

# Stained-Glass Windows from the Carmelite Church at Boppard-am-Rhein

## A Reconstruction of the Glazing Program of the North Nave

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“NOT LONG AGO, Berlin and the Royal Institute of Stained Glass lost, in the choir windows of the early Carmelite church at Boppard, a national art treasure of the first rank, the like of which will surely never again appear. Even the highest influence of the Crown Prince and the enthusiastic recommendation of the Minister of Culture could not, within the space of more than two years, persuade the government to provide the very modest amount [of money] needed to acquire this imposing monument of German art. They [the windows] are now in Paris, which, except for England, is the only refuge for such great works of art, the property of Friedrich Spitzer, founder, collector, and owner of the very famous private museum of antiquities of Christian art. Thus, what could not be attained by Berlin over a period of more than two years has now been achieved by a private person.”<sup>1</sup>

This bitter commentary of 1877 on the attitude of the Prussian government toward its national cultural heritage also records the last time when virtually all

the remains of a glazing program of unique artistic significance were exhibited collectively. At Friedrich Spitzer’s death, little more than a decade later, these stained-glass windows, up until then so fortunately preserved, were dismantled, placed on the auction block, and sold piecemeal without, in most cases, even a purchase record. In the years that followed, most of the Boppard fragments changed hands many times, and in the process their identity was forgotten. Only those few pieces acquired for public collections survived with an established provenance. By the twentieth century,

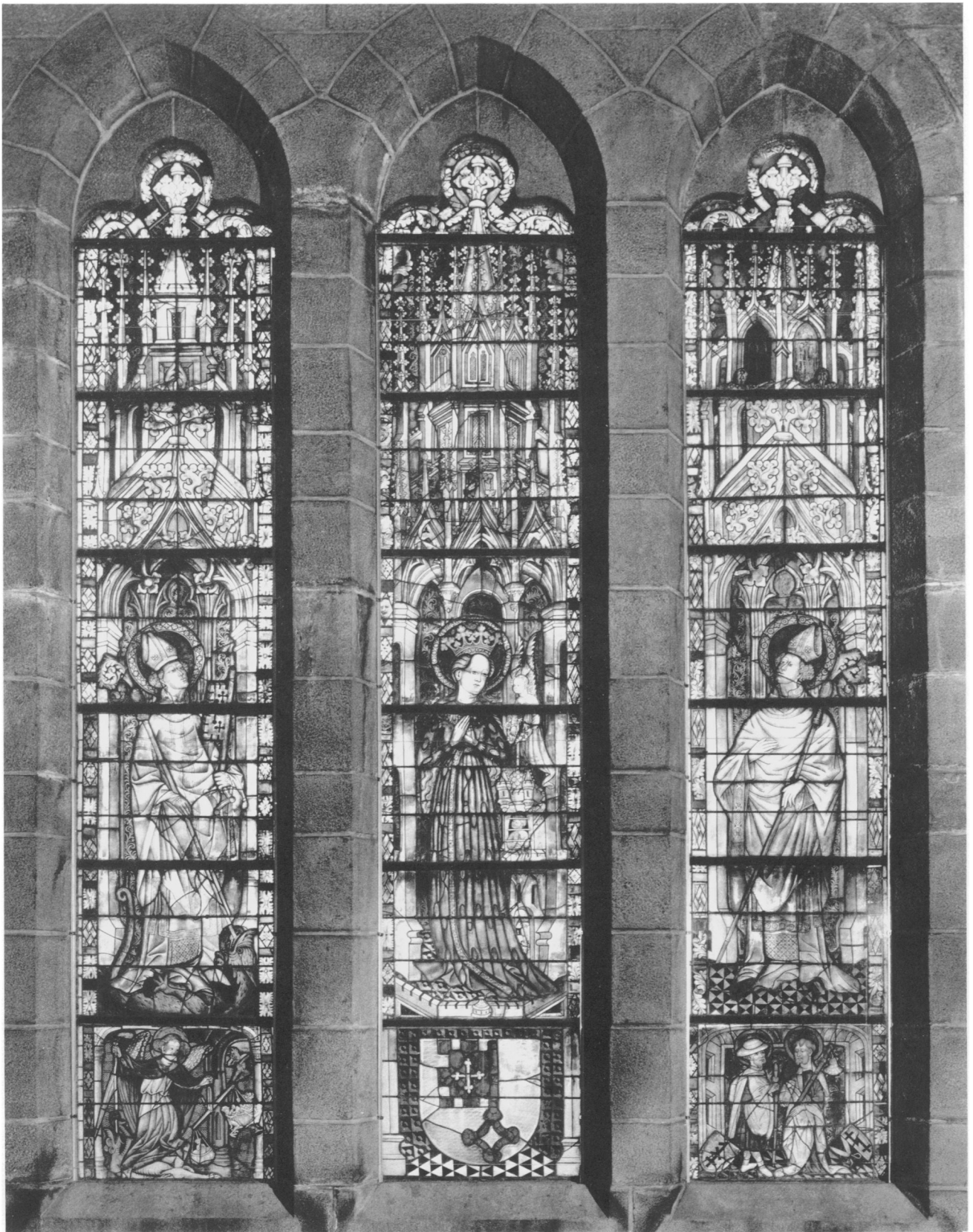
FIGURE 1

Mary in the Ährenkleid with Two Bishop Saints, the upper portion of a window originally in the Carmelite church at Boppard-am-Rhein, 1440–1446. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Cloisters Collection, 37.52.1–3 (Photo: Taylor and Dull)

FIGURE 2

Saints Catherine, Dorothea, and Barbara, the lower portion of the same window as Figure 1. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Cloisters Collection, 37.52.4–6

1. Excerpted from *Archiv für Kirchliche Baukunst und Kirchenschmuck* (Berlin, 1877) II, pp. 42–43. The complete text of this and other documents relating to the history of the Boppard windows are published in Hans Wentzel, “Unbekannte mittelalterliche Glasmalereien der Burrell Collection zu Glasgow (3. Teil),” *Pantheon* 19 (1961) pp. 240–243.





the “national art treasure” once lost to Berlin was virtually lost to posterity as well.

The recent rediscoveries of so much of this glass after so long a time in so many parts of the world are, therefore, little short of astonishing. Renewed scholarly interest in the Boppard glass has led to the recovery of fragments, panels, and even parts of windows long hidden in museum storerooms and private collections. Archives, auction catalogues, and dealers’ records have yielded information on the history and location of still other pieces. The search has not always been successful, for it has inevitably resulted in the revealing of losses as well as in discoveries. Some of the glass is now known to have been destroyed; other panels, though presumed to exist, have still not been traced. Publication of this research has contributed new bibliography on windows that had hardly been mentioned in the literature on stained glass for nearly fifty years.<sup>2</sup> These new notices understandably stress matters of identification,<sup>3</sup> the compilation of examples and historical data, and the reassembly of various windows.<sup>4</sup> Because of the extensive documentation and cataloguing that



FIGURE 3

The Carmelite church at Boppard-am-Rhein, view of the north wall of the north nave, begun in 1439

have resulted from these investigations, it is now possible to reassess the glazing program at Boppard and to consider its more fundamental problems of style and meaning, as well as the unity that is embodied in its artistic concept.

2. Among the more recent publications on the stained-glass windows of Boppard are Hans Wentzel, “Unbekannte Glasmalereien,” pp. 240–249; James J. Rorimer, “New Acquisitions for The Cloisters,” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 33 (1938) pp. 12–14 of section II of May issue; *idem*, *The Cloisters, The Building and the Collection of Medieval Art in Fort Tryon Park*, 3rd ed. (New York, 1963) pp. 156–158; William Wells, “Some Notes on the Stained Glass in the Burrell Collection in the Glasgow Art Gallery,” *Journal of the British Society of Master Glasspainters* 12 (1959) pp. 277–279; *idem*, *Stained and Painted Glass, Burrell Collection*, catalogue (Glasgow, 1965) pp. 58, 65–67, nos. 201, 202, 222, and 224; *idem*, *Stained and Painted Heraldic Glass, Burrell Collection*, catalogue (Glasgow, 1962) pp. 60–61, no. 261; *idem*, “Stained Glass from Boppard-on-Rhine in the Burrell Collection,” *Scottish Art Review* 10 (1966) pp. 22–25; Gerhard Bott, *Glasmalerei um 800–1900 im Hessischen Landesmuseum in Darmstadt*, text volume (Frankfurt-am-Main, in preparation) nos. 100–102, plate volume, ed. Suzanne Beeh-Lustenberger (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1967) pls. 100–102; *Das Schnütgen-Museum, eine Auswahl*, ed. Hermann Schnitzler (Cologne, 1961) p. 58. To these published works should be added: Diedrich Rentsch, *Mitteldeutsche Glasmalerei der Hochgotik*, unpublished paper for a seminar in art history at the University of Freiburg im Breisgau, 1952; Dr. Rentsch’s forthcoming volume of the *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi, Germany IV, Rhineland*; and a paper I read before the College Art Association in January 1968, “Stained Glass from the North Nave of the Carmelite Church of Boppard-am-Rhein.”

3. Two sources have been used in the identification of most of the Boppard glass: (1) The catalogue of the Spitzer Collection, *La Collection Spitzer, Antiquité, Moyen-Age, Renaissance*, Protat Frères,

Macon, 1891, II, pp. 73–75, nos. 1953–1961, and the Spitzer sale catalogue, *Catalogue des Objets d’Art composant l’importante et précieuse Collection Spitzer*, Paris, April 17–June 16, 1893, “Vitraux,” pp. 65–66, nos. 1953–1961, “Supplément,” pp. 269–271, nos. 3349–3369. (2) Heinrich Oidtmann, *Rheinische Glasmalereien* (Düsseldorf, 1912) I, pl. xviii, fig. 400; (Düsseldorf, 1921) II, figs. 418–421. In this comprehensive and still authoritative work, the author reproduces six half-windows from Boppard taken from previously unpublished photographs made during the time when the glass was undergoing restoration at the Königliche Institut für Glasmalerei in Berlin prior to its acquisition by Spitzer.

4. Hans Wentzel, “Unbekannte Glasmalereien,” p. 244, was the first to recognize that a number preceded by a letter, painted upon most of the Boppard panels, could be interpreted as part of an assembly key. According to his theory, the numbers represented the order in which the panels were placed in the aperture, and the letters represented the windows to which the panels belonged. The numbers (1–42) run consecutively from the bottom to the top of each lancet and the letters (A–E, thus far discovered) indicate to which of five windows the panels belonged. Wentzel also believed that these designations were added to the glass at the time, or after, the glass was first removed from the church. Since the two panels from the window now at The Cloisters (Figure 1, third lancet, third and fifth registers) that were entirely remade in the nineteenth century bear these designations in exactly the same style of calligraphy as that on the original pieces, it is probable that they were inscribed on the glass at the time of its restoration in Berlin. These numbers, therefore, while not an infallible guide to the original order of the windows, are useful in identifying the glass owned by Spitzer.

The Carmelite church at Boppard, now stripped of all its medieval stained glass, is an unprepossessing structure, severe if not ungainly in appearance, and deprived even of the accent of a portal on its western facade. Among the few embellishments of its exterior are the splendidly carved, flamboyant traceries that adorn the apertures of its north wall (Figure 3). These great triple-light transom windows produce in the interior of the church a zone of light that stretches more than thirty feet from the sill level to the crowning of the vaults. This northern portion of the church (Figure 4), an addition to the original building, was begun in 1439 and consecrated in 1444.<sup>5</sup> The earlier structure, completed in the previous century, was a spacious single-aisled hall church with a choir terminating in a polygonal apse. Apparently the windows of the choir had been glazed, for an account of 1856 mentions the removal of ancient stained glass from the apse in 1847.<sup>6</sup> It is, perhaps, this reference to the choir glass that has led to subsequent confusion regarding the original location in the church of those windows bought by Friedrich Spitzer. The writers of most accounts, including the author of the archive quoted above, have assumed that this glass came from the choir of the earlier portion of the church.<sup>7</sup> But the individual lights of the choir are some six inches narrower than those of the north nave and correspondingly narrower than any of the panels known to have been in the Spitzer collection. These panels, in contrast, agree in height and width, as well as in the double disposition of the lancets (three over three), with the dimensions and arrangement of the transom windows of the north nave. In addition, the dedication date, 1444, appears on one of the Spitzer panels that is now in the Detroit Institute of Arts (Figure 9). The windows acquired by Friedrich Spitzer were, therefore, those of the north nave—the

same windows that had first been purchased and removed from the church by Count, later Prince, Pückler in 1818.<sup>8</sup>

The series of circumstances resulting in the loss of this stained glass by the Carmelite convent began with the Napoleonic invasion of the Rhineland and the ensuing secularization of the monasteries. As the property of the town of Boppard, these windows were removed by the count after he had agreed to pay an insignificant purchase price and to replace the colored glass in the church with blank glazing. According to accounts written at the time of the Spitzer purchase, Count Hermann Pückler acquired five windows, including the so-called Imperial Window, which is described at length, one with biblical scenes, a long series of Rhenish bishops, and the Throne of Solomon.<sup>9</sup> The count had intended to use this glass in the family chapel of his estate at Muskau on the Polish border, but the plans for this ambitious project were never completed. Upon his death in 1871, only one half-window had been installed in the Pückler mortuary chapel, and the others were still packed in cases stored on the estate. Count Pückler-Branitz, the heir, then sent the remaining four and one-half windows to Berlin for restoration at the Royal Institute for Stained Glass and subsequently sold them to Spitzer.<sup>10</sup> Presumably, Friedrich Spitzer at that time acquired all of the stained glass that had existed in the north addition to the Carmelite church at Boppard in 1818 with the exception of the half-window that remained at Muskau.

In terms of elaborateness and complexity, the glazing program of the north nave is in no way comparable to other known cycles of decoration in Carmelite convents of the fifteenth century in the Rhineland. The geographically nearest example, the wall paintings in

5. August Reichensperger, *Vermischte Schriften über Christliche Kunst* (Leipzig, 1856) p. 420, discusses the north building; see also Oidtmann, *Rheinische Glasmalereien*, I, p. 288. The document recording the consecration of the north building at Boppard, apparently overlooked by those interested in the problem, still exists in a copy preserved in the archives at the Trier Stadtbibliothek, ms. 1694/328, "Des Klosters Boppard Ordinis Carmelitarum Archivium" (no. 370) 8vo., pp. 117–119 (see Appendix B, document quoted in full).

6. Reichensperger, *Vermischte Schriften*, p. 420.

7. Documents quoted in Wentzel, "Unbekannte Glas-

malereien," pp. 240–243. Wentzel himself, following Oidtmann, *Rheinische Glasmalereien*, I, p. 228, concludes that the windows are those of the north building. Hermann Schmitz, *Die Glasgemälde des Königlichen Kunstgewerbemuseums in Berlin* (Berlin, 1913) I, p. 42, Wells, *Scottish Art Review*, p. 25, and others believe them to come from the choir.

8. The documents relating to the removal of the glass are quoted in Wentzel, "Unbekannte Glasmalereien," pp. 240–243.

9. *Archiv für Kirchliche Baukunst*, pp. 42–43.

