive layers, and, on the other hand, to the repainting over medieval glasses that were affected by corrosion. E. FITZ, 'Schwarzlotübermalung – ein Beitrag zur Restaurierungspraxis im 19. Jahrhundert', *Die Denkmalpflege*, 54, 1996, no. 2, pp. 119–129, fig. 11; eadem, 'Karl der Große verabschiedet sich von Roland', in *Glasmalerei des 19. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland*, no. 63, pp. 176f. (as in note 1). – However, the sometimes fundamental interventions into the original substance and the re-arrangements of panels encountered growing criticism with the upcoming new conservation principles at the beginning of the twentieth century, see E. FITZ, *Die rekonstruktiven Restaurierungen*, p. 44 (as in note 10).

¹⁴ U. BEDNARZ, E. FITZ, F. MARTIN, M. L. MOCK, G. PFEIFFER, M. VOIGT, *Die mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien in Berlin und Brandenburg*, Berlin, 2010 (*Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi Deutschland XXII*), vol. 1, pp. 87–165, vol. 2, figs 7–116.

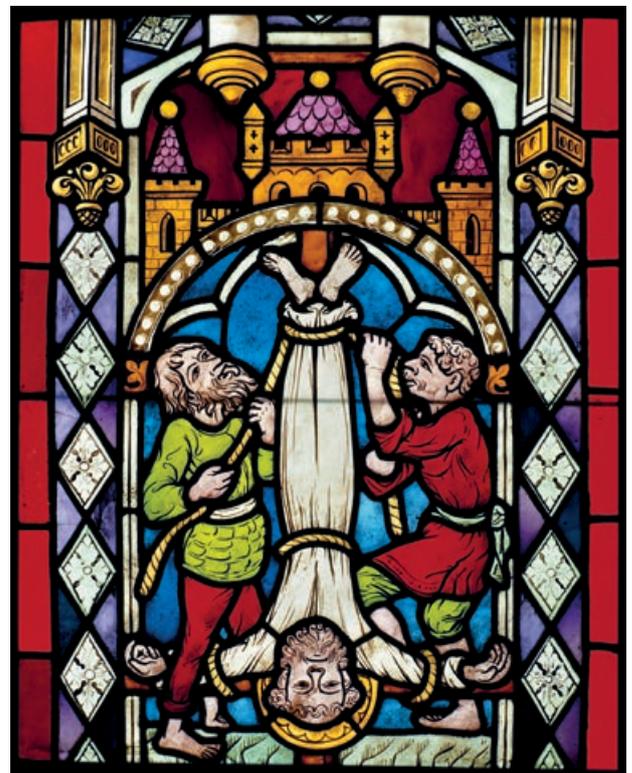


5. *Crucifixion of Saint Peter*, 1423–1430, Stendal, Cathedral, window sII,17–18a–c. Photo: CVMA Potsdam, R. Roloff

which ‘complete’ the crucifixion in the central window to portray a programmatic salvation history, demonstrate the highly adaptive capacity of the Berlin–Charlottenburg workshop. Nevertheless, the glasses still reflect their own late 1880s period [Figs 4, 5].¹⁵

Following widespread workshop practice, the Königliche Institut für Glasmalerei repeated single figures and groups of figures in its autonomous compositions. Likewise, the institute in some cases followed similar strategies in the supplementation of medieval glass, which, as in Stendal Cathedral, could be very extensive. Two presentations of the *Crucifixion of Saint Peter* exemplify how the institute used its experience in the restoration and reconstruction of medieval stained glass to develop workshop models. One is a medieval scene at Stendal Cathedral (1423–1430), restored by the Königliche Institut in 1887/1888 [Fig. 5]. The other is a stained glass panel at the Johanniskirche in Werben, which was newly made by the Königliche Institut 1891 [Fig. 6]. The latter is one of four panels produced by the Königliche Institut für Glasmalerei to complete two medieval scenes (c. 1360) and form

¹⁵ For the glazing of Stendal Cathedral see K.-J. MAERCKER, *Die mittelalterliche Glasmalerei im Stendaler Dom*, Berlin, 1988 (Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi Deutschland XVIII,1), and <http://telota.bbaw.de/cvma/HyperCVMA/StendalDom/> [retrieved 19 October 2019].



