

Multiple Authorship and Diachronic Hybridity

The Seven-branched Candelabrum of Brunswick Cathedral and Its Historical Reconfiguration

Abstract

This chapter is a case study on the seven-branched candelabrum in Brunswick Cathedral from 1170/1180, one of the largest surviving medieval bronze objects. This famous artefact, however, is of a hybrid nature: it owes significant parts to a 19th-century restoration and thus reflects, as is demonstrated here, the artistic ideas and (political) intentions of both medieval and modern actors. In the 12th century, the candelabrum linked the church allegorically to the Tabernacle and the Templum Salomonis. It lent splendour to the liturgy of high feast days and to the memoria of Duke Henry the Lion (d. 1195), at whose tomb it was originally placed. After the candelabrum had been dismantled and removed in 1728, it was put back up in the 19th century, when it came to be regarded as a monument to the (national) past. In 1895, the lost parts of its base were recreated by Friedrich Küsthardt, while the church interior was refashioned in a neo-Romanesque style. The analysis of both the candelabrum's stages on equal terms reveals how the concept of multiple authorship (both synchronic and diachronic) can lead to a more profound understanding of hybrid artefacts within their respective artistic and historical contexts.

Keywords

Seven-branched Candelabrum, Henry the Lion, Historism, Friedrich Küsthardt, European Restoration, House of Guelph, Medievalism, Neo-Romanesque

The Romanesque candelabrum in Brunswick Cathedral (Braunschweiger Dom), formerly the collegiate church of St Blaise and St John the Baptist, is one of the largest and most artistically impressive seven-branched candelabra of the Middle Ages. From its present elevated position in the choir, it dominates the church interior, now largely bare after the 'purifications' of the 20th century (Figs. 1, 16).

- * Translated by Alexander Wilson in co-operation with Eleanor Goerss. Quotations for which no other translation is cited have also been translated by them. – The work for this chapter was carried out within the framework of project A6: "Seven-branched Candelabra in Churches: Semantics – Contexts – Practices" of the Collaborative Research Center 1391 *Different Aesthetics*, funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG), project no. 405662736. The project is dedicated to the study of a corpus of monumental seven-branched candelabra, both preserved and attested by sources.



Fig. 1. Brunswick Cathedral (former collegiate church of St Blaise and St John the Baptist), seven-branched candelabrum, c. 1170/1180 (before 1196).

Until recently, the Brunswick candelabrum has attracted scholarly interest primarily due to its presumed donation by Henry the Lion, Duke of Bavaria and Saxony.¹ As a *mixtum compositum*, however, the candelabrum has hardly been addressed. This is despite the fact that elements of the lampstand's base are products of a 19th-century restoration replacing the lost 12th-century originals. The diachronically shifting spatial contexts and their role in the semantics and aesthetics of the candelabrum have also received little attention. On the one hand, the candelabrum's monumentality and its light had, and still have, an effect on the interior of the church. On the other hand, this interior forms the candelabrum's aesthetic and performative space. The neo-Romanesque additions to the candelabrum function aesthetically only in the context of the church's late 19th-century restoration. This becomes comprehensible, in turn, against the backdrop of the restorationist policy of the Dukes of Brunswick.

This chapter focuses on an object characterized by its diachronic hybridity. It will be shown that the production of the candelabrum in the 12th century and its restoration and completion in the 19th century were in equal measure the outcome of complex processes and the result of multiple authorship. The contribution will then address not only how the design of the artefact, but also how its contexts realize a 'different aesthetics.'

1. Form and Structure

The seven-branched candelabrum in Brunswick Cathedral is cast from bronze. It is 4.80 m high and has a span of 4.30 m. Including the elements produced in the 19th century, it consists of 74 individual parts. Most of these parts were made using the lost wax casting method before being fit together.² The shaft, partitioned by six nodes, rises from a base supported by lions and dragons. Each node is ringed by a wreath of leaves (Fig. 2). The lowest node is decorated with four rock crystals. The next two are set with figurative and ornamental *champlevé* enamels. The top three, like the lowest node, are each furnished with four rock crystals. Above the third, fourth, and fifth nodes, the arms of the candelabrum branch off in pairs in the form of inverted ogee arches. Like the shaft, the width of the arms tapers toward the top. Each arm is also divided by nodes adorned with leaves. Suggesting organic growth, this detail adds an arboreal quality to the candelabrum. While serving an aesthetic purpose, the nodes also function to disguise the junctures between the separately cast elements. It is above all the tapering of the stem and arms that creates a dynamic effect. Despite

1 The most important articles on the Brunswick candelabrum: Neumann 1891; Pfeifer 1898; Graeven 1902; Swarzenski 1932, p. 250; Brandt 1985; Koch 1995.

2 Koch 1995, p. 195.



Fig. 2. Seven-branched candelabrum, evangelist (champlevé), c. 1170/1180, and ornamental enamels, c. 1895 (champlevé).

its monumentality, the candelabrum thus retains an elegant and slender aesthetic. The sweeping arms, moreover, do not end at the same height. Rather than forming a horizontal bar, the top of the candelabra slopes gently from the centre outwards. The candle trays supported by each arm are designed as eight-petalled chalices. Together, these features evoke a tree of light.

Four lions, seated and sphinx-like, form the base of the candelabrum (Fig. 3). Each lion carries a bowl on its back. Four dragons rest their front paws and heads on the bowls. With their bodies striving upwards with long, upturned tails, the dragons seem to support the lowest node of the shaft. There is something contrived about the combination of creatures.³ The dragons' heads are narrow, long-eared, and dog-like, their mouths open. Their curved necks merge into swan-like bodies. Feathered wings grow directly out of their forelegs. Tapering toward the shaft of the candelabrum, their tails twist into spiralling tendrils. A small dragon animates one of these tendrils; another tendril is inhabited by a bird-headed creature. Spandrels with ornamental openwork occupy the space between the four dragons. These are 19th-century additions that will be discussed in more detail later. Nothing is known about the original design of these spandrels. Other 19th-century additions include most of the enamels on the trunk's nodes. The only medieval enamels are those with the enthroned evangelists. The diamond-shaped enamels and most of the ornamental plates are historicising replacements for missing parts. Nevertheless, the bronze surface is characterized by the flawlessness

3 There is only one other case with similar forms, namely a lampstand that followed the model of the Brunswick candelabrum. Melted down in the 18th century, only drawings survive. Formerly in the church St Michael in Lüneburg, this candelabrum probably dates from around 1300; see Bloch 1961, pp. 149f., Fig. 83, p. 287.

of the cast and the warm sheen of the material. These qualities, together with the play of light, accentuate the plasticity of the individual shapes. The Historicist ornamental spandrels, as well as the enamels on the shaft, fit in seamlessly with the candelabrum's medieval appearance – both in material and artistic terms.

2. Semantics and Actors in the 12th Century

In form and meaning, the Christian seven-branched candelabrum follows from the Jewish Menorah. According to the Book of Exodus, the Menorah was produced on God's directive as part of the ritual objects for the Tabernacle. Like the Ark of the Covenant, the Table for the Showbread, and the Altar of Incense, the Menorah also became part of the furnishings of the Solomonic Temple in Jerusalem.⁴ Due to their detailed descriptions in the Bible, the objects of the Tabernacle and Solomon's Temple played a prominent role in Christian exegesis. God stipulates the making of the Temple furnishings as a condition for his residing with his people: *Facientque mihi sanctuarium, et habitabo in medio eorum: juxta omnem similitudinem tabernaculi quod ostendam tibi, et omnium vasorum in cultum ejus* ("And let them make me a sanctuary, that I may dwell in their midst. According to all that I show you concerning the pattern of the tabernacle, and of all its furniture, so you shall make it"; Ex 25:8–9).⁵ Then God proceeds to give precise specifications, referencing a model quite literally shown to Moses (*fac secundum exemplar quod tibi in monte monstratum est* ['make [it] according to the model shown to you on the mountain']; Ex 25:40; see also 26:30). God thus directly instigated the production of the Menorah and other objects in the Temple.⁶

4 The relevant biblical passages are Ex 25:17–24 and 31–38, and 1 Kgs 7:49. – On the Menorah and its history, see Voß 1993; Hakhilili 2001; Fine 2016; Di Castro/Leone/Nesselrath 2017. A very readable account of its historical development and the interpretive contexts is provided in Bloch 1961, pp. 55–88.