10. Reichensperger, *Vermischte Schriften*, pp. 420–421.

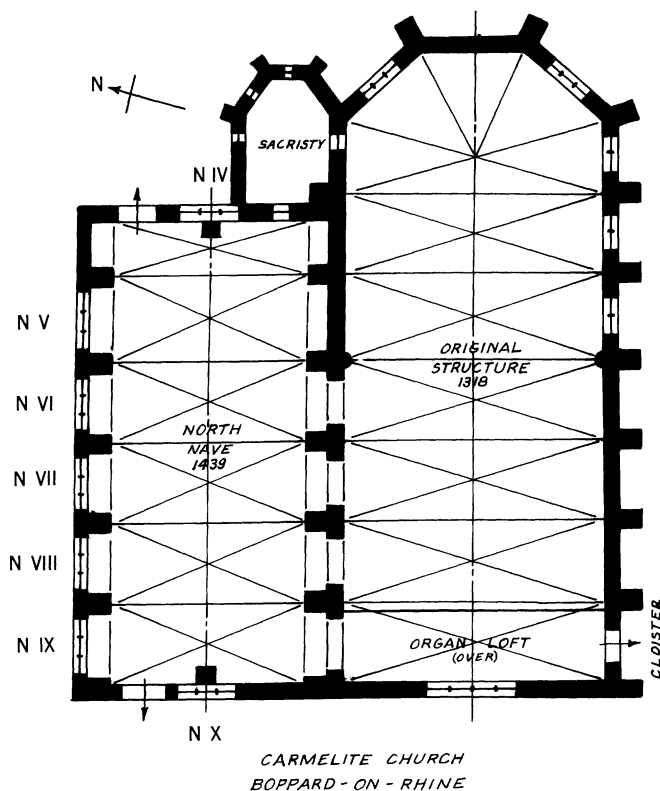


FIGURE 4  
Plan of the church (bays numbered in accordance  
with the standard established for *Corpus Vitrearum  
Medii Aevi*)

the Carmelite church in Mainz, dating from the 1430s, are, with the exception of a Triumph of Christ painted in the choir vault, essentially historical or narrative representations.<sup>11</sup> Special circumstances, therefore, must have prompted the highly sophisticated symbolism inherent in the Boppard windows. Certainly the unique position held by the Carmelite convent in the fifteenth century in the town itself is relevant to the problem of reconstructing the glazing program. Boppard was one of the smaller Carmelite foundations, in which there were seldom more than twelve regular clergy and a handful of lay brothers. But contrary to usual practice among the houses in the Lower German province, its church served as the parish church for the town, for nearby Simmern, and for other neighboring communities.<sup>12</sup> This meant that the Boppard pastorate included a large congregation who supported the work of the church and the diocese with its contributions.

Whether the need for the new addition in 1439 resulted from an increase in parish obligations or from an influx of communicants eager to save their souls in view of an impending outbreak of plague,<sup>13</sup> the record of the consecration is clearly also a plea for funds to complete the work. This document,<sup>14</sup> dated January 6, 1444, is in the form of a letter addressed to the archbishop of Trier by Gerhard, titular bishop of Salona, who officiated at the ceremony. In it the bishop states that he has consecrated a large, newly constructed part of the church and a new altar in honor of St. Stephen, proto-martyr, the ten thousand martyrs, the eleven thousand virgins, and Saints Anthony of the Holy Cross, Catherine, Mary Magdalene, Felix, and Adauctus. The relics of these saints, he continues, have been placed in the altar. He further informs the archbishop that since the Church is accustomed to granting forgiveness and indulgences so that more people will seek absolution and thus merit salvation, he has granted to those who are penitent and who perform certain specified acts of piety forty days of indulgence. He concludes that he has granted the same indulgences to all those who have provided or bequeathed of their riches for vestments for the priests, furnishings for the altar, or the fabric as well as the ornamentation and lighting of the building.

This latter portion of the document provides additional information of importance to the reconstruction of the glazing program. The mention of donations for the "fabric" or architecture indicates that though the building was in usable condition, it was not yet fully completed at the time of the dedication. Presumably, also, the reference to "a new altar" meant the one in the new nave rather than a reconsecration of the main altar

11. Alfred Stange, *Deutsche Malerei der Gotik* (Berlin, 1938) III, pp. 138-141.

12. Heinrich Koch, *Die Karmelitenklöster der Niederdeutschen Provinz* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1889) pp. 34-37.

13. A particularly severe recurrence of the plague struck western Germany in the years 1438-1439.

14. Trier, Stadtbibliothek, ms. 1694/328, pp. 117-119. The document (see Appendix B) is transcribed from the only existing copy, made at Boppard in 1694. This, together with copies of some of the other records relating to the early foundation, survived a fire that soon afterward destroyed the originals. The document, addressed to Archbishop Jacob (von Sierk), enumerates the feasts to be observed, including "all those feasts of the Glorious Virgin Mary," in order that indulgences be granted, as well as specific furnishings required for the church.

already existing in the old choir.<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, the impressive list of relics placed within the altar as well as the granting of indulgences to those who would provide both for the furnishings and the ornamentation and lighting of the church undoubtedly reflects an attempt to secure major donations for the embellishment of the new structure, including its stained-glass windows.

In its administration of a parish church, the convent at Boppard was under the direction both of the archbishop of Trier, in whose diocese it was located, and of the provincial of the Lower German Carmelite province at Cologne. This dual allegiance was an advantage in the new glazing program, particularly since the archbishop, Jacob von Sierk, was through his mother a member of the Beyer von Boppard family, the influential imperial administrators of the district.<sup>16</sup> Petrus de Nova Ecclesia, the provincial at Cologne, had attended the Council of Basel from 1434 on and with other Carmelites there had defended the idea of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary.<sup>17</sup> In addition, the brothers attached to the convent itself during the period of the new construction were unusually distinguished scholars,<sup>18</sup> drawn there, in all probability, by its renowned library. The combination of these unique and fortunate circumstances explains not only why the donors were so prominent, but also why the

plan of the new windows in the north nave was so outstanding.

The new structure (Figure 4), built to the west of the existing sacristy along the north wall of the older church,<sup>19</sup> served both as an additional nave and as a separate parish chapel with its own altar and entrances opening directly onto the street. The old and new parts of the nave were joined by the removal of the masonry between the buttresses of the original north wall. In its present, and probably original, state, the north nave is composed of six rectangular vaulted bays. With the exception of the bay occupying the east end of the nave, which is shallower than the others and contains the altar, each is lighted from the north by a triple-lancet transom window. There is an additional double aperture on the west wall above the door. Each of the six individual lights within each window is comprised of seven superimposed panels of glass, or registers, and terminates in a trefoil arch (Figures 21–25). The east bay has a single triple-light aperture of ten registers (Figure 28), set higher in the wall to clear the eave line of the adjoining sacristy. All of these windows are surmounted by elaborate tracery that once contained stained glass, but no record describing it has ever been found. Five of the seven apertures in the north nave are designed with a larger trefoil termination in the

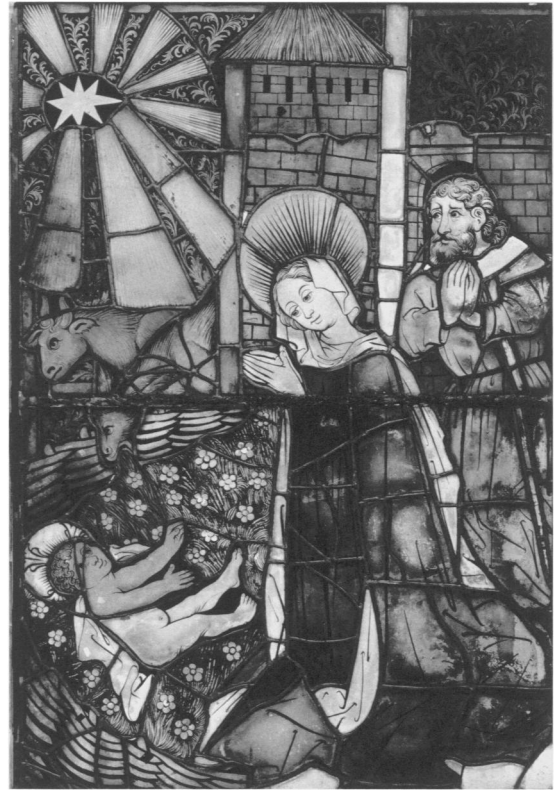
15. Christian von Stromberg, *Denkwürdiger und nützlicher Rhein Antiquarius, Mittelrhein* (Coblenz, 1856) V, part 2, p. 516, states that the new structure was begun in 1439 but that the church was not vaulted until 1455. Therefore, considerably more than the construction of the new nave was undertaken in this campaign. This included a complete renovation of the west part of the original church, including the walling-in of the original west portal (the only original public entrance to the church), the construction of a new organ loft and window above it, and finally, the revaulting of the original nave. It seems obvious, therefore, that the new north nave with its new public entrance was completed or partially completed by 1444 and that services for the laity were conducted there while the original church was being renovated.

16. Wilhelm Kisky, *Die Domkapitel der geistlichen Kurfürsten* (Weimar, 1906) pp. 188–189, gives brief notations on the life of this remarkable prelate. Educated at Heidelberg, he served as canon at Trier, Metz, Utrecht, Würzburg, and Liège and as papal chamberlain and notary before becoming archbishop of Trier in 1439. His election actually took place in 1430 by a vote of the canons, but he was deposed by Pope Eugenius IV because of his adherence to the Council of Basel and his support of the opposition pope. His deposition had no effect, as he had the firm support of the German electors and the emperor. He proved to be an able administrator and with Nicholas of Cusa founded the University of Trier.

17. Koch, *Die Karmelitenklöster*, p. 154.

18. The index of the Carmelites of the Lower German province given in Koch, *Die Karmelitenklöster*, pp. 131–158, traces the movements and positions of the various members of the order. See especially pp. 137, 139, 142–143, 154–155. Some of those who probably influenced the iconographic plan of the new windows are worthy of mention: Petrus Tinctorus, who had served as prior of Mainz and Cologne, was prior of Boppard from 1439 to 1442. He was succeeded at Boppard by Petrus Merboide, who had earlier served in various capacities at Trier, Cologne, Worms, and Frankfurt. Henricus Molitoris, lector at Boppard from 1438 to 1442, was attached to the University of Cologne at the time of his lectorship; he had studied at Oxford and was prior of Strasbourg before coming to Boppard. Joannes de Casselis had studied in Cologne and in England and received a degree in philosophy at Oxford; he was lector at Boppard between 1437 and 1442, after which he became magister general at Padua. Joannes de Dumo, junior, had studied logic and philosophy at Cologne and was informant at Boppard in 1440. Joannes Gladeatores of Boppard had been prior of Speyer, Frankfurt, and Boppard before returning to the last to serve as master of the rule from 1439 to 1442.

19. Frankfurt Stadtarchiv, *Karmelitenbücher*, ms. 5, "Visitationbuch des Provinzials Hermann von Neuss von 1370 bis 1388," copy by Seger Pawls, gives the date of the building of the new sacristy as 1388–1389.



# FIGURES 5–8

The Visitation, Nativity, Deposition, and Entombment from the Tree of Jesse window from Boppard, 1444. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Leland Fund, 13.64.1–4

upper central light. The exceptions are the west window and bay n VIII (see plan, Figure 4), where all three lights culminate in cusped arches of equal size. This difference in the design of the trefoils, in addition to identifications made on the basis of the numbering system inscribed on the Boppard glass by the restorers in Berlin and the description of it contained in the Spitzer sale catalogue and the archives, provides the basis upon which the position and relationship of the windows of the north nave can be reconstructed.

Only one of the original seven windows from this glazing program still exists in its entirety. Now at The Cloisters, it is composed of six lancets, each containing

20. Acc. nos. 37.52.1–6. Panels bear designations B 1–42, though not all are still legible. Exhibited: Spitzer Collection, Paris, 1878–1893; Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris, 1936–1937. Schmitz, *Glasgemälde in Berlin*, I, p. 43, fig. 69; Oidtmann, *Rheinische Glasmalereien*, II, pp. 274–275, figs. 419–420; Rorimer, *The Cloisters*, fig. 79; Emile Molinier, “Les Vitraux,” *La Collection Spitzer* (Paris, 1891) III, pp. 120–125, figs. 7–9, pl. 1. Spitzer sale catalogue nos. 1953–1955 and 1959–1961.

21. Acc. no. M596, acquired 1893. Panels marked C 1–7, 15–21, 29–35. Oidtmann, *Rheinische Glasmalereien*, I, pl. xviii; Schmitz, *Glasgemälde in Berlin*, I, p. 41, fig. 67; M. Hartig, “Die hl. Elisabeth von Thüringen und die deutsche Kunst,” *Die Christliche Kunst* 27 (1930–1931) pl. 197, fig. 204. Spitzer sale catalogue nos. 3355–3357.

22. Reg. no. 45.489, acquired 1939. Panels marked C 22–28. Exhibited: McLellan Galleries, Glasgow, 1951. Wentzel, “Unbekannte Glasmalereien,” p. 422, fig. 4; Wells, *Glass, Burrell Collection*, no. 222, pls. p. 65. Spitzer sale catalogue no. 3365. Ex coll. Robert Goelet, Newport.

23. Reg. no. 45.485, acquired 1938. Panels marked E 3–7, 17–21, 31–35. Exhibited: McLellan Galleries, Glasgow, 1951. Wentzel, “Unbekannte Glasmalereien,” p. 245, fig. 6; Wells, “Stained Glass from Boppard,” pl. p. 23; Wells, *Glass, Burrell Collection*, no. 224, pl. p. 67. Spitzer sale catalogue nos. 3352–3354, the figure of Jesse excluded. Ex coll. William Randolph Hearst, New York. Another panel, showing donors and their arms (Figure 25, bottom central register), may also come from this window. It is also in the Burrell Collection and was formerly attached to those panels in the collection from the Ten Commandments window. Reg. no. 45.498, acquired 1948. No marking on panel. Wentzel, “Unbekannte Glasmalereien,” p. 243, pl. 5; Wells, *Heraldic Glass, Burrell Collection*, no. 261, pl. p. 60. Not included in Spitzer sale catalogue. Ex coll.: William Randolph Hearst, New York; Robert Goelet.

a large single figure placed above an armorial panel or small scene (Figures 1, 2).<sup>20</sup> The lower half of another window, with scenes illustrating the Ten Commandments, is in the Schnütgen Museum in Cologne (Figure 14),<sup>21</sup> and seven panels from the upper half have recently been discovered in the Burrell Collection in Glasgow (Figures 15, 31).<sup>22</sup> All but six panels of still another half-window are in Glasgow (Figure 10);<sup>23</sup> from the same window are eight panels now in the

## FIGURE 9

The Three Marys Beneath the Cross, part of the Crucifixion from the Tree of Jesse window from Boppard, dated 1444. The Detroit Institute of Arts

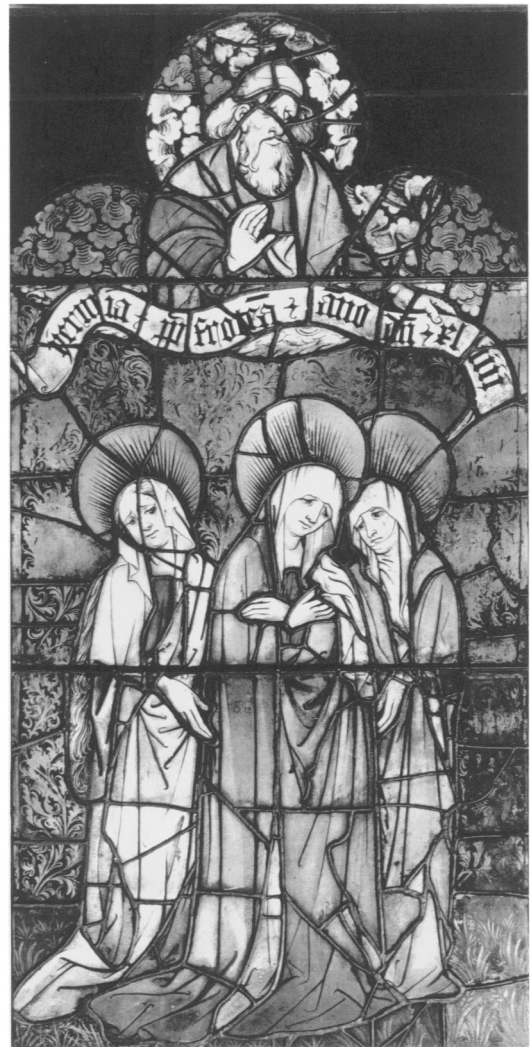




FIGURE 10

The Resurrection, Christ before Pilate, Annunciation, Appearance to Peter, Agony in the Garden, and Birth of the Virgin from the Tree of Jesse window from Boppard, 1444. Burrell Collection, Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum

Metropolitan Museum (Figures 5–8),<sup>24</sup> three in the Detroit Institute of Arts (Figure 9),<sup>25</sup> and four in a private collection in Zürich (Figure 25, lower four panels of upper left lancet),<sup>26</sup> and three are still unlocated, though rumored to be in a private collection in America (Figure 25, second register).<sup>27</sup> The remains of a fourth window, of great importance since it is inscribed with the dates of the glazing program, 1440–1446,<sup>28</sup> are now divided as follows: the De Young Museum in San Francisco has six panels (Figure 11);<sup>29</sup> the Burrell Collection has twelve panels (Figures 12, 13);<sup>30</sup> a New York private collector owns three panels showing the Virgin (Figure 22);<sup>31</sup> and three more, the canopy above the Virgin, were last known to be in the United States.<sup>32</sup> Half of a fifth window (Figure 16),<sup>33</sup> missing only the three donor panels, was formerly in the collection of William Randolph Hearst; it was

destroyed by fire while in transit in 1957, but two of the donor panels, one possibly from the upper half of the window, are now in the Hessisches Landesmuseum in Darmstadt (Figures 17, 18).<sup>34</sup> What has been considered to be half of another window, showing the Throne of Solomon (Figure 19),<sup>35</sup> which was retained by Count Pückler, met an equally tragic fate when the Schloss Park at Muskau was completely obliterated in the bombing of 1945. Fortunately, two additional panels that once belonged to this window have survived and are now in Darmstadt (Figure 20).<sup>36</sup> Nine additional panels, four of which have been located, are known to be in this country. They include three kneeling donors, each two panels in height, and three armorials.<sup>37</sup> Until these panels can be examined, their location in the glazing program can only be surmised.

