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International Projects with a Local Emphasis: Collecting and Representing Saxon Identity in the Dresden *Kunstkammer* and Princely Monuments in Freiberg Cathedral

A Thesis submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

in

Art History

by

Daniel A. Powazek

June 2020

Thesis Committee:
  Dr. Kristoffer Neville, Chairperson
  Dr. Randolph Head
  Dr. Jeanette Kohl

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The Thesis of Daniel A. Powazek is approved:

Committee Chairperson

University of California, Riverside

ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

International Projects with a Local Emphasis: The Collecting and Representation of Saxon Identity in the Dresden *Kunstkammer* and Princely Monuments in Freiberg Cathedral

by

Daniel A. Powazek

Master of Arts, Graduate Program in Art History
University of California, Riverside, June 2020
Dr. Kristoffer Neville, Chairperson

When the Albertine Dukes of Saxony gained the Electoral privilege in the second half of the sixteenth century, they ascended to a higher echelon of European princes. Elector August (r. 1553-1586) marked this new status by commissioning a monumental tomb in Freiberg Cathedral in Saxony for his deceased brother, Moritz, who had first won the Electoral privilege for the Albertine line of rulers. The tomb's magnificence and scale, completed in 1563, immediately set it into relation to the grandest funerary memorials of Europe, the tombs of popes and monarchs, and thus establishing the new Saxon Electors as worthy peers in rank and status to the most powerful rulers of the period. By the end of his reign, Elector August sought to enshrine the succeeding rulers of his line in an even grander project, a dynastic chapel built into Freiberg Cathedral directly in front of the tomb of Moritz. The dynastic chapel, designed by court artist Giovanni Maria Nosseni (1544-1620) and completed in 1594, was sumptuously decorated in precious stones quarried locally, some of which were even unique to the region. Elector August collected precious stones and gems and employed many of his

court servants, including Nosseni, to survey his lands for additional sources of stone. The Elector even practiced stone carving within his residence, in a newly named wing called the *Kunstkammer*, one of the first established in northern Europe. Informed by his own experience working his local stones in his *Kunstkammer*, August initiated a collection of locally quarried precious stones, the literal economic bedrock of his territory, and emphasized their representational capability in the form of diplomatic gifts and public monuments. The dynastic chapel established the Albertine line as worthy members of the highest level of nobility and the local stones decorating the interior represented the valuable resources unique to Saxony as well as the supreme power of its rulers to realize the full potential of their territory.

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Graduate programs coincide with the adulthood phase of people's lives and, removed from the primary focus of one's grade school and undergraduate years, often necessitate the difficult task of balancing one full-time responsibility with another – or more. My delicate juggling of life, work, and school, not equally effective at all the time, owes whatever success I managed to attain to many others. To everyone who assisted me in this undertaking, even if unknowingly, I give wholehearted thanks. As with any considerable undertaking, the number of people who contribute to its success far exceeds the amount of space provided here, so any omissions do not indicate any less appreciation on my part.

The most literal assistance came from a Richard D. Carrott Memorial Fund Award in 2019, funds that went directly into a very fruitful research trip to Saxony, Germany and which translated into a major methodological focus of this thesis. Additional financial support came from the UC Riverside Dean's Distinguished Fellowship and from the educational assistance program from my generous employer, the J. Paul Getty Trust. I owe a huge debt of gratitude to each of my supervisors during the MA program, Sally McKay, Mahsa Hatam, and Ann Harrison, whose unwavering support and willingness to entertain constant scheduling rearrangements went beyond reasonable expectation. Practically speaking, their flexibility allowed me to finish the program on schedule.

I am extremely fortunate to work in such a collegial and scholarly atmosphere as the Getty and have profited from many informative talks with fellow Getty staff,

scholars, and visitors to the Getty Research Institute. At UC Riverside, the willingness to share expertise and support one another found in the students, faculty, and staff has been remarkable. My conversations with fellow graduate students in our common room and individually with professors in their offices have both provided me with the concrete advice necessary to accomplish smaller goals as well as broached the larger modes of intellectualism and scholarship that have proved integral to my academic and personal growth. I single out especially the professors whom I have interacted with as a student, Drs. Malcom Baker, Johannes Endres, Liz Kotz, Fatima Kuraishi, and Jason Weems; and even more so my cohort who shared in many of those classes, Zoe Appleby, Charlie Arnold, Savannah Dearhamer, Daniela Ruano Orantes, and Cambra Sklarz.

My historical introduction to the Reformation period largely took place during an independent study with Professor Randolph Head, a course that proved immeasurably valuable to my approach to most of the works discussed in this thesis. Professor Jeanette Kohl, who at our first meeting offered her willingness to discuss my project, has been a great resource for her knowledge of funerary monuments of the period and her insistence on a discussion of the objects as the foundation for interpretation. I sincerely thank both of them also for their precise criticisms and considerable effect on the final content of this thesis. One could not wish for better members of a thesis committee. From beginning to end, Professor Kristoffer Neville has exceeded his stated role as advisor, whose suggestion of thesis subject, through many twists and turns, eventually morphed into what is now written. Throughout that time, he has offered advice on further reading to be done and questions to be considered and was always available to entertain the much less penetrating questions of my own. While the thinking and overall argument of the thesis are my own, many of the underlying ideas stem back to our conversations and his suggestions. I thank him many times over for the guidance and advice he has provided during the past two years. Despite the best intentions and advice of my committee, any remaining errors or logical inconsistencies remain my own.

Above all, my family has been infinitely accommodating of my needs, and more especially my absences, throughout the program and have my deepest appreciation. I dedicate this thesis to my parents, with love and heartfelt gratitude.

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Introduction

The sixteenth-century instrument maker Christoph Schissler (1531-1608) designed and crafted more than one hundred various scientific instruments during his career, including celestial globes, astrolabes, artillery gunner instruments, sundials, compasses, and odometers. While based in Augsburg, Schissler traveled to the courts of the most important princes of Central Europe, including Dresden, Munich, Vienna, and Prague. He was both maker and dealer on behalf of these princes, selling current works and negotiating future commissions. Additionally, during his visits he could keep up to date with the latest developments in his patrons' interests and the technological advances of their most recent instruments. Scientific instruments at princely courts were generally stored in their *Kunstkammer*, a place (lit. room or chamber) in which their collections could be stored, which slowly began to take shape beginning in the mid-sixteenth century. In the first inventory of the Dresden *Kunstkammer* from 1587, formed during the reign and under the direction of Elector August of Saxony (r. 1553-1586), 442 of its nearly 10,000 listed objects were classified as scientific instruments, by far the largest single category of objects – aside from the 7,300 or so tools making up the majority of the collection as a whole.[1] Though they likely met a few years earlier through mutual contacts at the University of Leipzig, beginning in 1558 and continuing for another twenty years Schissler crafted at least twelve instruments for August's collection.[2]

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[1] Joachim Menzhausen, "Elector Augustus's *Kunstkammer*: An Analysis of the Inventory of 1587," in *The Origins of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe*, eds. Oliver Impey and Arthur Macgregor (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1985), 72.

[2] Peter Plassmeyer, "Christoph Schissler: The Elector's Dealer," in *European Collections of Scientific Instruments, 1550-1750*, eds. Giorgio Strano *et al.* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 16.

Though instruments crafted toward the end of his reign certainly carried aesthetic concerns, as evidenced by their rich materials and ornate decoration, they were not meant purely for display. August commissioned new instruments from various craftsmen, actively making corrections and consulting with designers in order to develop more accurate measuring devices. From the first year of his reign in 1553, August ordered surveyors to measure and map all the districts of his reign, of use in a variety of applications. The hunting preserves located and delineated on these maps provided an accurate means to measure their extent, and thus also affected the licenses he could sell to others to hunt there. Similarly, the accurate surveying of tunnels could provide a more effective system for mining and exploiting the natural resources of his territory. August even practiced the surveying arts from time to time and we still have maps, done partially in his hand, preserved in the Dresden State Library (Fig. I.1). The value of surveying as a tool for a ruler to claim greater control and power over a territory has been investigated with regard to Elector August by Wolfram Dolz and Peter Plassmeyer.[3] August's patronage and collecting of measuring instruments, combined with his active engagement with their use, demonstrates the great value he placed in them.[4]

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[3] See esp. Peter Plassmeyer, "*Churfürst August zu Sachßen etc. Seligen selbsten gemacht*": Weltmodelle und wissenschaftliche Instrumente in der Kunstkammer der sächsischen Kurfürsten August und Christian I.," in *Kunst und Repräsentation am Dresdner Hof*, ed. Barbara Marx (München: Deutscher Verlag, 2005), 156-169; Wolfram Dolz, "Die *scientifica* in der Dresdner Kunstkammer Messinstrumente der Landesvermessung und des Artilleriewesens als Werkzeuge des tätigen Fürsten: Karten sowie Erd- und Himmelsmodelle als Repräsentationsobjekte seiner weltlichen Macht," in *Die kurfürstlichsächsische Kunstkammer in Dresden: Geschichte einer Sammlung*, eds. Dirk Syndram and Martina Minning (Der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen Dresden: Sandstein Verlag, 2012), 184-199.

[4] Wolfram Dolz, "The Waywisers of Elector Augustus of Saxony and Their New Use in the Survey of Saxon Postal Roads," in *European Collections of Scientific Instruments*, eds. Strano *et al.,* 44.

Christoph Schissler may have delivered his last contraption, a mechanized carriage odometer, to Elector August in 1575. By 1577, the Elector had become dissatisfied with the inaccuracies and unreliability of Schissler's instruments, specifically the mechanized odometer that often broke down and required constant repair.[5] But that dissatisfaction did not deter the Elector from further pursuing the technological development of other odometers and measuring devices in his collection. By the late 1570s, August had hired craftsmen to work in a newly-formed workshop in Dresden, crafting instruments for his personal use and collection. The locally crafted instruments proved to be no more accurate than those made by the Augsburger Schissler, but "at least they were manufactured in Dresden."[6] Commissions for instruments from distant craftsmen continued as well, exemplifying August's unstinting passion for more accurate and effective instruments. One such instrument was an intricate waywiser, or odometer, by another Augsburg craftsman, Martin Feyhel, from 1580, that could be mounted to a carriage or carried on foot (Fig. I.2). The waywiser contained a complex system of gears and dials that could be read by the user by flipping off the dial cover which contained a mirror and reading the various pointers. The waywiser also included a bell that would sound out once after every quarter mile and twice after every whole mile, as well as a compass delicately suspended between two magnetic needles that was meant to record any changes in direction along the route. The Elector was possibly even involved in the design of this instrument and wrote a short list of the various uses the instrument offered:

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[5] Plassmeyer, "Christoph Schissler," 23.

[6] *Idem*, "Scientific Instruments as Courtly Objects," in *Making Marvels: Science and Splendor at the Courts of Europe*, ed. Wolfram Koeppe (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art: 2019), 116.

> “1. Determine the distance between places and their location in relation to one another, providing orientation for the traveler;
> 2. Observe a foreign territory in preparation for a military campaign, i.e. to prepare routes and select sites for military camps;
> 3. Survey and map a fortress;
> 4. Conduct surveys of field and forest;
> 5. Use the instrument to produce a map of the whole country;
> 6. and 7. Find the way in unknown territory by day or night without assistance.”[7]

Clearly, August associated powerful instruments with the functioning of the state, listing martial, economic, and exploratory uses for his new waywiser, one in which he could even boast of sharing in its creation.

Elector August was both a patron of works and a maker of them, crafting turned ivory sculptures at the lathe in his *Kunstkammer* and practicing various other crafts that we might now consider unusual for persons in power to do.[8] Drawing up maps and woodworking are not skills associated with running a state in the modern era, but the early modern understanding of a prince’s duties were tied more explicitly to his physical abilities. The practice of working with minerals, metals, and other materials provided the practitioner with a greater knowledge of those products directly tied to the well-being of the state. Mining was the primary source of wealth for the Saxon state, so August’s practicing of cartography and stamping coins in his *Kunstkammer* workshops was considered to have a practical effect for the proper functioning of his territory.[9] It may also seem strange to continue referring to August's *Kunstkammer* as such, given its practical focus and collection of works seemingly antithetical to the fine arts, those which one would expect to find in today's museums. The Dresden *Kunstkammer* has been referred to as a reference collection,[10] a scientific collection,[11] a rational working collection,[12] and a space for workshops.[13] Yet it was August himself who named these rooms his *Kunstkammer* in 1572.[14] The boundaries between fields of knowledge were indistinct, if recognized at all, in the early modern period, a period which Erwin Panofsky argued went through a process of "decompartmentalization" that could be viewed as either "synthesis or like chaos."[15] Elsewhere, Pamela Smith has noted the disconnect between the historiographical narrative of the Scientific Revolution as one of a separation of theory and practice and the early modern emphasis on and inescapability from an engagement with the natural world.[16] For artists, Nature could represent the ideal to be emulated, in the form of *mimesis* in art, but for the practitioner, natural knowledge also presented "an arena in which they could gain new authority and legitimacy."[17] Authority could be gained by practical knowledge.

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[7] Max Engelmann, “Die Wegmesser des Kurfürsten August von Sachsen,” *Mitteilungen aus den Sächsischen Kunstsammlungen* 6 (1915): 33, quoted in Dolz, “The Waywisers of Elector Augustus,” 52.

[8] Dirk Syndram, “Der Kurfürst als Artifex: ‘Weltsicht und Wissen um 1600’ im Dresdener Residenzschloss,” *Dresdener Kunstblätter: Monatsschrift der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Weltsicht und Wissen* 60, no. 1 (2016): 4-13.

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[9] For the notion of the prince-practitioner in Central Europe, see Bruce T. Moran, "German Prince-Practitioners: Aspects in the Development of Courtly Science, Technology, and Procedures in the Renaissance," *Technology and Culture* 22, no. 2 (Apr., 1981): 253-274; Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *The Eloquent Artist: Essays on Art, Art Theory and Architecture, Sixteenth to Nineteenth Century* (London: The Pindar Press, 2004), 174-207.

[10] Peter Wiegand, "Landesaufnahme und Finanzstaat unter Kurfürst August und seinen Nachfolgern," in *Kurfürst August von Sachsen: Ein Nachreformatischer "Friedensfürst" zwischen Territorium und Reich*, eds. Winfried Müller *et al.* (Dresden: Sandstein Verlag, 2017), 141.

[11] Plassmeyer, "Weltmodelle," 167.

[12] Menzhausen, "Elector August's *Kunstkammer,*" 73.

[13] Martina Minning, "Werkzeug in der Dresdner Kunstkammer," in *Die kurfürstlichsächsische Kunstkammer in Dresden: Geschichte einer Sammlung*, ed. Dirk Syndram and Martina Minning (Der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen Dresden: Sandstein Verlag, 2012), 166-183.

[14] Syndram, "Der Kurfürst als Artifex," 9.

[15] Erwin Panofsky, "Artist, Scientist, Genius: Notes on the 'Renaissancedämmerung," in *The Renaissance: Six Essays* (New York: Harper Torchbook, 1962), 128.

August's engagement with the natural world can be seen in his collecting of stone-working tools and measuring instruments and in his personally practicing various crafts, like stone carving and surveying. Metal ore clusters and stone samples circulated among the European elite as diplomatic gifts, advertising the wealth of the individual ruler and the lands he ruled over. August's *Kunstkammer* reflected his appreciation for the material aspect of objects, an appreciation shared by other rulers, yet unlike his princely contemporaries, he did not utilize his *Kunstkammer* as a space to display his princely status. August preferred a more public pronouncement of his magnificence and commissioned a monumental tomb to his brother and predecessor, Moritz. With the monument to Moritz, August sought to solidify his brother's status as a true Protestant prince, establish the new Saxon Electoral rulers as members of the first European rank, and legitimize his own rule in the Albertine clan's Electoral dynastic succession. The tomb's sheer size would have impressed any early modern viewer and the scale of the tomb, erected by the Electoral successor, claimed a dynastic importance to rival the first rank of princes in the rest of Europe. The tomb was perhaps August's major commemorative project, though by the end of his reign planning began for a memorial chapel for the entire dynasty, a project larger even than the Moritz tomb. Barely begun before his own death and still unfinished by the death of his successor, the dynastic chapel commemorated the Albertine Electors of Saxony as members of the leading princes of their age. In this thesis, I will address the questions of international status, princely display, materiality, and memorialization. Through the two major monuments, the tomb of Moritz and the dynastic chapel, both constructed within Freiberg Cathedral, the Saxon Electors demonstrated their elevated status with commemorative works on a princely scale. Importantly, in the later dynastic chapel, locally-quarried precious stones decorate the wall fixtures and architectural settings, creating a public display of the wealth of the region of Saxony and the power of the Elector to harness the natural treasures of his realm.

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[16] Pamela H. Smith, *The Body of the Artisan: Art and Experience in the Scientific Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

[17] *ibid*., 19.

The monuments' setting in Freiberg Cathedral was dictated by neither Moritz nor August, but rather by their father, Heinrich. Following the Wettin family's rise to Electoral rank and acquisition of the region of Saxony in 1423, the practice of appanage, granting fiefdoms to younger siblings, in lieu of primogeniture, whereby an entire territory would be inherited by the eldest male heir, resulted in internecine conflicts in the following generations and eventually a full rupture in 1485.[18] At this time, the two ruling brothers, Albert (1443-1500) and Ernst (1441-1486), divided Saxony between their two branches, with the elder Ernst alone inheriting the Electoral title, henceforth known as the Albertine and Ernestine branches. Following the outbreak of the Reformation and the rise of Martin Luther in Germany, the Ernestine branch embraced the new Protestant faith while the Albertines remained in the Catholic fold. That is, all except for Heinrich, who in 1537 joined the Protestants and established a Lutheran church in his town of residence, Freiberg. Heinrich's elder brother, Georg, held the majority of ducal Saxony and was a staunch Catholic who vehemently opposed Heinrich's profession of the new faith. When Georg's second and last son died in 1539, leaving him with no heir presumptive, the Duchy would have reverted to Heinrich upon Georg's death. Seeking to keep his territory under Catholic control, Georg sought to will his lands and title to the Holy Roman Emperor's brother, Archduke Ferdinand, but died later that year before anything could be formally established. Heinrich ruled as Duke of Saxony (1539-1541) following his brother's death and established the Lutheran faith as the dominant religion in his lands. Upon accession, Heinrich relocated to Dresden from his residence in Freiberg, where he had been based since 1505. The will, and the religion, of the prince is the supreme authority in his land, though the conversion of the entire Duchy did not transpire overnight. Complex negotiations took place between Heinrich and Saxon noblemen who held strongly to their Catholic faith and especially the Catholic clergy, not eager to lose their land and revenues – or congregations. Part of this negotiation involved moving the burial place of the Albertine family from the bishopric in Meißen to Heinrich's adopted home in Freiberg, specifically to Freiberg Cathedral.[19]

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[18] For the general history of Saxony of the period, see: Rudolf Kötzschke and Hellmut Kretzschmar, *Sächsische Geschichte: Werden und Wandlungen eines deutschen Stammes und seiner Heimat im Rahmen der deutschen Geschichte* (Frankfurt-am-Main: Verlag Wolfgang Weidlich, 1965) and especially Karlheinz Blaschke, *Sachsen im Zeitalter der Reformation* (Gütersloh: G. Mohn, 1970).

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[19] On the importance of establishing a new physical location for those family members professing a different confession, see Inga Brinkmann, "Die Grablege der Grafen von Mansfeld in der St. Annenkirche zu Eisleben – Zum Problem lutherischer Grablegen in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts," in *Archäologie der Reformation: Studien zu den Auswirkungen des Konfessionswechsels auf die materielle Kultur*, ed. Carola Jäggi and Jörn Staecker, 164-194 (Berlin; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2007).

Construction of the original Freiberg Cathedral,[20] also called Cathedral of Our Lady (*Dom St. Marien*),[21] began in the twelfth century, but a major church fire in 1484 required an extensive rebuilding effort. The old, Romanesque plan was expanded into a larger, Gothic style building with a three-aisled interior hall, exterior buttresses matching each pillar of the central nave, and slender pillars branching out of the central pillars toward the top and into the net-vaulted ceiling. Some Romanesque features remaining from the original structure were retained when still intact, such as the Golden Door (*goldene Pforte*), which was moved from its previous location at the cathedral's west entrance to the new entrance on the south end, the beginning of the church nave and next to the collegiate cloister next door.[22] Overall, little of the interior survived the fire, so the interior needed to be completely refitted, including commissioning a new pulpit. The 'tulip' pulpit, so-called because of its resemblance, if anachronistic,[23] to stacked tulip bulbs, was carved by Master HW, probably Hans Witten, sometime between 1501 and 1510 (Fig. I.3).[24] Carved from tufa stone, the pulpit was among the earliest northern sculptural works executed without a polychrome finish, emphasizing the skill of the sculptor and the quality of the stone. Iconographical readings of the pulpit have focused on the liturgical explanations for the figures and viewed the natural decoration as metaphors for the flourishing of true faith, but concrete figural identifications remain elusive. Recently, Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, assuming Hans Witten as the sculptor "HW", reads the two crouching figures at the base of and supporting the steps to the platform as miners and links the pulpit to similar sculptural and pictorial works of the region.[25] Guita Lamsechi expands on Kaufmann's reading, also noting the similar design of the baptismal font in nearby Annaberg, also by Master HW from 1515, where large amounts of silver ore were discovered in 1492. She argues that growing regional competition, changing socio-economic realities of the mining profession, and possibly even Duke Heinrich's relocation to Freiberg drove its citizens to commission the pulpit as an expression of civic pride.[26] While the 'tulip' pulpit was a civic commission for the parish church, Lamsechi suggests that even at this early date the Albertine princes wielded significant influence over Freiberg Cathedral.

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[20] The various works of Heinrich Magirius are the most detailed sources on Freiberg Cathedral. The earliest I have found is: Heinrich Magirius, *Der Freiberger Dom: Forschungen und Denkmalpflege* (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1972). I have noted at least four later publications of the same or similar name by this author, along with numerous additional articles and papers. More recently, the *Kulturreisen* journal published a remarkably well-illustrated issue on the Cathedral's monuments and history: Stefan Bürger, *Der Freiberger Dom: Architektur als Sprache und Raumkunst als Geschichte* (Wettin: Verlag Janos Stekovics, 2017). A website featuring many of the images contained therein and heavily reliant on the work of Magirius, is a convenient visualization source: www.freiberger-dom-app.de.

[21] The Cathedral (in German, *Dom*) was not the seat of a bishop – Meißen Cathedral was the location of the Bishop of Saxony – but the moniker can also be attached when a college is founded for a church, as was the case with Freiberg in 1480. Magirius, *Der Freiberger Dom*, 8.

[22] On the potential re-use of the *goldene Pforte* as an instance of *spolia* and the translation of the Romanesque past in the early German Renaissance, see Stephan Hoppe, "Translating the Past: Local Romanesque Architecture in Germany and Its Fifteenth-Century Reinterpretation," in eds. Karl A. E. Enenkel and Konrad A. Ottenheym, *The Quest for an Appropriate Past in Literature, Art and Architecture* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 555.

[23] The first tulip arrived in Europe in the mid-sixteenth century, around the same time Conrad Gesner published a description of the new flower, with an accompanying woodcut illustration, in his *De hortis Germaniae* (1561).

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[24] On the 'tulip' pulpit, see especially Arndt Kiesewetter *et al.*, eds., *Die Tulpenkanzel im Dom zu Freiberg* (Dresden: Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Sachsen, 1995). Ethan Matt Kavaler stresses the vegetal ornament of the pulpit and argues that "[the] transformation of lifeless crafted material into animate form" served to "communicat[e] the incomparable power of the divine." Ethan Matt Kavaler, *Renaissance Gothic* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2012), 229. 'Tulip' pulpit discussed at 201-203; vegetal ornament generally at 199-230.

[25] Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Court, Cloister & City: The Art and Culture of Central Europe 1450-1800* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1995), 85.

[26] Guita Lamsechi, "Freiberg's Tulip Pulpit: Hybrid Nature and Civic Politics," in *The Book of Nature and Humanity in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, eds. David Hawkes *et al*. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 157-179.

Following his formal adoption of the Lutheran faith in 1537, Heinrich had a princely gallery built on the north wall, overlooking the 'tulip' pulpit and directly in view of the congregation below. Joseph Koerner claims that the earliest Lutheran constructed spaces, palace chapels of the first Lutheran princes, including chapels at Torgau Castle and the Dresden *Residenzschloss*, "replicated the existing place of congregations within the real social and material world."[27] Observing mass above the ordinary citizens, Heinrich's position on the gallery situated him on a higher plane, stratifying the practice of faith along the same lines as those outside of church. Additionally, the choir spaces of churches, stripped of their sacral function, were repurposed following the conversion of the sacred space to Lutheran practices. Formerly under the control of Catholic authorities, the control over these spaces was appropriated by the new religious power: the prince.[28] Freiberg Cathedral was no different in this regard, though no immediate actions were taken. But by the beginning of August's reign in 1553, the new Elector needed a space in which to honor the memory of his brother properly. The choir of Freiberg Cathedral, separated from the main nave by a thick barrier, acting almost as a jubé, had sat empty since Duke Heinrich's conversion in 1537, but it did contain the remains of some of the citizenry in the south chapel of the choir, which were moved into the nave. Some additional alterations were made to the north chapel to mirror the appearance of its opposite while the opening between the south chapel and the nave was separated by a grill. These changes cleared out the space for the sole use of the Saxon princes while also physically separated the princely space from the rest of the congregation, just as the earlier balcony installation had done. A hallway was built to connect the choir to the nave of the Cathedral. In 1560, a community altar was created and set before the hallway, though its moderate size and mobility suggest it did not affect the princely functions of the space beyond.[29]

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[27] Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 420; more broadly, 402-440.

[28] The literature on early modern Lutheran space is vast. Some recent pan-Lutheran studies include: Will Coster and Andrew Spicer, "The Dimensions of Sacred Space in Reformation Europe," in *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*, eds. *idem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 1-16; Sarah Hamilton and Andrew Spicer, "Defining the Holy: The Delineation of Sacred Space," in *Defining the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, eds. *idem* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2005), 1-27; Susanne Wegmann and Gabriele Wimbock, eds., *Konfessionen im Kirchenraum: Dimensionen des Sakralraums in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Korb: Didymos-Verlag, 2007); Andrew Spicer, ed., *Lutheran Churches in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2011). The first study to attempt a pan-European scope for Lutheran architecture is Per Gustaf Hamberg, *Temples for Protestants: Studies in the Architectural Milieu of the Early Reformed Church and of the Lutheran Church* (Gothenburg: The Royal Society of Arts and Sciences in Göteborg, 2002). Originally published in 1955 in Swedish, it was finally translated into English in the 2002 publication.

August, seeking to secure for the Albertine family the rise his brother, Moritz, had accomplished, commissioned a great funerary monument for Moritz and installed it in the middle of the choir space of Freiberg Cathedral (Fig. 1.5). Planning for the tomb began by 1555 and construction finished by 1563, involving an international team of craftsmen hired both locally and from abroad. By the end of his reign, August, or perhaps his son, Christian I, began planning for an even larger project, a commemorative chapel for the rest of the dynasty in perpetuity that would be erected in front of the Moritz tomb in the apsidal choir at the east end of the Cathedral (Fig. 2.5). Planning for the dynastic chapel began perhaps as early as 1585, but construction did not begin in earnest until 1589. The chapel was not completed until 1595, work outlasting both August (d.1586) and his successor, Christian I (d.1591).

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[29] Magirius states that the hallway between the nave and choir was often used as a space for laying out the princely corpses before they were interred in the choir beyond, so the altar would have had to be transportable to allow for access. Heinrich Magirius, *Der Dom zu Freiberg* (Leipzig: Koehler & Amelang, 1986), 229.

The Moritz tomb has been covered extensively in scholarship, placing it in a context of German, as well as further afield, tomb construction during the sixteenth century.[30] The material concerns have not been covered as thoroughly, though Aleksandra Lipińska's recent monograph on alabaster sculpture in Central Europe elaborates on the alabaster figure of Moritz at length, while treating the rest of the monument more cursorily.[31] All of these works also note the dynastic chapel, though none provides a detailed analysis of both. Given all the publications detailing the tomb of Moritz, it may seem surprising to note the relative dearth of studies focusing on the later dynastic chapel. Monika Meine-Schawe not only has provided the most thoroughly-sourced and extensive study of the chapel, but she has also published an essential article on its designer, the Swiss court artist Giovanni Maria Nosseni.[32] Her argument focuses on the political and especially religious circumstances of the period, arguing that the chapel had to become a purely Lutheran monument due to the circumstances of the time.[33] However, for the purposes of this thesis, the most important study of both of these monuments is Damian Dombrowski's, which also happens to focus on their dynastic considerations and materiality, setting these aspects into a wider European courtly context.[34] While Dombrowski makes a compelling case for the central importance of pan-European trends in the Freiberg chapel's design and decorative program, he makes no mention of the process of crafting these monuments. Additionally, he mentions the political and monetary value of the materials, but otherwise does not explore their individual meanings.

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[30] Among others, see Monika Meine-Schawe, *Die Grablege der Wettiner im Dom zu Freiberg: Die Umgestaltung des Domchores durch Giovanni Maria Nosseni, 1585-1594* (München: tuduv, 1992), 15-19; Jeffrey Chipps Smith, *German Sculpture of the Later Renaissance, c. 1520-1580: Art in an Age of Uncertainty* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 175-185; Andrea Baresel-Brand, *Grabdenkmäler nordeuropäischer Fürstenhäuser im Zeitalter der Renaissance 1550-1650* (Kiel: Ludwig, 2007), 265-270; Heinrich Magirius, "Die Monumente für Kurfürst Moritz an der Festung in Dresden und im Freiberger Dom," in *Moritz von Sachsen – Ein Fürst der Reformationszeit zwischen Territorium und Reich*, ed. Karlheinz Blaschke (Leipzig: Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007), 260-283; Oliver Meys, *Memoria und Bekenntnis: Die Grabdenkmäler evangelischer Landesherren im Heiligen Römischen Reich Deutscher Nation im Zeitalter der Konfessionalisierung* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2009), 423-428; Inga Brinkmann, *Grabdenkmäler, Grablegen und Begräbniswesen des lutherischen Adels: Adelige Funeralrepräsentation im Spannungsfeld von Kontinuität und Wandel im 16. und beginnenden 17. Jahrhundert* (Berlin und München: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2010), 144-155; Sophie Seher, *Die Grablegen der Wettiner: Repräsentation im Zeitalter der Reformation* (Jena: quartus-Verlag, 2016), 240-248.

[31] Aleksandra Lipińska, *Moving Sculptures: Southern Netherlandish Alabasters from the 16th to 17th Centuries in Central and Northern Europe*, Leiden: Brill, 2015), 205-220.

The precious stones and metals installed in the Moritz tomb and dynastic chapel were costly materials, difficult to acquire and rare specimens of nature. But more than this, the stones and metals carried additional meaning in their diplomatic value, gifted among princes for their courts and their collections. Objects contained their own social histories, they bore the value of their place of origin and of their dedicator. Still further, the working of materials, and who is doing the working, can attach significant additional importance while also imbuing its maker with knowledge otherwise unattainable.[35] Setting objects into their cultural and social contexts only reaches part of the meaning that would have been associated with those objects, thus it is important to consider that "how objects were made and what they were made from may have a bearing on how they were perceived and gained significance."[36] The notion of the making and perception of objects relates directly to the quest for knowledge, according to sixteenth-century thought. The Swiss physician Paracelsus (1493/4-1541) claimed that "even if I would report and describe everything, still no one would be able to understand it without experience."[37] Technical treatises in the sixteenth century often devolved into perplexity on the part of the author when called upon to describe techniques or other technical procedures.[38] Sometimes, this was due to difficulties of the particular language to define new terms, ideas, even geometrical shapes. Albrecht Dürer needed to coin his own word for "cone" in his *Vnderweysung der messung* (1525) because no word for it then existed in German.[39] Yet Paracelsus's statement seems to describe an early modern awareness of and reliance on practical knowledge, as opposed to textual, valuing sense-based learning as a fundamental pillar of understanding. The physician Caspar Kegler (c. 1461-1537) stated in his pamphlet on curing the plague, *Eyn Nutzlichs vnd trotzlichs Regiment* (1529), that he was unable to describe how to brew a particularly mulled wine. "I certainly want to write about it, but no one can do so since one shows with the hand."[40] Here we can read directly of the high value associated with haptic modes of learning, which even supplants the visual transmission of information in efficacy.

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[32] On the chapel, Meine-Schawe, *Die Grablege der Wettiner*; on Nosseni, *idem*, "Giovanni Maria Nosseni. Ein Hofkünstler in Sachsen." *Jahrbuch des Zentralinstituts für Kunstgeschichte* 5/6 (1989/90): 283-325. The only other lengthy study of this artist was written more than a century ago: Walter Mackowsky, *Giovanni Maria Nosseni und die Renaissance in Sachsen* (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1904).

[33] Meine-Schawe, *Die Grablege der Wettiner*, 110.

[34] Damian Dombrowski, "Die Grablege der sächsischen Kurfürsten zu Freiberg: Ideelle Dimensionen eines internationalen Monuments," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 64, H. 2 (2001): 234-72.

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[35] Recent works on the epistemology of making include: Pamela H. Smith, "In the Workshop of History: Making, Writing, and Meaning," *West 86th: A Journal of Decorative Arts, Design History, and Material Culture* 1 (no. 1, spring-summer 2012): 4-31;Pamela H. Smith *et al*., eds., *Ways of Making and Knowing: The Material Culture of Empirical Knowledge* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2014); Christy Anderson *et al*., eds., *The Matter of Art: Materials, Practices, Cultural Logics, c. 1250-1750* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015); Ann-Sophie Lehmann, "An Alphabet of Colours: Valcooch's *Rules* and the Emergence of Sense-Based Learning around 1600," in *Lessons in Art: Art, Education, and Modes of Instruction since 1500*, eds. Eric Jorink *et al*. (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 168-203.

[36] Ulinka Rublack, "Matter in the Material Renaissance," *Past & Present* 219 (May 2013): 43; cf. Arjun Appadurai's rather narrow contention that, "Things have no meanings apart from those that human transactions, attributions, and motivations endow them with." In Arjun Appadurai, "Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value," in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 5.

[37] Paracelsus, "On the Miners' Sickness and Other Miners' Diseases," trans. George Rosen, in *Four Treatises of Theophrastus von Hohenheim Called Paracelsus*, ed. Henry E. Sigerist (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1941), 91; quoted in Pamela H. Smith, "The Matter of Ideas in the Working of Metals in Early Modern Europe," in *The Matter of Art*, eds. Anderson *et al.*, 42.

[38] Smith, *Body of the Artisan*, 80-82.

During a period where styles were international, cultural standards were magnificent,[41] and representation expected to simultaneously fit in and stand out, opportunities to achieve the latter were rare. Princes spent enormous amounts of time, money, and energy on fulfilling the expectations of their office, what Aristotle described as the "fitting expenditure involving largeness of scale."[42] For those persons of greater status, greater expenditure was considered to be appropriate. Couching contemporary discussions of court culture in Aristotelean terminology slotted in with the reliance on humanistic modes of rhetoric while also underpinning the legitimacy of magnificence with the authority of Antiquity.[43] Understood in these terms, the display of wealth at court was less about the competition between nobles, though it was certainly present, but rather as behavior appropriate to their rank. Even seemingly private activities like carving precious stones at a workshop bench were judged by the princely standards of the time and the *Kunstkammer* collections uniformly treated as such. In the case of Elector August of Saxony, his crafting activities in his *Kunstkammer* workshops could be interpreted as gaining and ordering knowledge about his state, or on behalf of his state. Also included in the *Kunstkammer* were mineral and stone samples, stone-cutting tools, and scientific books related to workshop practices. All of these items, the tools alone numbering in the thousands, were related to August's political, cultural, and economic ambitions and should thus be viewed in terms of princely self-representation.[44] His son and successor, Christian I, continued many of his father's crafting activities, but he also had an appreciation for the display of materials and wealth in all arenas of princely life. The representation of magnificence and dynasty became a central preoccupation under Christian, whose numerous monumental projects begun during a relatively brief reign stand in stark contrast to August's relatively restrained commissions during a much longer reign. In this thesis, I explore contemporary views of material and their uses, trying to make distinctions between what might be expected of a patron, in terms of magnificence or status, and the choices made for particular projects. In sixteenth-century Saxony, Elector August managed to establish his family's dynasty with a monumental tomb and burial chapel worthy of his Electoral rank, an appropriate marker of his international status. Yet the particular materials used could also offer him, his successor, and his artists the opportunity to employ the precious stones indigenous to their territory and in which they had attained a particular expertise in crafting due to its rarity and geographic specificity.

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[39] Michael Baxandall, *The Limewood Sculptors of Renaissance Germany* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), 143-163.

[40] Caspar Kegler, *Ein Nutzlichs vnd trostlichs Regiment wider dy Pestilentz vn Gifftig Pestilentzisch Feber die Schweyssucht genannt…* (Leipzig: 1529), fol. 20r, quoted and translated in Erik Anton Heinrichs, "The Plague Cures of Caspar Kegler: Print, Alchemy, and Medical Marketing in Sixteenth-Century Germany," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 43 (no. 2, summer 2012): 428.

[41] On magnificence at the court of Prague, see Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *The School of Prague: Painting at the Court of Rudolf II* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 11-26. For magnificence at the courts of François I (d. 1547) and Henri II (d. 1559) of France, see Rebecca Zorach, *Blood, Milk, Ink, Gold: Abundance and Excess in the French Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

[42] Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, trans. and ed. David Ross (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 4.2.

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[43] Evelyn Welch, "Public Magnificence and Private Display: Giovanni Pontano's "De splendore" (1498) and the Domestic Arts," *Journal of Design History* 15 (no. 4, 2002): 211-221.

[44] Sven Dupré and Michael Korey, "Optical Objects in the Dresden *Kunstkammer*: Lucas Brunn and the Courtly Display of Knowledge," in *European Collections of Scientific Instruments*, eds. Strano *et al.*, 62-67. On princely representation in the *Kunstkammer*, see esp. Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Variations on the Imperial Theme in the Age of Maximilian II and Rudolf II* (New York: Garland Publications, 1978).

Chapter 1: The Tomb of Moritz, Magnificent Monuments, and Material Choice

Upon Duke Heinrich's death in August 1541, Moritz became the new Duke of Albertine Saxony at the age of twenty. During his momentous twelve-year reign, Moritz continued the enforcement of the Protestant confession on his duchy; variously fought for and against his fellow Protestant princes, the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, and King Henri II of France; and wrested supremacy, and the Electoral privilege with it, from the rival Ernestine branch of rulers in Saxony.[45] As a result of shrewd political maneuverings and military alliances, Moritz's rival Saxon ruler, the Ernestine Johann Friedrich, was stripped of the Electorship following his defeat by Moritz and the Catholic League in 1547. In turn, Moritz was rewarded with the Electorate for which he had longed.[46] The Electoral privilege endowed Moritz with a greater political role than a ducal title conferred, but more importantly it raised Moritz to a more elevated rank of European leadership. Though his reign as Saxon Elector was brief, in the span of less than a decade Moritz rose from the second-most important noble within Saxony to one of the most powerful princes in all of Europe. For August of Saxony, he may have inherited the pre-eminent Protestant state of Europe upon his accession in 1553, his claim to the Electoral privilege lay on the brief six years of rule by his brother, Moritz. Prior to 1547, the rival Wettin branch, the Ernestines, had held the Electoral privilege since the partition of

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[45] For a recent consideration of various aspects of Moritz's reign, see the entries in Karlheinz Blaschke, ed., *Moritz von Sachsen – Ein Fürst der Reformationszeit zwischen Territorium und Reich* (Leipzig: Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007). Blaschke goes so far as to propose Moritz as the most important ruler of Saxony in its history: Karlheinz Blaschke, "Moritz von Sachsen – der bedeutendste Wettiner," in *idem*, *Moritz von Sachsen*, 313-336.

