

An Early Meissen Discovery: A *Shield Bearer* Designed by Hans Daucher for the Ducal Chapel in the Cathedral of Meissen

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JOHANN FRIEDRICH BÖTTGER, the inventor of European porcelain, worked as an alchemist at the Albrechtsburg in Meissen in 1705–6, seeking the arcanum of making gold. After 1710, this medieval castle would house the first Western porcelain manufactory—as shown here in a mid-eighteenth-century etching, with smoke issuing from the chimney of its kiln (Figure 1). The fortified structure, situated on a hill high above the town of Meissen, was accessible only by a drawbridge. The secluded site was chosen in order to keep the process of porcelain making secret and under tight control. Böttger was not allowed beyond its walls, remaining, de facto, a prisoner of the state until 1714.¹ A sickly man, he was plagued by depression as a result of a degenerative disease brought on by the poison he used for his chemical experiments. He sought rest and seclusion within the guarded walls, but even the magnificent view over the valley of the river Elbe could not offer much in the way of consolation.

It would seem that the serene architecture of the Late Gothic princely chapel in the nearby cathedral would have provided a tranquil place for meditation (see Figures 1, 2), yet it is not known whether Böttger was able to enjoy this magnificent space. These years of personal hardship in Meissen came at a time of intense international rivalries: European monarchs competed to consolidate their absolute power and to expand their areas of hegemony. Augustus the Strong (1670–1733), king of Poland and liege lord of Böttger in Saxony, was one of the central figures who participated in these shifting alliances and military successes.

Although this article is closely connected with Meissen, its primary concern is not early German porcelain—about which Clare Le Corbeiller has written so effectively—but a work in another medium, from another time of struggle and innovation. The beginning

of the sixteenth century witnessed the dawn of a similarly exciting period in Saxony: within a few years, the order that had ruled Europe for more than a millennium would become obsolete. The devoutly religious Duke George the Bearded, the last Catholic prince of Albertine Saxony (r. 1500–1539), had invited Martin Luther to preach in Dresden in July 1517, and it was in a letter addressed to this duke one year later that Luther asked that “a common *reformation* should be undertaken of the spiritual and temporal estates”—Luther’s first known use of the word that would become the name of his historic religious revolution.²

The foundation of the princely chapel in the Albrechtsburg, situated above the town of Meissen, was laid some decades before these radical changes in the ecclesiastical and political makeup of Europe took place. Margrave Frederick IV (d. 1428), who had secured the electorate in 1423, had added the chapel to the cathedral’s west facade (Figure 2) to serve as a burial site for the Wettin family, the ruling dynasty of Saxony. This addition transformed the structure into an impressive double-choir cathedral (Figure 3).³ Frederick himself was buried in the chapel five years later. The epitaphs of members of his family were placed around the raised bronze tomb of the elector (see Figure 2). Duke George, following the example of his ancestors, planned a funerary memorial for himself and his wife, Barbara (d. 1534), the daughter of King Casimir IV of Poland. By 1500, the princely chapel was nearly filled,⁴ and Duke George had to have a small addition built onto the chapel; from 1521 to 1524, a separate sepulchral annex was created, the so-called Capella Ducis Georgii (Figures 3, 4).⁵

The original appearance of much of the space was altered during the Baroque period (the 1670s), though the architectural framework of the chapel had been conceived initially in the Late Gothic style, the *maniera tedesca*, which accounts for the pronounced ribbed vaulting. The entrance portal and other aspects of the decoration were designed in the new Italian style, or *maniera italiana*,⁶ its Early Renaissance forms introduced in the North from southern Italy. Duke George

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Figure 1. Christoph Gottlob Werner, Albrechtsburg and cathedral with princely chapel, mid-18th century. Etching. Sammlung Bienert (29-40-70), Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Sachsen, Dresden (photo: Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Sachsen)



Figure 2. Princely chapel, photographed 1997 (photo: Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Sachsen)

may have first encountered this style, then rather avant-garde, during the Imperial Diet of 1510 in Augsburg. In that city, one of the most ambitious funerary monuments of the sixteenth century was in the final planning stages—or perhaps already under construction—the “Fugger family chapel in the St. Anna-Kirche in Augsburg, whose original opulence shaped posterity’s image of its patron, Jakob Fugger [1459–1525], the international banker and the Holy Roman Empire’s wealthiest patrician. This is the first truly Renaissance-style funerary chapel in Germany.”⁷ The Fugger chapel marked the overture of the Renaissance style north of the Alps. The importance of the commission is underscored by the participation of Albrecht Dürer, who designed some of the decoration. The chapel’s innovative style was praised by the Augsburg chronicler Clemens Jäger in 1545 as “auf welsche [italienische] art, der zeit gar neu erfunden . . . vber allen der beruembten Kunstwerck.”⁸

In the sixteenth century, Augsburg was transformed by the Fuggers’ patronage into an international cultural center, with profound repercussions for Central Europe. In the spring of 1518, Duke George (Figures 12, 27, 35) traveled to Augsburg to participate in another multistate assembly. During his long acquaintance with the duke, Jakob Fugger often delivered payments on the latter’s behalf, and the duke was a frequent guest at the Fugger family’s Augsburg residence. Records of the privy purse of Duke George

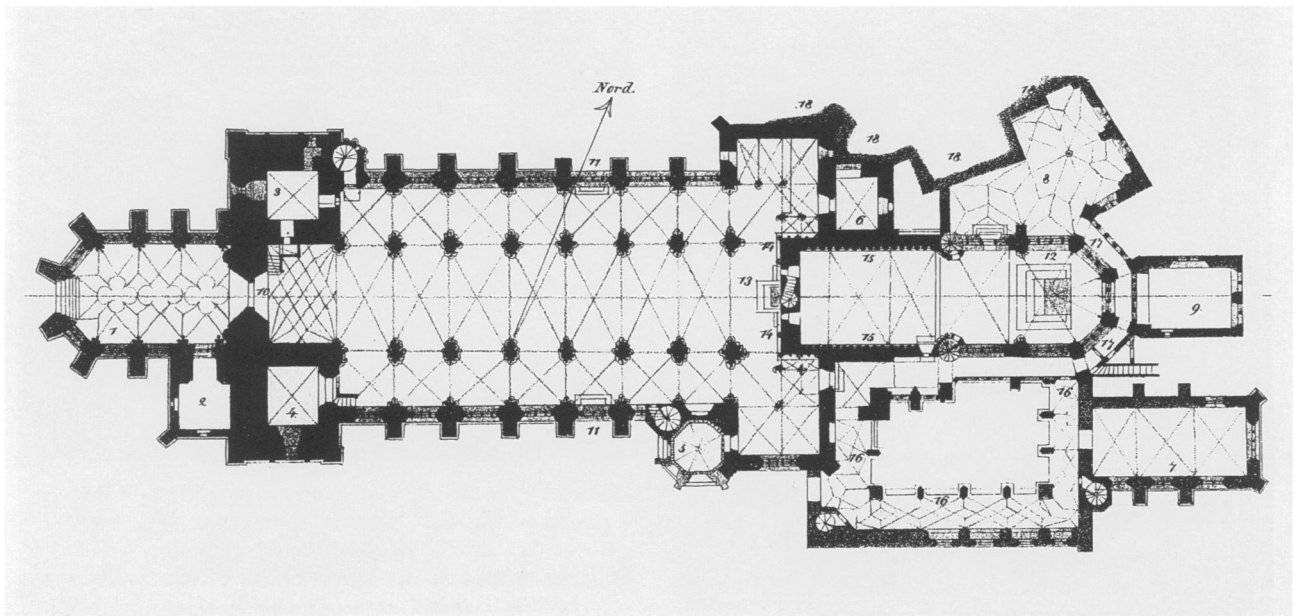


Figure 3. Meissen cathedral, historic floor plan, ca. 1835. On the left: 1 princely chapel; 2 ducal chapel (photo: Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Sachsen)

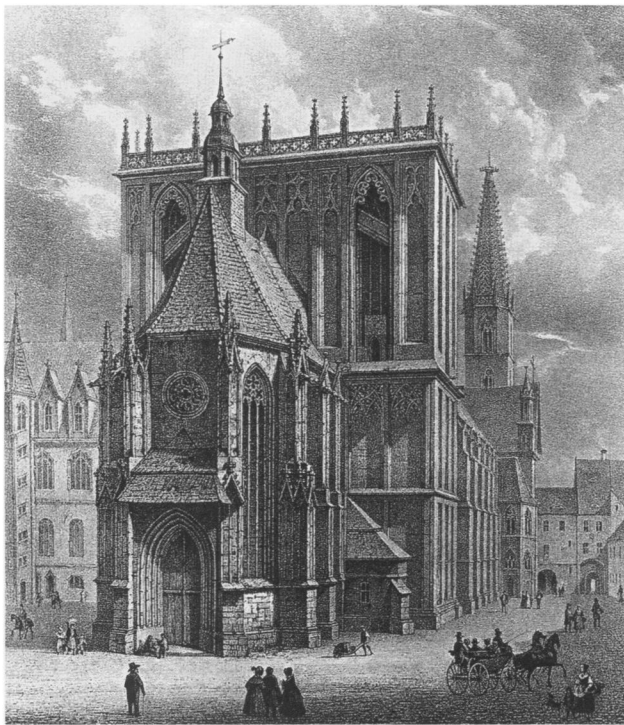


Figure 4. Meissen cathedral, princely chapel with ducal chapel annex on its right, mid-19th century. Lithograph after a drawing of Giacomo Pozzi (photo: after *Das Portal an der Westturmfront und die Fürstenkapelle: Forschungen zur Bau- und Kunstgeschichte des Meissner Domes*, vol. 1 [Halle, 1999], p. 199, fig. 285)

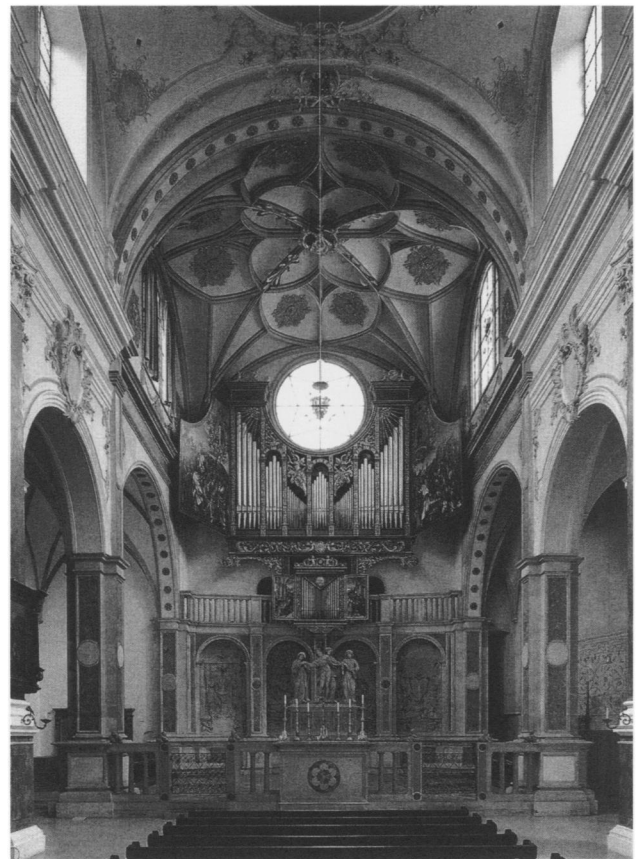


Figure 5. Fugger chapel, ca. 1509–18, St. Anna-Kirche, Augsburg, photographed 1993 (photo: after Bruno Bushart, *Die Fuggerkapelle bei St. Anna in Augsburg* [Munich, 1994], colorpl. 4)