With respect to its donation, the most important

24. Acc. nos. 13.64.1–4. Panels marked E 22–25, 36–39, but not all of these numbers are still legible. Exhibited: Charles Gallery, New York, 1913. Maurice Drake, *The Grosvenor Thomas Collection of Ancient Stained Glass* (New York, 1913) I, p. 44, nos. 224–227. Spitzer sale catalogue nos. 3358 and 3360, the scenes of St. John and Longinus and the Crucifixion excluded. Ex coll. Roy Grosvenor Thomas, London.

25. Acc. no. 40.52, acquired 1940. Panels marked E 12–14. Joseph L. Fischer, “Drei Süddeutsche Glasgemälde aus der Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts,” *Zeitschrift für Alte und Neue Glasmalerei* (1913) pl. opp. p. 49; Paul Frankl, “Das Passionsfenster im Berner Münster und der Glasmaler Hans Acker von Ulm,” *Anzeiger für Schweizerische Altertumskunde*, NF 40 (1938) p. 242. Spitzer sale catalogue no. 3359, last scene mentioned only. Ex coll. A. Huber, Zürich.

26. Fischer, *Zeitschrift*, pl. opp. p. 49; Frankl, “Das Passionsfenster,” p. 242. Spitzer sale catalogue no. 3359, the Three Marys excluded. Ex coll.: A. Huber; Bodmer Brothers, Zürich.

27. *Art Objects and Furnishings from the William Randolph Hearst Collection*, catalogue, Hammer Galleries, New York, 1941, p. 136, no. 541–10. Spitzer sale catalogue nos. 3352–3354, figure of Jesse only. Ex coll. William Randolph Hearst.

28. Wentzel, “Unbekannte Glasmalereien,” p. 244, recognized and translated the inscription “(begon) nen in dem Jahr da man zahlt MCCCC/XL, und in dem (Jahr) vollbracht (die) Fenster XLVI.” (“Begun in the year reckoned as 1440, and the window completed in the year 46”) (Figures 12, 13). The beginning of the inscription, which should have appeared in the lancet now in San Francisco (Figure 11), is lost, but the meaning of the surviving part seems obvious.

29. Acquired 1934. Panels marked A 8–13. “Stained Glass, Tapestries, Metalwork, Ceramics, Furniture and Textiles,” *M. H. De Young Museum Handbook* (San Francisco, n.d.) p. 215. Spitzer sale catalogue no. 3367. Ex coll. William Randolph Hearst.

30. Reg. no. 45.487, acquired 1939. Panels marked A 21–29, 34–39. Exhibited: McLellan Galleries, Glasgow, 1951. Wentzel, “Unbekannte Glasmalereien,” p. 241, figs. 2–3; Wells, *Glass, Burrell Collection*, p. 58, nos. 201–202. Spitzer sale catalogue nos. 3368–3369. Ex coll. William Randolph Hearst.

31. Exhibited: Spitzer Collection, Paris, 1878–1893. Panels marked A 16–18. Molinier, “Les Vitraux,” *Spitzer*, III, pl. II; Schmitz, *Glasgemälde in Berlin*, I, p. 44, fig. 71; Oidtmann, *Rheinische Glasmalereien*, II, p. 275, fig. 421; *Collection of Mrs. Stanley Grafton Mortimer and Others*, catalogue (New York, 1948) p. 39, no. 162; Wells, “Stained Glass from Boppard,” pl. p. 22. Spitzer sale catalogue no. 1957, panels 2–4. Ex coll.: Robert Goelet; James Montlor, New York.

32. The architectural canopy belonging to the previous item. See note 31 for publications except for Wells. Spitzer sale catalogue no. 1957, upper part. Ex coll.: Robert Goelet; W. E. Cotter, New York.

33. Panels marked D. *Katalog der Kunstsachen und Antiquitäten des VI bis XIX Jahrhunderts, Collection Bourgeois Frères* (Cologne, 1904) no. 330, pl. opp. p. 68; Oidtmann, *Rheinische Glasmalereien*, II, p. 274, fig. 418; *Hearst Collection*, catalogue (New York, 1943) p. 136, nos. 540–7, 540–8, 540–9. Spitzer sale catalogue nos. 3349–3351. Ex coll.: Caspar Bourgeois, Cologne; William Randolph Hearst.

34. No numbers are marked on these panels, and they do not appear in the Spitzer catalogue. *Glasmalerei im Darmstadt*, II, nos. 100–101.

35. Schmitz, *Glasgemälde in Berlin*, I, p. 41, fig. 66; Oidtmann, *Rheinische Glasmalereien*, I, p. 232, fig. 400; Heinrich Kolb, *Glasmalereien des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Stuttgart, 1884–1889) pls. 58–59.

36. No numbers are marked on these panels, and they do not appear in the Spitzer catalogue. *Glasmalerei im Darmstadt*, II, no. 102.

37. As far as is known, these panels have never been published. They are noted in the Spitzer sale catalogue, nos. 3361–3363; also in *Collection of Mrs. Mortimer*, pp. 38–40, nos. 161, 164–166. Ex coll. Robert Goelet. Four of the panels, the donors in Spitzer nos. 3362–3363, are now in a private collection in Detroit. The whereabouts of the other panels, including a kneeling bishop, two panels high, and three armorials showing dual coats of arms with helmed crests, arms with lion supporters, and an angel supporting three shields, are presently unknown.

window of the series is that illustrating the Ten Commandments, as it bears the imperial arms and was probably a gift of Emperor Albrecht II (Figure 14).<sup>38</sup> These insignia, which are inscribed twice on the glass, must have been accorded a prominent position in the church. Since the window was double with an enlarged lobe in the upper central trefoil, it could not have been placed either in the single aperture above the altar or in the western bay with its smaller trilobed termination. The only other place of importance in the nave that would also correspond to the composition of the Imperial Window is the central bay (n VII) of the north wall. It was probably in this location, therefore, that the glass was originally set.

Inasmuch as the window given by the Piermont family and now divided between Glasgow and San Francisco (Figure 22) is inscribed with the dates of the glazing program, 1440–1446, it must have been the last of the series to be installed. According to the account of the consecration,<sup>39</sup> only a part of the new addition was completed by 1444, and that portion included the altar. Since the inscription on this window records that the glazing began in 1440, some of the windows were already in place by the time of dedication. Presumably they were those in the eastern portion of the nave in the vicinity of the altar. The western part of the new building and the major alterations to the adjacent wall of the existing church, such as the walling-in of the main portal previously used by the laity and, above it, the construction of the new organ loft, must have been completed after the consecration. The inscribed window, therefore, must have been the one placed in the western aperture of the new nave (bay n X). Unfortunately, the trefoil of the upper central lancet, which would have offered proof of location for the glass, is missing.<sup>40</sup>

If the Piermont window was originally situated in the western bay, then the Cloisters window (Figure 23) could only have occupied the second opening (n VIII) on the north wall. All of its six lancets terminate in cusped arches of equal size and would only fit the stone moldings of the second bay of the nave. This window is unique in another respect, for all but two of the remaining panels from the other Boppard windows appear to be the work of one master, while the glass of the Cloisters window seems to be the work of a second master (see Appendix A). Other glass from the north

#### FIGURE 11

The Archangel Michael from the Piermont window from Boppard, 1440–1446. M. H. De Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco

#### FIGURES 12, 13

Saint Cunibert and a Bishop Saint, with an inscription dating the glazing program, from the Piermont window from Boppard, 1440–1446. Burrell Collection, Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum

nave that was also attributable to this second hand has since been destroyed. This was the so-called Bourgeois window (Figure 24), which was until recently in the Hearst collection.<sup>41</sup> As both these windows appear to have been of similar design, with a large single figure in each lancet, they were probably planned as pendants to flank the Ten Commandments on the north wall. The remains of the window bought at the Spitzer sale by Caspar Bourgeois, therefore, probably occupied bay n VI.

The panels illustrating scenes from the lives of Christ and the Virgin placed above the reclining Jesse (Figure 25),<sup>42</sup> one of which bears the date 1444, were

38. The left and right lancets of the upper tier are lost and are known only from descriptions in the archives (see note 9 *supra*) and items 3364 and 3366 in the Spitzer catalogue. The French writer of the catalogue was obviously unaware of the subject of the window and of the meaning of the inscriptions on each of the panels but does mention pinnacles surmounted by musical angels. His descriptions, therefore, do not help in the identification of the scenes. The more detailed account in the archives mentions the scenes of the Ten Commandments as surrounding the Virgin and as being surmounted by architectural pinnacles with musical angels.

39. See p. 80, *supra*, and note 14.

40. Also missing from this window are the two lower flanking lancets, which contained the figures of St. George and St. Quirinus as well as the donors, Cuno von Piermont, his wife, Margaretha von Schönenberg, and their five children.

41. Nothing is known about the upper half of this window with the possible exception of one of the donor panels from it now in Darmstadt (Figure 18). The nearly complete lower half of the window was destroyed in 1957 after it had been purchased for a private collection in California.

42. Apart from the donor panels, one of which is possibly that now in the Burrell Collection showing Siegfried von Gelnhausen and his wife, the only missing parts of this window are two scenes described in the Spitzer sale catalogue, nos. 3358 and 3360, as St. John and Longinus and the Crucifixion.



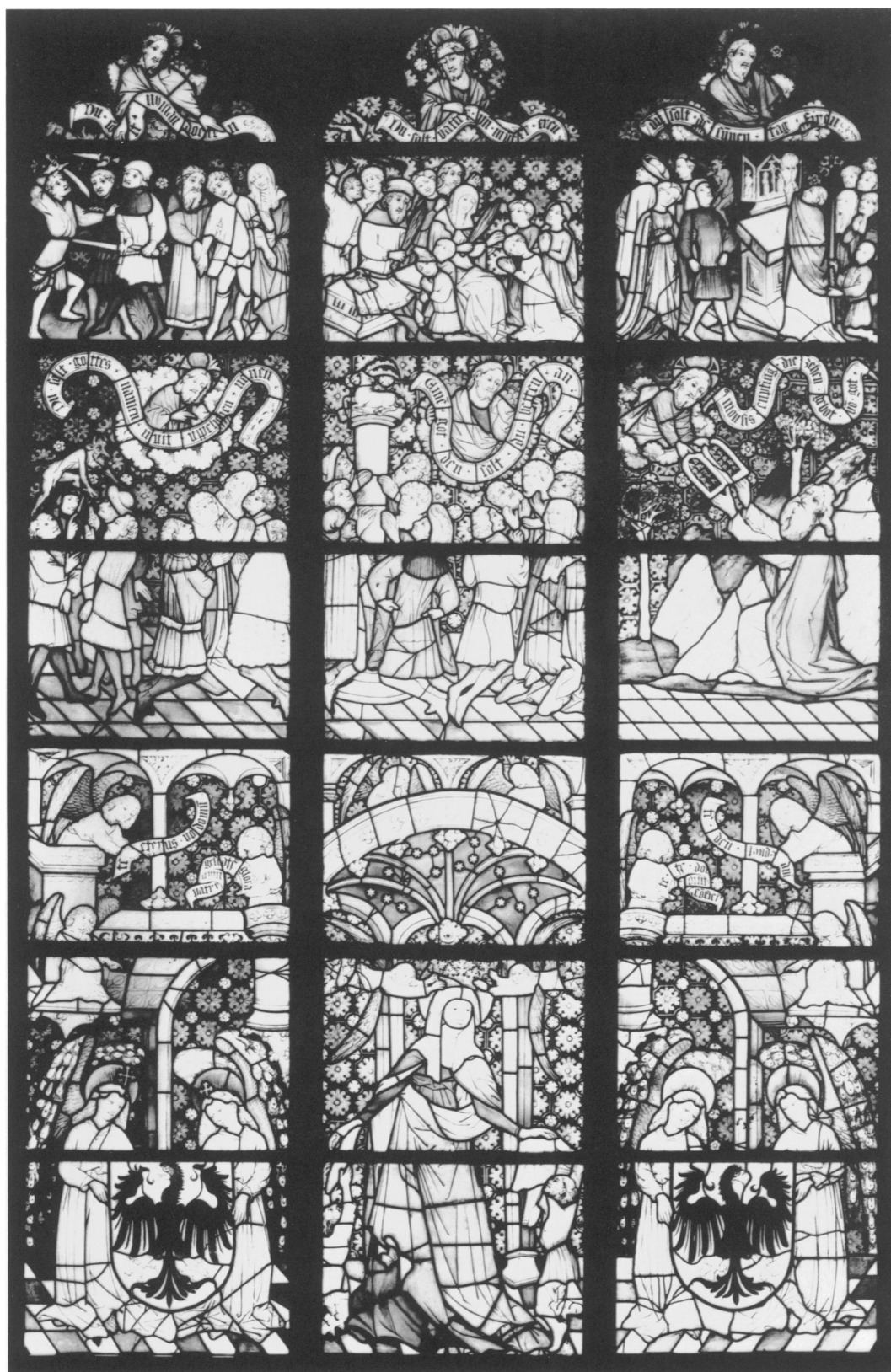


FIGURE 14

Saint Elizabeth of Hungary and six of the commandments from the Ten Commandments window from Boppard, 1440–1446. Schnütgen Museum, Cologne

FIGURE 15

Madonna Crowned by Angels from the Ten Commandments window from Boppard, 1440–1446. Burrell Collection, Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum



presumably installed soon after the dedication of the new altar on January 6 of that year. As they were designed to fit one of the double apertures and were not set until four years after the glazing program had begun, the panels were probably placed in bay n IX, the westernmost opening in the north wall. The time lag of two years between the installation of this and the west window was probably due to the amount of construction still not completed in the western part of the church. The nine half-windows that, according to the account contained in the archives of 1877,<sup>43</sup> were acquired by Friedrich Spitzer can therefore be reconstructed within five double apertures on the north and west walls of the nave. Only one half-window, the upper portion of bay n VI, is not accounted for and, since Pückler purchased all the glass, was already missing at the time when he removed the glass from the church.

The panels that once filled the other two bays, the one above the altar on the east wall and the double aperture (n V) adjacent to it on the north wall, present problems in the reconstruction. The only other glass mentioned specifically as to subject in the archival accounts is the destroyed Throne of Solomon, which remained at Muskau. From drawings and photographs, such as that shown in Figure 19, it would appear that the compositional arrangement of this window differed perceptibly from others in the nave. Though the dimensions and shapes of its three lancets correspond to those of the other half-windows, its subject is iconographically incomplete. According to the description given in II Chronicles (9: 17–19), there were six steps to Solomon's throne. In the Boppard version, however, only three steps are shown, and yet the design of the support with its descending arcades clearly indicates that more were intended. Among all the windows from the north nave, the Throne of Solomon alone provides no natural break in composition to accommodate the tracery bar of the transom. Because of this difference in design, the Throne of Solomon may well have been the partial remains of the east window, the only single aperture in the nave. Within the three lancets of this opening, composed of ten rather than seven registers each, the remaining steps of the throne could have been shown.

43. *Archiv für Kirchliche Baukunst*, pp. 42–43.



FIGURE 16

Saints James the Greater, Norbert, and Gerhart from the Bourgeois window from Boppard, 1440–1446. Formerly in the collection of William Randolph Hearst (destroyed, 1957), after Bourgeois Frères catalogue

FIGURES 17, 18

Saints James the Greater and John and Saint Agatha with Donors from the Bourgeois window from Boppard, 1440–1446. Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt



of bay n V, on the north wall, the transom, with its cusped arches, would have created an awkward break in the composition and a serious iconographic problem. The few remaining pieces that, according to this reconstruction of the glazing program, can be assigned to this latter bay are so fragmentary that their original order in the window is impossible to determine. These fragments depend for their significance upon their relationship to the iconographic program of the north nave. It is within this context that the theme of this last window can be reconstructed.