5 Latin quotations of the Bible follow the edition: *Biblia sacra*, ed. by Berger; English translations: Revised Standard Version (RSV) of the Bible. Unless otherwise noted, translations from other Latin sources correspond to the author's translations in the German original of this chapter.

6 The passage on the candelabrum reads: *Facies et candelabrum ductile de auro mundissimo, hastile ejus, et calamos, scyphos, et sphærolas, ac lilia ex ipso procedentia. Sex calami egredientur de lateribus, tres ex uno latere, et tres ex altero. Tres scyphi quasi in nucis modum per calamos singulos, sphærolaque simul, et lilium: et tres similiter scyphi instar nucis in calamo altero, sphærolaque simul et lilium. Hoc erit opus sex calamorum, qui producendi sunt de hastili: in ipso autem candelabro erunt quatuor scyphi in nucis modum, sphærolæque per singulos, et lilia. Sphærolæ sub duobus calamis per tria loca, qui simul sex fiunt procedentes de hastili uno. Et sphærolæ igitur et calami ex ipso erunt, universa ductilia de auro purissimo. Facies et lucernas septem, et pones eas super candelabrum, ut luceant ex adverso. Emunctoria quoque, et ubi quæ emuncta sunt extinguantur, fiant de auro purissimo. Omne pondus candelabri cum universis vasis suis habebit talentum auri purissimi. Inspice, et fac secundum exemplar, quod tibi in monte monstratum est* ("And you shall make a lampstand of pure gold. The base and the shaft of the lampstand shall be



Fig. 3. Seven-branched candelabrum, base, lion and dragon, c. 1170/1180.

The number of candles was decisive for the Christian allegory. Early on, exegetes associated the Menorah's seven candles with the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit. The prophecy recounted in the book of Isaiah, the *radix Jesse* prophecy ('the Tree of Jesse'; Isa 11:1–3), lists seven gifts of the Holy Spirit.⁷ The motif in this prophecy of the new shoot, which likewise refers to the Messiah, probably also inspired the candelabrum's occasionally

made of hammered work; its cups, its capitals, and its flowers shall be of one piece with it; and there shall be six branches going out of its sides, three branches of the lampstand out of one side of it and three branches of the lampstand out of the other side of it; three cups made like almonds, each with capital and flower, on one branch, and three cups made like almonds, each with capital and flower, on the other branch – so for the six branches going out of the lampstand; and on the lampstand itself four cups made like almonds, with their capitals and flowers, and a capital of one piece with it under each pair of the six branches going out from the lampstand. Their capitals and their branches shall be of one piece with it, the whole of it one piece of hammered work of pure gold. And you shall make the seven lamps for it; and the lamps shall be set up so as to give light upon the space in front of it. Its snuffers and their trays shall be of pure gold. Of a talent of pure gold shall it be made, with all these utensils"; Ex 25:31–39).

- 7 *Et egredietur virga de radice Iesse et flos de radice eius ascendet. Et requiescet super eum spiritus Domini spiritus sapientiae et intellectus spiritus consilii et fortitudinis spiritus scientiae et pietatis et replebit eum spiritus timoris Domini* ("There shall come forth a shoot from the stump of Jesse, and a branch shall grow out of his roots. And the Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and the fear of the Lord. And his delight shall be in the fear of the Lord"; Isa 11:1–3).



Fig. 4. Monument of Henry the Lion, square between Brunswick Cathedral and Dankwarderode Castle, 1164/1181.

tree-like design.⁸ In the case of the Brunswick candelabrum, its shape also lends pictorial clarity to its Christological interpretation as the ‘arbor Jesse.’

Created in association with Henry the Lion’s (c. 1129/1130–1195) building campaign, the Brunswick candelabrum is a spectacular artefact.⁹ Henry ranked among the most powerful nobleman in the Empire. Duke of Saxony since 1142, Henry also became Duke of Bavaria in 1156. According to the *Chronica Slavorum*, this is when he received his famous epithet: *Et creatum est ei nomen novum: Heinricus Leo, dux Bavariae et Saxoniae*.¹⁰ He created his residence, Dankwarderode Castle in Brunswick, to reflect his ambitions. The lion he had installed on the plaza between the palace and the collegiate church, a novel freestanding monumental bronze, also served as a symbol of his ducal power (Fig. 4).¹¹

8 It would be interesting to know the appearance of the lost 12th-century candelabrum attested by sources to have stood in the choir of the abbey church of Saint Augustine in Canterbury: *Candelabrum magnum in choro aureum, quod ‘Jesse’ vocatur* (‘a large golden candelabrum in the choir, named ‘Jesse’); see Lehmann-Brockhaus: *Lateinische Schriftquellen zur Kunst in England, Wales und Schottland*, pp. 197f., nos. 720f.; Bloch 1961, p. 125.

9 For more detailed information on Henry the Lion’s endowments: Swarzenski 1932, pp. 241–397; Oexle 1995; Westermann-Angerhausen 2003.

10 Cited from Bosau: *Chronica Slavorum*, p. 300 (‘And a new name was created for him: Henry the Lion, Duke of Bavaria and Saxony’).

11 Statements on the precise dating of the lion monument vary; the range lies between 1164 and 1181. See Seiler 2003.

In 1168, Henry married Matilda Plantagenet, the daughter of the King of England. Between January 1172 and January 1173, he undertook a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Upon his return, he had the old collegiate church of St Blaise demolished and instigated the construction of a more sophisticated, three-aisled church with a raised choir. Henry's fall in 1180 resulted in the loss of his imperial fiefdoms and ultimately in his exile in England (1182–1185 and 1188–1189). While these circumstances may have led to interruptions, the construction and furnishing of St Blaise seem to have advanced swiftly.¹² In 1188, the altar of the Virgin Mary was consecrated. Resting on five bronze columns, the altar was located in the choir. Henry moreover commissioned a luxurious Gospel book for the altar from the scriptorium in Helmarshausen.¹³ The chronicler Gerhard von Steterburg (d. 1209) reported other artefacts donated by Henry. In his *Annales Steterburgenses*,¹⁴ Gerhard mentions a group of triumphal crosses,¹⁵ a golden crucifix for the altar of the cross, and stained glass windows.¹⁶ When Matilda died in 1189, she was buried 'in medio ecclesiae' – in the central aisle of the collegiate church – as was customary for high-ranking benefactors. Upon Henry's death in 1195, he was interred at her side. The couple's son, Otto IV, who died in 1218, was also laid to rest in the central aisle of the church.¹⁷ The seven-branched candelabrum stood between the ducal couple's tomb and the altar of the Cross (Kreuzaltar) in front of the Choir screen. The first attestation to the candelabrum and its placement appears in a document recording the donation of wax in 1196.¹⁸ The *Braunschweiger Rheimchronik* (Brunswick verse chronicle)

12 Koch 1985; Niehr 1995.

13 On the altar of Mary: Luckhardt/Niehoff 1995, pp. 192–195, Cat. no. D 26 (Franz Niehoff); on the Gospel book of Henry the Lion: Luckhardt/Niehoff 1995, pp. 206–210, Cat. no. D 31 (Joachim M. Plotzek).

