# A Masterpiece and Its (Almost) Forgotten Collector

The So-Called Benda Madonna and the Legacy of Gustav von Benda

Gustav von Benda (1846, Prague - 1932, Vienna) was among the most important art collectors and patrons of the arts active in Vienna during the late monarchy and the First Republic. As co-founder of a successful firm that dealt in technical supplies, he acquired the means to amass, beginning in the 1880s, a substantial collection of artworks, especially Italian (see the essay contributed by Konrad Schlegel). He was also an early patron of the Kunsthistorisches Museum: already before the First World War, Benda gave an entire series of works to the museum, an institution that was still administered by the imperial court at that time. This was certainly one of the reasons for his being raised to the nobility in 1911 by Emperor Franz Joseph I.<sup>1</sup> His most sizeable contribution as a patron, however, dates from the republican period: when, at a very advanced age, he died in 1932, Benda, who had never married or had children, bequeathed to the museum all the art treasures that he still possessed. However, his wish that they should be exhibited en bloc was one that those who had been so generously thought of would not long feel compelled to respect: in the year 1939, after first being housed in the Neue Burg and then in the main building of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, his collection was broken up, and the sculptures, paintings, and other art objects were dispersed among the various departments of the museum. Most probably, the decision to do so was at least in part due to the fact that Benda, before converting to Catholicism in 1895, had been a member of the Jewish community. And so it is that whoever wanders through the museum today will come across Benda's name almost exclusively when reading the exhibit labels that accompany the works donated by him, most of which are

exhibited in the Kunstkammer. However, the name is also familiar to connoisseurs of early German painting, as it was used to designate an anonymous artist who authored a painting of the Virgin Mary that was among the works bequeathed to the museum in 1932. Admittedly, it has been decades since this work, to which the Master of the Benda Madonna owes his name, was last exhibited; having now been painstakingly restored, however, it can once again be put on public view, at least for a few months, in the 'Point of View' exhibition series.<sup>2</sup> The fact that this panel painting spends most of its time today languishing in storage is not to be explained by any inferiority of its artistic quality - the quality of the work, quite on the contrary, can truly be said to be outstanding. The explanation is to be found, rather, in the notorious shortage of space in the public collection's exhibition rooms and, no less importantly, in the lack of 'suitable' neighbours: as a panel painting dating from around 1490 or shortly thereafter and produced somewhere in the Upper Rhine region, the work would be isolated in the dense succession of early sixteenth-century paintings by Dürer and his contemporaries, all of whom belong to the Renaissance. The aim of the small-scale exhibition and of the publication that accompanies it is therefore to evoke the memory of one of the few upper-middle-class collectors from whom the museum was able to benefit in the twentieth century, on the one hand, and on the other hand, to introduce an original artist who was one of the most interesting representatives of southwest German late Gothic painting.

I Around 1907, Benda donated some significant paintings, including Hans Suess von Kulmbach's Annunciation (GG 6045) and Gabriel Metsus's Noli me tangere (GG 6044).

<sup>2</sup> For more on the painting see Alfred Stange, Deutsche Malerei der Gotik, Bd. 7: Oberrhein, Bodensee, Schweiz und Mittelrhein in der Zeit von 1450 bis 1500 (Munich and Berlin, 1955), 26f., fig. 48; Alfred Stange, Kritisches Verzeichnis der deutschen Tafelbilder vor Dürer, II. Band: Oberrhein, Bodensee, Schweiz, Mittelrhein, Ulm, Augsburg, Allgäu, Nördlingen, von der Donau zum Neckar, published by Norbert Lieb (Munich, 1979), no. 128 (with literature).