A single, all-encompassing idea or theme united all

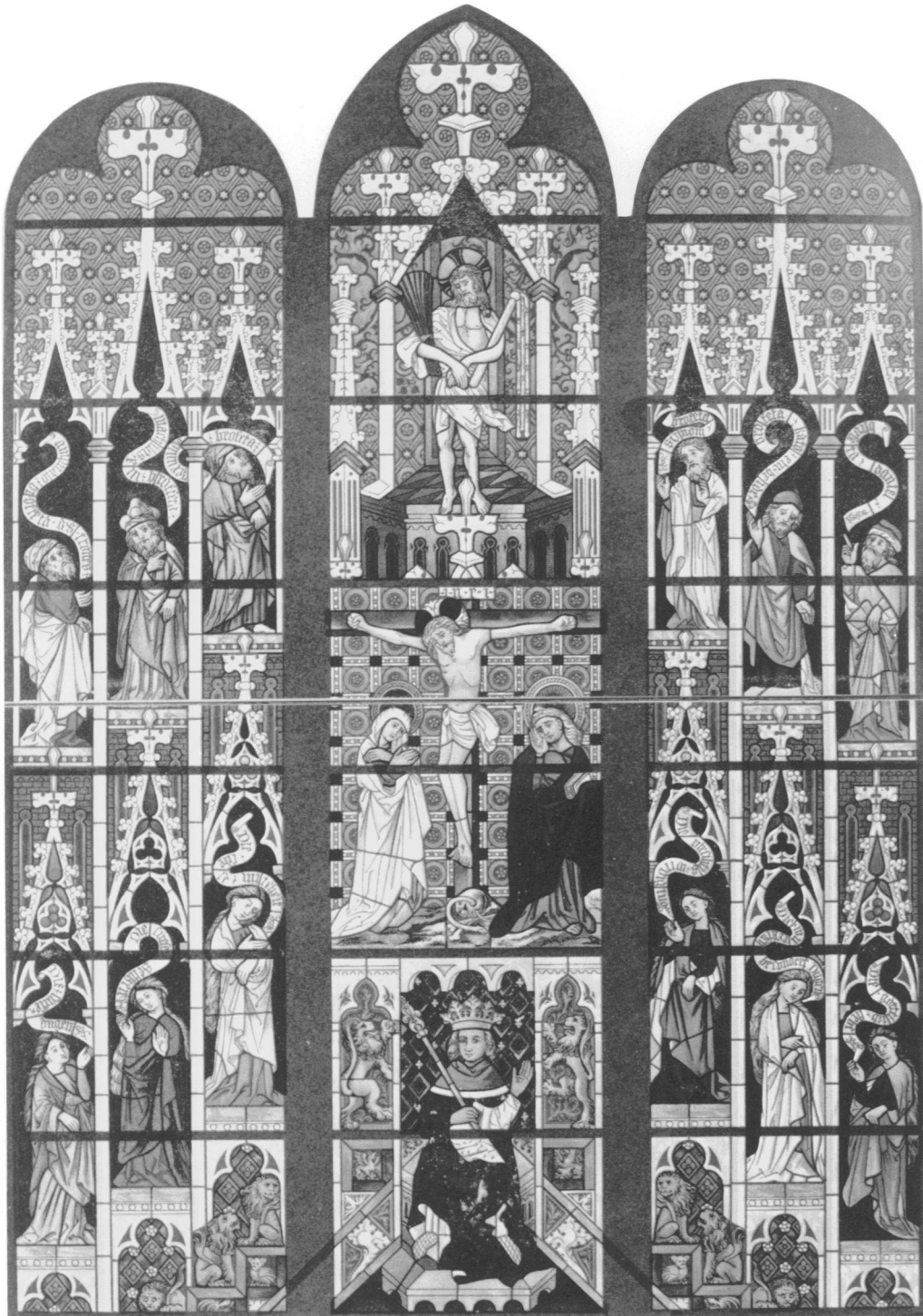


Three items not mentioned in the archives but identified in the Spitzer catalogue as from Boppard may have some bearing upon this problem.<sup>44</sup> According to their dimensions, each piece was composed of three panels. A later notice describes them more fully as: “Three kneeling donors within arched niches against a background of floral trellises and tessellations.”<sup>45</sup> The descriptions of the backgrounds are very similar to those in the arcades of the throne supports. The dimensions of these three pieces, moreover, correspond exactly to those of the three missing panels in each of the lancets of the eastern aperture. Were the Throne of Solomon, on the contrary, to have been placed in the upper half

44. Spitzer sale catalogue, nos. 3361–3363.

45. *Collection of Mrs. Mortimer*, pp. 38–40, nos. 161, 164–166.

of the stained-glass windows designed for the north nave of the Carmelite church at Boppard. Whether depicting figures of saints or relating biblical histories, each bay had within it as a connecting link an image of the Virgin Mary. It was in praise of her as “Virgin Mother,” “Queen of Heaven,” “Instrument of Redemption,” and “the Church Incorruptible and Free from Sin” that the iconographic program was devised. These themes unfolded one after another, beginning with the Incarnation at the western end of the north wall and progressing eastward to the altar, culminating finally on the west wall above the door, so that the faithful, leaving the church, carried with them the promise of redemption in the Apocalyptic Vision. This celebration of the Triumph of the Virgin, in the hymns



**FIGURE 19**  
Throne of Solomon window from Boppard, 1440–1446. Formerly in Muskau (destroyed, 1945), after Kolb

sung in her honor and in the litanies that recorded her titles, was not new to the liturgy of the fifteenth century, nor to its art. No single monastic order was more faithful to the service of the Virgin or more zealous in the promotion of her cult than were the Carmelites. The order was dedicated to her, and the Carmelites sought recognition and affirmation at the Council of Basel of her singular condition as having been immaculately conceived.

Among the strongest of the Carmelite provinces on the continent of Europe was that of Lower Germany, including within its borders the three powerful ecclesiastical electorates of the Empire. Its strength lay in these political affiliations, for it tended to support the emperor against a weakened papacy. It is not surprising, therefore, that the most powerful of the noble families of these dioceses were also *Domherren* of the cathedrals, or that they should have affirmed their support of the Carmelites through donations. The convent at Boppard held a particularly advantageous position at the start of its new building program. The archbishop of Trier was of local origin, and the newly elected Hapsburg emperor, Albrecht II, was not only royal canon at Cologne, but also apparently interested in the Carmelite order.<sup>46</sup> The royal, noble, and ecclesiastical arms that emblazoned the windows at Boppard attest to the effective relationships, both secular and ecclesiastical, enjoyed by that small but not insignificant foundation.

The formulation of the iconographic program for the windows was, in all probability, the work of the monks themselves. The distinguished group of monastic scholars in residence at the convent at the time was eminently qualified to undertake the task. Whether the program was the work of a single monastic philosopher, such as Joannes de Casselis or Henricus Molitoris, or a combined effort,<sup>47</sup> the results were unique not only for stained glass but for art in general. Only one other example of Carmelite art of the mid-fifteenth century approaches these windows in the complexity of its symbolism. This is the so-called Albrecht Altar, given by Emperor Albrecht II to the Carmelite church of the

46. It was Albrecht II who gave the altarpiece to the Carmelite church of the Nine Choirs of Angels in Vienna. Wilhelm Suida, *Österreichs Malerei in der Zeit Erzherzog Ernst des Eisernen und König Albrecht II* (Vienna, 1926) pls. ff. p. 64.

47. See note 18, *supra*.



FIGURE 20

Virgin from the Throne of Solomon window from Boppard, 1440–1446. Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt

Nine Choirs of Angels in Vienna, and now in Klosterneuburg. The altar is a literal representation of the litanies of the Virgin in sixteen scenes with the invocations and responses written upon scrolls. The altarpiece (1438–1440) is important to the Boppard problem not only as an example of Carmelite art dating from exactly the same time as the beginning of the glazing program and given by one of the donors of the glass, but also as a depiction of an established litany to the Virgin in use at the time within the order. But the iconography of the windows at Boppard is far more subtle and complex than that of the altar.

The cycle begins with the Tree of Jesse, assumed to have occupied the first aperture (n IX) on the north wall. An examination of the reconstructed arrange-

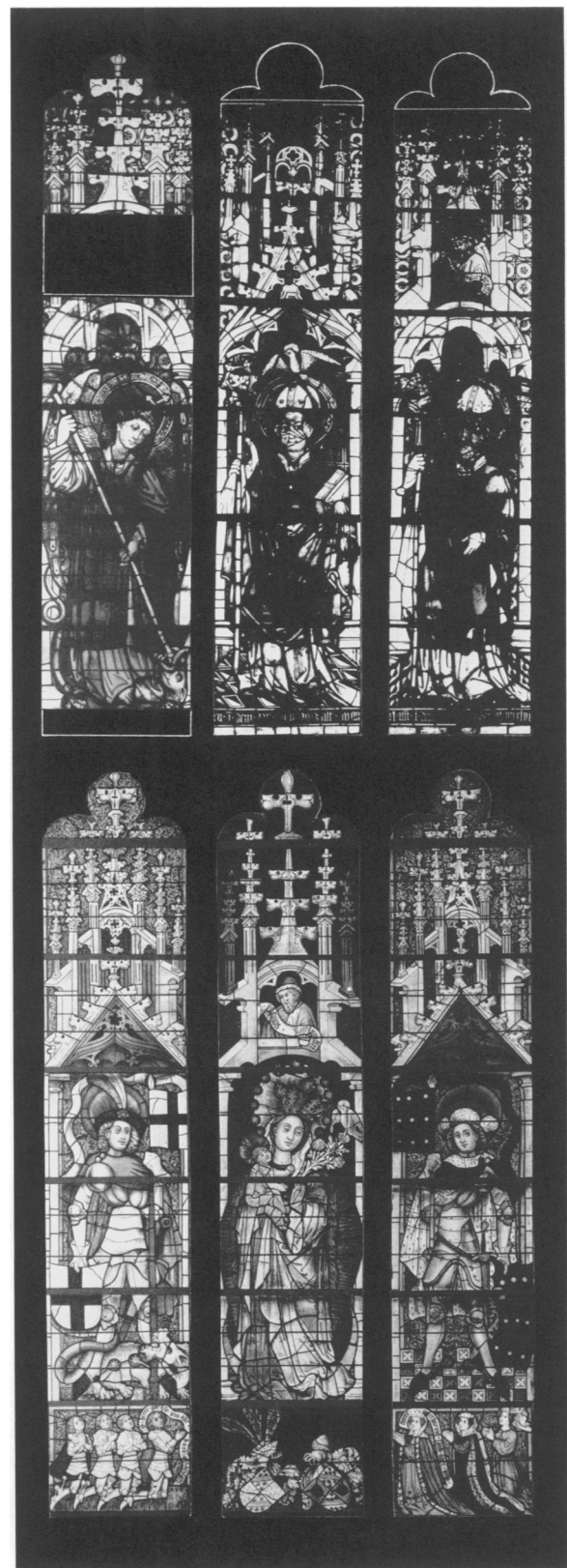
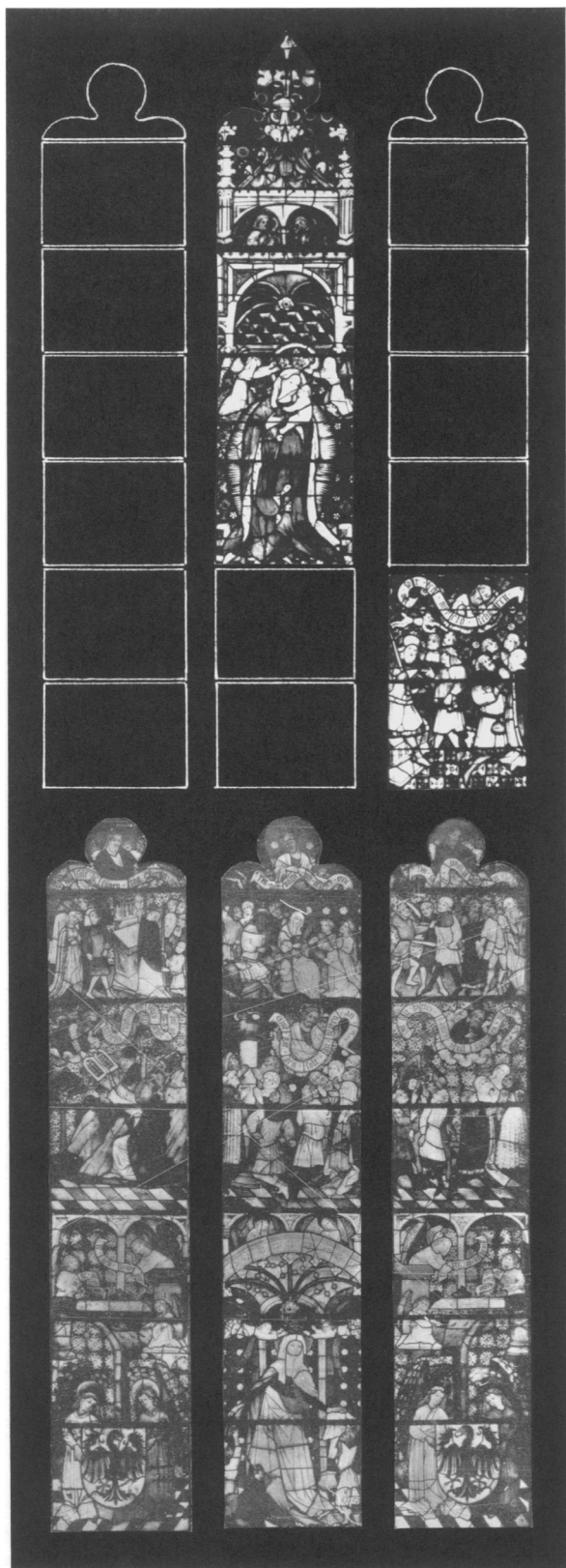


FIGURE 21

Reconstruction of the Ten Commandments window from Boppard with the Burrell Madonna and the Ninth Commandment restored to their original locations in the upper portion of window

FIGURE 22

Reconstruction of the Piermont window from Boppard with the De Young and Burrell Saints restored to their original locations in the upper tier above the lost panels in the lower half of the window

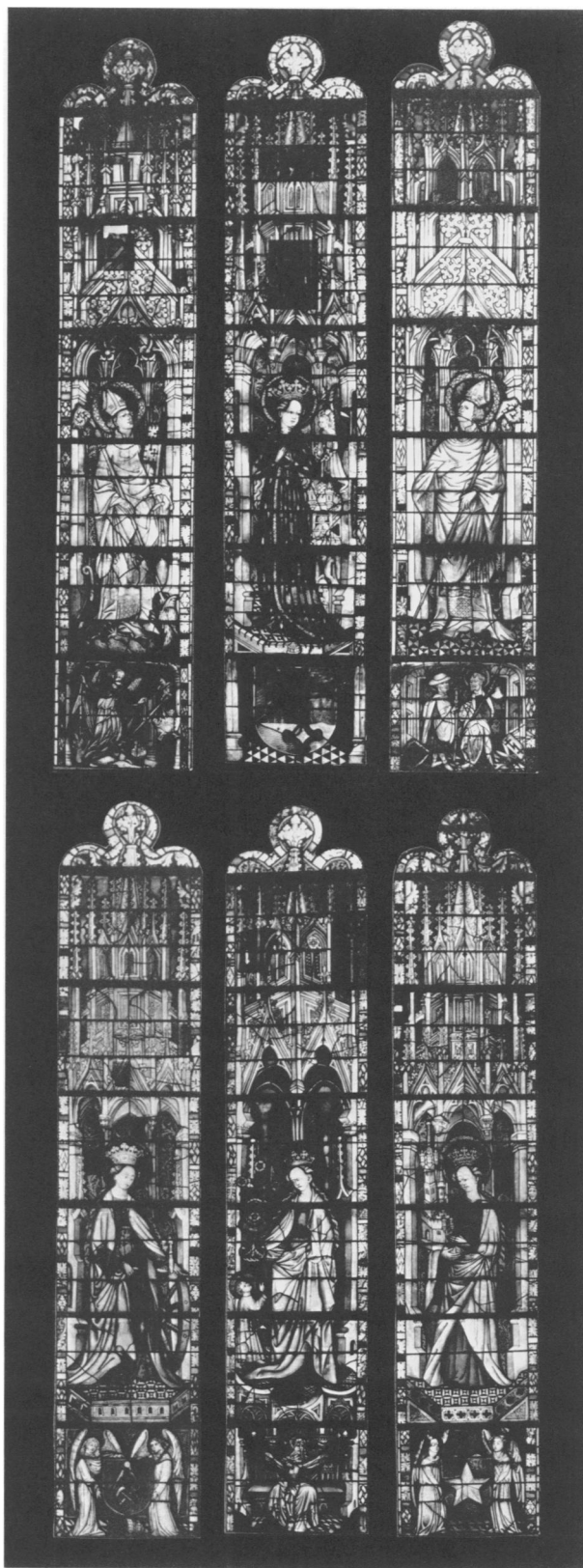
ment of the scenes (Figure 25) within the window presents an immediate contradiction of the usual practice in the Middle Ages. Normally a stained-glass window is read upward from left to right, or, less frequently, across by registers. The Tree of Jesse obeys none of these rules, and its deviation is a direct result of its iconographic intent. Above the lowest register, containing portraits of the donors, Siegfried von Gelnhausen and his wife,<sup>48</sup> the reclining figure of Jesse stretches across the three lights of the window. On the left and reading upward are scenes from the Passion, beginning with the Agony in the Garden, continuing across the top, where the Crucifixion, now in part lost, occupied the upper three registers of all three lancets, and then downward on the right, ending with Christ's Appearance to Peter. Although this arrangement is rare in stained glass, it is not without precedent, for a window at Zofingen in Switzerland (Figure 26), dating from the beginning of the fifteenth century and related by Beer to Upper Rhenish art,<sup>49</sup> has the Crucifixion similarly placed at the top. All of the Passion scenes in the Boppard window are set against blue backgrounds, while the scenes from the life of Mary in the

48. This panel, formerly attached to the Madonna from the Ten Commandments window, has been arbitrarily placed here on the basis of its damask ground. Members of the von Gelnhausen family were later *Domherrn* at Mainz.