[46] Steven E. Ozment, *The Serpent & the Lamb: Cranach, Luther, and the Making of the Reformation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 253.

Saxony in 1485, thus hereditarily they held a stronger claim. August needed to demonstrate his worthiness as Elector and also the worthiness of his family as Electoral dynasty. To achieve this aim, August commissioned a grand tomb intended to honor the deeds of the first Albertine Elector, his brother Moritz, demonstrate his elevated rank among the leading powers of Europe, and establish the Albertine branch as a dynastic ruling family.

Throughout much of his reign (1541-1553), Moritz actively campaigned, fighting the Turks in the Balkans, Catholics in the Holy Roman Empire, and even fellow Protestants in the German-speaking lands. From the eruption of the evangelical movement in German lands around 1520 through the middle of the century, periods of uneasy truce between Protestants and Catholics alternated with bursts of outright warfare. In the 1540s, one of the largest clashes occurred between the recently formed Schmalkaldic League, an alliance between some of the Lutheran rulers in Germany and later Denmark, and the Imperial forces nominally led by Emperor Charles V. Johann Friedrich, still Saxon Elector at this point, was a Protestant and one of the leaders of the Schmalkaldic League, while Moritz, also Protestant, sided with the Emperor in the conflict now known as the Schmalkaldic war. For Moritz, his political rivalry with the Ernestines, coupled with a history of military campaigning with the Emperor in his Ottoman and Frankish campaigns, proved a stronger motivation than any confessional allegiance he may have felt.[47] In the Schmalkaldic war, Moritz's primary focus was the attainment of the Electoral privilege from his Ernestine rivals.[48] In the Battle of Mühlberg in 1547, Moritz and the Catholic forces defeated Johann Friedrich and the Protestant League, resulting in a military victory for the Emperor and the Electoral privilege for Moritz. Because of this, he was thereafter called the "Judas of Meissen" by other Protestants.[49] After becoming embroiled in yet another conflict in 1553, engaged on the side of the Protestants once more, Moritz led his forces in the Battle of Sievershausen, where he was seriously wounded by a gunshot to the abdomen. Moritz, the leader of Saxony, first Elector of the Albertine Wettins, and serious political player among the most powerful monarchs of Europe, succumbed to his wounds two days later at the age of thirty-three. He produced no male offspring with his wife, Agnes of Hesse, so his younger brother, August (b. 1526), succeeded him as head of the Albertine branch of the Wettins.

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[47] Somewhat ironically, the imposition of a renewed Catholic practice in the defeated Protestant lands following the Schmalkaldic defeat served to consolidate Lutheran identity in the Northern German territories. See R. Po-Chia Hsia, *Social Discipline in the Reformation: Central Europe 1550-1750* (London and New York: Routledge, 1989), 10-12.

However, August was not granted the Electoral privilege straightaway, having to wait until Johann Friedrich's death the next year for the title.[50] August was not secure in his hold of the electoral title among the other Saxon dukes, as indeed Johann Friedrich II, son of Moritz's Wettin rival, made repeated attempts to regain the title before ultimately alienating himself from both his subjects and the Emperor. In 1566, Johann Friedrich was placed under a *Reichsacht*, whereby he lost his ducal title, possessions, and Electoral claim. Until this date, August had maintained an uneasy position as Elector of Saxony. Additionally, until the Peace of Augsburg in 1555, most Protestant rulers were concerned with maintaining control over a religiously heterogeneous territory and negotiating increasingly complex political tensions. The agreement held in the treaty, commonly known as "*cuius regio, eius religio*" (whose land, his religion), was developed out of political and judicial pragmatism, rather than religious ideology. Importantly, it also legitimized the Protestant faith in German-speaking lands and designated that each territory's ruler determined the religion practiced in his lands. Following the Augsburg Peace and the defeat of the last Ernestine claimant, August would become the principal representative and undisputed ruler of the Protestant faction in Germany.[51] This second generation of Reformation princes displayed a recognizable urge to unite the Protestant, or at least Lutheran, faith.[52] Heinz Schilling argues that a period of "princely confessionalization" occurred during this "*Zweiten Reformation*," where between 1555 and about 1590 different confessions lived and worshipped in a pragmatic coexistence.[53] August represented the model ruler of his age, moderate and understanding, valuing economic progress over military or political expansion, yet this should not disguise the reality that his rule remained tenuous early on.

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[48] Thomas Nicklas, "Das Wagnis reichsfürstlicher Außenpolitik: Moritz von Sachsen zwischen Habsburg und Frankreich," in *Moritz von Sachsen*, ed. Blaschke, 28-35.

[49] Meissen refers to one of his new titles, the Margrave of Meissen. Thomas A. Brady, *German Histories in the Age of Reformations, 1400-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 227, n.85.

[50] Meys, *Memoria und Bekenntnis,* 427.

Dynastic concerns of the Albertine line were of central importance even from the first years of Moritz's elevation, when a principal event provided the opportunity for the new Electoral family to stake their claims to a higher international standing. August's wedding in 1548 to Anna of Denmark, daughter of King Christian III of Denmark, took place in Torgau and was attended by the leading ruling families of Protestant Europe, including Joachim II, Elector of Brandenburg, Duke Hans of Holstein, and the sister of Christian III, King of Denmark.[54] While this was not the first marriage between the Danish royal family and Saxony, it was the first to take place since the Reformation.[55] The setting of the wedding in Torgau is also significant, given its centrality to the nascent Protestant movement, Luther's consecration of the palace chapel there, and the fact that it had been the favorite residence of the previous Elector, Johann Friedrich. Following the Schmalkaldic War, Torgau and its surrounding lands, including Wittenberg, were transferred to the rule of Moritz, given their designation as *Kurkreis*.[56] According to Mara Wade, the wedding was the first occasion where the Albertine family planned festivities up to their elevated status, something which did not occur even at Moritz's own ceremony marking his raising to Elector. As Moritz himself promised Christian III in a letter upon news of the betrothal between August and Anna of Denmark, Moritz would

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[51] Brady, *German Histories*, 245.

[52] Manfred Rudersdorf, "Kurfürst August von Sachsen. Ein neuer nachreformatorischer Fürstentypus im Konfessionsstaat des Alten Reiches," in *Kurfürst August von Sachsen*, eds. Müller *et al.*, 13-15.

[53] Heinz Schilling, "Die Konfessionalisierung im Reich: Religiöser und gesellschaftlicher Wandel in Deutschland zwischen 1555 und 1620," *Historische Zeitung* 246, H. 1 (Feb., 1988): 8ff.

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[54] Mara R. Wade, "The Construction of Electoral Saxon Identity in the Court Festivities of 1548," in *Authority of Images / Images of Authority: Shaping Political and Cultural Identities in the Pre-Modern World*, ed. Karen L. Fresco, (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2016), 79-81. It is unclear whether the sister was Elisabeth or Dorothea. For the Danish-Saxon weddings in this period, see *idem*, "Dänisch-sächsische Hoffeste der frühen Neuzeit," in *Mit Fortuna übers Meer: Sachsen und Dänemark – Ehen und Allianzen im Spiegel der Kunst (1548-1709)*, eds. Jutta Kappel and Claudia Brink, (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2009), 63-70.

[55] Three additional marriages in the following century would cement relationships between the two families. Mara R. Wade, "Politics and Performance: Saxon-Danish Court Festivals 1548-1709," in *Musical Entertainments and the Politics of Performance*, ed. Marie-Claude Canova Green (London: Goldsmiths College, 2000), 41-56.

[56] Karlheinz Blaschke, *Moritz von Sachsen – Ein Fürst der Reformationsfürst der zweiten Generation*, (Göttingen und Zürich: Musterschmidt, 1983), 65; Brady, *German Histories*, 227.

"hold such a wedding, the likes of which a Saxon prince has never yet had."[57] The wedding entailed a week-long schedule with daily tournaments and banquets, a triumphal entry of more than three thousand horses between bridal and groom parties, fireworks displays, and even a mock siege. The extent of the celebrations marked a display of wealth appropriate to the higher status of an Elector while the attendance of the leading families of Northern Europe, both Protestant and Catholic, branded the occasion as an international event.

With the wedding festivities of 1548, Moritz demonstrated his newly acquired status as an Elector of Saxony. Raised above the rank of a Duke, the display of wealth and expenditure in the more elaborate celebrations were considered not only acceptable for an Elector, but appropriate. Over the course of the sixteenth century, Central European courts came to be dominated by fewer than a dozen princes of the first, or possibly second, rank, including the new Albertine Electors. Of course, these princes still revolved around the Holy Roman Emperor, but their individual claims to dynastic territories came to define what Imperial princes were. As Thomas Brady notes, "At the core of that definition lay the fact of dynastic continuity and prestige, as displayed by genealogy, and its presumed fusion with the dynastic lands."[58] In a similar fashion, Moritz needed to establish a firm lineage of worthy predecessors, genealogically binding him to the place of his rule across time. His reign proved too short and too crowded with military and political events to adequately address any dynastic concerns, but his successor, August, showed more interest in them, especially within the first decade of his reign. August co-opted Ernestine dynastic portrait series, such as the one in the paintings gallery in Wittenberg Palace, formerly a possession of the Ernestine Electors until 1547. August attached his own recent ancestry to the end of the Ernestine line, where Heinrich the Pious, his father, follows Johann Friedrich, last of the Ernestine Electors, followed by his brother Moritz, the first Albertine Elector, and then August himself.[59] Similar portrait series of rulers were displayed in other palaces of Albertine Saxony. Lucas Cranach the Younger (1515-1586) and his workshop continued to produce Electoral portraits well into the second half of the sixteenth century, long after August had established himself as the pre-eminent Protestant ruler in Europe (Figs. 1.1-1.3).[60] In the portraits, each Elector wears a regal mantle and carries the Electoral sword, flanked by two coats of arms. The portrait of the Ernestine, Friedrich, has the coats of arms of Saxony and the High Marshall office, while those of the Albertine Electors, Moritz and August, combine the two Ernestine crests into one and sport the Magdeburg coat of arms at the opposite side. Bearing the dressings of state as well as the responsibilities of the office, symbolized by the heraldic crests, the Albertine Electors signal their readiness and capability to succeed in the Electoral role. While the continuity demonstrated by portrait series such as these provides a clear message to viewers, most Saxon subjects and visitors would not have had access to these portraits. August needed a more public demonstration of his dynastic claims and Electoral legitimacy. The following section discusses the two most permanent demonstrations of August's dynastic claims at the beginning of his reign, the succession monument on the Dresden bastion and the tomb of Moritz in Freiberg Cathedral.

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[57] Quote and following description of wedding festivities can be found in Wade, "Construction of Electoral Saxon Identity," 81-86.

[58] Thomas A. Brady, "One Soul, Two Bodies: Lordship and Faith in the Prince-Bishopric of Würzburg c. 1500," *Studies in the History of Art* 65 (Symposium Papers XLII: Tilman Riemenschneider, c. 1460-1531, 2004): 16.

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[59] Olav Heinemann, “Herrschaftslegitimation durch genealogisch-historiographische Arbeit unter Kurfürst August,” in *Kurfürst August von Sachsen*, 76-79.

[60] On the 1578 portrait series, see Karin Kolb, “Landesherrliche Repräsentation an der Universität. Die Wittenberger Kurfürstenbildnisse von Lucas Cranach dem Jüngeren,” in *Kunst und Repräsentation*, 97-107. On painting at the Dresden court more generally, see Harald Marx, “Bildnisse der Wettiner,” in *Der silberne Boden: Kunst und Bergbau in Sachsen*, eds. Manfred Bachmann *et al.* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1990), 69-112.

Two Monuments for Moritz

Within a few months of Moritz's death, the architect of the new fortifications begun by Moritz in Dresden, Caspar Vogt von Wierandt, presented to August a drawing for a monument to him and his deceased brother. Von Wierandt's design became the Saxon Succession Monument, erected directly on the fortifications surrounding Dresden in 1553/54.[61] The fortification bastion was begun in 1545 during the reign of Moritz, an expense he felt was justified in opposition to the Turkish threat, the "hereditary enemy of Christian name and faith."[62] While only the central part of this monument survives today (in facsimile at the original location of the monument, now just below the Brühl terrace overlooking the Elbe River, with the original statues on display within the *Rezidenzschloss*), a watercolor by Zacharias Wehme from 1591 shows what must have been close to the original conception of the work (Fig. 1.4). The surviving central zone reflects a design inspired by Classical prototypes, where two Tuscan columns in front and two partial caryatid columns in back suspend a baldachin above, ornamented by triglyphs between metopes. The designer was surely aware of Vitruvian principles, even if they were not followed absolutely.[63] The first German edition of Vitruvius was published in 1548, though the text is difficult to interpret effectively even for those fluent enough to read it in the original Latin.[64] Sebastiano Serlio's *Tutte l'opere d'architettura et prospetiva* possibly served as the intermediary, a text much easier to comprehend and intended to be a useful guide to the Classical column orders in a way that was "standardized and repeatable."[65] Published in parts, the first book of the series, Book IV, was published in Venice in 1537, but was translated into German, among other languages, within a decade of its original publication. While Serlio was easier to use, the adoption of an overriding Classical design for the work points to an artist already comfortable with the style. Walter Hentschel and Jeffrey Chipps Smith both suggest the de Tola brothers, Benedikt and Gabriel (Benedetto and Gabriele), as the likely designers of the monument. Originally from Brescia, they were employed as musicians and sometime-painters by Cardinal Cristoforo Madruzzo in Lombardy, with whom Moritz stayed for part of his visit to Italy in 1549. Moritz hired them to travel to Dresden and work as painters on the decorations of the *Residenzschloss* as part of the expansion project just getting underway.[66] The figures were sculpted by Hans Walther out of the local sandstone that would become more prevalent in sculptural commissions among the German nobility in the second half of the sixteenth century.

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[61] On the *Moritzmonument* in Dresden, see esp.: Walter Hentschel, *Dresdner Bildhauer des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* (Weimar: Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1966), 40-42, 113-115; Smith, *German Sculpture*, 183-185; Magirius, "Die Monumente für Kurfürst Moritz," 260ff.

[62] Fritz Löffler, *Das Alte Dresden: Geschichte seiner Bauten* (Leipzig: Seemann Verlag, 1989), 34.

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[63] Hentschel notes the insertion of rectangular plates between the column capitals and the architecture above. Hentschel, *Dresdner Bildhauer*, 41.

[64] For the early publication history of Vitruvius, see Hart 1998: 1-32. The first German edition was translated and prepared by Walter Ryff, or Rivius, in 1548 in Nuremberg and printed by Johann Petreius in the year Rivius died. The previous year, Petreius had published a work on the mathematical principles of architecture (*Der furnembsten, notwendingsten, der gantzen Architektur…*), which was essentially a compendium of (poor) translations of recent Italian texts, including some by Luca Pacioli and Serlio. The 1548 edition by Rivius also included translations of other more recent texts, such as works by Alberti, evidence that German humanists were aware of and up to date on theoretical developments published south of the Alps. For the additional inclusions in Petreius's publishing projects, see Jeanne Peiffer, "Constructing Perspective in Sixteenth-Century Nuremberg," in *Perspective, Projections & Design: Technologies of Architectural Representation*, eds. Mario Carpo and Frédérique Lemerle (New York: Routledge, 2008), 72-74.

[65] Mario Carpo, *Architecture in the Age of Printing: Orality, Writing, Tyopography and Printed Images in the History of Architectural Theory*, trans. Sarah Benson (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001), 7. On the translation of so-called "column books" to Northern Europe, see Erik Forssman, *Säule und Ornament: Studien zum Problem des Manierismus in den nordischen Säulenbüchern und Vorlageblättern des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1956).

The monument itself depicts the two brothers, Moritz and August, in the central zone, both dressed in full plate armor with Moritz handing a sword to August, with death as a skeleton lurking behind Moritz, about to claim him. Both brothers are flanked by their respective spouses, Agnes and Anna, who double as pseudo-caryatids supporting the rear columns of the baldachin. Above the figures and set into the wall, all three members of the Trinity are represented: Christ holding the cross, God the Father with the orb in his hand, and the dove as Holy Spirit. The sword Moritz hands over is not his own weapon, which hangs limply at his side, but rather the Electoral sword, symbol of the new privilege Moritz literally won by the sword and August now inherited. The presence of both noble consorts emphasizes the dynastic dimension of the succession, where August and Anna will rule next and produce an heir to continue the family's control over Saxony. Far more visible than the gallery inside Wittenberg Palace, the Succession Monument in

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[66] Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, *Court Culture in Dresden: From Renaissance to Baroque* (Hampshire, UK: Palgrave, 2002), 37-40; Meys, *Memoria und Bekenntnis*, 869; Angelica Dülberg, "Die künstlerische Ausstattung des Dresdner Residenzschlosses in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts als Ausdruck der neu gewonnenen Kurwürde," in *Reframing the Danish Renaissance: Problems and Prospects in a European Perspective*, eds. Michael Andersen *et al.* (Copenhagen: National Museum of Denmark, 2011), 175. The brothers' primary role at the Dresden court appears to have been as musicians. Watanabe-O'Kelly alone mentions a third brother, Guerino.

Dresden carried a very public political message: the Albertines were the rightful inheritors of the Electorate and August a worthy successor to his brother.

It is unclear to what extent August was involved with the design beyond approval, though he seems to have exhibited from the start of his reign a firm understanding of the propagandistic uses of sculptural works. As Jeffrey Chipps Smith perceptively notes, "August recognized that sculpture was the ideal medium for expressing religious and political doctrines. The permanence and physical presence of the chosen material – stone – endowed these sculptures, which were set in public or semi-public locations, with a lasting authority that painting could not match."[67] Important to note here is Smith's emphasis on the chosen material, stone, and an inherent quality, permanence, that it provided the sculpture with. Further latent meanings in the materials chosen in August's monument will be discussed at greater length below.

Around the same time that the Moritz monument was erected on the fortifications of Dresden, an even grander monument to Moritz was in its earliest planning stages. The princes of Europe were ever in competition with one another, a mechanism for much of the aristocratic patronage of the sixteenth century and a drive that seemed only to increase through the end of the century. As one noble of certain rank commissioned a work that surpassed all others that came before it, it created the expectation that nobles of the same rank would strive to match or surpass again that work with their own commissions.[68] These exempla similarly served those nobles of a lower rank as projects to elevate their own standing in a public sphere. For August, a monumental tomb extolling the life and status of his brother, the first of the Albertine line to gain the title of Elector, could serve the goal of elevating the standing of the entire dynasty. He had already linked himself to Moritz with the very public Succession Monument in Dresden, now he sought to burnish the international reputation of the Albertine Electors.

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[67] Smith, *German Sculpture*, 96. Aleksandra Lipińska goes even further and suggests that, "All invention in terms of content, and the formulation of unambiguous programmes exulting the Wettins and their confession, were reserved for the prince and his inner circle." Lipińska, *Moving Sculptures*, 144. Her formulation seems too rigid, as a more likely description would be that the underlying ideas lay with the prince and his inner circle while the designs and visual concepts originated with the artists.

The Moritz tomb in Freiberg Cathedral was an international affair in its design, construction, and ultimately its intended audience (Fig. 1.5). Artists from Italy, Germany, and the Netherlands all took part in work on the tomb, while pieces were cast and carved across multiple cities in the region. Free-standing tombs in Germany were relatively uncommon up to this point, patrons otherwise preferring floor plaques, wall epitaphs, or wall-mounted commemorations. Over the course of the sixteenth century, princes and nobles gradually shifted their primary goal from the tomb itself toward one of individual memorialization, a trend which can increasingly be seen across many funerary monuments, whether wall-mounted or free-standing.[69] August's choice for a free-standing tomb, the most prestigious, expensive, and logistically difficult form, seems aimed toward an international audience from the start. Standing at over eight meters in height and with sides of five and six meters, respectively, the tomb is utterly massive. Duke Heinrich had been the first ruler interred in the Cathedral, a modest floor plaque set into the area between the choir and hallway to the nave. In fact, Moritz received a similar setting immediately following his death, but clearly this would not suffice for the founding Elector of the Albertine rulers. The tomb features a three-tier format, bearing twenty textual inscriptions on the lower two tiers, each detailing the virtues and key events of Moritz's life, a *res gestae* of sorts, while the top tier includes a raised platform, atop which a kneeling figure of Moritz gazes devotedly toward a crucifix. However, Moritz is far from alone on his monument, joined by nine muses, the Three Graces, twenty-eight soldiers in Roman-style armor, eight angels, four pelicans, and ten griffins. Filling in the gaps between the textual inscriptions, pictorial reliefs display scenes illustrating the interests, or supposed interests, of the enlightened prince, including warfare, hunting, horticulture, science, and the arts, among others.

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[68] Baresel-Brand, *Grabdenkmäler nordeuropäischer Fürstenhäuser*, 19-21. Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann also discusses princely magnificence in Central Europe and its debt to Italian humanism, especially with regard to collecting, in DaCosta Kaufmann, *Court, Cloister & City*, 173ff. By the eighteenth century, this striving for magnificence resulted in the fiscal ruination of multiple German courts, *ibid.*, 306-333.

[69] Maja Schmidt, *Tod und Herrschaft: Fürstliches Funeralwesen der Frühen Neuzeit in Thüringen* (Gotha: Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek Gotha, 2002), 16.

The iconographic program portrays Moritz as a virtuous Renaissance prince, where putti bearing *memento mori* objects and the pervasive Classical soldiers supply themes of antiquity while the inclusion of the muses and Three Graces builds on the Classical topos and associates their principal qualities with the fallen prince. The griffins may symbolize truth, but at the very least they are Classical creatures and complement the other figures. Pelicans are a traditional symbol of Christ's suffering and eventual sacrifice for human-kind, possibly a reference to Moritz's own fate: a battlefield death against Catholic foes. The pelicans are placed atop the same platform supporting Moritz, closest to the *priant* ruler aside from the crucifix itself. Lest any viewers misunderstand the monument's text, the actual battle armor Moritz was shot in during the battle of

Sievershausen rests on a small ledge on the wall of the choir (Fig. 1.6).[70] The alabaster figure of Moritz atop the tomb is similarly dressed in full battle garb and with pistol, mace, and helmet resting in front of him. He is cast as both the *milites Christi*, fighting for the true Lutheran faith, and the historical figure of Moritz, military leader and first Albertine Elector of Saxony, a privilege he won in battle.[71] The twenty-eight soldier figures, placed in pairs across every side of the monument, are carved from alabaster with gilt trimmings and hold heraldic shields, the coats-of-arms of Moritz's territorial claims (Fig. 1.7).[72] Each pair frames one of the textual reliefs of the second level, above the grill and visible to all. The placement of the crests surrounding the *res gestae* links the ancestral line, both past and future, to the successes of the first Albertine Elector, as well as the future successes of the next one. By commemorating his brother with the tomb, August established an association between himself and the deceased. Because Moritz produced no heir, his memory would need to be preserved by other means. The Freiberg tomb thus serves as a genealogical tie of sorts to the next generation.

The first designs for the tomb were drawn up by the aforementioned de Tola brothers in 1555, though actual production of the tomb did not begin until 1559.[73] The previous year, Georg Fleischer, the court woodcarver, produced a model of the monument based on the de Tola brothers' design, or perhaps slightly altered.[74] None of the initial drawings or the wooden model itself survive so it is difficult to explain the lengthy gap between the initial planning and the beginning of production.[75] Additionally, the court painter, Hans Krell, produced a portrait of Moritz to be used for the life-size effigy to be installed atop the monument. The figural sculptures were all crafted elsewhere: the bronze griffins were cast in Lübeck by the goldsmith Hans Wessel and the Antwerp artist Anthonis van Seroen carved the alabaster figures of the soldiers, graces, muses, and of Elector Moritz himself. No other major sculptural works by Van Seroen are known today, though the finished sculptures of the Moritz tomb and Wessel's trust in him to complete the project suggest he was already a master sculptor by this point. The sculpting work on the figures was completed by Van Seroen and his workshop in Antwerp and, once finished, shipped from there to Hamburg, then down the Elbe to Dresden and then finally to Freiberg. Van Seroen and some assistants traveled with the stones to Freiberg in order to repair any damage caused by transit and install the figures *in situ*.[76] Wessel was given the commission, though as a trained goldsmith he subcontracted the stone carving work to another artist. The contract between the two signed in Lübeck in July of 1559 survives, wherein certain details are agreed upon and terms set. The contract enumerates not only the materials to be used, but also their specific locations within the monument, suggesting that the design was formally set by this point: "Namely all the statues [made] from good alabaster, the pilasters from good, red marble, the text fields from black marble, and everything else from green and gray marble."[77] The emphasis on high-grade materials squares nicely with our conception of an agreement between artists, where the quality of the object and skill in craftsmanship are both given high importance.

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[70] The display of the ruler's armor nearby his tomb was not so common in Germany, but parallels can be found elsewhere in Europe, especially in the Low Countries and England. Ethan Matt Kavaler, "Being the Count of Nassau: Refiguring Identity in Space, Time and Stone," in *Beeld en Zelfbeeld in de Nederlandse Kunst, 1550-1750 / Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek (46)*, eds. Reindert Falkenburg *et al.* (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 1995), 31-35.

[71] Smith, *German Sculpture*, 178; Magirius, "Die Monumente für Kurfürst Moritz," 275-278.

[72] The vaults above each of the north and south chapels either side of the choir space also feature Wettin crests, alongside allegorical figures of the continents, physically situating the Albertine Electoral dynasty into geographical place. Bürger, *Der Freiberger Dom*, 142-148.

[73] The following details generally follow Lipińska, *Moving Sculptures*, 206-208.

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[74] Magirius, *Der Dom zu Freiberg*, 42.

[75] Andrea Baresel-Brand describes the model as made of marble after a proposed version in cast bronze was rejected due to cost: Baresel-Brand, *Grabdenkmäler nordeuropäischer Fürstenhäuser*, 257 (see also: 378, n. 998). This seems to be a mis-reading of Heinrich Magirius's discussion of proposed *final* executions, as opposed to *models*: Magirius, *Der Dom zu Freiberg*, 42.

[76] Ethan Matt Kavaler, "The Diaspora of Netherlandish Sculptors in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century," in *The Low Countries at the Crossroads: Netherlandish Architecture as an Export Product in Early Modern Europe (1480-1680)*, eds. Konrad Ottenheym and Krista de Jonge (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 99, n. 53.

From its first design in 1555, dozens of artists were commissioned for work on the Moritz tomb, including artists working in most major genres of crafting in the sixteenth century. The musician-painters Gabriel and Benedikt de Tola designed the tomb structure, while an international team of stone carvers and metal casters produced the tomb's pieces and figures before combining them into a coherent whole. Six years later, a printmaker even produced an engraving after the tomb. The sheer variety of different artists involved in the conception, production, and execution of the Moritz tomb, coupled with the relative isolation of many of those involved, illustrates a process not unique during the period.[78] Many of the artists commissioned to work on the monument needed to travel from elsewhere in order to fulfill the work, though even the artists at the Dresden court were not permanently stationed there. Court servants routinely traveled to other noble courts in Europe, often at the request of other rulers seeking skilled craftsmen or other workers.[79] Meanwhile, independent artists and journeymen visited courts across Europe on commissions, or possible commissions, according to the demand.

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[77] Contract between Hans Wessel and Anthonis van Seroen, July 22 1559: "Nemlich alle bilder van gudem Albaster, de pilers auer, van gudem roden gemarmelden, de felde van swartem, und dat ander alles van gronem und grawen marmelstein…" Reproduced in Meine-Schawe, *Die Grablege der Wettiner*, 16-17.

[78] Kavaler describes the idea of the artistic genius as "a romantic notion irreconcilable with the division of labor still common during the sixteenth century." Ethan Matt Kavaler, "The Jubé of Mons and the Renaissance in the Netherlands," in *Late Gothic and Renaissance Sculpture in the Netherlands /*

A recent spate of scholarship has focused on the huge increase in traveling Netherlandish artists in the second half of the sixteenth century, especially in comparison with contemporary artists from other national schools.[80] Artistic pilgrimages to Rome

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Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 1994 (45), eds. Reindert Falkenburg *et al.* (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 1994), 353.

[79] The court painter Hans Krell visited the Danish court, though he was far from alone among other Saxon artists: Jutta Kappel and Claudia Brink, "Die Kunst der Allianz," in *Mit Fortuna übers Meer: Sachsen und Dänemark – Ehen und Allianzen im Spiegel der Kunst (1548-1709)*, ed. Jutta Kappel and Claudia Brink (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2009), 14. Non-artists at court were also frequent travelers, as the Saxon court equerry, Georg Engelhard von Loehneyss, was requested multiple times in the 1580s by Duke Heinrich Julius of Braunschweig, who happened to be married to the daughter of Elector August of Saxony and following her death remarried to the sister of King Christian IV of Denmark. On Leonhard, see Mara R. Wade, "Publication, Pageantry, Patronage: Georg Engelhard von Loehneyss' *Della Cavalleria* (1609; 1624) and His Hamburg Tournament Pageant for King Christian IV of Denmark (1603)," in *Pomp, Power, and Politics: Essays on German and Scandinavian Court Culture and Their Contexts*, ed. Mara R. Wade (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2004), 165-198.

[80] General volumes are: Uwe Fleckner *et al*., eds., *Der Künstler in der Fremde: Migration, Reise, Exil* (Boston: De Gruyter, 2015); Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann *et al*., eds., *Circulations in the Global History of Art* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2015). Regarding sixteenth-century Netherlandish artists specifically, see Anna Jolly, "Netherlandish Sculptors in Sixteenth-Century Northern Germany and Their Patrons," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 27, No. 3 (1999): 119-143; Frits Scholten *et al*., eds., *Art and Migration: Netherlandish Artists on the Move / Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 2013 (63)* (Leiden: Brill, 2013); Ottenheym and De Jonge, eds., *The Low Countries at the Crossroads*; Kristoffer Neville, "Virtuosity, Mutability, and the Sculptor's Career in and out of the Low Countries, 1550-1650," *Artibus et Historiae* 77 (XXXIX, 2018): 291-318. Arjan de Koomen has noted the marked contrast between the French and Netherlandish sculptors' inclinations to travel in the sixteenth century, where a single Frenchman traveled to Rome in the entire first half of the century. That number ballooned to three for the second half, in contrast to the twenty-three Netherlandish sculptors who made the journey in that time. Arjan de Koomen, "'Una cosa non meno maravigliosa che honorata': The Expansion of Netherlandish Sculptors in Sixteenth-Century Europe," in *Art and Migration*, 106 and n. 52. Ethan Matt Kavaler goes so far as to claim that, "During the second half of the [sixteenth] century, so many carvers and casters exited the Low Countries that the history of Netherlandish sculpture plays out largely abroad." Ethan Matt Kavaler, "Sixteenth-Century Netherlandish Sculpture. A Recovery," in *Netherlandish Sculpture of the 16th*

were usually performed in the service of professional training and had become routine even by the early sixteenth century, though Netherlandish artists were no less prodigious in more permanent moves abroad. Northern Germany and the Baltic area proved to be especially popular destinations, with the mercantile center of Danzig developing into a collecting point of many Netherlandish sculptors specifically.[81] These sculptors were highly in demand due to their high level of skill and craftsmanship, but also their ability to adapt to the local style or particular wishes of a patron.[82] The increasing mobility and traveling of artists during the sixteenth century follows an even earlier tradition of exporting artistic products internationally from workshops in the Southern Netherlands. Cloth was a huge Flemish export from the eleventh century, later specializing in more luxurious products like textiles and tapestries. By the fourteenth century, everything from oil paintings to carved wooden altarpieces were crafted and exported from the urban centers of Flanders.[83] The carved wooden altarpieces were massive objects and offer a

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Century / Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 2017 (67), eds. Ethan Matt Kavaler *et al*. (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 19.

[81] See esp. Jolly, "Netherlandish Sculptors in Sixteenth-Century Northern Germany." On Gdańsk specifically as a cultural center in the sixteenth century, see Malgorzata Ruszkowska-Macur, ed., *Netherlandish Artists in Gdańsk in the Time of Hans Vredeman de Vries* (Gdańsk: Museum of the History of the City of Gdańsk, 2006).

[82] Kavaler suggests that the stylistic variations among all the Netherlandish sculptors abroad should negate a consideration of their identity as a single group purely on the basis of their country of origin. Kavaler, "The Diaspora of Netherlandish Sculptors," 101. Similarly, the designation by sixteenth-century artist-architects of a particular "Netherlandish" style in architecture was never used, even by Hans Vredeman de Vries. Konrad Ottenheym and Krista de Jonge, "Of Columns and Wooden Piles. The Foundations of Architectural Theory in the Low Countries 1560-1625," in *Unity and Discontinuity. Architectural Relations between the Southern and Northern Low Countries 1530-1700*, eds. *idem* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 95-96.

[83] Lynn F. Jacobs, *Early Netherlandish Carved Altarpieces, 1380-1550: Medieval Tastes and Mass Marketing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 8-15. Filip Vermeylen's work has been central to a recent consideration of artworks created specifically for sale on the market. Filip Vermeylen, *Painting for the Market: Commercialization of Art in Antwerp's Golden Age* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003).

useful point of comparison to the later tomb sculpture, as these were created according to a certain design tradition, were made on commission,[84] and would often require the talents of different types of artists due to the gilding and polychromy or the paintings held within. The reach of the export of wooden retables carved in the Netherlands ranged from Scandinavia to Spain.[85] Due to religious turmoil and changes in taste, the market for Netherlandish carved altarpieces dried up and production all but ceased by 1550, precisely the moment when large-scale sculptural projects of a more secular, or at least courtly, nature were being commissioned across Northern Europe.[86]

Due to the various layers of the Moritz tomb commission in Freiberg, it is impossible to know August's personal wishes for the materials of the tomb, though Smith ascribes much of the monument's effect to the Elector.[87] The contrast between the Moritz tomb project and any funerary sculptural project by the Albertine Dukes and Electors before that, as well as the various artists who were contracted to only produce a part of the monument independently, support Smith's statement. Documentation from the project site also indicates an active role for the patron during its production. In 1563, well before

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[84] Jacobs, *Early Netherlandish Carved Altarpieces*, 163-165. Jacobs, 192-208, notes the advertisement of small, model-esque prototypes in ateliers and market stalls to drum up commissions, while Yao-Fen You discusses customization of commissions and the fluid boundaries between altarpiece productions on commission or for the open market. Yao-Fen You, "The 'Infinite Variety' of Netherlandish Carved Altarpieces," in *Netherlandish Sculpture of the 16th Century / Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 2017 (67)*, eds. Ethan Matt Kavaler *et al.* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 67-70.

[85] Filip Vermeylen, "Exporting Art across the Globe: The Antwerp Art Market in the Sixteenth Century," in *Art for the Market 1500-1700 / Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 1999 (50)*, eds. Reindert Falkenburg *et al.* (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 1999), 21-22.

[86] Smith, *German Sculpture*, 46-57.

[87] He describes August as a much more "innovative patron" than either of the contemporary Holy Roman Emperors. *ibid.*, 184.

Giovanni Maria Nosseni's arrival in Dresden as the court artist in 1575, let alone when he was actually commissioned to draw up designs for a dynastic funerary monument in Freiberg Cathedral a decade later, August apparently discussed with the working artists whether to construct a crypt with stairway access beneath the Moritz tomb to serve as a dynastic burial location.[88] Nothing came of this discussion, due to fiscal considerations, and the dynastic burial monument had to wait until the next generation of Saxon Electors.

The Moritz tomb became well-known in noble circles almost immediately upon its completion in 1563 and became an even bigger attraction following the construction of the funerary chapel, becoming "an obligatory stop on every traveler's itinerary."[89] Already by 1568 the engraver Wolf Meyerpeck published a print of the tomb, including all of the text inscriptions written out underneath the monument (Fig. 1.8).[90] Meyerpeck's engraving served as the final contribution to the long trail of commissions and sub-commissions that produced Moritz's tomb. The distinct inclusion of all of the inscriptions as integral to the tomb's conception underlines Lipińska's argument, contra Dombrowski, that the text panels are actually the main component of the design.[91] This iconographical interpretation is in accordance with the traditional understanding of early Protestant art, if overemphasized somewhat.[92] Each inscription details a key event in Moritz's life, beginning with his birth and ending with the construction of his tomb in Freiberg Cathedral, courtesy of his brother August, "so that he may live in eternal glory."[93] Originally Philipp Melanchthon, the eminent reformer and theologian, was approached to compose the biographical text, but he died before he was able to begin.[94] The task was then entrusted to various humanists in the area, such as the philologist (and early Dürer biographer) Joachim Camerarius in Leipzig and the historiographer Georg Fabricius in Meissen.[95] The decision to compose the texts in Latin, as opposed to the vulgar German spoken by regular churchgoers, somewhat undercuts the Protestant thrust of the monument. Latin suggests timelessness due to its ancient credentials and alludes to a

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[88] Baresel-Brand, *Grabdenkmäler nordeuropäischer Fürstenhäuser*, 257.

[89] Frits Scholten, *Sumptuous Memories: Studies in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Tomb Sculpture* (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 2003), 96.

[90] Magirius, "Die Monumente für Kurfürst Moritz," 278f., where an early watercolor drawing of the tomb is also illustrated.

[91] "Dombrowski's claim that the inscriptions play no significant role in the perception of the work and are merely a foil for the alabaster figures is insupportable." Lipińska, *Moving Sculptures*, 209. For Dombrowski's argument, see: Dombrowski, "Die Grablege der sächsischen Kurfürsten," 241.

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[92] In his 1522 *Lenten Sermons*, Luther ardently opposed the actions of the iconoclasts at the end of the previous year led by his erstwhile friend, Andreas Karlstadt, and remained anti-iconoclastic for the remainder of his life. In a sermon given in 1545, the year before his death, Luther acknowledged the role of the visual arts in the construction of faith, granting "visual sensation as part of the work that must be done to create religious conviction." Quoted in Bridget Heal, "Introduction: Art and Religious Reform in Early Modern Europe," in *Art and Religious Reform in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Bridget Heal and Joseph Leo Koerner (Hoboken: Wiley Blackwell, 2018), 11. On Luther and the visual arts, see Carlos M. N. Eire, *War against the Idols: The Reformation of Worship from Erasmus to Calvin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) and Sergiusz Michalski, *The Reformation and the Visual Arts: The Protestant Image Question in Western and Eastern Europe* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993). For a recent reconsideration of an emphasis on the word rather than the image in Protestant art, see esp. Markus Friedrich, "Das Hör-Reich und das Sehe-Reich. Zur Bewertung des Sehens bei Luther und im frühneuzeitlichen Protestantismus," in *Evidentia. Reichweiten visueller Wahrnehmung in der Frühen Neuzeit*, eds. Gabriele Wimböck *et al.*, (Berlin: LIT, 2007), 453-479; and the work of Bridget Heal: Bridget Heal, "The Catholic Eye and the Protestant Ear: The Reformation as a Non-Visual Event?" in *The Myth of the Reformation*, ed. Peter Opitz (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 321-355; *idem*, "Seeing Christ: Visual Piety in Saxony's Erzgebirge," in *Visual Acuity and the Arts of Communication in Early Modern Germany*, ed. Jeffrey Chipps Smith (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 43-59; *idem*, *A Magnificent Faith: Art and Identity in Lutheran Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

[93] "*Cum / Ille Gloria Per- / pet. Vixisset.*"

[94] Melanchthon had previously written a defense of Duke Heinrich's imposition of Protestantism on his subjects in 1539 and had lived and worked in Saxony for most of his life. Ralph Keen, "Defending the Pious: Melanchthon and the Reformation of Albertine Saxony, 1539," *Church History* 60, no. 2 (Jun., 1991): 180-195.