### The Painting...

The painting is among countless others that portray Mary as a half-length or bust-length figure with the Christ Child, and therefore represents a characteristic type of images of the Virgin Mary that had its source in late antiquity and that can be found in all subsequent periods in numerous variations and executed in various media. All of these portrayals, however, strongly emphasize Mary's central role in the Christian faith: according to Christian doctrine, God chose her to be the mother of his son, Jesus Christ, who, through his actions in his earthly life, and especially by sacrificing himself on the cross, was to be the saviour of mankind, he himself being worshipped as God in the end. The absence of haloes in our painting is doubtless due to the desire to depict mother and child in as realistic a manner as possible; in this, as well as in the three-dimensionality of the figures, the differentiation of various kinds of material, and the inclusion of a landscape in the distant background, the author of the painting shows that he was tributary to the fundamental innovations of early Netherlandish painting, which in the early fifteenth century had developed a new pictorial vocabulary oriented towards verisimilitude. However, a few pictorial elements are at least symbolic references to fundamental aspects of the Christian faith: the pearl diadem, for example, and the cloth of honour behind Mary, both of which are reminders of her rank as Queen of Heaven. In addition, her long hair worn loose, a detail that signified to contemporaries an unmarried woman (one who had not vet 'come under the bonnet', as the German phrase goes), is also an expression of the notion that in spite of her role as mother she remained a virgin, and therefore pure, all her life. Mary's gaze, clouded by thoughts, is directed towards the child, which she is holding before her in both hands - a gaze that prefigures the Passion. The fact that the child is portrayed naked is also a reminder of the fate that awaits him: before being crucified, Christ was stripped of his clothes; the child's nakedness also expresses the notion that this child is the incarnation of God and, being human, vulnerable. As for the transparent cloth on which the child is lying, it is meant to symbolize the reverence that Mary pays to him as the Son of God. Finally, the string of red and white beads that Jesus is holding playfully in his hands is no doubt meant to represent a chaplet, whereby a connection is established not only between mother and child but also between the painting and the pious viewer: such strings of beads made up of links of various kinds (and most commonly referred to as rosaries) are used by the faithful as a means of memorizing a specific succession of prayer formulas, which include above all Hail Marys and personal meditations on the life of Jesus.

A means of personal devotion, this string of beads is also a reference to the intended purpose of the painting itself: as the painting's small dimensions suggest, it was undoubtedly created to accompany prayer in a private setting and specifically in the form of a single panel. It is therefore hardly likely that another wing of identical dimensions could once have been attached on the right (corresponding to the angle of Mary's pose), a panel bearing either a portrait of the painting's patron or a Christ as the Man of Sorrows, the two panels together, in that case, constituting a diptych.<sup>3</sup> Both the direction in which the child is oriented, namely, towards its mother, and the wall, which extends to the left and vanishes from the picture, close off the composition here. In the wall there is a large window opening, which affords a view of a hilly landscape and a body of water. A few details such as the path curving off to the right in the foreground, the buildings standing at the water's edge or in the water, and the broad, sandy waterfront all recur, slightly modified but in the same arrangement, in the left background of a large Marian painting in Coburg (figs. 2, 4 and 5), which has plausibly been classified as being an early work by the Augsburg painter Hans Burgkmair the Elder (1473-1531).<sup>4</sup> Most likely painted shortly before 1500, the work constitutes the most important piece of artistic evidence of Burgkmair's peregrinations in the Upper Rhine region, where, in 1488, he apparently apprenticed himself to Martin Schongauer (1445/50-1491), who resided in Colmar.<sup>5</sup> Schongauer, already early in his life, had exerted a fundamental influence on the art of his time with his masterful copperplate engravings and paintings, as witnessed not least and quite impressively by the monumental Virgin Mother figure in Burgkmair's panel painting, which unmistakably echoes Schongauer's Madonna in the Rose Garden (1473) in Colmar, a painting of comparable dimensions (fig. 3). Moreover, Burgkmair must also have become acquainted with the landscape motif during his apprenticeship in the Upper Rhine region, where, in the unanimous opinion of researchers, the Benda Madonna must also have originated. It was only more recently that this localisation, which was

<sup>3</sup> Today, the panel itself gives no further clues as to how it was originally used, its reverse side having until recently been parqueted and the panel's frame being modern. During the recent restoration, the parquetry was removed; neither the original reverse side of the panel nor its original edges have been preserved (the wood has been thinned down and the panel has been cropped on all sides).