49. Ellen J. Beer, *CVMA, Switzerland III, Die Glasmalereien der Schweiz aus dem 14 und 15 Jahrhundert* (Basel, 1965) pp. 112–114.

FIGURE 23

Reconstruction of the Cloisters window from Boppard showing the original double-tiered arrangement of the lancets



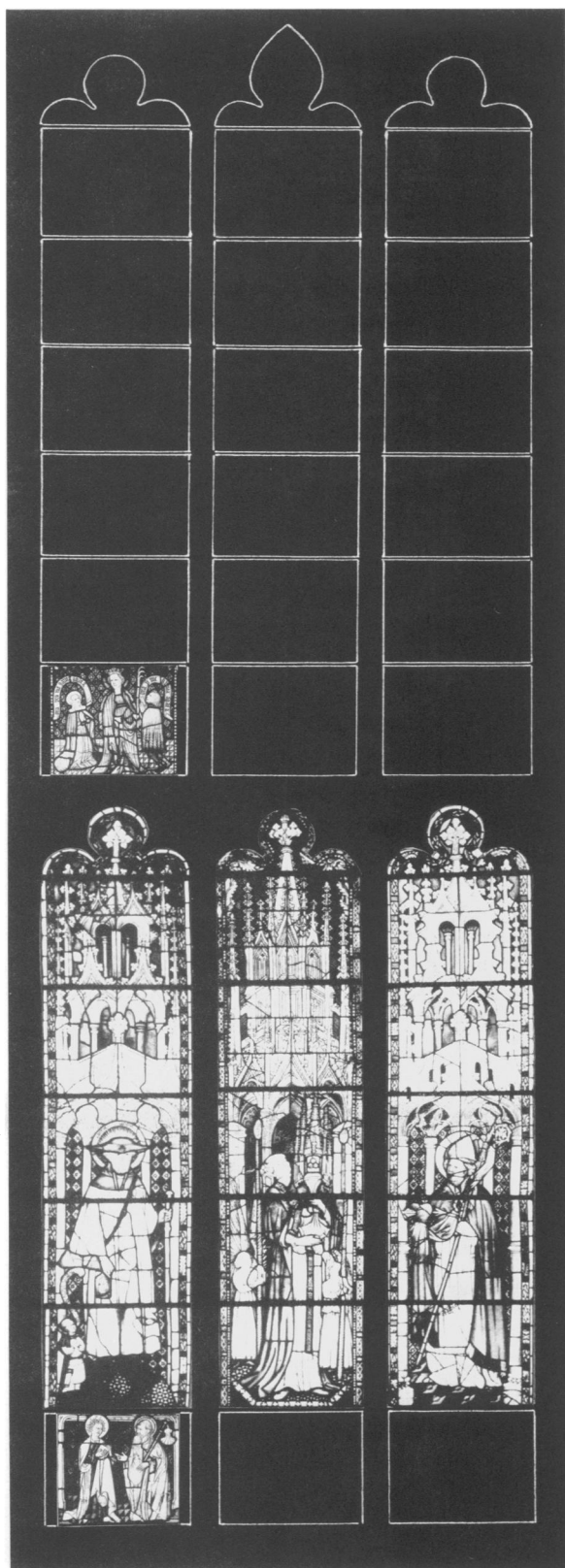


FIGURE 24

Reconstruction of the Bourgeois window from Boppard with the addition of panels from Darmstadt

center are set against red.<sup>50</sup> The shift in color not only provides the key to the original composition but also to its iconography, for the scenes from the life of the Virgin, beginning with her Birth and terminating with the Nativity, become, essentially, the trunk of the tree that issues from Jesse.

The identification of Mary with the tree occurred as early as the eighth century when she was described by Paul Winfrid of Aquileia as "Tree of Jesse exempt from the knots of sin."<sup>51</sup> The Crucifixion at the top of the tree in place of the more usual Christ crowned by the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit or the Ascension (in the case of the *Bibelfenster* type prevalent in Germany in the thirteenth century) is a double reference not only to Mary as ancestress but also to the fact that it was she who produced the fruit of salvation, Christ, who would redeem mankind through His sacrifice.<sup>52</sup> Further confirmation of the life of Mary as the tree of Jesse is provided in the Annunciation scene (Figure 10), where the usual vase of lilies, symbol of the Virgin's purity, is replaced by a small tree planted in a tub. This symbol, though rare, is not unknown in Upper Rhenish art.<sup>53</sup> The tree of Jesse, habitually represented in the stained glass of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century as an illustration of Christ's gene-

50. The restorers in Berlin had, according to the numbering of the scenes, reconstructed this window as a narrative cycle of the life of Christ, placing the scenes from the life of the Virgin in the left-hand lancet and ignoring the recumbent Jesse as the key to the arrangement.

51. J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina* (Paris, 1844-1867) XCV, p. 567.

52. On the origin of the relationship of Mary as the Tree of Jesse and the significance of the Crucifixion as its fruit, see Mirella d'Acona, *The Iconography of the Immaculate Conception in the Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance* (New York, 1957) p. 50.

53. An Upper Rhenish painting in the Reinhart Collection in Winterthur includes the same iconographic symbol. E. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting* (Cambridge, 1958) I, pl. 22, 50. I. Futterer, "Zur Malerei des frühen XV Jahrhunderts im Elsass," *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 49 (1928) p. 187, fig. 8, attributes this to an Italian prototype, which in all probability accounts for the Italianate pruning of the potted tree in the foreground of the scene.

FIGURE 25

Reconstruction of the Tree of Jesse window from Boppard with the hypothetical inclusion of the Burrell panel showing donors and their arms in the lowest register

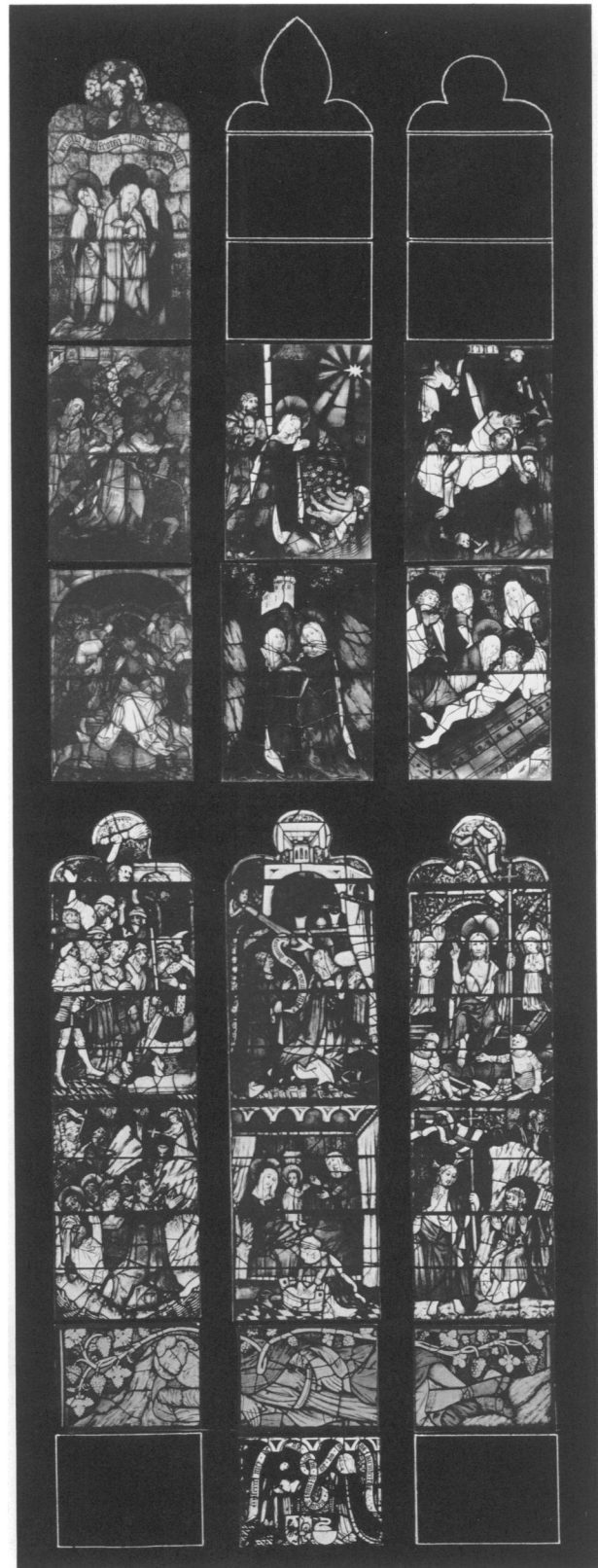
alogy,<sup>54</sup> underwent a distinct change in Germany in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. The ancestors seated upon the branches of the tree were replaced by scenes from the life of Christ. Eventually, the figure of Jesse was omitted altogether, and only the vine framing the scenes remained as a reminder of the original symbolism.<sup>55</sup> By the later fourteenth century, the *Bibelfenster* itself had disappeared as a type. The revival of the tree of Jesse window in Germanic art of the mid-fifteenth century brought with it new iconographic implications; while there was in a sense a reversion to the thirteenth-century type, the Christological sequences were replaced by a life of the Virgin from her Birth to her Coronation, as seen in a window at Vieux Thann (Figure 27).<sup>56</sup>

The Jesse window at Boppard, however, must not be construed as a forerunner of this type of Marian-Jesse tree, for in no case do these later renditions juxtapose scenes from the Passion. Rather, the symbolism at Boppard should be considered in another context. As "exempted from the knots of sin," the Virgin Mary as the tree of Jesse also implies her Immaculate Conception—that idea so staunchly defended by the Carmelites at the Council of Basel. When considered from this point of view, the four scenes from the life of the Virgin, her Birth as already exempt from original sin and the Annunciation of the Incarnation (Figure 10), the Visitation, or her recognition as Mother of the Incarnate, and the Nativity of the Incarnate (Figures 5, 6) cannot be interpreted as other than a lineal substantiation of her immaculacy. There is added proof that this window was meant as more than the mere recording of the life of Christ in that the

54. Arthur Watson, *The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse* (London, 1934) pp. 112–125.

55. On the development of the Jesse Tree and *Bibelfenster*, see Oidtmann, *Rheinische Glasmalereien*, I, pp. 102–108.

56. In addition to the Jesse window of 1466 at Vieux Thann, there is the so-called *Bibelfenster* of 1451 in the choir of Berne Minster, where in place of the prophets at the sides of the original iconographic type of Jesse tree there are typological scenes. See Luc Mojon, *Das Berner Münster* (Basel, 1960) pp. 270–273.



vine growing from Jesse's side is restricted to the scene in which he appears and does not proliferate into the panels above. Thus, Mary Immaculate is here represented as the graft of the green tree that will bear the fruit of the Redeemer of mankind.

The theme of the next window (Figure 23), set originally in bay n VIII, again centers about the Virgin. On the lower level (Figure 2) are three of the capital virgin saints of the Christian Church: Catherine with her attributes of the sword and the wheel, Dorothea accompanied by the Christ Child, who presents her with a basket of roses from the heavenly garden, and Barbara holding her tower. In the upper level (Figure 1) St. Servatius,<sup>57</sup> bishop of Tongres, holds the key presented to him by the pope in recognition of his fight against the Arian heresies, symbolized by the dragon that he tramples beneath his feet and transfixes with his pastoral staff. Opposite him is another bishop saint, unidentified by attribute but in all probability St. Lambert,<sup>58</sup> by virtue of the small scene at the base of the lancet, the meaning of which will be discussed later. In the central light is the Virgin Mary dressed in the corn robe or *Ährenkleid* (Figure 38). The origin of this iconographic type stems from the early renditions of the litanies of the Virgin and from the monastic poets, who likened her to a field of grain nourishing mankind with the bread of life referred to in the Bible.<sup>59</sup> The image of the *Ährenkleid* is that of the young Mary before the Annunciation and during the period of her service in the temple. In most versions of the theme, she is shown either in a church or before an altar.<sup>60</sup> In association with the eucharistic implications is, once again, a reference to her immaculate nature as the predestined Mother of God. Early in its history, the *Ährenkleid* type became a votive symbol, which accounts for the presence in the window of the prisoner in the tower, who according to legend was visited by the Virgin, given a wreath of roses, and promised release. The wreath of three roses, offered to the Virgin in this window by the angel, is not only a trinitarian

symbol but also a reference to her mercy upon mankind.

In all of the windows from Boppard, there is an interrelationship of meaning among the lancets. In this case, the three roses that branch from St. Dorothea's basket again suggest the trinity, repeated a second time in the *Gnadenstuhl* in the small scene below her. The "mercy seat" trinity refers back to the *Ährenkleid* as a symbol of charity. Beneath the figure of St. Servatius, St. Michael weighing souls and trampling the symbol of evil suggests again the bishop's fight against heresy. Beneath the figure of St. Lambert are two pilgrim saints. One of them is St. James. The other is probably St. Hubert,<sup>61</sup> who according to legend succeeded St. Lambert as bishop of Liège when the pope was informed in a dream that St. Lambert had died and that his successor, who proved to be St. Hubert, was at that time in Rome on a pilgrimage. Beneath the figure of St. Catherine are the arms of the coopers' guild, of which she was patron, and beneath St. Barbara, the arms of the City of Maastricht, former capital of the diocese of Liège. Below the Virgin are the ecclesiastical arms of the bishop of Liège, while the "house marks" in the St. Hubert scene may well be those of cloth merchants of the same city. As to the reason for the presence in the Carmelite church at Boppard of a window that appears to have been given by the diocese of Liège, it must be recalled that the archbishop of Trier, Jacob von Sierk, not only was of a Boppard family but also had been called from Liège, where he had been a canon until shortly before his election. Once again in this window the immaculacy of the Virgin Mary is affirmed by her representation as the Madonna in the *Ährenkleid* and also by its implications as a symbol of mercy.

In the Ten Commandments window (Figure 21), reconstructed in bay n VII, St. Elizabeth of Hungary in the lower tier (Figure 14) and the Virgin in the upper central light (Figure 15) are surrounded by representations of the commandments, each identified by an

57. Died 384. Mentioned by Gregory of Tours, his life was written by Heriger, abbot of Lobbes, late tenth or early eleventh century. *Acta Sanctorum*, May 3, pp. 215–216.