14 *Videns senior dux imperatorem flecti non posse ad benevolentiam, coelesti Regi placere desiderans, cultum domus Dei ampliare intendit [...] ymaginem domini nostri Ihesu Chrisit crucifixi cum aliis ymaginibus miro et decenti opere in medio monasterii summo studio collocari fecit, pavimento et fenestris ipsum monasterium laudabiliter ornavit, crucem auream opere fabрили fieri instituit, cuius pretium in auro et gemmis ad mille quingentas marcas argenti computabatur* ('When the old duke saw that the emperor could not be diverted to goodwill, he wished to please the heavenly King, and intended to increase the splendor of the House of God. [...] He had the image of our crucified Lord Jesus Christ installed with great diligence in the middle of the cathedral with other images of wondrous and decorous craftsmanship, decorated the same cathedral with a stone floor and windows in a praiseworthy manner, and had made a golden cross of wrought-iron work, the value of which in gold and precious stones was estimated at 1500 marks of silver'; *Annales Steterburgenses*, p. 230).

15 On the destroyed triumphal cross group, see Bethmann: *Die Gründung Braunschweigs und der Dom Heinrichs des Löwen*, pp. 549–552; Beer 2005, p. 247.

16 On the surviving fragments: Luckhardt/Niehoff 1995, pp. 281 f., Cat. no. D 37 (Monika Böning).

17 Ehlers 2009.

18 See note 26.

from the later 13th century reports that Henry was *unden dhem candelar geleyht an dhes munsteres mitten* ('laid to rest below the candelabrum in the middle of the cathedral').¹⁹

The candelabrum, according to Ursula Mende, was cast locally. This was also the case for the lion monument and the bronze columns for the altar of the Virgin Mary.²⁰ It is thus assumed that specialists were brought to Brunswick for the modelling and casting.²¹ The enamels on the nodes of the candelabrum, however, were produced not by artists working in the region but rather in Cologne, the leading centre for the production of high-quality champlevé enamels in the Empire.²²

Regarding iconography, the Brunswick candelabrum is the first known seven-branched candelabrum with lions as supporting figures.²³ Like the stylistically similar bronze lion in the front of Dankewarderobe Castle, these lions were likely conceived as a reference to Henry the Lion as the churches benefactor. In addition, the candelabrum was semantically linked to the other church furnishings. As scholarship has long recognized, this linkage blended the collegiate church with the Templum Salomonis in Jerusalem.²⁴ On either side of the main altar in the apex of the choir, two (no longer preserved) freestanding columns were placed in memory of Jachin and Boaz, the two pillars of Solomon's Temple (1 Kgs 7:21). The form of the altar of the Virgin Mary, a stone slab supported by five bronze columns, alluded to the Table for the Showbread. The seven-branched candelabrum acted as an effigy of the biblical Menorah. Insofar as the Templum Salomonis was superimposed on the church interior of St Blaise, its builder, Henry the Lion, was made to appear as a 'novus David' or 'novus Solomon' in the tradition of the biblical kings.²⁵

Because of its position at the tomb of the ducal couple, the seven-branched candelabrum also played an important commemorative role. In 1196, one year after Henry's

19 Deutsche Chroniken und andere Geschichtsbücher des Mittelalters 2: Sächsische Weltchronik, p. 496.

20 Mende 1995.

21 Mende 1995, p. 427: 'One would like also to imagine the commission of Henry the Lion, who consolidated various forces at his court for the shaping of the sculpture and for its casting – surely the best that were available – in the same way [as Abbot Suger's commission for the bronze doors of St Denis, A. W.]'

22 Hildesheim had likewise mastered the production of champlevé enamel, albeit not at the high artistic level of the Cologne workshops. The Cologne origins of the enamels on the candelabrum are suggested by the colour and style of the enamels: Kemper 2020, pp. 30 and 102 ('one of the most impressive large-scale commissions [...] in Brunswick Cathedral, [which] was without question awarded to a more distant, Rhenish workshop').

23 In the late Middle Ages, lions as supports for seven-branched candelabra occur especially in the North Sea and Baltic regions (e.g. Kolberg, Stockholm, and Fürstenwalde); see Bloch 1961, pp. 165–170, Figs. 101–103.

24 Koch 1985; Niehr 1995, pp. 274–277.

25 Niehr 1995, p. 247.

death, Ludolf von Volkmarode, a Guelph ministry official and canon of St Blaise, endowed the altar of the Cross with a fief. The income was to finance wax for the candles on the altar and the seven-branched candelabrum.²⁶ The candelabrum, it is presumed, was lit for high festivals and memorial services for the founders.²⁷ Sources published by Irmgard Haas provide information about wax donations for the candelabrum's candles for other feasts, such as those of St Anne, St Euphemia, St Vincent, the Translation of St Blaise, St Bartholomew, St Michael, and others. From the late Middle Ages onwards, this also included the feast of Corpus Christi.²⁸ Only in its function within the liturgy did the candelabrum assume its full aesthetic splendour. Its light shone onto the altar of the Cross and into the nave of the church. With the glow of the candles, the burnished bronze surface and rock crystals came alive.

The production of the candelabrum, therefore, involved an interplay of various actors. Of these actors, only Henry the Lion, as the commissioner of the collegiate church's construction and furnishing, is known by name. The candelabrum, moreover, served a range of functions. On the one hand, it served to connect the church building to the Tabernacle and the Temple of Solomon in a semantic superimposition as it were. On the other hand, the candelabrum, together with the altar of the Cross, marked the liturgical centre of the church. Its light lent splendor to important feast days. And in its place near the tomb, it commemorated its benefactor, Henry the Lion, safeguarding the memory of him and his family.

3. Dislocation and Elimination

For more than four centuries, the candelabrum remained in its place between the tomb and the altar. And it continued to serve the range of functions associated with this placement. It was only with the Reformation that the liturgical and spatial contexts changed in Brunswick Cathedral. While the reformers gained a foothold in the city, St Blaise remained at the disposal of the dukes as their personal church (*Eigenkirche*). It was Julius, Duke of Brunswick and Lüneburg and Prince of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, who first opened the duchy to the Reformation in 1568.²⁹ The decisive architectural changes

26 *Lumina provideantur supra candelabrum coram iam sepe dicto altari* ('The candles for the candelabrum in front of the often-mentioned altar are to be provided'). Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv, Abteilung Wolfenbüttel, Hauptabteilung Urkunden, Abt. 7, Urk 2 (1196); see Bethmann: *Die Gründung Braunschweigs und der Dom Heinrichs des Löwen*, p. 553; Döll 1967, p. 174. This document has sometimes been dated incorrectly to 1223.

27 Kroos 1984; on the medieval use of light, see, in general, Henkelmann 2019; on the use of light in the context of commemorating the dead, see Schilp 2011.