<sup>4</sup> This observation was made by Tilman Falk in 'Naturstudien der Renaissance in Augsburg', Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien, vol. 82/83 (1986/87), 79-89, here in particular p. 85. For more on the Coburg painting (Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg, inv. no. M.412, wood panel, 207 x 142 cm) see Isolde Lübbeke and Bruno Bushart (eds.), Altdeutsche Bilder der Sammlung Georg Schäfer, Schweinfurt, exh. cat. Schweinfurt (Altes Rathaus) 1985, no. 6 (Isolde Lübbeke).

<sup>5</sup> Burgkmair makes this assertion in an inscription on the reverse side of a male portrait (Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, inv. no. 1027), which in all likelihood is a portrait he did of Schongauer posthumously. See Peter Strieder, 'Einige Feststellungen und Mutmaßungen zum Bild eines jungen Mannes mit der Aufschrift "Hipsch Martin Schongaver Maler" von Hans Burgkmair in der Alten Pinakothek', in *Le beau Martin: Études et mises au point – actes du colloque organisé par le Musée d'Unterlinden à Colmar les 30 septembre, Ier et 2 octobre 1991*, published by Albert Châtelet (Colmar, 1994), 39–47.





Fig. 3

1473. Colmar. St. Martin



Fig. 4 detail from fig. 1



Fig. 5 detail from fig. 2

Fig. 2 Hans Burgkmair, the Elder, *Madonna and Child on a Grassy Bank*, c.1500. Coburg, Kunstsammlungen der Veste

initially based on stylistic features, was corroborated by scientific investigation: it was found that the panel painting was executed on boards of a southern German oak and that the work dated from a time no earlier than 1487 and probably only after 1490 (see the essay contributed by Anneliese Földes).6 Whereas Netherlandish and western German painters typically used oak wood as a support, it was used far less frequently in the Upper Rhine region. Small-format paintings, however, and more specifically paintings done in a minute, elaborate style, seem to constitute an exception in this respect, as a perusal of Stange's index of late Gothic panel paintings from this region suggests.7 Our Madonna is precisely such a painting, exquisite and elaborately executed, one that owes its splendid aspect above all to the deep shades of red, the luxurious fabrics and precious pearls, and not least to the countless highlights in the form of extremely fine lines and points that have artfully been distributed over the surface of these elements of the painting. Mary herself is seen as an exceptionally delicate figure, with her slender hands, her head with its high, rounded forehead, her full facial features that express something both dignified and sorrowful. An outstanding feature contributing to the effect here is the high relief given to the flesh tones and their metallic, almost mother-of-pearl lustre.

#### ... and Its Master

Martin Schongauer, Madonna in the Rose Garden,

The exceptional qualities of the painting (and of its author) had already caught the attention of Ludwig Baldass, one of the curators of the museum's picture gallery, when he discussed individual works included in the bequest that had recently been made to the museum.<sup>8</sup> Thus, he praised the *Madonna* – which, by the way, was the only German painting included in Benda's bequest – as being the work of a highly individual artist who, after receiving training in the Netherlands, had made his way to the Upper Rhine. It was there, around 1480, according to Baldass, that he produced the panel painting, without, however, showing any sign of having been influenced by Schongauer or his works. Quite

<sup>6</sup> Cf. the dendrochronological expertise by Peter Klein (Hamburg) dated 27 May 2012 <https://rkd.nl/en/explore/technical/5008421> accessed 4 Jan. 2023.

