VISUAL ACUITY AND THE ARTS OF COMMUNICATION IN EARLY MODERN GERMANY

During the early modern period, visual imagery was put to ever new uses as many disciplines adopted visual criteria for testing truth claims, representing knowledge, or conveying information. Religious propagandists, political writers, satirists, cartographers, the scientific community, and others experimented with new uses of visual images. Artists, writers, preachers, musicians, and performers, among others, often employed visual images or conjured mental images to connect with their audiences.

Contributors to this interdisciplinary collection creatively explore how the exponential growth in images, especially prints, impacted the intellectual horizons and the visual awareness of viewers in early modern Germany. Each of the chapters serves as a case study for one or more of the volume's sub-themes: art, visual literacy, and strategies of presentation; audience and the art of persuasion; the art of envisioning; the ephemeral arts and theatricality; the built environment and spatial settings; and the history of the visual.

Jeffrey Chipps Smith is Kay Fortson Chair in European Art
at the University of Texas at Austin, USA.

Intent and Independence: Late Fifteenth-Century Object Engravings[1]

Allison Stielau

In the last three decades of the fifteenth century, a new image type emerged from the workshops of a few master Northern European printmakers: the engraved representation of a single object (Figure 1.1) (L. 6.271.80).[2] These prints, which remain extremely enigmatic, often depict ecclesiastical utensils such as crosiers and monstrances with elaborate late Gothic ornamental details, pieces that constituted the pinnacle of contemporary goldsmithing. Art historians have characterized them most often either as models for smiths, or showpieces highlighting the technical possibilities of a new medium.[3] These designations posit two different audiences and communicative goals for such engravings, which bookend the trajectory of production. They are either a practical tool of the workshop, seen by artisans and patrons in the process of manufacture, or finished works aimed at the appreciating connoisseur.

Very little evidence survives, however, to support either claim. We do not know for certain whom these engravings were for, or what, if anything, they were supposed to "do." While they appear formally similar to other object-types—including extant precious metalwork, workshop and presentation drawings for similar implements, and visual inventories of *Schatzkammern*—they nevertheless break from those categories in meaningful ways. The independent engraving of a single object against a blank background was a momentous innovation in the history of Western image-making, with implications for artistic genres beyond just the seemingly relevant fields of printmaking and metalworking. But given their dearth of historical context and the fact that they seem to fall somewhat between art historical specialties (are they the province of the design historian? the metalwork expert? the print scholar?), they remain understudied, both as a group and, with a few notable exceptions, as individual works. When part of a larger *oeuvre*, they are sometimes cordoned off from narrative and figural scenes and considered as an almost separate practice.
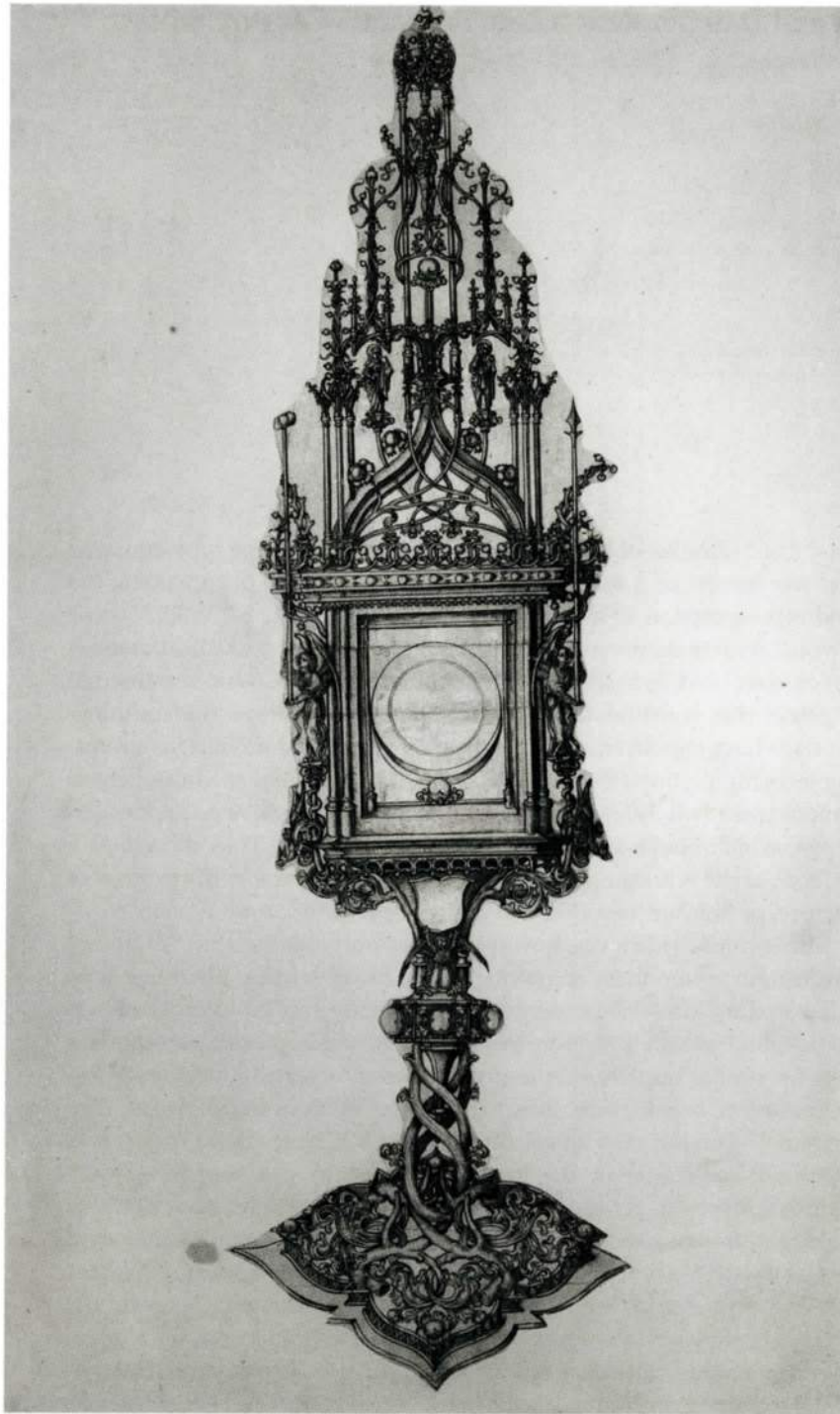
The goal of this essay is twofold: first, to survey the field of late fifteenth-century single-sheet object prints as a potentially cohesive category, considering the possibilities for the context of their making and their reception; second, to examine the after-lives of these engravings independent of their makers and first beholders. If evidence of their original intent is lacking, their continuing appeal to early modern collectors and modern viewers remains amply documented. I interrogate the nature of this appeal by way of the most iconic, and perhaps most singular, of such works, Martin Schongauer's engraving of a censer, which prompts not only art historical but also theoretical questions about representation, the relay between three-dimensional media and two-dimensional images, and the encounters produced between man-made objects and human subjects (Figure 1.4) (L.5.359.106).

Intent

Was Wenzel von Olmütz's monstrance a blueprint for reproducing an exact object? Inspiration for smaller components of a design that could be used in combination? A directive given by a commissioning client to a goldsmith? Or a template for a painter wanting to insert an elaborate piece of metalwork in a church or Adoration scene, an object-version of the faces and animal bodies in late medieval model books? As I will argue, such questions might be most fruitfully addressed by allowing that at an early stage in the development of engraving, prints of leaves, baldachins and censers existed on a spectrum of possibilities with respect to their imagined ultimate purpose.