28 Haas 2011, pp. 122, 256–258, and 356; on the lighting of the collegiate church, see pp. 256–259.

29 Beste 1889, pp. 1f. and 7–73; Schwarz 2012, esp. pp. 105f.

to St Blaise did not take place until a century later, when the Guelph court moved its seat back to Brunswick (again) from Wolfenbüttel in 1671. Once again serving as a court chapel, St Blaise was adapted to the needs of a reformed congregation. Its renovation and redesign reflected the style current under Dukes Rudolf August and Anton Ulrich. The numerous side altars, as well as the altar of the Cross, the high altar in the choir, and the canons' choir stalls, were removed. The 13th-century wall murals were white-washed.³⁰ The medieval barrier separating the choir from the nave and transept arms of the church was dismantled. At the base of the choir, a new staircase and a monumental pulpit altar (Kanzelaltar) (in place of the altar of the cross) were erected. In order that it not be concealed, the seven-branched candelabrum was "expensively burnished and placed in the choir in 1709".³¹ In 1728, the late baroque reredos for the high altar were completed by Anton Detlef Jenner. The candelabrum stood in the way. This time, it was entirely dismantled, broken down into its constituent parts, and stowed away in crates in the sacristy. Other victims of the late baroque remodelling of the cathedral in the 18th century included the medieval stained-glass windows and the group of triumphal crosses donated by Henry the Lion. These were turned into kindling and used to heat the sacristy, as Philipp Christian Ribbentrop indignantly reported in 1789.³² After that, as Ribbentrop noted, there was "little in the way of curiosities and antiquities" to be found in the church anymore. It would "therefore be desirable for the friends of German antiquities and the history of art [...] that the candelabrum, placed back in the church by Duke Anton Ulrich in 1709 and subsequently removed, might now find its place in the church again."³³

4. Restoration and Reconfiguration in the 19th Century

At the beginning of the 19th century, political events began to arrive in quick succession. In 1807, the new Kingdom of Westphalia was created at Napoleon's behest. This included the territories of the Electorates of Hessen and Hanover, as well as that of the Principality of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel. In 1810, the cathedral chapter of St Blaise was abolished and its property confiscated.³⁴ After the end of Napoleonic reign in 1813, Duke

30 On the medieval altars and the furnishing of the choir: Koch 1995, p. 501 and Fig. 17 (floor plan of the church before the Reformation); Haas 2011, pp. 251–255.

31 Rethmeyer: *Antiquitates Ecclesiasticae Inclytae Urbis Brunsvigae*, vol. 1, p. 88 ('In front of the altar, Duke Henry the Lion had the great brass candelabrum [...] placed, which is supposed to be a model of the golden candelabrum in the abbey's lodge') and Rethmeyer: *Antiquitates Ecclesiasticae Inclytae Urbis Brunsvigae*, vol. 5, p. 32.

32 Ribbentrop: *Beschreibung der Stadt Braunschweig*, p. 173.

33 Both quotations come from Ribbentrop: *Beschreibung der Stadt Braunschweig*, p. 183.

34 Neumann 1891, p. 24.

Friedrich Wilhelm was restored to power. The Duchy of Brunswick was re-established with the former borders of the Principality of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel. It was under these circumstances that Friedrich Görge, who worked as a cantor at the cathedral and collegiate church of St Blaise, wrote a description of the church in 1815. Dedicating his work to the “most illustrious and venerable prince” of Brunswick-Lüneburg, he foregrounded the church’s function as the burial place of the Guelphs.³⁵ With an audibly anti-Napoleonic tone, Görge spoke out emphatically in favour of re-erecting the candelabrum, which was still dismantled at the time:

Because this candelabrum, considered a work of art and an antiquity, is of such outstanding value, it is impossible to quell the desire that it be displayed publicly one more. [...] Even in the most hard-pressed of recent times, the goods received by the princely monastery through the benevolence of its sovereign have remained its property. So shall the weakling from Corsica be entitled to boast of having annihilated for all eternity what Duke Henry the Lion created and his noble successors preserved!

It will immortalize the day of its new foundation beyond any doubt through a memorial of sorts, which, just as history records the names of those who have preserved it, will also record the beloved name of its maker for posterity. What could be more appropriate here than this ancient work of art, which we owe to the great progenitor of our illustrious princely house.³⁶

Furthermore, Görge gives a detailed account of his inspection of the individual parts. He took them out of the crates, laid them out on the floor of the sacristy, and counted and measured them.³⁷ The four spandrels between the dragons of the candelabrum’s base were already missing at this time. It is not known whether they had been sold off, melted down, or stolen. In any case, the candelabrum was reinstalled in the choir in 1830 (Fig. 5).³⁸

35 Plans to restore the abbey failed, however. In 1832, the abbey’s estate was finally allocated to the ducal treasury. See Neumann 1891, p. 24; Schwarz 2012, p. 107.

36 Görge: *Der von Heinrich dem Löwen, Herzog von Sachsen und Bayern erbaute Sanct Blasius Dom zu Braunschweig*, pp. 31 f. (“Da dieser Armleuchter, als Kunstwerk und Alterthum betrachtet, einen so ausgezeichneten Werth hat, so kann man den Wunsch unmöglich unterdrücken, daß er wieder öffentlich aufgestellt werden möge. [...] Auch in den bedrängtesten neueren Zeiten verblieben dem Fürstlichen Stifte seine ihm durch Landesväterliche Huld gewordenen Güter. Sollte daher der Schwächling aus Corsica sich rühmen dürfen, auf ewige Zeiten vernichtet zu haben, was Herzog Heinrich der Löwe schuf und seine hehren Nachfolger erhielten! Es wird ohne Zweifel den Tag seiner neuen Gründung durch irgendein Denkmal verewigen, welches, wie die Geschichte die Namen der Erhalter, auch der Nachwelt den geliebten Namen des Herstellers nennt; welches könnte hier zweckmäßiger sein, als dies uralte Kunstwerk, das wir dem großen Ahnherrn unsers erlauchten Fürstenhauses verdanken.”).

37 Görge: *Der von Heinrich dem Löwen, Herzog von Sachsen und Bayern erbaute Sanct Blasius Dom zu Braunschweig*, pp. 27–32.

38 The steel engraving by Johannes Poppel follows a sketch by Emil Schulz and was published in: Heinemann: *Das Königreich Hannover und das Herzogthum Braunschweig*, vol. 3, table 15.

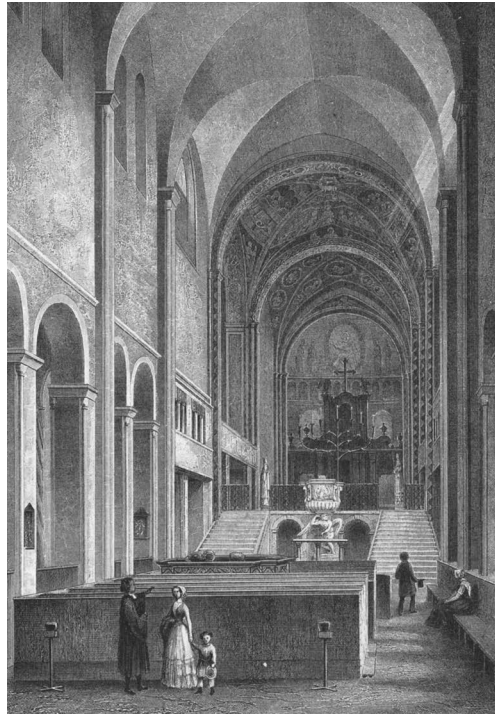


Fig. 5. Johannes Poppel: Brunswick Cathedral (steel engraving after a drawing by Emil Schulz), in: Heinemann: *Das Königreich Hannover und das Herzogthum Braunschweig* (The Kingdom of Hannover and the Duchy of Brunswick), vol. 3, plate 15.

The Brunswick bell founder Johann Heinrich Wicke replaced the lost medieval parts with bronze spandrels. He designed these parts according to the taste of the period, with symmetrically interlaced spirals of tendrils and Grecian palmette motifs (Fig. 6).³⁹

In the second half of the 19th century, a series of publications were dedicated to the collegiate church in its capacity as the Guelph court chapel. These publications, some illustrated, appreciated the candelabrum as a donation from Henry the Lion.⁴⁰ Cantor Friedrich Grube offered the most detailed account in his 1886 guide to the cathedral. Remarkably enough, the additions of 1830 were not recognizable to him as such. He wrote that the candelabrum showed “interesting ornaments of Byzantine style, especially at the base”.⁴¹ Others, however, recognized the spandrels as an aesthetic depar-

39 Neumann 1891, p. 16.

40 Görge: *Der von Heinrich dem Löwen, Herzog von Sachsen und Bayern erbaute Sanct Blasius Dom zu Braunschweig*, pp. 31 f.; Schiller: *Die mittelalterliche Architectur Braunschweigs*, pp. 23 f.; Bethmann: *Die Gründung Braunschweigs und der Dom Heinrichs des Löwen*, pp. 553–555 and 559; Schmid: *Der christliche Altar und sein Schmuck*, p. 226; Grube: *Kurzer Führer durch den Dom St. Blasii zu Braunschweig*, pp. 23–26.