<sup>7</sup> See Stange 1979 (see note 2), nos. 1–172. Of the better known paintings, may it suffice to mention here *The Little Garden of Paradise* in Frankfurt (no. 9), Schongauer's *Adoration of the Shepherds* in Berlin (no. 75), his *Madonna and Child in a Window* in Los Angeles (no. 76) and *Madonna in front of the Rose Hedge* by an artist from Schongauer's circle (no. 90) in Leipzig.

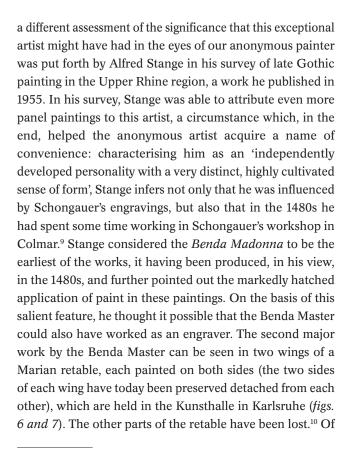
<sup>8</sup> Ludwig Baldass, 'Das Legat Benda an das Kunsthistorische Museum in Wien', *Pantheon*, vol. 9 (1932), 152–158, here in particular p. 158 with illustrations. It is not known who the owners of the painting were before Benda, nor is it known where he acquired it. The thesis put forth by Hans-Heinrich Naumann in a publication that appeared immediately after Baldass' initial publication seems strange: he suggests that the Vienna panel painting was an early work by Grünewald dating from around 1484–86 ('Le premier élève de Martin Schongauer: Mathis Nithart', *Archives Alsaciennes*, vol. 14 (1935), 1–158 with illust. 109, here in particular pp. 139f.).



Fig. 6 (left) Master of the Benda Madonna, *Annunciation to Mary* (outer sides of the left and right wings of a Marian retable), c.1490/1500. Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle

#### Fig. 7 (right)

Master of the Benda Madonna, *Sts Dorothy and Barbara* (inner side of the right wing of a Marian retable), c.1490/1500. Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle



<sup>9</sup> Stange 1955 (see note 2), 26f., quotation on p. 27.



these pictures, which found their way to the museum at different points in time, only the two sides of what had originally been the right wing were known to Stange; those of the left wing, which has unfortunately been cropped at the bottom to a considerable extent, turned up only later and at different points in time. In the closed position, in other words, when seen as they were normally seen on

<sup>10</sup> Inv. nos. 2933 (Angel of the Annunciation showing the painting's male

patron - left wing, outer side), Lg 775 (Mary of the Annunciation - right wing, outer side), 2957 (Sts Apollonia and Catherine - left wing, inner side), and FK 43 (Sts Dorothy and Barbara - right wing, inner side); coniferous wood. Today, all the paintings have been cropped on all sides: the wings must originally have measured an estimated 156 x 72.5 cm (see Jan Lauts, 'Ein neues Werk vom Meister der Bendaschen Madonna' in Festschrift Klaus Lankheit zum 20. Mai 1973 (Cologne, 1973), 135-138, here in particular page 135). For more on the parts of the Marian retable cf. Stange 1955 (see note 2), 26f., figs. 50 and 52; Stange 1979 (see note 2), no. 129 (concerning in each instance only the separately preserved sides of the right wing); Spätgotik am Oberrhein: Maler und Werkstätten 1450-1525, exhib. cat., Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle, (Stuttgart, 2001), p. 260, cat. nos. 145a and b (Markus Dekiert for a discussion of the outer sides); Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Württemberg, vol. 47 (2010) (Holger-Jacob Friesen, regarding the acquisition of Sts Apollonia and Catherine); Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Württemberg, double vol. 48/49 (2011/12), 153f. (Holger-Jacob Friesen, regarding the acquisition of Sts Dorothy and Barbara); finally, Anna Moraht-Fromm, Das Erbe der Markgrafen: Die Sammlung deutscher Malerei (1350-1550) in Karlsruhe (Ostfildern, 2013), 280-284. In expertises dated 1929 and 1934, the right wing in its original state before its inner and outer sides were separated was found by Max J. Friedländer and Walter Hugelshofer to be a work dating from around 1490 originating in the Upper Rhine region in the circle of Schongauer. See Jan Lauts (ed.), Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe: Neuerwerbungen Alter Meister 1966-1972 (Karlsruhe, 1973), p. 8.