[95] Meys, *Memoria und Bekenntnis*, 428.

Roman past so often trumpeted as the precursor to the German nation. Latin also served as the *lingua franca* of Europe at this time, making the text more palatable for readers who might reside at courts further afield than the German courts in Central Europe. That German humanists at nearby universities were approached to compose the texts belies the greater influence of courtly humanism on the monument than its religious content, as well as August's direct involvement with regard to the greater emphasis on a political, instead of religious, message. The tomb was meant primarily to demonstrate the rank, status, and magnificence of the Saxon Electors to the courts of Europe. The following section will discuss several contemporary tomb projects elsewhere in Europe in order to place the Moritz tomb in Freiberg in an international context of princely status and representation.

Contemporary Tomb Projects across Europe

The tomb to Moritz in Freiberg was a colossal monument, a free-standing tomb without any real comparison among other Dukes and Electors of Central Europe. Earlier free-standing tombs from the region, such as those of Count Hoyer VI in Eisleben (completed 1541, Hans Vischer and Hans Schlegel) or of Duke Ennos II in Emden (1540-1548, unknown artist), seem a class apart from the Freiberg tomb of the next decade. This seems to have been by design, as August sought to commemorate his brother in a mode suitable to their higher station as Electors and the foremost power, or close to it, of Protestant Europe. The Saxon Electors' peers were no longer the counts and dukes of Central Europe, but the leading figures of Europe: monarchs and popes. That is, at least in certain areas of representation – there is no doubt that August ever forsook his allegiance to the Emperor.[96] Nevertheless, the only practical comparisons are to the tombs of members of the most elevated rank.

In discussions of the Moritz tomb in Freiberg, most art historians have cited Michelangelo's tomb of Julius II as a precedent, or at least possible model (Fig. 1.9).[97] In his biography of Michelangelo, first published in Rome in 1553, Ascanio Condivi writes that Michelangelo sought to construct a free-standing tomb, isolated in its architectural setting and visible from all four sides, in order that one "could behold the deeds of so great a pope."[98] By this time, the de Tola brothers were already working in Dresden, two years before they began designing the Moritz monument in Freiberg Cathedral.[99] Aleksandra Lipińska finds unmistakable parallels between the two, though much of her argument seems to reside in comparisons of scale.[100] The similarities in size can be explained by other means, such as August's desire for a grand monument and a general understanding of a harmonious proportion for a rectangular, free-standing tomb. Additionally, she seems to be using two different versions of the Julius II tomb, the first a free-standing monument akin to the Moritz monument and the second a wall-mounted tomb only visible on three sides, for her comparison. In total, there were five contracts and even more conceived designs for the tomb, of which the free-standing tomb design was short-lived and for which there is only one possible surviving drawing, showing one of the niches along the long side of the tomb, though not the whole tomb itself (Fig. 1.10).[101] From the first contract in 1505, the tomb was envisioned as free-standing, but due to conflicts between the strong-willed personalities of both artist and patron, political tensions, and conflicting artistic commissions, very little work was actually completed by the time of Julius II's death in January 1513. Afterward, the Pope's executors negotiated a new contract (the initial one stipulated that the massive tomb would be completed in six years, or 1511) that called for a diminished scale for the tomb that would be less expensive and more pragmatic to finish.[102] It is unclear how much the de Tola brothers knew of the tomb for Julius II in Rome and any direct links between these two monuments seems improbable given the short duration of the free-standing tomb design stage. However, the scale and ambition of Michelangelo's tomb design, even in altered and minimized form, would still have cast an unmistakable shadow across the landscape of European nobility.

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[96] "August...held rigidly to two policies: loyalty to Emperor Maximilian II...and unrelenting expansion of his power over his own lands." Brady, *German Histories*, 240. Brady's assessment seems too rigid, for August entertained other pursuits and had a strong concern for the health of his state. See also Jochen Vötsch, "Electoral Saxony within the Empire and in Europe," in *Princely Splendor: The Dresden Court 1580-1620*, eds. Dirk Syndram and Antje Scherner (Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden: Electa, 2004).

[97] In discussing a different, but even earlier, tomb in France for Louis XII (d. 1515), Henri Zerner claims that Michelangelo's early tomb designs "must have been in circulation," which I see no evidence for. Henri Zerner, *Renaissance Art in France: The Invention of Classicism*, trans. Deke Dusinberre *et al.* (Paris: Flammarion, 2003), 374. While the survival rate for Renaissance drawings is notoriously low, the few still extant by artists other than Michelangelo either depict the tomb in its wall-mounted form or limit themselves to illustrating individual details. See illustrations within Christoph Luitpold Frommel, with Maria Forcellino, eds. *Michelangelo's Tomb for Julius II: Genesis and Genius* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2016), 79-81, pl. 22-28.

[98] The full Condivi passage can be found in Erwin Panofsky, "The First Two Projects of Michelangelo's Tomb for Julius II," *The Art Bulletin* 19 (no. 4, Dec., 1937): 561.

[99] Dombrowski, "Die Grablege der sächsischen Kurfürsten," 239, posits that the de Tola brothers may have been aware of Condivi's biography of the artist when they made their design, based on Condivi's analysis of the *prigioni* carved for the humanistic visual scheme, by this point still incomplete (and destined never to be). Chronological considerations suggest this to be improbable.

[100] Lipińska, *Moving Sculptures*, 208 and 359 n. 5.

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[101] Carmen Bambach, *Michelangelo: Divine Draftsman & Designer* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2017), 97.

[102] Bambach, *Michelangelo*, 95-99; Christoph Luitpold Frommel, "The Tomb of Pope Julius II: Genesis, Reconstructions, and Analyses," in *Michelangelo's Tomb*, 24-36.

A project of similar scope and even more complicated history was the cenotaph of Emperor Maximilian I in the Hofkirche in Innsbruck, the Moritz tomb's sole sixteenth-century peer from German lands (Fig. 1.11).[103] Originally conceived by the Emperor himself around 1500, the design would include forty over-life size bronze statues of his ancestors, thirty-four bronze busts of Roman Caesars, and one hundred bronze statuettes of saints. Its visual program combined the authority of Germany's political past, Roman antiquity, and Christian faith in the person of Maximilian and the Habsburg dynasty. Dozens of artists worked on the sketching, designing, modeling, and finally casting of just the forty, later reduced to twenty-eight, ancestral statues from 1502 until the last was cast in 1550. The Hofkirche in Innsbruck was built specifically to house Maximilian's tomb and was completed in 1563. The statues were installed in the same year, though completion of the cenotaph structure and its ancillary figures had to wait until 1570. The final statue of the figural group, the effigy of the Emperor himself, was not completed until 1584. The cenotaph has been described as the final instance of Burgundian funeral sculpture,[104] while Smith compares it to a "terminus…rather than an artistic prototype" for future projects.[105] Even in its reduced extant form, the design remains unrivaled among other sixteenth-century projects in its expense, time, and scale.

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[103] On the Maximilian cenotaph, see: Erich Egg, *Hofkirche in Innsbruck: Grabmal Kaiser Maximilians* (Innsbruck: Kunstverlag Hofstetter, 1993); Smith, *German Sculpture*, 185-192; Johanna Felmayer, *Hubert Gerhard in Innsbruck und das Grabmal Maximilians des Deutschmeisters*, eds. Gabriele Werner-Felmayer *et al.* (Innsbruck: Studien Verlag, 2005). Elisabeth Scheicher "Grabmal Kaiser Maximilians I. in der Hofkirche," in *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Innsbruck: Die Hofbauten*, by Johanna Felmayer *et al.* (Wien: Anton Schroll & Co., 1986), 359-426, provides a useful summary of scholarship to that point. The structure is termed a cenotaph rather than tomb due to the fact that Maximilian's death vastly pre-dated the eventual construction of the funerary sculpture and architecture, hence his remains lie elsewhere. While the cenotaph lies in the Hofkirche in Innsbruck, Maximilian's body was interred in St. George's Church in the castle at Wiener Nieustadt.

[104] Scheicher, "Grabmal Kaiser Maximilians I.", 360.

While the funerary program of Maximilian may be unrivaled, individual pieces are comparable to other tombs. Of primary concern to us here is the cenotaph itself, supporting the bronze effigy of Maximilian and displaying twenty-four marble reliefs depicting scenes of the Emperor's life along its sides. Most of the reliefs were executed by the Netherlandish sculptor Alexander Colin, largely after designs deriving from prints dating from Maximilian's lifetime.[106] The prints were designed as parts of a triumphal arch, comprised of 174 individual woodcuts meant to be stitched together to form a life-size version of a real triumphal arch (Fig. 1.12). [107] The arch included scenes depicting the virtues and great deeds of the Emperor, an expedient model for the later sculptor to follow. The original design for the tomb is unknown and given the myriad delays and difficulties encountered from its very first stages, whatever initial plans existed likely ceded their place to the realities of production. The extended design and production timeline for Maximilian's funerary program meant that the production of the actual cenotaph structure did not begin until 1561, shortly before the Hofkirche was completed, and continued until 1570.[108] By this point, word of the nearly completed funeral monument to Moritz in Freiberg Cathedral must have reached Emperor Ferdinand I (r. 1556-1564) and the artists working on the cenotaph, chiefly Alexander Colin. It does not seem unreasonable to suggest some influence of the biographical text inscribed along the Moritz tomb on the biographical relief program of the cenotaph of Maximilian. At the very least, some cross-pollination of design seems likely, given their physical similarities.[109] The biographical programs of each monument inscribe the deeds of each figure, pictorially and textually, and ask the viewer to regard each man for his personal virtues and achievements in life. For August's purposes, a comparison between the Imperial cenotaph of Maximilian and his brother's tomb suggests the two as relative equals and the representation of Moritz, who died fighting for the Protestant faith, as an ideal *exemplum* to emulate and honor.

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[105] Smith, *German Sculpture*, 192.

[106] *ibid*., 189.

[107] On the Triumphal Arch and other propagandistic projects of Maximilian, see: Larry Silver, "Prints for a Prince: Maximilian, Nuremberg, and the Woodcut," in *New Perspectives on the Art of Renaissance Nuremberg: Five Essays*, ed. Jeffrey Chipps Smith (Austin: The Archer M. Huntington Art Gallery, 1985), 13; *ibid.*, *Marketing Maximilian: The Visual Ideology of a Holy Roman Emperor* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008); Larry Silver and Elizabeth Wyckoff (eds.), *Grand Scale: Monumental Prints in the Age of Dürer and Titian* (Davis Museum: Wellesley College, 2008).

To the west, Catherine de' Medici of France commissioned a different royal tomb for both herself and her deceased husband, Henri II, in the Basilica of St. Denis (Fig. 1.13). The tomb was constructed from 1561-1573, though carving work on the marble effigies of the royal pair did not begin until the following decade.[110] The tomb was designed by Primaticcio, the Italian artist who had been working on royal projects in France since the decoration scheme at Fontainebleau for François I. Primaticcio died in 1570, leaving Germain Pilon (d. 1590), the main sculptor in charge of the execution of the tomb by this point, as the leading artist on the whole project. Pilon had been a sculptor of funeral tombs his entire career and work on this grandest of all his projects would occupy him for the remainder of his life.[111] The tomb is two-level, presenting a grand open tomb with the human remains and *transi* effigies lying below while each royal personage is duplicated atop the tomb, kneeling as *priants*. The open design of the lower story and the sparse ornamentation throughout promotes the sculptural figures as the chief element of the tomb.[112] The kneeling figures of Henri and Catherine atop the tomb are in bronze, matching the four bronze virtues at the corners of the lower story, and were cast in Pilon's workshop between 1565 and 1566. Below, the supine effigies were carved in marble by Pilon following a commission from Catherine herself in 1583, ten years after the original tomb had been completed.[113] Henri Zerner notes the continual changes made to the tomb's design from the earliest stages of execution, so it seems unsurprising that Catherine would commission the inclusion of an additional figural pairing a decade later, especially given the active role in the commissioning and supervision of the project by her and her court ministers.[114] Stripped of almost any other symbolism, the tomb displays the two monarchs as virtuous rulers awaiting the judgment of the Lord. Commissioned by Catherine while she was still living, the design presents the pair as pieces of an austere, if still monumental, tomb, perhaps a placatory gesture in light of the contemporary religious disputes in France. Yet, the magnificence of the tomb for Catherine de' Medici and Henri II lay in its grander setting, installed in the center of a chapel built specifically for the tomb and originally intended to display a larger iconographical program. The project was left incomplete after Catherine's death in 1589 while later damage during the French Revolution and changes resulting from restoration campaigns have further altered the current appearance. Important to note in our context here is the expansion of the single, free-standing tomb monument for an individual into the construction of an entire chapel for the purpose. A similar architectural setting was appropriated in Freiberg Cathedral for the tomb of Moritz, though both these tomb settings are dwarfed by the project in Innsbruck. Regarding the Henri II tomb itself, it was an international project with direct input from a noble patron who sought to glorify her deceased royal spouse and to do so in a manner that reflected their elevated status. No small funeral tomb would do; indeed, only an entire, if ultimately incomplete, chapel could suffice. August may have shared a similar mentality to this, especially with regard to the later dynastic chapel (see next chapter).

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[108] Egg, *Hofkirche in Innsbruck*, 49.

[109] Smith, *German Sculpture*, 192, suggests the Moritz tomb as the most likely prototype for the cenotaph of Maximilian, though somewhat confusingly establishes the planning stages of the marble reliefs as having started in 1556, a date concurrent with the initial construction stages of the Moritz tomb. The chronology suggests an instance of *Zeitgeist* rather than one of model-successor.

[110] On the Valois chapel, see Thomas Lersch "Remarques sur Quelques Sculptures de la Rotonde des Valois," in *Germain Pilon et les Sculpteurs Français de la Renaissance*, ed. Geneviève Bresc-Bautier (Paris: Documentation Française, 1993), 89-112. The tomb itself is discussed extensively in Henri Zerner, "Germain Pilon et l'Art Funéraire," in *Germain Pilon*, ed. Bresc-Bautier, 193-212; and *idem*, *Renaissance Art in France*, 379-388. The supine effigy of Henri was finished in 1583 and that of Catherine in 1590, one year after her death.

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[111] Zerner, "Germain Pilon," 195f.

[112] Zerner, *Renaissance Art in France*, 380.

[113] Jonathan Marsden, "A Newly Discovered Bust of Catherine de' Medici by Germain Pilon," *The Burlington Magazine* 148, No. 1245 (Dec., 2006): 833.

[114] Zerner, *Renaissance Art in France*, 383.

Allowing for a marked difference in size from the Moritz tomb in Freiberg, an earlier monument to Frederik I of Denmark in Schleswig Cathedral, completed between 1551 and 1553, is perhaps the best comparison for the Freiberg tomb, or at least part of it

(Fig. 1.14).[115] Frederik's tomb is comprised of black and red marble (for the heraldic crest) and white alabaster for the figures. The slightly later Moritz tomb employs the same materials in the same color scheme, though at a much larger scale and grander design. The Schleswig tomb is also a freestanding tomb where a central figure (the deceased Frederik I) is elevated atop a platform with a red marble ground, supported by six female figures holding various allegorical attributes, similar to the design of the upper tier of the Moritz tomb. Originally, Frederik's tomb stood in the choir space of the church, surrounded by a metal grill, sharing the same location in the churchly space as Moritz's.[116] Most important for our discussion here, the prominent placement of the coat of arms on Frederik's tomb signals the status of the individual and the well-established heritage. Comparisons between the Moritz monument in Freiberg and the tomb for Frederik I rest upon similarities of material and design, but perhaps equally important is the tombs' shared emphasis on the heraldic crests. In Freiberg, the tomb of Moritz contains the twenty-eight soldiers bearing heraldic shields discussed above (Fig. 1.7). The figures are smaller relative to the size of the monument compared to Frederik's tomb, yet they are visible on every side of the monument, making up with quantity what is lost in magnitude, as in the case in Schleswig.

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[115] Dombrowski, "Die Grablege der sächsischen Kurfürsten," 238. On this monument, see: Antoinette Huysmans, "De Sculptuur," in *Cornelis Floris 1514-1575, Beeld-houwer Architect, Ontwerper*, eds. Antoinette Huysmans *et al*. (Brussels: Gemeentekrediet, 1996), 81-83; Meys, *Memoria und Bekenntnis*, 690-692; Kristoffer Neville, "Cornelis Floris and the 'Floris School'. Authorship and Reception around the Baltic, 1550-1600," in *Netherlandish Sculpture*, eds. Kavaler *et al.*, 317-321.

[116] The monument was first moved to the southern side of the choir following the erection of a new high altar in 1665, then finally moved to the northern side of the choir in 1901. Meys, *Memoria und Bekenntnis*, 690.

The emphasis on coats of arms in both tombs speaks to the preoccupation of the European nobility to display their status and their greater rights. The Antwerp sculptor Cornelis Floris designed and executed the Schleswig tomb, the first in a series of commissions for tombs of Danish royalty. In addition to large-scale tomb construction, Floris also published illustrations of his designs and his numerous commissions, ranging well beyond Antwerp, led to his designs traveling across Northern Europe.[117] Regarding his royal patrons, the wide circulation of Floris's designs served a double purpose: first to publicize the works displaying the status of the deceased – and also his family – and then to provide a visual replica of the work itself for those not likely, or unable, to travel to the Northern European churches housing the original. We saw this same publicizing performed in the case of Wolf Meyerpeck's engraving of the Freiberg tomb so soon after its completion, providing distant admirers the chance to view an attractive monument, fellow nobles to stay up to date on the achievements of their rivals, and the Saxon Electors to display their status.

The last free-standing tomb I will discuss here was another product of Cornelis Floris in Denmark, this time a funerary monument for Christian III (d. 1559) in Roskilde Cathedral (Fig. 1.15).[118] Frederik II first commissioned a tomb for his father in 1569 as the activity and expense of the Seven Years' War in Scandinavia was winding down to its conclusion. He hired the goldsmith Hans de Willers to oversee the tomb's commission and construction, who was also simultaneously overseeing a commission for the deceased Duke Albrecht I of Prussia in Königsberg Cathedral.[119] We have seen this process of using intermediaries between patron and contributing artists before in the tomb for Moritz. With the later tomb for Christian III, the commission was ordered in 1569, but work on the tomb did not begin until 1572 at the earliest due to some financial embezzlement on the part of de Willers, varying drawn models proposed by Floris,[120] and perhaps also an over-extended Floris workshop in Antwerp.[121] A tomb design was eventually settled upon and completed by summer 1575, mere months before the master sculptor's death, though the final installation work in Roskilde Cathedral did not take place until 1578. The tomb contains both a *gisant*, a recumbent effigy, on the lower, open story and an *au vif* figure above, kneeling before a crucifix. Six columns surround the *gisant* sculpture and four armored figures sporting shields with the Danish coat of arms. The figures are carved from English alabaster while Belgian black and colored marble makes up the architectural pieces, a favorite color scheme of Floris and his workshop and which can also be seen to some extent in the Moritz tomb in Freiberg. The free-standing

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[117] For the so-called 'Floris School,' see esp. Tine L. Meganck, "Cornelis Floris and the 'Floris-School' in the Baltic," in *Florissant: Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis der Nederlanden (15de-17de eeuw); Liber amicorum Carl Van de Velde*, eds. Arnout Balis *et al.* (Brussels: VUB Press, 2005), 171-184; Neville, "Cornelis Floris and the 'Floris School'." For the various tombs, constructed or otherwise, see Huysmans, "De Sculptuur.". On Floris's designs in relation to the later Danish tombs, see Zsuzsanna van Ruyven-Zeman, "Drawings for Architecture and Sculpture by Cornelis Floris," *Master Drawings* 30, no. 2 (Summer, 1992): 185-200. The so-called Spencer Album in the New York Public Library offers a series of sketches following Floris's designs by an unknown Netherlandish artist and is the subject of a forthcoming monograph by Krista de Jonge and Ethan Matt Kavaler.

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[118] On the history of the tomb's commissioning and production, see Hugo Johannsen, "Dignity and Dynasty. On the History and Meaning of the Royal Funeral Monuments for Christian III, Frederik II and Christian IV in the Cathedral of Roskilde," in *Masters, Meanings & Models: Studies in the Art and Architecture of the Renaissance in Denmark*, eds. Michael Andersen *et al.* (Copenhagen: National Museum of Denmark, 2010), 119-128.

[119] Meys, *Memoria und Bekenntnis*, 537.

[120] Van Ruyven-Zeman, "Drawings for Architecture and Sculpture," 191-194.

[121] Johannsen, "Dignity and Dynasty," 120, n. 14.

tombs in Freiberg and Innsbruck were surely known to Floris and the Danish court by this time, but Hugo Johannsen finds the closest figural model in the royal tombs in St. Denis.[122] The two-fold representations of Christian as *gisant*, a corpse-like appearance that is subject to the sufferings of the flesh, and as the kneeling figure in prayer, forever alive and subject only to the glory of god, are also found in the tomb for Henri II and Catherine de' Medici. There, both monarchs are represented and the lower, inert level contains *transi* figures instead of the Danish *gisant*, nevertheless the tomb in Roskilde Cathderal displays what Henri Zerner has described of magnificent tombs of the period, which "often insinuated an ambiguous conflation of the glorious Life Eternal with a glorification of their earthly lives."[123] Christian III established Lutheranism in the Danish Kingdom, yet after his death, his son commissioned a tomb whose closest visual parallel held the remains of one of the most powerful Catholic rulers in Europe.

While some art historians have found a strong Lutheran message in Moritz's tomb in Freiberg and other funerary monuments to Lutheran figures, patrons did not necessarily attach a confessional value on specific designs or models. Shortly before the tomb for the Lutheran Christian III, closely modeled on the tombs for Catholic monarchs in St. Denis, was installed in Roskilde Cathedral, the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre events occurred in Paris. Confessional tensions continued to fester throughout northern Europe during the second half of the sixteenth century,[124] yet neither artist nor patron took issue with the similar design: the tomb served its purpose of memorializing the deceased ruler. The overriding factor seems to have been commemoration.

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[122] *ibid*., 132.

[123] Zerner, *Renaissance Art in France*, 380.

[124] Heinz Schilling, "Confessional Europe," in *Handbook of European History 1400-1600: Late Middles Ages, Renaissance and Reformation*, eds. Thomas A. Brady, Jr. *et al.* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 643-645.

An expectation that rulers of a certain standing would have a commemorative tomb was also a common concern for sixteenth-century nobility. Anna of Denmark, Elector August's wife and King Frederik II's sister, reproached her brother in a letter from 1571 for still neglecting to build a worthy funerary monument to their parents.[125] The status of a ruler could elevate or diminish the standing of his or her dominion; similarly, a ruler's status could raise or lower the standing of his or her offspring. If Christian III were not suitably commemorated by his successor, Frederik, the prestige of both Denmark and Electress Anna would suffer as a consequence. Frederik also well understood the power of displaying the prestige of the ruler, as well as the power of its exclusivity. Not just anyone could construct prestigious works of this type, even among the very privileged few who could afford to. In a decree issued on April 3, 1576, Frederik proclaimed that, "Lately we have been informed of the great abuse, expense and vain magnificence happening with the tombs that are now erected by the nobility," therefore, "We therefore want that nobody from the nobility shall make any tomb elevated over the ground in alabaster or similar extraordinary expense."[126] This restriction recalls earlier sumptuary laws enacted in fifteenth-century Italy and elsewhere, limiting the amount of money that could be spent on garments and sometimes even the types of material that could be used to fashion those garments. The restriction thus protected the nobility from the over-expenditure that they might not be able to refrain from in the competitive culture of Renaissance Italy while also preserving the right to display certain luxuries for those of a higher social station, where applicable.[127] Sumptuary laws north of the Alps were tied more tightly to particular contexts, such as weddings and baptisms, a part, even if minor, of the social disciplining exercised in German territories.[128] For the most important events where the most people would be watching, those of higher rank desired to remain visually distinct, signifying their status not only with the outward display of wealth, but also in their right to do so. In sixteenth-century Denmark, Frederik II could use the argument of restricting over-expenditure and ostentation to reserve the construction of expensive and ostentatious monuments for royal patrons, preserving the elevated status similarly prized elsewhere in the courts of Europe.

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[125] Johannsen, "Dignity and Dynasty," 122.

[126] The letter can be found in Holger Fr. Rørdam, *Danske Kirkelove*, II, Copenhagen 1886: 258ff. Quoted and translated in Johannsen, "Dignity and Dynasty," 117.

The second half of the sixteenth century witnessed a flourishing of monumental free-standing tombs throughout Europe. The size and splendor of each of these projects suggests the desire on the parts of their patrons for prestige, a desire to display status in a representation and to perform it with large-scale commissions. More than expressing the fame and glory that all rulers needed to remain in a position of power, tomb monuments "contributed to the glory of the [entire] group to which the dead belonged."[129] The monument memorialized the prestige of the deceased and, by affiliation, also the dynasty and family to which he or she belonged, and by further extension the entire social group to which he or she belonged. Not just anyone could afford to commission a large-scale tomb, especially as their size and scope expanded over the course of the sixteenth century. Larger projects in expensive materials also required skilled craftsmen, both of which often had to be imported to the tomb's location or outsourced to production sites abroad. From all the examples discussed above, no two monuments shared identical designs or construction processes, yet each was viewed by contemporaries in terms of prestige, rank, and status. Aside from the tomb for Julius II, a project possibly initiated at the behest of Michelangelo rather than its patron,[130] none of the tombs was commissioned for the express purpose of desiring a work by an individual artist. The Italian monument seemed to suffer from this association as well, taking decades longer than planned to reach its current form, a much-diminished design from Michelangelo's initial proposal. The tombs by Floris for the Danish monarchs were both a convenient source for high-quality work as well as outsourced by an intermediary. The tomb for Henri II and Catherine de' Medici may originally have been commissioned from a particular artist, but due to deaths of various artists and Catherine's dissatisfaction with the works of others, a different artist, Germain Pilon, was ultimately responsible for the work's final appearance. Meanwhile, the collaborative production of and working processes for the tomb for Moritz in Freiberg and the cenotaph for Maximilian I in Innsbruck were so international as to “utterly defeat nationalist scholarship.”[131] As this comparison group shows, the peers for the Moritz tomb were all either monarchs and popes, a clear indication of August’s ambitions for the new Saxon Electors to be recognized among the leaders of Europe. The dynastic concerns of August were well-suited to the design of the Moritz monument in Freiberg, a tomb whose precious materials distinguishes it from closer regional memorials and whose scale and design speak to international trends across the highest courts of Europe. The next section addresses the very material chosen to portray the elevated Elector and the motivation for choosing alabaster.

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[127] Lisa Monnas, *Merchants, Princes and Painters: Silk Fabrics in Italian and Northern Paintings 1300-1550* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 23-40.

[128] Ulinka Rublack, "The Right to Dress: Sartorial Politics in Germany, c. 1300-1750," in *The Right to Dress: Sumptuary Laws in a Global Perspective, c. 1200-1800*, eds. Giorgio Riello and Ulinka Rublack (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 2019), 37-73.

[129] Meys, *Memoria und Bekenntnis*, 22.

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[130] Claudia Echinger-Maurach, "Zwischen Quattrocento und Barock: Michelangelos Entwurf für das Juliusgrabmal in New York," in *Praemium Virtutis: Grabmonumente und Begräbniszeremoniell im Zeichen des Humanismus*, eds. Joachim Poeschke *et al.* (Münster: Rhema, 2002), 257.

The Object Activated and Reanimated

At the turn of the sixteenth century, Carrara marble and Florentine sculpture dominated the European scene. The glistening white marble, known since Antiquity and, in the early modern period, for its association to Antiquity, was almost solely to be found in the quarries near Florence. When a court north of the Alps commissioned a sculpture or building to be of marble, the stone had to be imported from Italy.[132] Alabaster, more readily available due to its geographical sprawl, offered an abundant and, importantly, cheaper alternative to marble.[133] Certain alabaster quarries even offered a stone of a similar complexion and color to that of Carrara marble, though the potential size of the quarried stone was much more limited than the seemingly boundless extent of the Italian quarry.[134] By the end of the sixteenth century, princely tastes in Europe had shifted to favor bronze as the preferred medium to display magnificence, but during the middle of the century the lighter appearance of stone still held greater sway. While marble certainly cost more and was more difficult to work (it is a harder stone and requires additional polishing labor in order to produce the lustrous effect most patrons desire for marble), the distinction between marble and alabaster was perhaps not so clear to an early modern audience – even artists.[135] The important point to note is a similar status afforded to marble and alabaster in northern Europe, where both were to be considered noble stones (lit. *Edelsteine* in German) and the commissioning and use of both materials proliferated from the Middle Ages through the end of the sixteenth century.[136]

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[131] Kavaler, “The Diaspora of Netherlandish Sculptors,” 99.

[132] Marjorie Trusted, “Marble and Stone,” in *The Making of Sculpture: The Materials and Techniques of European Sculpture*, ed. Marjorie Trusted (London: V&A Publications, 2007), 97.

[133] In the early seventeenth century a regular trade route between Livorno and Amsterdam was established, providing Northern Europe with cheaper access to Italian goods. Nevertheless, a sculpted figure in Italian marble still would have cost more than four times as much as a like figure done in alabaster, Aleksandra Lipińska, “Stone to Ensure Victory and to Generate Friendships: On the Meaning of Alabaster,” in *English Alabaster Carvings and Their Cultural Contexts*, ed. Zuleika Murat (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2019),

Given the above, the choice for alabaster instead of marble for the life-size effigy of Moritz atop the tomb in Freiberg Cathedral could easily be ascribed to matters of

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56. See also Gabri van Tussenbroek, "Amsterdam and the International Trade in Stone, Brick and Wood," in *The Low Countries at the Crossroads*, eds. Ottenheym and De Jonge, 195-200.

[134] Fergus Cannan, "Alabaster," in *The Making of Sculpture*, ed. Trusted, 105-109.

[135] Kim E. Woods, *Cut in Alabaster: A Material of Sculpture and Its European Traditions 1330-1530* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2018), 7-12.

[136] The end of the sixteenth century has generally been cited as the start of a decline in the popularity of alabaster carvings, though it continued to be used as a standard material for funerary sculpture in England well into the seventeenth century; see Jon Bayliss, "'Smooth as Monumental Alabaster': The Alabaster Tomb Industry in England, 1550-1660," in *English Alabaster Carvings*, ed. Murat, 214-235. Reasons for the extended period of use, particularly in England, could be the need to import foreign marble for similar-looking stone and the fact that English alabaster deposits alone could provide stone blocks large enough for an entire figure in larger sculptural projects; see Kim E. Woods, "The Supply of Alabaster in Northern and Mediterranean Europe in the Later Middle Ages," in *Trade in Artists' Materials: Markets and Commerce in Europe to 1700*, eds. Jo Kirby *et al.* (London: Archetype Publications, 2010), 90.

finance or convenience (Fig. 1.16). The very fact that many, even the most expert, had difficulty distinguishing between the two would suggest that the cheaper alabaster ought to be the choice for all patrons. But I would like to suggest a different reading of the prevalent confusion between the two stones by early modern viewers. Rather than it being a question of one or the other, perhaps they were viewed on a spectrum of the same stone, or at least type of stone. Dating back to at least the thirteenth century, knowledge of the physical properties of stones among the mercantile class was essential for determining their quality and value while numerous guild regulations from this period strictly forbade the fabrication of precious stones and minerals for jewelry settings of goldsmiths.[137] Knowledge of specific qualities of stones was widespread, even beyond the courtly milieu, suggesting that viewers placed a greater emphasis on a stone's value, opposed to its specific categorization. Alabaster and marble were both equally viewed as valuable materials in a vacuum, if not equally valuable in reality.

The stones' visual similarities suggested to some viewers that they were physically one and the same, though captured at different states. The sixth-century philosopher Boethius claimed that alabaster was so soft because it was an "undercooked" form of marble. "When marble begins to originate it is at first a muddy matter, and slowly…it hardens more and more, until it becomes the hardest marble."[138] The idea that products of the earth were grown derived from antiquity, building on the works of

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[137] Sven Dupré, "The Art of Glassmaking and the Nature of Stones: The Role of Imitation in Anselm De Boodt's Classification of Stones," in *Steinformen: Materialität, Qualität, Imitation*, eds. Isabella Augart *et al*. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019), 209-212.

[138] Quote and translation from Lipińska, "Stone to Ensure Victory and to Generate Friendships," 55.

Aristotle and Pliny, and continued into the early modern period. In his *De re metallica* (1556), the German mineralogist and metallurgist Georg Agricola (1493-1555) described Nature as the producer of precious metals in the earth. "She generates them in the veins, stringers, and seams in the rocks, as though in special vessels and receptacles for such material."[139] Early modern viewers mistaking one stone for the other can be ascribed to their visual similarity, but it can also point to a more flexible understanding of the stone material than we support today. Dug out of the earth while still in its maturing phase, the softer alabaster was nevertheless prized for its own qualities. In the preface to the 1550 edition of his *Lives of the Artists*, Vasari describes the technique of sculptors working with marble, where "lastly with points of pumice stone they rub all over the figure to give that flesh-like appearance that is seen in marvelous works of sculpture."[140] The softer, more malleable alabaster did not require so extensive a treatment, supplying the sought-for gleam and polish more readily than marble varieties. As Kim Woods relates, "with its greater lustre and translucency, faintly veined and clouded alabaster has even greater capacity to evoke the nuances of human flesh, making it a peculiarly appropriate material to represent a human body."[141] In a similar vein, Lipińska notes the various literary comparisons of women and chastity to alabaster.[142] Maidens with alabaster skin and attributes populate early modern poetry, a metaphor that remains in common usage in English today. She further supports the early modern association of alabaster and the human body when she discusses its generative ability and categorization as immature marble. According to her, “Alabaster was considered an imperfect variety of marble and a satisfactory equivalent if the best quality material was unavailable,” but also that the artistic transformation of alabaster into a marble-like appearance “was not so much copying or partial imitation…as a recreation of the essence, the perfect nature of marble.”[143]

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[139] Georgius Agricola, *De re metallica*, trans. Herbert Clark Hoover and Lou Henry Hoover (New York: Dover, 1950), 12.

[140] Giorgio Vasari, *Vasari on Technique*, trans. Louisa S. Maclehose (New York: Dover Publications, 1960), 152.

[141] Woods, *Cut in Alabaster*, 147.

[142] Aleksandra Lipińska, "*Alabastrum, id est, corpus hominis*: Alabaster in the Low Countries, a Cultural History," in *Meaning in Materials, 1400-1800 / Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 2013 (62)*, eds. Ann-Sophie Lehmann *et al*. (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 104-106. Othello describes his love as having "that whiter

Thanks to extant documentation surrounding the tomb’s commission, we can partially ascribe August’s wish for an alabaster figure of Moritz to a desire beyond saving money. In a letter to the sculptor Van Seroen, the Elector explicitly ordered that the natural qualities of the stone remain at the forefront of the sculpture, stipulating that “only the eyes and lips need be painted in natural hues; aside from that do not smear colour on anything…otherwise the whole work will be altered and deprived of its nobility.”[144] August’s primary goal was to present the deceased Moritz in his proper nobility, a goal best achieved by the installation of the monochrome alabaster figure.[145] August equated the liveliness of the figure, best attained with the alabaster stone, with the

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skin of hers than snow, and smooth as monumental alabaster.” William Shakespeare, *Othello*, V.2.3-5. This is but one of many occurrences of the metaphor in the works of Shakespeare – and elsewhere.

[143] *ibid*., 102.

[144] Quote and translation from Lipińska, “Stone to Ensure Victory and to Generate Friendships,” 86.

[145] On the “vivacitá” of monochrome statues and plastic figures in painting, and their potential development from the great *paragone* topos of the Renaissance, see Frank Fehrenbach, “’Eine Zartheit am Horizont unseres Sehvermögens’: Bildwissenschaft und Lebendigkeit,” *Kritische Berichte* 38 (2010): 33-44; *idem*, “Coming Alive: Some Remarks on the Rise of ‘Monochrome’ Sculpture in the Renaissance,” *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 30, no. 3 (Superficial? Approaches to Painted Sculpture, Spring 2011): 47-55.

nobility of the monument as a whole, a reading we can further explore by addressing the pose of Moritz. Dating back to the sculptor Christoph Walther I's first forays into grave epitaphs in the 1520s, the kneeling figure of Moritz follows directly in a particularly "Saxon tradition" for a funeral pose.[146] Christoph Walther was the primogenitor of the Walther family of sculptors, originally from Breslau (Wrocław) who relocated to Dresden and worked on many of the major sculptural projects in stone for the next century, including Christoph's son Hans who was largely responsible for carving the Electoral Succession Monument in Dresden.[147] In funerary monuments, there were two categories of pose the effigy could possibly take: that of the deceased lying down and the other upright and alive. Usually the latter pose involved demonstrations of piety – one does not rise from the dead in order to play cards. Erwin Panofsky has described the latter figure as an activated effigy, revivified in sculpture and instilling in its viewer the same piety the deceased is demonstrating.[148] The Saxon tradition preferred active effigies, with the deceased individual either kneeling in prayer or kneeling in armor before a crucifix as the *milites Christi*, as the Moritz figure atop the tomb in Freiberg exemplifies. Christoph Walther and other sculptors executed many funerary monuments in the sixteenth century, most of which consisted of the local Saxon sandstone. The stone had been quarried extensively since the fifteenth century, though over the course of the following century its use represented a monopoly of religious and funerary sculptural projects in Saxony.[149] The noble class, those who could afford to commission sculpture, had already identified themselves with the local Saxon sandstone, indicative of a regional tradition viewing certain materials as representative of certain contexts or meanings. For the new Saxon Electors, the traditional Saxon pose provided enough of a link to the territory while the alabaster stone provided a more elevated material to project a greater status of international prestige.

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[146] The tradition moniker was first proposed by Magirius, though Dombrowski views the pose as pan-Germanic, both pre-dating any occurrences in Saxony as well as proliferating broadly beyond the region. Diemer is in agreement with Magirius, arguing that Dombrowski misunderstood Magirius's purely formal argument, noting the raised left leg at a peculiar angle that seems specific to Saxon effigies. See Magirius, *Der Dom zu Freiberg*, 45; Dombrowski, "Die Grablege der sächsischen Kurfürsten," 59; Dorothea Diemer, *Hubert Gerhard und Carlo di Cesare del Palagio: Bronzeplastiker der Spätrenaissance,* 2 vols. (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 2004), I, 265, n. 814.

[147] For the Walther family, see Hentschel, *Dresdner Bildhauer*.

[148] Erwin Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture: Four Lectures on Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini*, ed. H. W. Janson (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1964), 76-87.

In light of this broader understanding, the use and commissioning of alabaster for the life-size effigy of Moritz atop the tomb carries new significance. Afforded a status close in prestige to marble due to their interchangeable appearance, alabaster had the firmer association with bodies, living or otherwise. So, too, was it something of a passion among princes and noblemen during this period, what Lipińska has described as a veritable "alabaster fever."[150] The nearby Duke Julius of Brunswick-Lüneburg engaged in an exchange of letters with fellow rulers, including Elector August, in an attempt to gin up interest in the alabaster stone, which his territory happened to be rich in. Duke Julius used alabaster as a diplomatic tool to curry favor with other, much more powerful rulers and simultaneously raise his own status as ruler of a rarified territory. The febrile August, a stone carver and collector in his own right, sent out court servants in the hopes of identifying alabaster quarries of his own, hopes that would not go unfulfilled for long (see Chapter 2).