To avoid asserting the original intent of these engravings in their very designation, I have chosen to refer to them simply as *object engravings*, a phrase that avoids hypothesizing their original goal, or placing them within an anachronistic lineage. Object engravings have long been hampered by classifications made for works that postdate them, which had different sources of input and production contexts. They often appear as the opening images in surveys of so-called ornament prints, which include later series of designs meant to inspire craftsmen across media.[4] But an engraving of a monstrance represents an ornamented object, not an ornament to be independently applied. Examples of printed surface designs survive from the same period; sometimes they were made by the same hands as the engravings of autonomous works in metal.[5]

The technical origins of engraving are in part responsible for the slippage in terminology. The medium is believed to have begun in the goldsmith's shop, as a means to indexically preserve incised decoration on metalwork. With the increasing availability of affordable paper, goldsmiths began to print and sell their designs in a new, interstitial market as yet unregulated by their guilds.[6] Furthermore, many of the masters producing object engravings were the brothers and sons of goldsmiths, making it conceivable that their prints were known inside and perhaps even destined for the workshop, to be applied as decoration on the flat surface of a chalice or goblet, for example.[7]

1.1   Wenzel von Olmütz, *Monstrance*, 1481–1500, silhouetted engraving, British Museum, London. © Trustees of the British Museum

The engravers' move from representing applied ornament to representing three-dimensional objects complicates the story, however. Visualizing a completed piece of metalwork requires a different order of spatial and plastic representation than conceiving a surface ornament. It was a skill many smiths used to communicate their plans to one another, as well as to patrons, which explains why late fifteenth-century object engravings most closely resemble such technical and presentation drawings.[8]

These crucial comparanda cannot, however, definitively situate the object engraving as a tool within the workshop for they too straddled the trajectory of production, serving both as prototypes for the client or as records for a workshop's archive of completed projects.[9] Object engravings are most often characterized as models or designs, terms that link them to later prints self-consciously titled and marketed as such. But in these early years the maker's intention remains less clear, as he probed the possibilities of his medium and tested the market with innovative products.

While they share formal similarities with front elevations produced by contemporary craftsmen, object engravings lack many of those works' contextualizing clues. Such drawings sometimes preserve technical conversations between makers, like the plan for a monstrance in Ulm, which retains notes from anonymous goldsmiths indicating where the work should be modified or embellished.[10] Hans Sebald Beham's c.1530 engraving of a covered cup indicates its target audience with the suggestion, printed in large roman letter forms, for potential modifications to the design: *HIE OBEN MAGST AVCH EIN FVVS MACHEN.*[11]

In contrast, an absence of commentary muffles the fifteenth-century object engraving. If there were ever notes between craftsmen in the margins, over the course of the intervening centuries they have been assiduously silhouetted out (see Figure 1.1). In addition to the lack of verbal communication, surviving impressions bear no other marks of workshop use. This void does not rule out the possibility that such engravings were used in a directly physical way, however, because prints with more severe abrading are unlikely to have been preserved.[12]

As precisely replicated multiples, object engravings demonstrate a further divergence from drawings associated with workshop practice. In this way they appear to forecast later print series that spread vessel designs across Europe, allowing smiths in many locations to work simultaneously from the same image.[13] A printed model might simply have expedited the process by which medieval craftsmen acquired an archive of representative samples, by traveling and drawing important works by hand. When even the engraving was hard to come by, it could have been copied and exchanged, its motifs continuing to move for decades, and in modified forms, outward from the original impressions.[14] Still, though object engravings existed in multiple impressions like later print series, they were not necessarily used in the same manner by practicing artisans.

The lack of late Gothic metalwork that can be tied directly to an extant object engraving further underscores this point.[15] Of course, because of their monetary value and ease of transformation, gold and silver are notoriously unstable materials. Evidence that these prints were used as direct models may simply have melted in the crucible long ago. Similarities between surviving pieces and object engravings, particularly in smaller details like microarchitectural and organic decoration, may not signify copying of the print so much as the use of a shared stock of ornamental components.

Neither of the preceding lines of inquiry—via physical traces on the engravings themselves or comparisons to extant metalwork—adequately explains how goldsmiths might actually have used these prints in producing their own works. When approached with the eyes and hand of the maker in mind, they appear to offer little guidance in recreating the objects they represent. How might goldsmiths like Martin Schongauer's brother Jörg, whose elaborate Porrentruy monstrance testifies to his skill in creating all of the spindly details and foliate flourishes that appear in his brother's object engravings, have tackled this complex reverse-engineering?[16]

The most interesting evidence of the way goldsmiths moved between two-dimensional and three-dimensional visual perception are the thin, complexly curving leaves that enliven many late Gothic masterpieces. Object engravers had produced images of these dynamic vegetal forms, which could serve as surface decoration, or become three-dimensional ornaments (Figure 1.2) (L. 7.247.11). Surviving models show how these forms were actually made: flat, symmetrical, elongated branching forms were cut from thin sheets of silver using copper templates, then each branch was curled up separately to produce a naturalistic, volumetric leaf-shape (Figure 1.3). If the smith were using a print of a leaf-ornament as model, he still would have had to begin with an abstract, dissimilar-looking two-dimensional physical model of his own to reproduce what he saw.

Francesco Lucchini has recently described the medieval goldsmith's method as one of assemblage.[17] Rather than complete, formal architectural

1.2   Alart du Hameel, *Thistle Leaves*, engraving, Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden. (Photo: Herbert Boswank)
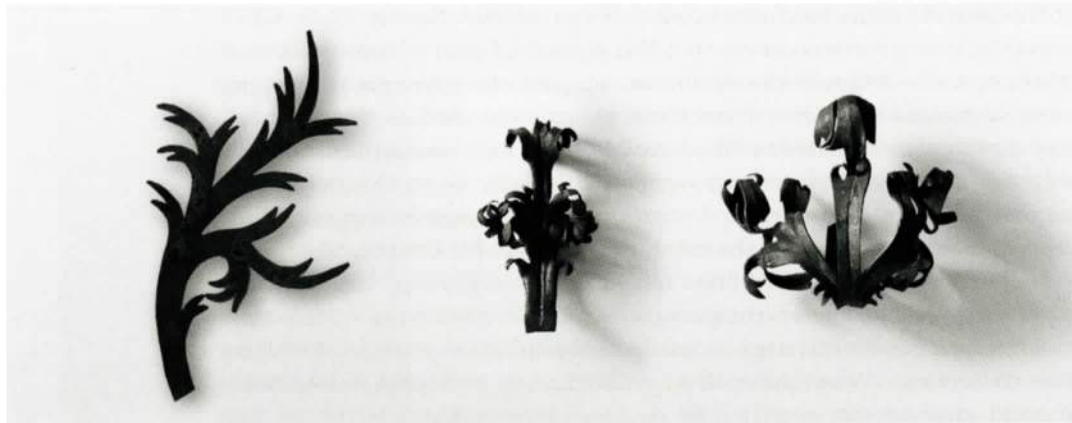
1.3 Copper-alloy templates for leaf ornaments, fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, Historisches Museum Basel. (Photo: P. Portner)

elevations, these craftsmen saw metalwork as amalgamations of individual parts, like cast statuettes and tracery, which were slotted, pinned, or hinged into place.[18] Chalices and monstrances are rarely displayed in their deconstructed state, as they would have been designed and then produced in the workshop. Lucchini contends that so-called goldsmiths' model prints should be considered through the lens of this accretive method. If smiths thought in terms of component parts, then these prints are not models so much as exercises in visual perception that attempt to picture those separable parts in a state of completion.[19]

The accretive method is indeed central to the way elaborate objects were conceived in the fifteenth-century workshop. But there was more than one way to design metalwork in this period, and while some craftsmen likely built elaborate commissions from the drawn and cast fragments in their possession, they also worked backwards from already-made examples, whether in metal, in wood, or on paper.[20] Illustrating the potential overlap between craft practices in the late fifteenth century is the fact that sculptors in wood sometimes supplied carved models to their goldsmith colleagues.[21]

Artisans were not the only target for text and images dealing with craft practice, however. The appearance of object engravings coincided with an emergent interest on the part of educated elites for technical knowledge that had previously been confined to the workshop and guild. Historians of science and technology have examined how artisans began to write and publish treatises on their working methods for dissemination to a wider audience.[22] In this vein the *Fialenbüchlein*, a 1489 pamphlet by the Nuremberg goldsmith Hans Schmuttermayer described and illustrated the mason's technique for creating gablets and pinnacles, deriving the elevation from the ground plan, a process also employed by goldsmiths for producing architecture in miniature.[23] In their late Gothic details and representation of ornament against blank background, the illustrations to this text share some affinities with object engravings, though with significantly more contextualizing support.