weekdays, the outer sides of the two wings presented a scene spanning both wings representing the Annunciation to Mary in an interior; on the left wing, which shows the archangel Gabriel, the upper body of the painting's male patron in the lower part of the picture has been preserved. Contrasting with these, each of the inner sides, which feature a patterned gold ground, is occupied by two female saints standing on a tiled floor: these are, on the left (here too considerably cropped at the bottom), Saints Apollonia and Catherine, and on the right, Saints Dorothy and Barbara. These saints, adorned with magnificent crowns, were all venerated early as virgin martyrs and, with the exception of Saint Apollonia, counted among the group of four virgines capitales - the capital or main virgins. In the pictorial arts, these saints are usually shown accompanying the Virgin Mary, which suggests that the lost central part of the retable - most likely executed as a sculptured shrine - was a representation of the Mother of God with the Christ Child. As Stange was early to recognize, these pairs of saints, not only conceptually but also in the manner in which they were painted as well as in details such as the voluminous modelling of their garments, the sumptuous and in part iridescent fabrics, or the locks of hair reminiscent of metal shavings, show close similarities to two wings of a retable - the rest of which has been lost - located in Lichtenthal Abbey, a Cistercian abbey in a locality adjacent to Baden-Baden. Each of these two wings similarly shows a pair of female saints.<sup>11</sup> However, the flesh tones and the hands in the Lichtenthal paintings appear more schematic and fail to create the impression of highly detailed three-dimensionality, a quality so characteristic of the Benda Master; one can therefore assume that these panels were executed by an assistant. On the other hand, three other works that Stange linked to our anonymous artist are today no longer attributed to him or to his circle.12

## The Upper Rhine, Schongauer, and the Netherlands: Tracing the Artist's Path

When and where in the Upper Rhine region the artist was active can only partially be determined on the basis of these few panel paintings attributed to him. To date, the only more or less reliable aid when it comes to establishing dates has been the above-mentioned examination carried out to determine the age of the oak wood used for the Vienna panel: the study suggests that the painting must have been produced after 1490, that is, later than both Baldass and Stange assumed. On the other hand, the artist's selective and clever adaptation of clothing motifs taken from various engravings by Schongauer - about which more will be said below hardly provides any further clues in this respect: as the Colmar artist indicated no dates on any of the 115 engravings of his that are known today, these engravings themselves can only be dated with approximation or chronologically ordered on the basis of copies done early, watermarks in the paper, and the various forms of the monogram. Thus, there is clear evidence that the engravings on which the Benda Master drew for his Annunciation were in circulation as early as 1480/81, a time at which Schongauer must already have produced the major part of his graphic work.<sup>13</sup> However, establishing such an early date for the Karlsruhe retable would be at variance with the mannerist features and the more voluminous portrayed figures compared with those in Schongauer's works, factors which also explain why the work is altogether considered to have been created in the last decade of the fifteenth century, which places it close in time to the Vienna panel painting. The question as to the location for which the altarpiece was intended must likewise remain without a definite answer, although the fact that two of the fragments were found in Rottweil in the nineteenth century could indicate that this reichsstadt was the place in question.<sup>14</sup> As for the retable to which the wings preserved in Lichtenthal originally belonged, it is more than likely that it was created for the abbey's Cistercians themselves. If indeed it was, this circumstance could provide a clue as to where the Benda Master operated his workshop; for the sisters of the order in Lichtenthal had most of the abbey's furnishings brought from Strasbourg.<sup>15</sup> All things considered, there is

II Coniferous wood, each measuring 150 x 80 cm. Cf. Stange 1955 (see note 2), p. 27, fig. 51 (as being located in Karlsruhe); Stange 1979, no. 131; Faszination eines Klosters: 750 Jahre Zisterzienserinnen-Abtei Lichtenthal, exhib. cat. edited by Harald Siebenmorgen, Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum (Sigmaringen, 1995), p. 245, cat. no. 73 (Dietmar Lüdke); Karlsruhe exhib. cat. 2001 (see note 10), p. 262, cat. no. 146 (Markus Dekiert).