6. Königliches Institut für Glasmalerei, *Crucifixion of Saint Peter*, 1891, Werben, St John's Church, window nIV, 6b. Photo: CVMA Potsdam, J. Wermann



7. Königliches Institut für Glasmalerei, *Freeing of Saint Peter*, 1887/1888, Stendal, Cathedral, window sII, 13–14a–c. Photo: CVMA Potsdam, R. Roloff

a series of six.¹⁶ It shows the adoption not only of the medieval Stendal composition, but also of its tense and winding drawing style, especially in the figure of Saint Peter. The two henchmen in Werben are rather free interpretations based on the Stendal models and have nothing in common with their counterparts in the Maltreatment of Saint Peter, which is depicted in the medieval Werben panels.

The Freeing of Saint Peter from Imprisonment, also depicted in the same window as the Crucifixion of Saint Peter at Stendal Cathedral, was an entirely new creation by the Königliche Institut für Glasmalerei [Fig. 7]. When compared with the corresponding scene at Naumburg Cathedral (sII,6a), it shows strong similarities [Fig. 9]. The Naumburg window with the story of Saint Peter was donated by the Prussian king Friedrich Wilhelm IV in 1856 and was also made by the Königliche Institut für Glasmalerei.¹⁷ Three decades later the workshop used the

Naumburg model of the Freeing of Saint Peter to develop the more complex Stendal scene, and adapted it in its style and its decorative and architectural forms to match the medieval parts in the window. Later, the composition was – like the Crucifixion of Saint Peter – used as a model for the Johanniskirche at Werben [Fig. 8].

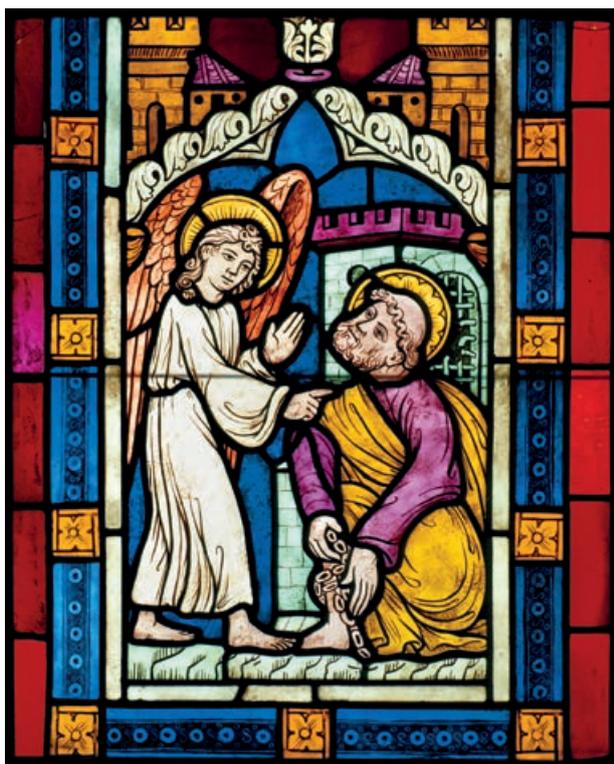
The Naumburg panel leads us to an important area of current research at the CVMA Potsdam, which is taking place alongside a large-scale restoration undertaking at Naumburg.¹⁸ The research on the implementations and

Zeit 6), pp. 57–75; G. SIEBERT, '17.2 Glasmalerei im Ostchor', in *Der Dom zu Naumburg*, vol. 2: *Ausstattung*, ed. by H. Brandl, M. Ludwig, O. Ritter, Regensburg, 2018 (Beiträge zur Denkmalkunde in Sachsen-Anhalt, 13), pp. 1140–1158.