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[149] I am unaware of any large sculptural works residing in churches or chapels in Electoral Saxony, especially in the second half of the century, not made of Saxon sandstone. See Dieter Kutschke, *Steinbrecher, Steinhändler und Steinschiffer in der sächsischen Schweiz* (Pirna: Dieter Kutschke, 2009), 23.

[150] Aleksandra Lipińska, "Alabasterdiplomatie: Material als Medium herrschaftlicher Repräsentation und alsVernetzungsinstrument in Mittel - und Osteuropa des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Kunsttexte.de* 2014, 2: 6. kunsttexte.de/ostblick.

Clearly, we can see that the choice of alabaster was deliberate and held deeper meaning in terms of its liveliness and representative value as a precious stone and that August had some appreciation for the stone's particular values. By this point, August was more assured of his position as Elector and had already demonstrated his willingness to join the highest ranks of Europe with the commissioning of the Succession Monument in Dresden, emerging from the Treaty of Augsburg as the foremost Elector and the leader of the Protestant princes.[151] The alabaster figure then served as a crown atop August's monumental tomb for his brother, a monument that was just as much a statement of his own elevated status as an affirmation of Moritz's. In the following century, the English traveler and antiquarian John Weever described the proper format and materials for noble sepulchral monuments. "Sepulchres should bee made according to the qualitie and degree of the person deceased… Noble men, Princes, and Kings had (as befitteth them, and as some of them haue at this day) their Tombes or Sepulchres raised aloft aboue ground, to note the excellencie of their state and dignitie." And regarding the statue of their personages, it ought to be carved or cast "with as much state and magnificence" as the artist could do, "the materials of which [ought to be] alabaster, rich marble, touch [stone], rauce, porpherey, polisht brasse or copper." For those "base fellows," of "the rustick or plebeian sort," who lack in noble blood, a subterranean interment without any further remembrance would suffice.[152] Similar to Aristotle's designation of magnificence as the quality of the higher rank, John Weever describes a prince's higher status and dignity. We see still active in the seventeenth-century classicism of Weever's description the same motivations that drove the sixteenth-century princes to commission works equal to their status and to their peers. As a prince, Moritz received a tomb raised aloft and made of the appropriate materials, completed by an effigy in alabaster.

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[151] Smith, *German Sculpture*, 181.

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[152] John Weever, *Ancient funerall monuments…* (London: Thomas Harper, 1631), ch. 3, p. 10.

Chapter 2: *Kunstkammer* and Dynasty, with a Local Emphasis

In 1574, the court painter Hans Schroer and stone carver David Hirschfeld reported finding an alabaster deposit near Weißensee in Thuringia.[153] This soft stone could be used to great effect for small- and medium-scale sculpture and relief works and productive workshops of the sixteenth century were actively exporting works from the Netherlands, especially Antwerp and Mechelen (see above). Yet at the court of Elector August in Saxony, there were few skilled artisans to be had who were capable of working the stone and crafting commissions of a princely stature and importance.[154] August contacted other nobles to see if they had a skilled stoneworker to spare, or if they knew of one. Count Johann Albrecht von Sprinzenstein, a cupbearer to Joanna of Austria, wife of Francesco de' Medici, and *gentiluomo* of the future Grand Duke, was already keeping an eye out for antiquities in the Italian peninsula on behalf of the German prince.[155] He met the young Swiss artist Giovanni Maria Nosseni in Florence and recommended him to the Saxon ruler.[156] He was already regarded as capable of being a court artist at the time and considered to be universally skilled in working with various stones.[157] He is "…first and foremost [able to] sculpt and form very well in all types of marble, and other stones, as with pieces and sculpted works, either large or small statues, reliefs, heraldic crests, scenes from history, portals, fireplaces, windows, friezes, and other similar things." [158] Mentioning specifically alabaster in the letter, he can ably carve the stone and polish it with his own hand.[159] In the Italian-trained Nosseni, Elector August found the skilled court artist he had longed for and who was capable of fulfilling grander projects when called upon.

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[153] Meine-Schawe, "Giovanni Maria Nosseni," 283.

[154] Lipińska, *Moving Sculptures*, 144-52. With regard to the alabaster altarpiece in the Dresden palace chapel (1555-56), the first major sculptural commission following the Reformation by the Albertine branch of the Saxon dukes, the stone pieces were imported from the Netherlands. Lipińska suggests that neither the main resident sculptor at the Dresden court, Hans Walther II, nor any of the Italian artists then working there, were adequately skilled to complete a commission of the altarpiece's size and iconographic complexity.

[155] Barbara Marx, "Künstlermigration und Kulturkonsum. Die Florentiner Kulturpolitik im 16. Jahrhundert und die Formierung Dresdens als Elbflorenz," in *Deutschland und Italien in ihren wechselseitigen Beziehungen während der Renaissance*, ed. Bodo Guthmüller (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2000), 241.

[156] Mackowsky, *Giovanni Maria Nosseni*, 20.

Upon his arrival in Saxony in 1575, Nosseni's skills as a stone carver were only a rather insignificant part of his newly gained position: almost immediately he was sent out to Weißensee to inspect the newly discovered alabaster quarry. In addition to this, he was also tasked with surveying the region more generally in search of other quarries of precious stone. Apparently, Nosseni was quite successful in his task, as quarries in Grüna and Krottendorf, Wildenfels, and Zöblitz with alabaster, serpentine, and marble in black, white, red, and spotted red-yellow were all first reported in this period. Nosseni negotiated for the privilege to mine the quarries under his supervision, wherein he retained the sole right to mine the stones, a profitable enterprise for the artist and an efficient source of production for the prince.[160] August set great value both in the skills to work stone as well as the ability to discover the locations where the stone rests. The Dresden *Kunstkammer*, established during the reign of Elector August, predominantly consisted of working tools, including those for carving and polishing stone. Also included in the Dresden *Kunstkammer* were geodetic instruments, whose storage in the princely collection did not prevent them from being actively employed in the field. August provided his land surveyors with scientific and measuring instruments from his *Kunstkammer* and the very first keeper of the *Kunstkammer*, David Ußlaub, even accompanied August on many of his surveying trips.[161] These trips undertaken by August, his surveyors, and Nosseni were directly related to the health of the Saxon state, whose main source of income derived from the ore-rich land, especially its silver.

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[157] Meine-Schawe, "Giovanni Maria Nosseni," 283.

[158] Recommendation letter from Count Sprinzenstein to Elector August, January 16, 1575. STA Dresden, Loc. 9126, fol. 234-236. "…Erst unnd füernemblich das pylldhauen unnd formieren So woll in Gantzen Märbl, unnd anndern arbaitlichen Stein, Allß von Stuckh und Khüttwerch, es sey nun gross oder klaine Statuen, Pyllder, Wappen, Historien, Portten, Camin, Fryesen, Fennster und dergleichen." As in Meine-Schawe, *Die Grablege der Wettiner*, p. 121, doc. 1.

[159] *ibid*., "…denn Allabaster auff allerlaj werckh zu Enngen und weittenn gefäss, wie die begert werden mochten, durch ainen träer abträen zulassen, unnd alßdann mit seiner Hannd allso zw Polliern."

The silver mines in the Erzgebirge Mountains near Freiberg were a major contributor to this income throughout the sixteenth century, with silver production increasing five-fold between 1524 and 1572.[162] The income from those mines was essential to August's effort to deal with the huge financial shortfall his brother left him, estimated at around 1.67 million gulden,[163] likely stemming from the fortification rebuilding project and Moritz's numerous military campaigns. The increased silver production was mainly due to advances in the techniques and technologies involved in the mining and smelting processes.[164] Yet, due to the massive influx of New World gold and silver and increasing costs of mining activities, mining profits steadily decreased over the second half of the century, prompting a considerable response to the new state of fiscal uncertainty. One part of this response included the patronage, sometimes even the personal practice, of alchemy in the courts of Central Europe. However, the embrace of alchemy was part of a broader quest among the nobility of the period who sought a greater understanding of the world they ruled, in order that they might exert even greater control. For his part, August personally practiced alchemy, along with numerous other crafts, and founded a collection of instruments, tools, and mineral samples, his *Kunstkammer*. August's personal engagement in these practices exhibits a desire to understand the world better and, by extension, to bring that world under his suzerainty. August and the Albertine Electors who followed him regarded their territory as an entity that could be understood, and thus controlled and manipulated in a fashion to further their own aims.

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[160] Meine-Schawe, "Giovanni Maria Nosseni," 285. This privilege was extended multiple times later on and was eventually granted to Nosseni for life in 1609.

[161] Peter Wiegend, "Landesaufnahme und Finanzstaat unter Kurfürst August und seinen Nachfolgern," in *Kurfürst August von Sachsen*, 141.

[162] Watanabe-O'Kelly, *Court Culture in Dresden*, 6.

[163] Tara Nummedal, *Alchemy and Authority in the Holy Roman Empire* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 76.

As discussed in the previous chapter, one of August's primary aims early in his reign was to establish the dynastic succession, in the form of an extravagant tomb monument for his brother. By the end of his reign, August began to contemplate a representational program of similar scale that would emphasize the continuation of the

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[164] Smith, "The Matter of Ideas," 51; *idem*, "The Codification of Vernacular Theories of Metallic Generation in Sixteenth-Century European Mining and Metalworking," in *The Structures of Practical Knowledge*, ed. Matteo Valleriani (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2017), 374. For information on silver's central role in sixteenth-century global finance, see: Dennis O. Flynn and Arturo Giráldez, "Born with a 'Silver Spoon': The Origin of World Trade in 1571," *Journal of World History* 6, no. 2 (Fall, 1995): 209. For Saxony's silver production, specifically, Karl Czok and Reiner Groß, "Das Kurfürstentum, die sächsisch-polnische Union und die Staatsreform (1547-1789)," in *Geschichte Sachsens*, ed. Karl Czok (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1989), 219.

Albertine dynasty. The dynastic chapel in Freiberg Cathedral, begun around the time of August's death, employed precious stones quarried from the region and bronze effigies of the Electors to display their dynastic lineage and also their power over Saxon lands. Thus, the chapel was not simply an expression of princely representation, but specifically representative of Saxon sovereignty. In the following section, I will discuss the activities of Nosseni under August's patronage prior to the chapel and more fully describe the Elector's own contributions to the making of objects, integral to our understanding of the dynastic chapel.

Nosseni, August, and Artisanry

While Nosseni had been hired by August for the purpose of working precious stone, much of his work actually involved surveying and overseeing the mining operations at various quarries. Major sculptural commissions were not readily forthcoming in the early years of his Saxon residency. The commissions he received in these first years were small-scale and either decorative or domestic in nature and he set up a workshop in Torgau to fulfill what few came in. Numerous tableware sets in stone date from this period[165] and Nosseni is credited with some larger furniture pieces, featuring the specifically Saxon serpentine stone, which exhibit the luxury at the court of the Electors and hint at Nosseni's artistic capability. August commissioned a set of twelve chairs, at least two of which still survive today (Fig. 2.1), featuring precious colored agate and jasper stones and a seat made from the local serpentine stone set into a carved pear wood structure.[166] Each chair also included the profile portrait of a Roman emperor on the back, linking the Saxon ruler and the material wealth of his lands with the authority and prestige of ancient Rome. The chairs were designed by Nosseni, though likely constructed in the workshop of the Walther family of sculptors. The inlay stones were worked by a different court artist, Benedikt Hertell.[167] The chairs were commissioned in 1575, but work continued through 1580, when Hertell was hired to work the stones, with the completion of the full set finally occurring in the reign of August's successor, Christian I, in 1586. Partly the extended execution timeline was the nature of large-scale commissions requiring work in various media by different artists, as we saw earlier with the Moritz tomb, but there also may have been other considerations to take into account. There seem to have been some financial setbacks in the duchy, or perhaps indecorous behavior at court, as Nosseni appears to have been sacked from his position in November of 1580. However, the lull in employment must have been quite short, if it actually occurred.[168] Later that November, Nosseni sent a letter to Elector August inquiring about further commissions to use some of the semi-processed marble still in his workshop. Apparently, this stone was "a very noble and beautiful stone," with which Nosseni suggested he could build "an eternal memorial" to August.[169] Perhaps Nosseni, increasingly anxious about his employment following his brief termination earlier in the month and the relative dearth of significant artistic commissions, suggested a sculptural project he deemed likely to appeal to his patron. August had already commissioned a monumental and costly tomb memorial to his deceased brother in Freiberg Cathedral, so a second tomb memorial for the next Elector seems a logical next step. There seems not to have been any reaction on the part of August to this letter.[170] But the letter is important for its mention of "an eternal memorial," as this is the first documented instance of an additional memorial for the Albertine Electors.

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[165] Nearly 300 pieces in serpentine and alabaster are listed in the 1587 inventory of the Dresden *Kunstkammer*. Dirk Syndram, "Princely Diversion and Courtly Display: The Kunstkammer and Dresden's Renaissance Collections," in *Princely Splendor*, 58. Of course, not all of these may have been products of Nosseni's own hand.

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[166] Eva Maria Hoyer, *Sächsischer Serpentin: Ein Stein und seine Verwendung* (Leipzig: Edition Leipzig, 1995), 64-70.

[167] See Gisela Haase's entry for *Zwei Stühle* in Manfred Bachmann *et al*., eds., *Der silberne Boden: Kunst und Bergbau in Sachsen* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1990), 236f.

[168] Meine-Schawe points to a lacuna in the written sources for the termination, so we can only guess as to the particulars. Meine-Schawe, *Die Grablege der Wettiner*, 20.

For the time being, August employed his court artist primarily as a surveyor, quarry supervisor, and stone carver, all of which happened to be personal passions of the Elector. August possessed extensive knowledge about various precious stones and minerals and commissioned multiple court servants to survey throughout his territory in search of new quarries, even personally attending some of these trips. As documented above with the "alabaster fever" at some Central European courts, surveying was actively patronized by rulers and both surveying equipment and surveyors were traded between the courts of Dresden, Hesse, and Denmark.[171] The skills princes developed in their scientific pursuits had real-world political and economic applications in the fields of cartography, mining, and fortifications.[172] August directed his talents to designing more accurate odometers, both on wagon and land, often personally using them while traveling between Electoral residences, essentially recording his sovereignty and illuminating the political and economic aspects attached to the mechanical arts.[173] He also tried his hand at a pure crafting activity: in his lifetime, August made at least 135 ivory pieces on his lathe, which itself was a gift of the Bavarian court. Elsewhere, the Bavarian Dukes Albrecht V (r. 1550-1579) and Wilhelm V (r. 1579-1597) also practiced turning ivory in their palaces. This activity played into courtly expectations and shared interests among princes of the sixteenth century, both in Germany and further afield. In the Tyrol, Archduke Ferdinand II (1529-1595) also turned ivories on the lathe, while wood pieces turned by Frederik II of Denmark (1534-1588) showed up on the 1587 Dresden inventory.[174] Practicing some form of a craft, such as ivory-turning or architectural design or even alchemy, seems to have been the norm for sixteenth-century princes.[175] According to sixteenth century thinking, the prince who turned ivory at the lathe acquired a deeper understanding of art and technology, which then led to greater skill in promoting trade and thus to greater prosperity for the state.[176]

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[169] Letter from Giovanni Maria Nosseni to Elector August, November 21, 1580. STA Dresden, Cop. 501, fol. 301/302. "…etwa ein ewigs gedechtnus: oder ander werck zu richten zulassen…Landen so herrliche schöne stein gefunden…." As in Meine-Schawe, *Die Grablege der Wettiner*, 123, doc. 3.

[170] Dombrowski, "Die Grablege der sächsischen Kurfürsten," 243.

[171] Moran, "German Prince-Practitioners," 261.

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[172] Bruce Moran has termed these rulers 'Prince-practitioners,' Moran, "German Prince-Practitioners." Dirk Syndram prefers the term 'artifex,' Syndram, "Der Kurfürst als Artifex," 4-13.

[173] Plassmeyer, "Weltmodelle," 166. For the importance of mechanical instruments at German courts, see also Bruce T. Moran "Princes, Machines and the Valuation of Precision in the 16th Century ," *Sudhoffs Archiv* 61, H. 3 (1977, 3. Quartal): 209-228; Wolfram Dolz, "Die *scientifica*," in *Die kurfürstlich-sächsische Kunstkammer*, eds. Syndram and Minning, 195-199.

[174] Watanabe-O'Kelly, *Court Culture in Dresden*, 80.

[175] DaCosta Kaufmann, *The Eloquent Artist*, 184-189.

Similarly, August exhibited a passion for the alchemical arts, potentially seeking real economic benefits and continuing his education in the practice of the arts. The early modern conception of alchemy was far broader than the transmutation of metals or turning base materials into gold, encompassing the fields of metallurgy, geology, chemistry, medicine, and even astrology, where no single field was held as a distinct study separate from other fields of knowledge. Based on Aristotelean thinking, alchemy sought to manipulate the purest components of nature by the application of either of two main agents, mercury and sulfur, and different combinations of temperature, moisture, pressure, and time.[177] Sulfur was a hot, fiery substance which gave to metals their combustibility while mercury was a cold, wet substance, possessing the properties of water and earth, linked to the liquid state of metals.[178] The planets and stars above were similarly composed of some combination of these elements and thus, each metal on earth had a corresponding astronomical assignation. The seven basic metals (silver, copper, tin, quicksilver, lead, iron, and gold) had equivalents in the seven planets of the Ptolemaic system, a tidy understanding of both local and universal concepts.[179] Technological advances in the alchemical arts, such as more efficient smelting practices, were dependent upon expertise in other fields like metallurgy and astrology and could have discernible economic and political implications. In this context, alchemy was expected not only to investigate the inner workings of nature, but also ultimately to profit from those investigations.[180] The courts of early modern princes viewed alchemy as a practical investment that could produce financial benefits, yet also one in which they were themselves responsible for learning and patronizing. August had a laboratory built next to the *Residenzschloss* in Dresden specifically for alchemical experimentation, called the '*Goldhaus*,' and collected numerous publications by alchemists to supplement those whom he hired to work at his court.[181] In 1575, the Elector designed the furnace for the *Goldhaus* himself, fittingly decorated with stucco representations of the seven planets.[182] Even his wife, Anna, participated in alchemical pursuits, distilling medicinal "waters" in a laboratorium.[183] Alchemical pursuits were popular across many courts of Europe and held appeal to members of both sexes and of anyone else who could afford the investment.

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[176] Sophie Ziegler, “Briefe als Spiegel höfischer Netzwerke. Korrespondenzkultur unter Kurfürst August von Sachsen,” in *Kurfürst August von Sachsen*, 57.

[177] On the history of alchemy, see: Lawrence M. Principe, *The Secrets of Alchemy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013); Ivo Purš and Vladimír Karpenko, eds., *Alchemy and Rudolf II: Exploring the Secrets of Nature in Central Europe in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (Praha: Artefactum, 2016). For alchemy and artists, see especially Smith, *Body of the Artisan*.

[178] Smith, *Body of the Artisan*, 132.

[179] Watanabe-O’Kelly, *Court Culture in Dresden*, 101-104.

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[180] Nummedal notes how contracts between patron and alchemist increasingly came to resemble other contractor agreements, such those of mine operators, in their practical and quantifiable expectations. See Nummedal, *Alchemy and Authority*, 86; Ivo Purš, "The Habsburgs on the Bohemian Throne and Their Interest in Alchemy and the Occult Sciences," in *Alchemy and Rudolf II*, eds. Purš and Karpenko, 93-95.

[181] Watanabe-O'Kelly, *Court Culture in Dresden*, 106-116.

[182] *ibid*., 119.

[183] On Anna of Saxony in particular, and early modern court culture in Central Europe more broadly, see Alisha Rankin, "Becoming an Expert Practitioner: Court Experimentalism and the Medical Skills of Anna of Saxony (1532-1585)," *Isis* 98, no. 1 (March 2007): 23-53; Ivo Purš and Vladimír Karpenko, "Alchemy at the Aristocratic Courts of the Lands of the Bohemian Crown," in *Alchemy and Rudolf II*, eds. Purš and Karpenko, 56.

In his capacity as crafter, August thus played the role of the Promethean figure, able to control nature in its purest form, and as alchemist, capable of mastery over the very earth of his territories.[184] Given August's demonstrated preoccupation with mining and quarrying, his embrace of alchemy should come as no surprise. Each prince was responsible for the well-being of his subjects, but also for sustaining lucrative enterprises. Central European rulers traditionally held the hereditary rights to grant licenses to private individuals, and later joint-stock companies, to work mining sites in exchange for a tax on the profits from the mine or a base annual fee. The *ex officio* power also bore pressure to ensure the efficient and profitable operation of those mines. As the wealth of the Saxon Electors largely derived from their mines and from the efficient processing and smelting of precious metals, the connection between mining, alchemy, and sovereignty is clear. This connection illuminates the costume choice of Elector August for a court tournament during the 1574 carnival season where he dressed as the god Mercury, surrounded by some local miners invited for the occasion.[185] As 'god of all metals' and alchemical symbol for one of the two principle components of all metals, mercury, considered by alchemical writers to provide metals with their 'metallic' qualities due to its silvery appearance and the fact that it remains liquid at room temperature,[186] the identification of the Elector with Mercury the god and mercury the element, reinforced August's role as sovereign over his territory, people, and economy.

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[184] William R. Newman, *Promethean Ambitions: Alchemy and the Quest to Perfect Nature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); Horst Bredekamp offers a similar argument, whereby the promethean figure manipulates technology, though in this case the protagonist is the collector operating within the realm of his collection: Horst Bredekamp, *The Lure of Antiquity and the Cult of the Machine: The Kunstkammer and the Evolution of Nature, Art and Technology*, trans. Allison Brown (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1995).

[185] Watanabe-O'Kelly, *Court Culture in Dresden*, 121; 120-129 for the continued theme of mining in Saxon court festivities. See also Jutta Bäumel, "Die Darstellung des Bergbaus im höfischen Fest des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts," in *Der silberne Boden*, 213-218.

Miners attended the festival with their prince, a ritualized performance of the obedience of subjects to the benevolent ruler. Performative actions are more difficult to recover today, but other artifacts of the special relationship between miners and several Central European rulers are extant today. *Handsteine* were singular specimens of mineral or metal ore that were discovered and set in a decorative piece, increasingly popular works through the sixteenth century (Fig. 2.2). These pieces were traditionally crafted by the miners who discovered the natural marvels and then presented to the local ruler as a gift, partly out of recognition of his nobility but also out of recognition of the good fortune all have experienced under his rule. The practice appears to have started in Hungary, though *Handsteine* could be found across the courts of Central Europe.[187] The Saxon princes were eager collectors of these pieces, dating to at least the reign of Moritz when some thirty pieces were installed in the Dresden *Schatzkammer*. Not until the 1640 inventory can we be sure that some found their way into the greater collection of the *Kunstkammer*, including one very large work comprised of 120 different ore samples from different mining towns throughout Saxony.[188] *Handsteine* were viewed as natural works of art, produced from within the earth and regarded as seemingly miraculous objects molded by the earth and by the grace of God. Most early *Handsteine* include goldsmith-work depicting biblical scenes, sometimes also combined with figures engaged in mining activities, creating a single work emphasizing the connection between the workings of the physical mine below and the spiritual heavens above.[189] The art/nature dichotomy extended to objects that were entirely crafted by artists, such as the life-casting works by artists like Wenzel Jamnitzer (1507-1585) in Nuremberg and Bernard Palissy (c.1510-c.1589) in Saintonge in western France. These works of gold and silver used molds crafted directly from natural animals, plants, flora, and other objects, mimicking the creative force of nature while simultaneously capturing the most accurate representation of the natural world.[190] *Handsteine* then marked not just a valuable creation of nature, but an object that marked the very location of the mine, and thus the ruler's territory, as especially valuable. As the possessor of the Erzgebirge *Handsteine*, August could thus show his own success as a ruler, the prosperity of his lands, and perhaps also a metaphor for his own practice of alchemy. While little of August's personal crafting remains today,[191] his enthusiasm for the practice of the arts and the broader implications of experiential modes of learning should be evident. As mentioned above, the *Handsteine* were not moved into the Dresden *Kunstkammer* until the seventeenth century, but August did not use his collection for the purposes of princely representation, so storing the *Handsteine* elsewhere makes sense for the Dresden *Kunstkammer*. In the following section, I will detail the collections and uses of August's *Kunstkammer* and the personal nature of the objects and collecting practices of the Saxon Elector.

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[186] Smith, *Body of the Artisan*, 132.

[187] Georg Schreiber, *Der Bergbau in Geschichte, Ethos und Sakralkultur* (Köln: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1962), 203.

[188] See Ulrike Weinhold's entry for the *Handstein mit Christus am Ölberg* (cat. 2.47) in Sabine Haag, ed., *Dresden & Ambras: Kunstkammerschätze der Renaissance* (Wien: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 2012), 165.

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[189] See Ana Matisse Donefer-Hickie's entry for the *Handstein* piece (cat. 8) in Koeppe, ed., *Making Marvels*, 66.

[190] Pamela H. Smith and Tonny Beentjes, "Nature and Art, Making and Knowing: Reconstructing Sixteenth-Century Life-Casting Techniques," *Renaissance Quarterly* 63, no. 1 (Spring 2010): 128-179.

[191] A few of his turned ivory pieces, out of more than one hundred made during his lifetime, still survive in the Grünes Gewölbe today. Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Grünes Gewölbe, inv. no. II 453-455.

Collecting and Gifting: The Dresden *Kunstkammer* and Diplomacy

The Electoral collection at Dresden, one of the earliest to be regarded in the sense of a *Kunst*- or *Wunderkammer*, was established by August in 1560, according to a guidebook published for visitors by the seventeenth-century keeper of the collection, Tobias Beutel.[192] The collection of tools and scientific instruments began in the preceding decade though, including geodetic instruments, compasses, astronomical clocks, celestial globes, and astrolabes, some commissioned especially by the Elector and others gifts from neighboring princes.[193] Possibly, the Dresden *Kunstkammer* was inspired by Archduke Ferdinand II's showcase of iron tools, where the seventh case was filled with art and wonder objects as part of the Ambras *Kunstkammer*.[194] The word *Kunstkammer* dates from 1550, first mentioned in regard to Emperor Ferdinand I's collection at the Hofburg in Vienna and he can perhaps be credited with instilling the princely *Kunstkammer* with a dynastic quality, worthy of keeping together and enlarging in scope, scale, and magnificence. Following his death in 1564, his heirs formalized this by considering the objects of the *Kunstkammer* as the 'inalienable property' of the House of Habsburg.[195] Archduke Ferdinand II's collections were viewed as so valuable, including their dynastic symbolism, that Rudolf II paid the princely sum of 100,000 guilders for the entire *Kunstkammer* following his uncle's death.[196] The Dresden *Kunstkammer* specifically seems to differ from all other models and collections that sprang up at other German courts. Objects of fine art, such as painting and sculpture, were present, but not emphasized in their display. Especially early on, sculptures and paintings were rare and the latter were represented in each of the seven rooms of the *Kunstkammer*, suggesting that they were placed on the walls due to available wall space as opposed to any conscious display ideal. Unlike the collections at other German courts, the Dresden *Kunstkammer* appears to have been a collection, or perhaps more accurately the collecting point, for the personal interests of the Saxon Elector. At Dresden, objects were segregated into different collections controlled by the Electors, such as the *Rustkammer* for ceremonial armor and weapons and the *Schatzkammer* for precious objects like jewels and precious stones. These were not firm boundaries, as items that would seem destined for the other collections found their way into the *Kunstkammer*. However, it does tell us that the organization and composition of the Dresden *Kunstkammer* differed from neighboring collections.

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[192] Scholarship on the Dresden *Kunstkammer*, as well as Central European *Kunstkammern* generally, is vast. Recent and especially informative works on Dresden *Kunstkammer* in the sixteenth century include: Menzhausen, "Elector August's *Kunstkammer*;" Watanabe-O'Kelly, *Court Culture in Dresden*, 73-91; Syndram, "Princely Diversion and Courtly Display"; *idem*, "Die Anfänge der Dresdner Kunstkammer," in *Die kurfürstlich-sächsische Kunstkammer*, 14-45; *idem*, "'*Diese dinge sind warlich wohl wirdig das sie in darselben lustkammer kommen.*' Kurfürst August, die Kunstkammer und das Entstehen der Dresdner Sammlungen." in *Dresden & Ambras*, 17-30. Recently, all four editions of the Dresden *Kunstkammer* inventory (1587, 1619, 1640, 1741) have been transcribed and published, in Dirk Syndram and Martina Minning, eds., *et al*., *Die kurfürstlich-sächsische Kunstkammer in Dresden*, I-V (Dresden: Sandstein Verlag, 2010-2012).

[193] Syndram, "Die Anfänge der Dresdner Kunstkammer," 15-18.

[194] Syndram, "Princely Diversion and Courtly Display," 55.

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[195] Franz Kirchweger, "The Treasures of the House of Habsburg and the Kunstkammer: The History and the Holdings," in *Habsburg Treasures: At the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna*, eds. Sabine Haag and Franz Kirchweger (New York: Vendome Press, 2013), 17; Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, "Global Aspects of Habsburg Imperial Collecting," in *Collecting and Empires: An Historical and Global Perspective*, eds. Maia Wellington-Gahtan and Eva-Maria Troelenberg (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2019), 173. Even the Dresden *Kunstkammer*, seemingly anomalous in its contents and private nature, was treated as a dynastic possession: Christian I, inheritor of the collection, largely maintained the 'collecting' focus, acquiring only a few hundred additional pieces during his, albeit short, reign, many of which were scientific or craft instruments much in keeping with the rest of the *Kunstkammer* objects. Syndram, "Princely Diversion and Courtly Display," 61.

[196] Elisabeth Scheicher, *Die Kunst- und Wunderkammern der Habsburger* (Vienna: Molden Edition, 1979), 84.

The primary objective of Elector August's collecting seems to have been in relation to his practical concerns as ruler, given that the overwhelming majority of items listed were tools. The first full inventory was compiled for Christian I by the first keeper of the *Kunstkammer*, David Ußlaub, in 1587, about eighteen months after August's death. It lists the number and type of objects of the collection and proceeds in its listing room by room through all seven chambers, preserving for us the original ordering system.[197] If we group items by type and tally each up by number, we are faced with some astounding figures and surprising contents for a princely *Kunstkammer*. There were eighty-five distinct groups of objects, arranged according to type. Out of a total of 9,586 items in the *Kunstkammer*, 7,353 (more than three-quarters of the total) are plain tools. The next largest group contains scientific instruments and clocks, a total of 442 items, or 4.5% of the total collection. While these instruments might seem to us more worthy inhabitors of a princely *Kunstkammer* today, given their intellectual nature and the greater difficulty in crafting each object versus a simple tool, that division was not so well-defined in the sixteenth century. Looking at the next largest group, 288 books (3%), we might think we have at last come upon objects befitting their storage place, yet the titles included tended to be related to the collection at large. The ancient mathematician Euclid's *Geometry* and *Catoptrics* are included in the *Kunstkammer* inventory, as is the ancient geographer Ptolemy's *Geography*. So too are more recent Renaissance texts by Heinrich Grammaticus and Orontius Finaeus's *Geometria practica*.[198] Reviewing the titles held in the *Kunstkammer*, August's interests also extended to topics such as medicine, horology, and astronomy, unsurprising inclusions for the early modern period before the calcification of academic and scientific divisions.[199] These books all focus on practical applications for the many tools of the collection, as in the tutorials and geographic texts and architectural treatises, or are theoretical yet still topically linked to the rest of the collection material. August's main library was actually located elsewhere, at the ducal palace in Annaburg, located near Torgau, and housed more than 1,700 volumes there.[200] Only after scrolling through these thousands of items do we find our first items that we might now regard as fit for an art gallery or museum, the 271 turned ivories.

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[197] The following figures and much of the basic information regarding the initial Dresden *Kunstkammer* of Elector August can be found in Menzhausen, "Elector August's *Kunstkammer,*" 72 and *passim*.

Most of the 9,586 items listed in the 1587 inventory were acquired prior to August's death, with the few objects added later, such as small bronze statues by Giambologna (discussed below), fitting more readily into our conception of the

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[198] Watanabe-O'Kelly, *Court Culture*, 82f.

[199] Christian I moved the Annaburg library to the *Residenzschloss* in Dresden upon his accession in 1586. On the *Kunstkammer* books specifically, see Sybille Gluch, "Die mathematisch-astronomisch-astrologische Spezialbibliothek des Kurfürsten August von Sachsen." *Sudhoffs Archiv* 95, H. 1 (2011): 48-65; Frank Aurich and Nadine Kulbe, "Geordnetes Wissen: Die Bücher in der Kunstkammer am Dresdner Hof," in *Die kurfürstlich-sächsische Kunstkammer*, 292-329.

[200] Watanabe-O'Kelly, *Court Culture*, 84-89.

Kunstkammer as proto-museum. This means that of the few museum-worthy objects listed, even fewer were acquired during August's quarter century of collecting. Had sculptures and paintings interested the Elector, we can assume that he would have made a greater effort at collecting these types of objects rather than the mere 135 listed. The sculptural works that are included in the first inventory were almost all gifts from other princes and rulers and there is no evidence that August showing interest in acquiring more for their own sake.[201] Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly dispenses with the total number of objects given in the 1587 inventory and instead focuses on the eighty-five groups of objects, finding that "roughly the same number of groups (about twenty-three) are devoted to scientific instruments and clocks as to tools (about twenty-four)."[202] She further makes the point that the groups appear to have been arranged in order of importance, beginning with the few sculptural works and proceeding inward through the books and scientific instruments until in the last rooms one reaches the least decorated rooms with the tools. But this ignores the fact that the inventory was not composed at the behest of its founder or following the use of the rooms. Rather, it was composed by its first keeper, David Ußlaub, for the succeeding Elector, Christian I, in an attempt to summarize the collection of near-10,000 objects in a sensible and structured manner, imposing an organization that likely did not exist in its original format.[203]

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[201] Dorothea Diemer and Pieter Diemer, "Skulptur in den frühen Kunstkammern von Dresden, Ambras, München und Prag – eine Skizze," in *Welt – Bild – Museum: Topographien der Kreativität*, eds. Andreas Blühm and Anja Ebert (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2011), 202-205.

[202] Watanabe-O'Kelly, *Court Culture in Dresden*, 84.

[203] Elisabeth Tiller, "Räume, Raumordnungen und Repräsentation: Dresden und seine Kunstkammer als Exempel frühneuzeitlicher Fürstensammlungen (1560-1630)," in *Kunst und Repräsentation*, 47. The total

The collection was kept in rooms convenient for the Elector's use, as well as for those whom he employed. Court servants, such as artisans and instrument makers, did have access to certain of the tools and, with Electoral permission, even some of the books, stored within the *Kunstkammer*, as later inventories document complaints about missing or broken tools. The collection was active, in a sense, participating in the practice and experimentation of the artisans of August's court. The objects were not collected for the purposes of display, and hence access was much more restricted to persons outside of the Electoral payroll. Even visiting princes were not allowed access to the *Kunstkammer* during August's reign. Restricted access continued into the early seventeenth century when visiting the Dresden *Kunstkammer* required a special invitation and an escort by the keeper of the collection, or another court official with a similar level of access.[204] The personal nature of the Dresden *Kunstkammer*, functioning more as a workshop than as museum,[205] differs markedly in this regard from other contemporary collections, especially that of the slightly later Rudolf II in Prague.[206] This helps to explain why the 1587 inventory begins listing the contents of one of the *Kunstkammer*'s central rooms,

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number of objects may actually exceed 10,000, for the bound volumes containing prints were counted by volume, as opposed to each individual engraving.

[204] Rebecca Cypess, "'Die Natur und Kunst zu betrachten': Carlo Farina's Capriccio stravagante (1627) and the Cultures of Collecting at the Court of Saxony," in *The Musical Quarterly* 95, no. 1 (Spring 2012): 162.

[205] Almost every room held a writing desk to provide the Elector a space to jot down any notes or observations during his visit to the *Kunstkammer*. Plassmeyer, "Weltmodelle," 157.

[206] While Emperor Rudolf also kept a workbench in his *Kunstkammer* and practiced certain crafts there, the primary purpose of the Prague *Kunstkammer* should not be regarded as a working collection like the one in Dresden. For Rudolf's *Kunstkammer* as a form of Imperial *representatio*, see esp. Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, "Remarks on the Collections of Rudolf II: The *Kunstkammer* as a Form of *Representatio*," *Art Journal* 38, no. 1 (Autumn, 1978): 22-8; Distelberger, "Die Kunstkammerstücke"; Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *The Mastery of Nature: Aspects of Art, Science, and Humanism in the Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993); and most recently *idem*, "Global Aspects."

the *Reißgemach*, or drawing room, home of the more than four meter long drafting table where August drew his territorial maps (Fig. 2.3). He commissioned the Nuremberg cabinet- and screw-maker Leonhard Danner in 1554 to aid in the development of instruments and tools available in Dresden, with the drafting table from around 1565, produced specially for the Elector, serving as a mature product of this artist's workshop.[207] It was here that he also kept portraits of contemporary rulers and courtly gifts from other princes, such as rock crystal formations from the dukes of Savoy and the *Times of Day* alabaster sculptures, after the Michelangelo originals, from Cosimo I of Tuscany.[208] These items appear to be less objects of prestige or display than personal items carrying a fond memory or bearing some other private attachment, similar to those items that might adorn any employee's desk in a modern office. August's *Kunstkammer* can thus be said to have served as a workshop, a place partly for his crafting activities and intellectual pursuits and partly a collection of personal items of interest to the Elector.

The *Times of Day* statuettes are of particular note here, considering their possible early provenance. Listed in the 1587 inventory as alabaster statuettes by Michelangelo himself,[209] our earliest hint as to the works' origins comes from a handwritten note next to their entry in the 1640 inventory, stating they were gifts from Cosimo I of Tuscany. His death in 1574 means they must have arrived in Dresden before spring of that year.

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[207] Martina Minning details the technological advances Danner achieved regarding the drawing table for August. Minning, "Werkzeug in der Dresdner Kunstkammer," 176. See also Wolfram Dolz, "'Was ich mit meinem newerfundenen Instrument zeigen unnd darthun kann.' Der tätige Fürst und das 'Reißgemach' Augusts von Sachsen, das Zentrum der Dresdner Kunstkammer," in *Dresden & Ambras*, 55-64.

[208] Syndram, "Princely Diversion and Courtly Display," 59.

[209] "4 Albastern gehauene bildtnus und kunststucke, welche Michael Angelus Romanus gemacht. Bedeuten morgen, mittagk, abendt und mitternacht…" fol. 65v.

Antje Scherner argues convincingly for dating their arrival to Count Sprinzenstein's visit with the Saxon court artist Rocco di Linar to Dresden in 1572, or at least they could plausibly be traced back to the Count, with whom August stayed in epistolary contact and who regularly included small-scale sculptures with his messages to the Saxon Elector.[210] Philipp Hainhofer visited the Dresden collections, first in 1617 and again in 1629, and explicitly mentioned them in his travel journal. Characteristic for the age, he describes the statuettes as marble on his first visit and then correctly as alabaster on his second.[211] Hainhofer may also have seen the four paintings of the *Four Seasons* by Giuseppe Arcimboldo, given to August by the Emperor Maximilian II, a similar chronologically-themed series of artworks stored in the Dresden *Kunstkammer*.[212] Additionally, in his 1629 account, Hainhofer noted that one room in the Dresden *Kunstkammer* had displayed "on various tables, all sorts of cups, dishes, vessels, water pitchers, spoons and knives, all made of marble, alabaster, serpentine, and other rocks that are mined in the Electorate of Saxony, and beautifully polished."[213] Listed in a later seventeenth-century journal, hundreds of similarly crafted pieces of precious stone were present in the very first inventory from 1587. The Dresden *Kunstkammer* contained locally-mined precious stones and metals, so important to August, but also the marble samples and alabaster and bronze statues gifted by the Medici Grand Dukes, linking courtly gift-giving practices, artistic production, and princely collecting.