41 Grube: *Kurzer Führer durch den Dom St. Blasii zu Braunschweig*, p. 23 (“namentlich am Fuße interessante Ornamente byzantinischen Styls”).

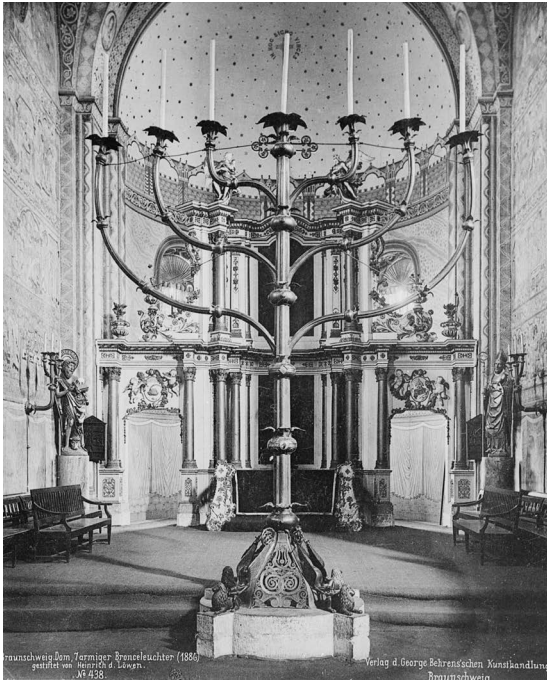


Fig. 6. Seven-branched candelabrum after its re-installation (with additions by Johann Heinrich Wicke, 1830; photograph 1886).

ture from the medieval elements. In 1891, Wilhelm Anton Neumann produced his foundational publication on the reliquary treasure of the House of Brunswick-Lüneburg (Welfenschatz). He depicted the candelabrum without the classicist restorations, noting that the additions, “insofar as they are not in the correct style, should be replaced by new ones” (Fig. 7).⁴²

4.1. Actors

In 1893, the sculptor Friedrich Küsthardt (1830–1900) was commissioned to restore the candelabrum to its medieval state.⁴³ Known primarily for his portraits, monuments,

42 Neumann 1891, p. 16 (“soweit sie nicht stylgerecht, durch neue ersetzt werden sollen”). Neumann’s illustration, however, also omits the upper parts of the arms which he apparently regarded as additions.

43 Friedrich Küsthardt had initially worked in Frankfurt with Eduard Schmidt von der Launitz, who also taught art history at the Städel institute. In 1857, he began studies at the Akademie der Bildenden Künste in Munich and travelled to Italy. From 1859, he taught at the newly founded school of architecture and engineering in Hildesheim. Küsthardt died in Hildesheim one year after his retirement in 1899. For Küsthardt’s life and work, see Emons 2000; Gronau 2019. I was unable to access Emons 1998.

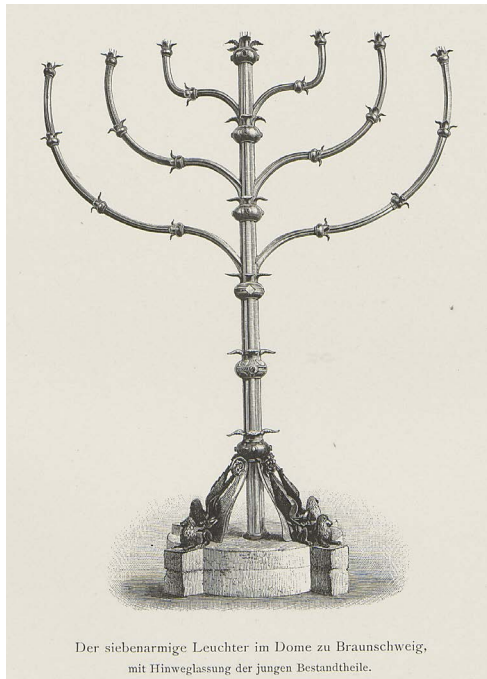


Fig. 7. Seven-branched candelabrum (without additions), in: Neumann 1891, p. 55.

and tombs, Küsthardt also made a name for himself with his restorations, copies, and recreations of medieval works. In 1868, he made a copy of the Hildesheim Hezilo chandelier for the South Kensington Museum (later the Victoria and Albert Museum) in London.⁴⁴ In 1899, he was asked by the Hildesheim Cathedral chapter for an expert opinion on the restoration of the famous Hezilo chandelier, which formed the basis for the restoration carried out after his death.⁴⁵

In 1871, Küsthardt created a new capital for the Ottonian Bernward Column.⁴⁶ For the Historicist refurbishment of Brunswick Cathedral in 1880, he produced a monumental crown chandelier (modelled on the Hezilo chandelier), commissioned by Wilhelm August Ludwig Maximilian Friedrich (1806–1884), Duke of Brunswick and Lüneburg, on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of his reign. The chandelier was hung in the

44 Giersbeck 2015, pp. 362–365.

45 Küsthardt's sons carried out the restoration of the wheel chandelier from 1901 to 1902, a progressive undertaking by the standards of the time. After meticulous cleaning and maintenance, they reused the preserved parts and reconstructed missing elements according to the original program. The conservators carefully marked their additions to make them permanently distinguishable: Knapp 2000, p. 68; Knapp/Kruse 2015, pp. 333f.

46 Wiecker 1874, pp. 4f.; on Küsthardt's activities in Hildesheim: Rödling 2000, esp. pp. 151f.; Schädler-Saub 2001, pp. 317f.

central nave of the cathedral on 23 April 1881 (Fig. 14).⁴⁷ Furthermore, Küsthardt created a triumphal cross as a replacement for the one donated by Henry the Lion in 1194, destroyed in the 18th century. Küsthardt's studies of the 13th-century triumphal crosses in Halberstadt, Freiberg, and Wechselburg reveal how intensively he prepared himself for the recreation of the Brunswick triumphal cross.⁴⁸ Küsthardt was thus ideally qualified for the restoration of the candelabrum. He had, moreover, already worked for the Guelphs in Brunswick.

The Historistic restoration of the seven-branched candelabrum in Brunswick Cathedral is an exemplary case of multiple authorship. Among the actors involved were Prince Friedrich Wilhelm Nikolaus Albrecht of Prussia (1837–1906), who ruled the Duchy of Brunswick from 1885 until his death; the architect Friedrich Maria Krahe and his successor Ernst Wiehe, who were responsible for managing the site and the execution of all the work in the cathedral; and Friedrich Küsthardt, who designed the reliefs and produced the models cast by the renowned Lauchhammer art foundry in Lusatia. Meanwhile, the smith and enameller for the imperial court, Gabriel Hermeling (1833–1904) in Cologne, was commissioned to reproduce the enamels missing from the candelabrum. Hermeling's goldsmith workshop, leading in the restoration of medieval works, was known throughout the empire for its high artisanal quality.⁴⁹ Finally, the learned Cologne collector and cathedral canon Alexander Schnütgen (1843–1918) acted as an advisor for the iconographic programme of the candelabrum.⁵⁰ It is not possible, however, to determine more precisely which decisions were made by the prince or Küsthardt, or which ideas for the pictorial programme came from Schnütgen. What is clear, however, is that the prominence of the actors involved reflects the significance attached to the restoration of the candelabrum.