¹⁶ M. BÖNING, *Die mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien in der Werbenner Johanniskirche*, Berlin, 2007 (Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi Deutschland XIX,1), pp. 69–75, 80f., figs 39–43.

¹⁷ E. FITZ, "Die Berufung Petri beim Fischfang", "Die Rettung Petri aus den Fluten", in *Glasmalerei des 19. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland*, no. 62.1–2, pp. 174–175 (as in note 1); C. AMAN, *Sachsen-Anhalt*, pp. 308f. (as in note 3); M. LUDWIG, G. SIEBERT, *Glasmalerei im Naumburger Dom vom Hohen Mittelalter bis in die Gegenwart*, Petersberg, 2009 (Kleine Schriften der Vereinigten Domstifter zu Merseburg und Naumburg und des Kollegiatstifts

¹⁸ A primary insight is given by M. DEITERS, 'Erfassung und Erforschung der mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien des Naumburger Doms. Ein Bericht aus der "Werkstatt" des CVMA', *Saale-Unstrut-Jahrbuch*, 24, 2019, pp. 93–103. The Corpus volume, M. DEITERS unter Mitarbeit von C. AMAN und M. VOIGT, *Die mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien im Naumburger Dom* (Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi Deutschland XIX,6), is expected in 2022. The conservation and restoration of the medieval glazing in Naumburg Cathedral began in December 2017, starting with the windows of the west choir. For this purpose, a stained-glass conservation workshop was temporarily installed at Naumburg, and the work is being conducted by Ivo Rauch and Sarah Jarron, see M. DEITERS, 'Erfassung und Erforschung'.



8. Königliches Institut für Glasmalerei, *Freeing of Saint Peter*, 1891, Werben, St John's Church, nIV, 5c. Photo: CVMA Potsdam, J. Wermann

restorations that were made in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries plays a significant role in this regard.¹⁹

According to a contemporary description, medieval stained glass had been preserved in all eight windows in the east choir of Naumburg Cathedral until the eighteenth century, even though in fragments.²⁰ For the planned re-

¹⁹ Ibidem and C. AMAN, M. DEITERS, M. VOIGT, *Vorabgutachten zur Restaurierungsgeschichte der Westchor- und Ostchorverglasung des Naumburger Domes*, Potsdam, 2016, suppl. 2018 (typescript).

²⁰ J.G. KAYSER, *Antiquitates, Epitaphia et Monumenta ad Descriptionem Templi cathedralis Numburgensis collecta (...)*, Naumburg, 1746 (MS, Naumburg, Cathedral Chapter Archive), fol. 112–117. For the medieval glazing of Naumburg Cathedral and its restorations, see, among others, H. BERGNER, *Darstellung der älteren Bau und Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Naumburg*, Halle (Saale), 1903, pp. 133–153; C. AMAN, *Sachsen-Anhalt*, pp. 11, 307–313 (as in note 3); G. SIEBERT, 'Die Glasmalereien des Naumburger Westchors: Fragen der Entstehung und des künstlerischen Zusammenhangs', in *Der Naumburger Meister – Bildhauer und Architekt im Europa der Kathedralen*, exh. cat., Naumburg 29.06.2011–02.11.2011, vol. 2, ed. by H. Krohm, H. Kunde, Petersberg, 2011, pp. 1050–1065; H. WOLTER-VON DEM KNESEBECK, 'Zum Bildprogramm des Naumburger Westchores. Ein eschatologischer Rahmen für Letzner, Stifterfiguren und die Glasmalerei', in ibidem, pp. 1158–1168; M. LUDWIG, "...dass hier einmal eine der Würde des Ganzen entsprechende Aenderung eintreten möchte" – Die Restaurierung im Inneren der Naumburger Domkirche 1874–1878', in *Dombaumeistertagung Naumburg 2011. Tagungsband*, ed.