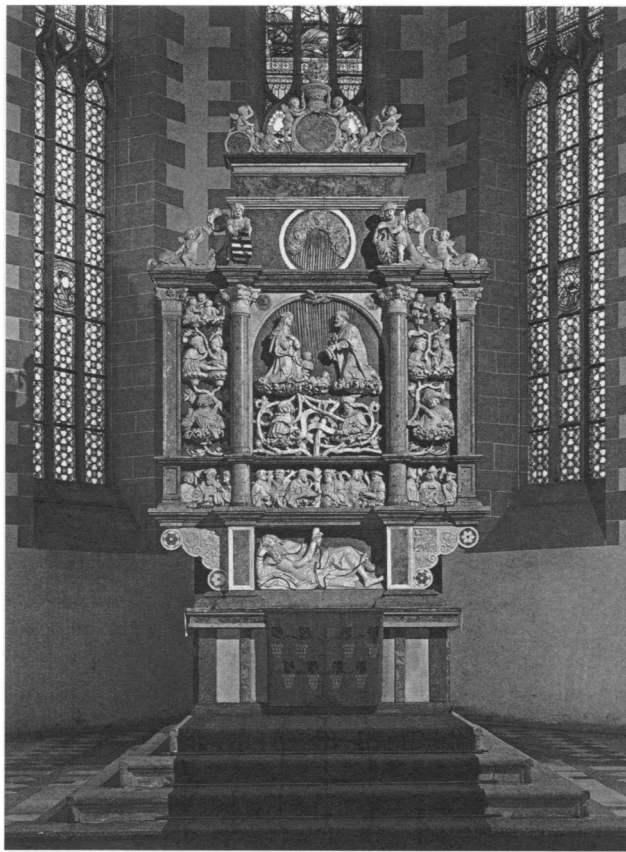


Figure 6. Hans Daucher, design and partial execution, and workshop of Adolf Daucher, high altar, commissioned most likely in 1518, erected 1522, H. 24 ft. 2 in. (7.38 m). St. Annenkirche, Annaberg-Buchholz (photo: Constantin Beyer, Weimar/ courtesy of Pfarramt St. Annen, Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchengemeinde, Annaberg-Buchholz)

document his visit to the recently dedicated Fugger chapel on May 10, 1518, when the Carmelite friars celebrated a mass in his honor. The chapel's Lombard-Venetian character and the innovative iconographic concept of combining religious devotion, in the form of a monumental altar dedicated to the Man of Sorrows (Figure 5), with ornate family epitaphs, partly framed by the multicolored marble of the architectural setting, influenced the duke's desire for a burial chapel of his own. On August 23, 1518, George visited the workshop of one of the Fuggers' sculptors, Adolf Daucher (or Dauher; ca. 1465–?1523/24) in Augsburg.⁹ Before his departure fifteen days later, the duke paid fifteen guilders “an meyster Adolff, den Steinschneider” (to master Adolf, the stonecutter) and two guilders to his son Hans Daucher (act. 1485–88; d. 1538), who worked closely with his father.¹⁰ The reason for these payments is not known, but it is likely that they were related to the ducal commission of several different monuments to follow: the high altar of the St. Annen-Kirche in



Figure 7. Hans Daucher (?) and workshop of Adolf Daucher, *Lamentation*, ca. 1522. White limestone, partially polychromed and gilt, relief without marble framing, 27 ½ x 33 ½ in. (70 x 85 cm). Parish Church of Notre-Dame, Zabern (photo: after Thomas Eser, *Hans Daucher* [Munich, 1996], p. 225, fig. 54)

Annaberg-Buchholz (Figure 6); a relief of the *Lamentation* intended as a diplomatic gift for Wilhelm von Honstein, the bishop of Strasbourg (Figure 7); and the overall design and main decorative elements of the entrance portal of the duke's burial chapel in Meissen (Figures 2, 8, 9). A note written by Adolf Daucher on December 12, 1519, and attached to a letter from Jakob Fugger to the duke, informs George about the upcoming trip by Adolf's son Hans to Saxony. The son intended to take measurements and to prepare working drawings in situ, as well as to discuss the design with Duke George. The note relates mainly to the Annaberg altar but also mentions a second work, “E[uer] g[naden] haben wollt”¹¹—most likely a reference to the Meissen portal.

Both commissions were completed before October 1521, when the duke wrote to Adolf Daucher: “You have informed us that the work for St. Annaberg and our work are all finished and that you are willing to send those two works on two wagons.” On December 10, 1521, the duke informed the town council of Annaberg of the arrival of the shipment: “You have received 12 crates of stonework from master Adolf of Augsburg . . . among them is a crate that weighs 9 centners [hundredweights: 900 pounds or 450 kg] and was addressed by master Adolf to us. We desire that this crate of 9 centners should be sent on a separate wagon, and at our cost, to Schellenberg [the duke's hunting lodge].”¹² An epidemic postponed Adolf Daucher's journey to supervise the erection of the altar in Annaberg until May 1522.

Why the heavy crate was not shipped directly to the construction site in Meissen remains unknown. Identi-

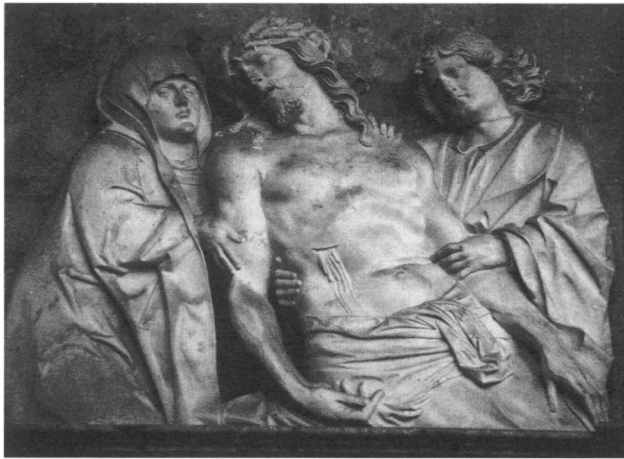


Figure 8. Augsburg sculptor in the workshop of Adolf Daucher, *Lamentation*, commissioned most likely in 1518, delivered in 1521. White limestone, relief 27 1/4 x 33 1/4 in. (70 x 85 cm). Meissen cathedral, princely chapel, part of portal frame in Figure 9 (photo: after Thomas Eser, *Hans Daucher* [Munich, 1996], p. 285, fig. 84)



Figure 9. Hans Daucher, design and partial execution, and workshop of Adolf Daucher and an unknown Saxon workshop (architectural elements and serpentine columns), portal frame, commissioned most likely in 1518, Augsburg parts delivered in 1521, installed ca. 1524, H. ca. 16 ft. 4 in. (5 m). Meissen cathedral, princely chapel (photo: Constantin and Klaus G. Beyer, Weimar)



Figure 10. Hans Daucher, *Madonna with Child and Angels*, dated 1520. Honestone, H. 16 1/2 in. (41.8 cm), W. 12 1/4 in. (31 cm). Städtische Kunstsammlungen, Maximiliansmuseum, Augsburg, inv. no. 5703 (photo: Städtische Kunstsammlungen, Augsburg)

fication of the stonemason's marks in the Capella Ducis and the possible influence of its architecture on other works in Meissen led Hans-Joachim Krause to suggest that the construction was not completed until 1524.¹³ Therefore, Duke George may have been concerned about the secure storage or possible damage to the fragile and precious parts of the portal. Meanwhile, in his private quarters he might have been enjoying the central element of the composition—the finely carved *Lamentation* (Figure 8)—which perhaps served as an object of personal devotion. The choice of subject is hardly coincidental and was of utmost importance in light of the duke's religious belief, as we shall see.

What, after all, did the crate from Augsburg contain besides the relief? The materials used for the portal were analyzed in 1966. The siliceous white limestone of the relief and its red-and-white grained-marble background, as well as the pilasters supporting the inscribed entablature above and the small *cartellino* below, framed with a coat of arms, are all of South



Figure 11. Hans Daucher, *Virtutum et viciorum adumbratio* (Allegory of Virtues and Vices at the Court of Charles V), German, Augsburg, dated 1522. Honestone with touches of gilding, H. 10 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (27.6 cm), W. 18 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (46.7 cm), D. ca. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (3.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.745)

German or Austrian (Salzburg) origin. Each of these components probably came from the Daucher workshop and had to be assembled in Meissen. Local stones—a whitish limestone from the Elbe River valley and greenish Saxon serpentine—make up the major parts of the architectural framework and the shell-shaped calotte.¹⁴ In appearance, the meticulously polished white limestone of the relief resembles honestone (correctly referred to as Jurassic limestone), which was often employed during the Renaissance for *Kunstkammer* objects and small-scale sculpture;¹⁵ Hans Daucher frequently worked with this material (Figures 10, 11).¹⁶ On the Meissen portal, honestone was used only for the moldings around the reddish white marble, the flat capitals of the pilasters, the inscribed plaques, and the heraldic shields. The sculptural elements of the Annaberg altar were carved from the same limestone as the Meissen relief.¹⁷ Modern analysis supports the description by the Saxon historian G. Fabricius, who, in 1569, mentioned that Duke George's burial chapel was embellished with "marmore candido & rubeo



Figure 12. George the Bearded (here depicted without beard in the center on horseback; detail of Figure 11)



Figure 13. Hans Daucher, design, executed in the workshop of Adolf Daucher, German, Augsburg, *Shield Bearer with the Ducal Arms of Saxony*, commissioned most likely 1518, delivered in 1521. Honestone, partially polychromed and gilt, H. 19¾ in. (50.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Gifts of The Hearst Foundation, Alexander Smith Cochran, Mrs. Russell Sage, Mr. and Mrs. William Randolph Hearst Jr., and Bequest of Emma A. Sheaffer, by exchange, 1999 (1999.29). See also Colorplate 1



Figure 14. Side view of *Shield Bearer* in Figure 13

Ratisbonense" (white-and-red marble from Regensburg) and "item ophitino masculino Zebliciano" (serpentine from Zöblitz in Saxony [a mining town near Annaberg-Buchholz]).¹⁸ Furthermore, the reddish white grained marble from Adnet (Salzburg) was used

in combination with honestone in the Fugger chapel in Augsburg as well.¹⁹

The proportions of the Meissen portal (Figure 9) reveal an obvious discrepancy in quality between the Augsburg elements and those that were produced