4.2. *Divina quaternitas*. The Iconographic Programme of the Candelabrum's Base

The candelabrum's surviving 12th-century elements served as the starting point for the restorations and additions. This included the four enamels with the depictions of the four Evangelists (on the second node) and the four lions and dragons. Replacements for the missing enamels of the third node and the ornamental plates on the second node were commissioned from Gabriel Hermeling's goldsmith workshop in Cologne. The workshop based the colours and forms of the replaced elements on Romanesque *champlevé* enamels from the Rhineland. This is true to the candelabrum's medieval

47 Grube: *Kurzer Führer durch den Dom St. Blasii zu Braunschweig*, pp. 9f.

48 Küsthardt: *Apostelbalken und Triumphkreuz*.

49 Hermeling 1889; Hermeling: 1891; Clasen 1974.

50 Pfeifer 1898, col. 50.



Fig. 8. Seven-branched candelabrum, base (with additions by Friedrich Küsthard, 1895).

enamels, which had, indeed, been produced in the Rhineland.⁵¹ The theme chosen for the diamond-shaped plates was personifications of the four winds. Also representing the cardinal directions, the four winds also symbolize the world in its entirety.⁵² In medieval visual art, wind personifications frequently occur in the context of programmes based on the 'divina quaternitas'.⁵³ The theme is thus consonant with the medieval aspects of the candelabrum.

Küsthardt designed the spandrels between the dragons in the base as triangles. Curved slightly outward, the spandrels' lower rim is formed of two arcs joined at a protruding notch in the centre (Fig. 8). Arabesques fill the surfaces of the spandrels. Various figures are integrated into the plant-like arabesques. In the centre of each of the four spandrels appear male personifications of the rivers of Paradise (the Euphrates, Tigris, Pishon, and Gihon; Figs. 9, 11), enthroned. Each river of Paradise is flanked by two female personifications of virtue, somewhat smaller in scale. Representing the cardinal virtues (Fortitudo, Temperantia, Prudentia, and Justitia), the personifications

51 See note 22.

52 See, foundationally, Raff 1978/1979.

53 Esmeijer 1978; see also Meyer / Suntrup 1987.



Fig. 9. Seven-branched candelabrum, base, Ezekiel, Euphrates, personifications of Justice.



Fig. 10. Hildesheim Cathedral, baptismal font, c. 1220/1230, Luke, Jeremiah, personification of Temperance, river of Paradise.

involve two female figures riding dragons or griffins. Sitting on the lower rim of the spandrel, the bodies of the dragons or griffins serve to harmonize the composition. Their tails taper into the tendrils that form the arabesques. First framing the personifications of the rivers, the tendrils divide again to enclose the busts of the four great prophets (Daniel, Ezekiel, Jeremiah, and Isaiah). Finally, they converge in a lily motif. Latin inscriptions identifying all the figures are inscribed either on the haloes (in the case of the prophets) or on the lower framing elements and the tendrils (in the case of the rivers of Paradise and the virtues).

Küsthardt, as with his restorations for the aforementioned triumphal cross, orientated himself toward historically and artistically plausible prototypes. He chose as a model, namely, an object that was appropriate in terms of both geography and material: the 13th-century bronze baptismal font in Hildesheim Cathedral.⁵⁴ There, the rivers of Paradise function as supporting figures. Their positions correspond to the four axes marked by pillars on the sides of the basin. Standing above medallions with the busts of

54 On the Hildesheim baptismal font, see recently Höhl 2009 (with reference to older literature).



Fig. 11. Seven-branched candelabrum, base, Jeremiah, Gihon, personifications of Temperance.

the cardinal virtues, the pillars support, in turn, medallions with the busts of the four great prophets. Symbols of the Evangelists appear above the prophets (Fig. 10).⁵⁵

While adopting aspects of the composition from the Hildesheim baptismal font, Küsthardt doubled the number of personifications. The following groupings, accompanied by the depictions of the four prophets and the four winds, appear on the base of the candelabrum:

- Gihon, Temperantia (mixing vessels / dove), Jeremiah
- Tigrid, Fortitudo (sword and shield / lion), Daniel
- Euphrates, Justitia (sword and wreath / scales), Ezekiel
- Pishon, Prudentia (compass and square / serpent), Isaiah

55 An inscription on the upper rim of the basin makes the connection manifest: *QuATuor irroDAnT pArADisJ fluMinA MunDuM + virTuTes q(ue) rigAnT ToDiDeM cor criMini MunDuM + orA propHeTArUm que vATicJnATA fuerunT + Hec rATA scripTores evAngelii cecinerunT* ('The four rivers of Paradise irrigate the world, and as many virtues water the heart that is pure of sin. What the mouth of the prophets foretold, the Evangelists have proclaimed as legitimate'; inscription cited following Deutsche Inschriften Online, no. 67).



Fig. 12. Milan Cathedral, Trivulzio candelabrum, second quarter 13th century, base, river of Paradise.

In doubling the personifications, Küsthardt deviated from the medieval pictorial tradition. But this allowed him to adhere to a canonical feature of the four cardinal virtues:⁵⁶ their multiple, contrasting facets. Of the two women embodying *Justitia*, for example, one wields a sword and a wreath. The other holds a set of scales (Fig. 9). Turned towards each other as if in dialogue, it seems as if the *Justitia* with the scales is raising her hand placatingly to soothe the *Justitia* with the sword. This can be read as a reference to the relationship between ‘*justitia commutativa*’ (commutative justice) and ‘*justitia distributiva*’ (distributive justice).⁵⁷ Of the two personifications of *Temperantia*, one holds two mixing vessels referencing the balance of the bodily fluids (corresponding to humoral pathology). The other caresses a dove, implying that a moderate character, gentleness, and humility are aspects of temperance (Fig. 11).

While personifications of the virtues riding on griffins or dragons are not common in the medieval pictorial tradition, Küsthardt’s use of the motif is thematically convincing. Virtues riding monstrous creatures can be understood as the virtues overcom-

56 See Evans 1972 for a foundational overview; on the four cardinal virtues, see also Bejczy 2011.

57 In the visual arts, the differentiation between ‘*justitia distributiva*’ and ‘*justitia commutativa*’ occurs only exceptionally, as in the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena; see, for example, Norman 1995.



Fig. 13. Brunswick, seven-branched candelabrum, base, personification of Prudence with compass and straightedge, signature by Friedrich Küsthardt, 1895.

ing vices – a medieval motif. Not simply adaptations of medieval models, Küsthardt's reliefs are thoroughly original recreations. Taking art historically correct iconography, he combined these elements with new content to form a coherent programme. The historically heterogeneous parts of the candelabrum form, conceptually and formally, an aesthetically convincing whole.

A comparative look at the base of the bronze candelabrum in Milan Cathedral, from the first third of the 13th century, is instructive.⁵⁸ The long tails of the four dragons supporting the candelabrum's base also taper into tendrils that twist into spirals. Seated within them are personifications of the rivers of Paradise. Animated and muscular figures, they have a sensual presence (Fig. 12). As personifications of nature borrowed from the classical pictorial tradition, the rivers of Paradise were usually depicted in medieval art as unclothed (usually with their genitals covered by leaves), or at least with a naked upper body. Küsthardt's Historicist recreations, however, wear long tunics –

⁵⁸ Homburger 1949; Angelucci et al. 2000.

an expression of a prudish relationship to the body and corporeality (Figs. 9, 11, 13). Küsthardt, moreover, worked with a symmetry that he applied to both figures and tendrils. This design is stricter and flatter than medieval works. But Küsthardt's conceit has its own creative merit. The water from the vessels of the river personifications, for instance, pours into the lower frame, solidifying into swirling ornament. This is, perhaps, a self-referential allusion to the use of bronze as a material, to its flow into the form during casting.