9. Königliches Institut für Glasmalerei, window of Saint Peter, 1856–1858, Naumburg, Cathedral, east choir, window sII, 6–9a–b, detail. Photo: CVMA Potsdam, H. Kupfer

structuring of the choir in the middle of the nineteenth century, Ferdinand von Quast (1807–1877), then curator of Prussian monuments, spoke out against the practice of regrouping the remaining pieces of medieval stained glass into the centre windows.²¹ He wanted the inner coherence of the glazing programme to be respected. Based on von Quast's design, two new windows were made at

by H. Kunde, R. Hartkopf, Petersberg, 2012, pp. 22–34; M. LUDWIG, G. SIEBERT, *Glasmalerei im Naumburger Dom* (as in note 17); G. SIEBERT, '17.1 Glasmalerei im Westchor, 17.2 Glasmalerei im Ostchor', in *Der Dom zu Naumburg*, pp. 1121–1158 (as in note 17); M. DEITERS, 'Erfassung und Erforschung' (as in note 18).

²¹ *Gutachten von Quasts zu den geplanten Instandsetzungsarbeiten am Dom*, 17.12.1844; C. AMAN, *Sachsen-Anhalt*, p. 308 (as in note 3).

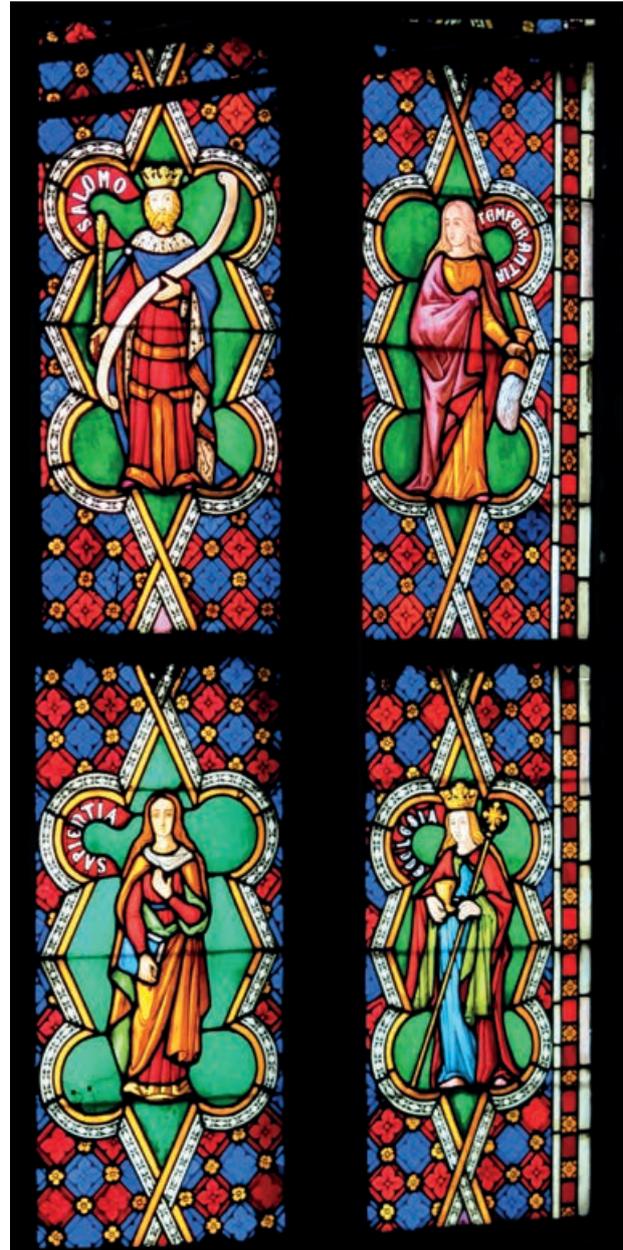


10. Königliches Institut für Glasmalerei, window of the Saint Paul, 1856–1858, Naumburg, Cathedral, east choir, window nII, 6-9a-b, detail. Photo: CVMA Potsdam, H. Kupfer

the Königliche Institut für Glasmalerei, from 1856 to 1858, by the glass painter Ferdinand Ulrich. These two were the Saint Peter window (sII) [Fig. 9] and the Saint Paul window (nII) [Fig. 10]. They replaced medieval panels depicting the legends of the apostles Peter and Paul, which had partly survived in these windows until at least the 1740s.²² The figurative scenes of the nineteenth century windows show only the key figures, arranged in reduced spatiality. They are clearly works of the late Nazarene period, but some motifs may reflect medieval models.²³