<sup>12</sup> See Stange 1955 (see note 2), p. 27, figs. 49 and 51; Stange 1979 (see note 2), nos. 130, 132, and 133. The Descent from the Cross (fragment) in Cambridge, Mass. (Harvard Art Museums inv. no. 1912.46), is today considered to be a Netherlandish work (https://hvrd.art/o/231980, accessed 1 Jan. 2023); the place of origin of the portrait of a young man dated 1491 in The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (inv. no. 23.255) has rightly been identified as Franconia, and specifically Nuremberg (see Maryan W. Ainsworth and Joshua P. Waterman, German Paintings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1350-1600 (New Haven, Conn., 2013), 251-53, 321-22, no. 58 [Maryan Ainsworth]). Although the location of the third work - a triptych featuring the Virgin of Mercy - is unknown, the doll-like, squat shape of the figures' heads differs immensely from heads painted by the Benda Master. Cf. illustration in Paul Ganz, Malerei der Frührenaissance in der Schweiz (Zürich, 1924), 89f., illust. 46. Anna Moraht-Fromm, for her part, wanted to attribute two works to the artist's circle: Moraht-Fromm 2013 (see note 10), 284f.

<sup>13</sup> For more on the dating of the engravings see Stephan Kemperdick, *Martin Schongauer* (Petersberg, 2004), 36–60, especially p. 37.

<sup>14</sup> For more on the provenance of these works see Lauts 1973 (see note 10), 137f., note 3; Moraht-Fromm 2013 (see note 10), p. 282. As for the robed patron in the painting, this cannot be a member of the regular clergy, as he has no tonsure; it is much more likely a secular canon or a scholar (collegial note from Stephan Kemperdick, Berlin). Lüdke's opinion (cited by Moraht-Fromm, 2013 [see note 10], p. 284, note 138) that the view from the window in the *Mary of the Annunciation* panel is one of Rottweil is difficult to accept if one compares it with the bird's-eye view of the town provided by the so-called *Pürschgerichts-karte* of 1564 (Rottweil, Stadtmuseum).

<sup>15</sup> This assumption is made by Dekiert: Karlsruhe 2001 exhib. cat. (see note 10), p. 262, cat. no. 146.



Fig. 8 Martin Schongauer, *Annunciation to Mary*, engraving, c.1470/80. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art



Fig. 9

Martin Schongauer, *Noli me tangere*, engraving, c.1470/80. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