Figure 15. Front view of *Shield Bearer* in Figure 13

locally. The cornices, moldings, and capitals appear oversized, and the shell-shaped calotte is unusually squat and attenuated, so that it cannot properly accommodate the evenly balanced fluting of the scallop shape. The designs obviously were executed by craftsmen unfamiliar with the rules of classical proportion and with the new Renaissance architectural forms seen in Augsburg.²⁰

If one compares details of the portal with those of the Annaberg altar (see Figure 6), similarities become clear, such as the curious positioning of the capitals,

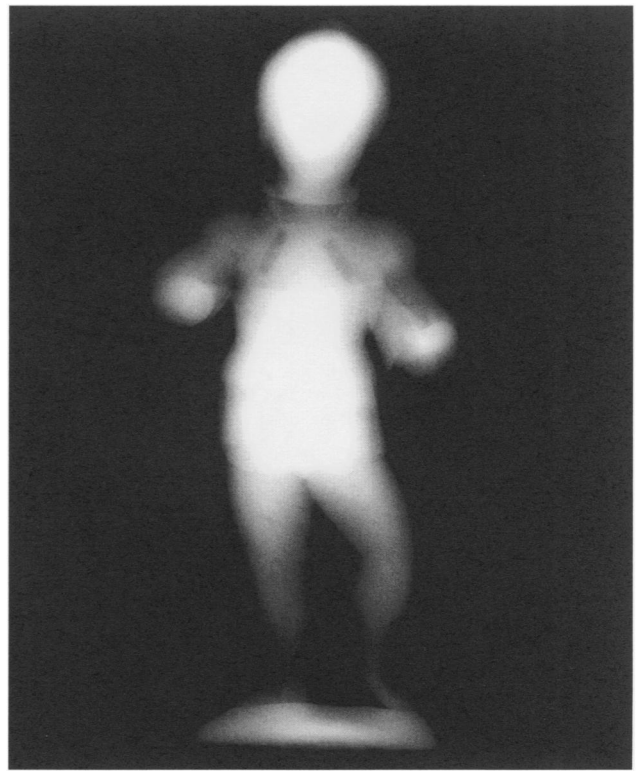


Figure 16. Radiograph of *Shield Bearer* in Figure 13, showing the fillings of the former wing attachments (radiograph: Jack Souldanian Jr., The Metropolitan Museum of Art)

which are turned forty-five degrees, or the column shafts, which widen at the lower end instead of having proper bases, demonstrating the close relationship of both projects. However, one major ingredient places them poles apart: celestial putti, comfortably mounted on dolphins, some attending casually yet joyously to the “eternal flame” issuing from the urn that surmounts the highly decorative finial of the altar. The Meissen portal does not terminate in a like organic form.

The positioning of the portal within the princely chapel supports this observation. The sculpture decorating the entrance to the cathedral, the so-called *Westportal* (see Figure 2), is arranged symmetrically: first we perceive the central figure of Christ in the Deesis, after which we are drawn to the pinnacle of the pyramidal composition where an angel holds the cross and the crown of thorns—the final instruments of the Passion.²¹ One wonders whether the undistinguished culmination of the portal in Meissen was intended or if something that continued the rhythm of the chapel’s wall decoration might be missing in its current state of preservation.

In 1999, The Metropolitan Museum of Art acquired the *Shield Bearer with the Ducal Arms of Saxony* (Figures 13–16). It had been on the Munich art market after

being sold at auction in London in 1997. Not much about its previous history is known. The coat of arms obviously connected the sculpture with Saxony, while its stylistic features pointed to Augsburg and justified, very rightly, an attribution to the circle of Adolf Daucher.²²

The sculpture depicts a young boy, three to five years old, wearing a visored helmet and a whimsical variation of a cuirass *all'antico*—a Roman metal or leather armor, baring his lower bottom, genitals, and legs. The shoulders are accented by turban-shell-shaped pauldrons and leather pendent straps. He stands in a modified contrapposto on a low, roughly textured circular base of blue-green coloration. A delightful contrast is achieved by the inventive combination of the boy's juvenile air of innocent confidence; his pseudoclassical costume of an ancient warrior paired with the helmet of a contemporary late medieval knight; and his touchingly earnest expression as he balances a tall heraldic shield in front of him. His self-reliant attitude seems to be underscored by the action he performs. The leather strap on the back of the enormous shield is wrapped around three fingers of his right hand, while he simultaneously presses the shield down with them, and he stabilizes its position with just the tip of the index finger of his left hand, stretching the hypothenar. The figure's statuary presence commands our attention, and the quiet outline of its contours gives it a certain monumentality.

James David Draper has noted that “cherubic shieldbearers were much in vogue [in the Renaissance]. . . . We can posit that this lad was originally an angel (holes for his wings [Figure 16] . . . have been filled in the back) and that he stood steadying his shield, carved with the ducal arms of Saxony, high on the top left of an altar. The heraldic insignia are actually presented in reverse for a decorative reason: they no doubt faced the armorial device sustained by a fellow shieldbearer at top right. . . . The whole must have been quite splendid in effect, with skin tones and details picked out sparingly in polychromy and gilding” (see Figure 13 and Colorplate 1).²³

X rays reveal that the figure, including the shield, was carved from one block of honestone (Figure 16), and they show the filled-in holes for wings mentioned above. Approximately three-quarters of the coat of arms on the front of the shield are repainted. A hole on the underside of the circular base, about three-quarters of an inch deep, may have served to secure the work to the carver's workbench in the workshop. The figure of the boy most likely was mounted on the top of a cornice with cement or adhesive.²⁴

Draper's observations and the condition report suggested several areas for further research. It is evident

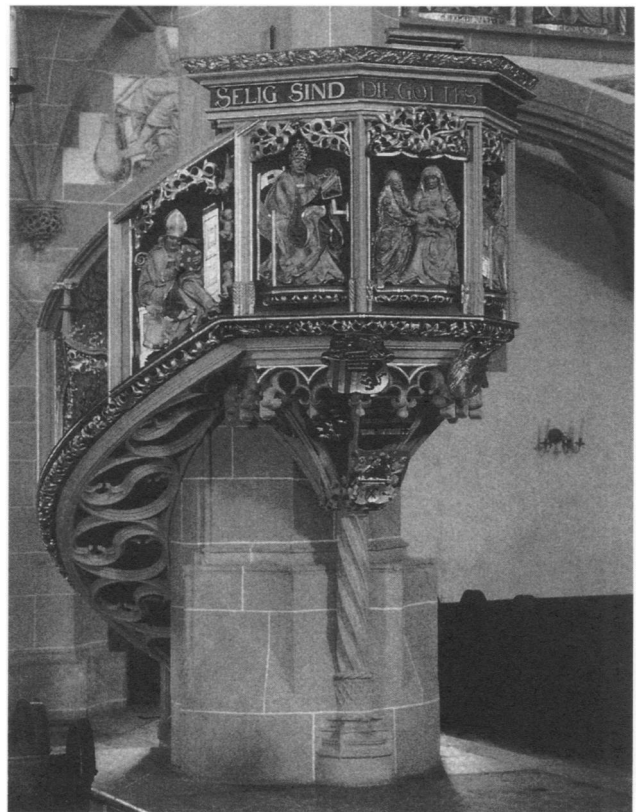


Figure 17. Franz Maidburg, pulpit, 1516. St. Annenkirche, Annaberg-Buchholz (photo: Constantin and Klaus G. Beyer, Weimar / courtesy of Pfarramt St. Annen, Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchengemeinde, Annaberg-Buchholz)

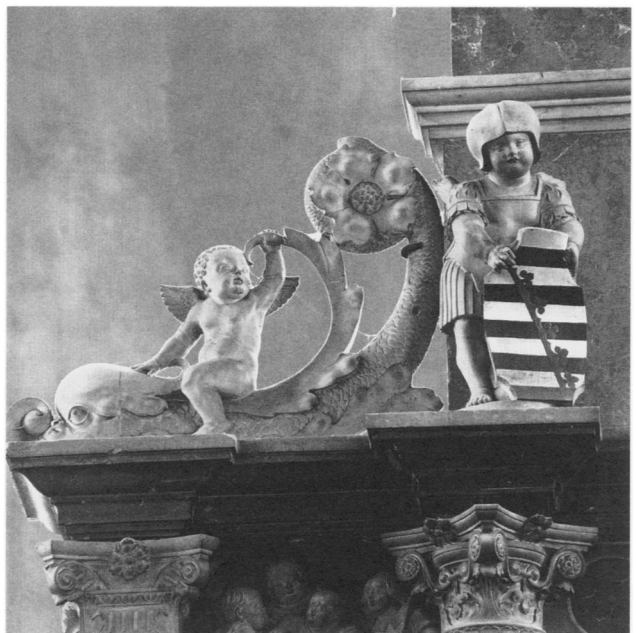


Figure 18. Winged *Shield Bearer* with *trabes Saxonicae*, detail of altar in Figure 6 (photo: Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, London)

that the sculpture is remarkable for its utilization of the materials and its freedom from earlier conventions. Its obvious close connection with the two shield bearers on the Annaberg altar suggests the possibility that the Daucher workshop received another Saxon commission. In the letter of 1519 cited above, Adolf Daucher mentions, in addition to the upcoming travels of his son to Saxony, “Mein sun wirt auf die fasten [Lenten] hinein zu dem churfursten etlich stuck stain hinein fuern.”²⁵ Under the circumstances, the vague expression that refers to the delivery of “some pieces of stone” could also be interpreted as “some carved works of stone.” The Ernestine branch of the Wettin family held the electorate at the time, and Frederick III, called the Wise (d. 1525), the protector of Martin Luther, resided in Wittenberg.²⁶ We can conclude, however, that the New York sculpture was not part of the shipment addressed to Frederick because the coat of arms is that of the Saxon dukedom and not the electorate of Saxony. The *Sur le tout* of the coat of arms of the electors does not display the “barry of ten or and sable, a crown of rue in bend vert,” the so-called *trabes Saxonicae* of the dukedom, but instead shows the crossed swords that are the badge of the archmarshal of the Holy Roman Empire. With the accession of Duke Moritz (r. 1547–53), the prestigious position passed from the Ernestine to the Albertine line. The latter adopted the electoral badge of office with the crossed swords, which gradually would become the main armorial insignia of Saxony; in the eighteenth century, it was adapted as the now-famous mark guaranteeing the origin of the *porcelaine de Saxe*, or Meissen porcelain.²⁷

The coat of arms on the shield supported by the young warrior can be identified as specifically belonging to Duke George the Bearded.²⁸ A detailed description of the duke’s personal coat of arms was supplied by Philipp Jakob Spener in his heraldic treatise of 1717.²⁹ According to Spener, the ducal arms of George are, quarterly:

- I Landgraviate Thuringia (d’azur au lion fascé d’argent et de gueules)
- II Palatinate Saxony (d’azur à l’aigle couronné d’or)
- III Margraviate Landsberg (d’or à deux pals d’azur)
- IV Margraviate Meissen (d’or au lion de sable, armé et lampassé de gueules)

and the *Sur le tout* with the Saxon rue-crown blazoned as a *crancelin vert*³⁰ and the barry of ten or and sable (the *trabes Saxonicae*).³¹

As noted by Draper, the depiction of the duke’s coat of arms on the shield of the New York sculpture is in

mirror image (see Figure 15). In addition, the heraldic order is confused, with the exception of III (Landsberg). The quartering reads: I Meissen / II Thuringia (Thürigen) / III Landsberg / IV Palatinate-Saxony (Pfalz Sachsen). The overall shows a mirror image of the *crancelin*, which is also shortened. The *crancelin* should be vert (now dark blue), and the eagle of the Palatinate should be couronné d’or (now painted white with traces of silver and minimal residue of gilding underneath).