²² J.G. KAYSER, *Antiquitates*, fol. 113–116 (as in note 20); E. FITZ, “Die Berufung Petri”, p. 174 (as in note 17); G. SIEBERT, *Glasmalerei im Ostchor*, pp. 1141–1142 (as in note 17).

²³ E. FITZ, “Die Berufung Petri”, p. 174 (as in note 17). H. BERGNER, *Darstellung der älteren Bau*, pp. 151f. (as in note 20) mentions that medieval stained glass was discarded to make way for the new glazing. However, it is unclear to what extent parts of the Peter and Paul windows still existed in the nineteenth century;



11. Königliches Institut für Glasmalerei, window of the Virgins, 1856–1858, Naumburg, Cathedral, east choir, window sI,2-3b-c, detail. Photo: CVMA Potsdam, M. Deiters, mit freundlicher Genehmigung der Vereinigten Domstifter zu Merseburg und Naumburg und des Kollegiatstifts Zeitz

The medallion framings of the Saint Peter window and the Saint Paul window are variations of the medieval framing system of vertically connected medallions to be seen in the neighbouring window, the so-called Window of the Virgins. In this window, as well as in the Saint Mary window, large parts of the medieval glass survived in the upper rows. The lower panels were provided with new glass by the Königliche Institut für Glasmalerei. Together

see most recently G. SIEBERT, ‘17.2 Glasmalerei im Ostchor’, p. 1142 (as in note 17).

with the windows of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, mentioned above, they exemplify the approach taken by the institute in its early phase in the 1850/60s, conflating medieval models with idealized romanticism [Fig. 11].

Considering the fact that only 48 of 2477 glazing units documented in the catalogues of the nineteenth and early twentieth century glass paintings date back to the years before 1860, the stained glasses in the east choir of Naumburg Cathedral attain even higher importance. Moreover, they are among the oldest surviving figurative glass paintings of the Königliche Institut für Glasmalerei.²⁴ The correlation between the institute's restoration projects and its autonomous glazing is still a desideratum requiring further research.²⁵

RESTORATION AND INVENTION II: THE GLAZING IN THE WEST CHOIR OF NAUMBURG CATHEDRAL

In the west choir of Naumburg Cathedral, there are three stained glass windows that date back to the time of the construction of the cathedral, around 1250. Together with the famous sculptures of the benefactors of the cathedral, these windows form part of an iconographic concept that visualizes the triumphant Ecclesia and the hierarchical community of clerics, laity and saints.²⁶ The southwest window depicts church fathers, holy bishops and deacons. On the opposite side, the northwest window assembles holy knights and holy women from the laity. In the neighbouring second window on the northwest side, four apostles fight their pagan enemies while each of four virtues triumph over a vice. The central window and the second window on the southwest side lost their stained glass at the latest by the eighteenth century.²⁷ Historical photographs from the 1870s show them without stained glass. They also show bigger gaps in the stained glass of the neighbouring windows [Fig. 12]. From 1875 onwards,



12. Naumburg, Cathedral, west choir, c. 1875, Vereinigte Domstifter zu Merseburg und Naumburg und des Kollegiatstifts Zeitz, Bildarchiv Naumburg. Photo: Domstiftsarchiv Naumburg

these windows were restored and supplemented by the Naumburg glass painter Wilhelm Franke under the direction and supervision of the architect Karl Memminger.²⁸