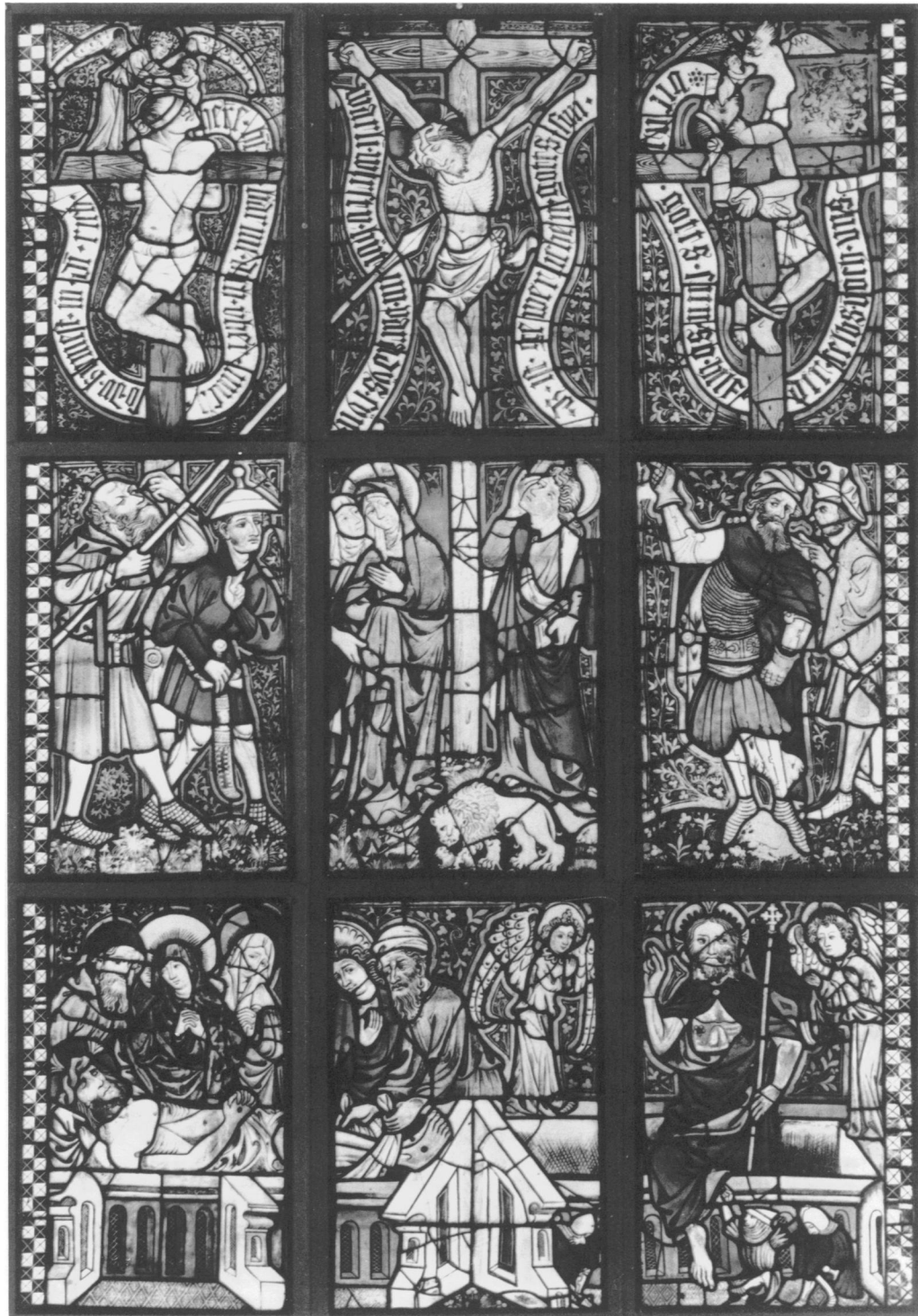
58. Died 705. First life written by Stephanus, bishop of Liège. Migne, *PL*, CXXXII, pp. 643–660.

59. Elizabeth's answer at the Visitation, "Blessed is the fruit of thy womb" (Luke 1:42), and the words of Jesus, "I am the bread of life" (John 6:35). On the iconography of the *Ährenkleid* Madon-

na, its origin and development as a type, see Wilhelm Molsdorf, *Christliche Symbolik der Mittelalterlichen Kunst* (Leipzig, 1926) pp. 144–145, and especially Rudolf Berliner, "Zur Sinnesdeutung der Ährenmadonna," *Die Christliche Kunst* 26 (1929–1930) pp. 97–121.

60. See Berliner, "Zur Ährenmadonna," pls. pp. 101, 107.

61. Died 727. His life in *Acta Sanctorum*, November 1, pp. 829–831.



**FIGURE 26**  
Crucifixion window, early xv century. Church of St. Mauritius, Zofingen (Photo: Die Kunstdenkmäler des Kantons Aargau)



FIGURE 27

Detail of the Tree of Jesse window with scenes from the life of the Virgin, 1466. Parish church, Vieux Thann

inscription.<sup>62</sup> Moses Receiving the Tablets of the Law, in the lower portion of the window, begins the sequence. The scenes are arranged laterally in rows, with the first six commandments in the lower half of the window. The first and second are combined into a single two-panel scene, but each of the other five occupies its own two panels. In the upper tier, only the Ninth Commandment (Figure 31) remains, but the sequence is such that the cycle must have concluded with an additional

scene to fill the space in the right-hand lancet above the ninth law of Moses.

In the lower portion of the central lancet, St. Elizabeth is shown giving alms to the poor and being crowned by two angels. Flanking her are the imperial arms displayed twice by angel supporters. In arcades above the escutcheons other angels display scrolls upon which are written texts from the Ambrosian hymns of praise.<sup>63</sup> The donors of the window were in all proba-

62. The inscriptions on the existing panels, reading from left to right and upward, are as follows: "Mousis empfang die zehen Gebot vo Got" ("Moses receives the Ten Commandments from God"); "Eine Got den solt du betten an" ("One God must thou worship"); "Du solt Gottes Namen nit verpellen" ("Thou must not call God's name in vain"); "Du solt de Sunen Tag firen" ("Thou must observe the Sabbath day"); "Du solt Vatter un Muter eren" ("Thou must honor thy father and mother"); "Du solt Nyman doeten" ("Thou must kill no one"); "Du solt kein Meyeid schwören" ("Thou must swear no perjury"). The second commandment, "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven

image," is implied in the left-hand portion of the scene illustrating the first commandment where a group of people are engaged in idol worship.

63. The inscriptions are as follows: "Te Deum laudamus." "Te Dominum confitemur." "Te eternus ovis Dominus." "Gestatemus gloria Deus patrus." Ch. Ulysse Chevalier, *Repertorium Hymnologicum*, II (*Extrait des Analecta Bollandiana*) (Louvain, 1892) p. 642, no. 20086. The actual attribution of these hymns to St. Ambrose, with the exception of the *Te Deum*, is doubtful. I am indebted to Miss Bonnie Young of The Cloisters for this information.

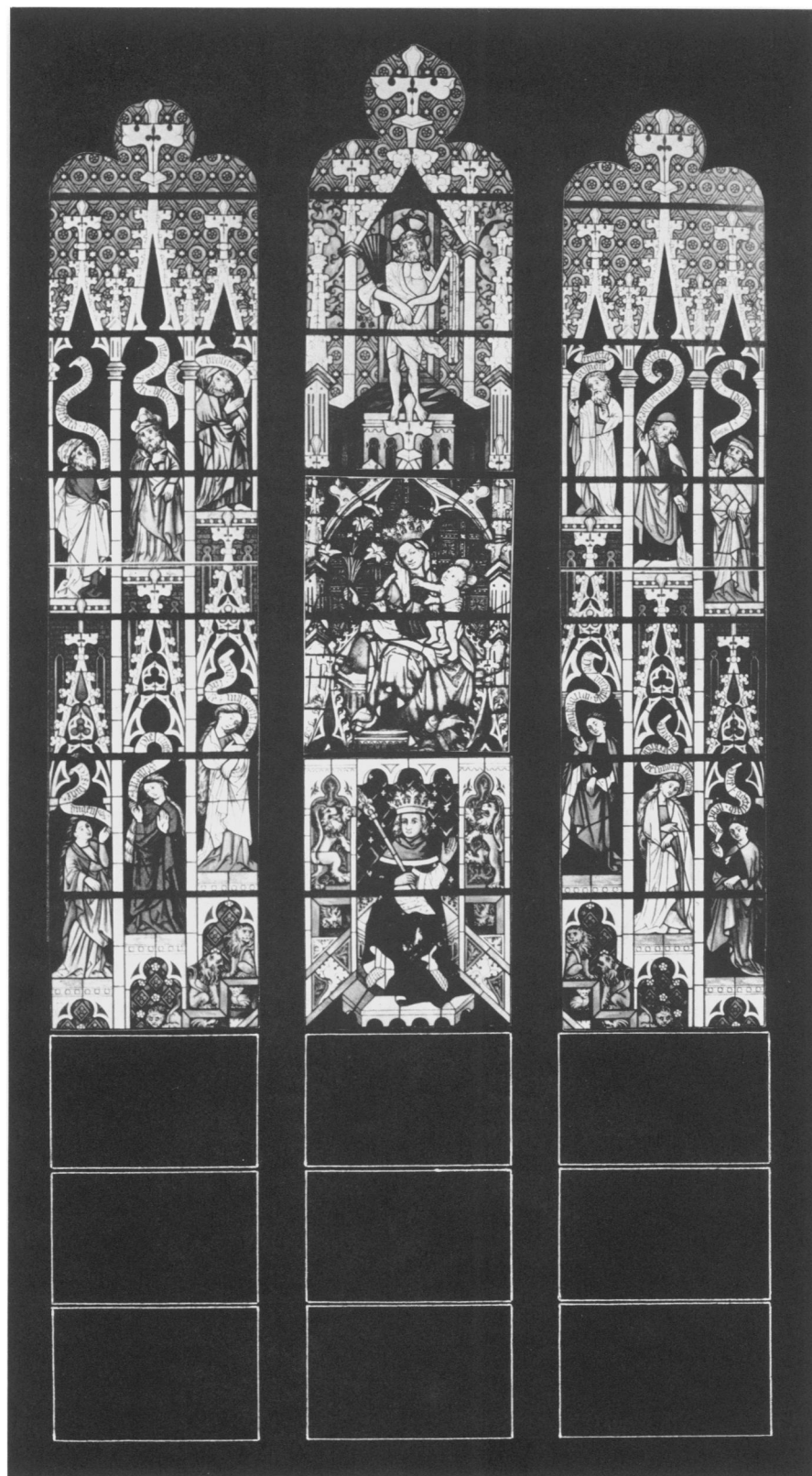


FIGURE 28  
Reconstruction of the  
Throne of Solomon window  
from Boppard with the  
Virgin from Darmstadt in-  
cluded. The Man of Sorrows  
is probably a restoration

bility Albrecht II, first of the Hapsburg line, and his wife, Elizabeth of Luxemburg, who was the daughter and heiress of the previous German emperor, Sigismund, which may account for the double imperial arms. The window, like the altar in Vienna, was probably given by the royal couple shortly before Albrecht's untimely death in the summer of 1439, and the commission realized by his widow.<sup>64</sup> In any case, it is her patron, St. Elizabeth of Thuringia, queen of Hungary, who appears as the central figure in the lower part of the window.

The central figure in the upper portion of the window is again the Virgin Mary, this time holding her infant Son in her arms. The Virgin is richly dressed in an ermine-lined robe and is being crowned by two angels. She is the *Madonna im Strahlenkranz*, surrounded by a rayed glory with the downward-pointing crescent moon lying beneath her feet. But she is not presented here as the Apocalyptic Vision, for the stars about her head are absent. Instead, she offers an apple to her divine Son. In this representation, therefore, Mary appears as the new Eve offering the fruit of redemption to her Son as the second Adam.<sup>65</sup> Within this context, she is crowned by the angels as the Church that offers salvation to mankind. Mary as the Church symbolizes the new law surrounded by the commandments of the old. The missing tenth scene, therefore, must have had a reference to the giving of the new law, perhaps the Pentecost, just as the scene of Moses receiving the tablets symbolized the giving of the old. The relationship between the crowning of Mary and the crowning of St. Elizabeth can also be established, for the saint, though frequently shown wearing her royal diadem while performing her charity, is not often shown in the process of being crowned, especially by angels. The crowning of St. Elizabeth has, therefore, a dual meaning in that both her sainthood and her status as the royal patroness are thus recognized.<sup>66</sup> The coronation

of Mary invests her as the Church with ecclesiastical authority, while St. Elizabeth as royal patroness receives royal sovereignty or temporal power. The identification of the Virgin Mary as the new Eve has been quoted as another manifestation of her Immaculate Conception.<sup>67</sup>

The meaning of the fourth window (Figure 24), with St. Norbert as its central figure, as reconstructed in bay n VI, can only be conjectured on the basis of the evidence offered in the remaining panels. Three single figures occupy the lower lights (Figure 16). St. James the Greater, in his pilgrim's garb, with an unidentified suppliant kneeling at his feet, occupies the first lancet. St. Norbert, not yet canonized at the time, is represented in the central light; he holds a monstrance, within which the host is represented by three wafers,<sup>68</sup> and he is accompanied by two angel acolytes carrying burning tapers. The third lancet contains the figure of St. Gerhard dressed in bishop's robes and holding his attribute, the heart pierced by an arrow.<sup>69</sup> The theme unifying these three figures and the reason that they, like the three virgin saints, Catherine, Barbara, and Dorothea, are shown together in the company of the Virgin,<sup>70</sup> is that each of them is known as an apostle. St. James the Greater assumes preeminence as the first of the apostles called by Christ. St. Norbert, by virtue of his triumph over the Sacramentarian heresy, was known as the Apostle of Antwerp. St. Gerhard was protomartyr and apostle to Hungary. The apostolic theme is continued in the small scene below the figure of St. James where the Saint is shown again, this time accompanied by the apostle John (Figure 17). Though the donors of this glass are unknown or at least unidentified by any specific attribute, it is interesting to note that each of the three apostle saints had associations with Eastern Europe. Like St. Gerhard the protomartyr, St. James the Greater is related to Hungary in that his miraculous appearance on a white

64. On the circumstances surrounding the donation of the Albrecht Altar and its donors, see Wilhelm Suida, "The Madonna in Armor," *Parnassus* (December 1939) pp. 4-7.

65. See Barbara Chabrowc, "Iconography of the Strasbourg Cathedral Choir Screen," *Gesta* 6 (1967) p. 36, on Mary as the new Eve and its interpretation by St. Bernard.

66. The position of St. Elizabeth as royal patron is discussed in Michael Hartig, "Die Hl. Elisabeth von Thüringen und die Deutsche Kunst," *Die Christliche Kunst* 27 (1930-1931) pp. 193-206.

67. D'Ancona, *Iconography of the Immaculate Conception*, pp. 35-36.

68. St. Norbert, founder of the Premonstratensian order, was not canonized until 1582. His life is in *Monumenta Germaniae Historia, Scriptores* (Hanover, 1826-1896) XII, pp. 670-703.

69. The legend of St. Gerhard is recorded in Daniel a Virgine Maria, *Speculum Carmelitanum* (Antwerp, 1680) II in fol., pp. 672-674.

70. Early litanies to the Virgin call her, "Holy Mary, Splendor of Virgins and Example of Chastity." On the history of the Marian litanies see Angelo de Santi, "Per la storia delle Litane lauretane," *Civiltà Cattolica* (November 1909) pp. 302-313.

horse riding to battle against the Moors, is duplicated in the legend of King Ladislaus, Hungarian patron saint, and his similar defense of his own country. St. Norbert was patron saint of Prague. The introduction of these particular saints in the window at Boppard may have further associations with the emperor Albrecht II, who was originally King of Hungary and of Bohemia, titles that were passed on to his posthumous son, Ladislaus. Albrecht himself died defending Hungary against the Turks.

