

(S. 252-275) an Modell oder Bildschirm verifiziert oder falsifiziert hätten werden können, bleibt gleichermaßen unbeantwortet.

Auch beim Rekonstruktionsversuch des Tempio Malatestiano, der sich in frappierenden Bildfolgen und einem monumentalen Holzmodell aufbaut, wird die kontroverse Forschungslage übersprungen. In dem in die dritte Dimension übertragenen Fassadenbild von Matteo de' Pastis Gedenkmünze wird das Transept ausgespart - die optische Evidenz allein aber kann kaum die Querhausthesen entkräften, wie sie etwa Franco Borsi (*Leon Battista Alberti*, Mailand 1975, S. 127ff.) vorgeschlagen hat. Die Ausstellung versäumt es insgesamt, den wechselseitigen Nutzen der unterschiedlichen Rekonstruktionsverfahren deutlich zu machen. Wie in anderen Ausstellungen dieses Typs zuvor erweist sich vielmehr ihre zunehmende Inkompatibilität.

Ob die zur Verselbständigung drängende Informatik überhaupt einen gesicherten Zugang zum Werk Albertis bietet, ist fraglich. Die auf einen großen Bildschirm projizierten, per Taste umzublätternden *Zehn Bücher über Architektur* werden so vom Text zum Bild verkehrt. Auch hätte sich Alberti in der Komplexität seines Denkens kaum auf den hier verfolgten Finalismus verstanden. Dem namentlich durch Manfredo Tafuri - beide Ausstellungen lassen übrigens seinen Tod noch einmal als schmerzlichen Verlust der Renaissance-Forschung spüren - geprägten Alberti-Bild folgen dagegen mehrheitlich die Autoren des Katalogs. In den meist knappen Essays, die, auch zusammen genommen, die überfällige Alberti-Monographie nicht einlösen, wird immer wieder der Skeptizismus und die zutiefst pessimistische Philosophie dieses „Allseitigen“ (Jacob Burckhardt) betont, dessen undogmatische fortdauernde Denkbewegungen auf keiner Datenbank zur Ruhe kommen. Gerade im lizenziösen Ambiente des Palazzo Tè scheinen sie ein spätes Echo zu finden. Und wie ein lange vorweggenommener Kommentar auf den optimistischen elektronischen Zugriff wirkt Albertis eigenes, gewiß elegisch zu lesendes Motto: „*quid tum*“.

Andreas Beyer

STEFAN LOCHNER, MEISTER ZU KÖLN
HERKUNFT - WERKE - WIRKUNG

Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, 3 December 1993 - 13 March 1994

(with six illustrations)

Warum in die Ferne schweifen, sieh das Gute liegt so nah.

The Lochner exhibition, in terms of attendance figures, was a resounding success. Frank Günter Zehnder, keeper of medieval painting at the museum and curator of the exhibition, is to be congratulated on re-kindling such interest in medieval painting in Cologne, where public concern has often seemed dominated by modern art. Although the last exhibition dedicated to the late medieval 'school

of Cologne' at the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum (*Vor Stefan Lochner; die Kölner Maler von 1300-1430*) was staged as long ago as 1974, the audience for this recent presentation still showed such readiness to see and to learn that the closing date of the exhibition was postponed and the catalogue was printed in several editions.

At the exhibition 117 catalogued objects were offered for inspection, imaginatively displayed against blue walls to indicate the flavour of the ambient light of medieval churches. It is a measure of Zehnder's remarkable power of persuasion and his considerable achievement that so many curators and private owners allowed their fragile panels to travel to Cologne. Thus he could present, around a core of important panels attributed to Lochner, a number of outstanding works culminating in Memling's magnificent *Last Judgement* altarpiece from Danzig. He was also able to include exhibits that are rarely available for study, such as the anonymous (Tournai?) *Four Scenes from the Life of the Virgin* from a private collection, the Eyckian *Virgin and Child* from Melbourne, a number of outstanding drawings, and 58 miniatures from the Darmstadt *Book of Hours* attributed to Lochner. Pertinent panels of more modest quality were reasonably introduced in place of masterpieces that were not allowed to travel; this, however, scarcely justified the inclusion of a group of irrelevant Italian panels of questionable artistic merit.