In addition to texts and images conveying craft practice, a later generation of collectors would seek to acquire the actual tools of the artisan, and in some cases his entire workshop. In his treatise of 1565, Samuel Quiccheberg dedicated a whole section of an ideal collection (the "Fourth Class") to instruments, including those of sculptors, woodworkers, and goldsmiths, and suggested that a truly comprehensive collecting and research facility would encompass working ateliers for printing, turning, and metalsmithing.[24] His organizational system for engravings devises a category ("the third region") for everything from maps to monuments, coins, workshops, and "small vases," as well as "small figures for ornamentation, also illustrated in various ways."[25] These designations likely refer to object engravings, or the vessel prints and ornament designs that followed them.

In the context of a collection dedicated not only to works of art, but also to the tools and methods used to make them, printed *Vorlageblätter* might have functioned as ludic prompts for the beholder, enticing him, like the smith, to imaginatively reverse-engineer the finished product from its two-dimensional image. A similar prompt was offered in the complex polyhedra of Wenzel Jamnitzer's 1568 *Perspectiva corporum regularium*, which implicitly challenged readers to derive the method used to produce them, a method alluded to on the title page but never fully described.[26] The ability to toggle imaginatively between two and three dimensions, which had once been the skillset solely of the craftsman, had become a form of recreational, intellectual play a half-century later.

The appeal of late Gothic baldachins and ecclesiastical metalwork to the collector of the late fifteenth century is less certain. Perhaps already around 1480 the audience interested in craftsmen's treatises offered a similar context for the reception of such prints, a small network of connoisseurs providing engravers with a niche market.[27] It is also possible that the object engraving was itself a tool for interactions between patron and maker. The sixteenth-century print collector Ferdinand, Archduke of Tyrol, possessed an album of vessel prints including object engravings from the fifteenth century as well as later prints of Renaissance and classical vases. Peter Parshall has suggested that Ferdinand's album may have functioned as a kind of order book for directing the buyers and artisans who were helping to grow his extensive collections.[28]

These virtuosic representations of idealized, imaginative, and in some cases impossible, objects may have had no link to the workshop at all, and instead were the disseminating calling cards of engravers pleased with the possibilities of their medium and hoping to make their names by way of it. For those brought up in the goldsmith trade, we could see these works as the engraver's response to his father's craft tradition, a kind of *paragone* between goldwork and engraving. In this scenario, the son and his medium win out because they convincingly recreate and even surpass the stunning achievements of late medieval goldsmiths while using only a flat sheet of metal, a burin, paper, and ink. But to slot these engravings into a facile narrative about Art's triumph over Craft is to miss the many ways that

visual and material making, as well as artisanal and educated thought, were entangled in this period.[29]

Fifteenth-century object engravings fail to correspond to the categories made for the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century works that came after them because what the ornament, the model, and the design became in print was not necessarily nascent within these first experiments.[30] The development of engraving as a medium, as well as the development of engraving's representation of objects, was not teleological. In this respect we could compare the first decades of engraving to the first decades of photography, when it was not yet clear what the new, powerful reproductive technology might be used for. Those early years produced images that could not be mapped onto genres or associated with intentions—like the difference between "artistic" and "scientific" photographs—that only arose and clarified as the medium developed.

The same could be said of object engravings, which may simply represent the artifacts of an early trial period.[31] This transitional moment produced not a monolithic type, but a series of individual essays, each with its own peculiar interest. These might be grouped more productively not as ornament prints or goldsmiths' models, but in narrower divisions, such as the ornamental leaf (Figure 1.2), the microarchitectural construction with excerpted ground plan, or the empty framing device, whether it be the Master W's figureless niched brooch (L. 7.78.50), or Israhel van Meckenem's crosier (L. 9.438.587), whose platformed crook encloses blank space. These specialized categorizations better account for the range of extant object engravings and open up constructive lines of enquiry to long-standing questions about the function and audience of these enigmatic prints.

Independence

Whatever the intended and ultimate contexts for object engravings in the late fifteenth century may have been, they survived to exist in other contexts and for other beholders in ways that images sharing their formal appearance did not. The characteristic that made this survival possible was perhaps their most significant: their independence. Here I mean the word independence in several senses, not only a physical independence, as single-sheet prints separate from the grounding substrate of a book, and as multiples able to travel far from their points of origin, but also a representational independence, which extracted the object from both explanatory text and narrative scenes. Scholars' frustrated efforts to definitively place object engravings in the smith's workshop also attest to the ultimate independence of these prints, whether deliberate or not, from that context.

The preservation of fifteenth-century object engravings first in early modern and then in later print collections was made possible by this polysemous independence. Even as tastes in metalwork's form and ornament shifted,

and secular vessels replaced ecclesiastical implements as the zenith of the precious metalworker, still these images of late Gothic objects survived. Their association with master engravers made them valuable links to the origins of the medium, but they were also visually arresting images in their own right, products of clearly imaginative and technically skilled printmakers, many of whom remained nameless.[32]

No other work was as copied or carefully kept as Martin Schongauer's *Censer* (Figure 1.4).[33] This engraving has also elicited the majority of responses— both aesthetic appreciations and attempts at scholarly explanation—in this field.[34] Although it has become an iconic example of the image-type, it also stands separate, its level of visual and conceptual interest unparalleled by its
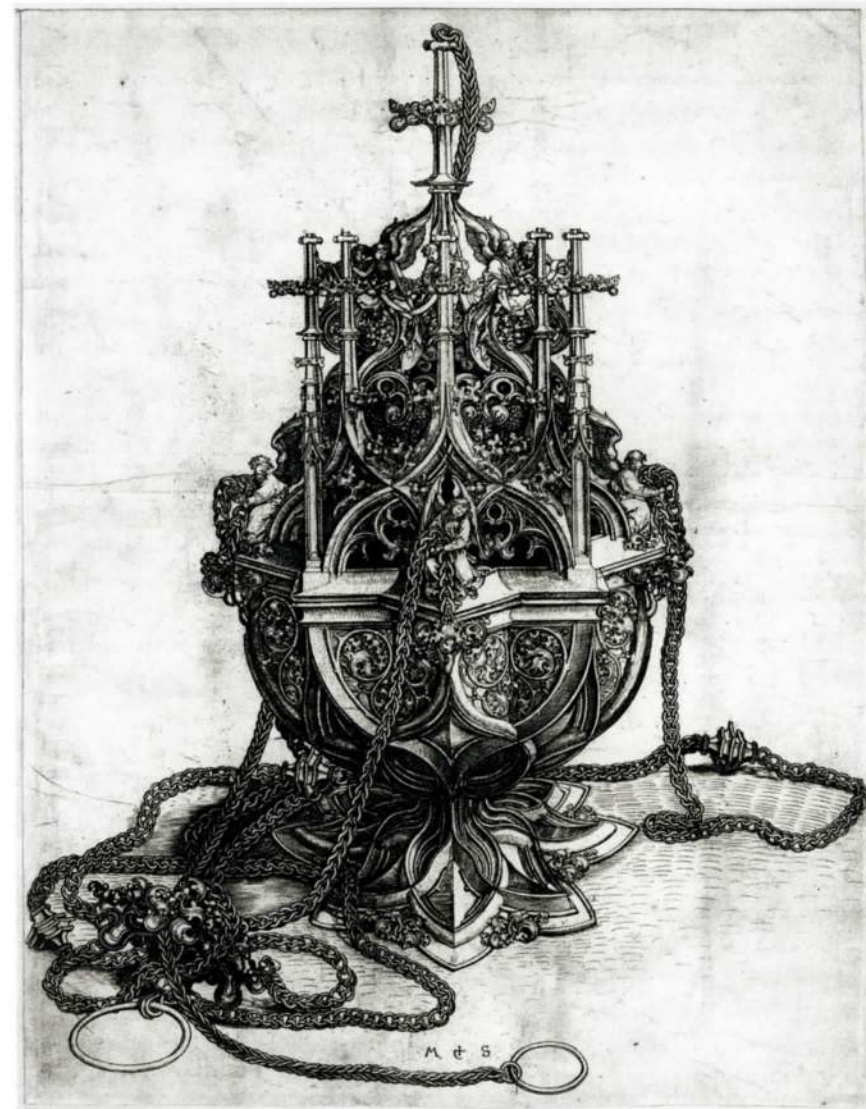
1.4 Martin Schongauer, *Censer*, 1470–74, engraving, British Museum, London. © Trustees of the British Museum

peers. Compared with the roughly contemporary engraving of a censer by the Master W, a few distinguishing features become immediately obvious (Figure 1.5) (L. 7.86.57). While both represented objects share the basic form of footed solid base and filigree lid with elaborate miniature pinnacles and gables, their presentation varies significantly. The Master W portrayed his censer, or at least the upper two-thirds of it, like an architectural elevation, or a vessel seen on a shelf at eye-level. Schongauer's censer is viewed slightly from above as if, sitting on a table below our line of vision, it has just been, or is about to be, in use.