Memminger decided, as von Quast had done for the east choir, that the remaining medieval stained glasses should not be rearranged in the three centre windows. Instead, he used the preserved stained glasses and additional sources like the *Legenda aurea* and historic chronicles to reconstruct the iconographic programme of the glazing.²⁹ In harmony with the apostles and virtues in the second window on the northwest side, Memminger developed figures, frames, and patterns for the other two windows that were then empty. As a result, the three central windows contain a series of 12 apostles and 12 triumphant

²⁴ To the same period date the windows in Criewen, Dorfkirche (1856) and Hechingen, Johanneskirche (1856/1857), see A. KLAUKE, F. MARTIN, *Berlin, Brandenburg*, pp. 69 (fig.), 94 (as in note 3). For the purely architectural panels in the central window in Brandenburg Cathedral (1853) see U. BEDNARZ et al., *Die mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien in Berlin*, vol. 1, pp. 313f., 328f., fig. 343, vol. 2, fig. 218 (as in note 14) and <http://telota.bbaw.de/cvma/HyperCVMA/BrandenburgHavelDom/> [retrieved 19 October 2019]. – A catalogue of the surviving stained glass made by the Königliche Institut für Glasmalerei Berlin-Charlottenburg is still outstanding.

²⁵ The ornamental and architectural parts in Hechingen were obviously influenced by the medieval glazing of the Naumburg Saint Mary window (c. 1330).

²⁶ See, among others, H. WOLTER-VON DEM KNESEBECK, 'Zum Bildprogramm' (as in note 20).

²⁷ J.G. KAYSER, *Antiquitates*, fol. 93–95 (as in note 20) saw medieval stained glass only in nwIII, nwII and swIII.

²⁸ K. MEMMINGER, 'Alte Glasmalereien und ihre Wiederherstellung im Naumburger Dom und der Wiesenkirche in Soest', *Christliches Kunstblatt für Kirche, Schule und Haus*, 34, 1892, no. 6, pp. 84–89; M. LUDWIG, "...dass hier einmal eine der Würde" (as in note 20); M. LUDWIG, G. SIEBERT, *Glasmalerei*, p. 18 (as in note 17); M. DEITERS, *Erfassung und Erforschung*, pp. 95f. (as in note 18). – For Wilhelm Franke, see *Saur Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon. Die bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker*, vol. 44, Munich and Leipzig, 2005, p. 79 (C. Aman).

²⁹ K. MEMMINGER, 'Alte Glasmalereien', p. 86 (as in note 28); S. LÜTTICH, 'Über den Naumburger Dom. I: Wie sind die Glasgemälde der Westchorfenster zu ergänzen?', in *Beilage zum Jahresbericht des Domgymnasiums zu Naumburg a. S.*, Naumburg (Saale), 1898, pp. 3–15.



13. Karl Memminger, *window wsII (detail): Apostle Thomas*, watercolour, 1877. Photo: CVMA Potsdam, M. Deiters, mit freundlicher Genehmigung der Vereinigten Domstifter zu Merseburg und Naumburg und des Kollegiatstifts Zeitz

virtues. This approach, and also his idea to depict early Naumburg bishops in the medallions in the lower parts, with their size and form determined by the metal framing, and the reconstruction of the *Pantocrator* in the tracery of the central window, are compelling even today. Memminger's only concession to the fact that the cathedral has been a protestant church since the sixteenth century was to put the two archangels Michael and Gabriel in the traceries of the north- and southwest windows [Fig. 17] instead of Saint Mary and Saint John as he initially had intended.³⁰

³⁰ K. MEMMINGER, 'Alte Glasmalereien', p. 86 (as in note 28).