The duke’s coat of arms appears in the correct arrangement several times in the St. Annen-Kirche in Annaberg, where, for example, it can be seen in such prominent locations as just below the sculptural reliefs on the pulpit (Figure 17), a major work, of 1516, by Franz Maidburg (act. 1503–?), and on the so-called Schöne Tür, of 1512, by the Master HW. However, the coat of arms with the ducal quartering is always accompanied by a second shield bearing the royal Polish coat of arms, *gueules, aigle d’argent* and belonging to the duke’s wife, Barbara.³² The two winged shield bearers (Figures 18, 19) on the high altar in Annaberg also display the couple’s coats of arms, but there they include only the private armorials of the two families: the *trabes Saxonicae* (for George) and the Polish eagle (for Barbara).

The embellishment of public buildings with coats of arms was not done merely as decoration. Armorial bearings and devices were important under the feudal system of the Holy Roman Empire, and their use was strictly regulated. Heraldic symbols conveyed the social status of their owners and could represent an individual, as would an inscription or a portrait. Learned citizens in the Renaissance could read such devices as they would a book. Coats of arms served also as memorials and honored important donors. In a letter of 1521 from Duke George to the bishop of Meissen and the abbot of Alzelle, the duke requested their financial support for the St. Annen-Kirche in Annaberg, tempting them with the promise that their coats of arms, or those of their families, would be displayed in “eternal commemoration.”³³ Duke George and his family contributed great sums toward the building and decoration of the St. Annen-Kirche, especially of its treasury and high altar depicting the Tree of Jesse, which was commissioned from Augsburg.³⁴ It is logical that the duke’s coat of arms would be included to note his financial support as well as to mark the fact that he was feudal lord of the region.

The cornerstone of the St. Annen-Kirche was laid in 1499, only two years after the foundation of the town itself. The discovery of a substantial vein of silver in the region about 1491 sparked a huge interest in the mining of precious metals, followed by the growing



Figure 19. Winged *Shield Bearer* with Polish eagle, detail of altar in Figure 6 (photo: Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, London)



Figure 20. Meissen cathedral, princely chapel with portal frame of Figure 9 on the right, ca. 1844–50. Lithograph by Gustav Schlick after a drawing by Carl Ferdinand Sprosse (photo: Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Sachsen)

need for an urban infrastructure. The situation, comparable to the California Gold Rush of 1849, initiated the new settlement of Annaberg, which grew at a rapid pace, resulting in eight thousand registered inhabitants by 1508 (twice as many as in Dresden at the time, and the same number as in Leipzig, a leading center of trade).³⁵

Chosen for the Annaberg armorial was a depiction of Saint Anne, the Virgin Mary, and the Christ Child in the configuration known as the *Anna Selbdritt*, to be situated above a pick hammer crossed with a mining hammer and supported by two miners. The duke and his wife's deep devotion to the mother of Mary, Saint Anne, the patron saint of the town and of its principal church,³⁶ was in keeping with the steadily increasing worship of relics in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.³⁷ Saint Anne had long been one of the most prominent saints during the Holy Roman Empire.³⁸ It may have been this religious connection to Saint Anne, in addition to his personal acquaintance with Jakob Fugger, that led to the duke's interest in the construction of the Fugger chapel, which was to be annexed to the cloister of the St. Annen-Kirche in Augsburg.³⁹ As discussed earlier, this project also led the duke to commission several works of art in Augsburg. The foundation charter of the Fugger chapel, drawn up by Jakob Fugger on August 23, 1521, provides an interesting insight into the exclusivity of such contemporary traditions. Fugger decreed, "Auch die selbig Cappell alle Quotember [seubern Lassen vnnd verhuetten] . . . [yemands anderen kain annders dann] vnser wappen darein und darumb zumachen [gestattet, auch alle tag Jnn der] Cappellen ain mes gelesen."⁴⁰

Once the association of the New York sculpture with George the Bearded was established, confirmation of the object's place on a monument ordered by the duke awaited. Of crucial importance were the inventories published by the Alterthumsverein, the Royal Saxon Antiquarian Society, in the nineteenth century. In his description of the high altar in Annaberg, published in 1885, Richard Steche wrote:

Decorating the *attica* [of the altar] above the columns and holding the armorial shields of Duke George and his spouse are two putti: the helmet of the right one (with the Polish coat of arms) has wings [Figure 19]; like the other six on the crest, these figures of children are among the loveliest creations of the Early Renaissance in Germany. Artistically they resemble the figures that crown the portal of the Georgen-Capelle in the cathedral of Meissen erected by Duke George in 1528; there, as here, the armorial shields are the same and the eagle of the Polish coat of arms is executed in the identical technique. Similarities in



Figure 21. Meissen cathedral, princely chapel with portal frame of Figure 9 on the right, ca. 1810–20. Anonymous etching. Sammlung Bienert (29-53-33), Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Sachsen, Dresden (photo: Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Sachsen)

style and date of origin allow [us] to assume with certainty that the Meissen figures mentioned were likewise commissioned by Duke George and made by Adolph Dowher [Daucher].⁴¹

In 1905, Felician Gess, an expert in interpreting archival documents related to Duke George, suggested, “The twelfth crate [of the Daucher shipment,] addressed to George, could perhaps have contained the two figures of children crowning the portal of the Georgenkapelle of Meissen cathedral, which Steche attributes to the same artist [Adolf Daucher].”⁴² Cornelius Gurlitt, author of the *Beschreibende Darstellung* of the Burgberg Meissen, published in 1919, does not mention the shield bearers.⁴³ If Steche saw the two figures in or before 1885, the shield bearers must have been removed from the cathedral sometime between that year—when they were no longer on the portal but still were associated with it—and 1919.

With reference to Steche, Hans-Joachim Krause wrote in 1973: “Two shield-bearing putti, mentioned

by Steche, had been sought everywhere with no result. They were said to be artistically and stylistically like the figures on the Annaberg altar. Besides Steche, nobody has seen them.”⁴⁴ Krause continued to discuss why, in his opinion, the shield bearers may never have existed. He based his argument mainly on historic depictions of the princely chapel (for example, see Figures 20, 21), in which no putti are recognizable.⁴⁵ In addition, Krause refers to the turbulent history of the portal. In the course of an extensive Gothic Revival renovation of Meissen cathedral between 1856 and 1865, the portal was dismantled about 1860 and moved to the inside wall of the Capella Ducis (Figures 22, 23).⁴⁶ In its new location (Figure 23), the frame of the portal was reversed, and it was only visible when one exited the small chapel. Krause, who knew of the portal only in this position, argued that the low-vaulted ceiling left no room to install the armorial putti,⁴⁷ noting that the portal appeared to be crammed into a narrow space. One wonders why Krause did not consider the possibility that the shield bearers were removed from the portal’s cornice because of a lack of space after its relocation. As part of a 1977 restoration, the portal was returned to its original place, the entrance to the burial chapel (see Figure 2).⁴⁸

Richard Steche was, indeed, a very active member of the Sächsischer Alterthumsverein in the second half of the nineteenth century, whose inventories of the Saxon patrimony fill fifteen volumes;⁴⁹ his publications seem to have been carefully compiled and are often characterized by a pedantic passion for detail. The question may never be fully resolved, but given the closeness of the New York sculpture to the Annaberg shield bearers and other commissions from Augsburg, and in light of the history of the cathedral and the iconography of the portal—which will be discussed below—Steche’s detailed observations appear to be credible.

Meissen cathedral did, in fact, have a very turbulent history. The radical changes brought about by the Reformation, which put an end to the worship of saints and relics, and the iconoclastic controversy after the death of Duke George in 1539, destroyed most of the monuments and much of their decoration. Of the fifty-six altarpieces in the cathedral in the early sixteenth century, only a few survived⁵⁰—a fact that inspired Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832) to remark, on the occasion of his visit to Meissen in 1813, “Inside, the slenderest, most beautiful building of its time [the cathedral] . . . is not darkened by monuments, spoiled by galleries, painted yellow, nor lightened by clear windows.”⁵¹ Goethe’s comments typify the preference, in the period, for Neoclassicism and the Neo-Gothic style.

F. W. Schwechten noted in 1826: “The Reformation and especially the great fire of 1547 in the church eliminated all the decoration in the [princely] chapel. The entire roof burned down . . . and the flames consumed all the [heraldic] trophies. . . . Bigotry and the unrestrained armies of the Thirty Years’ War destroyed everything that was left from former times.”⁵² Despite Schwechten’s generalizations, the building, including the princely chapel and its annex, was, in fact, neglected after the Reformation. The roof was not replaced until 1595. In 1613, the coat of arms on the bronze tomb of Frederick IV (see Figure 2) was newly painted and the portal to Duke George’s chapel was “neu gesetzt” (renovated structurally), indicating that its attachment to the wall was no longer sound. Extensive surface damage was also recorded,⁵³ leading to a major renovation between 1668 and 1672.⁵⁴ The importance of Meissen as a burial site for the Wettin family ended with the demise of Duke George in 1539; his successors erected their funerary monuments in the Cathedral of Freiberg.⁵⁵

In his 1826 description of Meissen cathedral, Schwechten mentions another event that is of great importance for the discussion of the Metropolitan Museum’s shield bearer: “Duke George had the simple and unpretentious tomb that had been erected over the burial place of [Saint] Benno, Bishop of Meissen (d. 1106), by Bishop Withego (1266–93) removed and replaced with one made of marble and