The reconstruction of the upper portion of the window poses a problem, for the only remaining panel is the small scene of St. Agatha, identified by inscription, with two donors (Figure 18). If, as in the case of St. James on the lower tier, the figure of St. Agatha was repeated in the upper lancet, then her pendant was in all probability St. Lucy.<sup>71</sup> Both these saints are mentioned in the consecration document among those warranting special devotion.<sup>72</sup> Given this group of accompanying figures, it is possible to postulate the Marian type that would have occupied the center light. In the Albrecht Altar, previously mentioned as based upon the Marian litanies, the panel representing the Virgin among the apostles shows her standing before a large rosebush.<sup>73</sup> The rose, one of the oldest liturgical

symbols, is identified both with Mary's virginity and, in its redness, with her redemptive love and that of Christ. St. Bernard himself wrote a sermon utilizing the theme,<sup>74</sup> and the rose garden or arbor, particularly in German art, became a symbol of Mary's chastity. Were the Virgin in the rose arbor to have been used here, it would not only have continued the theme of Mary's immaculate nature and been consistent with German symbolism of the period, but also it would have served as a unifying theme for the two virgin martyrs, Agatha and Lucy. One of the earliest litanies to the Virgin, written at the end of the twelfth century, gives to her the title of "Rose of Martyrs."<sup>75</sup> The idea of redemption symbolized by the rose would also have united it with the Eucharist in the monstrance held by St. Norbert and with the attributes of the two virgin martyrs.<sup>76</sup>

Both Oidtmann and Schmitz have claimed that the Crucifixion and the Man of Sorrows (Figure 19) from the destroyed Throne of Solomon were, in fact, from another window.<sup>77</sup> Iconographic evidence would tend to support this theory, for the inclusion of either type in representations of the throne is rare.<sup>78</sup> If these two scenes were not originally a part of this window, they could not have been other than fragments from the lost

71. St. Agatha and St. Lucy, both virgin martyrs of Sicilian origin, are often associated by virtue of the similarity of the tortures they suffered during their martyrdoms, because of the latter's devotion to the former, and by reason of their attributes, each of which is carried by the saint displayed upon a plate. On the attributes of these two saints, see Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'Art chrétien* (Paris, 1958) III, part 1, p. 30, part 2, pp. 834-835.

72. See note 14, *supra*.

73. Wolfgang Pauker, *Katalog der Kunstsammlungen des Stiftes Klosterneuburg* (Klosterneuburg, 1937) pp. 60-61.

74. Roman Breviary, nocturn on October 7, taken from a Sermon of St. Bernard: "Maria rosa fuit candida per virginitatem, rubicunda per caritatem, candida carne, rubicunda mente; candida virtutem sectando, rubicundo vitia calcando; candida affectum purificando, rubicundo carnem mortificando; candida Deum diligendo, rubicundo proximo compatiendo."

75. From a codex in the Library at Mainz. See de Santi, "Litanic lauretane," pp. 302-313. The rose, when combined with the Marian symbol of virginity of the enclosed garden, became the rose garden or the rose arbor.

76. The repetition of variants of a given symbol that is characteristic of the Boppard glass makes both these saints a plausible inclusion in this particular window. St. Agatha's attribute, her severed breasts, have by curious transformation become associated with bread, and both these saints have as their second attribute a candle, thereby permitting a relationship with the symbolism of

the angel acolytes in the St. Norbert panel below. Réau, *Iconographie*, III, part 1, p. 30, part 2, pp. 834-835.

77. Oidtmann, *Rheinische Glasmalereien*, I, p. 233; Schmitz, *Glasgemälde in Berlin*, I, p. 42.

78. Probably the earliest inclusion of the Crucifixion in the Throne of Solomon iconography is in the fourteenth-century *Miracles of the Virgin* by Gauthier de Coiney, Paris, Bib. Nat. nouv. acq. fr. 24541. Reproduced as the frontispiece of Henri Focillon, *Le Peintre des Miracles de Notre-Dame* (Paris, 1950). But as Francis Wormald, "The Throne of Solomon and St. Edward's Chair," *Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky* (New York, 1961) I, p. 536, has rightly observed, the vase placed immediately below the figure of the Virgin may indicate that she is the *Vasa Electionis* rather than the *Sedes Sapientiae*. The chief example in the medium of stained glass is the so-called "Painter's Window" in Freiburg Minster; see Fritz Geiges, *Der Mittelalterliche Fensterschmuck des Freiburger Münster* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1931) p. 213. In this example, also, the iconography differs from that of Rabanus Maurus's description. In neither of these examples, or in any others known to me, is the Man of Sorrows included. Moreover, the Man of Sorrows in the Boppard version holds the rods and the scourge, but the other symbols of the Passion that should have surrounded Him are absent. In place of the cross, etc., a curious leafy vine, not the grape vine as a eucharistic symbol, acts as the background for His figure, an additional reason for supposing that the figure of Christ was extracted from its original place and "restored" in the gable of the throne.

glazing of bay n V, the easternmost aperture of the north wall. Judging by the scale of these panels, the window from which they came must, like the Tree of Jesse, have been composed of small scenes.

Within the iconographic scheme of the glazing program at Boppard, one theme is conspicuously absent. In none of the windows is there recorded a complete narrative cycle of the life of the Virgin including the legend of her Dormition and Coronation. This sequence was not only enormously popular during the later Middle Ages but also furnished important proof of her Immaculate Conception.<sup>79</sup> The Coronation of the Virgin as “Queen of Heaven” and “Bride of Christ” implies that Mary triumphed over death. Since, according to the early writers, death was the direct result of original sin, then Mary’s triumph over death meant that she was exempt from sin.<sup>80</sup> The cycle of the life of the Virgin usually includes the Infancy, then skips to the Crucifixion, continues with the Ascension, Pentecost, the sequence of the Dormition, and finally, as Mary’s greatest triumph, her Coronation.<sup>81</sup> Not infrequently, the Man of Sorrows is included (Figure 29). It was probably this aspect of Marian symbolism, therefore, that was included in the lost window at Boppard.

The Throne of Solomon (Figure 28), as reconstructed in the aperture (bay n IV) on the east wall, follows in its arrangement II Chronicles 9: 17–19, as enlarged upon by Rabanus Maurus.<sup>82</sup> A number of representations of the theme exist both in painting and in

stained glass, but none is more iconographically complete than that from Boppard.<sup>83</sup> Flanking the enthroned Solomon are the two lions in the stays that personify, according to Rabanus Maurus, the Angel Gabriel and St. John the Evangelist. The two lions on each of the six steps on each side of the throne represent the twelve apostles, and above them are the six virtues, solitude, modesty, prudence, virginity, humility, and obedience, that were contained in Mary’s answer at the Annunciation. Above this are the six prophets who amplify by their words the Virgin’s virtues.<sup>84</sup> Enthroned and crowned above Solomon is the Madonna (Figure 20) holding the Christ Child who extends his hands toward the three lilies his mother holds, another trinitarian symbol. The representation in the window follows closely the oldest known description of the throne, contained in a Paris manuscript of the second half of the thirteenth century,<sup>85</sup> with the exception that the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit in the manuscript have been replaced by the Man of Sorrows. The incongruity of this image, as well as the instability of the pose of the figure in its architectural setting, suggests that this portion of the window had been inserted during a restoration and that it replaced a more suitable iconographic symbol. This window is known to have been tampered with, for the Virgin, now in Darmstadt, was replaced by the Crucifixion (Figure 19) at some time in its history.<sup>86</sup> Mary as the *Sedes Sapientiae*, the seat of wisdom or the throne the Father has prepared for his Son,<sup>87</sup> again implies her immaculate

79. See d’Ancona, *The Immaculate Conception*, pp. 28–32, especially p. 29, note 67, where examples of the Coronation that also include Marian symbols from the Litany are given. Cf. Réau, *Iconographie*, II, part 2, p. 79, who compares these symbols, the *Arma Virginis*, with the Passion symbols, the *Arma Christi*. The examples of the symbols from the Litany shown with the Coronation are all of earlier date, and it would be hazardous to suggest that such a juxtaposition occurred at Boppard; however, it would not have been the only instance in the glazing program where an old type was revived within a new context.

80. Eadmer of Clare developed this theory in his treatise, *De conceptione Sanctae Mariae*, ed. Thurston (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1904).

81. Examples of this sequence are frequent in the stained glass of the German lands of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. For Austrian examples see Eva Frodl-Craft, *CVMA, Austria I, Die mittelalterlichen Glasgemälde in Wien* (Vienna, 1962) p. 88, pls. 148–161, for the sequence in Maria im Gestade in Vienna. In Switzerland, remains of a Marian cycle of the third quarter of the fifteenth century from Bourguillon are now in the Basel Historisches Museum; see Beer, *CVMA, Switzerland III*, pl. 173. Most important of all for comparison with Boppard are the remains from a Life of

Mary c. 1440, from the church of Partenheim, now in Darmstadt (Figure 33); see *Glasmalerei in Darmstadt*, catalogue, ed. Beeh-Lustenburger, pls. 106–127. This glass is the work of a Mainz master and bears a close relationship in style to Boppard. (See Appendix A and compare Figure 33 with Figures 18 and 30).

82. Quoted in Wormald, *The Throne of Solomon*, p. 534.

83. The closest examples iconographically are those at Augsburg Cathedral, 1330–1340, Elisabeth von Witzleben, *Farbwunder deutscher Glasmalerei aus dem Mittelalter* (Augsburg, 1967) pl. xxvii, and at the Dominican church at Colmar, Paul Stintzi, *L’Eglise des Dominicains* (Munich and Zurich, 1967) cover, of comparable date but very much restored.

84. In the Boppard Throne most of the prophets are merely identified by their names, and many are illegible. Among them are Micha, Jeremiah, Moses, and Daniel.

85. Paris, Bibl. Nat., ms. Fr. 9220, *Verger de Soulas*.

86. It is possible that Count Pückler himself had the substitutions made as more suitable for the window of his mortuary chapel.

87. From the *Bible Moralisee*, Oxford Bodl. ms. 270b, fol. 164 “Thronus Solomonis signat thronum quem pater filis disposuit scilicet beatam virginem.”

nature as conceived by God from the beginning of time.

The final window in the series, as placed in bay n X (Figure 22), above the west door, is again composed of large single figures. It was a donation of Cuno von Piermont and his wife, Margarethe von Schönenberg, who with their five children appear in the lowest register.<sup>88</sup> Cuno's own reputation as a knight may have influenced the presence of the warrior saints George and Quirinus, who flank the figure of the Virgin in the lower half of the window. In the upper tier, the Archangel Michael (Figure 11) impales the dragon of evil with his lance in the left-hand lancet; Cuno's patron, St. Cunibert (Figure 12) with his attribute, the dove of the Holy Spirit, appears in the central light; and an unidentified bishop saint (Figure 13) is placed in the right-hand lancet. Just as the saints represented in the *Ährenkleid* window were associated with Liège, the saints in this window were those particularly venerated in Cologne, capital of the Carmelite province of Lower Germany. St. Cunibert, after serving as archdeacon of Trier, was elevated to the See of Cologne, where he is credited with having discovered the relics of St. Ursula.<sup>89</sup> This miracle occurred while Archbishop Cunibert was saying mass. A dove descended and alighted first upon his shoulder and then upon a tomb, which proved to be that of St. Ursula. The unidentified bishop is, in all probability, St. Severinus, archbishop of Cologne and patron saint of Boppard.<sup>90</sup> St. Severinus is usually shown with his crosier and sometimes with a model of the church he founded at Cologne. St. Michael, the patron saint of warriors, has a chapel dedicated to him in the cathedral of Cologne, while churches under the patronage of both St. George and St. Quirinus existed in the ecclesiastical city from early in the Middle Ages.

The Virgin appears in this window as the Woman of the Apocalypse, "clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars" (Revelation 12:1), the type destined in the sixteenth century to represent the Immaculate Conception. Long before this time, however, this particular iconography, used to illustrate triumph over sin, began to be associated with Mary Immaculate, and the Christ Child, held in her arms, provided the reason for her immaculacy.<sup>91</sup> In the Boppard version, additional proof of meaning is provided by the presence both of the figure of Isaiah, placed in the niche above the

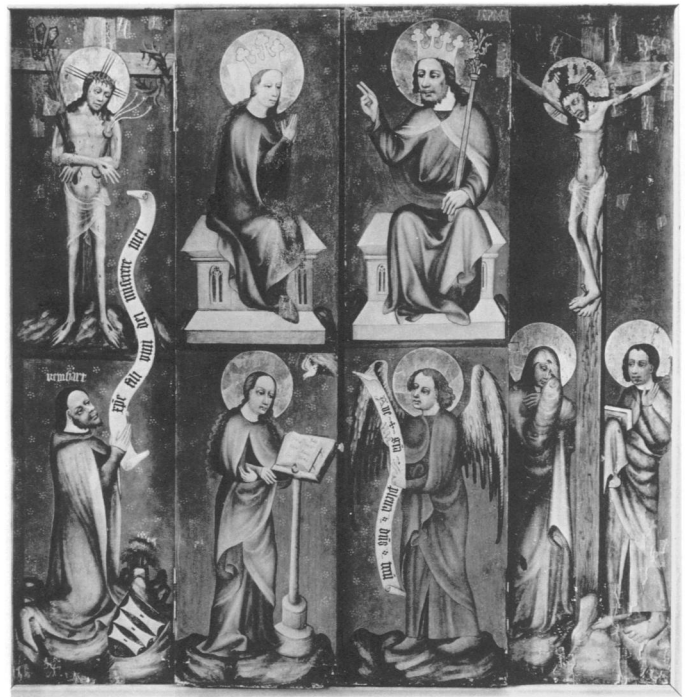


FIGURE 29

Bohemian master, Coronation of the Virgin altarpiece from Muhlhausen in Swabia, dated 1385. Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart

Virgin's head, and of St. Michael. The passage in Revelation continues (12:7, 9): "And there was war in heaven: Michael and his angels fought against the dragon. . . . And the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the Devil and Satan . . . was cast out into the earth. . . ." Since Eve, tempted by the serpent, committed original sin upon earth, the inference is that Mary, created before this and in the mind of God from the beginning of time, was exempt from sin. The presence both of St. Michael and of Mary as the Apocalyptic Vision in the Boppard window proves that her image is that of the Immaculate Conception.

88. Cuno von Piermont's son Heinrich, who appears in the panel with his father, was listed among the *Domherren* of Trier, as was his own son Cuno. The family was also *Reichministerialen*. See Kisky, *Die Domkapitel*, pp. 164, 166, 185.

89. Died c. 663. His life is given in Laurentius Surius, *De probatis sanctorum historiis* (Cologne, 1575) VI, pp. 273–276.

90. His life is given in Surius, *De probatis sanctorum*, (1574) pp. 920–927.

91. See d'Ancona, *The Immaculate Conception*, p. 28.

But, as is usual in this glass, there is a second meaning that unifies the various parts of the window. The Christ Child stretches his hands toward a branch of three white roses held in the hand of his mother and upon which perches the dove of the Holy Spirit. The rose, both as a Marian symbol and as an indicator of divine love and sacrifice, has already been discussed in relation to the Boppard windows.<sup>92</sup> But in this particular instance the presence of the dove on the three-branched rose is a reference to the conferring upon Mary of divine grace through the descent of the Holy Spirit proceeding from both the Father and the Son.<sup>93</sup> It is for this reason that the Christ Child stretches his arms toward the dove, and Mary's special relationship to the three persons of the Trinity is expressed by the three-branched rose that she holds in her hand. The same symbol of the dove with the figure of St. Cunibert in the zone above is not only an attribute but also symbolic of the state of grace conferred upon the bishop in his performance of the mass during which the miracle took place.