The quality of the additions lies in their seamless integration with the original. To make his contribution visible, Friedrich Küsthardt signed and dated it – “1895 von Fr. Küsthardt in Hildesheim modellirt” (‘modeled by Friedrich Küsthardt in Hildesheim in 1895’; Fig. 13). Thus, he confidently inscribed himself onto the medieval artefact as a participating author. By including compass and square with his signature, placed under Prudentia, Küsthardt associated his work with the wisdom of measurement and design.

4.3. Contexts

The restoration of the seven-branched candelabrum by Friedrich Küsthardt was part of an extensive campaign to refurbish Brunswick Cathedral. The catalyst for this renovation was the discovery in 1845 of the medieval wall paintings in the choir and transept. Uncovered and restored, the murals were also painted anew.⁵⁹ Later, between 1881 and 1884, the nave (which was unpainted in the Middle Ages) was also decorated with neo-Romanesque murals by August von Essenwein and Adolf Quensen (Fig. 14).⁶⁰

In addition, new furnishings were produced to emulate objects that were attested to at the time of Henry the Lion such as the triumphal cross but no longer existed or others that were created anew, such as the wheel chandelier donated by Duke Wilhelm on the occasion of the anniversary of his reign. The intention was to restore the collegiate church to its supposed medieval state. To understand better the aims of the actors involved, it is instructive to touch on the political circumstances of these additions.

In April 1830, during the reign of Duke Karl Friedrich August Wilhelm (1804–1873, r. 1815–1830), the candelabrum was reinstalled in the cathedral at the instigation of cathedral cantor Friedrich Görge and court architect Peter Joseph Krahe. A few months later, there was a popular uprising against the duke, who had antagonized the populace with his absolutist style of governance.⁶¹ Wilhelm August Ludwig Maximilian Friedrich, Duke of Brunswick and Lüneburg, took over the regency in place of his brother. The restoration of the medieval wall murals, the painting of the nave according to August von Essenwein's drafts, and the donation of the crown chandelier took place during

59 Springer 2014a, p. 245.

60 Koch 1985, p. 496; Springer 2014a, pp. 262 f.

61 Schildt 2000, p. 759.



Fig. 14. Brunswick Cathedral, in: Uhde 1892, plate 10.

Wilhelm Friedrich's reign (Fig. 14). In the conflict between Austria and Prussia, the Guelphic Duchy of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel strove for good relations with Prussia, while the Guelphic Kingdom of Hanover entered the war with Austria against Prussia in 1866. After Prussia's victory, the Kingdom of Hanover was annexed and incorporated into the Kingdom of Prussia as the Province of Hanover. After the foundation of the German Empire in 1871, the 'New House of Brunswick' became defunct in 1884 with the death of Duke Wilhelm.⁶² Under pressure from Bismarck, the control of the duchy was transferred in 1885 to the Prussian Prince Field Marshal General Friedrich Wilhelm Nikolaus Albrecht. Bismarck wanted to prevent claims by the Hanoverian Guelphic line. Not only did Prince Albrecht continue the furnishing campaign in Cathedral initiated by his predecessor, however, but he also employed the municipal architect Ludwig Winter to reconstruct the Dankwarderode Castle from its ruins. This restoration occurred from 1887 to 1906.⁶³ Erecting "a castle in honor of Henry the Lion" enabled Prince Albrecht to fashion himself as a Guelphic duke. This grand gesture, moreover, kept the Guelphic opposition in its place.⁶⁴ These renovations were entirely financed by the ducal treasury. One of the most expensive items, at 5000 marks, was the restoration of the candelabrum.⁶⁵ Thus, the campaign to reinstall Henry the Lion's medieval complex was not least a political understanding.⁶⁶ Just as the (re)creation of the triumphal cross and the wheel chandelier, the renovation of the candelabrum was part of Prince Albrecht's political agenda.

Excursus: 'A Consecration Site of the Nation' – the Ethnic Purification of the Cathedral

Barely more than a decade after its completion, the Historicist furnishing of Brunswick Cathedral was destroyed. In 1935, excavations in the church supposedly unearthed the remains of Henry the Lion and Matilda.⁶⁷ In the following years, the cathedral was reconfigured into a place of worship of the Nation ("Weihestätte der Nation"). Werner Flechsig, responsible for the propagandistic orchestration of these measures, castigated

62 See Zimmermann 1898.

63 Winter 1883; Königfeld 1978; Königfeld/Roseneck 1995, there esp. Herrenberger 1995.

64 See Herrenberger 1995, p. 66.

65 Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv, Abteilung Wolfenbüttel, Akte des Braunschweigischen Staatsministeriums 12 Neu 5 no. 6442 (Aufstellung der Kosten; which is also available in 76 Neu Fb. 2 no. 2776), as well as a report by the directors of the construction to the ducal treasury, Direktion der Domänen, dated 07.02.1895. My sincere thanks go to Jürgen Diehl for the information on the archive's holdings.

66 Springer 2014b; see also Böhringer/Zerbst 2009, there esp. Springer 2009.

67 Lorentzen 2005, esp. pp. 14–23 (pp. 15f. on the excavations in Brunswick); Fuhrmeister 2009.

(in a manner typical of his time) the “19th-century ingredients in our old cathedrals as an inartistic cacophony resorting to the weak imitation of older forms due to their inability to create their own style.” (“Zutaten des 19. Jahrhunderts in unseren alten Domen als unkünstlerischen Mißklang, die aus dem Unvermögen eigener Stilgestaltung heraus zur schwächlichen Nachahmung älterer Formen griffen.”) He saw in them “no longer any actual life, but rather ossification” (“nicht mehr wirkliches Leben, sondern Erstarrung”), and demanded a renewal in line with National Socialist ideology:

The high purpose of Brunswick Cathedral as a site of national worship requires corresponding pictorial content. [...] The consecration site of Henry the Lion had to be adorned with depictions of the work that made this man immortal, his colonization of the East. [...]. Thanks and reverence for a man who paved the way for our people into a great present and an even greater future over three quarters of a millennium ago. [...] What until now was only an expression of half-fulfilled desire is today becoming reality under the leadership of Adolf Hitler.⁶⁸

The National Socialist remodelling of Brunswick Cathedral destroyed the Historicist murals, the main altar completed in 1897, the wheel chandelier, and the triumphal cross. The early modern epitaphs were also removed from the walls. Heinrich Wilhelm Dohme created a cycle of paintings for the space over the arcades in the central nave celebrating Henry the Lion as a pioneer of the colonization of the East (that had been continued by Adolf Hitler).⁶⁹ Only the tomb of Henry and Matilda, now embedded in a granite slab, remained visible. From then on it served as the centrepiece of the bare, empty nave. The candelabrum and bronze altar were hidden behind a curtain. Separating the apse from the interior, this curtain also served to display a monumental imperial eagle with a swastika (Fig. 15).

In 1949, efforts were made to erase all traces of the National Socialist decor. The incriminating cycle of paintings was removed from the walls of the nave.⁷⁰ The crypt completed in 1938, dedicated to Henry and Matilda's remains with its granite tombs survived (only the swastika was removed). Both the crypt and the cathedral's bare nave,

68 Quotations from Flehsig: *Sinnbilder der Geschichte*, pp. 86 and 88 (“Die hohe Bestimmung des Braunschweiger Doms als völkische Weihstätte verlangt einen entsprechenden Bildinhalt. [...] Die Weihstätte Heinrichs des Löwen mußte mit Darstellungen jenes Werkes geschmückt werden, durch das dieser Mann unsterblich ist, der Ostkolonisation. [...] Dank und Verehrung für einen Mann, der unserem Volke vor drei viertel Jahrtausenden Wegbereiter war in eine große Gegenwart und noch größere Zukunft. [...] Was vordem nur Ausdruck halberfüllter Sehnsucht war, heute wird es unter der Führung Adolf Hitlers Wirklichkeit.”).