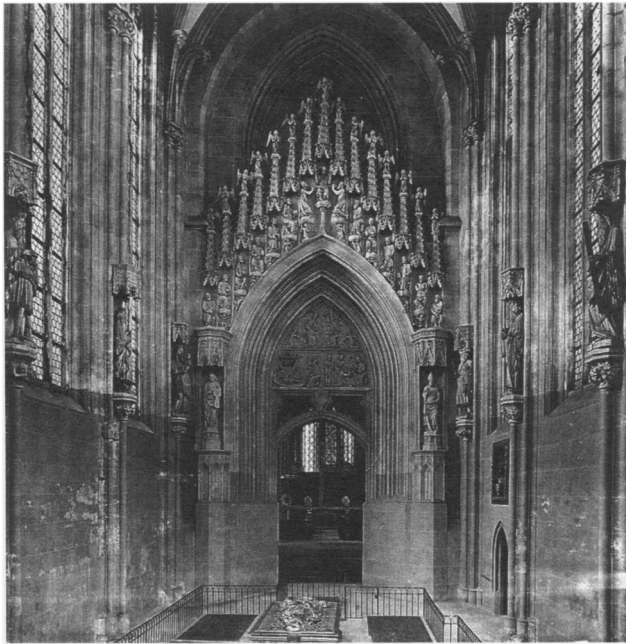


Figure 22. Meissen cathedral, princely chapel, photographed 1898 (photo: after *Das Portal an der Westturmfront und die Fürstenkapelle: Forschungen zur Bau- und Kunstgeschichte des Meissner Domes*, vol. 1 [Halle, 1999], p. 202, fig. 288)

serpentine. We can assume that it was executed in the horrible [*sic*] Italian [Renaissance] style, but it did not survive for long, as it was totally destroyed during the Reformation in 1539. However, no artistic treasure was really lost!”⁵⁶ The harshness of this statement underscores the widespread appreciation during the first third of the nineteenth century for pure Gothic architecture, which had been praised by Goethe. Dislike of the Renaissance period, in fact, began much earlier: in 1772, Paul von Stetten, commenting on the decoration of the Fugger chapel in Augsburg, noted: “In the Fugger choir of St. Anna are many reliefs in white marble, and also some in wood . . . which prove that the masons and sculptors living here [in Augsburg] in the sixteenth century were artists of limited capabilities.”⁵⁷ The wood decorations were removed from 1817 to 1819 to prepare the chapel for the anniversary celebration of the Augsburger Reformation.⁵⁸

Bishop Benno of Meissen was held in high esteem by Duke George, who for years had tried to obtain Benno’s canonization in Rome. Finally, with the help of the emperor, other German princes, and great sums of money, which were channeled to influential Church officials by the Fugger bank, Benno was appointed to the canon of saints in 1524.⁵⁹ Thus, what had been the bishop’s tomb in Meissen cathedral came to be recognized as the repository of relics of a new saint, significantly increasing the importance of Meissen as a prestigious place of pilgrimage. Many came to worship at his tomb. Duke George celebrated Meissen’s new status by ordering that the tomb be appropriately decorated with “marble and serpentine . . . in [the] Italian manner,” as described by Schwechten and cited above. Local greenish serpentine was employed. If the “marble” referred to is a local whitish limestone similar to the one out of which the capitals, moldings, and cornices of the portal of the duke’s burial chamber were carved, it would link the two monuments stylistically (their “Italian manner”) and visually (the greenish and whitish color of the stone). Furthermore, both memorials were installed at roughly the same time (about 1524). The visual unity of the two sepulchral sites conveys an important religious and political message. Duke George intended to demonstrate his loyalty and deep devotion to “his” saint (Benno) in a way that would be difficult for any visitor to the cathedral to overlook, even long after George’s death in 1539. The duke continued to uphold his faith and to support the Roman Catholic Church until he died. In fact, the inscription on a Saxon medal memorializes him as “the Old Faith’s most steadfast servant.”⁶⁰ He was unwilling to follow other German princes who wished to abolish the worship of relics and who criticized the



Figure 23. Portal frame of Figure 9, installed on the exit wall of the Capella Ducis, photographed before the 1977 relocation (photo: Klaus G. Beyer, Weimar, after H. J. Mrusek, *Drei sächsische Kathedralen* [Dresden, 1976], fig. 298)



Figure 25. Peter Fischer the Younger, *Epitaph of Dr. Anton Kress*, 1513, cast brass, H. 51 ¹/₈ in. (130 cm), St. Lorenz-Kirche, Nuremberg (photo: after Volker Krahn, ed., *Von allen Seiten Schön: Bronzen der Renaissance und des Barock*, exh. cat., Skulpturensammlung, Berlin [Berlin, 1995], p. 241, no. 49)

Figure 24. Andrea Bregno, *Saint Andrew*, Rome, 1491, from the Perrier altar in Old Saint Peter's Cathedral, Rome, dismantled in 1606. Marble, H. 47 ¹/₈ in. (119.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.1736)

inflated number of new canonizations—two of the reasons that led Luther to initiate the Reformation.

The unique use of large quantities of Saxon serpentine for the two monuments is most unusual for the Early Renaissance period. Without an understanding of the importance of serpentine at the time, this fact could be easily overlooked. In 1546, Georgius Agricola noted that the people of Saxony believed that cups and spoons made of serpentine could detect poisonous food.⁶¹ The meals in princely households were served in covered dishes and the cupbearer would touch the food with a piece of “unicorn” (“corne de licorne,” or narwhal horn), an adder’s-tongue (the “pierre de Malte,” a fossilized shark’s tooth), or a fragment of serpentine to guarantee the absence of poison.⁶² Ambroise Paré (1510–1590), personal physician to Charles XI at the Hôtel-Dieu in Paris, is known to have remarked that the price of one pound of gold equaled 148 écus, but a pound of “unicorn” was valued at 1,536 écus—as expensive as ten pounds of gold.⁶³ Serpentine was a very much sought after and



Figure 26. Hans Schwarz, *Entombment of Christ*, 1516. Wood, H. 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (28.5 cm). Skulpturensammlung, Berlin (photo: after Jeffrey Chipps Smith, *German Sculpture of the Later Renaissance c. 1520–1580* [Princeton, 1994], p. 282, fig. 245)



Figure 27. Anonymous Saxon artist, *Epitaph of Duke George the Bearded*, ca. 1539, cast bronze. Meissen cathedral, Capella Ducis (photo: Klaus G. Beyer, Weimar, after H. J. Mrusek, *Drei sächsische Kathedralen* [Dresden, 1976], fig. 297)

costly antidote in the early sixteenth century. The Meissen portal represents the first known architectural use of this luxurious material, the mining of which was officially supervised by the government, with the best stones reserved for the ducal family.⁶⁴ Although the Annaberg altar was extremely expensive in part because it is embellished with no fewer than ten different varieties of marble and stone, serpentine was not included (on purpose?).⁶⁵

We can only speculate on whether the duke’s choice of serpentine for the two Meissen monuments was purely a demonstration of his wealth or if he followed



Figure 28. Desiderio da Settignano, *Shield Bearer from the Monument of Carlo Marsuppini*, after 1453. Marble, H. 37³/₄ in. (96 cm). Santa Croce, Florence (photo: after John Pope-Hennessy, *Italian Renaissance Sculpture*, 2nd ed. [London and New York, 1971], pl. 68)

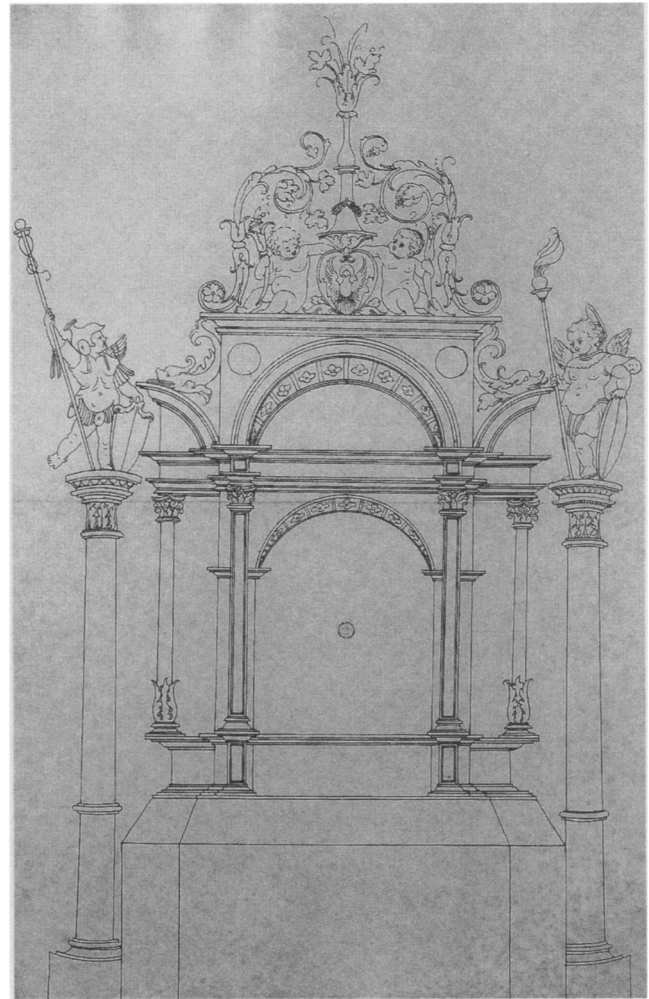


Figure 29. Augsburg artist, *Design for an Altar*, ca. 1510–20. Drawing. Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Kupferstichkabinett, Basel (photo: after Jeffrey Chipps Smith, *German Sculpture of the Later Renaissance c. 1520–1580* [Princeton, 1994], p. 166, fig. 124)

his contemporaries in believing that it possessed apotropaic power to repel harmful elements. Did the duke intend to keep the bad influence of the “disbelievers” of a reformed church away from his burial chapel? Despite all this, an anonymously published jewelry guide, *Der aufrichtige Juwelier* (The honest jeweler), reminds the reader that serpentine’s “most distinguished [characteristic] is . . . that, at the moment [that] something poisonous is [put] in it or touches it, it will burst, and [thus] for all who are afraid of death it is a well-known material that can be used without fear.”⁶⁶ Moreover, the greenish color of serpentine set it apart in another special way. According to late medieval belief, rare green stones such as serpentine or green porphyry were symbolic of freshness and signified those who were vigorous—that is, faithful—believers.⁶⁷ The New York sculpture accords with the distinctive color scheme of the Meissen portal. The

blue-green (now darkened) of the base on which the boy stands is delicately offset by the color of the paint on his collar, which logically would continue the patterns of color of the architecture below.

The architectural design of a shell-shaped calotte crowned by shield bearers or armorial angels was still a novelty in South Germany during the first quarter of the sixteenth century. The shell is not only decorative but has a specific symbolic connotation, in addition to creating the impression of a halo. A representative example of the fusion of a shell and halo in ecclesiastical sculpture occurs in a high relief by Andrea Bregno (1421–1506) in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figure 24).⁶⁸ The halo behind the head of Saint Andrew clearly is extended by the fluting of the scallop shell. On the Meissen portal, the motif spans the entire composition above the Man of Sorrows relief.