What animates Schongauer's censer and gives it this air of sitting between uses is the portion of the object that the Master W cut out, the chain secured through cast figurines. These angels wielding chains the size of their heads were a little visual pun on the notion of censing angels, those dynamic attendants to centuries of Christian art whose vigorous swinging often adds the greatest sense of movement to a scene. If in those works it is the taut or arched chain of the moving censer that stirs an otherwise stationary composition, here the languid pooling of the slack chain to the censer's left disturbs what would otherwise be straight, even flat-footed, symmetry. At each point where the chain drops from its attachments, its line interrupts the vessel's profile. This disturbance across the surface of the censer and in the foreground contributes to the sense that we see not an idealized model for an object, but a made object simply at rest.

The chain does more than disrupt the architectonic presentation of the censer. It also indicates how this special ritual tool actually functions. Contemporaneous microarchitectural censers often have four chains, three from the turreted rim of the bowl and one from the pinnacle of its lid. All four run up to the top handle, with its ring for grasping. The chain from the pinnacle is used to lift the lid of the censer to place charcoal and incense inside, and sometimes to let more smoke out, whereas the other three chains hold the bowl while it is carried or swung.[35] Schongauer differentiated these metal leads in his engraving, giving the chain for the lid a slightly tighter weave. It can be traced precisely from its S-curve around the pinnacle, down over the fob, and into the foreground, where it underlines Schongauer's mark and ends in a ring that can hook back to the fob when not in use.

Each of the censer's chains is distinguishable in the twisting pile at lower left. This challenge was an astonishingly difficult one for the engraver to have set himself — to depict not just the individual links of a chain (where they hang from the censer's bowl one can actually see through the spaces between links), but a heap of chains in which the individual threads can still be followed. The tail end below the monogram serves to underline the connection between the master and his choice of subject, as if the whole image were made possible by that adeptly represented chain.

Such mesmerized description has long been a common reaction to this engraving's formal complexities.[36] Its tiny details and asymmetries, individuated links and ornamental flourishes, repay the beholder's attention,
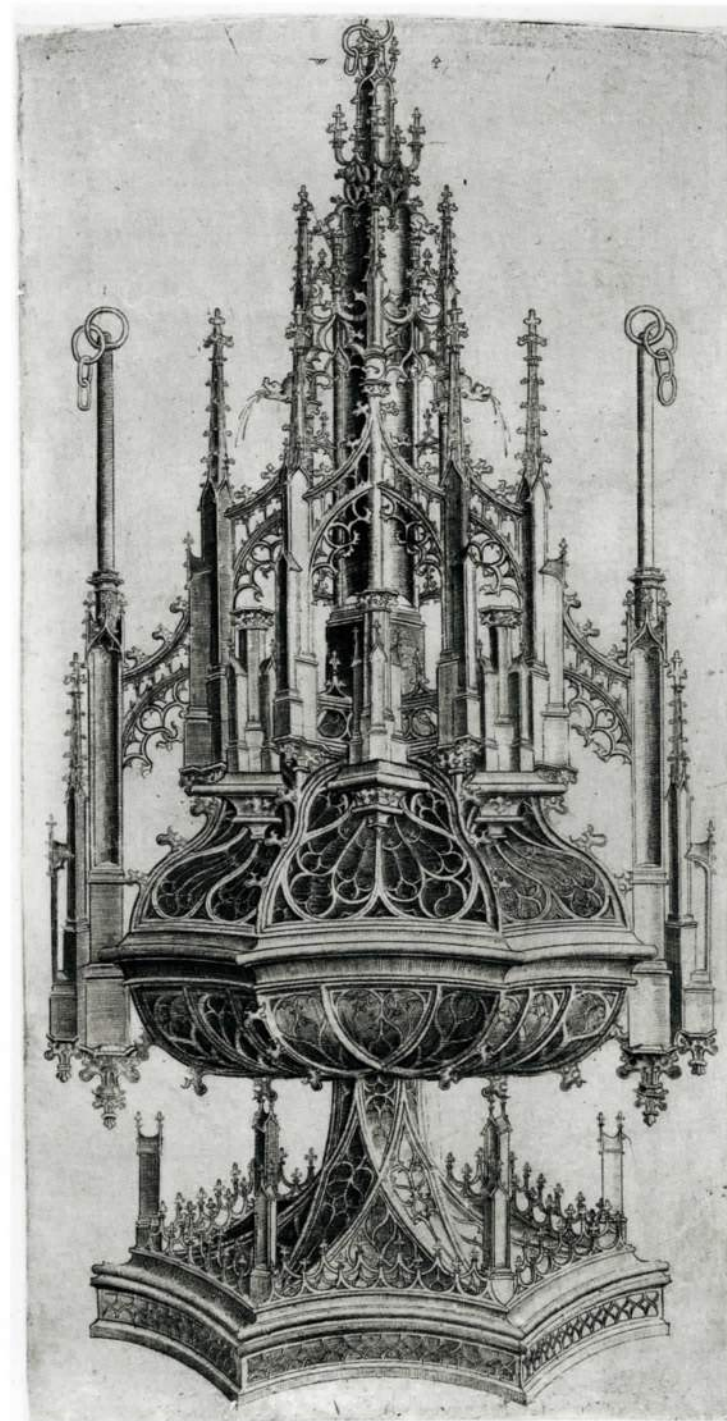
1.5   Master W with the Key, Censer, engraving, Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, inventory number 96-1890. © Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin

prompting *ekphrasis*, a need to explain how the image draws us in and the pleasure of being caught, or caught up, in its chains. More than a modern art historical projection, this appeal to interaction is in fact a component of Schongauer's careful composition. As Ulrike Heinrichs has aptly shown, the loop at far left not only introduces visual interest but also serves as a physical invitation to the viewer.[37] The two rings are for the left and right hands, so one might take up the censer and use it, as both physical object and intellectual tool.

A sensitivity to the way that objects can function as more than mere iconographical or anecdotal accessories is everywhere apparent in Schongauer's engravings, even in the more complicated figural works. In *The Road to Cavalry* (L.5.69.9), for example, ropes, bridles, and spurs, along with dozens of other carried implements help to narrate the procession's movement. In *The Dormition of the Virgin* (L.5.106.16), an ornate candleholder with dynamic cast figures and roiling vegetal ornament stands in the foreground almost as an additional attendant at the bedside (Figure 1.6).[38] Another instance of virtuosic metalwork spun from the engraver's imagination, the candleholder recalls Schongauer's great censer. A censer resides in this scene as well, hidden from view below Mary's right elbow. An apostle holds its two rings on his splayed left fingers and grips the hanging cluster of chains with his right hand, raising it just high enough for the top pinnacle of the lid to rise above his companion's drapery. It is as though the censer of Schongauer's engraving has been taken up and carried into the room and deliberately hidden, the complexity of its impressive ornament displaced onto the candleholder in the foreground.

Given his obvious talents for portraying metalwork, why did the engraver obscure the censer in this scene? Perhaps it would have contributed too much complex detail to an already busy composition. Perhaps the credibility of figural placement gains from the overlap of attendants and objects. Schongauer showed enough of the censer for it to be identified by an experienced beholder, who would have expected to see the implement in the portrayal of this episode. The censer had been a permanent fixture at portrayals of the Dormition of the Virgin throughout the medieval period, a real component of Christian death ritual that became energizing detail for this particular narrative.[39]

The censer was so ubiquitous an accessory at the Virgin's deathbed, often held up by an apostle blowing across burning coals inside, that even when the actual attribute has been lost in sculptural groups, its original presence remains palpable. For example, in the high altar retable made for an abbey church in Zwettl in Lower Austria, an apostle blows out his cheeks and directs his rounded lips at the empty space between his hands (Figure 1.7).[40] Given the position of his fingers and face, and the subject of the scene, it is obvious that he originally held a censer.