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[210] Antje Scherner, Antje Scherner, "Skulpturengeschenke der Medici in der Dresdner Kunstkammer," in *Giambologna in Dresden*, 65-69.

[211] See previous chapter on the early modern alabaster/marble confusion.

[212] Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann estimates at least ten paintings by Arcimboldo were held in Saxon collections at the end of the sixteenth century, a large proportion both of Arcimboldo's anthropomorphic series of heads as well as the total number of paintings displayed by the Electors. Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, "Arcimboldo and the Elector of Saxony," in *Scambio Culturale con il Nemico Religioso: Italia e Sassonia attorno al 1600*, ed. Sybille Ebert-Schifferer (Milano: Silvana Editoriale, 2007), 27.

[213] Philipp Hainhofer, *Des Augsburger Patriciers Philipp Hainhofer Reisen nach Innsbruck und Dresden*, by Oscar Doering (Wien: C. Graeser, 1901), 172.

Although diplomatic gift giving and imperial commissions developed near the end of the sixteenth century, material and cultural exchanges between Tuscany and Central Europe had been in effect well before then. Rocco Guerini di Linar, a Tuscan engineer who trained in the art of fortifications and served at the courts of Ferrara and France, traveled to Germany and eventually wound up under August in the service of the Dresden Elector in 1569.[214] Linar was the first in a series of Italian-trained (or more specifically, Florentine-) court artists to serve at the Dresden court as designers and overseers of major projects, including Nosseni and later Carlo Theti, though the process had previously been set in motion during the reign of Moritz.[215] Italian artists, such as the de Tola brothers, had previously traveled to Saxony for work, but acted primarily as minor artists, everyday workmen on projects or musicians in a chamber ensemble. Linar helped transform Dresden's medieval walls into modern fortifications, in the old Italian style, one of the first instances of a modern defense for a political center in Germany.[216] Due to Linar's Italian links, he was also called upon to serve in a diplomatic role on behalf of the Saxon Elector, something he would share in common with his Italian successors Nosseni and Theti.[217] With regard to the Medici specifically, Linar also happened to be a childhood friend of Cosimo I, a useful advantage for pressing Saxon interests at the Florentine court. In 1572, Linar was sent to various Italian courts as an envoy for August, including to Florence where he was instructed to inquire about the secret Florentine stucco technique used in architectural decoration. While this particular request went unfulfilled, Linar returned to Dresden bearing marble specimens from local Tuscan quarries.[218] Doubtless, these gifts were intended to display the natural wealth of Tuscany to a patron similarly keen on developing his territory's own natural resources. This was the first occasion of a natural resource serving as diplomatic gift at the Saxon court, a type of gift that would soon be adopted and exploited with native Saxon stones following Nosseni's efforts locating, mining, and carving local quarries.[219] The mining privilege granted by August in 1985 commanded Nosseni to send samples of Saxon stone abroad in order to "further our land's glory and increase demand" for the stones.[220]

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[214] Markus A. Castor, "Rocco di Linar und die *Mathematica Militaris* der Dresdner Fortifikation in italienischer Manier. Städteplannung von der Bild- zur Raumordnung," in *Elbflorenz: Italienische Präsenz in Dresden 16.-19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Barbara Marx (Amsterdam and Dresden: Verlag der Kunst, 2000), 112-118.

[215] Tiller, "Räume, Raumordnungen und Repräsentation," 43.

[216] Castor, "Rocco di Linar und die *Mathematica Militaris*," 103.

The connections between the courts at Florence, Dresden, and Vienna/Prague strengthened through the second half of the sixteenth century. The first diplomatic exchanges between the Grand Dukes of Tuscany and Elector August of Saxony were explored above, while August spent a year at the Imperial court in Vienna and Innsbruck early in his reign and developed strong personal relationships with both Maximilian II (r.

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[217] Barbara Marx, "Medici Gifts to the Court of Dresden," trans. Johanna Bauman and Deborah Anne Bowen, *Studies in the Decorative Arts* 15, no. 1 (Fall-Winter 2007-2008): 48.

[218] *ibid*.

[219] Gerald Heres, "Werkstoff und Werk in der Geschichte der Dresdener Kunstkammer." *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums* (1995): 126-129: 126; Marx, "Künstlermigration und Kulturkonsum," 240.

[220] Privilege quoted in Mackowsky, *Giovanni Maria Nosseni*, 23.

1564-1576) and Rudolf II (r. 1576-1612). For his part, Rudolf maintained strong ties to the nearby Saxon court through the course of his reign, especially after moving the Imperial capitol to Prague, very close to Dresden.[221] We can even find evidence of a link between the courts at Prague and Florence in the Dresden *Kunstkammer*. Rudolf gifted multiple bronze statuettes to Elector Christian II (r. 1591-1611), including a bust of the Elector by Adriaen de Vries. The bust, commissioned in 1604 and presented to the Elector during his 1607 visit to Prague, signified the mutual friendship between the two rulers.[222] While De Vries likely did the finishing work of the bust, the bronze caster Martin Hilliger did the pouring. A recent arrival from Saxony and who would work with De Vries for the remainder of his life (d. 1622), Hilliger was part of a family of bronze casters, including his eponymous father who contributed the bronze plaque tombs for the dynastic chapel in Freiberg Cathedral.[223] Another Rudolfine gift included a bronze horse cast by Antonio Susini after a design by Giambologna and set atop a base of *pietre dure* work from Prague, dating from the beginning of the seventeenth century (Fig. 2.4).[224] Rudolf established his own *pietre dure* workshop in Prague around 1600, a reflection of the vogue for Italian art in Northern European courts, the rise of precious stone and mineral working as a popular art medium, and perhaps also the interest in these materials at the important Dresden court nearby. Indeed, some of the stones used in sockel decorations of the bronze stepping horse were Saxon gems.

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[221] Ivana Horacek, "The Art of Transformation: *Kunstkammer* Gifts between Emperor Rudolf II and Elector Christian II of Saxony," *Studia Rudolphina: Bulleting of the Research Center for Visual Arts and Culture in the Age of Rudolf II* 12-13 (2013): 32-50.

[222] Frits Scholten, "Adriaen de Vries, Imperial Sculptor," in *Adriaen de Vries, 1556-1626: Imperial Sculptor*, by Frits Scholten (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1998), 23.

[223] Meine-Schawe, "Giovanni Maria Nosseni," 306.

[224] Damian Dombrowski, "Dresden – Prag: Italienische Achsen in der zwischenhöfischen Kommunikation," in *Elbflorenz*, 81. Dombrowski notes that, though the statue doesn't appear in a *Kunstkammer* inventory until the eighteenth century, it could very well have been presented to the Elector in the early seventeenth century and immediately entered his private rooms due to its magnificent base: 93, n. 114. This seems the most likely explanation, especially given the widespread looting of the Imperial *Kunstkammer* by Swedish forces later in the century. See also Antje Scherner's entry for *Striding Horse* in Dirk Syndram and Antje Scherner, eds., *Princely Splendor*, 280.

Gift giving in the late sixteenth century served as a popular means of diplomacy, establishing relationships with new rulers, sharing technological advances, boasting of a particular artist or method of artistry, or staking a claim for greater prestige of the giver. In this context, objects not only held financial or artistic value, but also cultural, social, and political power. Marcel Mauss, author of the first major work on gift-giving, emphasized the outstanding importance of the obligation of the receiver of a gift to reciprocate in some way the boon that had been received.[225] In relation to the Florentine-Dresden connection, Barbara Marx writes, “Valuable gifts of outstanding technical quality and craftsmanship made of carved and polished stone, refined ore, and metals, including bronze, and also the earthen products terracotta and porcelain - that is, the treasures of the earth and their refinement into art - form the common denominator underlying the tradition of gift exchange between Florence and Dresden in the sixteenth century, a tradition that became a productive cultural exchange extending into the eighteenth century."[226] By the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Italian art collector Giulio Mancini, who also served as the doctor of Pope Urban VIII and enjoyed a quick succession of papal appointments and eventually even a knighthood,[227] could write in his advice to collectors that gift giving was an honorable enterprise for those seeking a noble status.[228] Mancini's sentiment was by no means a novel one. In the thirteenth century, Henry III of England had the walls of his palaces inscribed with the motto, "He who does not give what he has will not get what he wants."[229] Rulers were expected to demonstrate their beneficence just as much as they desired to be viewed as wealthy, powerful, and able.

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[225] Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. W. D. Halls (London: Routledge, 1990), 7-18. See also Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2000), for a more thorough study of the cultural and religious ties of gift-giving in the early modern period.

[226] Marx, “Medici Gifts to the Court of Dresden,” 76.

The spread of *Kunstkammern* across European courts and the growth in scope and scale of those collections encouraged more frequent gift giving practices. The *Kunstkammer* then became not just a refuge for personal interests, but a collection of the state. Following this development, the organization of the *Kunstkammer* took on a political importance, as well as attached greater consequence to the types of objects it should contain. It may come as something as a surprise then to find that very few sixteenth-century works treat the subject of the formation and organization of the princely *Kunstkammer*. The first such work, the *Inscriptiones*[230] (1565) by Samuel Quiccheberg, the medically-trained librarian in charge of the curiosity cabinet of Albrecht V of Bavaria in Munich, advises collecting and ordering objects as a means of creating a museum of universal knowledge. According to Quiccheberg, large-scale princely collections ought to aim for containing universal knowledge, where a collection could serve as a microcosm of the world. The function of the princely collection thus lends itself to encouraging the acquisition of printed images and works, advice that was not readily followed by later collectors. Quiccheberg's entire treatise does not seem to have made much of an impact on the early modern world, whether measuring by the dearth of contemporary references to the *Inscriptiones* or the few surviving copies from its lone published edition.[231] A few decades later, Gabriel Kaltemarckt wrote a treatise in the form of advice to the new Elector of Saxony, Christian I. Kaltemarckt's *Bedenken wie eine Kunst-cammer aufzurichten seyn möchte*, or *Thoughts on How a Kunstkammer Should Be Formed* (1587) treats the topic from the perspective of an art connoisseur, rather than librarian or cataloger.[232] Indeed, from the closing remarks where he humbly offers his "modest yet faithful services" to "His Electoral Grace" we can deduce that the treatise was in fact a job application to work as art expert at the Saxon court. Kaltemarckt's divisions of the collection serve primarily to separate those objects he considered to be the higher arts, sculptures and paintings, and somewhat reluctantly also those curious items "made of metals, stone, wood, herbs…which nature or art has shaped or made out of such materials."[233] Kaltemarckt was likely aware of many of the contents in the Dresden *Kunstkammer* and their lack of what today could be termed as fine art objects. A less cynical reading of his text might claim that he was writing instructions for a flourishing of the arts in Dresden,[234] though this is probably too generous an interpretation. He also makes room for coins and medals, though advises that no great expense should be used to acquire them. Most of the work is actually taken up listing various artists in Europe, both dead and still living, and even including some female painters, whose works a discerning collector should acquire. For Kaltemarckt, the act of collecting art was a practice expected of the highest stratum of nobility, even remarking of the Medici in Florence that "many regard [the Medici] as having ascended to princely, indeed almost to kingly majesty, more through collections of good books and through supporting the liberal arts [painting, sculpting] of the burghers than through any other of their praiseworthy deeds."[235] While Kaltemarckt's treatise does not appear to have made any more impact than Quiccheberg's a generation before, both works illuminate the facts that *Kunstkammern*, and their objects, were a topic of discussion at courts and that no one philosophy for their collecting principles nor organization necessarily ruled across multiple collections.

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[227] Michele Maccherini, "Ritratto di Giulio Mancini," in *Bernini dai Borghese ai Barberini: La Cultura a Roma intorno agli Anni Venti*, eds. Olivier Bonfait and Anna Coliva (Roma: De Luca Editori d'Arte, 2004), 52.

[228] Genevieve Warwick, *The Arts of Collecting: Padre Sebastiano Resta and the Market for Drawings in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 55-75.

[229] Suzanne B. Butters, "The Uses and Abuses of Gifts in the World of Ferdinando de' Medici (1549-1609)," *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance* 11 (2007): 302, ultimately citing Guillaume Budé's *De L'Institution du Prince* (1547).

[230] The less abbreviated title, in translation, begins "Inscriptiones, or Titles of the Most Ample Theater That Houses Exemplary Objects and Exceptional Images of the Entire World…" A full translation and useful introduction can be found in Mark A. Meadow and Bruce Robertson, eds., *The First Treatise on Museums: Samuel Quiccheberg's* Inscriptiones *1565*, trans. *idem* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2013).

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[231] Peter Parshall, "Art and the Theater of Knowledge: The Origins of Print Collecting in Northern Europe," *Harvard University Art Museums Bulletin* 2, no. 3, Print Collecting (Spring, 1994): 24.

[232] Translation and brief introduction provided in Barbara Gutfleisch and Joachim Menzhausen, "'How a Kunstkammer Should Be Formed'. Gabriel Kaltemarckt's Advice to Christian I of Saxony on the Formation of an Art Collection, 1587," *Journal of the History of Collecions* 1, no. 1 (1989): 3-32.

Kaltemarckt's application went unfulfilled, but in the same year the Dresden *Kunstkammer* received possibly its most highly sought-for artistic objects yet. In 1587,

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[233] *ibid*., 11.

[234] Jürgen Müller, "*Renovatio artis saxonie*: Zur Deutung von Gabriel Kaltemarckts 'Bedenken' aus dem Jahr 1587," in *Dresden-Prag um 1600*, eds. Beket Bukovinská and Lubomír Konečný (Prague: Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, 2018), 98-100.

[235] Gutfleisch and Menzhausen, "'How a Kunstkammer Should Be Formed'," 8.

Saxon envoys returned from a trip through northern Italy bearing gifts from Francesco I of Tuscany, including oriental weapons, a lacquerware table, a rhinoceros horn, and eight horses for the Elector's new grand stable building. We know of many of the items included in this diplomatic gift due to the accompanying letter Francesco sent to the new Elector. However, not included in the letter are three small bronze statuettes by Giambologna, though also part of the gift.[236] Today, these sculptures would headline this list of items, a reversal of fortunes impossible to predict at that time, though that is not to say these objects were not highly valued in their own right. Kaltemarckt includes Giambologna among the great bronze sculptors whose works a noble patron ought to collect. The Medici had previously given Giambologna statuettes to rulers, even north of the Alps. Cosimo I sent Emperor Maximilian II an almost life-size *Mercury* and statuette *Venus* in bronze upon the marriage of his son Francesco to the Emperor's daughter, Joan of Austria, in 1565 and Duke Wilhelm V of Bavaria received a number of marble sculptures, including a life-size statue of a seated girl, now in the J. Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles.[237] Talented bronze sculptors were increasingly in demand during this period, Giambologna most of all, as numerous powerful rulers attempted to lure the Medici artist away from Florence, including Emperor Rudolf II and Queen Marie de' Medici of France.[238] Rudolf so esteemed the Netherlandish artist that he ennobled him in

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[236] Scherner, "Skulpturengeschenke der Medici," 69-71.

[237] Dorothea Diemer, "Giambolognas Wirkung in Deutschland," in *Giambologna in Dresden: Die Geschenke der Medici*, by Dirk Syndram *et al.* (München: Deutscher Verlag, 2006), 81.

[238] Malcolm Campbell and Gino Corti, "A comment on Prince Francesco de' Medici's Refusal to Loan Giovanni Bologna to the Queen of France," *BM* 115, no. 845 (Aug., 1973): 507-512.

1588. The Giambologna bronzes may have passed silently into the *Kunstkammer*, according to extant sources, but that does not necessarily equate to patronly indifference.

Christian's consideration of Giambologna remains beyond our grasp, though he almost certainly appreciated the bronzes for their princely associations of the material itself. He set the bronzes on a table in the center of the *Kunstkammer*, where August had previously worked at his drafting table, so he did have them prominently displayed, even if isolated compared to the rest of the collection. Despite Kaltemarckt's strong advice, Christian mainly continued the collecting practices of his father, acquiring even more scientific objects and specialized books, though he did commission more painted portraits than his predecessor. Similar to the Habsburg consideration of the Ferdinand II's collection as the "inalienable property" of their House, Christian seems to have viewed the Dresden *Kunstkammer* as a dynastic property, potentially preventing him from making any drastic changes to the nature of the collection.[239] Prior to the reign of Elector Johann Georg I (r. 1611-1656), the Saxon Electors did little to broaden their collection in this area.[240] In 1622, this long-reigning Elector acquired the very important collection of Italian-influenced sculptures and paintings by a discerning art expert: the court artist, Nosseni.[241] Dating back to the reign of Moritz, the first Albertine Elector, the rulers of Saxony appreciated the Classical style common in Italian art and in many courts of northern Europe. The *Italianitá* style, as it was regarded at the time, could also make a claim for being the international language of courtly art and thus serve as the form in which princely representation could best be effected. The prevalent cross-confessional trading of artists and works of art between rulers reinforces the understanding of the style's courtly connotations.[242] While the Saxon Electors also enjoyed bronze sculpture so greatly admired by rulers elsewhere in Europe, they only commissioned works in bronze in contexts of public display. Small-scale sculpture, inherently private and unimpressive from afar, did not pique their patronage interests.[243] Large-scale, public works that would be viewed by many people better served their concerns as rulers eager to display their wealth and their equal status to the other great princes of Europe.[244] The funerary chapel in Freiberg Cathedral is one such setting that met these standards for display, but it was by no means the only one. Similarly large bronze statues or projects with large-scale statuary in other media undertaken during the reign of Christian I include the gallery of bronze busts of forty-six Saxon rulers in the *Lusthaus* and the equestrian statue atop the Pirna Gate, both in Dresden. The bronze busts, originally commissioned for the sculptor Carlo di Cesare, were never executed due to the Elector's sudden death.[245] The equestrian statue was also linked to Carlo di Cesare, this time as its designer, before its ultimate execution in sandstone by Andreas Walther before 1593.[246]

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[239] Syndram, "Princely Diversion and Courtly Display," 61.

[240] Antje Scherner, "Bronze Sculpture," in *Princely Splendor*, 269.

[241] Antje Scherner, "Giambologna – Carlo di Cesare: Italian Sculpture in Dresden in the Late 16th Century," in *Scambio Culturale*, 61.

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[242] Damian Dombrowski, "Dresden – Prag: Italienische Achsen in der zwischenhöfischen Kommunikation," in *Elbflorenz*, 65-100; Barbara Marx, "*Italianitá* und frühneuzeitliche Hofkultur: Dresden im Kontext," in *Elbflorenz*, 7-36; *idem*, "Künstlermigration und Kulturkonsum. Die Florentiner Kulturpolitik im 16. Jahrhundert und die Formierung Dresdens als Elbflorenz," in *Deutschland und Italien in ihren wechselseitigen Beziehungen während der Renaissance*, ed. Bodo Guthmüller (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2000), 211-298; *idem*, "Wandering Objects, Migrating Artists: The Appropriation of Italian Renaissance Art by German Courts in the Sixteenth Century," in *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe, IV: Forging European Identities, 1400-1700*, ed. Herman Roodenburg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 178-226.

[243] Diemer and Diemer, "Skulptur in den frühen Kunstkammern," 202-205.

[244] Marx, "Wandering Objects, Migrating Artists," 200.

What few bronze statuettes were part of the Dresden *Kunstkammer* arrived there by other means, namely gifts. Along with the aforementioned three bronze statuettes by Giambologna, gifts of Francesco I in 1587, a fourth statuette was also included in the collection of gifts to the new Saxon Elector. Remarkably, this appears to have been a gift from the artist himself. *Mars*, a bronze statuette modeled after the over-life size main figure of his *Neptune Fountain* in Bologna, executed in the 1560s.[247] Giambologna's motivation for sending this gift is unknown. Possibly, he sought to relocate to a different court in the hopes of earning more or the relationship with his patron may have been strained at that time. Nevertheless, Giambologna never left, or at least was not allowed to leave, Florence for the rest of his life. Though Giambologna remained moored to his Florentine base, it did not prevent his disciples from traveling across Europe to meet the increasing demands of rulers for bronze sculpture, sometimes even earning more in their new positions than the master sculptor still in Italy.[248]

The Saxon Electors may yet have been admirers of Giambologna and his style, though not as patrons. However, at least one member of the Dresden court demonstrably shared the international regard for collecting works of Giambologna and those in his style. Nosseni had a patent appreciation for the sculptor and made copies after Giambologna's sculptures and collected numerous of his works.[249] When planning for a funerary chapel in Freiberg Cathedral began, Nosseni at last received the commissions for large-scale sculpture and design of an entire decorative program he had been requesting since his tenure at the Dresden court began. In the public, if still privileged, space of the princes' choir of Freiberg Cathedral, the Saxon Electors had a proper forum for the display of their princely status. The Saxon Electors during the sixteenth century did not use their *Kunstkammer* as a means of displaying the objects symbolic or powerful rulership, but as a means of personal craft and personal relationships. The turned ivory sculptures that August carved himself or the marble samples from Cosimo I and bronze statuettes from other rulers were objects the Elector had a personal attachment to. Similarly, many of the works Nosseni crafted from the local stones and materials found their way into the princely collection or one of the various households.[250] Yet the stress on developing local resources found in many of the *Kunstkammer* objects of the Electors would later make an appearance in the new chapel being designed by Nosseni. In the following sections, I will first detail the history of the dynastic chapel in Freiberg Cathedral, then explore various other princely chapels around Europe from the period and discuss the motivations for the mode of princely representation chosen by the Saxon Electors.

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[245] Philipp Hainhofer mentions them as having been made in terracotta, though they were originally commissioned as bronze works. Scherner, "Giambologna – Carlo di Cesare," 65-68.

[246] Damian Dombrowski, "Das Reiterdenkmal am Pirnischen Tor zu Dresden: Stadtplanung und Kunstpolitik unter Kurfürst Christian I. von Sachsen," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 3, Bd. 50 (1999): 107-146; Scherner "Giambologna – Carlo di Cesare," 68-72.

[247] Moritz Woelk, "Mars," in *Giambologna in Dresden*, 36.

[248] Diemer, "Giambolognas Wirkung in Deutschland," 83-88; Peta Motture, *The Culture of Bronze: Making and Meaning in Italian Renaissance Sculpture* (London: V&A Publishing, 2019), 209-216.

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[249] Nosseni held ten works by Giambologna at the time of his death in 1620, including some terracotta and wax models; Scherner, "Skulpturengeschenke der Medici," 70.

[250] More than 300 decorative pieces of precious stone were displayed on a table of the back room of the *Kunstkammer* inventory of 1587. Syndram, "Die Anfänge der Dresdner Kunstkammer," 26.

Dynastic Chapels, Local and Abroad

At the beginning of August's reign, motivations for the construction of a tomb memorializing his brother were honorific, political, and the establishment of the Albertine Electors on an international platform. Though it commemorated only one ruler, the tomb of Moritz should also be considered a dynastic monument due to its legitimation of the entire Albertine line of rulers extending from the founding Elector. However, the Moritz tomb did not allow for the commemoration of any additional members of the family, a concern that seems to have occupied August even from the time of the tomb's completion in 1563.[251] Whatever August may have thought of commissioning any further tombs for further members of the ruling family, no pre-emptive action was taken by the Elector, despite numerous appeals from his court artist, Nosseni. The first concrete plans we learn of a funerary chapel project in Freiberg Cathedral date from late 1585, following the death of August's first wife, Anna of Denmark (Fig. 2.5).[252] While this dating falls in the reign of August and immediately follows his wife's death, his son, Christian I, was by this time co-regent and Damian Dombrowski has argued persuasively that the original conception of a dynastic funerary chapel lay with him.[253] Most likely, August finally lent support to the project only after the death of his wife and Christian then took a primary role in the project. Christian's other major architectural projects, like the *Lusthaus* in Dresden and the expansive stables added to the *Residenzschloss*, in addition to his commissions of paintings series of the ancestral Albertine family members, speak strongly in support of Christian as the driving force for the new funerary chapel project. When planning for the funerary chapel began, Nosseni originally envisioned the space as a freestanding, or at least independent, structure from the cathedral, which effectively would have doubled the length of the entire cathedral.

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[251] Baresel-Brand, *Grabdenkmäler nordeuropäischer Fürstenhäuser*, 257.

[252] Dombrowski, "Die Grablege der sächsischen Kurfürsten," 242; Meine-Schawe, *Die Grablege der Wettiner*, 39.

[253] Dombrowski, "Die Grablege der sächsischen Kurfürsten," 242. However, Nosseni periodically referred to the project as the "Churfürst Augusto Cappelle" for the extent of construction, suggesting that August may yet have had a prominent role in the initial planning stages toward the end of his reign. See Nosseni's letter to the Electoral council from June 22, 1592: StAD, Loc. 35911, fol. 61. Cited in Meine-Schawe, *Die Grablege der Wettiner*, 142, doc. 36. The first letter from Nosseni suggesting a design or wooden model is addressed to August, though Nosseni was still under contract to the Elector, not the heir. See Nosseni's

Numerous downsizing revisions were made to Nosseni's chapel design for various reasons, though predominantly due to costs. Nosseni, though, may have held out hope that the chapel might be enlarged later on, which helps to explain the abrupt transition from the chapel's architectural setting to the plain white and flat arched wall of the older cathedral building.[254] Work did not begin until 1588, by which time the scope of the project entailed only the interior decoration of the chapel area that was already constructed. Even then, further revisions were made, reducing the amount of marble and precious stones needed by translating the ceiling scenes into a stucco design. By 1594, work was completed by the few remaining workers left on the project.[255] Christian I had died in 1591, leaving his eldest son, Christian II, as the new Elector. However, he was too young to rule on his own and Duke Friedrich Wilhelm of Saxe-Weimar acted as regent

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letter to Elector August upon the death of his wife, from 1585: StAD, Loc. 4382, fol. 92. Cited in Meine-Schawe, "Giovanni Maria Nosseni," 319, n. 65.

[254] Dombrowski, "Die Grablege der sächsischen Kurfürsten," 248.

[255] Magirius, *Der Freiberger Dom,* 117.

until Christian II came of age. Friedrich Wilhelm was far more parsimonious in his expenditures and whatever plans for a grand funerary chapel worthy of an eternal, Saxon dynasty that Christian I may have still harbored ceased with the Elector's death. Following the untimely death of Christian I, the state administrators considered canceling the chapel project entirely. At this time, a fellow prince, Elector Johann Georg of Brandenburg, sent a letter to the acting regent, Friedrich Wilhelm, describing the economic benefits of using locally-sourced materials and the slight expense even large-scale projects might present given these conditions: "…because the marble and also the materials that would otherwise carry the most expense can be found in the area…and only the wages have to be paid."[256] It would have cost more to stop the project at this point than to continue with the outfitting of the chapel, with any further additions beyond that left open to Christian II and his successors. Indeed, at the edges of the chapel one can see where Nosseni's end architectural bay clashes with the bare wall of the rest of the Cathedral (Fig. 2.6), perhaps indicating where Nosseni intended to continue the project should Christian II pursue it once he assumed his full position. Nosseni's extensions were never realized: both the north and south chapels of the Electors' space in Freiberg Cathedral remain as they looked in the sixteenth century. Following Christian I's death, Nosseni composed a funeral address calling for the chapel in the Cathedral to house "a picture of everyone buried in that place," framed by "all kinds of beautiful marble stones and many colors."[257] Even if in a *non finito* state, the Freiberg chapel established Nosseni as a noted chapel designer and architect who was proficient in the newest stylistic architectural trends,[258] prompting Duke Ernst of Schaumburg-Holstein to commission Nosseni to design him a free-standing funerary chapel next to the St. Martin Church in Stadthagen. In a letter, the discerning Duke describes a fairly detailed idea of what he would like, from its centrally planned design to the Resurrection group that would be in the center of the chapel, made of gilt bronze and preferably done by the Netherlandish sculptor and Giambologna pupil, Adriaen de Vries.[259]

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[256] Letter from Elector Johann Georg von Brandenburg to Duke Friedrich Wilhelm von Saxony-Weimar May 14, 1592. StAD, Loc 35911, fol. 65, Churfürstlichen Begrebnus Baw zu Freyberg belangende Angefangen im Jahre 1591. Cited in Meine-Schawe, "Giovanni Maria Nosseni," 315, n.6.

The earlier Freiberg chapel contains six architectural bays, extending three-stories high from floor to vault, divided between either side of a central altarpiece, itself dwarfed by the surrounding architectural and sculptural design. The ground floor of each bay contains a niche holding the kneeling figures of the Electors August and Christian I and Duke Heinrich (sans Electoral sword), each framed by pairs of Corinthian columns. The figure of August even has the year "1566" inscribed on his sword, commemorating his defeat of his Ernestine rivals and supplying evidence that he remained involved with the chapel's execution even following his death.[260] If the figures in the chapel are meant to be a visual continuation from the military hero and first Albertine Elector Moritz, who literally won the Electoral privilege on the battlefield, then perhaps the inclusion of the commemorative year on August's sword was a mark of the continued military sucesses of the entire dynasty. On the opposite wall of the chapel from each ruler kneel their wives in two of the other niches, Anna, wife of August, and Christina of Mecklenburg, wife of Heinrich. Christian's wife, Sophie, was not enshrined like her husband following her death in 1622, so the remaining niche was not filled until a statue of Elector Johann Georg I (d. 1656), Christian's son and August's grandson, filled the space. All the figures are oriented toward the crucifixion grouping of the altarpiece in the center of the chapel.

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[257] In Lorentz Faust, *Sehnliche Klag und Trostschrifft wegen seligen Abschieds… Christian. Churfürsten…* (Dresden: 1591), unpag. "Denn es ist also angeordnet / das der ganze Chor abgetragen / und wieder so weit die Kirche ist / schön ausgebawet…eines jedern bild / welche des orts begrabe liegen…lauter schönen Marmelstein / allerhand farben." As in Dombrowski, "Die Grablege der sächsischen Kurfürsten," 245.

[258] Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *German Renaissance Architecture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 216-219.

[259] "*Ein klein Capellen für vier Personen zur Begrebnus von newen erbauen zu lassen…In der Mitte der Capellen soll…ein Vierkant die Auferstehung christi nebens den umbliggenden wechtern, von metallen gegossen und im fewr uberguldet, gesetzt werden…alss dann nirgent besser dann durch Adrian de Friessen verferttigt werden kann*." Letter from Duke Ernst of Schaumburg-Holstein to Giovanni Maria Nosseni, March 1608. Separate parts of the letter can be found in Scholten, "Adriaen de Vries," 30-34, and Lars Olof Larsson, "Das Mausoleum in Stadthagen: Ein einzigartiges Denkmal frühneuzeutlicher Grabkultur," in *Neue Beiträge zu Adriaen de Vries: Vorträge des Adriaen de Vries Symposiums vom 16. bis 18. April 2008 in Stadthagen und Bückeburg*, ed. Schaumburger Landschaft (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 2008), 27-29. On Nosseni as chapel designer and architect, see also the two essays by Dorothea Diemer in *ibid.*, "Fragen der künstlerischen Planung und Realisierung des Mausoleums," 41-70, and "Nosseni, Entwerfer der Stadtkirche Bückeburg," 117.

Nosseni's earliest designs for the chapel suggest he had intended a centrally planned space, which would have required knocking out the brick wall of the pre-existing chapel in order to accommodate the design. However, this was deemed to be too expensive and the executed plan was settled upon. To carry out the necessary work, he would need more skillful artists than the Saxon court could supply at that time. Sent with the diplomatic envoys by Christian I, Nosseni visited Florence in 1588 where he also would have been able to inspect first-hand the Sacristies in San Lorenzo of Brunelleschi and Michelangelo. While his stated mission was to recruit a skilled Florentine sculptor to execute the bronze figures of the chapel, there is no reason to suppose that Nosseni did not also study earlier Renaissance architecture in the city and the current working practices of Florentine artists. In Florence, Nosseni managed to recruit the talented Giambologna pupil, Carlo di Cesare, who traveled with Nosseni on his return to the Dresden court and who worked for most of the next three years from the workshop he established in Freiberg.[261] In fact, the master had recommended Carlo to Nosseni for the commission, which likely assured the young Italian's appointment given Nosseni's admiration for the older Netherlandish sculptor. Carlo's precise training in Florence is unknown; however he was admitted to the Accademia del Disegno in 1565 and so must have been recognized as a skilled craftsman.[262] He is mentioned as a stucco artist, a Florentine specialty of this period, which accords well with the composite nature of bronze: Carlo was a skilled artisan in the working and making of artificial materials like stucco and bronze.[263] He also assisted in Giambologna's studio and while again the particulars of his role there are unknown, he is documented as having assisted Giambologna in the model for the *Okeanos* statue.[264] Nosseni, who hired Carlo di Cesare after speaking to Giambologna in Florence, could have known of Carlo's involvement in the designs and preparations for that statue. Given his high-ranking position at the Dresden court, it is probable that Nosseni had also seen the *Mars* statue in the *Kunstkammer* given by Giambologna the year before, based off the *Okeanos* design. The dynastic chapel in Freiberg Cathedral was Carlo's largest coherent project done in his own hand. More than sixty bronze figures in total adorn various niches, platforms, and cornices of the architectural design, at least forty of which were executed by Carlo or under his direct supervision. Carlo was considered a skilled sculptor, even if not at the level of his master Giambologna or the later De Vries. Carlo had worked as a journeyman earlier in his career, both in Italy and north of the Alps, and worked extensively with the Netherlandish sculptor and yet another fellow pupil of Giambologna, Hubert Gerhard. Following his work in Freiberg, Carlo traveled to Munich to continue working with Gerhard, now employed on the façade of St. Michael's Church.

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[260] Meine Schawe, *Die Grablege der Wettiner*, 105 and Ab. 52.

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[261] Dombrowski, "Die Grablege der sächsischen Kurfürsten," 252.

[262] Diemer, *Hubert Gerhard und Carlo di Cesare*, I, 35.

[263] Norbert Wolf, *Substrat-Idee-Bedeutung. Material in der deutschen Plastik um 1600*. (PhD diss., Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität zu München, 1980), 151-160.

[264] Diemer, *Hubert Gerhard und Carlo di Cesare*, I, 36.

At the height of the bronze and stucco figural work for the Freiberg chapel decoration, Carlo led an international workshop of more than fifty artists from Italy, Germany and the Netherlands, among them sculptors, stuccoists, and painters.[265] Nosseni's design can be easily read in its visual organization, with each vertical bay separated by a tall, thin window, but unified by a running cornice atop the ground story of the design. Each bay presents a clear vertical grouping of an effigy of a Wettin family member, surmounted by a Latin-named virtue, itself surmounted by an Old Testament prophet or one of the New Testament apostles. There is also a visual duplication of the Moritz tomb in the kneeling figures on the ground level, where each bronze Wettiner adopts the same pose as the earlier alabaster statue surmounting the solitary monument. In the earlier tomb, the Moritz figure initially knelt alone as a soldier memorialized in his secular role before the later addition of the crucifix at the locus of his gaze transformed him into a soldier of Christ and a defender of the Lutheran faith. From the beginning the chapel's iconographic design maintained a Lutheran theme, orienting each of the kneeling figures, a pose described as being in "eternal worship,"[266] toward the central altarpiece, Saints John the Baptist and Peter looking up to a crucified Christ (Fig. 2.7). The bronze crucifix is based on the popular *Cristo morto* model created by Giambologna around 1588, a crucifix type depicting a near-naked and well-defined Christ stretched over the cross, his head sunken toward his chest (Fig. 2.8). Two versions of this type were made, one in Santa Maria degli Angiolini and another in the Salviati Chapel in San Marco, both in Florence.[267] The Freiberg sculptural group rests atop a marble base after Michelangelo's design for the Medici tombs in the New Sacristy of San Lorenzo, again in Florence.[268] The John the Baptist figure is also based on a Giambologna model, again from the Salviati Chapel, while the four virtues and the putti figures have iconographic models in other works by Hubert Gerhard.[269] Carlo di Cesare was viewed in his day as a worthy substitute for Giambologna when the Netherlandish master could not be procured, so his stylistic borrowings from Giambologna and others of his school are unsurprising, perhaps even intentional given the potential financial benefits for the sculptor.[270]

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[265] Smith, *German Sculpture*, 183. The payroll records show up to 130, or perhaps even 200, people working under Nosseni's direction on parts of the chapel at any one time. Meine-Schawe, "Giovanni Maria Nosseni," 304-306; StAD, Loc. 4454, Monumentbau, fol. 24-26 (payroll record for December 1591).

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[266] On the "*ewigen Anbetung*" figure, see Meys, *Memoria und Bekenntnis*, 107-111. See also Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, 76-87, on the activation of the effigy; i.e., from the *gisant* figure in death to the revivified kneeling figure in tomb sculpture.

[267] Diemer, *Hubert Gerhard und Carlo di Cesare*, I, 270.

[268] Recall the four alabaster models of the *Times of Day* figures discussed above. Even if he never saw the originals in the *Kunstkammer*, Nosseni had terracotta copies of the alabaster statuettes in his personal collection. Scherner, "Skulpturengeschenke der Medici," 268-281..

[269] Magirius, *Der Dom zu Freiberg*, 54.

[270] Motture, *The Culture of Bronze*, 212.

Similarly, we can locate models for other parts of Nosseni's design, though some lie much closer to the chapel geographically. The solitary Moritz kneels atop his tomb, the apex of an enormous monument to an individual, enclosed and self-referential. Yet the pose and purpose of his figure is duplicated in the later bronze figures, now the foundation for a larger iconographic program. The second level sports heraldic shields and the figures of *Fides* and *Spes*, leading quickly up to the third level, populated by prophets from the Old Testament. Framed by the central choir window and looming over the smaller altarpiece, a bronze statue of Christ resurrected serves as a vertical link between the altar below and the painted ceiling program above. There, a third Christ, now acting as the final Judge, duplicates the clothing, raised right arm, and victory flag of the bronze Resurrection figure. He is surrounded by bronze putti, some carrying instruments, atop the architectural cornice while closer to him and on the ceiling area proper painted stucco putti bear additional instruments, though here some are similarly of the musical variety while others are those from the Passion. Crucifixion, Resurrection, and Last Judgment combine in the iconographic narrative of the chapel, reinforcing the piety of the secular figures of the Wettins below while also suggesting the armor-clad rulers are defenders of the faith. Similar readings can be made for the Moritz figure nearby, whose checkered alliances with other Protestants may have motivated the strong Christian iconology included in his tomb. The culmination of the program in the Last Judgment scene above emphasizes the true faith of the dynasty as a whole while the presence of the Wettins suggests an additional layer of meaning, this one tied to their place on earth. The bronze figure of Justice at ground level holds a balance in her hand while in the ceiling above an angel again holds a balance, linking the divine affirmation of each member's faith with the affirmation of their dynastic rule.