Visitors were invited to feast their eyes but, unfortunately, were not also encouraged to learn. Little was done to guide the uninitiated through the exhibition; the 479 page catalogue could hardly be studied in situ, and the three computers and one small-screen introductory video display in the entrance hall were accessible only to the lucky few. It would have been more instructive to place explanatory boards in each of the eight sub-sections of the exhibition, and to include iconographic and stylistic information in the exhibit labels. In addition, it might have been helpful to point out perceived connections between the objects displayed in separate sections, especially as the somewhat arbitrary hanging did little to enlighten the viewer. Even the well-intentioned diagonal views between related objects in adjoining sub-sections could only materialise when the public was not present. If there had been an invitation, for instance, to consider the suggested influence of painting from the Bodensee area (displayed in the first sub-section) on Lochner's early work (such as the *Last Judgement*, placed out of view in the second section), or to study the various Cologne prototypes (again installed out of sight in an adjoining section) for Lochner's *Virgin in the Rosebower*, the clearly interested public would have had a better opportunity to appreciate the art of Stefan Lochner.

At the centre of our perception of the provenance and œuvre of Stefan Lochner stands the great altarpiece of the *Patron Saints of Cologne*, or 'Dombild' (*Abb. 4*). Surprisingly, although listed as number 46 in the catalogue, it did not feature at all in this exhibition, not even amongst the photographs of absent Lochner paintings shown in the entrance hall. The triptych was apparently considered too fragile to make the very short journey from the neighbouring Cathedral to the museum. Even more unaccountable was the absence of the

Virgin with the Violet, now universally attributed to Lochner, which remained in the adjoining Diözesanmuseum, although in this case there was a photograph to represent it (not catalogued). It was fortunate that the retable wings from Frankfurt, depicting *Apostle Martyrdoms*, did arrive since their position as the last item in the catalogue might suggest protracted negotiations.

The theme of the exhibition was the 'provenance, œuvre and influence' of the painter Stefan Lochner. The first subject, that of provenance, should discuss the personal history of the painter and his artistic inheritance. However, both are topics more complex than the exhibition seemed to allow when, instead of initiating debate, it presented familiar hypotheses as facts. Thus, the introductory video and the printed material accompanying the exhibition affirm that Stefan Lochner is the painter of the altarpiece of the *Patron Saints of Cologne*; they claim to deduce this from a notice in Dürer's diary, written during his visit to Cologne in October 1520, which implies that he saw Lochner's retable in the Rathaus Chapel, where it stood until 1810 (see, for instance, *Catalogue*, passim; exhibition video; exhibition publicity leaflet; and *Vernissage*, December 1993). Yet this assertion contradicts the crucial fact, first published by Michael Wolfson in 1986, and reiterated in his scholarly essay in the exhibition *Catalogue*, that during his two weeks' visit Dürer did not write a diary but an account of his expenses. The „2 weißpfenning“ entered there were paid to have an altarpiece opened which was painted by a master Stefan of Cologne. It had hitherto been assumed that the well documented and successful immigrant painter Stefan Lochner, who died in 1451, was the cited Stefan. However, there is no additional information in Dürer's accounts and the complete name of the master, as well as the location and the age of the altarpiece, must remain the subject of conjecture. It follows that, whilst it seems reasonable to assume that Dürer would have wished to see the famous altarpiece of the *Patron Saints* in the Rathaus Chapel during his visit to Cologne, he may well have visited it on another day, unrecorded if there was no expense involved. Furthermore, he would have been likely to have found that retable already opened, as he visited during the period of the feast of the patron saint Ursula.