14. *Apostle Thomas*, c. 1250, Naumburg, Cathedral, west choir, window nwII,4/5a. Photo: CVMA Potsdam, H. Kupfer

The Cathedral Chapter Archive preserves watercolours made by Karl Memminger that show the medieval stained glasses of the west choir. Memminger documented the draperies, ornaments and physiognomies very carefully and in remarkable detail [Figs 13, 14]. Watercolours that document the designing process of the new windows have also been preserved [Fig. 15].³¹ Memminger's watercolours are an important documentation of his intensive survey of the medieval Naumburg windows [Fig. 16]. Based on his studies, he developed a consistent stylistic approach that emphasized the sculptural plasticity of figures more than *Zackenstil* elements. These were perceived as an eponymous stylistic phenomenon only at the end of the nineteenth century.³² The Cathedral Chapter Archive also preserves some models of apostles and virtues, signed and

³¹ G. SIEBERT, 'Die Glasmalereien des Naumburger Westchors', p. 1059, fig. 12 (as in note 20); M. LUDWIG, "... dass hier einmal eine der Würde", fig. 3 (as in note 20); M. LUDWIG, G. SIEBERT, *Glasmalerei*, fig. p. 18 (as in note 17).

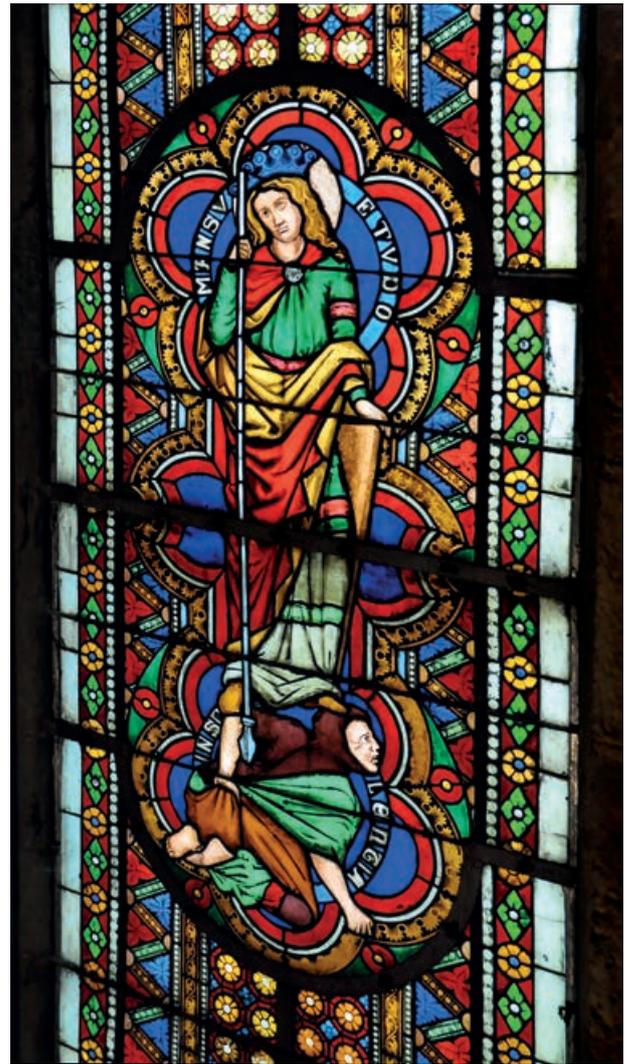
³² The term was first used in A. HASELOFF, *Eine thüringisch-sächsische Malerschule des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Straßburg, 1897 (Studien



15. Karl Memminger, *window wI (detail): Mansuetudo and Insolentia*, watercolour, 1877. Photo: CVMA Potsdam, M. Deiters, mit freundlicher Genehmigung der Vereinigten Domstifter zu Merseburg und Naumburg und des Kollegiatstifts Zeitz

dated 1875 by Karl Memminger. These show the architect's important role not only in the conception but also in the stylistic approach and the specifications of the stained

zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte 9); cf. most recently G. SIEBERT, '17.1 Glasmalerei im Westchor', p. 1136 (as in note 20).