Figure 30. Attributed to Hans Schwarz (?), *Two Putti*, ca. 1520. Limewood, polychromed and gilded, H. 17¼ in. (44.5 cm) and 17¼ in. (45 cm). Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich (photo: Marianne Franke, Munich)

A drawing by Albrecht Dürer serves as a document of the use of the Italianate shell motif in South Germany as early as 1509, complete with putti seated atop a cornice.⁶⁹ Peter Fischer the Younger (1487–1528) adapted the feature in his brass *Epitaph of Dr. Anton Kress*, of 1513, in the St. Lorenz-Kirche in Nuremberg (Figure 25), where the shell-shaped decoration above the icon of Christ the Redeemer appears visually to

enlarge the halo.⁷⁰ Not long after, Augsburg artists followed suit, producing similar designs. A relief of the *Entombment of Christ*, monogrammed and dated 1516 by Hans Schwarz (1492–?mid-1520s), includes shield bearers with processional torches on either side of its frame and surrounding a shell-like decorative carving at the center of which is a skull—a symbol of Vanity (Figure 26).⁷¹ A different, allegorical meaning is intended here for the shell, which takes on a Renaissance humanistic association with nature and the concept of growth, in contrast to the *Vanitas* connotation of the skull, as a reminder of transience and the passage of time. When the shell motif was incorporated in the design of an epitaph and “placed under the motto *Sic transit gloria mundi*,” it was to emphasize that the deceased buried in the tomb had to leave his body, which like “this physically superb living organism [the shell] was but an empty shell after death, as its spirit had crossed into another world.”⁷² We do not know if Duke George himself selected the shell design in the background of his bronze epitaph on the floor of his chapel (Figure 27), but, in any case, the halolike motif serves to distinguish him as a true believer in the “old faith.”⁷³ Small shells the size of late medieval pilgrims’ badges are applied to the abacus of the upper capitals of the Meissen portal, evoking the small shells that became the attribute of Saint James and that contemporary German pilgrims wore on their long pilgrimages to Italy, France, and Spain.⁷⁴

Shield bearers as sepulchral sculpture were adapted



Figure 31. Hans Daucher, *Ercoletto*, right putto of the balustrade of the Fugger chapel in Figure 5, ca. 1530. Yellowish white limestone, H. ca. 11 in. (28 cm). Augsburg, St. Anna-Kirche (photo: after Bruno Bushart, *Die Fuggerkapelle bei St. Anna in Augsburg* [Munich, 1994], colorpl. 26)



Figure 32. Attributed to Hans Daucher, *Sleeping Putto*, Augsburg, ca. 1520–30. White limestone, H. 29⅞ in. (76 cm), W. 49¼ in. (125 cm). Städtische Kunstsammlungen, Maximiliansmuseum, Augsburg, inv. no. 1361 (photo: Städtische Kunstsammlungen, Augsburg)

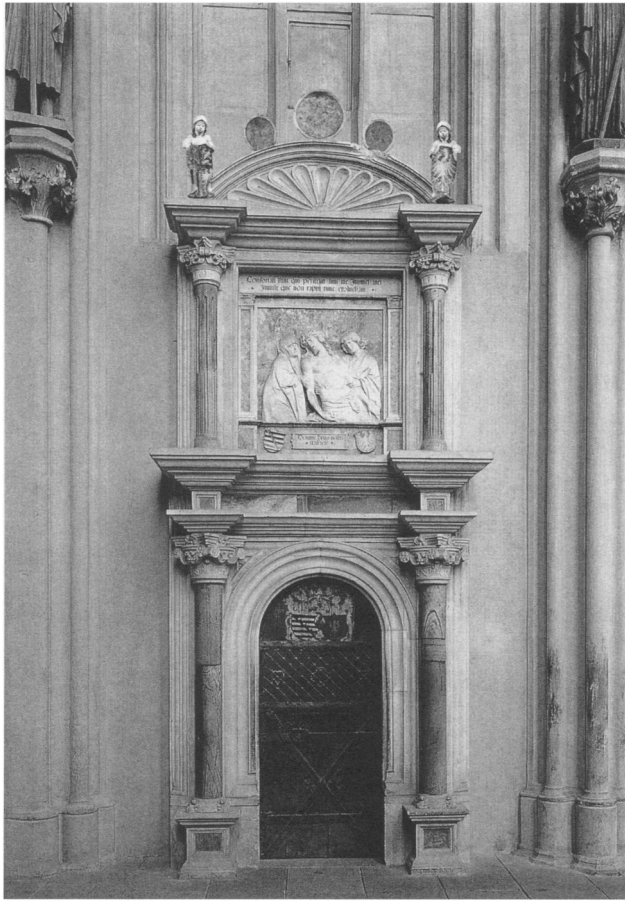


Figure 33. Computer composite of Figures 9 and 15 (courtesy of Robert Goldman, The Metropolitan Museum of Art)

in Italy directly from Roman sarcophagi.⁷⁵ One of the first masters to apply freestanding juvenile shield bearers depicted in contrapposto flanking a sacophagus was Desiderio da Settignano (1428–1464) on his funeral monument for Carlo Marsuppini in Santa Croce in Florence (Figure 28).⁷⁶ However, the Italian examples are more reserved and controlled in their action and not as playful as their Northern counterparts. The characterizations of similar putti in Germany are remarkable for their naturalism; they often appear as playful as angelic children (Figure 29).⁷⁷ Even when the putti perform other, serious tasks, such as holding the Instruments of the Passion—as on the Altar of the Rosary by Sebastian Loscher and Hans Burgkmair in Nuremberg⁷⁸—they retain their quietly cheerful demeanor. Some of the finest such examples are the two expressive wood putti in armor, attributed to Hans Schwarz, of about 1520 in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich (Figure 30).⁷⁹ However, the most accomplished putti were designed by the workshop of Adolf Daucher⁸⁰—specifically, by his son Hans. Stylistically closely related to the shield bearers

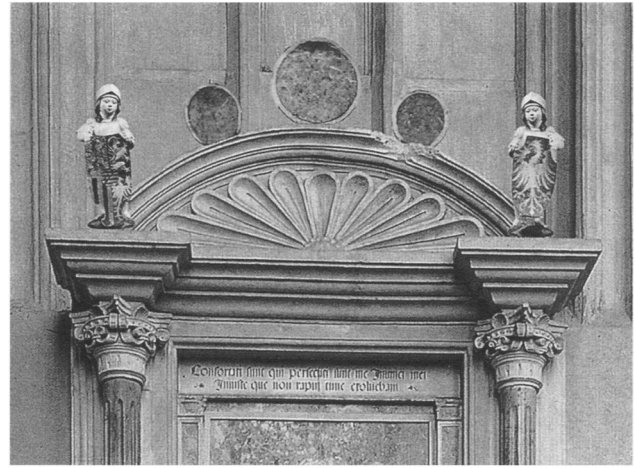


Figure 34. Computer composite of Figures 9 and 15 (courtesy of Robert Goldman, The Metropolitan Museum of Art)

in Annaberg and to the Metropolitan Museum's more sophisticated sculpture are the six putti on the balustrade of the Fugger chapel in Augsburg.⁸¹ Daucher's *Ercoletto*, the infant Hercules, shown as the filial protector of humanity, has a similarly whimsical cuirass (Figure 31). A sculpture fragment attributed to Hans Daucher, now in the Maximiliansmuseum, Augsburg (Figure 32), delightfully combines the shell motif with a sleeping putto; its iconography suggests that it, too, may have formed part of a funeral monument.⁸²

Once we accept the fact that the New York sculpture crowned the Meissen portal, which a host of reasons now seems to warrant, we will be able to use modern technology to attempt to reconstruct visually the overall composition (Figures 33, 34).⁸³ The two shield bearers would have reduced the overwhelming weightiness of the architectural elements. An examination of the presumed location on the cornice atop the portal revealed chisel marks that either were made in preparing the surface for an adhesive or else when some of this cement was cleaned away; additional chisel marks on the calotte suggest that perhaps decorative elements were attached and eventually removed. Such features are included in some of the historic depictions of the chapel (see Figure 20), but not in others (see Figure 21), and may have resembled the marble roundels on the crest of the Annaberg altar (see Figures 6, 33). The New York sculpture fits perfectly in the armorial and iconographic program of the portal in its function as an entrance framing a ducal burial site. The coats of arms held by the putti on top represent an armorial *précis* of the official state devices of the ducal couple, supplementing in an appropriate manner their family

coats of arms below the relief and on the original iron door. The subject of the *Lamentation* relief and the Latin inscriptions, which refer to the sacrifice of Christ, the Eucharist, and the invocation of divine mercy, were chosen by Duke George, who undoubtedly had in mind his own grave in the annexed chapel and the spiritual well-being of his wife and himself (Figure 35). Krause discussed the issue at length, including related biblical and theological texts.⁸⁴ Bernd Wolfgang Lindemann added some excellent observations to Krause's conclusion, showing the strong Italian influence on the relief and its version in Zabern (see Figure 7), and, in particular, the connection to Desiderio da Settignano's tabernacle of 1461 in San Lorenzo, Florence.⁸⁵

The New York sculpture provides a juvenile counterpart to the Roman soldiers that are often depicted in contemporary paintings guarding the tomb of Christ—a task combined with that of an armorial page, as indicated by the figure's childlike appearance. The position of page was part of an aristocratic young man's education at late medieval and Early Renaissance courts; like heralds, pages preceded their lords at official functions or tournaments, bearing the master's arms or armor. Two such pages, wearing armor, diligently watched over the entrance to the duke's tomb. These putti literally topped off the overall design, relaxing as they looked forward self-reliantly to eternal life and resurrection. The ability to achieve such brilliant psychological insight into human behavior in a work of carved stone surely is the mark of a great artist.

The Annaberg altar is documented as having been executed in the workshop of Adolf Daucher, who was described by Duke George as a "stonecutter," as men-

tioned earlier. The Augsburg guild records list him as "cabinetmaker" active from about 1514–15 along with his son Hans, a trained sculptor.⁸⁶ Their workshop was apparently technically well equipped to produce large altarpieces. One last curious "product" of the workshop is the so-called marble niello in which the coat of arms on the Annaberg altar is executed. The background of the shield with the Polish eagle (see Figure 19) was carefully chiseled out of the honestone and later filled with a red composite mass; the eagle was left in relief and then the entire surface of the shield was polished.⁸⁷ The small shields below the Meissen relief were made in the same technique, and Steche cites specifically the shield bearer with the Polish coat of arms.⁸⁸ However, he does not mention the duke's very complicated coat of arms, details of which hardly would be visible if they were, in fact, executed in such a delicate manner—not to mention the tour de force of craftsmanship involved in carving out the background for the quartering and the *Sur le tout*.