The argument in favour of the documented Stefan Lochner as the painter of the *Patron Saints* can then rest only with the notions that Stefan Lochner is the only still documented painter named Stefan in Cologne and that no work by the same hand can plausibly be dated later than 1451, the year of that master's death. However, there is no reason to assume that every painter can still be found in the records. Moreover, the historical Stefan Lochner died at a time when the Black Death took its unprecedented toll in Cologne and the painter of the *Patron Saints* may have been just another victim. Furthermore, works attributed to Lochner can be dated after the documented painter's death. The Darmstadt *Book of Hours* bears the date of 1453 and, following Peter Klein's dendrochronological examination of the *Saints* panels from London and Cologne, a date of 1454 has been suggested for these. Challenged by Wolfson's argument, an exhibition

concerned with the provenance and œuvre of Stefan Lochner should have considered and tested the fundamental question whether the historical Master Stefan Lochner really was the painter of the famous altarpiece of the *Patron Saints*. Inexplicably, even the papers offered to the ensuing conference for Lochner-scholars largely ignored this key problem.

The available visual evidence certainly seemed to favour Wolfson's thesis that it was another painter who created the altarpiece of the *Patron Saints*. The provenance of the historical master Stefan Lochner is known; he came from the Bodensee area. Representative panels from that region were displayed in the first section of the exhibition, presumably as examples of the earliest influence on Lochner's work. However, profound differences in both technique and figure style indicate that the painter of the *Patron Saints* did not learn his trade in the Bodensee area. Nor did this artist's early works, such as the *Last Judgement* from Cologne and the *Apostle Wings* from Frankfurt, reflect any knowledge of the painting of that region. Bernd Konrad, in his *Catalogue* essay investigating the suggested Bodensee provenance, concludes with a recommendation to look instead for Lochner's precursors in Cologne and Westphalia. Elsewhere, an affinity of the *Last Judgement* with certain Netherlandish works has also been argued (See also, C. Lukatis, *Die Weltgerichtaltäre Stefan Lochners und Rogier van der Weydens*, Magisterarbeit, MS, Berlin 1987. For a discussion of the relationship of Lochner's *Last Judgement* and the *Apostle Martyrdoms* from Frankfurt, see C. Lukatis, *Die Apostelmartyrien Stefan Lochners*, *Städel Jahrbuch*, NF 14, Munich 1993).

This Netherlandish influence was implied by a number of panels, throughout the exhibition, from that region and was discussed in a *Catalogue* essay by Dagmar Täube. However, various paintings controversially attributed to Campin (there still equated with the Master of Flémalle) served rather to contradict her argument that Lochner was acquainted with Campin's workshop. The inclusion in the exhibition of certain paintings, such as Rogier van der Weyden's exquisite *Standing Virgin* from Vienna and Petrus Christus' version from Budapest, reflects Täube's iconographic approach which neglects to consider the problem of the diffusion of patterns and ideas. Instead, convincing stylistic evidence of Lochner's acquaintance with the work of Jan van Eyck might have been provided by the juxtaposition, at least in photographs, of Lochner's *Virgin with the Violet* with van Eyck's *Virgin by the Fountain* from Antwerp (also absent; *Abb. 2, 3*). This evidence could, of course, have been corroborated by the familiar comparison between the altarpiece of the *Patron Saints* and the *Ghent Altarpiece* by van Eyck. The consequent assessment of the extent of the dependence of the Cologne painter's art on paintings by van Eyck, combined with an evaluation of any possible influence of the significant works by Netherlandish artists then available in Cologne, should result in a more plausible thesis on the provenance or, alternatively, educative travel of the painter we call Lochner.

Lochner's perceptive response, after his arrival in Cologne, to the indigenous painting style, is frequently referred to in the *Catalogue*. It might have been