For the Zwettl altarpiece's censer to have been removed without damaging the rest of the sculpture it had to have been carved as an independent article, a wooden version of the type of metal censers used in the abbey church. Such an object can exist separately, in other words, from the hands carved to

1.6   Martin Schongauer, *The Dormition of the Virgin*, 1470–74, engraving, British Museum, London.
© Trustees of the British Museum

1.7 Master of
Zwettl, High
Altar, detail –
*Apostles Grouping
Around Virgin's
Empty Tomb*,
Abbey Church
in Zwettl,
Lower Austria,
c.1516–25, now
in Adamov,
Moravia, Czech
Republic. (Photo:
Achim Bunz)

hold it, implying the potential for an independent narrative of its own. With this independent narrative comes the possibility that the censer might act independently, or at least produce actions on the part of its human handlers. The apostle does not simply hold and manipulate the tool, but that tool's volume and shape in turn mold his fingers into their cupping gesture. In Schongauer's *The Dormition of the Virgin* too, the presence of the hidden censer manifests in its handler's delicate hold on chains and rings. The Zwettl censer once induced the apostle's focused breath, his puffed cheeks and pursed lips. Its absence reveals how, in certain moments, man and object co-produce bodily action in each other.

The last decades have given art historians new theoretical frameworks for describing this interactivity between people and things.[41] But an awareness of objects' agency is hardly anachronistic in light of the many ways in which late medieval piety directly acknowledged the influence that special classes of object could wield over the worshipping subject. Regardless of the efficacy relics had in producing miracles, they still organized liturgy, architectural space, and the human movements of processions, *Heiltumsweisungen*, and pilgrimages.[42] Fifteenth-century object engravings usually depict precious metalwork or architectural frames made in service to agentive bodies like relics, or the Eucharist. Reliquaries, monstrances, and *Sakramentshäuschen* represented tremendous financial and creative investment, all motivated by the powerful contents they were designed to house.[43] The censer, a special case, was both a container for a substance that was materially valuable but not liturgically crucial, and a tool acting on the bodies and environment in its proximity. The smoke produced by incense on smoldering charcoal shaped sacred space sensorily, a visual symbol of prayer. It was not just pushed by the breath of the thuribler, as in the Zwettl altarpiece, but also received into the lungs of priests and worshippers.

In the sphere of agentive spiritual objects there is perhaps no better example in the visual culture of late medieval and early modern Northern Europe than the *arma Christi*, the implements of the Passion.[44] They appeared sometimes alone in devotional images, deployed across blank backgrounds as cues to structured meditation on Christ's suffering.[45] More often they accompanied representations of Christ as the Man of Sorrows, alone or within the Mass of St. Gregory, lance, nails, dice, sponge, etc. hanging around the cross with neither physical grounding nor protagonists to support them (Figure 1.8). Such images erase the human actor from the scene, reducing the Passion's narrative sequence and potentially vast cast of characters to an easily inventoried set of articles.

Outside of representation, the *arma Christi* were surviving material witnesses, sacred for their role in Christ's sacrifice. More durable than human flesh, they outlived their handlers to gain narratives independent from that at Calvary. Many became relics of great value, connecting new figures and new geographical locations to Christianity's founding moments and structuring political relations.[46] These powerful implements, then, effected action in the human world. They functioned something like subject-objects, not just anecdotal material details in Christ's narrative, but participants with individual strands of experience.

The portrayal of the *arma Christi* as independent, decontextualized narrators is one visual precursor for the radical break made by object engravings, the representation of an individual article outside of human space and handling. Some have seen Schongauer's censer as a founding image in the post-classical history of the still life.[47] Yet given its intense focus on a single object rather than a collection, it has more in common with portraiture, giving its subject a preternatural air of awareness. It shares this quality with some images in *Heiltumsbücher* illustrating the highly individual reliquaries in German collections at the turn of the sixteenth century.[48] There too the metalwork container stands separate from text, either within the black lines of a frame, or on an individual page, and without visual reference to its display and ritual use. Slight distortions in perspective rendering and asymmetric, dynamic depiction stir the metalwork to life.

Identifying a similar quality in Schongauer's censer, Georg Dehio long ago described its chain as being *mit ihrem Gleiten und Kriechen fast ein lebendes Wesen*.[49] The object's independence from human interaction along with the enlivening portrayal of its forms contributes to the beholder's sense that the image is producing an encounter. The real potential of the object engraving, which Schongauer achieved climactically, was to turn the viewer's attention to the represented object so that he could see it as a subject, registering not how it came, or might come, into existence, but simply how, or that, it exists. One might characterize this approach as an art of description; the artist sees the objects of the world and recognizing their self-possession, simply lets them be.[50] But in fact it is an art of alienation.
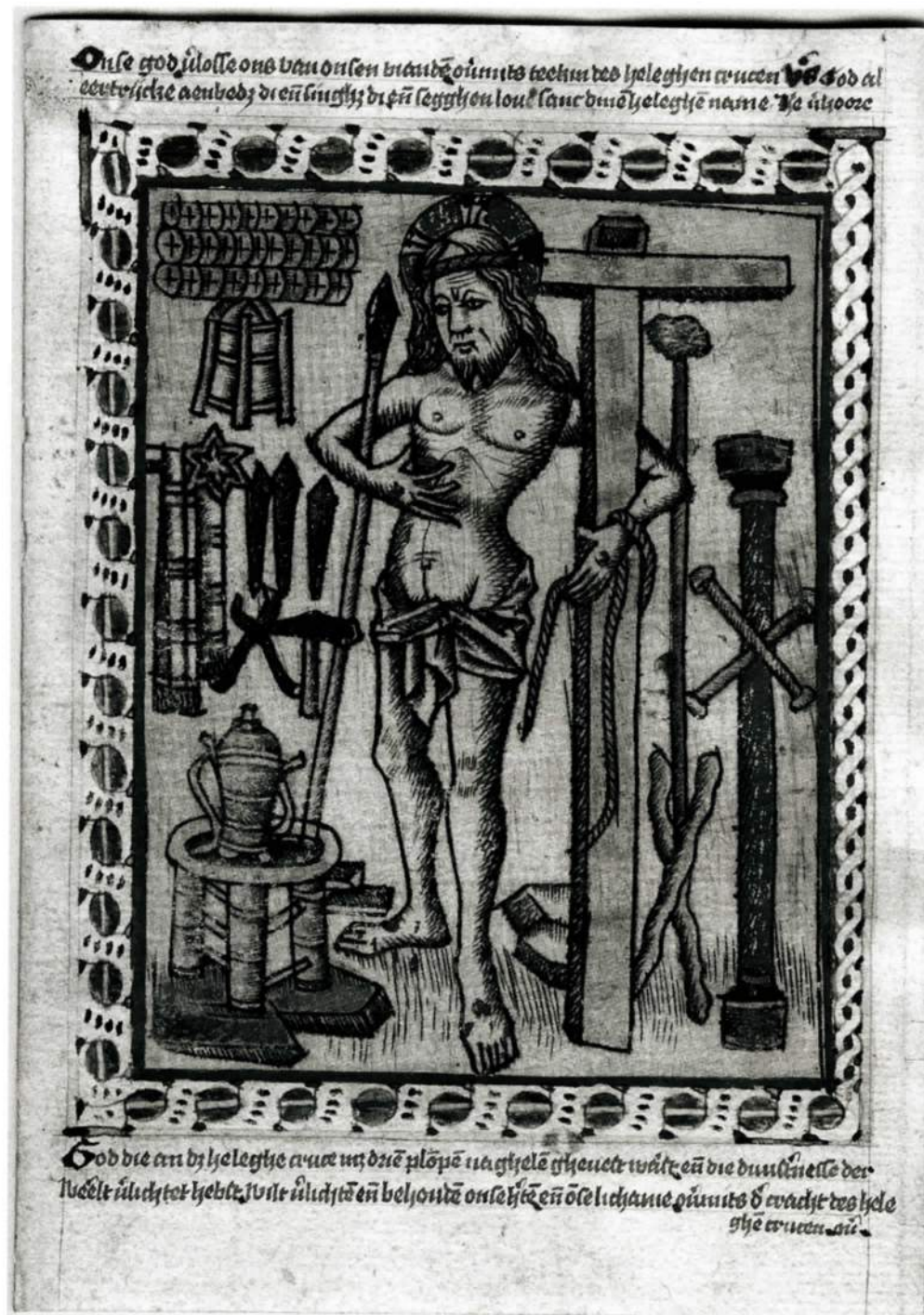
1.8   Master of the Dutuit Mount of Olives, *Man of Sorrows*, c.1455–1470, hand-colored engraving pasted into illuminated manuscript, British Museum, London. © Trustees of the British Museum