Materials Fit for a Prince

The vertical iconographic thrust and symmetrical regularity of the architectural and sculptural program can be set against the sheer variety to be found in the rich panorama of colors and materials on display in the chapel. From late 1589 when the first sculpting work began through the end of the project, Nosseni was actively supplying artists in Freiberg and continuously traveling between nearby quarries in Weißenfels, Krottendorf, Grüna and Wildenfels, and Zöblitz.[271] All of the stones installed in the chapel's interior decoration came from Saxon quarries, which were also controlled and managed by Nosseni under Electoral privilege.[272] The cast-bronze figures are framed by paired columns of red limestone from Wildenfels, set on green-gray Zöblitzer serpentine bases and topped with Corinthian capitals of white alabaster from Weißensee. The wall recess behind each statue and the reserve areas are faced with gray Krottendorfer alabaster stone. The bases below the statues consist of paired pedestals of red limestone supporting the red limestone columns above and decorated by white alabaster lion heads. White alabaster abounds, from the lion heads in the base to the column capitals in the central zone to the cornice and parapet above, architectural features which also hold angels flanking coats of arms, both of carved white alabaster, though perhaps some other limestone. Black limestone slabs separate the multiple cornice levels and the parapet. Other painted coats of arms of Saxon sandstone are mounted extensively above each figure, identifying each figure genealogically and ascribing heraldic attributes to each. Inscriptions on white Saxon limestone are littered throughout the chapel, similarly identifying and valorizing each representational statue. The consistent use of local materials in the design seems to be a conscious effort to display the wealth of Saxony just as much as it is a display of the wealth of its rulers. The inscriptions and coats of arms are all fashioned from regional stones and the inclusion of serpentine stone, recognized internationally as a stone specific to the region, marks the local character of the chapel design. Allegory, heraldry, and lavish materials combine to form a program glorifying the Electoral family.

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[271] Meine-Schawe, "Giovanni Maria Nosseni," 303.

[272] The material composition for many of the decorative and iconographic features is thoroughly cataloged in Hoyer, *Sächsischer Serpentin*, 282, on which much of the following description is based. The specific quarry locations for each stone type can be found in Mackowsky, *Giovanni Maria Nosseni*, 33.

Dombrowski argues that there may be a link between the materialistic display in the Freiberg funeral chapel and, once again, the Medici's chapel in Florence.[273] The variety of colorful precious stones in a Classical setting in the Freiberg chapel can also be found in the contemporaneous Medici chapel. The building of the Medici chapel, the Cappella dei Principi in San Lorenzo basilica in Florence (Fig. 2.9), was not begun until the beginning of the seventeenth century, but planning for the project had actually started forty years earlier. In the middle of the sixteenth century, Cosimo I (1519-1574), the first Grand Duke of Tuscany, sought to establish a visual, architectural space that would both link to the patronage projects of the previous Medici popes while lending greater visibility to the status of the current regime: his. One of the projects he planned was a grand funerary chapel, yet another addition to the Basilica of San Lorenzo which already contained the Old Sacristy of Brunelleschi from the early fifteenth century and the New Sacristy of Michelangelo from the early sixteenth century. The latter space was commissioned by Giulio de' Medici, then a Cardinal but later Pope Clement VII, and Pope Leo X, also known as Giovanni di Lorenzo de' Medici. The Old Sacristy, while architecturally defining of the new Classical style in the Renaissance, did not proclaim the magnificence of the Medici family in a manner suitable to Cosimo's taste, that is, sixteenth-century princely taste, while the New Sacristy of Michelangelo had, in effect, been treated as a shrine to the artist since 1530, not to be touched or altered.[274] For a Duke with princely, even 'grand ducal', ambition, this status quo could not remain as such.

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[273] Dombrowski, "Die Grablege der sächsischen Kurfürsten," 268-72.

By the late 1560's, Cosimo had begun planning a new funerary chapel for the dynasty. He envisioned the mausoleum, or grand funerary chapel, to actually rest outside of the Basilica, directly behind the choir, where the Cappella dei Principi was subsequently built. Alongside Giorgio Vasari, Cosimo began to draw up plans for a large, free-standing chapel with a central plan, probably by January 1564.[275] In the same year, Catherine de' Medici instructed Primaticcio, her court artist, to build a centrally planned mausoleum for her family in Saint Denis, work on which began in 1567 and was known to Vasari.[276] If we include Nosseni's first conception for the Saxon funerary chapel in Freiberg in this comparison, all three funerary chapels were initially designed as centrally planned spaces. Andrew Morrogh points to the additional examples (in Italy) of the chapel of Sixtus V at Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome (1585-1590) and the designs for the Gonzaga mausoleum in Mantua under the new ruler Vincenzo I (1587-1588).[277] Strengthening the comparison between the Florence and Freiberg chapels is their emphasis on the material of the built edifice and the proper role that precious stone plays for princely display. Almost from the beginning of the planning of the Cappella, Cosimo seems to have intended to use the *mischio di Seravezza* variety of colored marble he highly valued for its physical properties and which came from a quarry discovered near Seravezza 1563.[278] Here again we find a prince taking not only an active but a practical interest in precious stone indigenous to his territory. Cosimo even took to eating meals off a large slab of black *mischio* in the summers.[279] Yet, for all his passion for colored stones and his desire for a dynastic funerary chapel, construction of the Cappella dei Principi was no closer to starting than before planning had commenced.

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[274] Another reason for the inviolability of Michelangelo's New Sacristy, aside from intermittent projects to complete it, may be the fact that following the death of Pope Clement VII the chapel and its administration belonged to his heir: Catherine de' Medici. Emanuela Ferretti, "Sacred Space and Architecture in the Patronage of the First Grand Duke of Tuscany: Cosimo I, San Lorenzo, and the Consolidation of the Medici Dynasty," in *San Lorenzo: A Florentine Church*, ed. Robert W. Gaston and Louis A. Waldman (Villa I Tatti: The Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies, 2017), 508-11.

[275] Andrew Morrogh, "Vasari and Coloured Stones," in *Giorgio Vasari: Tra Decorazione Ambientale e Storiografia Artistica*, ed. Gian Carlo Garfagnini (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1985), 315.

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[276] Zerner, *Renaissance Art in France*, 379-388; Ferretti, "Sacred Space," 512. Note also the Medici connection between Florence and France.

[277] Andrew Morrogh, "The Cappella dei Principi under Ferdinando I de' Medici," in *San Lorenzo*, 582. On the design and symbolism of the Sistine Chapel in Santa Maria Maggiore by Domenico Fontana, see Steven F. Ostrow, *Art and Spirituality in Counter-Reformation Rome: The Sistine and Pauline Chapels in S. Maria Maggiore* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 23-62. The planned Gonzaga mausoleum was never constructed.

[278] Morrogh, "Vasari," 313-16.

[279] *ibid*., 314.

After a gap of some thirty years, Ferdinando I (1549-1609), son of Cosimo I, resumed the planning of a funerary chapel. The first watercolor drawings illustrate a wealthy and aesthetically refined decoration of the interior architecture. There are large portions of the wall colored in a pale blue, probably representing the *pietra serena* stone much used in Renaissance Florence, including in the Old Sacristy, though which would not set the new Medici chapel apart from previous works.[280] Compared to what came later, this was a modest proposal. Around 1599, still before work on the new chapel had even begun, Ferdinando apparently decided to decorate the interior predominantly in jaspers. Morrogh assumes that in this way he was competing directly with Philip II of Spain, whose high altar and side chapels in the Basilica at the Escorial palace had employed jasper stone extensively in its interior (Fig. 2.10).[281] The high altar and side chapels sporting the bronze figure groups by Leone and Pompeo Leoni are decorated with red granite and jasper stones of a Spanish origin. In comparison, the decoration in the Florentine chapel would eventually contain rock crystals, lapis lazuli, and the aforementioned jasper stones, quarried from nearby in Italy but also far afield, including Germany, Flanders, Cyprus, even Persia.[282] The Central European stones *Diaspro die Boemia* and *Diaspri Profiritici die Sassonia* were both listed among the hundreds of rock samples in the Opificio delle Pietre Dure in Florence.[283] Philip placed an emphasis on establishing a plain style of architecture, as opposed to the modern Italian style, demonstrating the piety of its patron and instilling those same values in its audience. The ornate decoration of indigenous stones in the interior may seem antithetical to that wish, but churches were actually expected to be more sumptuous than other buildings. Somewhat paradoxically, the greater sumptuousness decorating the church would similarly inspire piety in visiting believers.[284] The altar also served as a dynastic burial spot, with the coffins actually residing directly below where the priest stood during the mass. The dynastic concerns may also have influenced the choice for a more ornate decorative scheme by Philip, whose son later transformed the crypt below into the Panteón de los Reyes in the beginning of the seventeenth century.[285] For Ferdinando, the relative ubiquity of the local *pietra serena* stone in architectural works around Florence likely prompted him to find materials whose extraordinariness would be more readily apparent. The various designs of the Cappella dei Principi suggest that the newly-anointed Grand Dukes of Tuscany sought to represent their higher status in regal, not ducal, terms. Although work on the chapel in Florence finally began in 1604, the structure alone took half a century to complete, while the actual decoration continued well into the eighteenth century. The finishing touch – a final polish of the floor – was not completed until 1961.[286]

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[280] Morrogh, "Cappella dei Principi," 573. The watercolor by Alessandro Pieroni is reproduced in *ibid.*, but could not be included here. L.P. 37, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Florence.

[281] *ibid.*, 574.

[282] *ibid.*

[283] Damian Dombrowski, "Dresden – Prag," 79.

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[284] It should be noted that this pertains to the context of a Catholic structure during the Counter Reformation era. Catherine Wilkinson, "Planning a Style for the Escorial: An Architectural Treatise for Philip of Spain," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 44, no. 1 (March, 1985): 37-47. The anonymous author of the architectural treatise writes, "For in the end we are men and our eyes move our souls." Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Ms. 9681, *Tratado anonimo de arquitectura dedicado al Principe D. Felipe III*, fol. 56-59; quoted in Wilkinson, "Planning a Style," 40.

[285] On the dynastic considerations and international context, see Michael Scholz-Hänsel, "Der Escorial als Grablege im Kontext der Konfessionalisierung," in *Grabkunst und Sepulkralkultur in Spanien und Portugal / Arte funerario y cultura sepulcral en España y Portugal*, eds. Barbara Borngässer *et al*. (Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert Verlag, 2006), 419-440; Marie Favereau Doumenjou and Liesbeth Geevers, "The Golden Horde, the Spanish Habsburg Monarchy, and the Construction of Ruling Dynasties," in *Prince, Pen, and Sword: Eurasian Perspectives*, eds. Maaike van Berkel and Jeroen Duindam (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 497-502.

During the sixteenth century, precious stonework took on a representational importance for the Medici rulers, capable of trumpeting the magnificence of the family and serving as worthy diplomatic gifts to other European nobility. As Iris Wenderholm perceptively notes, "Territorial and political claims interesect [in stones] – possessing land and ruling over it were linked with the possession of stone objects."[287] The identification of *pietre dure* works with the Medici specifically was an explicit intention from the outset.[288] In 1572, Cosimo I lured the Ambrogi brothers, famous carvers of semiprecious stones, away from Milan while his son, Francesco I, managed a similar feat with Giorgio Gaffuri, the head of an established workshop in Milan, in 1575.[289] These stone carvers joined their Florentine counterparts in the Casino di San Marco, a private workshop established by Francesco where his artists would work on commissions for him. Furthermore, he would be able to view them working, and even join in the work, himself a somewhat skilled carver, like his father before him. The Casino doubled as a working lab that could host the experiments in new techniques and advances in the art called for by the Grand Duke, like the *commesso* works desired internationally. While the Casino was a private space supervised by and run at the pleasure of the Grand Duke, by 1588 the new Grand Duke, Ferdinando I, transferred the workshop to the nearby Galleria dei Lavori in the Uffizi palace, though now as a state-run and -sanctioned workshop, the first of its kind in Europe and a direct ancestor to the later Gobelins Manufactory of Louis XIV. From this foundation date, Florentine *commesso* and *pietre dure* works were commissioned for projects locally as well as diplomatically: Emperor Rudolf II in Prague, the Duke of Mantua, Catherine de' Medici of France, and the most powerful Cardinals in Rome all received gifts of these works.[290] Rudolf was so enamored of Florentine stonework that, in addition to commissioning the Florentine workshop directly, he also hired his own Italian stone carver, Ottavio Miseroni, and established a workshop in Prague in 1588 to work the plentiful jasper stones and local marbles of Bohemia.[291] Apparently, Rudolf was a keen observer of stones and had considerable erudition about their working. His personal physician, Anselmus Boetius de Boodt, published an alchemical-cosmological work on gems and stones in 1609, titled *Gemmarum et lapidarum historia*, which contained a dedicatory preface about Rudolf, how "…in noble stones [Rudolf] may contemplate the greatness and unspeakable power of God, who unites in bodies so small the beauty of the entire world and the force of all other things, and in this way you have always before your eyes a certain reflection and spark of divinity."[292] In fine stonework, artistic creation reflected the divine, and he who controlled divine creation would have been viewed as the master of nature. The Medici controlled the carving of precious stones, harnessing the divine spark of artisanship and spreading word of their magnificence with gifts of their workshop's efforts.

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[286] Morrogh, "Cappella dei Principi," 567.

[287] Iris Wenderholm, "Politik der Steine: Zur Materialsemantik der Pietra dura-Tischplatten," in *Steinformen*, 228-231.

[288] On Florentine *pietre dure* work, see esp. the works of Annamaria Giusti: Annamaria Giusti, "L''ingenioso artificio' delle pietre dure," in *Magnificenza alla Corte dei Medici: Arte a Firenze alla Fine del Cinquecento* (Milano: Electa, 1997), 380-384; *idem*, *Pietre Dure: The Art of Semiprecious Stonework*, trans. Fabio Barry (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2006), 47-108; *idem*, "Sotto il segno dei Medici," in *La Fabbrica delle Meraviglie: La Manifattura di Pietre Dure a Firenze*, ed. *idem* (Firenze: EDIFIR-edizioni Firenze, 2015), 11-50.

[289] Giusti, "L''ingenioso artificio' delle pietre dure," 381.

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[290] Giusti, "Sotto il segno dei Medici," 16.

[291] On the Prague workshop, see Rudolf Distelberger, "Die Kunstkammerstücke," in *Prag um 1600: Kunst und Kultur am Hofe Rudolfs II.* (Freren: Luca Verlag, 1988), I, 457-465; Annamaria Giusti, "Arte Regale: Pietre Dure da Firenze alle Corti d'Europa," in *"Pietre Colorate Molto Vaghe e Belle": Arte senza Tempo dal Museo dell'Opificio delle Pietre Dure*, eds. Sandra Rossi *et al*. (Mantova: Tre Lune Edizioni, 2018), 120-126.

The Uffizi workshop must have been efficient and large to keep up with production, especially given that work on the inlay decorations for the Cappella dei Principi started in 1589, a full fifteen years before the architectural construction would begin in earnest. The Prague workshop never reached the extent nor productivity of the Opificio, trailing off following its patron's death in 1612 and the destruction of the Thirty Years' War that began later that decade. In Dresden, Elector Johann Georg I established "marble laboratories" in the *Lusthaus* in 1617, though this later workshop development never attained the quality or productivity of the Italians. Before then, the artisans employed at the Saxon court continued to produce their own works of decorative pieces in precious stone on a smaller scale. The stones supplied from the quarries operated by Nosseni were used by the artisans employed, or at least hosted, by the Saxon rulers. The same stones that were cut and installed into the decoration of the dynastic chapel in Freiberg Cathedral were also cut and fashioned into objects that were then used at the Saxon court or sent abroad as princely gifts.

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[292] Quoted and translated in Giusti, *Pietre Dure*, 116.

Perhaps the most expensive of these *Edelsteine* was also the one most closely aligned with the Saxon rulers. Serpentine stone can be found speckled throughout Saxony and while it also can be found elsewhere in Europe, the richest mines and most sought-after varieties, especially the lighter shades of stone that result from an absence of garnet in their chemical composition, are located in Saxony. The earliest pieces made from Saxon serpentine date to perhaps the thirteenth century, though the stone was known in antiquity, if not its precise source.[293] Starting in the sixteenth century, the production of objects and artworks from serpentine increased rapidly, aided by the employment of Nosseni in 1575. By the end of the century, serpentine objects could be found in the *Kunst*- and *Schatzkammer* of most princes in Europe, either sent as a gift from the Elector or even requested by the foreign court.[294] Tin, and later gold, fastenings were attached to the stones for use as well as ornamentation. Some vessels include Electors' initials engraved on their gold fastenings while the Danish coat of arms was inscribed on the inside of the lid of one serpentine ewer, evidence of the individualizing touches that could be included in princely gifts. Serpentine was also highly valued during the time due to its purported medicinal and apotropaic qualities. De Boodt described numerous printed handbills praising the stone as a "proven remedy, by internal or external use, for pulmonary consumption, abdominal pain, and ailments of the head or stomach."[295] Since antiquity, it had also been considered to be a protection from poison, hence the vast amount of crafted vessels and other tableware objects.[296] At the Dresden court, the protective qualities of serpentine were performed daily: court servants were tasked with touching the Elector's food with a serpentine utensil before he ate it and the Elector drank from a serpentine vessel.[297] The stone became associated with the Saxon dynasty due to its relative scarcity elsewhere in Europe and the near-monopoly the Electors had on serpentine production. More than the association, the Electors held a very personal control over the stone. A particular color of serpentine, red and purple-red, was specifically reserved for the use of the Electors when found in quarries, restricting its use to state-sanctioned functions.[298]

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[293] Hoyer, *Sächsischer Serpentin*, 20-22.

[294] *ibid*., 86; Jutta Kappel, "Turned Serpentine Works," in *Princely Splendor*, 198.

[295] Hoyer, *Sächsischer Serpentin*, 14.

Given its strong links to the Saxon Electors, the use of serpentine in the dynastic chapel in Freiberg Cathedral fits logically with the representational program and materialistic display. Though it only features in the column bases and plinths of the chapel, it still contributes to the overall splendor of the multicolored stones displayed, nor should its slight presence necessarily be equated with its relative importance.[299] Even at this stage in the sixteenth century, the availability of the stone in large enough quantities to furnish a greater role in the decoration may have been a limiting factor. So, too, could the cost of the stone itself, even among the rich level of decoration already present. Prior to larger scale mining of the stone in the later sixteenth century, the price of serpentine was nearly the same as the price of a unicorn horn, similarly valued for its poison prevention attributes, which could cost as much as ten times its weight in gold.[300] In the window reveals of the chapel, large serpentinesque diamonds were painted in a pattern imitating the precious stones found elsewhere in the chapel. Just as the marble ceiling plan was actually executed in stucco, the painted architectural features here could also be later revisions made during the cost-conscious regency period. Once Christian II attained his Electoral majority, and following increasing productivity at Nosseni's serpentine mines, serpentine began to make more regular, and more substantial, appearances in courtly architectural projects. Lorenz Seelig suggests that in later times there may have existed a courtly program in the deployment of serpentine as a decorative surface for walls and furniture, noting the translation of the *scagliola* technique from Italy to Munich around 1600 that could replicate the appearance of expensive colored marble using the much cheaper dyed stucco.[301] The increasing use of serpentine in many interior spaces of most major court buildings in Dresden in later centuries lends many examples in support of his argument.

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[296] Wolfram Koeppe, "Exotica and the Kunstkammer: 'Snake Stones, Iridescent Sea Snails, and Eggs of the Giant Iron-Devouring Bird,'" in *Princely Splendor*, 81.

[297] *ibid*., 82.

[298] Hoyer, *Sächsischer Serpentin*, 12.

[299] *ibid*., 70.

The use of serpentine in the Freiberg chapel exemplifies the purposeful promotion of the fruits of the land. Saxony's wealth derived from its silver mines, so when its rulers sought to display the wealth of their territory they chose materials that derived from the same local sources. By demonstrating the wealth of their lands, the Electors were at the same time demonstrating their authority to rule those lands. The emphasis on local materials was a mode for princely representation, but it was also a choice made by the Electors when they sought to publicly demonstrate their rank and status. While the Medici meticulously cultivated stone samples from as many places abroad as they could, displaying many of them in their own dynastic chapel in Florence, the Saxon Electors displayed stones that not only were sourced locally, but some of which the Electors even had personal experience in handling and carving. August is documented as having worked with samples of alabaster and serpentine in his *Kunstkammer*. Christian may also have done so when he inherited the collection, since the tools and samples were already at hand and he had experience turning ivory pieces like his father had. Freshly quarried, serpentine is a soft, malleable stone like alabaster, but could even be handled on a lathe when wetted and worked as well as ivory.[302] Christian respected the *Kunstkammer* collection he inherited as a dynastic property and made no drastic changes to the contents, but he did make some additions and reorganize objects within the rooms. The table holding the stone samples was relocated from the central place it had occupied under August's control to one of the back rooms, the objects arranged as if on display rather than actively in use. So, too, were the more than one hundred turned ivory pieces made by August, which Christian collected from all the Electoral residences into a centrallized group, joining the other stone samples. Under Christian, access to the *Kunstkammer* was at last granted to outside, though necessarily princely, visitors. During August's reign, he had denied access to fellow princes, even to those whom he considered to be lifelong friends like the Duke Albrecht of Bavaria – nor even to the

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[300] Koeppe, "Exotica and the Kunstkammer," 82.

[301] Lorenz Seelig, "Review. Reviewed Work: *Sächsischer Serpentin: Ein Stein und seine Verwendung* by Eva Maria Hoyer," trans. Maria Schlatter, *Studies in the Decorative Arts* 4 (no. 2, Spring-Summer 1997): 121.

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[302] Kappel, "Turned Ivory Works," 198-199.

Emperor Maximilian II.[303] What had been a personal space under August became a privileged one under Christian.

The use of entirely local materials in the sumptuous display in the Freiberg dynastic chapel provided Christian with an ideal vehicle to demonstrate his privileged and princely status. The architectural setting was composed of Saxon stones, all quarried within 200 kilometers of Freiberg itself, while the bronze statues populating all the ledges and niches were cast locally, using local materials. While the choice for bronze, as opposed to stone, sculpture, especially in the cases of the ground-level effigies of the Electors, was likely motivated by other reasons, but the crafting process of the statues actually serves to reinforce the locational theme of the rest of the chapel. From the mid-fifteenth century in Italy, bronze statues were prized objects among patrons. While small-scale bronze sculpture had continued to be cast in various areas of pre-Renaissance Europe, what made the fifteenth-century products stand out was their direct emulation of, or competition with, the works of antiquity.[304] The revival of interest in the antique during the Renaissance inspired artists to create artworks based on ancient models or with ancient themes. Patrons, steeped in teachings from the Classical world, eagerly sought out works reflective of their own formative education. North of the Alps, bronze statuary was increasingly popular through the sixteenth century, as we saw with the princely collecting and gifting of bronze statuettes, but large-scale casting was still relatively limited outside of the foundries in Italy.[305] Difficulties with large-scale casting likely caused much of the delay in the cenotaph and funerary program of Maximilian I in Innsbruck. Michael Baxandall's extensive treatment of Hubert Gerhard's trouble casting bronze sculptures of religious figures for the memorial altar of Christoph Fugger in Augsburg in 1581 and 1582 provides one of the earliest, and still best, discussions of the challenges facing northern sculptors working in bronze.[306]

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[303] Syndram, “Princely Diversion and Courtly Display,” 63.

[304] Anthony Radcliffe and Nicholas Penny, *Art of the Renaissance Bronze 1500-1650* (London: Philip Wilson Publishers, 2004), 68-94; Motture, *The Culture of Bronze*, 74-76.

The base material is not a naturally-produced substance, requiring human intervention from first to last to produce a work in bronze. In his *Historia naturalia*, Pliny credits the crafting of art in bronze to have originally been the work of the gods.[307] Pliny's cosmological reference would not have been out of place to early modern foundry workers and artisans. The Italian mine manager and metallurgist Vannoccio Biringuccio (c. 1480-c. 1539) wrote in his treatise on metals and smelting, *De la pirotechnia* (1540), that, according to "practical men…silver generates itself willingly in a rock similar to limestone."[308] As discussed above, early modern miners believed precious stones and metal ores to literally grow within the earth, "like the veins of blood in the bodies of animals, or the branches of trees spread out in different directions,"[309] living, growing, breathing substances. Similarly, the terminology of smelting the metal borrowed from anatomy, where the casting mould was thought of as the *matrix* (womb), the metal skeleton used to build the model was called the *ossatura* (skeleton), and the actual clay or wax model was called the *anima* (soul).[310] Bronze, by the nature of its particular compositional and physical needs to melt, pour, and cool at the perfect level, stood for the material *par excellence* that symbolized the power of the artist. The molten liquid of bronze was thought to be both alive and life-giving, the artist in control of the material even more so, a Promethean or Pygmalian figure who could animate and re-animate the metal.[311] Michael Cole's extensive scholarship on the casting process of Benvenuto Cellini's *Medusa* statue in Florence perfectly encapsulates the interplay between the literal and metaphorical uses of bronze in the early modern period.[312] Artists capable of performing the Promethean task of sculpting in bronze were in short supply, hence why Nosseni needed to travel to Florence in order to hire a sculptor capable of producing the large number of high quality statues for the dynastic chapel.

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[305] Frits Scholten, "Bronze, the Mythology of a Metal," in *Bronze: The Power of Life and Death* (Leeds: Henry Moore Institute, 2005), 30-32.

[306] Michael Baxandall, "Hubert Gerhard and the Altar of Christoph Fugger: The Sculpture and Its Making," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 3, Bd. 17 (1966): 127-144.

[307] Pliny, *Historia naturalia*, XXXIV.iii.5.

[308] Vannoccio Biringuccio, *The Pirotechnia of Vanoccio Biringuccio*, trans. Cyril Stanley Smith and Martha Teach Gnudi (New York: The American Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineers, 1942), 46.

[309] *ibid*., 13.

As detailed above, the chapel consists of three tiers of figure types and heraldic shields, surmounted by putti and a Last Judgment painted scene on the ceiling. The plaster and terracotta figures of the ceiling were the first figures to be installed in the chapel, though the four central virtues, *Fides, Spes, Caritas* and *Iustitia*, were the first bronze statues to be cast (Fig. 2.11). Dorothea Diemer suggests that these statues may be more the conception of Carlo than Nosseni, as they most closely reflect Carlo's style out of any of the Freiberg statues and potentially predate Nosseni's full design for the chapel, given the numerous downsizing revisions he had to make around this time.[313] Additionally, aside from the two central niches housing virtues, all the other niches of the middle zone of the chapel consist of heraldic figures and shields, further supporting Diemer's suggestion. The heraldic shields are either fixed to the architecture above the noble figures, identifying each person heraldically, or are held by putti figures (Figs. 2.12, 2.13). Though painted, as the shields necessarily need to display the corresponding colors along with the iconography, the so-called "shield-bearing" putti figures are also cast bronze, a material connection to the other bronze figures of the chapel: Old Testament prophets, New Testament saints, Classical putti, virtues, and the Wettin family members themselves. Just as the tomb of Moritz displays heraldic shields at the side of alabaster soldiers in ancient Roman armor, a Classical variation on the larger alabaster figure of Moritz above, the shield-bearers in the chapel link the princely figures with their dynastic symbols. As symbols, the putti carry heraldic shields designating the prestige and dynastic history of each individual, while also bearing the link to a more distant, but even more prestigious, past: antiquity.

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[310] Scholten, "Bronze," 26.

[311] Mircea Eliade, *The Forge and the Crucible*, trans. Stephen Corrin (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), esp. 142-178.

[312] Michael W. Cole, "Cellini's Blood," *The Art Bulletin* 81, no. 2 (1999): 215-235; *ibid*., *Cellini and the Principles of Sculpture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); *ibid*., "The Medici *Mercury* and the Breath of Bronze," in *Large Bronzes in the Renaissance*, ed. Peta Motture (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 129-153.

As material, the bronze putti similarly carry associations with antiquity, though they are also bearers of a more local connection. Many of the bronze putto figures have a similar *contrapposto* stance, though with variations of arm gestures, and even more share the same style head in both hair coiffure and facial expression. These similarities suggest Carlo would have used an indirect casting method that would also preserve the mold following the casting process, allowing for multiple casts to be made from the same mold. Damian Dombrowski suggests there may even have been a single model for the statues of August and Christian, leaving little reason not to pursue the same cost- and time-saving techniques for the less individualized figures.[314] The 'slush moulding' technique was commonly used in Giambologna's workshop, whereby molten wax is poured into a loose plaster mold and swilled around, slowly adhering inside the mold.[315] Once set, each wax mold would then be covered in plaster or clay and recombined into the whole model for firing. The firing process would harden the plaster mold inside and outside the wax model, which would melt out of the mold entirely due to the heat. The empty cavity could then be filled with the molten bronze alloy and the exterior mold removed piece by piece without damaging the mold.[316] In this process, the bronze of the sculpture would in truth be only the exterior skin of the work, leaving its hardened core as the structural foundation for the metal to protect it from easy puncturing and comprising the vast majority of total material in the work. Though no scientific analysis has been done on the bronze statues in the chapel (to my knowledge), common practice at the time was to use local earthen materials for the core.[317] While the Electoral patrons were probably unaware of the casting methods employed by Carlo and the other artists at work on the chapel, the local core of the bronze statues illustrates the consistent theme of local materials on display in the dynastic monument.

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[313] Diemer, *Hubert Gerhard und Carlo di Cesare*, I, 268.

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[314] Dombrowski, "Die Grablege der sächsischen Kurfürsten," 254. During the later stages of work on the chapel following Christian's death and under the parsimonious regency, some of the last putti produced were actually painted terracotta figures, rather than the more expensive bronze.

[315] Dylan Smith, "Technical Characteristics of Bronze Statuettes from the Workshops of Antonio and Giovanni Francesco Susini," in *The Renaissance Workshop*, eds. David Saunders *et al*. (London: Archetype Publications, 2013), 29-41.

[316] Francesca G. Bewer, "Bronze Casting: The Art of Translation," in *Bronze*, ed. David Ekserdjian (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2012), 24-31; Motture, *The Culture of Bronze*, 34-44.

Saxon marbles and alabaster, colored sandstone from quarries around Dresden, local earth and clay cores buried within the bronze statues, all local materials employed in the decorative program of the dynastic chapel. Given the proximity to the other most important dynastic monument and the principal importance Christian set upon the chapel, the emphasis upon utilizing locally quarried stones and minerals should be viewed as a purposeful conflation of place and ruler. The use of serpentine in the Freiberg chapel exemplifies the purposeful promotion of the fruits of the land. When its rulers sought to display the wealth of their territory they chose materials that derived from the same local sources. Saxony's wealth derived from its silver mines and its lands produced a wealth of precious stones that could provide other modes of value for its rulers. By demonstrating the wealth of their lands, the Electors were at the same time demonstrating their authority to rule those lands. August's personal crafting interests were converted into a sumptuous display in the dynastic chapel by his successor, Christian, and the court artist Nosseni. Stripped from the earth they were formed in, carved into a new form and attached to a project emphasizing the dynastic right of the Albertine Electors to rule their territory, the appropriation of the precious stones and Saxon lands becomes complete. Placed beside August's first major dynastic project, the tomb of Moritz, the Freiberg chapel finalizes the dynastic claims initiated in the earlier work by linking the rulers with Saxony itself, where the presence of one substantiates the other.

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[317] Francesca G. Bewer, "'Kunststück von gegossenem Metall': Adriaen de Vries's Bronze Technique," in *Adriaen de Vries, 1556-1626: Imperial Sculptor*, by Frits Scholten (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1998), 66-71; *idem*, "The Sculpture of Adriaen de Vries: A Technical Study," *Studies in the History of Art* 62 (Symposium Papers XXXIX: Small Bronzes in the Renaissance, 2001): 179. Biringuccio provides a useful guide to choosing and tempering the clay for making molds for bronze casting, suggesting various recipes for different casting methods and types, encompassing wide-ranging organic and natural materials: Biringuccio, *Pirotechnia*, 218-220.

Conclusion

By the beginning of the seventeenth century, the famous "tulip" pulpit had been installed in Freiberg Cathedral for a century, the Moritz tomb for nearly half a century, and all work on the dynastic chapel behind the tomb had finished for the foreseeable future. Between 1594 and 1624, travelers from across Europe and almost every German territory visited the chapel. We know of the visitors to this site because the chapel required accompanied admittance due to the bronze epitaphs installed in the floor and needing to access the grill surrounding the Moritz tomb.[318] The rector of the Freiberg City School, Michael Hempel, published a book about the chapel in 1604, selling out within the year and requiring subsequent editions in 1605, 1607, and 1617.[319] The original 1604 edition did not contain illustrations, focusing instead on transcribing the Latin inscriptions within the chapel and providing brief commentary on the virtues of the noble figures whose effigies are visible to visitors.[320] Written in Latin, the 1605 edition was published with a German translation, likely due to the expectation of more visitors closer to Freiberg and from German-speaking lands.

One decade after work stopped in the chapel, the major monuments within Freiberg Cathedral were a tourist destination, known across Europe by reputation and by print. Wolf Meyerpeck published his print of the Moritz tomb in 1568, the same decade in which the monument was finished, while Hempel published his commentary the decade following the end of decoration of the dynastic chapel. Following these two efforts, Christoph Vogel published a print depicting the Moritz tomb in the foreground and a vastly larger scale chapel receding toward the center of the print (Fig. 3.1). The figures populating the scene are not mere staffage. In this case we can tell by their dress that they are aristocratic visitors, some of whom are closely inspecting the inscriptions on the bronze epitaphs in the floor or on the sides of the Moritz tomb.

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[318] Claudia Kunde, "Die Begräbniskapelle der albertinischen Wettiner im Freiberger Dom," in *Die Begräbniskapelle im Freiberger Dom und die Nikolaikirche Freiberg*, (Freiberg: Stiftung für Kunst und Kultur, 2004), 12. Visitors had to sign a sheet before entering the chapel area.

[319] Even before Hempel's text was published, the cathedral bell-ringer wrote down by hand the funeral chapel inscriptions and handed them out to visitors. Brinkmann, *Grabdenkmäler*, 155.

[320] Michael Hempel, *Luculenta descriptio summa arte excructi sacelli, in quo illustrissimorum trium Electorum, et reilquorum principum, ac Ducum Saxoniae…* (Leipzig: Michael Lantzenberger, 1604).

The two Saxon Electors may have thought of the common populace when they commissioned the dynastic monuments in Freiberg Cathedral, their intended audience was likely the ruling class. The Electors measured themselves by their peers, circulating princely gifts among their circle and building monuments in a suitably magnificent manner. Following Christian I's unexpected early death in 1591, the projects trumpeting the wealth and sovereignty of the Saxon rulers were thrown into a state of uncertainty, the Freiberg chapel included. Duke Friedrich Wilhelm of Saxe-Weimar, regent for the next decade until Christian II reached his maturity, instituted a period of fiscal austerity and even considered ending the culminating dynastic project of the previous Electors. When it proved cheaper to complete the project, with some additional cost-cutting measures employed, the court artist Giovanni Maria Nosseni continued to supervise the chapel's construction until it was finished in 1594. Throughout the project, Nosseni acted more as supervisor of operations than as artist, hiring and recruiting the artists needed for the chapel's decoration and ensuring the quality of their work. He also supervised the stone quarries that supplied the materials for the chapel. Indeed, there is no evidence of his personal hand anywhere in the chapel today. To put it another way, Nosseni served the function of an administrator more than an artist.[321] Nosseni also seems to have had a greater interest in the completion of the dynastic chapel than an artist would ordinarily hold. The fame of the chapel would reach the courtly audience of the Electors' peers, and due to his part in the chapel's design and execution, so too would the fame of the artist. Nosseni also over-extended his funds, earning no profits on the commission and even paying some of the fees out of his own pocket.[322] He even seems to have wanted to attain some control over the reception of the chapel, as Nosseni received the permission to publish an illustrated book about the monument already in July 1593.[323] The book was never published, possibly due to the austere regency, leaving Hempel's text and Vogel's illustration as the first published accounts.

Nosseni's invested and central role in the dynastic chapel project was perhaps lost in the discussion of its patrons, their motivations for the commission, and the choice of materials. The focus of this thesis did not afford much space to the role of those artists who made the largest contribution to each monument: the actual facture. Partly, the circumstances surrounding both monuments dictated the approach. In the case of the Moritz tomb, only some of the artists are known – many are doomed to anonymity, barring the discovery of further archival or inscriptional evidence. Even those whose names we are certain of, such as Anthonis van Seroen, lack full working histories, leaving art historians to speculate as to their earlier training or possible influences. Many more names of contributing artists are known for the dynastic chapel, though many artists' biographies remain similarly opaque. Nosseni is the exception in this, even granting the large lacuna at the beginning of his career before he appears in Florence shortly before being appointed to the Saxon court. Yet, even the rich (for the period) documentation we have surrounding Nosseni and his activities at the Saxon court support an approach emphasizing material and the bounties of the local land. In an official report to Elector Christian in 1589, the state administrator Paul Buchner states that Nosseni suggests making a "noble epitaph...carved from the most beautiful marble stones and fashioned with metal, as God has blessed the land and ruler with all kinds of rich metals."[324] Material considerations were a primary concern to early modern patrons, artists, and also viewers, upholding the validity of the approach along with its relevance.

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[321] Martin Warnke described the court artist from the sixteenth century on being increasingly viewed as a member of the court, often being granted the title of councillor. The honorific title was more often granted to architects, to painters only seldomly. Martin Warnke, *The Court Artist: On the Ancestry of the Modern Artist*, trans. David McLintock (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), esp. 109-242 for artists' roles at court.

[322] Meine-Schawe, "Giovanni Maria Nosseni," 307.

[323] Dombrowski, "Die Grablege der sächsischen Kurfürsten," 266.

Over the course of the sixteenth century, the choir space of Freiberg Cathedral, claimed by the Albertine Dukes and then Electors of Saxony following their adoption of Protestantism, became the site of two dynastic monuments. The tomb of Moritz, absorbed in questions of international status and political and religious legitimacy, established the dynasty as rightful rulers of Saxony and powerful princes of Europe. August's concern for the security of his brother's memory and his own position as Elector were monumentalized in the tomb he commissioned, a memorial worthy of a prince and comparable to the tombs of the greatest rulers of the age. Secure in their position as leading Protestant powers and indisputable rulers of Saxony by the end of August’s reign, he and his successor initiated a project to convert the north chapel in front of the Moritz tomb into a dynastic chapel that would commemorate the former rulers and elevate the status of the current one. The patrons, and their supremely capable court artist Nosseni, achieved this feat by employing costly, but also local, materials for the chapel’s decoration, ensuring that the tie between the source of the stones and the project’s commissioning would be strengthened, and also unmistakable for viewers.

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[324] Paul Buchner's report to Christian I, May 29, 1589: StAD, Loc. 4454, Bericht, fol. 11-13 [specifically, fol. 12v]. Cited in Meine-Schawe, *Die Grablege der Wettiner*, 125-126. Partially quoted in Dombrowski, "Die Grablege der sächsischen Kurfürsten," 271.