The hands of the individual sculptors in the Daucher workshop are difficult to identify in documented works of art. It is almost certain that Hans Daucher was the designer of the Annaberg altar and the Meissen portal and that his father, Adolf, entrusted him and various Augsburg carvers with the execution of the works. Details like the turned capitals, which Hans Daucher most likely adapted from the designs of Albrecht Dürer and Hans Holbein the Elder⁸⁹ and included in several small-scale depictions (see Figure 10) are rather typical of signed reliefs by him. Other names have surfaced in discussions of the Meissen version and the less stylistically advanced Zabern relief, such as that of Gregor Erhart (ca. 1468–1540), the teacher of Hans Daucher, his nephew, and the

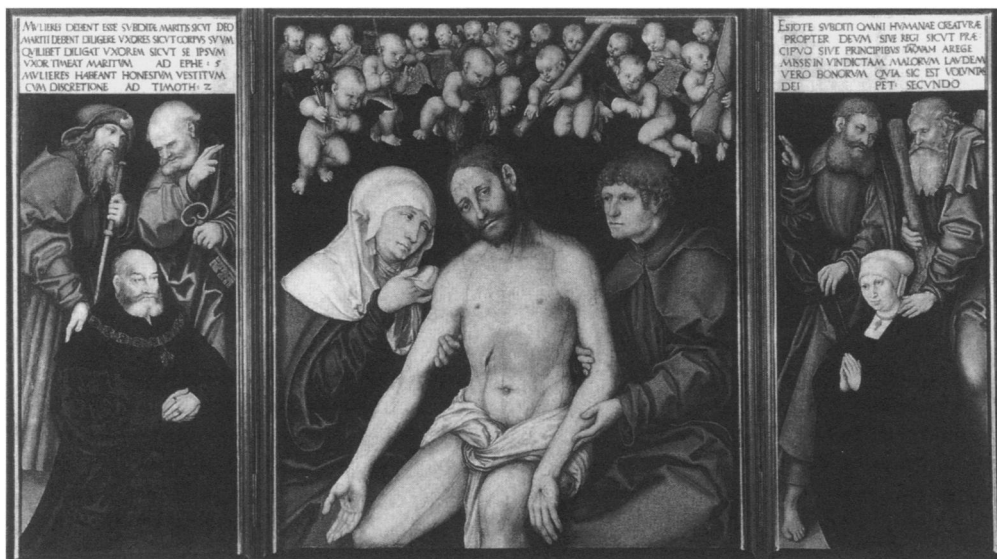


Figure 35. Lucas Cranach the Elder, *Triptych with Lamentation of the Capella Ducis* showing the portrait of Duke George (on the left) and of his wife, Barbara (on the right), ca. 1534 (photo: Constantin and Klaus G. Beyer, Weimar, after Heinrich Magirius, *Der Dom zu Meissen* [Munich and Regensburg, 1993], p. 41)

brother-in-law of Adolf Daucher.⁹⁰ Jörg Rasmussen called the range of sculptors in Augsburg in the early sixteenth century a *Verschiebbahnhof* (shunting station) in acknowledgment of their possible cooperation, technical accomplishment, and widespread influence.⁹¹ An attribution of the New York shield bearer to the workshop of Adolf Daucher is now secure, but identification of different sculptors' hands remains too much a matter of speculation.

In conclusion, the exceptionally beautiful shield bearer from the portal of the Capella Ducis in the cathedral of Meissen is a rare surviving example and a key work of Northern Renaissance sculpture from the age of Dürer. As such, it is important in documenting the artistic movement that characterized the exciting period marking the dawn of the Reformation.⁹²

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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NOTES

1. Willi Goder et al., *Johann Friedrich Böttger: Die Erfindung des Europäischen Porzellans* (Leipzig, 1982), pp. 91, 130.
2. Preserved Smith, *The Age of Reformation* (New York, 1920), p. 700.
3. Hans-Joachim Mrusek, *Drei sächsische Kathedralen* (Dresden, 1976), p. 368; Heinrich Magirius, *Der Dom zu Meissen* (Regensburg, 1993), pp. 30–43; E. Hütter, G. Kavacs, M. Kirsten, and H. Magirius, *Das Portal an der Westturmfront und die Fürstenkapelle: Forschungen zur Bau- und Kunstgeschichte des Meissner Domes*, vol. 1 (Halle, 1999), pp. 176–358.
4. "Occupato tamen loco sepulchrorum pristino, sibi vxorique proprium sacellum extruxerat," as cited by Georgius Fabricius, *Oreginum stirpis Saxoniae libri septem / Annalium urbis Misnae* (Jena, 1597), p. 91, after the example in the Universitätsbibliothek, Dresden, first published 1569, and later, in *Rerum Germaniae magnae et Saxoniae*, liber 2 (Leipzig, 1609), p. 91.
5. Hans-Joachim Krause, "Die Grabkapelle Herzog Georgs von Sachsen und seiner Gemahlin im Dom zu Meissen," in *Das Hochstift Meissen* (Berlin, 1973), pp. 375, 379.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 375–76.
7. Jeffrey Chipps Smith, *German Sculpture of the Later Renaissance*

- c. 1520–1580* (Princeton, 1994), pp. 171–72, 456; for the chapel's history, see Philipp Maria Halm, *Adolf Daucher und die Fuggerkapelle bei St. Anna in Augsburg*, Studien zur Fuggergeschichte, vol. 6 (Munich and Leipzig, 1921); Norbert Lieb, *Die Fugger und die Kunst im Zeitalter der Hohen Renaissance* (Munich, 1958), pp. 268–74, 448–54; Bruno Bushart, *Die Fuggerkapelle bei St. Anna in Augsburg* (Munich, 1994).
8. Bushart, *Die Fuggerkapelle*, p. 37.
9. See the travel account for August 23, 1518, item 73b: "Monday the vigil of the Apostle Bartholomew 1 florin tip for the stone-cutter's journeymen, during my lord's visit by the very same cutter of stones . . . Master Adolff the stone cutter"; see Krause, "Die Grabkapelle," p. 381 n. 27 and esp. nn. 34, 35.
10. Karl Feuchtmayr, "Die Bildhauer der Fugger-Kapelle bei St. Anna zu Augsburg," in Norbert Lieb, *Die Fugger und die Kunst im Zeitalter der Spätgotik und der frühen Renaissance*, Studien zur Fuggergeschichte, vol. 10 (Augsburg, 1952), pp. 435–59; Hannelore Müller, "Die Künstlerfamilie Daucher," in *Lebensbilder aus dem bayerischen Schwaben* (Munich, 1958), pp. 131–65; Thomas Eser, "Hans Daucher ein Zeitgenosse Dürers," in *Weltkunst* 12 (1991), pp. 1770–73; Thomas Eser, *Hans Daucher: Augsburger Kleinplastik der Renaissance* (Berlin, 1996), pp. 15–45; Jeffrey Chipps Smith, in *The Dictionary of Art*, vol. 8 (New York, 1996), pp. 540–42 (entries on Adolf and Hans Daucher); W. Goeltzer, in *Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon*, vol. 24, ed. K. G. Saur (Munich and Leipzig, 2000), pp. 373–76 (entries on Adolf and Hans Daucher [Daucher]).
11. Felician Gess, *Akten und Briefe zur Kirchenpolitik Herzog Georgs von Sachsen* (Leipzig, 1905), p. 231; Feuchtmayr, "Die Bildhauer," pp. 438–39; Müller, "Die Künstlerfamilie Daucher," p. 151.
12. Gess, *Akten und Briefe*, pp. 229–30; Krause, "Die Grabkapelle," p. 381.
13. Krause, "Die Grabkapelle," p. 387.
14. H.-D. Beeger and H. Prescher, "Gutachten über das zum Bau der Georgskapelle am Meissner Dom verwendete Gesteinsmaterial / Forschungsstelle des Staatlichen Museums für Mineralogie und Geologie" (Dresden, June 14, 1966), Domarchiv, Meissen (also cited by Krause, "Die Grabkapelle," p. 398, n. 40).
15. Honestone is a variety of fine-grained Jurassic limestone consisting of siliceous and calcareous elements (see "Hone," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*; Nicholas Penny, *The Materials of Sculpture* [New Haven and London, 1993], p. 288 n. 15). The English terms "German razor hone" and "honestone" refer to the ease with which the material can be sharply cut, polished, and etched. Hone is indigenous to various regions around the world, but this article is concerned only with the material found specifically in and around Solnhofen, in the valley of the Altmühl River near Eichstätt (about 65 kilometers north of Augsburg), where several quarries exist that produce stone in a range of colors. In this region, known for its slate mountains, a vein of hone from 1 to 18 inches forms in the blue slate (see www.Solnhofen.de), which, in historic German inventories, is called "Solnhofener Stein"; its other historic names include "Kehlheimer Stein" (the stone was shipped from Kehlheim, on the river Danube; see www.Kehlheim.de), and "pierre de Munich" or "pierre de Bavière"—allusions to the material's South German origin (see Eugen von Philippovich, *Kuriositäten / Antiquitäten* [Braunschweig, 1966], p. 310). A color chart and scientific analysis of the various stones from different quarries still need to be done; only these could enable us to securely document the origin of each material (see Eser, *Hans Daucher*, p. 50).