Alienation threads itself through many of the Master W's engravings, in architectural niches without sculpture, in rooms entirely devoid of people, and in ships sailing on raucous seas without a single human operator in sight.[51] Each of these is a container emptied of its expected figural and narrative contents. The same could be said for object engravings, which reveal nothing except for the single item they portray. Their severing from the world creates the conditions for a special kind of attentive engagement, one in which the beholder herself must find or create content. Some modern viewers might locate in the fifteenth-century object engraving a resistance to interpretation that renders the object withholding, almost clever.[52] The early modern beholder, whether craftsman or collector, may instead have found therein an opportunity to *be* clever, through the interpretive faculties of hand and mind.

Works Cited

Alpers, Svetlana. "Art History and Its Exclusions: The Example of Dutch Art," in *Feminism and Art History: Questioning the Litany*, eds. Norma Broude and Mary D. Garrard, 182–99. New York, 1982.

Bagnoli, Martina, ed. *Treasures of Heaven: Saints, Relics, and Devotion in Medieval Europe*. New Haven, CT, 2010.

Bätschmann, Oskar, and Werner Oechslin. *Die Vase*. Zürich, 1982.

Bennett, Jane. *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things*. Durham, NC, 2010.

Berliner, Rudolf. "Arma Christi." *Münchner Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst* 6 (1955): 35–152.

Bier, Justus. "Riemenschneider as a Goldsmith's Model Maker." *The Art Bulletin* 37/2 (1955): 103–12.

Bott, Gerhard, ed. *Wenzel Jamnitzer und die Nürnberger Goldschmiedekunst 1500–1700*. Exh. cat., Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Munich, 1985.

Bruhn, Heather McCune. "Late Gothic Architectural Monstrances in the Rhineland, c.1380–1480: Objects in Context." Ph.D. dissertation, Pennsylvania State University, 2006.

Bynum, Caroline Walker. *Christian Materiality: An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe*. New York, 2011.

Campbell, Marian. "Gold, Silver and Precious Stones," in *English Medieval Industries: Craftsmen, Techniques, Products*, eds. John Blair and Nigel Ramsay, 107–66. London, 1991.

Cranach, Lucas. *Wittenberger Heiltumsbuch: Faksimile-Neudruck der Ausgabe Wittenberg, 1509*. Unterschneidheim, 1969.

Das Halle'sche Heiltum: Reliquienkult und Goldschmiedekunst der Frührenaissance in Deutschland, CD-ROM. Munich: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 2002.

Dehio, Georg. *Geschichte der deutschen kunst*. 3 vols. Berlin, 1921–26.

de Jong, Marijnke, and Irene de Groot. *Ornamentprenten in het Rijksprentenkabinet*. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1988.

Falk, Tilman, and Christian Müller. *Katalog der Zeichnungen des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts im Kupferstichkabinett Basel*. Parts 1 and 2. Basel, 1979.

Fritz, Johann Michael. *Goldschmiedekunst der Gotik in Mitteleuropa*. Munich, 1982.

——. "Martin Schongauer und die Goldschmiede," in *Le beau Martin: études et mises au point*, ed. Albert Châtelet, 175–82. Colmar, 1994.

Gell, Alfred. *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Approach*. Oxford, 1998.

Heinrichs, Ulrike. *Martin Schongauer, Maler und Kupferstecher: Kunst und Wissenschaft unter dem Primat des Sehens*. Munich, 2008.

Heuer, Christopher P. *The City Rehearsed: Object, Architecture, and Print in the Worlds of Hans Vredeman De Vries*. London, 2009.

Hunter, Matthew C., and Francesco Lucchini. "The Clever Object: Three Pavilions, Three Loggias, and a Planetarium." *Art History* 36/3 (2013): 475–97.

Hutchison, Jane Campbell, ed. *The Illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 9, part 2 – *Early German Artists*. New York, 1991.

——, ed. *The Illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 8, part 1 – *Early German Artists: Martin Schongauer, Ludwig Schongauer, and Copyists*. New York, 1996.

Jamnitzer, Wenzel. *Perspectiva corporum regularium*. Nuremberg [?], 1568.

Jessen, Peter. *Meister des Ornamentstichs*. 4 vols. Berlin, n.d.

Kahsnitz, Rainer. *Die großen Schnitzaltäre: Spätgotik in Süddeutschland, Österreich, Südtirol*. Munich, 2005.

Karant-Nunn, Susan C. *The Reformation of Ritual: An Interpretation of Early Modern Germany*. London, 1997.

Koepf, Hans. *Die gotischen Planrisse der Ulmer Sammlungen*. Stuttgart, 1977.

Krohm, Hartmut. "Der *Modellcharakter* der Kupferstiche mit dem Bischofsstab und Weihrauchfass," in *Le beau Martin: études et mises au point*, ed. Albert Châtelet, 185–207. Colmar, 1994.

Lehrs, Max. "Ueber gestochene Vorlagen für gothisches Kirchengeräth." *Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst* 6 (1893): 65–74.

——. *Der Meister W*A. Ein Kupferstecher der Zeit Karls des Kühnen*, Leipzig, 1895.

——. *Geschichte und kritischer Katalog des deutschen, niederländischen und französischen Kupferstichs im 15. Jahrhundert*. 10 vols. Vienna, 1908–34.

Lichtwark, Alfred. *Der Ornamentstich der deutschen Frührenaissance*. Berlin, 1888.

Long, Pamela O. *Openness, Secrecy, Authorship: Technical Arts and the Culture of Knowledge from Antiquity to the Renaissance*. Baltimore, 2001.

Lucchini, Francesco. "Assemblage and the Materiality of Goldsmiths' Work." Lecture, College Art Association 100th Annual Conference, Los Angeles, February 25, 2012.

——. "Aleardino's Glass." *Art History* 36/3 (2013): 498–517.

Parshall, Peter. "The Print Collection of Ferdinand, Archduke of Tyrol." *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 88 (1982): 139–84.

——. "Prints as Objects of Consumption in Early Modern Europe." *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 28/1 (1998): 19–36.

Peters, Jane S., ed. *The Illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 19, part 1 – *German Masters of the Sixteenth Century: Virgil Solis: Intaglio Prints and Woodcuts*. New York, 1987.

Quiccheberg, Samuel. *The First Treatise on Museums: Samuel Quiccheberg's* Inscriptiones *1565*, trans. Mark A. Meadow and Bruce Roberts. Los Angeles, CA, 2013.

Schellenberger, Simona. "Vorbild, Abbild und Fiktion? Architekturgebilde auf Kupferstichen des Monogrammisten W," in *Mikroarchitektur im Mittelalter: Ein gattungsübergreifendes Phänomen zwischen Realität und Imagination*, eds. Christine Kratzke und Uwe Albrecht, 535–48. Leipzig, 2008.

Schmitt, Lothar, and Nicholas Stogdon, eds. *Hollstein's German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts 1400–1700*, vol. 49 – *Ludwig Schongauer to Martin Schongauer*. Rotterdam, 1999.

Shelby, Lon R. *Gothic Design Techniques: The Fifteenth-Century Design Booklets of Mathes Roriczer and Hans Schmuttermayer*. Carbondale, IL, 1977.

Söll-Tauchert, Sabine. "'ein ansehenlicher Schatz von allerley alten Mûntzen, Kunst vnd Rariteten': Das Amerbach-Kabinett," in *Die grosse Kunstkammer: Bürgerliche Sammler und Sammlungen in Basel*, 42–57. Basel, 2011.

Tanner, Paul. *Das Amerbach-Kabinett: Die Basler Goldschmiederisse*. Basel, 1991.