demonstrated in the exhibition by placing the *Virgin of the Rosebower* next to the Veronica Master's triptych from Kreuzlingen and near the *Madonna of Humility* panels from Cologne and Frankfurt by the Master of St. Laurence; instead, these paintings were shown out of sight in a section dedicated to the Veronica Master and his followers. In the arrangement here proposed, the *Virgin of the Rosebower* should also be juxtaposed with the Veronica Master's *Madonna with the Sweet Pea Blossom* to initiate a debate concerning the possible origin of the facial types, the techniques, and the surface realism of textures and flowers in Lochner's work. The otherwise unrelated Melbourne *Virgin* (shown next to Lochner's *Virgin* in the exhibition) could then have been included to illustrate that Lochner's Eyckian drapery style belongs to the period of the *Patron Saints*, whilst the rounded folds in the cloak of the *Virgin of the Rosebower* refer to the earlier style seen in the *Last Judgement*. Such visual evidence should have provided the focus for a paper discussing the possible provenance or training of the painter. For if Stefan Lochner was not the painter of these panels, it is feasible that they were painted by an artist who served his apprenticeship in Cologne. If the painter was Stefan Lochner, the influence from Cologne remains significant and the role of patron's choice in the selection of motives and styles might become a target of inquiry. Keeping both possibilities in mind, another paper should have considered the implications of Klein's early dendrochronological date for the *Virgin of the Rosebower*. However, ignoring all these urgent questions, the exhibition again took a strictly iconographic approach in the only actual juxtaposition of Lochner's work with a panel from Cologne. His large *Crucifixion* from Nürnberg (not catalogued) was shown opposite a very similar panel attributed to the Veronica Master (shown reversed in my edition of the *Catalogue*). Both were standard compositions produced with considerable workshop participation and added little to the debate.

Konrad's additional council to look for Westphalian sources was also disregarded. In the exhibition, a single painting represented that region, namely the *Virgin with Angels* from Budapest which was labelled „Conrad von Soest (?)“. However, this work is stylistically alien to that painter and probably not even of Westphalian origin. More relevant works could surely have been procured from the usually generous museums in Münster and Dortmund. Konrad's thesis found no resonance in either the essays or conference papers despite the considerable influence of the Westphalian painter Conrad von Soest on Northern German painting, and specifically on the Veronica Master (See Brigitte Corley, *Conrad von Soest and his Place in European Art, Künstlerischer Austausch*, Akten des XXVIII. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte, Berlin 1992). If such visual evidence had been present, it would have been likely to support Konrad's case. The altarpiece of the *Patron Saints*, for instance, certainly incorporates important features which the painter could have studied in von Soest's famous *Dortmund Altarpiece* (c.1420) in nearby Dortmund (*Abb. 4, 5*). These include the centralised composition, which Täube traces to far away Siene models, as well