Figures

Fig. I.1:
Alte aufgetragenen Mappen welche Churf. Augustus mitt dem Wagen, die Orttung oder schmigung gesucht, vnnd vonn dießenn Rein aufgetragenn, vnnd eine Mappa darauß gemacht wordenn. 16. Jh. Zum Teil von des Kurfürsten eigener Hand.
Dresden: Mscr.Dresd.Q.187.m
Surveying map from Augustusburg, partly in the hand of Elector August of Saxony, Fol. 65 recto, c. 1577
Red and black ink on paper

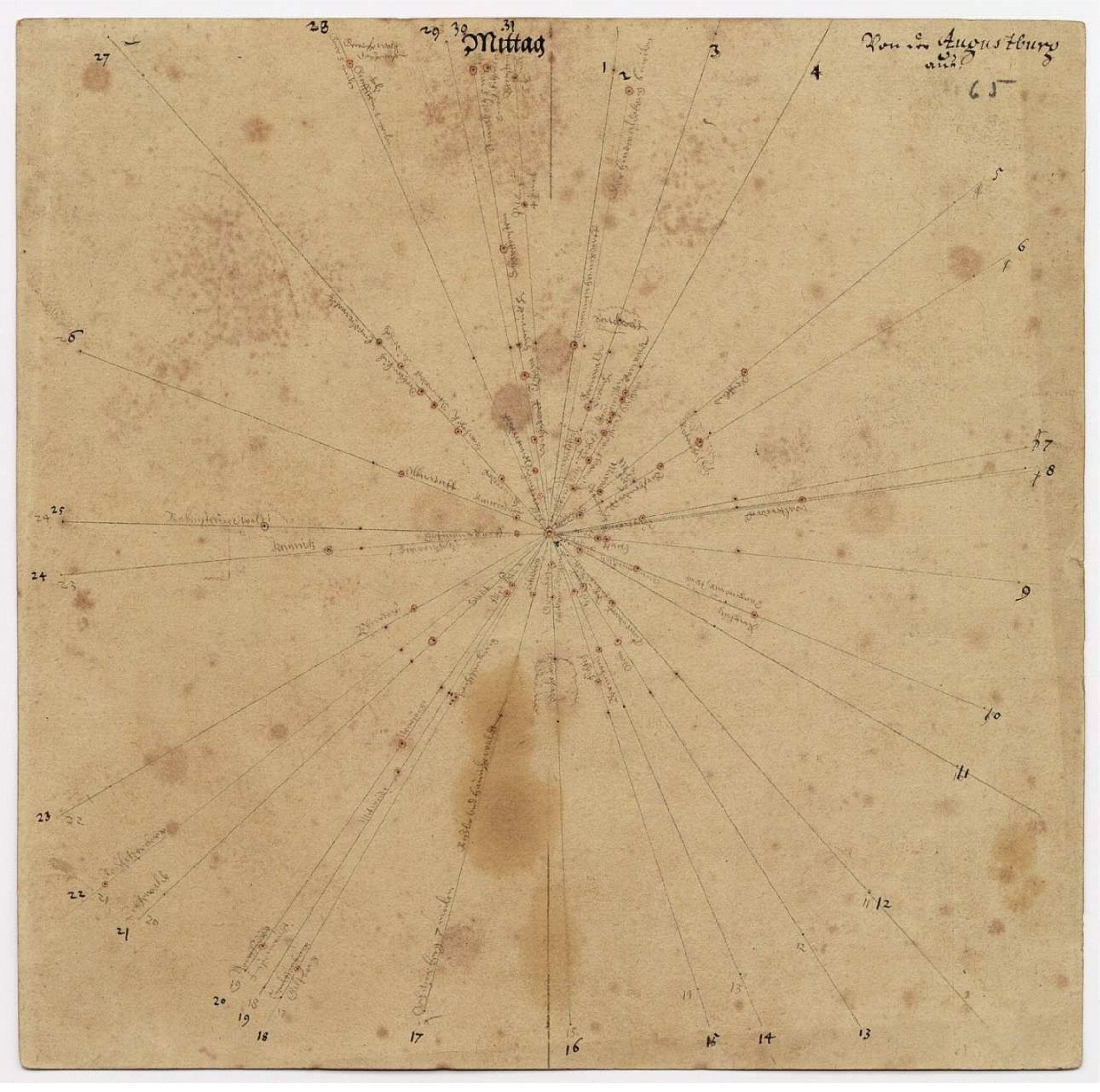
Mittag
Von der Augustburg aus
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Fig. I.2:
Martin Feyhel, 1580, Augsburg
Waywiser
Brass on a wooden base (lost during World War II)

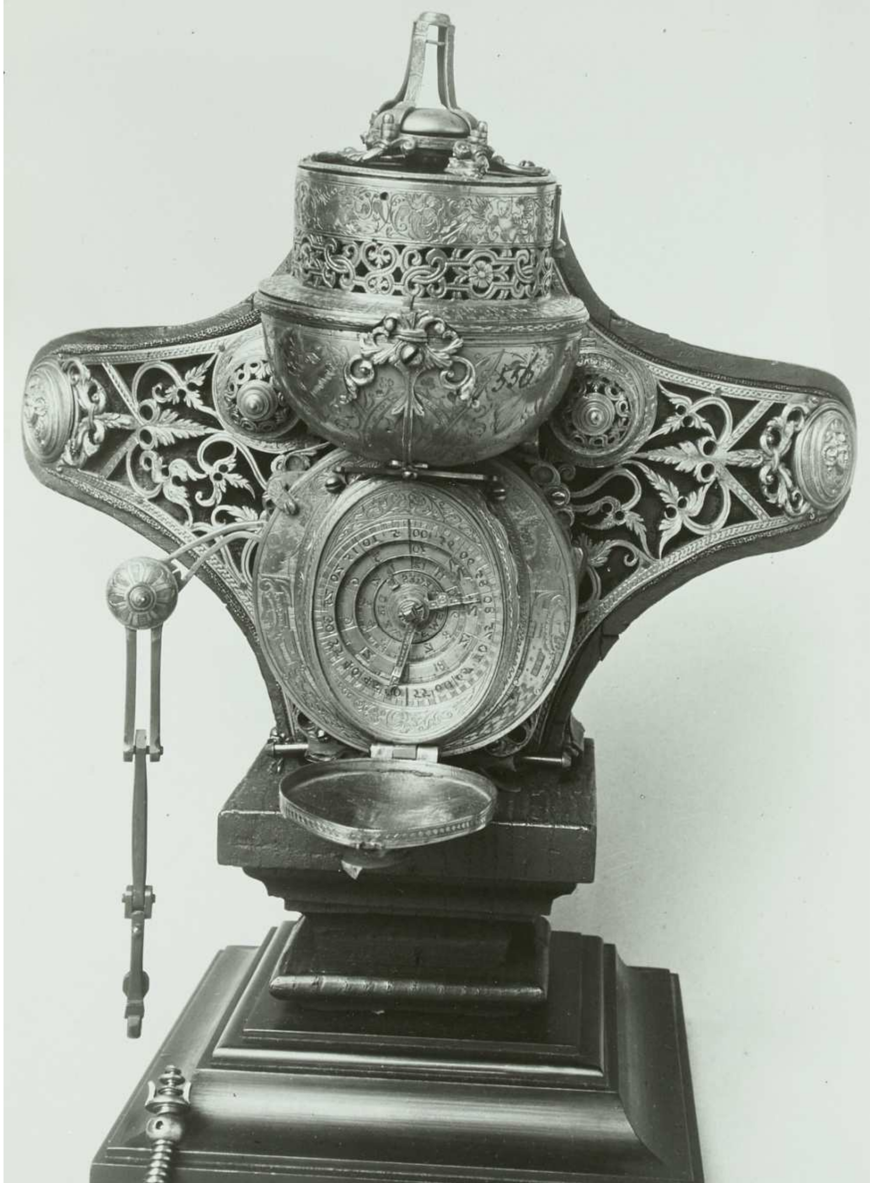

Fig. I.3:
Master HW (Hans Witten?), 1501-1510, Freiberg Cathedral
'Tulip' Pulpit
Porphyry tufa stone with limewood baldachin

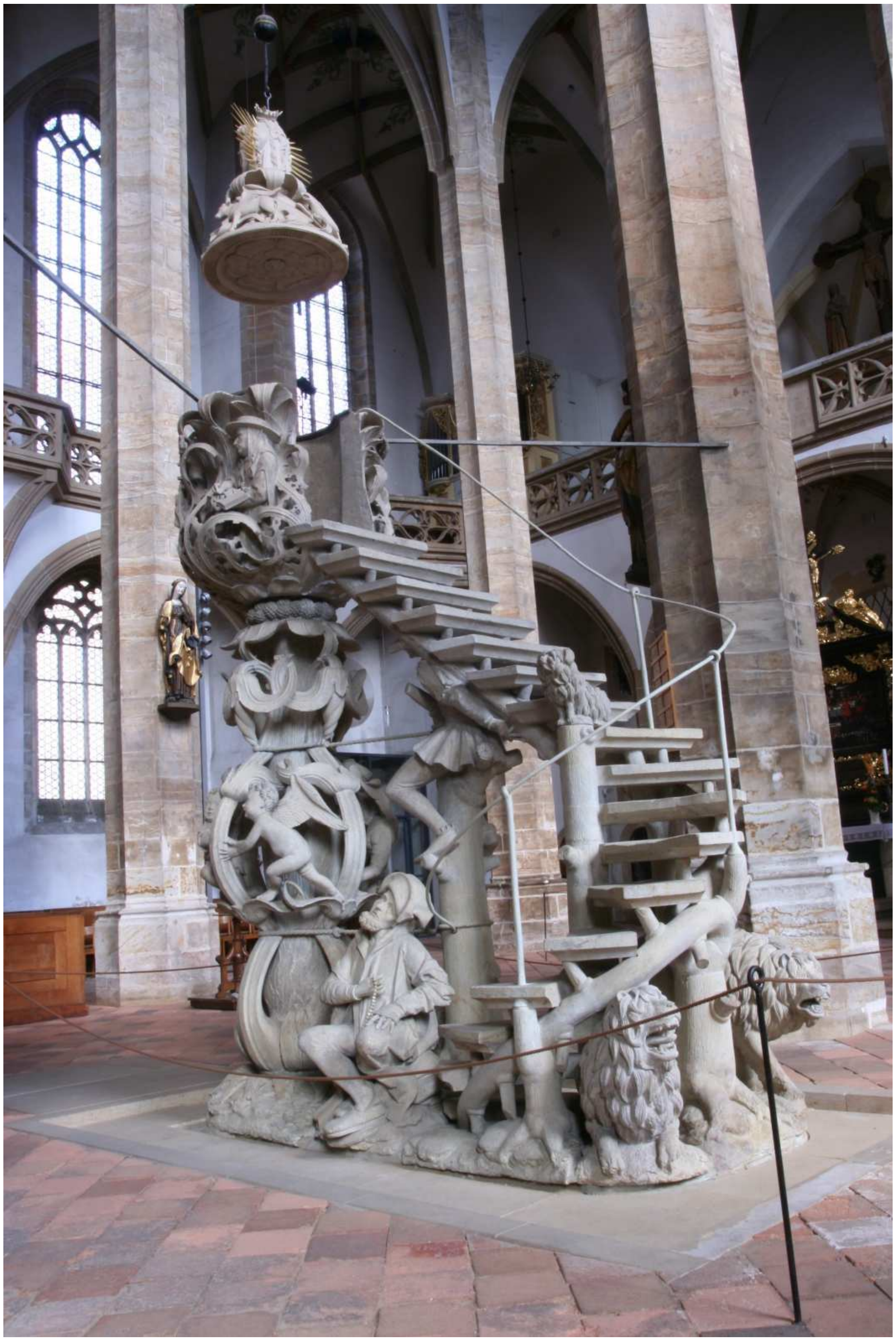

Fig. 1.1:
Lucas Cranach the Younger, 1578
Portrait of Elector Friedrich the Wise
Painting, oil on canvas

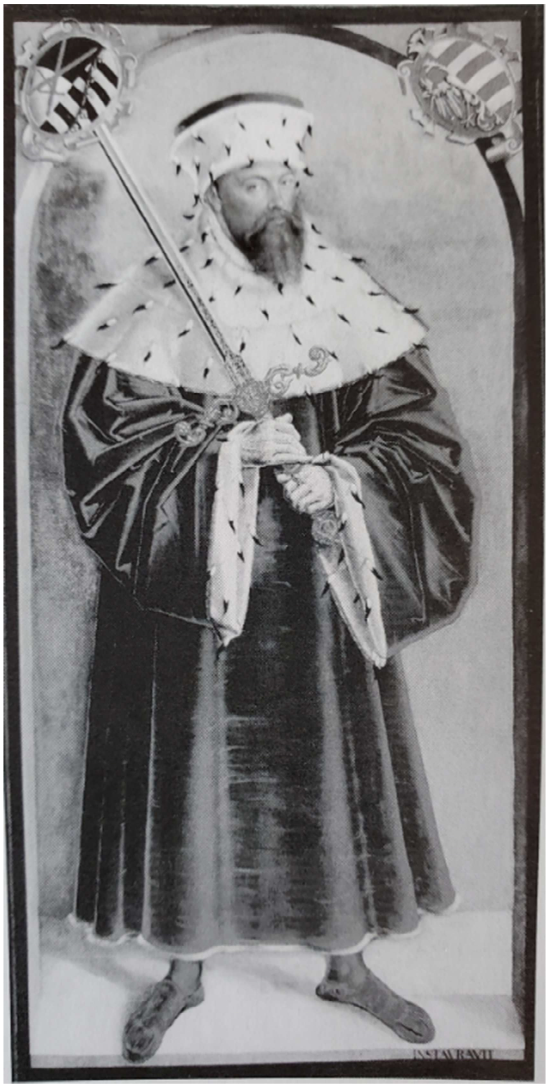
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Fig. 1.2:
Lucas Cranach the Younger, 1578
Portrait of Elector Moritz
Painting, oil on canvas

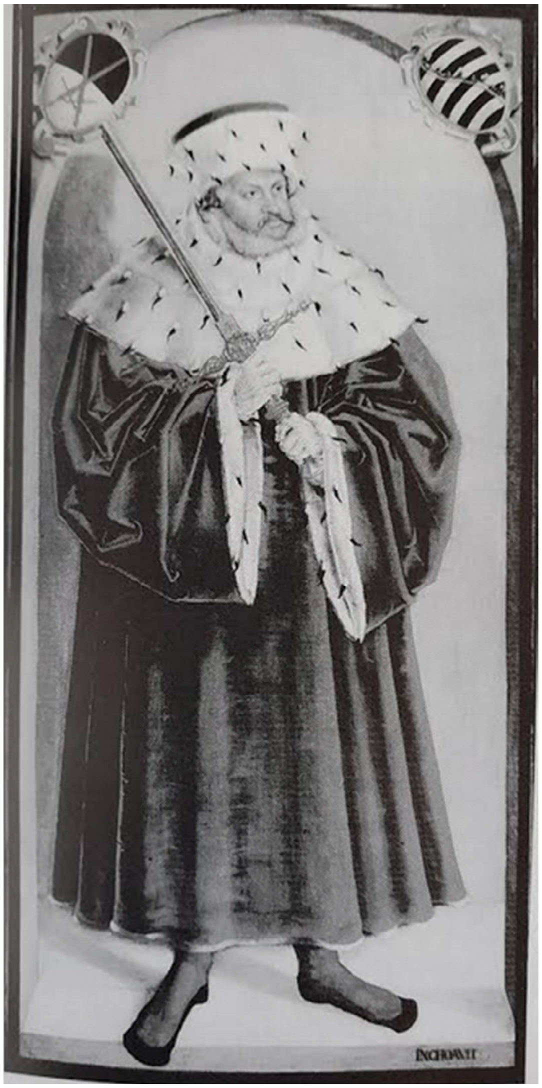

Fig. 1.3:
Lucas Cranach the Younger, 1578
Portrait of Elector August
Painting, oil on canvas

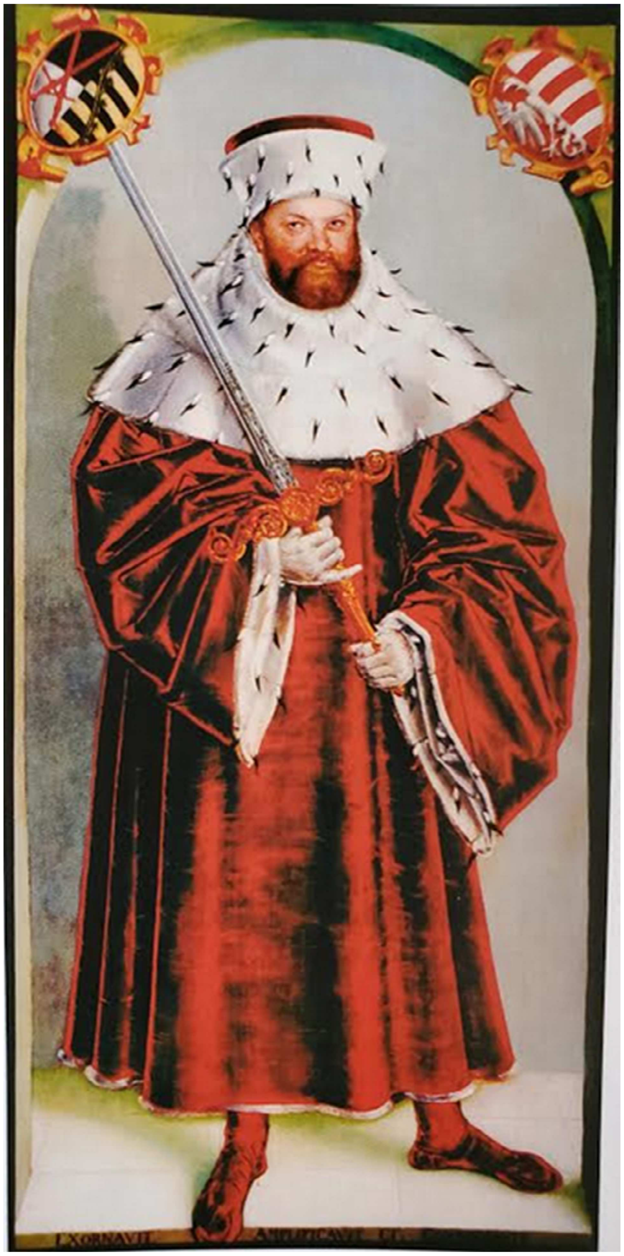
EXORNAVIT
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Fig. 1.4:
Zacharias Wehme (watercolor), after Hans Walther (sculptor), 1591
Saxon Succession Monument, Dresden
Watercolor (lost in World War II)

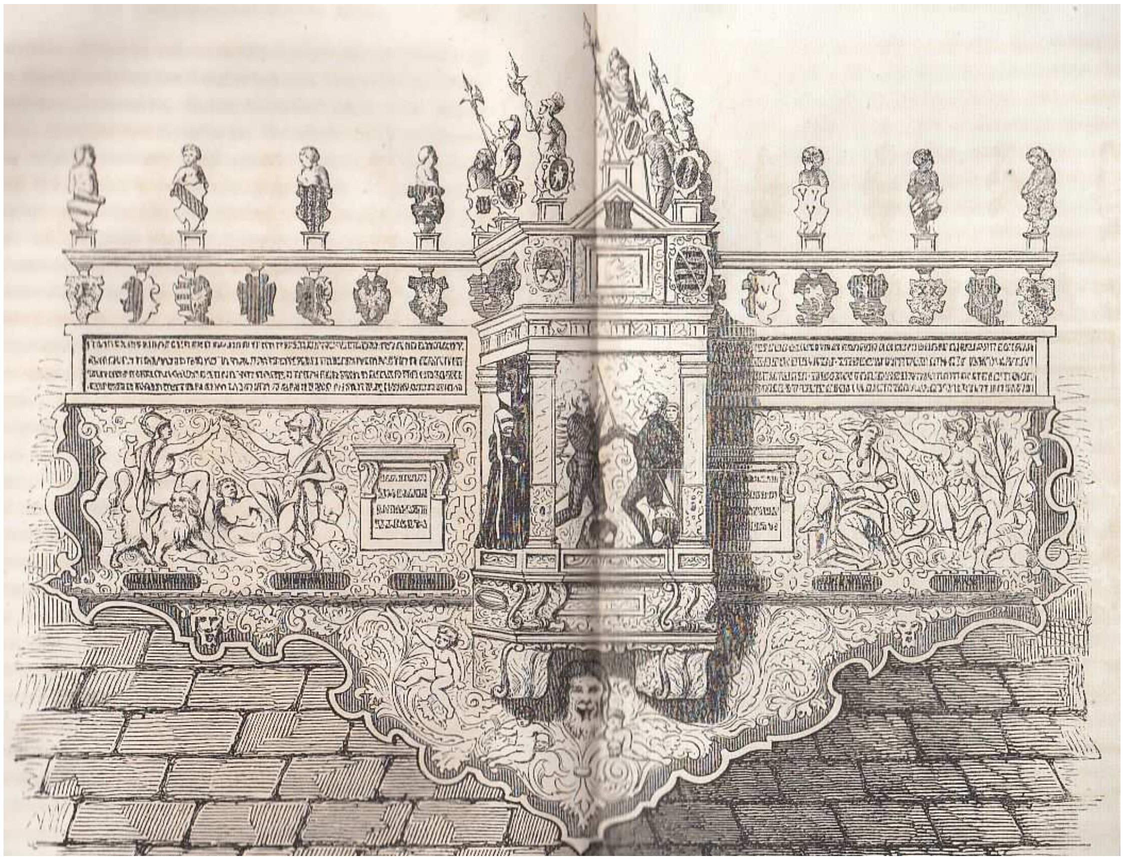


Fig. 1.5:
Gabriel and Benedikt de Tola (design), Hans Wessel (bronzework), and Anthonis van Seroen (stone sculpture), 1555-1563, Freiberg Cathedral
Tomb of Moritz of Saxony
Bronze, black and colored marble, alabaster

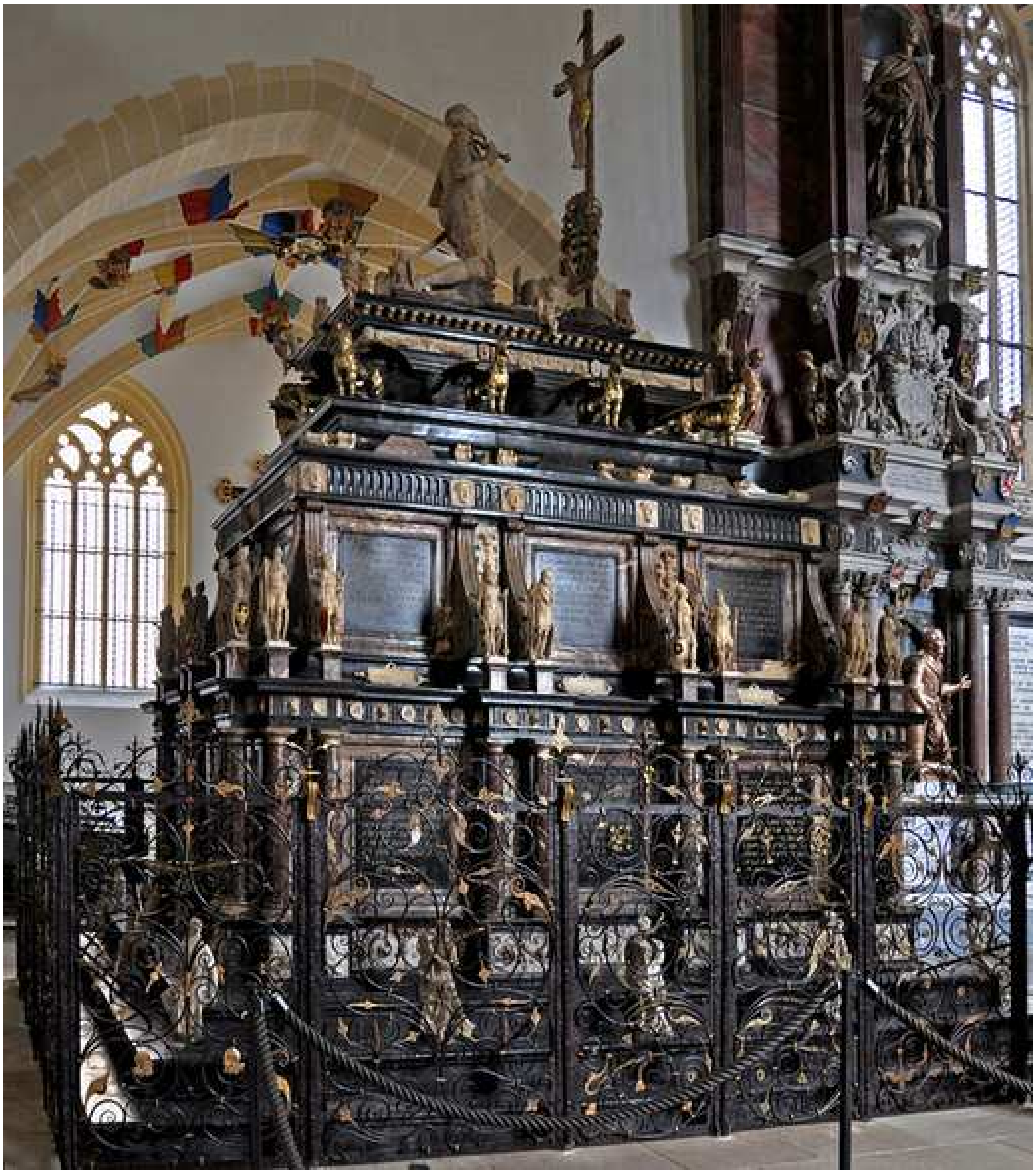


Fig. 1.6:
Unknown Armorer, first half sixteenth century,Freiberg
Armor of Moritz of Saxony (left)
Metal

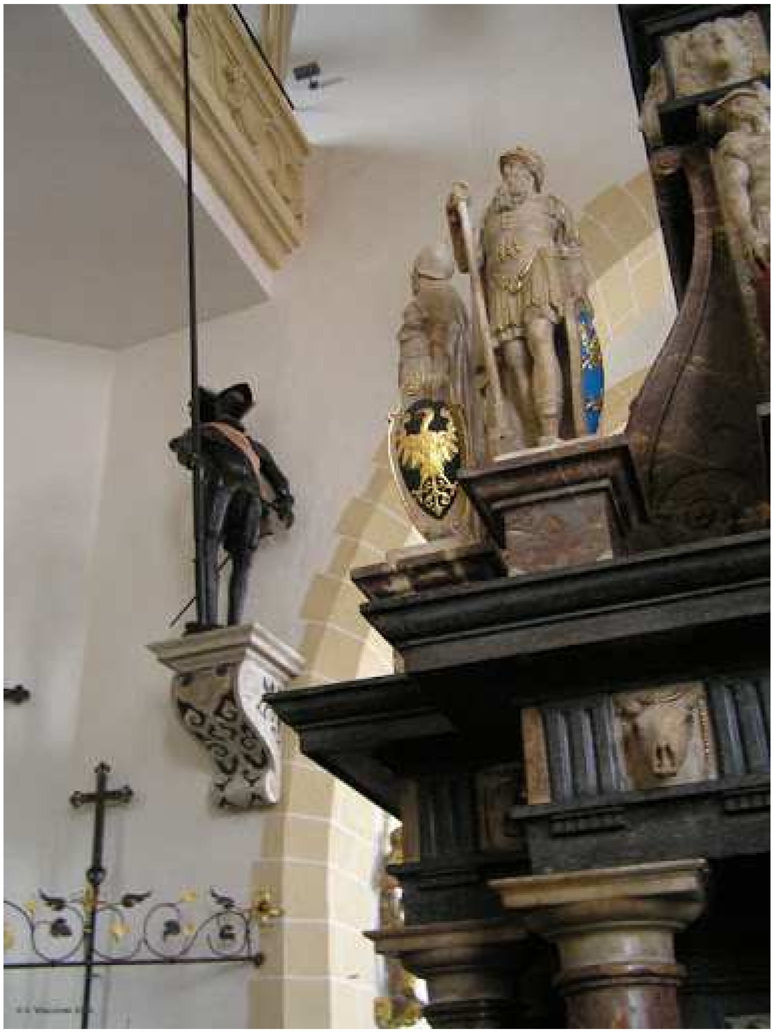
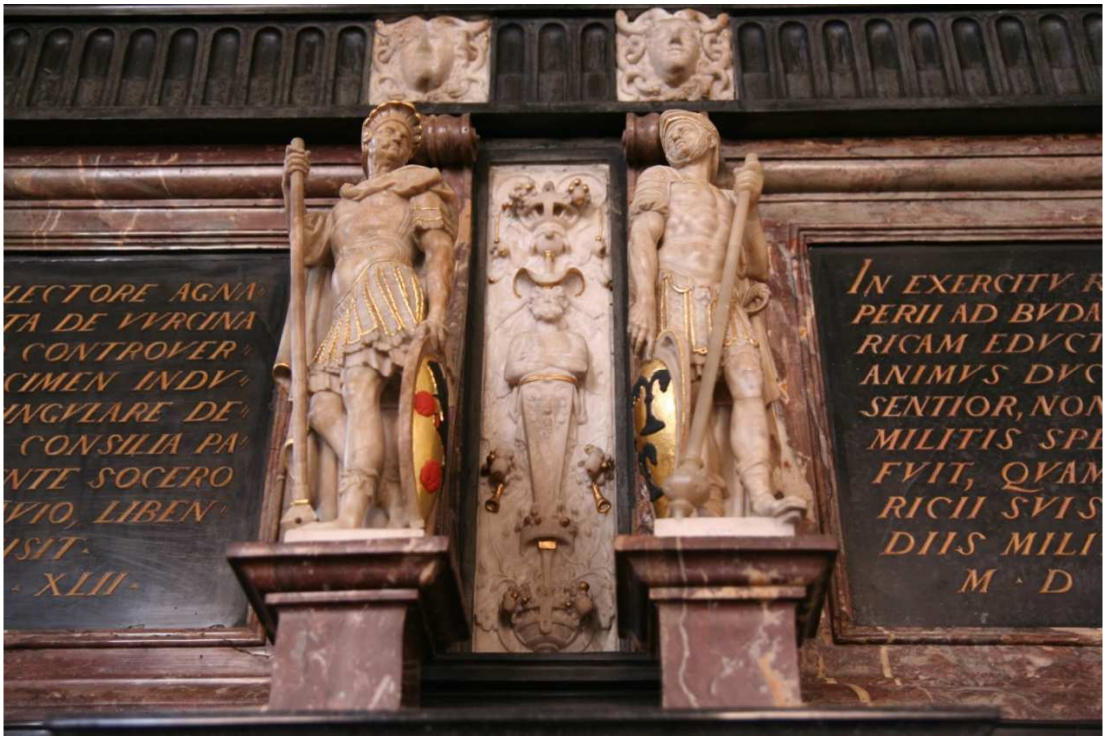


Fig. 1.7:
Anthonis van Seroen, 1559-1563, Freiberg Cathedral
Soldiers bearing heraldic shields (detail: Tomb of Moritz of Saxony)
Alabaster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SENTIOR, NON
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Fig. 1.8:
Wolf Meyerpeck, 1568
Printed illustration of Tomb of Moritz of Saxony in Freiberg Cathedral
Engraving

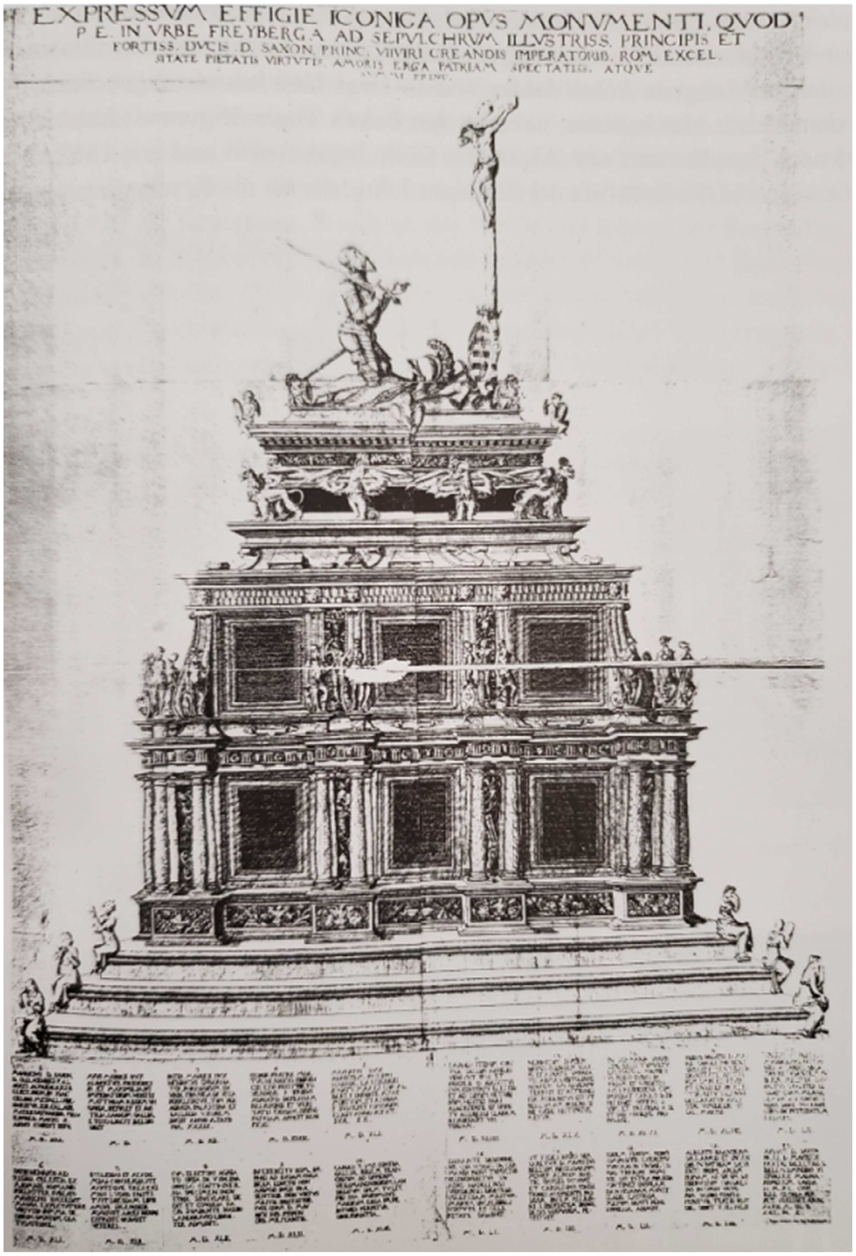

EXPRESSVM EFFIGIE ICONICA OPVS MONVMENTI, QVOD
P E. IN VRBE FREYBERGA AD SEPVLCHRVM ILLVSTRISS. PRINCIPIS ET
FORTISS. DVCIS D. SAXON. PRINC. VIIVIRI CREANDIS IMPERATORIB. ROM. EXCEL
SITATE PIETATIS VIRTVTIS AMORIS ERGA PATRIAM SPECTATISS. ATQVE

Fig. 1.9:
Michelangelo, 1505-1545, San Pietro in Vincoli, Rome
Tomb of Pope Julius II
Marble

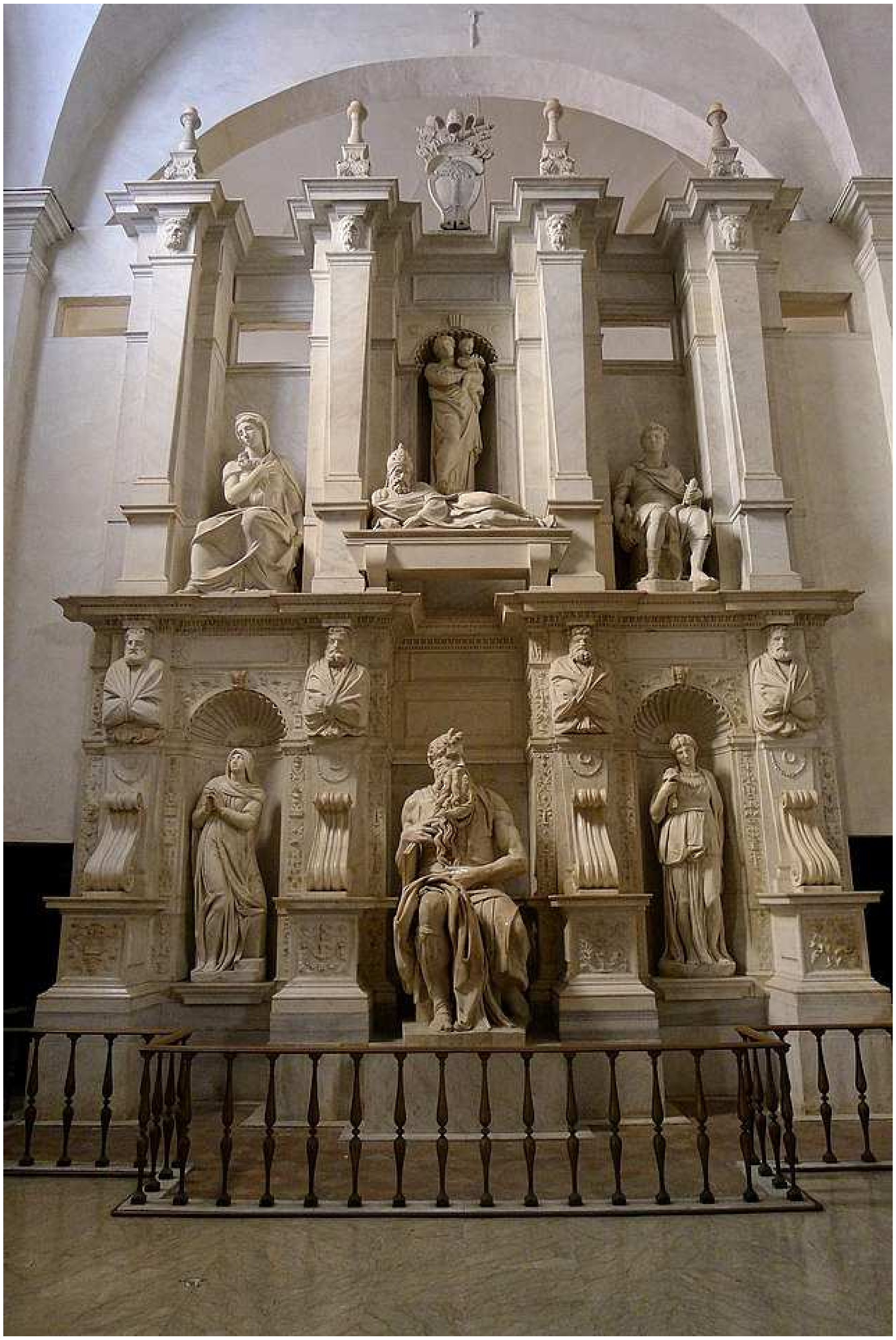


Fig. 1.10:
Michelangelo, 1505/6
Design for the Tomb of Pope Julius II della Rovere
Pen and brown ink on paper