16. Karl Memminger, Paul Franke, *Mansuetudo and Insolentia*, 1876–1878, Naumburg, Cathedral, west choir, window wI,10/11a. Photo: CVMA Potsdam, M. Deiters, mit freundlicher Genehmigung der Vereinigten Domstifter zu Merseburg und Naumburg und des Kollegiatstifts Zeitz

glass design [Fig. 18].³³ The reconstruction of the iconographic programme and the supplements of the 1870s restoration campaign fundamentally characterise the glazing of the Naumburg west choir up to the present day. The newly implemented glass re-established the iconographic and aesthetic entity of the glazing. At the same time, they are not mere copies of the medieval stained glass but are also interpretations of them. Thus they should be valued as an artistic achievement in their own right.

A restoration campaign in the years 1939 to 1943, directed by glass painter Josef Oberberger and carried out in Naumburg by staff members of the Mayer'sche Hofkunstanstalt in Munich, again significantly changed the appearance of the stained glass in the west choir. The

³³ See M. DEITERS, 'Erfassung und Erforschung', pp. 96 (as in note 18).



17. Karl Memminger, Paul Franke, *Archangel Gabriel*, 1876–1878, Naumburg, Cathedral, west choir, window nwII,2AB. Photo: CVMA Potsdam, H. Kupfer

conservators removed dark layers that had been added in the 1870s to harmonise the differences in the lucidity of the then new parts and the medieval glass. Because the nineteenth century supplements in the medieval windows were more conspicuous after the cleaning measures, many of them, especially in the ornamental panels and to some extent in the figurative parts, were replaced by new pieces closer to the medieval colour and lucidity.³⁴ The remaining nineteenth century stained glass today to varying extents shows what may be the negative effects of an experimental stained glass technique and/or extensive cleaning, faults in the composition of the glass paint, or the firing temperature of the painted glasses. In some parts, such as the bishop medallions and the *Benignitas* (wnII, 10–11b), halftone layers are hardly visible and lost contours stand out in negative ‘ghost lines’ – a very common defect in the Naumburg Franke windows. It is a big challenge, that the concept of the currently ongoing restoration campaign with the medieval stained glass also has to take the special requirements of the nineteenth century glazing into consideration. Equally, for the ongoing CVMA research on the Naumburg medieval stained glass, it is important to have a broad understanding of the modifications and replacements that were made during the restoration and conservation works in the 1870s and those that came later in the twentieth century.³⁵

³⁴ Ibidem.

³⁵ In the west choir, these were the Oberberger campaign (1939–1943), which included a highly experimental cooperation with the Doerner Institut to apply new conservation materials to secure the medieval contours and paint layers, and the restoration and



18. Karl Memminger, *Virtue*, watercolour, 1875. Photo: CVMA Potsdam, M. Deiters, mit freundlicher Genehmigung der Vereinigten Domstifter zu Merseburg und Naumburg und des Kollegiatstifts Zeitz

The works of the Königliche Institut für Glasmalerei Berlin-Charlottenburg mentioned above and the restoration and completion of the medieval glazing in the Naumburg west choir illustrate fundamental issues related to nineteenth and twentieth century stained glass restoration campaigns that were focused not only on the completion of scenes and panels but also on the (re-)construction of an aesthetic and iconographic entity. In the context of workshop practices, these are the processes of imitation, adaption and invention that determined the technique, design and stylistic approach of supplementary glazing. Associated with this are questions such as the following: What was the significance of ‘authenticity’ relating to specific projects? Which roles did the principal, the monuments authority, the architect and the workshop/glass painter play in determining the iconography and the artistic approach? What relationships existed between the supplementary stained glass and the autonomous glazing made by the same workshop in the same period, artistically and economically? To what extent did restoration work influence the formation of a specific workshop style? Even with these questions, it is clear that additional glazing has to be an integral part of research on nineteenth and twentieth century stained glass rather than fall into a gap between medieval and nineteenth century stained glass research.

conservation by Heinz Haina, Erfurt in the 1960s, see A. BURMESTER, *Der Kampf um die Kunst. Max Doerner und sein Reichsinstitut für Maltechnik*, vol. 1, Cologne, Weimar and Vienna, 2016, pp. 365–375.