69 See Koch 1985, p. 496; Lorentzen 2005, pp. 21–23, Figs. 10–14.

70 Lorentzen 2005, pp. 25 f., speaks aptly here of “ideological purification,” and notes just as aptly that the criticism of the remaining elements (such as the floor covering or the granite tomb) in art historical scholarship has, until the very recent past, been limited primarily to aesthetic arguments.

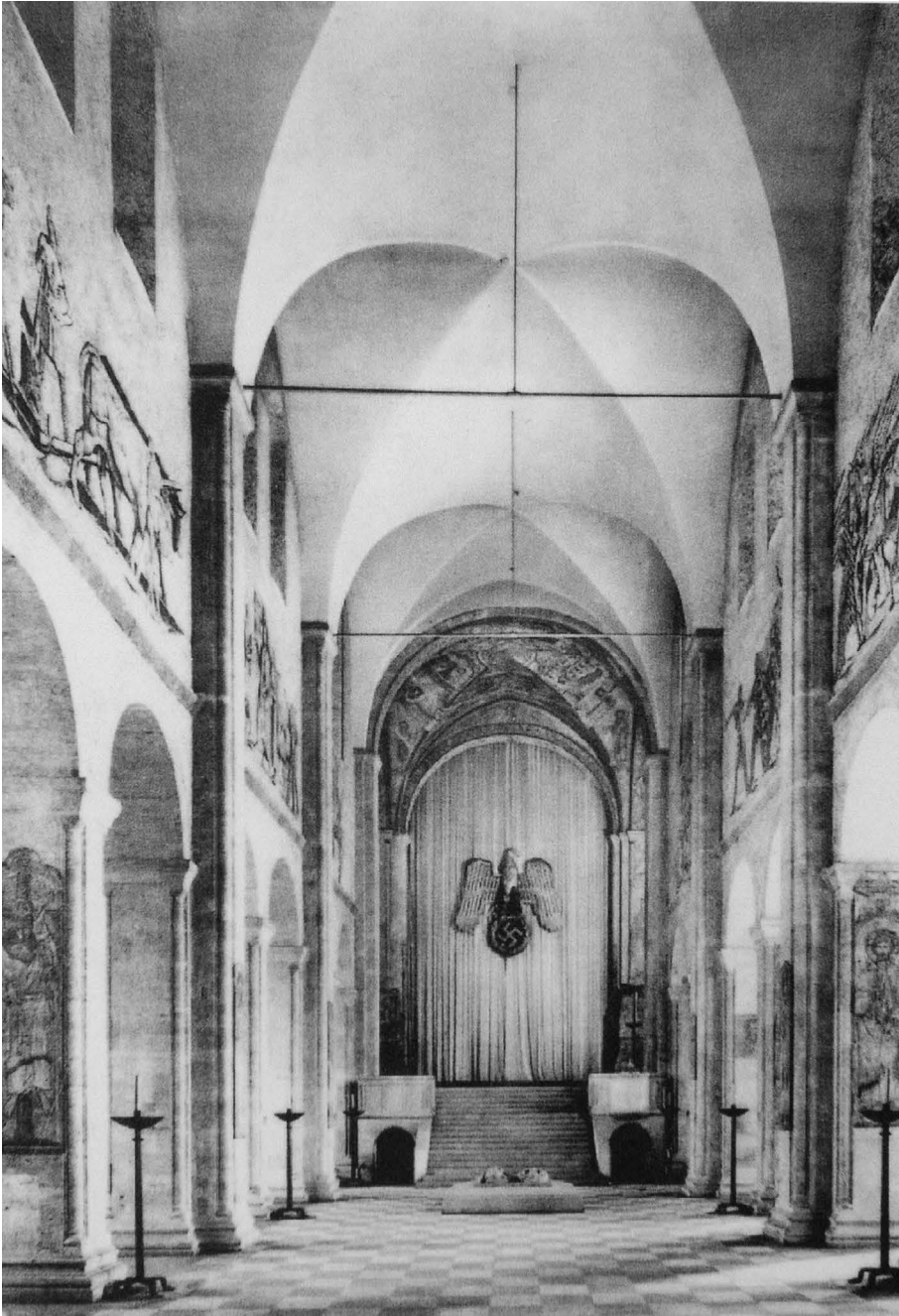


Fig. 15. Brunswick Cathedral, view towards east
(after the Nazi redesign of the interior, photograph c. 1940).



Fig. 16. Brunswick Cathedral, view towards east (photograph 1982).

stripped of all objects and adornment, bear witness to the fascist appropriation of Henry the Lion. Since then, the “purified” church interior has provided the aesthetic ambience for the seven-branched candelabrum. Isolated and decontextualized, the candelabrum dominates the space (Fig. 16).

5. Conclusion: Multiple Authorship – Diachronic Hybridity

In both synchronic and diachronic perspective, the seven-branched candelabrum in Brunswick is the product of multiple authorship. For the art of the Middle Ages and early modern period, multiple authorship is the norm rather than the exception. For one, commissioners and donors played a central role.⁷¹ Artists, moreover, usually operated within the contexts of workshops and studios. This meant they were integrated into production processes characterized by a division of labour.⁷² In the case of the Brunswick candelabrum, the modellers and casters were evidently brought to Brunswick for the bronze work. The enamels on the candelabrum, on the other hand, were commissioned from the leading workshops based in Cologne. Thus emerged an artefact that met the highest standards. Integrated into complex semantic and praxeological contexts, moreover, the candelabrum served to commemorate its benefactor.

After the candelabrum lost its liturgical function in the baroque period, it was removed. In the 19th century, it was erected once more, under different auspices. Now an object of historical interest, it stood as a monument to a national past. Its reinstatement and Historistic additions reveal a changed view of the medieval artefact. The high esteem for the candelabrum is reflected in the renowned artists and experts chosen for the restoration: Friedrich Küsthardt, the Lauchhammer art foundry in Lusatia, and Gabriel Hermeling’s enamel studio in Cologne, as well as Alexander Schnütgen as the expert appraiser.

From today’s perspective, the later changes and reconfigurations of artefacts can be analysed as phenomena of multiple authorship. Processes of remodelling, reconfiguration, or the migration of artefacts into new contexts occurred frequently in the Middle Ages and the early modern period. In recent years, these processes have attracted the attention of art historians as instances of ‘reframing’ or ‘hybridity.’⁷³ Art historians, however, still seem to have reservations about the 19th century. These qualms are – still – due to today’s notions of artistic originality. Our current concept of art stipulates personal or original style as a *conditio sine qua non*. From this perspective, Historistic interventions can only compromise the medieval artefact.

71 From the many studies, the following should be singled out: Bergmann 1985; Kessler 2019, pp. 61–68.

72 These processes are explicitly addressed by, for example, Borkopp-Restle 2020.

73 Seeberg/Wittekind 2017; Elston/Rislow 2022.

Friedrich Küsthardt's additions substantially determine the Brunswick candelabrum's present-day aesthetic. An antiquarian aspiration to a holistic aesthetic resulted in artistic inventions that strove for a restoration of the artefacts' completeness. The candelabrum, in its autological and heterological dimensions, is the result of multi-layered historical processes. It reflects the intentions of both Henry the Lion in the 12th century and of the House of Guelph in the 19th century. And finally, it stands as the only remaining relic of Brunswick Cathedral's once grand Historistic interior.

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