Timmermann, Achim. *Real Presence: Sacrament Houses and the Body of Christ, c. 1270–1600*. Turnhout, 2009.

van Os, Henk. *The Art of Devotion in the Late Middle Ages in Europe, 1300–1500*. Princeton, NJ, 1994.

Viljoen, Madeleine. "The Airs of Early Modern Ornament Prints," *Oxford Art Journal* 37.2 (2014), forthcoming.

Weekes, Ursula. *Early Engravers and Their Public: The Master of the Berlin Passion and Manuscripts from Convents in the Rhine-Maas Region, Ca. 1450–1500*. London, 2004.

Wetter, Evelin. *Objekt Überlieferung und Narrativ: Spätmittelalterliche Goldschmiedekunst im historischen Königreich Ungarn*. Ostfildern, 2011.

Endnotes

1   I thank Jeffrey Chipps Smith and Thomas Robisheaux for the opportunity to participate in the 2012 FNI Conference for which this chapter was originally conceived, and the many attentive and inquisitive colleagues I found there. I am also grateful for suggestions made by Shira Brisman, Adam Eaker, Aaron Hyman, and the volume's anonymous reviewer.

2   Engravings in this essay are identified according to Max Lehrs, *Geschichte und kritischer Katalog des deutschen, niederländischen und französischen Kupferstichs im 15. Jahrhundert*, 10 vols. (Vienna, 1908–34). In parentheses after each mention, I give the appropriate Lehrs number by volume, first page of entry, and entry number.

3   See for example Paul Tanner's assertion that several engravings in this genre by the Netherlandish printmaker known as the Master W with the Key (referred to in this essay simply as the Master W) were "offensichtlich reine Schaublätter." *Das Amerbach-Kabinett: Die Basler Goldschmiederisse* (Basel, 1991), 89, no. 64.

4   Peter Jessen, *Meister des Ornamentstichs*, 4 vols. (Berlin, n.d.), 1: nos. 18–22. A much later catalogue of ornament prints bears Schongauer's censer on the cover: Marijnke de Jong and Irene de Groot, *Ornamentprenten in Het Rijksprentenkabinet* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1988). Madeleine Viljoen cogently reviews the history of this term and art historical approaches to the category in "The Airs of Early Modern Ornament Prints," *Oxford Art Journal* 37.2 (2014), forthcoming. I thank her for sharing this essay with me before its publication.

5   Schongauer, Alart du Hameel, and the Master W all produced engravings of leaf ornaments as well as microarchitectural constructions. On Schongauer, see Lothar Schmitt and Nicholas Stogdon, eds., *Hollstein's German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts 1400–1700*, vol. 49 *Ludwig Schongauer to Martin Schongauer* (Rotterdam, 1999). On du Hameel, see Jane C. Hutchison, ed., *The Illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 9, part 2, *Early German Artists* (New York, 1991), 231–52. On the Master W, see Max Lehrs, *Der Meister W*A. Ein Kupferstecher der Zeit Karls des Kühnen* (Leipzig, 1895).

6   A summary of this technical genealogy appears in Ursula Weekes, *Early Engravers and Their Public: The Master of the Berlin Passion and Manuscripts from Convents in the Rhine-Maas Region, ca. 1450–1500* (London, 2004), 25.

7   On these familial craft ties see Johann Michael Fritz, "Martin Schongauer und die Goldschmiede," in *Le beau Martin: études et mises au point*, ed. Albert Châtelet (Colmar, 1994), 175–82.

8   On the use of drawings and three-dimensional models in metalwork commissions, see Marian Campbell, "Gold, Silver and Precious Stones," in *English Medieval Industries: Craftsmen, Techniques, Products*, eds. John Blair and Nigel Ramsay (London, 1991), 162. It is possible that object engravings could have served as ready-made presentation drawings. Hutchison notes the engraving of a covered cup by von Olmütz, one impression of which "is handsomely tinted in gold yellow as though for presentation" (L. 6.270.79). Hutchison, *The Illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 9, part 2, 182.

9   On categorizations of drawings associated with workshop practice, see Tanner, *Das Amerbach-Kabinett*, 10–11.

10   Stadtarchiv Ulm, 28. Hans Koepf, *Die gotischen Planrisse der Ulmer Sammlungen* (Ulm, 1977), 147, no. 48.

11   "here on top make another foot if you like," a conversion to Doppelpokal form. *Wenzel Jamnitzer und die Nürnberger Goldschmiedekunst 1500–1700*, ed. Gerhard Bott, exh. cat., Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg (Munich, 1985), 364, no. 340.

12   Schmidt and Stogdon, *Hollstein's German Engravings*, vol. 49, xxxiv.

13   The vessel designs by Virgil Solis are one prominent example. Jane S. Peters, ed., *The Illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 19, part 1, *German Masters of the Sixteenth Century: Virgil Solis: Intaglio Prints and Woodcuts* (New York, 1987), 231–51.

14   See the drawings that seem to be inspired, if loosely, by Schongauer's prints. Tilman Falk and Christian Müller, *Katalog der Zeichnungen des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts im Kupferstichkabinett Basel*, 2 parts (Basel, 1979), part 1: 58 and 139, nos. 61 and 549.

15   Heather McCune Bruhn, "Late Gothic Architectural Monstrances in the Rhineland, c. 1380–1480: Objects in Context," (Ph.D. dissertation, Pennsylvania State University, 2006), 193. One sixteenth-century censer in Edam was clearly inspired by Schongauer's print; see Johann Michael Fritz, *Goldschmiedekunst der Gotik in Mitteleuropa* (Munich, 1982), no. 610.

16   Fritz, *Goldschmiedekunst der Gotik*, no. 692.

17   Francesco Lucchini, "Aleardino's Glass," *Art History* 36, no. 3 (2013): 513.

18   Evelin Wetter discusses the use of a workshop stock of models and smaller parts, including leaf ornaments, in *Objekt Überlieferung und Narrativ: Spätmittelalterliche Goldschmiedekunst im historischen Königreich Ungarn* (Ostfildern, 2011), 34–43. The most extensive collection of surviving examples of such object types resides in the Historisches Museum, Basel. See note 24 below.

19   Francesco Lucchini, "Assemblage and the Materiality of Goldsmiths' Work," lecture, College Art Association 100th Annual Conference, Los Angeles, February 25, 2012.

20   Fritz, "Martin Schongauer und die Goldschmiede," 179.

21   Justus Bier, "Riemenschneider as a Goldsmith's Model Maker," *Art Bulletin* 37, no. 2 (1955): 103–12.

22   Pamela O. Long, *Openness, Secrecy, Authorship: Technical Arts and the Culture of Knowledge from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Baltimore, 2001), 210–43.

23   Lon R. Shelby, *Gothic Design Techniques: The Fifteenth-Century Design Booklets of Mathes Roriczer and Hans Schmuttermayer* (Carbondale, 1977), 59–61. Object engravings by du Hameel, a practicing architect, and the Master W sometimes contained snippets of such ground plans alongside their standard front elevations.

24   *The First Treatise on Museums: Samuel Quiccheberg's* Inscriptiones 1565, trans. Mark A. Meadow and Bruce Roberts (Los Angeles, 2013), 68, 72, 83. On Basilius Amerbach's late-sixteenth-century acquisition of goldsmiths workshops for his Kunstkammer, see Sabine Söll-Tauchert, "'ein ansehenlicher Schatz von allerley alten Müntzen, Kunst vnd Rariteten': Das Amerbach-Kabinett," in *Die grosse Kunstkammer: Bürgerliche Sammler und Sammlungen in Basel* (Basel, 2011), 52–3.

25   Quiccheberg, *The First Treatise*, 86–7.

26   The text announces its forms were produced, *Durch einen sonderlichen newen behenden und gerechten weg der vor nie im gebrauch ist gesehen worden*. Wenzel Jamnitzer, *Perspectiva corporum regularium* (Nuremberg [?], 1568). I thank the volume's reviewer for pointing me toward this source.

27   On Schongauer's targeting of a connoisseurial audience, see Peter Parshall, "Prints as Objects of Consumption in Early Modern Europe," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 28, no. 1 (1998): 22.