The complex symbolism inherent in the stained glass

92. See note 74, *supra*.

93. The question of the Trinity as discussed at the Council of Basel involved the emanation of the Holy Spirit. It is extensively discussed by Don Denny, "The Trinity in Enguerrand Quarton's 'Coronation of the Virgin,'" *Art Bulletin* 45 (1963) pp. 50-51. An interesting comparison is provided by the *Gnadenstuhl* window at Cologne, only a few years earlier in date, where the Apocalyptic Madonna is juxtaposed with the Trinity. The Madonna, now in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 39), has been recently identified by Dr. Herbert Rode as the one from this window. She is presented as the Apocalyptic Vision in relation to the Trinity, from which her immaculate nature may be inferred, and for added emphasis her Coronation is also included. The window is discussed by Dr. Rode, "Das Gnadenstuhlfenster im Kölner Dom," *Kölner Domblatt* 18-19 (1960) pp. 107-120. The Trinity is shown in pls. 68 and 70.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In the combined collections of medieval stained glass at the Metropolitan Museum and The Cloisters are fifty panels from the Carmelite church of Boppard-am-Rhein. This is not only the largest group of examples from any single monument in these collections but also the largest concentration of Boppard stained glass anywhere in the world. I would like to thank Frau Suzanne Beeh-Lustenberger of the Hessisches Landesmuseum in Darmstadt, Mr. Francis Robinson, Curator of Medieval Art at the Detroit Institute of Arts, Mr.

at Boppard was the result both of the special devotional emphasis of the Carmelite order and of theological ideas of the time relating to this emphasis. Two major themes were developed within the program. Of paramount importance was the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, patroness of the order. The question had been introduced for debate at the Council of Basel in 1439 and had been accorded official sanction, strongly supported by the German clergy in attendance. The second theme, that of the Trinity, was also an issue at the council in its attempt to reconcile the eastern and western divisions of the Church. But the Trinity as a symbol at Boppard was introduced into the windows in the special context of its relationship to the Virgin. The content expressing these themes was drawn from many sources, from the German mystics, from the Marian litanies, from the works of the monastic writers, and from Church doctrine. Neither of these themes in itself was unusual, but the manner of their presentation, the subtle interrelationship of elements, and the combination and repetition of motifs to form a total, unified expression had probably never been attempted in precisely the same manner or on such a scale before. Perhaps such a program as this could only have been realized within the special intellectual climate of mysticism that pervaded the lower Rhineland provinces in the late Middle Ages. Perhaps, also, the particular emphasis placed upon these iconographic themes could only have been conceived by a comparatively young religious community that had neither inherited nor been influenced by a long artistic tradition. The reasons assume minor importance when these windows are considered as an aesthetic achievement, remarkable for their harmony of meaning and medium and for their unity of program and design.

William Wells, Curator of the Burrell Collection in the Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum, and Professor Hans Wentzel of the Technische Hochschule in Stuttgart, all of whom have supplied photographs and shared with me their own information on the glass. I am most grateful also to Miss Nancy Sheiry, former Assistant at The Cloisters, for her research on the history and activities of the Carmelites in fifteenth-century Germany.

## Appendix A: Style

A DETAILED discussion of the style of the glass at Boppard, and the relationships and origins of the two workshops that produced it, will appear in the *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi, United States I, Medieval Stained Glass in the United States of America*. Since the establishment of two rather than a single atelier for the glazing plays an important part in the reconstruction of the program, it is necessary to summarize style characteristics and differences inherent in the two hands. The presence of the two workshops does not imply that the overall design and execution of the windows was not under the direction of a master glazier or that a large part of the work was not expressly his own creation. His personal style is distinct and unmistakably different from that of the painter who, as head of the second workshop, served as his associate. Both glass painters were undoubtedly from the Rhineland, perhaps coming to Boppard by way of Mainz, the closest center for the production of stained glass, but the qualities that distinguish their individual styles were neither Middle Rhenish nor of similar origin.

In the work of each of them are characteristics common to one or the other of the two great foyers of Rhenish art during the latter part of the Middle Ages. The style of the master glazier exhibits traits common to stained glass and panel painting of the Upper Rhine, a vigorous tradition centering around Strasbourg, reaching north into the Saar Valley and south by way of Alsace and Baden into Switzerland, but having its origins in contacts with Bohemia by way of Austria and Lake Constance. Equally distinguishable in the work of the assistant master are characteristics peculiar to the art of Cologne, a style much more confined geographically but having its roots in French court art and the latter's special manifestations in Flemish painting.

Distinguishing stylistic features of the glass attributed to the master glazier include the settings of his windows (Figures 21, 22, 25, 28). None of the lancets have borders, a tendency notable in contemporary glass in the vast area influenced by the Upper Rhine and seen at Setting on the Saar (compare Figures 10 and 30),

in the choir of Berne Minster, and at such other locations in Switzerland as Zofingen, where the present border is a later addition (Figure 26), and Staufberg (Beer, *CVMA, Switzerland III*, pl. 107). There are few remaining examples from Strasbourg except for fragments from the Dominican church, which have been dated about 1417 (Victor Beyer, "La Verrière du Jugement Dernier à l'Ancienne Eglise des Dominicains de Strasbourg," *Hommage à Hans Haug* [Strasbourg, 1967] pp. 33-44). But these, as well as earlier glass at the Dominican church at Colmar, at Niederhaslach, and at Saint-Pierre-le-Vieux and the Cathedral in Strasbourg itself, serve to indicate that this tendency, which was absent at Cologne, had pervaded the whole region of the Upper Rhine. The architectural settings designed by the master are composed of massive forms with boldly projecting canopies embellished by bulbous crockets and finials. Similarly heavy forms distinguish the architecture in windows at Berne and at Setting. One of the most remarkable qualities of the work of this glazier is his love of ornament, a characteristic traceable perhaps to the fourteenth-century glass at Cologne. The wide variety of types and variations on a particular motif in such examples as the Solomon window is an exceptional characteristic of his work. The figures painted by this master (Figures 5-10) are short and stocky with heavy, expressive facial features and lively gestures similar to those found in all of the contemporary Upper Rhenish examples (compare Figures 31 and 32) and also to those of the master from Mainz who worked at Partenheim (Figure 33). The drapery in which the figures are enveloped hangs from their bodies in weighty, sagging folds gathered in rippling, complex bunches or falling to crumpled, jagged edges (Figures 11-13, 15). The origin of this drapery style is better compared to the *Knitterstil* of Upper Rhenish painting, as seen, for example, in the work of the master of the Staufen Altar (compare Figures 34 and 35), than to contemporary glass painting, which did not give up the older soft style until a decade later.

The work of his associate is much more closely allied to the prevailing style of Cologne as exhibited by the



FIGURE 30  
Christ before Pilate, Agony in the Garden, Annunciation, and Flight into Egypt from the Life of Christ window, c. 1435–1440. Church of the *Vierzehn Nothelfer*, Setting



FIGURE 31  
Ninth Commandment from the Ten Commandments window from Boppard. Burrell Collection, Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum

*Gnadenstuhl* window (Figure 37). His figure style is somewhat more linear than that of the *Gnadenstuhl* master (compare Figures 38 and 39), approaching the schematic drawing of the Mainz master of Partenheim, particularly in the small scenes that may have been the work of an assistant (compare Figures 18 and 33). The slender, elongated figures enveloped in soft, trailing drapery and placed under soaring canopies of delicate tracery that were drawn by this second glazier

FIGURE 32  
Detail from the Ten Commandments window, c. 1440. Church of St. Theobald, Thann





FIGURE 33  
Assumption of the Virgin from the parish church  
of Partenheim, Rheinhessen, *c.* 1440. Hessisches  
Landesmuseum, Darmstadt

FIGURE 34  
Detail from the Nativity from the Tree of Jesse  
window from Boppard. The Metropolitan Mu-  
seum of Art, Leland Fund

FIGURE 35  
Upper Rhenish master, Birth of Christ, detail  
from the altarpiece from Staufien, *c.* 1430–1440.  
Augustinermuseum, Freiburg im Breisgau  
(Photo: Karl Alber, Freiburg)

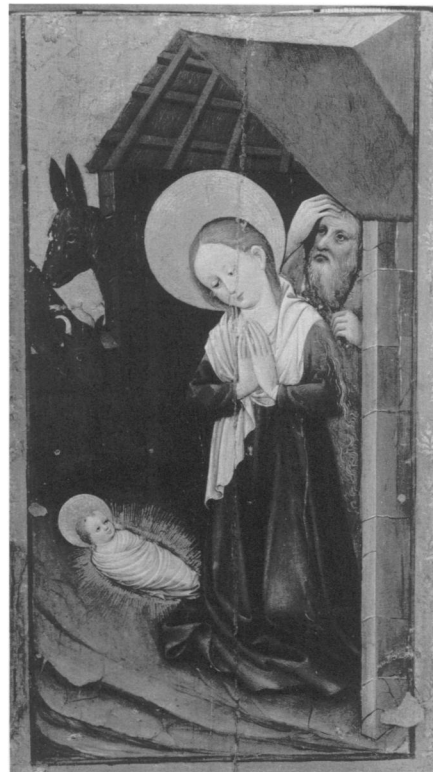


FIGURE 36  
St. Dorothea, detail from the Cloisters  
window from Boppard

FIGURE 37  
Christ from a Coronation of the Virgin  
from the *Gnadenstuhl* window, c. 1420–  
1430. Originally from the church of the  
Augustinian Canons, Cologne, now in  
the cathedral

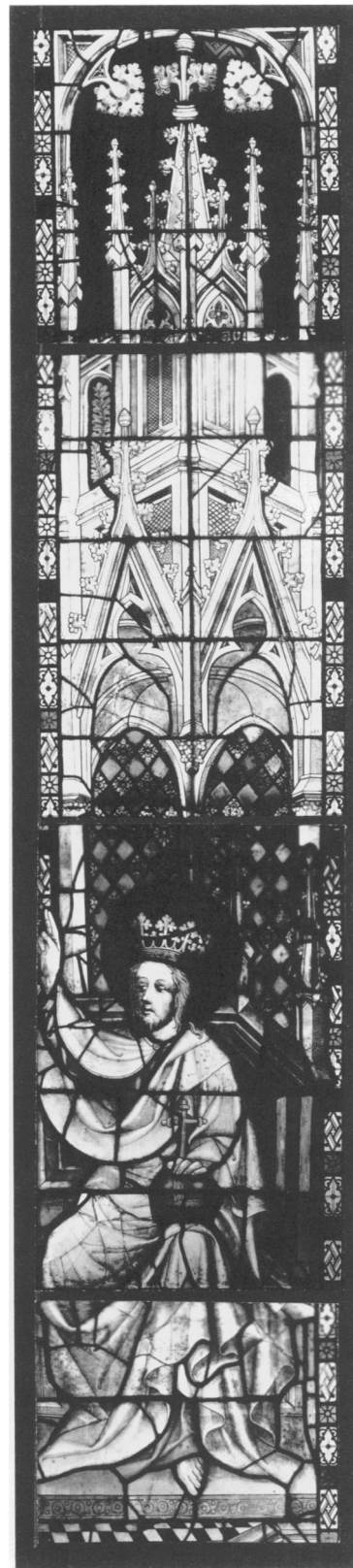




FIGURE 38  
Virgin in the *Ährenkleid*, detail from the Cloisters window from Boppard (Photo: Taylor and Dull)



FIGURE 39  
Madonna, detail from the *Gnadenstuhl* window, c. 1420–1430, originally from church of the Augustinian Canons, Cologne. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, bequest of George D. Pratt, 41.170.93a

of Boppard are much more in keeping with the style of the *Gnadenstuhl* master and with Cologne painting stemming from the school of the Veronica Master (compare Figures 36, 37, and 40). Like his Cologne contemporaries, the associate master of Boppard enclosed his lancets in narrow borders. The backgrounds of his windows are composed of a single type of ornament, either a foliate or diaper design, also found in glass from Cologne. In contrast to the brilliant color that is characteristic of the master glazier's work and of Upper Rhenish glass in general, the windows of Cologne and those of the associate master at Boppard show a marked preference for grisaille, both in drapery and in flesh tones.

The work of the two masters responsible for the

glazing of the north nave of the Carmelite church indicates that they stemmed from very different stylistic traditions. Each of these traditions dominated its sphere of western Germany during the later Middle Ages, and each had its effect upon the art of the Middle Rhine as witnessed in the glass painting of the period (Figure 33). That both these local styles could affect one or the other of the masters at Boppard is not, therefore, surprising. In the work of the associate, the style of the older generation at Cologne dominated. The master glazier, on the other hand, aware of new ideas generated in the south, was a true innovator in stained glass, and his work at Boppard marked the first appearance in that medium of a new style, the *Knitterstil*.



**FIGURE 40**  
Master of St. Veronica, St. Catherine and St. Elizabeth of Hungary, first quarter of the xv century, from the church of the Teutonic Order of St. Catherine, Cologne. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg

## Appendix B: Transcript of the Document

ANNO 1444 VI Ianuarii Gerhardus Episcopus Salonen-  
sis suffraganeus Trevirensis magnam partem ecclesiae  
Carmelitanarum Boppardiae una cum novo altari  
consecravit et cum impositione, reliquiarum et conces-  
sione indulgentiarum, ut sequitur.

**Nos Gerhardus**, miseratione divina et Apolosticae  
Sedis gratia ep(iscop)us Salonen-sis, rever(endiss)imi in  
Ch(rist)o Patris et [Domini] D(omi)ni Iacobi eadem  
miseratione Archiepiscopi Trevirensis in Pontificalibus  
Vicarius Generalis, universis et singulis Christi fidelibus  
salutem in D(omi)no sempiternam. Pia mater Ec-  
clesia, de animarum salute sollicita devotione, per  
quaedam munera spiritualia remissiones vel et indul-  
gentias mutare consuevit ad debitum famulatum Deo  
et honorem sacris Christianis aedibus impendendum,  
ut quanto crebrius illuc confluit populus Christianus  
devotae salvationis gratiam implorando, tanto celerius  
delictorum suorum veniam et gaudia consequi mere-  
antur aeterna. Et quia in oppido Boppardiensi in  
Monasterio Fratrum Beatae Mariae Virginis de Monte  
Carmelo magnam partem de novo constructam ec-  
clesiae consecravimus una cum novo altare in honorem  
sanctorum Stephani prothomartyris, decem Millium  
Martyrum, undecim Millium Virginum, Anthonii  
S(anc)tae Crucis ac Catharinae, Mariae Magdalенаe,  
Foelicis et Adaucti, de quorum reliquiis in eodem est  
reconditum debita cum reverentia pro ut decuit.  
Omnibus igitur vere poenitentibus, confessis et con-  
tritis, qui in dedicationis festo dicti altaris vel in festis  
Domini nostri Jesu Christi vel Natalis Domini,  
Circumcisionis, Epiphaniae, die Cinerum, Palmarum,  
die Coenae parasceves, Paschae, Asensionis, Phente-  
costes, Trinitatis, Corporis Christi, omnibus diebus  
Dominicis, sextis feriis, sabbatinis diebus, quolibet festo  
gloriosae Virginis Mariae, diebus Beati Joannis Bap-  
tistae, Beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum ac aliorum  
Apostolorum, quattuor Evangelistarum, quattuor  
Doctorum et per omnes octavas, diebus quoque  
Beatorum Stephani, Laurentii, Vincentii atque Geor-  
gii, Beatorum quoque Nicolai, Martini, et Briccii,

Beatarum quoque Catharinae, Margarethae, Bar-  
barae, Dorotheae, Agathae, Luciae, Caeciliae, et  
Agnētis Virginum, Beatarum quoque Elisabeth, Hed-  
wigis, et Agnae\* Viduarum, et Sancti Michaelis, in  
festo omnium Sanctorum, et in Commemoratione  
animarum, et in dictorum festorum octavis, et in festo  
Patronorum, vel causa devotionis aut peregrinationis  
dictum altare accesserint annuatim vel qui ibidem  
elevatum Corpus et Sanguinem Domini Nostri Jesu  
Christi infra missarum solemnna flexis genibus ora-  
verint, aut qui ad libros, codices, albas, casulas, vel alia  
huiusmodi indumenta et praeparamenta sacerdotum  
et altare, vel qui ad fabricam, ornamenta, luminaria, et  
alia ad dictum altare necessaria intuitu divino manus  
suas porrexerint adiutrices, aut qui in sano corpore  
aut in fine vitae suae praefatum altare quidquid  
suarum legaverint facultatum, quotiescumque prae-  
missa vel aliquid fecerint praemissorum, Nos de  
omnipotentis Dei misericordia et Beatorum Petri et  
Pauli Apostolorum eius auctoritate confisi, XL dies  
indulgentiarum de inimicis eis poenitentiis miseri-  
corder in Domino relaxamus.

In cuius omnium robur et testimonium duximus  
nostri pontificalis sigilli praesentia muniri. Datum  
Confluentiae, duodecima die Mensis Ianuarii, anno  
Domini millesimo quadringentesimo quadragesimo  
quarto iuxta stylum Trevirensem.

(Locus Sigilli)

Pro copia cum originali suo probe collationata et  
concordante, ego Ioannes Heinen sacris, apostolica et  
imperiali, autoritatibus publicis iuratus et approbatus  
notarius, subscripsi et subsignavi ita.

29 festis: festorum ms.

40 Briccii: Bruccii ms.

53 et alia ad: et ad alia ms.

61 inimicis: inimitis ms.

64 sigilli: sigillo ms.

\* Probably Elnae or Helena, who is usually included among  
the Holy Widows in German hagiography of the period. She ap-  
pears with Elizabeth and Hedwig in the Albrecht Altar.