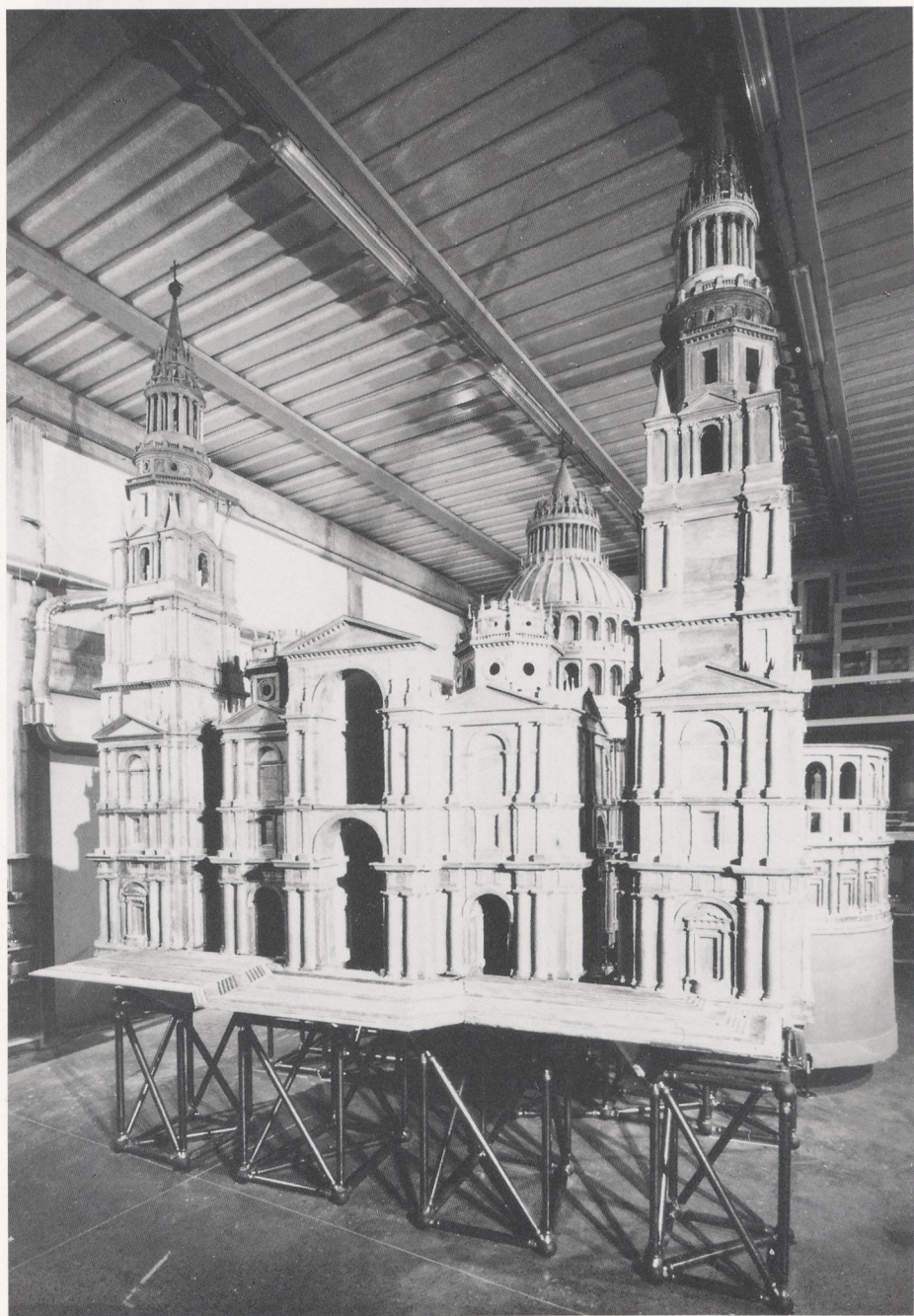


Abb. 1 Antonio da Sangallo d. J., Holzmodell für Sankt Peter. Vatikan, Fabbrica di S. Pietro (während der Restaurierung)



Abb. 2 „Stefan Lochner“, *Virgin with the Violet*. Cologne, Diözesanmuseum (Cat. Lochner, 53)



Abb. 3 Jan van Eyck, *Virgin by the Fountain*. Antwerp, Museum voor Schone Kunsten (C. Harbison, *J. van Eyck*, London 1971, Fig. 86)

Abb. 5. Raphael van Sajo, *Adoration of the Magi*. Part of the *Decorated* also piece (Dormant) in the church (Zentralbau)



Abb. 4 „Stefan Lochner“, *The Patron Saints of Cologne*. Cologne, Cathedral (Zentralinstitut)



Abb. 5 Conrad von Soest, Adoration of the Magi. Part of the Dortmund altarpiece. Dortmund, Marienkirche (Zentralinstitut)



Abb. 6 formerly attributed to Stefan Lochner, St. Jerome. Raleigh, North Carolina Museum of Art (Zentralinstitut)



Abb. 7 attributed to Jan van Eyck, *St. Jerome*. Detroit, Institute of Arts (Cat. Lochner, 261)



Abb. 8 Georg Flegel, *Stilleben mit Buch und Brille*, Fragment. Červená Lhota, 1983
gestohlen (Nationalgalerie Prag)

as the shallow outdoor stage, the brocaded cloth of honour against a gold ground, the realism of brocades and flowers and the vibrant subtle colours, shaded to indicate recession in space, which are all said to derive from Netherlandish models. Furthermore, the Virgin's facial type, the bystander seen from the back, the Virgin Annunciate depicted on the reverse side of the wing and even the cloud and ray punchmark in the gold ground derive from patterns that seem to originate with Conrad von Soest. If Westphalian art could thus be shown to be, either directly or through intermediaries in Cologne, as significant for the painter of the *Patron Saints* as the undisputed Eyckian influence in the group of Saints and in the drapery patterns, a very different picture of the painter's roots would emerge. It follows that, in considering the provenance and visual experience of the painter called Lochner, Konrad's thesis deserved systematic investigation.