little likelihood of the artist's ever personally having come into contact with Schongauer, who died at the beginning of 1491 - contact in the form of an apprenticeship in Schongauer's workshop in Colmar, for example, as assumed by Stange.<sup>16</sup> What most strongly argues against that assumption is the observation that there is little about our anonymous artist's manner of painting that finds comparison in the work of Schongauer, a reflection that also holds for his use not only of colour but also of light. It follows that Schongauer is hardly likely to have passed on to him the basics of panel painting or other special skills. Indeed, the painted works considered to be by Schongauer's hand display a finely distributed application of paint that is enamel-like in its thickness as well as a subtle orchestration of light, whereas the Benda Master relies on effective highlighting and only selectively employs modelling techniques. This is particularly striking in the contrast between the emphatically sculptural treatment of the areas of flesh and fabrics on the one hand and, on the other hand, the interiors, which have a flat appearance due to the uniform fashion in which the light falls on them - interiors, one might add, in which no shadows are cast. In addition, more than in the case of Schongauer, he applies the brush in the manner of an engraver or a draughtsman, that is, he does not merely outline contours with his brush, but he also makes use of it for structuring outer surfaces and inner forms. The background landscapes in Schongauer's Adoration of the Shepherds in Berlin and in the Benda Madonna, both of which are comparable in terms of dimensions and use of motifs, can serve as examples illustrating these differences in manners of painting (and the results they produced): whereas the Colmar master presents a distant view that is miniature-like in its fineness, one that comes across as realistic and fuses with the rest of the depicted scene to form an atmospherically coherent whole, in the case of our painter, what dominates are streaked brushstrokes in colours that are partly unmixed, a feature that, together with the white highlighting, lends an almost vitreous, abstract character to the work. What the artist could have learned from Schongauer must therefore have been derived primarily from his engravings and in particular with regard to the statuary conception of his saints and above all to the markedly three-dimensional modelling of their garments. Given the existence of this model role, it is not surprising that direct borrowings from Schongauer's works can also be identified. For his Mary of the Annunciation in Karlsruhe, our artist availed himself of two of Schongauer's engravings:17 the right side of the Virgin Mary's mantle, part of which she is shown holding against her body with her

<sup>16</sup> This view is also expressed by Sven Lüken, Die Verkündigung an Maria im 15. und frühen 16. Jahrhundert: Historische und kunsthistorische Untersuchungen, text volume and catalogue (CD) (Göttingen, 2000), p. 187.

<sup>17</sup> In this regard see Lauts 1973 (see note 10), 136f.





elbow, was taken from a corresponding detail in Schongauer's Annunciation in an Interior (fig. 8) - it should also be pointed out that the idea of depicting the angel pulling back the curtain was also taken from this print. On the other hand, close observation reveals that a large portion of the left side of the mantle was copied from the cloak worn by Mary Magdalene in the engraving Noli me tangere (fig. 9), and more specifically the areas of white drapery underneath the S-shaped edge of the outspread garment. Although the folds in the drapery were copied almost 'word for word', the very fact of drawing on a model foreign to the subject at hand as well as the skilful integration of borrowed elements into a new context testify to a remarkably creative approach to the artistic work. A more personal touch is manifest in the unpolished rendering of the head of the male patron in the Karlsruhe wing-painting of the Angel of the Annunciation; this head is no more Schongauerian than the angular head of the Christ Child of the Benda Madonna, the jagged contours of the cloth on which the child is lying, or the morphologically comparable linear structure of the Vienna panel's underdrawing, in which straight, swift brushstrokes dominate. A different situation presents itself in the case of the stylized heads of our painter's female saints: for them too, a borrowed model was used; and they are all practically interchangeable, as, for example, a comparison of the face of the



Fig. 11 detail (mirror-inverted) from fig. 1

Karlsruhe Virgin Mary with that of the Benda Madonna (mirror-inverted) will show (figs. 10 and 11).18 After Stange had wanted to trace this type to a close study of Schongauer's engravings, Lauts and subsequently Moraht-Fromm both pointed out the striking similarities between these heads and that of the Colmar Madonna in the Rose Garden mentioned above, a painting dated 1473.19 Her face, however, austere in form, constitutes rather an exception in Schongauer's work, in which the female saints are otherwise portrayed with rounded facial traits more characteristic of young girls. One finds, however, comparable severe faces with high, angular foreheads in the work of numerous Netherlandish painters beginning roughly in the middle of the 1460s - in the work of the successors of Rogier van der Weyden (1399/1400-1464), for example, or in that of Hugo van der Goes (c.1440-1482/83). It is therefore possible to infer that, here, the Alsatian knowingly drew on a contemporary Netherlandsh type, finding it suitable, no doubt, for his prestigious Marian panel painting, in which he found himself rivalling with Northern prototypes in other ways as well.<sup>20</sup> It is assumed that, in the late 1460s, Schongauer visited the Neth-

<sup>18</sup> Such a comparison is found in Moraht-Fromm 2013 (see note 10), p. 285, figs. 53 and 54.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Stange 1955 (see note 2), p. 27; Lauts 1973 (see note 10), p. 137; Moraht-Fromm 2013 (see note 10), p. 285.