16. Eser, *Hans Daucher*, p. 200, no. 26.
17. Ibid.
18. Fabricius, *Oreginum stirpis Saxoniae libri septem*, p. 91.
19. Krause, "Die Grabkapelle," p. 398 n. 41.
20. Ibid., p. 384; Krause suggests members of the workshop of Jakob Heilmann or of the master Markus Ribisch from Pirna. Hoyer names a certain "Martin Kibisch" (Eva Maria Hoyer, *Sächsischer Serpentin* [Leipzig, 1995], p. 280, no. 246).
21. Michael Kirsten, "Zur kunstgeschichtlichen Stellung der Portal-skulptur," in *Das Portal an der Westturmfront und die Fürstenkapelle*, pp. 104–65, figs. 207, 245.
22. Sale, Sotheby's, London, July 2, 1997, lot 101; *Sotheby's Art at Auction 1996–97* (London, 1997), p. 173; "European Sculpture and Works of Art," stock catalogue, Julius Böhler / Kunsthandlung (Munich, n.d. [1998]), no. 9, and cover ill. The auction house provided verbal confirmation that the object was on the London art market in the late 1960s and was later in an English private collection before being part of the collection of Dr. Gustav Rau (note by James David Draper in the archives of the Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts at the Metropolitan Museum). See also *From Fra Angelico to Bonnard: Masterpieces from the Rau Collection*, exh. cat., Musée du Luxembourg, Paris (Milan, 2000).
23. James David Draper, in *Recent Acquisitions: A Selection, 1998–1999. The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* (Fall 1999), pp. 26–27, colorpl. p. 26.
24. Examinations conducted by Jack Soultanian, Department of Objects Conservation at the Metropolitan Museum, October 8, 1998, and January 26, 2001. Soultanian states: "The proper right foot together with the area of the base touched by the toes are replacements. . . . Plugs of roughly circular shape appearing on the shieldbearer's chest and on the top of his helmet are the sculptor's repairs to losses to the stone incurred during the carving process. A trimmed, rectangular stone insert on the lower part of the shield is an additional repair. . . . the polychromy shows that it has been at least partially renewed. . . . An examination of the paint layers beneath a binocular microscope reveals that the original color scheme is similar to what may be observed in the over-paint. . . . The side edges of the shield, now black, were originally red." The complete conservation report is in the archives of the Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts. (I am most grateful to Jack Soultanian for discussing the sculpture with me at length and for patiently answering my many questions.)
25. Gess, *Akten und Briefe*, p. 231; Eser, *Hans Daucher*, p. 75.
26. Günther Naumann, *Sächsische Geschichte in Daten*, 2nd ed. (Munich and Berlin, 1994), pp. 82–83.
27. J. Siebmacher's *Grosses und allgemeines Wappenbuch*, ed. Otto Titan von Hefner, vol. 1, *Die Wappen der Souveraine* (Nuremberg, 1856), pl. 26; *The Splendor of Dresden*, exh. cat., The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1978), p. 102, no. 112; Naumann, *Sächsische Geschichte*, pp. 102–3.
28. I thank Paul Arnold, Münzkabinett, Dresden; Helmut Nickel, curator emeritus, The Metropolitan Museum of Art; and Michelangelo Lupo, Trent, for their help in resolving armorial questions.
29. Philipp Jakob Spener, *Insignium theoria seu operis heraldici pars specialis*, 2nd ed. (Frankfurt am Main, 1717), p. 29; Ernst Oswald Schmidt, *Die St. Annenkirche zu Annaberg* (Leipzig, 1908), pp. 115–16.
30. *Boutell's Heraldry*, rev. by J. P. Brooke-Little (London, 1983), p. 327, fig. 443.
31. For a detailed Latin description of Duke George's coat of arms, see Spener, *Insignium theoria*, pp. 4–6, 11, 15, 29 (after the example in the Deutsche Bibliothek, Berlin).
32. Heinrich Magirius, *St. Annen zu Annaberg*, 2nd ed. (Regensburg, 1997), p. 38, colorpls. p. 25; Klaus Kratzsch, *Bergstädte des Erzgebirges: Städtebau und Kunst zur Zeit der Reformation* (Munich and Zürich, 1972), fig. 23; see also Richard Steche, *Beschreibende Darstellung der älteren Kunstdenkmäler des Königreichs Sachsen*, vol. 4, *Amtshauptmannschaft Annaberg* (Dresden, 1885), p. 17. The coat of arms of Saxony can be seen just below the door lintel at the left and that of Poland above the door wings at the right. For my visit to the St. Annen-Kirche in Annaberg-Buchholz on May 7, 2000, I thank the Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchengemeinde, Pfarramt St. Annen, Annaberg-Buchholz, for its help and generosity in allowing me access to the various monuments in the church.
33. Gess, *Akten und Briefe*, p. 205, no. 255.
34. Ibid., pp. 230–31.
35. Kratzsch, *Bergstädte*, pp. 18–27; Naumann, *Sächsische Geschichte*, p. 85.
36. Magirius, *St. Annen zu Annaberg*, p. 6.
37. *Reliquien, Verehrung und Verklärung*, exh. cat. Schnütgen-Museum, Cologne (Cologne, 1989); Wolfram Koeppe and Michelangelo Lupo, "Lo 'Heiltumsaltar' nella sacrestia della cattedrale di Trento," in *Ori e argenti dei santi*, ed. E. Castelnovo (Trent, 1991), pp. 35–56 (both with extensive literature).
38. Dietmar Lüdke, "Meister von Frankfurt: Anna-Selbdrift-Triptychon, um 1510," *Patrimonia* 146 (Stuttgart, 1998), pp. 18–22, 32 n. 22.
39. Bushart, *Die Fuggerkapelle*, pp. 15–18.
40. H. Kellenbenz and M. von Preysing, "Jakob Fuggers Stiftungsbrief von 1521," *Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für Schwaben*, vol. 68 (Ausbürg, 1974), p. 95 (original document in the Fugger Archiv, Dillingen, inv. no. FA. 81, 2); Bushart, *Die Fuggerkapelle*, p. 422.
41. Steche, *Beschreibende Darstellung*, p. 33; see also Feuchtmayer, "Die Bildhauer," p. 463.
42. Gess, *Akten und Briefe*, p. 230 n. 1.
43. Cornelius Gurlitt, *Beschreibende Darstellung der älteren Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler in Sachsen*, vol. 40, *Burgberg Meissen* (Dresden, 1919), pp. 209–11, fig. 295.
44. Krause, "Die Grabkapelle," p. 378. (For a brief description of the portal, see also Johann Friedrich Ursinus, *Die Geschichte der Domkirche zu Meissen* [Dresden, 1782], pp. 57–58, also with no mention of putti).
45. Hütter et al., *Das Portal an der Westturmfront*, figs. 279, 488, 496, 523.
46. "Die Herstellungen im Dom zu Meissen in den Jahren 1856 und 1857," in *Mitteilungen des Kgl. Sächsischen Altertumsvereins*, vol. 10 (1857), p. 11, vol. 11 (1859), p. 11, vol. 17 (1867), p. 10; Hütter et al., *Das Portal an der Westturmfront*, pp. 209–13.
47. Krause, "Die Grabkapelle," p. 378.
48. Heinrich Magirius, "Die denkmalpflegerische Wiederherstellung des Westportals und der Fürstenkapelle 1974–1996," in Hütter et al., *Das Portal an der Westturmfront*, p. 415.
49. Steche, *Beschreibende Darstellung*, vols. 1–15; see also www.tu-chemnitz.de/phil/snregiog/verein.htm.
50. Mrusek, *Drei sächsische Kathedralen*, p. 374.
51. Magirius, *Der Dom zu Meissen*, p. 45.
52. F. W. Schwechten, *Der Dom zu Meissen in allen seinen Teilen bildlich dargestellt* (Berlin, 1826), p. 4, col. 4.
53. Hütter et al., *Das Portal an der Westturmfront*, pp. 347, 354.

54. Magirius, *Der Dom zu Meissen*, p. 45.
55. Monika Meine-Schawe, *Die Grablege der Wettiner im Dom zu Freiberg: Die Umgestaltung des Domchores durch Giovanni Maria Nosseni, 1585–1594* (Munich, 1992); Damian Dombrowski, "Die Grablege der sächsischen Kurfürsten zu Freiberg: Ideelle Dimension eines internationalen Monuments," in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 64 (2001), pp. 234–72.
56. Schwechten, *Der Dom zu Meissen*, p. 7 n. 17.
57. Paul von Stetten, *Beschreibung der Reichs-Stadt Augsburg* (Augsburg, [n.d.] after 1772), p. 451.
58. Halm, *Adolf Daucher und die Fuggerkapelle*, p. 39.
59. Gess, *Akten und Briefe*, pp. 620–21; Heinrich Magirius, *Der Dom zu Meissen*, p. 45.
60. Krause, "Die Grabkapelle," n. 103.
61. Georgius Agricola, *De natura fossilium*, vol. 10, in Georg Agricola, *Ausgewählte Werke*, vol. 4 (Berlin, 1958), p. 32.
62. Louis Lewin, *Gifte in der Weltgeschichte* (Berlin, 1920; rev. ed., Hildesheim, 1971), pp. 44–45.
63. Hoyer, *Sächsischer Serpentin*, p. 14.
64. *Ibid.*, pp. 20–22.
65. Schmidt, *Die St. Annenkirche*, p. 127.
66. *Der aufrichtige Juwelier* (n.p., 1729), chap. 2, p. 67.
67. Gerda Fries, *Edelsteine im Mittelalter* (Hildesheim, 1980), pp. 25, 35.
68. Olga Raggio, in *The Vatican Collections: The Papacy and Art*, exh. cat., The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Art Institute of Chicago; and the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco (New York, 1982), pp. 42–43, no. 12.
69. Bushart, *Die Fuggerkapelle*, p. 104, fig. 52.
70. Volker Krahn, ed., *Von allen Seiten schön: Bronzen der Renaissance und des Barock*, exh. cat., Skulpturensammlung, Berlin (Berlin, 1995), pp. 240–41, no. 49.
71. Alfred Schädler, "Zum Werk des Augsburger Bildschnitzers Hans Schwarz," in *Pinxit/sculpsit/fecit: Festschrift für Bruno Bushart* (Munich, 1994), p. 60, fig. 2.
72. Wolfram Koeppel, "Chinese Shells, French Prints, and Russian Goldsmithing: A Curious Group of Eighteenth-Century Russian Table Snuffboxes," in *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 32 (1997), p. 207 (with additional literature).
73. Magirius, *Der Dom zu Meissen*, p. 43.
74. Benedetta Montecocchi and Sandra Vasco Rocca, *Dizionario terminologici* (Suppellettile ecclesiastica I) (Florence, 1987), pp. 381–83; *Thesaurus of Religious Objects* (Paris, 1999), p. 257.
75. James David Draper, *Bertoldo di Giovanni: Sculptor of the Medici Household* (Columbia, Mo., and London, 1992), p. 152, figs. 91, 92.
76. John Pope-Hennessy, *Italian Renaissance Sculpture* (New York, 1958), pl. 68; Bushart, *Die Fuggerkapelle*, p. 126, fig. 63. For other examples, see *La Scultura decorativa del Primo Rinascimento*, Atti del Convegno (Pavia and Roma, 1983), pl. IX; Ursula Mehler, *Auferstanden in Stein Venezianische Grabmäler des späten Quattrocento* (Cologne, Weimar, Vienna, 2001), figs. 54, 60, 67, 83–85.
77. Smith, *German Sculpture*, p. 166, fig. 124.
78. Renate Eikermann, *Der heilige Alexius im Augsburger Maximiliansmuseum* (Augsburg, 1994), p. 17, fig. 16.
79. Schädler, "Zum Werk des Augsburger Bildschnitzers Hans Schwarz," p. 64, fig. 6.
80. Bushart, *Die Fuggerkapelle*, p. 298.
81. *Ibid.*, pp. 313–16, colorpls. XXII–XXVI.
82. Eser, *Hans Daucher*, p. 213, no. 28.
83. I thank Stephanie Stroh for assistance with this reconstruction. During my visit to Meissen in May 2000, she prepared two actual-size cardboard mannequins, using enlarged photographs, and placed them on the cornice of the portal to recreate its original appearance. I am deeply grateful for her help and her interest.
84. Krause, "Die Grabkapelle," pp. 387–89.
85. Bernd Wolfgang Lindemann, "'Was ist modern um 1500?' Zu den Reliefs der Daucher-Werkstatt, in Zäbern und Meissen," in *Arbor amoena comis: 25 Jahre Mittellateinisches Seminar in Bonn* (Stuttgart, 1990), pp. 273–92.
86. Eser, *Hans Daucher*, p. 34.
87. Krause, "Die Grabkapelle," p. 398 n. 43.
88. Steche, *Beschreibende Darstellung*, p. 33.
89. Bushart, *Die Fuggerkapelle*, p. 104, fig. 52; Eser, *Hans Daucher*, p. 84.
90. Lindemann, "'Was ist modern um 1500?'" pp. 289–90.
91. Jörg Rasmussen, "Kunz von der Rosen in der Fuggerkapelle," in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaften*, vol. 38, no. 1/4 (1984), p. 48.
92. The designs of Hans Daucher stimulated new interest and influenced Saxon and Bohemian artists to adopt the Renaissance style (for example, the related Saxon Electoral Succession Monument, for which, see Smith, *German Sculpture*, p. 184, fig. 144; for altars and epitaphs in general, see also Walburg Törmer-Balogh, "Zur Entwicklung des protestantischen Altars in Sachsen während des 16. und beginnenden 17. Jahrhunderts," in *Denkmalpflege in Sachsen 1894–1994*, pt. 2 [Halle an der Saale, 1998]; Ute-Nortrud Kaiser, *Der skulptierte Altar der Frührenaissance in Deutschland* [Frankfurt am Main, 1978]).