In contrast to such neglect in the area of provenance, considerable progress was made in the second case of concern, that of establishing the *œuvre* of the painter of the altarpiece of the *Patron Saints*. Evidence presented by Molly Faries, following her examination by infrared reflectography of a number of panels ascribed to Lochner, convincingly excluded the *St. Jerome* from Raleigh from the works of Stefan Lochner (*Abb. 6*). Despite this, the painting was surprisingly still exhibited as an early work by Lochner, consistently quoted in the written material with that attribution and even cited as prime evidence of Lochner's training in the Campin workshop. In the exhibition, the position of the *St. Jerome* from Raleigh next to the *St. Jerome* from Detroit (there attributed to van Eyck; *Abb. 7*) served only to highlight profound differences. In contrast, a small carved panel from Utrecht with the same subject, although later in date (unaccountably shown out of sight in an adjoining section) was so closely related in design and style that a Netherlandish provenance seems plausible also for the Raleigh panel. Other paintings examined by Faries or in Frankfurt, such as the *Last Judgement* and the *Apostle Martyrdoms*, were clearly designed by the hand of Lochner. Unfortunately, such photographic evidence, although significant, was not presented in the exhibition and only partially in the *Catalogue* and conference papers. A systematic and thorough examination by infrared reflectography of all attributed works, including the enigmatic *Presentation* from Lisbon, would now help to establish Lochner's surviving *œuvre* and also some of his workshop practices.

In respect of the third theme of the exhibition, the influence of Stefan Lochner on other artists, a true feat of visual memory was demanded. Only the really gifted, or the initiated, would recognise the connection, apart from the subject matter, between the *Apostle Martyrdoms* from Rome painted by an anonymous follower, the drawing of the *Martyrdom of St. Bartholomew* from Berlin and Lochner's Frankfurt panels, all displayed in separate sections of the exhibition. Not many visitors would have spontaneously noted how indebted the exhibited wings from Cologne, attributed to the Master of the Glory of the Virgin and a second unknown master, were to the absent altarpiece of the *Patron Saints*. Nor was it easy to spot the relationship between the *Presentation* from Darmstadt by

Johann Koerbecke and Lochner's corresponding work, when the latter was represented by a photograph in another room.

It seemed even more difficult to connect Memling's *Last Judgement*, featured in the last area of the exhibition with Lochner's panel of the same subject shown in the first section. Although both masters illustrated the day of judgement, Memling stressed the role of the archangel Michael and showed Christ in the company of the Virgin and the apostles enthroned in heaven. Lochner, in a very different iconography, depicted Christ in heaven as the active recipient of intercessional prayers from the Virgin and St. John, both kneeling on earth. Even the Gates of Heaven, often cited as proof of Memling's dependence on Lochner's design, are of rather different architectural styles. It remains feasible that the single congruent nude figure, noted by Bodo Brinkmann in the *Catalogue* derived from mutual sources. Lochner's nude figure pulled by a devil (on the extreme right of his design) could certainly be detected in the same position in an earlier small *Last Judgement* from Cologne, exhibited near the Memling work. However, we learn from the *Catalogue* that the reason for including Memling's *Last Judgement* in the exhibition may become apparent when the results of an examination by infrared reflectography are published. One can only speculate that the underdrawing shows changes in design which indicate that Memling's original intention was for a painting much closer in detail to Lochner's composition (Van der Weyden, after all, made changes from his design drawing, reflecting Lochner's altarpiece of the *Patron Saints*, when painting *The Columba Altarpiece*, see A. Markham Schulz, *The Columba Altarpiece and Roger van der Weyden's Stylistic Development*, *Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst* 3, XXII, 1971; and J. Dijkstra, *Interpretatie van de infrarood reflectografie van het Columba altaarstuk, Een hypothese over het ontstaan van het triptiek*, 'Le dessin sous-jacent dans la peinture, Colloque V, Louvain-La-Neuve 1985). If this is the case, it would have been very rewarding to offer such evidence of Lochner's influence to the exhibition audience. Proof that a later artist was interested in the design of Lochner's *Last Judgement* was provided in the exhibition by Hans Burgkmair's unfinished sketch; alas, the visitor may well have missed the relevance of this drawing from Stockholm.