28   Van Meckenem's copy of Schongauer's *Censer* begins album 34, titled *Vasa diversa et moderna*, in this collection (L. 9.441.591). Peter Parshall, "The Print Collection of Ferdinand, Archduke of Tyrol," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 88 (1982): 174–75, 181.

29   Ulrike Heinrichs, *Martin Schongauer, Maler und Kupferstecher: Kunst und Wissenschaft unter dem Primat des Sehens* (Munich, 2008), 391.

30   Sixteenth-century prints of covered cups and tazzas and designs for vases after the antique, for example, are concerned with classical forms and ornament, and exist in a print-to-print transfer cycle that renders the represented object a superficial substrate for ornament. On the vessel in print, see Oskar Bätschmann and Werner Oechslin, *Die Vase* (Zürich, 1982). On the "aesthetic of recombination" in later ornament prints, see Christopher P. Heuer, *The City Rehearsed: Object, Architecture, and Print in the Worlds of Hans Vredeman De Vries* (London, 2009), 99–136.

31   I thank Peter Parshall for contributing to my thinking on this topic in conversation at FNI 2012.

32   Alfred Lichtwark described these prints as having a "wesentlich künstlerischer Inhalt" that distinguished them from later examples grounded in the craft tradition. Lichtwark, *Der Ornamentstich der deutschen Frührenaissance* (Berlin, 1888), 11.

33   More than 30 impressions survive. See Jane Campbell Hutchison, ed., *The Illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 8, part 1, *Early German Artists: Martin Schongauer, Ludwig Schongauer, and Copyists* (New York, 1996), 265–68; and Schmitt and Stogdon, *Hollstein's German Engravings*, vol. 49: 217.

34   Max Lehrs documented this work's appeal through contemporary copies by van Meckenem and the Monogrammist IC of Cologne, and then later, through the high prices paid for it at auctions beginning in the early decades of the nineteenth century. Lehrs, "Ueber gestochene Vorlagen für gothisches Kirchengeräth," *Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst* 6 (1893): 66–67. Heinrichs offers the most comprehensive and sophisticated study of this work, along with its oft-cited pair, the crosier. She reads these two engravings allegorically, arguing ultimately that they form "ein neuer Typus des Andachtsbildes" directed at erudite, elite members of the clergy. See the chapter "Der 'Bishofsstab' und das 'Weihrauchfaß': Kunst als Gegenstand des Kupferstichs," 389–418, in Heinrichs, *Martin Schongauer*, esp. 389; also Hartmut Krohm, "Der *Modellcharakter* der Kupferstiche mit dem Bischofsstab und Weihrauchfass," in *Le beau Martin: études et mises au point*, ed. Albert Châtelet (Colmar, 1994), 185–207.

35   See for example the German censer from 1498 now in the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore; accession no. 57.699.

36   Heinrichs, *Martin Schongauer*, 405–8; Hartmut Krohm, "Der *Modellcharakter*," 188–89.

37   Heinrichs, *Martin Schongauer*, 405.

38   On the Paschal candlestick, see Hutchison, *The Illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 8, part 1, 65; and Krohm, "Der *Modellcharakter*," 189.

39   On the use of incense in medieval death ritual, see Susan Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Ritual: An Interpretation of Early Modern Germany* (London, 1997), 165.

40   Rainer Kahsnitz, *Die großen Schnitzaltäre: Spätgotik in Süddeutschland*, Österreich, *Südtirol* (Munich, 2005), 364–85.

41   Among many theorists of material agency, I cite the anthropologist Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Approach* (Oxford, 1998); and the philosopher Jane Bennett, *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things* (Durham, 2010). For a recent critique of modern theories of agency applied to the Middle Ages, see Caroline Walker Bynum, *Christian Materiality: An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe* (New York, 2011), 280–84.

42   For discussions on the role of relics in late medieval life, see Martina Bagnoli, ed., *Treasures of Heaven: Saints, Relics, and Devotion in Medieval Europe* (New Haven, 2010).

43   On sacrament houses, see Achim Timmermann, *Real Presence: Sacrament Houses and the Body of Christ, c. 1270–1600* (Turnhout, 2009).

44   Rudolf Berliner, "Arma Christi," *Münchner Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst* 6 (1955): 35–152.

45   Henk van Os, *The Art of Devotion in the Late Middle Ages in Europe, 1300–1500* (Princeton, 1994), 114–15.

46   Among many examples are the Crown of Thorns installed by Louis IX at Sainte-Chapelle in Paris and the Holy Lance, part of the imperial relics in Nuremberg.

47   Georg Dehio, *Geschichte der deutschen kunst*, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1921–26), 2: 226.

48   See for example Lucas Cranach, *Wittenberger Heiltumsbuch: Faksimile-Neudruck der Ausgabe Wittenberg, 1509* (Unterschneidheim, 1969); *Das Halle'sche Heiltum Reliquienkult und Goldschmiedekunst der Frührenaissance in Deutschland*, CD-ROM (Munich: 2002). Lichtwark noted this formal similarity already in 1888. Lichtwark, *Der Ornamentstich*, 11.

49   "with its slide and creep, almost a living being." Georg Dehio, *Geschichte der deutschen kunst*, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1921–26), vol. 2, 225–26.

50   Paraphrasing observations in Svetlana Alpers, "Art History and Its Exclusions: The Example of Dutch Art," in *Feminism and Art History: Questioning the Litany*, eds. Norma Broude and Mary D. Garrard (New York, 1982), 197–98.

51   On these engravings, see Simona Schellenberger, "Vorbild, Abbild und Fiktion? Architekturgebilde auf Kupferstichen des Monogrammisten W," in *Mikroarchitectur im Mittelalter: Ein gattungsübergreifendes Phänomen zwischen Realität und Imagination*, eds. Christine Kratzke und Uwe Albrecht (Leipzig, 2008), 535–48.

52   For approaches to the "clever object," see Matthew C. Hunter and Francesco Lucchini, "The Clever Object: Three Pavilions, Three Loggias, and a Planetarium," *Art History* 36, no. 3 (2013): 475–97.

2

Seeing Christ: Visual Piety in Saxony's Erzgebirge

Bridget Heal

This chapter takes as its starting point a crucifix from the town hall of the silver-mining community of Freiberg in the Erzgebirge (Ore Mountains) in southern Saxony (Figure 2.1). The cross is half a meter high and made of precious materials: rock crystal, jasper, and gilded silver. Parts of it (the foot and cross itself) date from the fifteenth or early sixteenth century, from the era when Freiberg first flourished as a silver-mining community and a residential city for the Albertine branch of the House of Wettin. Parts were added later: the figure of Christ seems to have been inspired by the bronze crucifix from the Wettin burial chapel in Freiberg Cathedral made between 1590 and 1593 by Carlo di Cesare; the small figures in the trefoils at the end of each arm can also be dated, on the basis of their costume, to the late sixteenth century.[1] These trefoil figures are not, as one might expect on such a crucifix, the four Evangelists, but four representatives of Freiberg's mining and metallurgy industry: a miner, a barrow carrier, a metalworker, and a supervisor (Figure 2.2). The financial accounts from Freiberg's town council tell us something about the history of this object: it was restored in 1605–6, when it was described as "the old crucifix, which stood for a long time on the table in the room where the council met."[2] In 1643 it was restored again by the local goldsmith Samuel Linse at the behest of *Bürgermeister* Jonas Schönlebe, whose arms appear on its reverse. It is sometimes known as the *Bergschöffenkreuz* because, according to tradition, it was placed on the council's table when its members had to make decisions about legal issues relating to mining.[3]

When, in the 1485 treaty of Leipzig, Elector Ernst (1441–86) and Duke Albrecht (1443–1500) divided Wettin Saxony into two parts, the central and eastern Erzgebirge, including Freiberg, became part of the Albertine Duchy, while the western Erzgebirge (the area around Zwickau) became part of the Ernestine Electorate. In 1505 Albrecht's younger son, Heinrich (1473–1541), surrendered his claim to his father's territory in favour of his elder brother, Georg (1471–1539), in return for the castles of Freudenstein, Wolkenstein, and Freiberg. Under Heinrich, Freiberg was developed as a residential city, and Heinrich was the first of the Wettin rulers to be buried in its cathedral. The