<sup>20</sup> See Kemperdick 2004 (see note 13), p. 176.







Fig. 12 Netherlandish, *Madonna Lactans*, woodcut, hand-coloured (mirror-inverted), c.1470/80. Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum

Fig. 13 Master of the Benda Madonna, *Virgin and Child* (the so-called *Benda Madonna*), c.1490/1500. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Fig. 14 Netherlandish or German, *Virgin and Child*, c.1490/1500. Current location unknown

erlands; a similar assumption can be made in the case of the painter of the Benda Madonna, of course at a later time. On the one hand, this can explain more conclusively the type of head characteristic of his female saints than the argument of his having come into contact with one of Schongauer's paintings. On the other hand, there is considerable further evidence that the painter must have been to the Netherlands before settling in the Upper Rhine region. Lüken, for example, has observed that the ornamentation of the small faience vase in the Mary of the Annunciation panel in Karlsruhe has parallels in faience manufactured in the Netherlands.<sup>21</sup> True, our artist could also have become familiar with such faience through having seen imported examples of it in German-speaking regions; but his painting technique shows striking parallels to those of early Netherlandish painters (see the essay by Anneliese Földes). The Vienna painting too evinces a strong Netherlandish influence: one need only observe the long, slender hands, which have close parallels in works by Rogier van der Weyden; or the high collar fold of the Virgin's mantle - an unusual feature for a German painter of this period. The half-length figure of Mary with her hands brought together and the child held in them in a position halfway between sitting and lying are also motifs that derive from a Netherlandish Madonna-type. This type undoubtedly originated in the circle of the Master of Flémalle (c.1410-1440) and was most probably transmitted as it is seen depicted in a large single-leaf woodcut from the end of the fifteenth century (fig. 12) representing a Madonna Lactans, that is, Mary with a bared breast nursing the Christ Child.<sup>22</sup> It immediately becomes evident that the Vienna panel painting (fig. 13) is also to be counted among the numerous derivatives of this type when it is compared side by side with the mirror-inverted image of this woodcut: thus viewed, the print more closely replicates its model, which, as can be seen in the painterly attention to detail - unusual for such a print - as well as in the mere size of the woodcut, was certainly also a panel painting. The Benda Master even seems to have borrowed the positions of the Christ Child's hands from the model he had consulted, whether that model already showed the Christ Child holding prayer beads or not. A painting of the Virgin Mary that has today been lost, one that is of rather mediocre quality and was probably also done by a German painter (fig. 14), offers a comparable example of this prototype originally depicted as a Madonna Lactans and subsequently modified to represent a Virgin and Child with the child holding prayer beads. Here again one sees the cloth of honour. That this artist must in all respects have stuck closely to his model is evident in his rendering of the child, which virtually matches that in the woodcut, including the textile material that can be seen underneath it. Thus, the high quality of the Benda Madonna is also evinced by the more independent, almost disguising manner in which the artist has translated a Netherlandish model.

<sup>21</sup> Lüken 2000 (see note 16), p. 393, under note 692.

<sup>22</sup> Woodcut, Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, inv. no. XV. Einbl. WB 2.12. Cf. Friedrich Winkler, 'Vorbilder primitiver Holzschnitte', Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft, 12, (1958), 37–50, in particular 37–46, fig. 1; Dirk De Vos, 'De Madonna-en-Kindtypologie bij Rogier van der Weyden en enkele minder gekende Flemalleske voorlopers', Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen, 13 (1971), 60–161, in particular p. 80, fig. 14; De Vos 1999, p. 318 (regarding the Flémallesque character).