In conclusion it has to be said that although its title professed the exhibition to be concerned with the provenance, œuvre and influence of the painter Stefan Lochner, these problems were hardly addressed. Exhibition, catalogue and conference were perhaps limited by an ardent desire, expressed by the director of the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Rainer Budde, in his opening address to the conference, not to see Stefan Lochner, „hero“ of medieval Cologne, „pushed from his pedestal“. However, whilst the name of the painter of the *Patron Saints of Cologne* is now established by long tradition as 'Stefan Lochner', we can surely consider freeing him from any association with the historical figure of the same name. For progress in our understanding of the work of this important painter will only be possible when research is finally undertaken in all the problem areas that were identified in discussions during the conference. Until these historical,

technical, stylistic and iconographic questions are systematically examined and the results aligned, Lochner will remain a fictional artist revered in Cologne.

It may eventually be judged that, in staging this exhibition, Frank Günter Zehnder's greatest achievement was to initiate the debate concerning Stefan Lochner. Significantly, he has also challenged participants of the conference to submit additional papers on identified problems which are to be discussed at a reconvened conference later this year. He has promised that these papers will, in due course, be included in the *Ergebnisband* of the exhibition.

Brigitte Corley

GEORG FLEGEL (1566-1638), STILLEBEN

Frankfurt am Main, Schirn Kunsthalle, 18. Dezember 1993 bis 13. Februar 1994; Prag, Kaiserliche Stallungen der Prager Burg, 10. März bis 8. Mai 1994. – Katalog der deutschen Etappe hrsg. von Kurt Wettengl, Frankfurt a. M. und Stuttgart 1993, Katalog der tschechischen Etappe: *Georg Flegel (1566-1638), Zátíší*, hrsg. von Hana Seifertová, Prag 1994.

(mit einer Abbildung)

Der Stillebenmaler Georg Flegel ist kunsthistorisch eine Entdeckung des 20. Jahrhunderts. Trotz der Beliebtheit, die seine Gemälde zu seinen Lebzeiten offenbar fanden, ist sein Ruhm außerhalb seiner Wahlheimat Frankfurt am Main schnell vergangen. Ein erneutes Interesse an seinem Werk setzte erst mit den zwanziger Jahren unseres Jahrhunderts ein, als einige Kunsthändler begannen, sein Œuvre unter Korrektur unzutreffender Zuschreibungen (wie sie bis heute vorkommen) festzulegen. Zeitgenössische Kunstströmungen, vor allem der Kubismus, haben die Zuwendung zur Stillebenmalerei und damit auch zum Werk Georg Flegels zusätzlich gefördert. 1956 erschien die erste wissenschaftliche Monographie von Wolfgang J. Müller (*Der Maler Georg Flegel und die Anfänge des Stillebens*, Frankfurt am Main 1956), in der Leben und Werk des Künstlers ausführlich behandelt werden. In der Forschung der folgenden Jahrzehnte konnte die kunstgeschichtliche Stellung Flegels, der 1566 in Olmütz in Mähren geboren wurde und seit etwa 1592/1593 bis zu seinem Tod 1638 in Frankfurt am Main wohnte, sowie die Ikonographie seiner Werke genauer beschrieben werden. Vor allem aber gelang es, dem malerischen Œuvre eine Vielzahl neuentdeckter Gemälde hinzuzufügen. Die erste, nur Georg Flegel gewidmete Ausstellung, die jetzt unabhängig von einem Jubiläum vom Historischen Museum in Frankfurt am Main und der Nationalgalerie in Prag ausgerichtet wurde, gewann daher fast zwangsläufig den Charakter einer erneuten Bestandsaufnahme. Großzügige Leihzusagen, die auch den – konservatorisch nicht unbedenklichen – Transport empfindlicher Bildträger wie Holz und Kupfer erlaubten, haben eine in ihrem Umfang einzigartige Werkschau zustande kommen lassen.