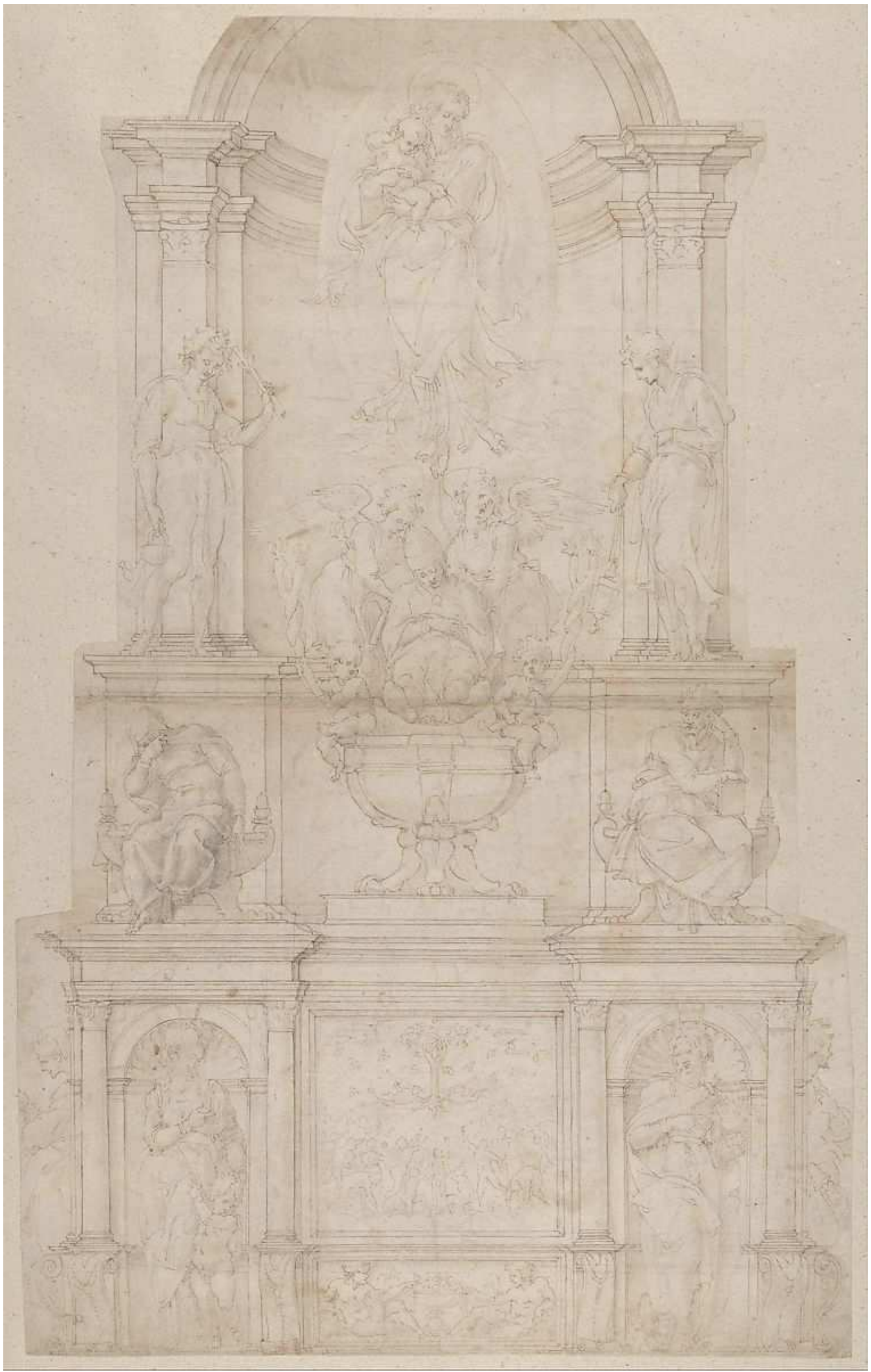


Fig. 1.11:
Alexander Colin (marble reliefs), Stefan Godl (bronze statues), and others, 1502-1584, Innsbruck Hofkirche
Cenotaph of Emperor Maximilian I
White and colored marble, bronze figures

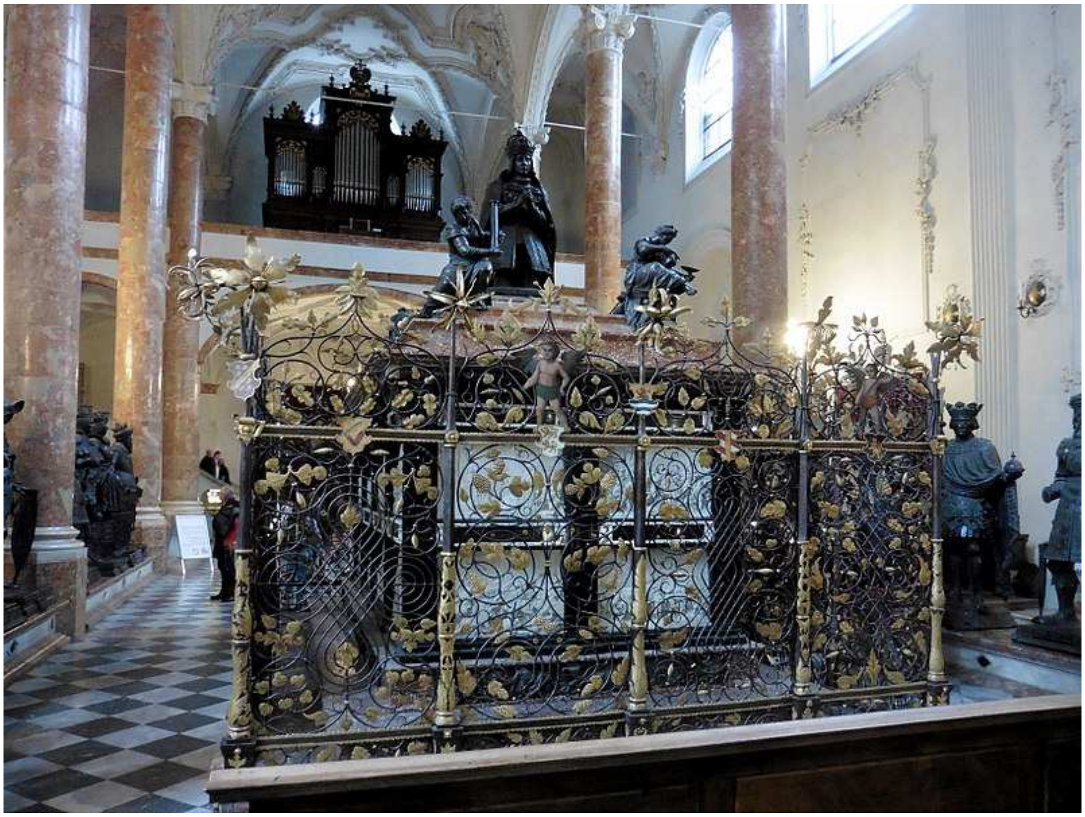


Fig. 1.12:
Albrecht Dürer, Albrecht Altdorfer, Hans Springinklee, and others, 1515-1517
The Triumphal Arch, for Emperor Maximilian I
Woodcut prints

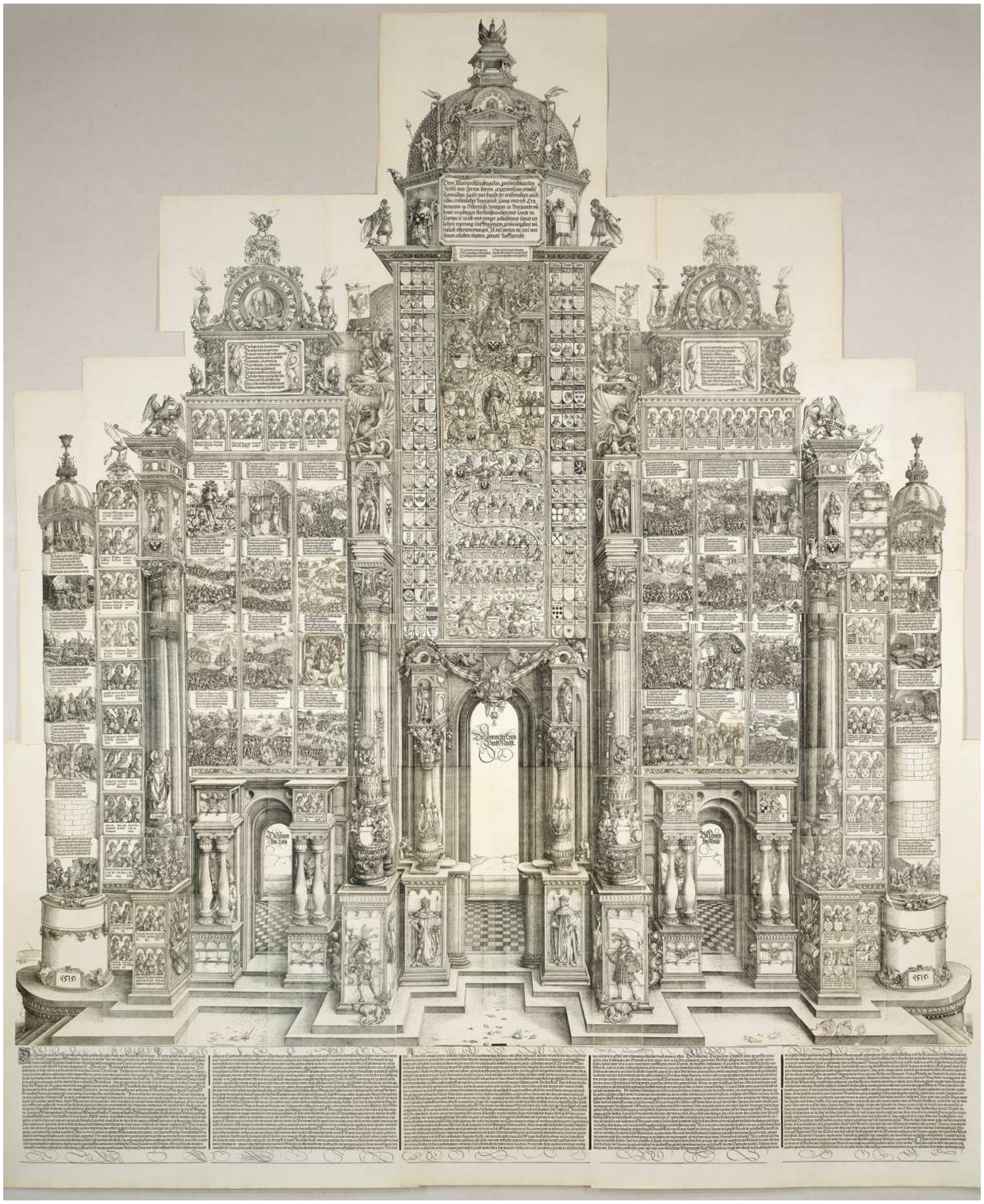


Fig. 1.13:
Primaticcio (design), Germain de Pilon (sculpture), and others, 1561-1573, Basilica of Saint Denis
Tomb for Henri II and Catherine de' Medici of France
Marble, bronze figures

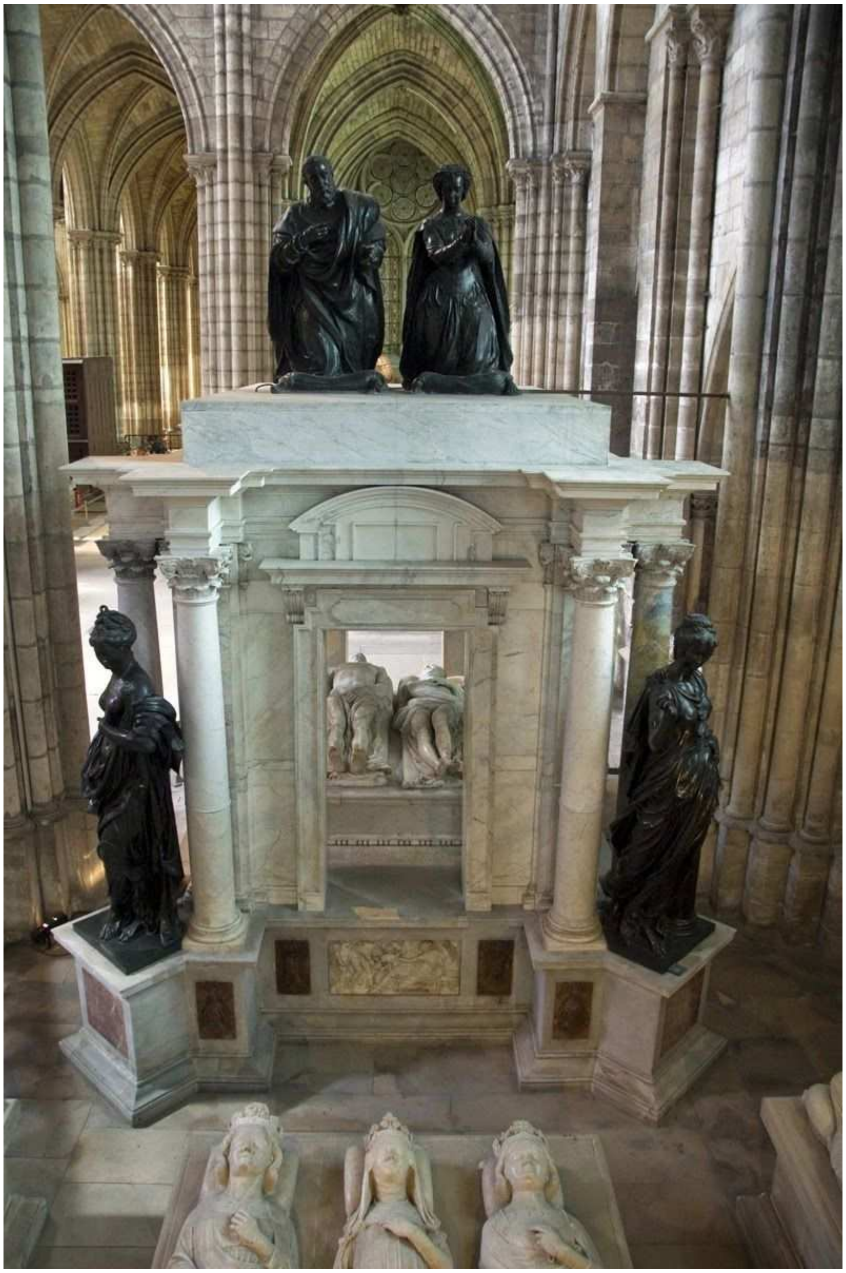


Fig. 1.14:
Cornelis Floris, 1551-1553, St. Peter's Cathedral, Schleswig
Tomb of Frederik I of Denmark
Alabaster, red and black marble

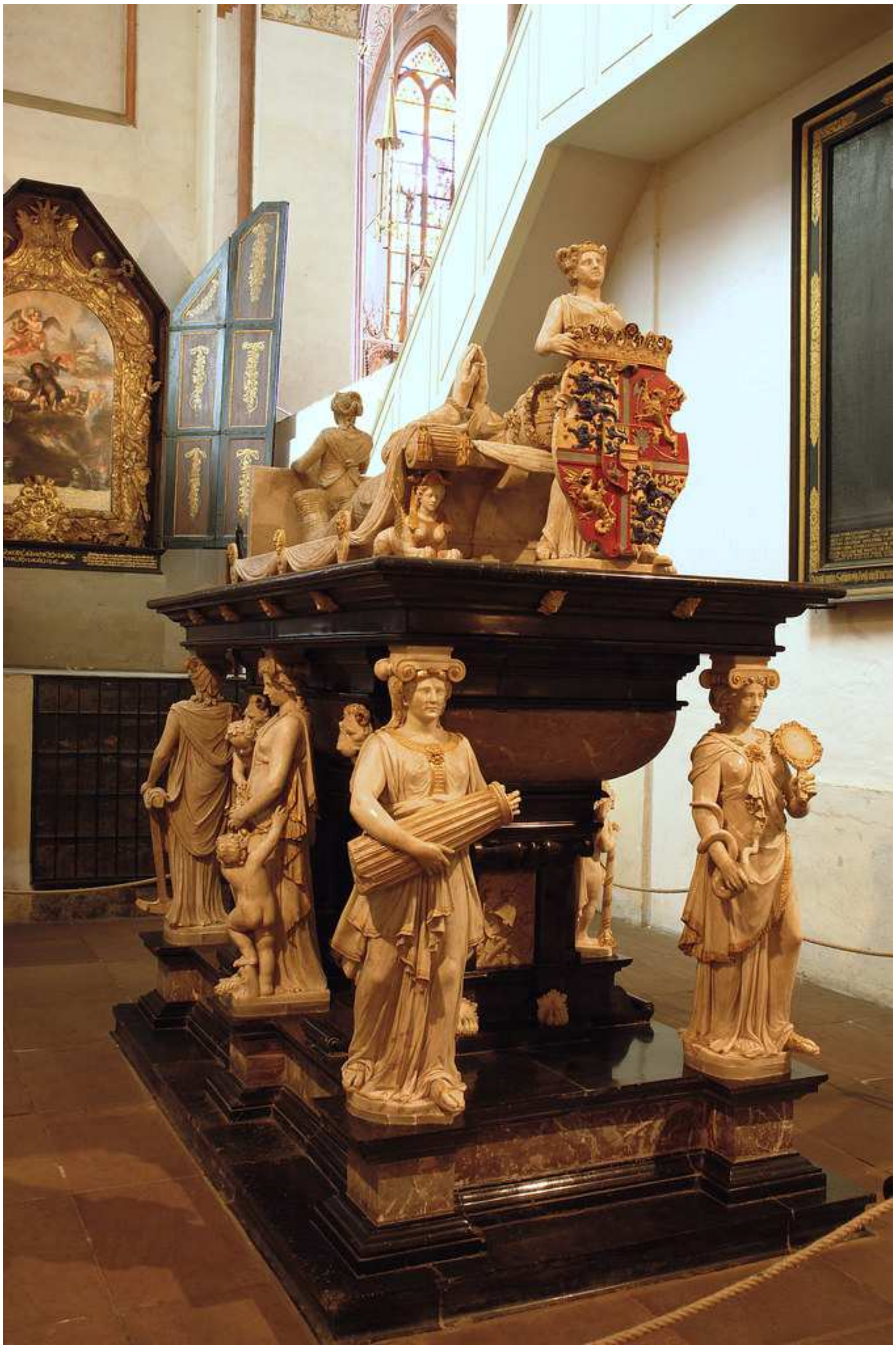


Fig. 1.15:
Cornelis Floris and workshop, 1572-1575, Roskilde Cathedral
Tomb of Christian III of Denmark
Alabaster, red marble, touchstone

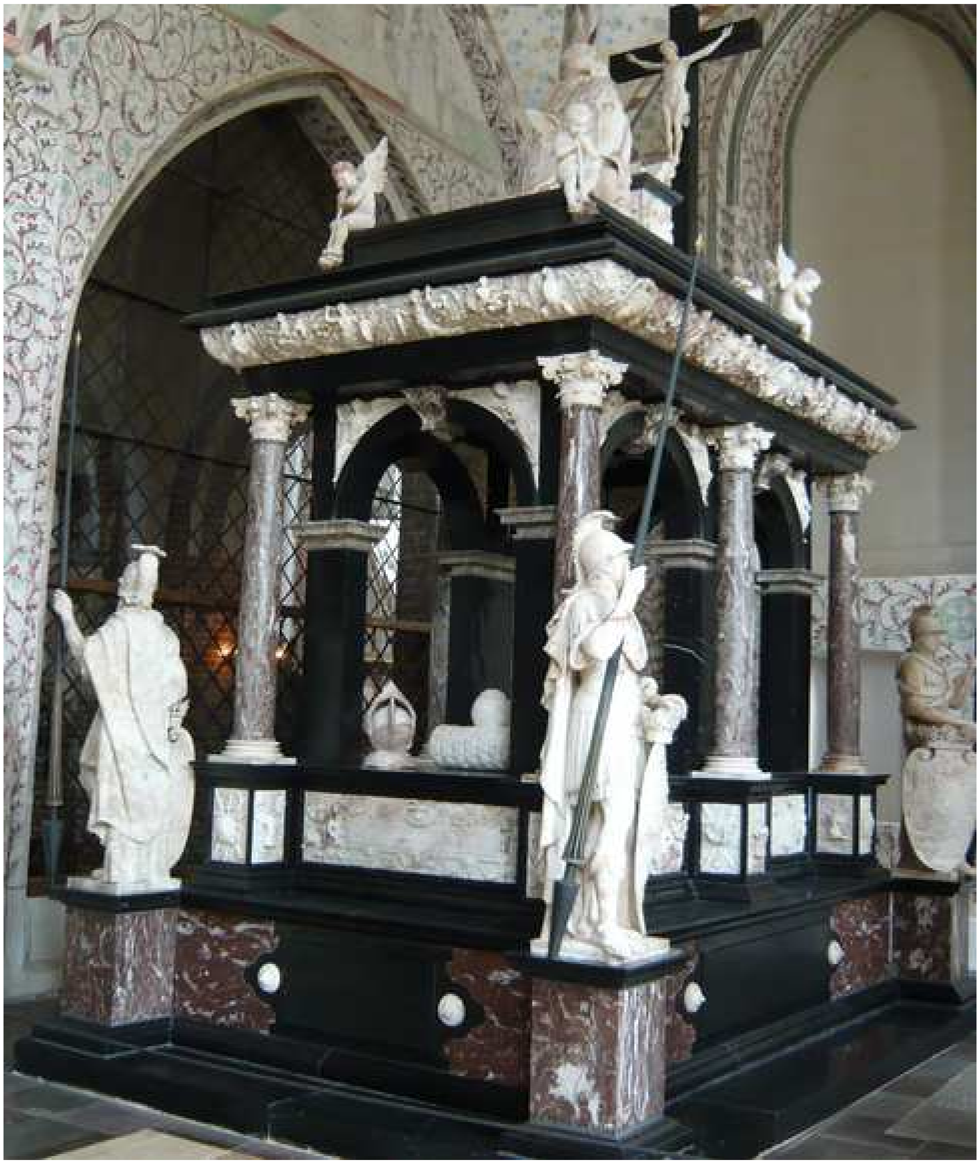


Fig. 1.16a and b:
Anthonis van Seroen, 1559-1563, Freiberg Cathedral
Kneeling figure of Moritz of Saxony (details: Tomb of Moritz of Saxony)
Alabaster

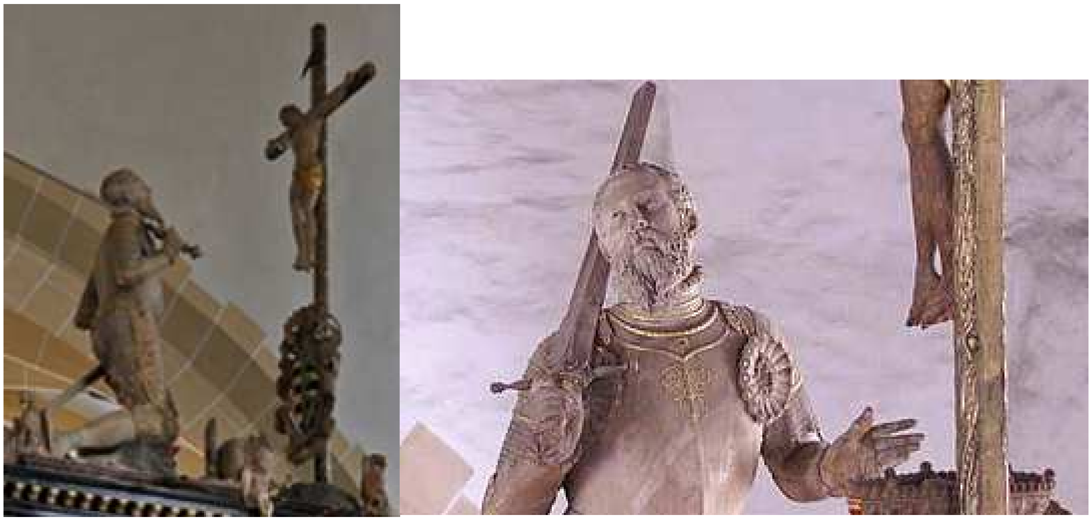


Fig. 2.1a and b:
Giovanni Maria Nosseni, c. 1580
Decorative chair, recto/verso
Carved pear wood, serpentine (seat), jasper, agate

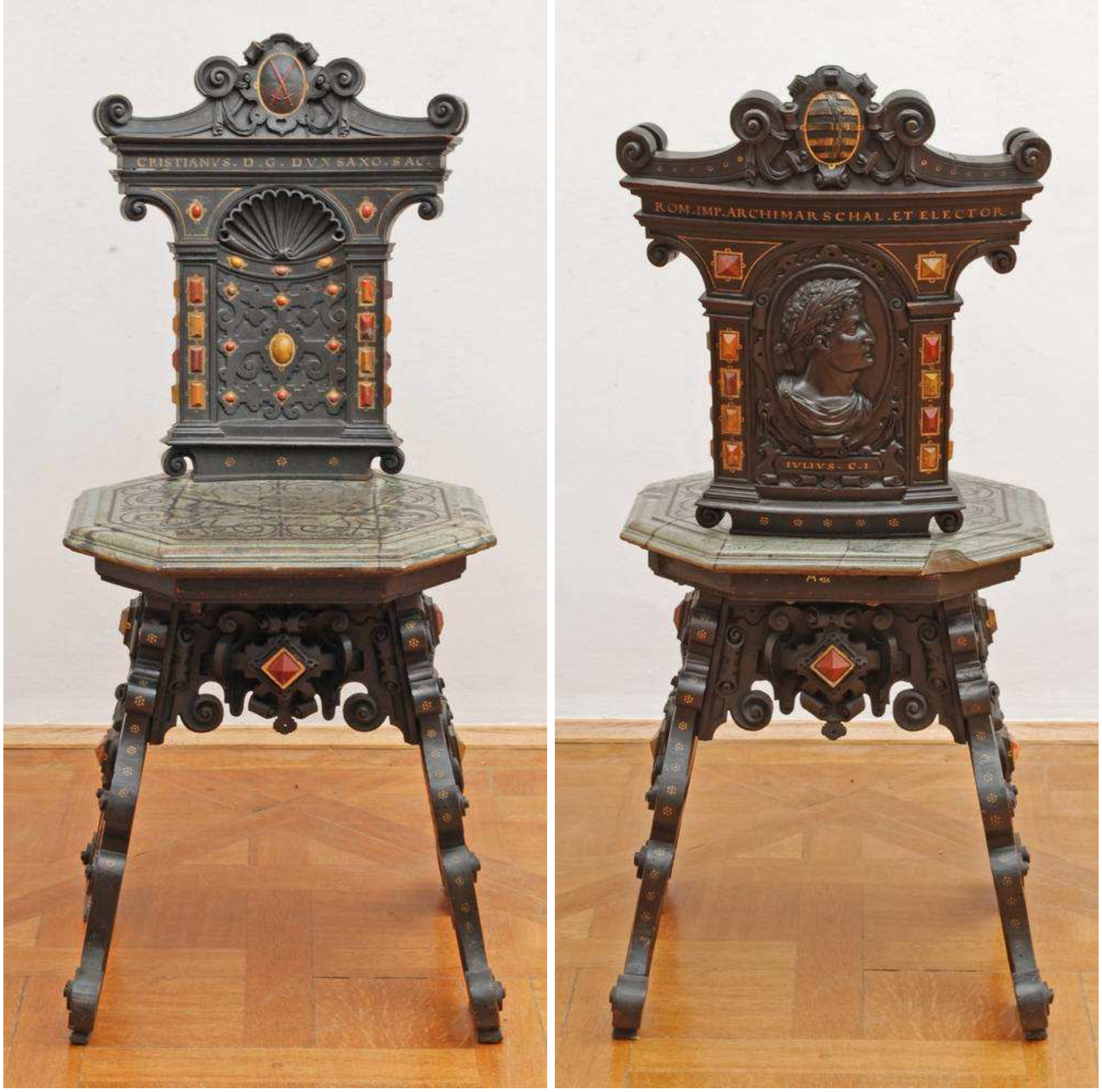

CRISTIANVS. D. G. DVX SAXO. SAC.
ROM. IMP. ARCHIMARSCHAL. ET ELECTOR.
IVLIVS. C. I

Fig. 2.2:
Unknown artist, second half sixteenth century
Handstein
Polished silver, set in partially gilded silver foot

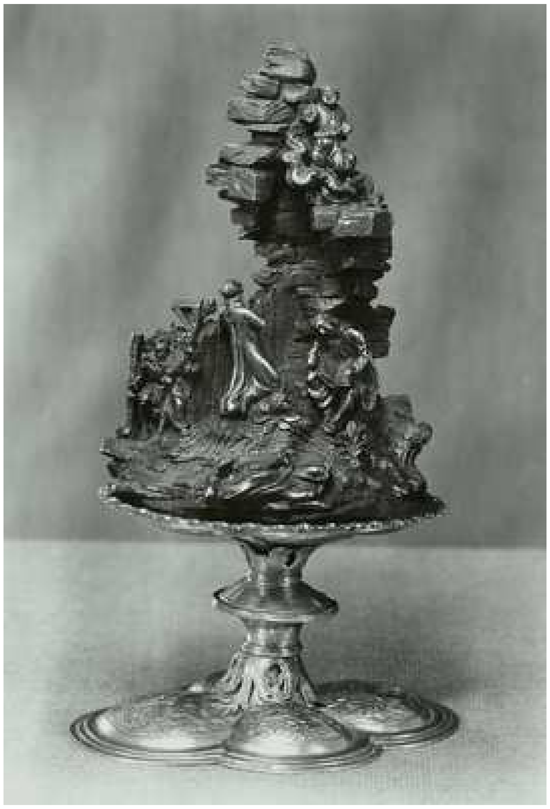


Fig. 2.3:
Leonhard Danner, c. 1565
Drafting table
Walnut with wood inlay, etched metal

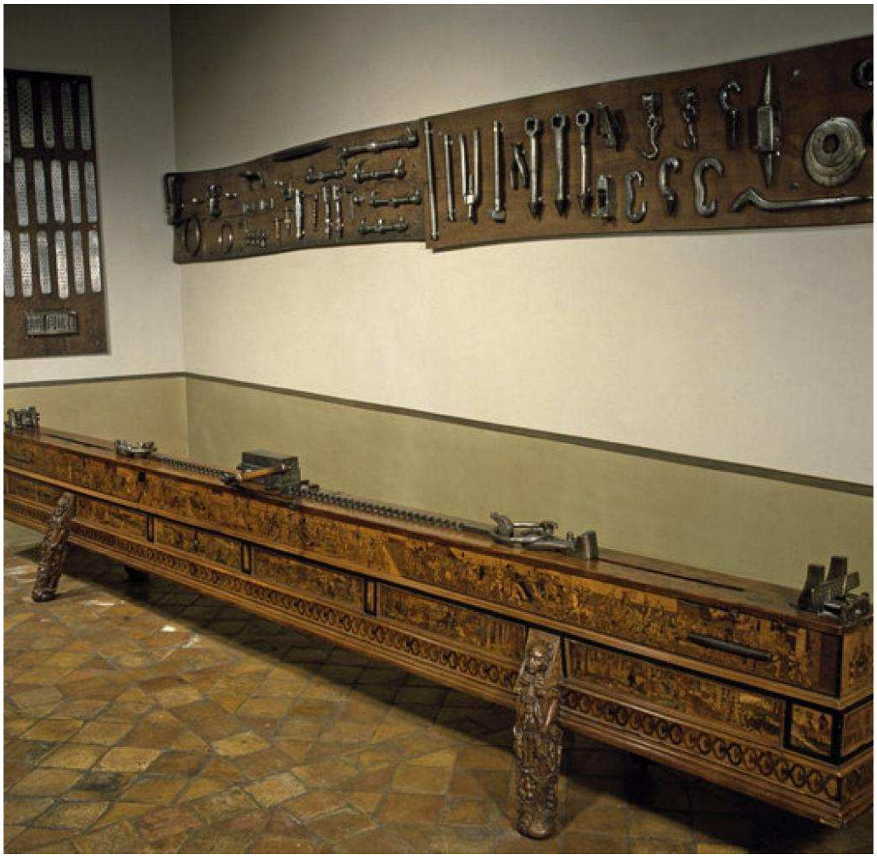


Fig. 2.4:
Giambologna (model), Antonio Susini (bronze horse), and Castrucci workshop (stonework), 1600-1609
Stepping horse statuette
Bronze, Saxon gems, jasper, agate, wood sockel

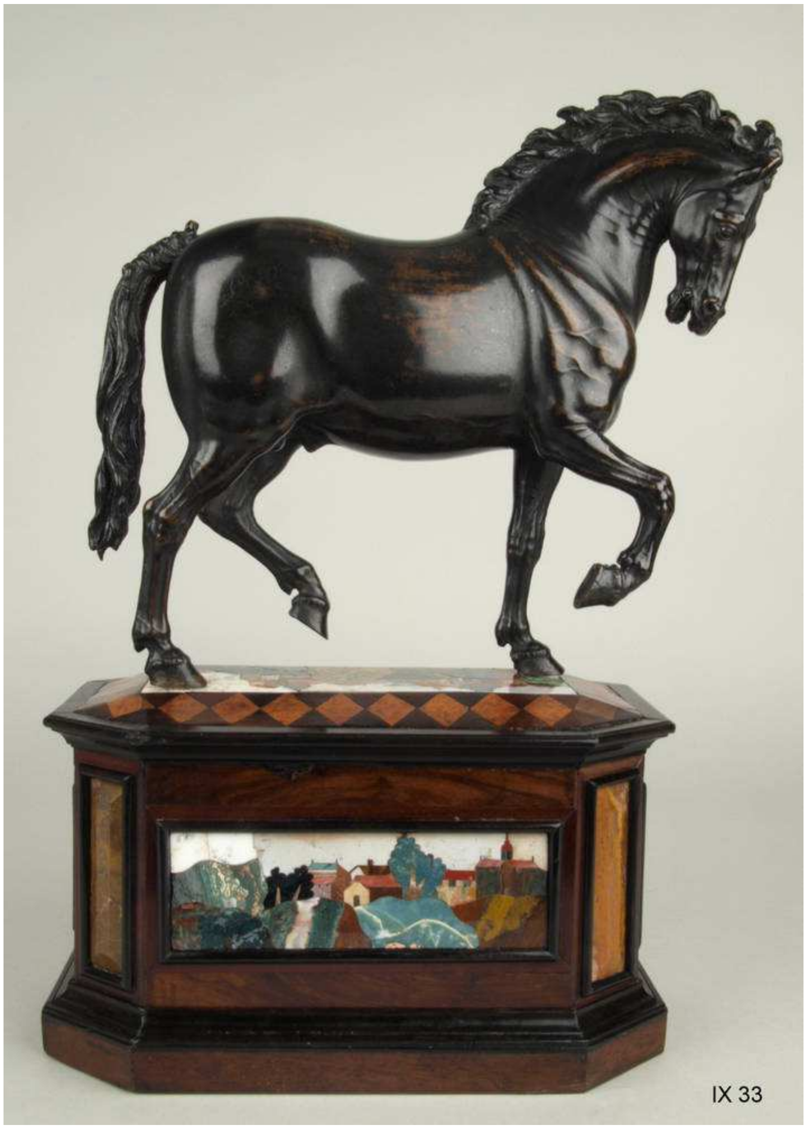


Fig. 2.5:
Giovanni Maria Nosseni (design), Hans Irmscher (architect), Carlo di Cesare (bronze statues), and others, 1589-1594, Freiberg Cathedral
Dynastic chapel
Alabaster, multicolored marbles, serpentine, bronze, stucco

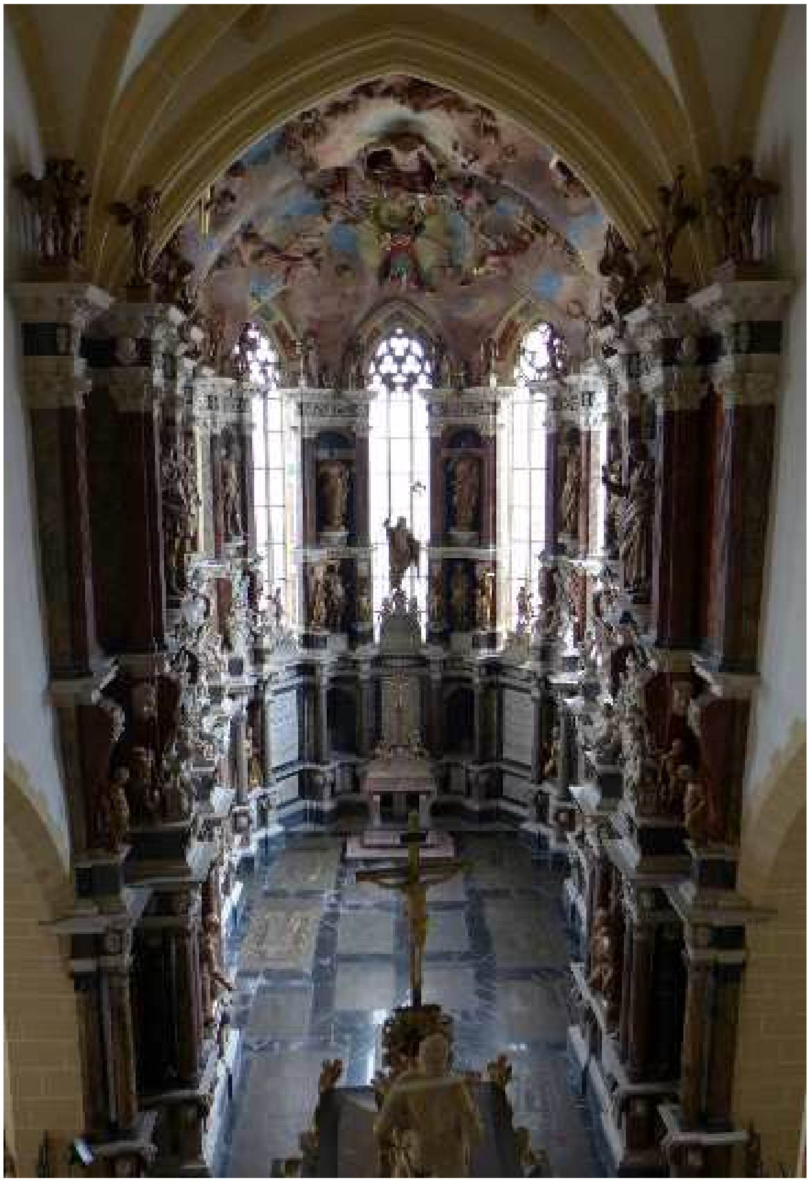


Fig. 2.6:
Giovanni Maria Nosseni (design), 1589-1594, Freiberg Cathedral
Dynastic chapel (detail of left edge)

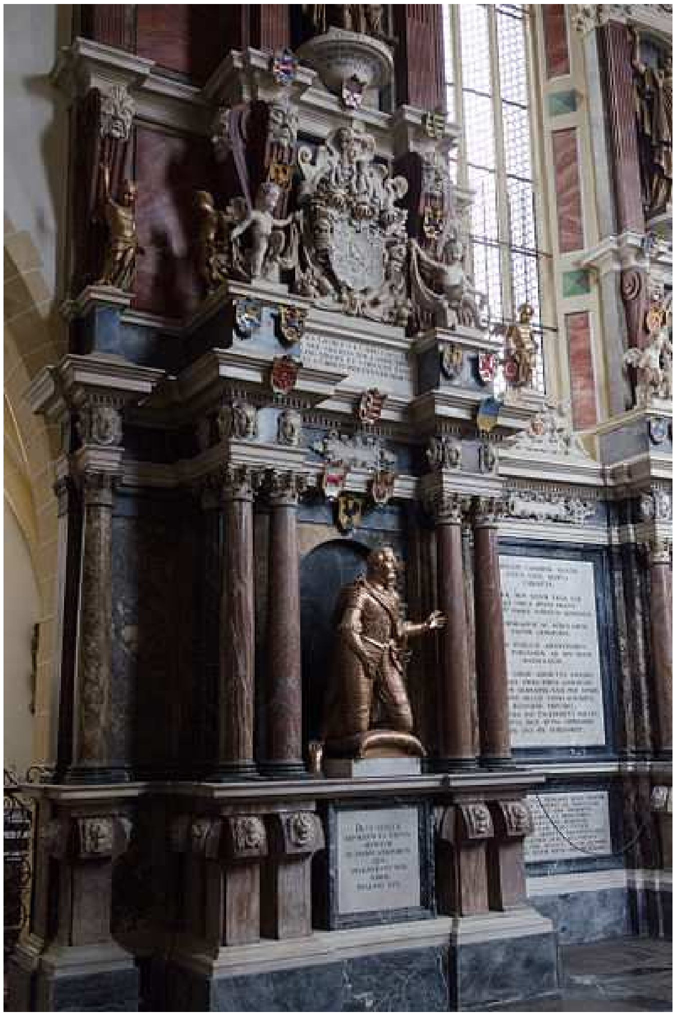
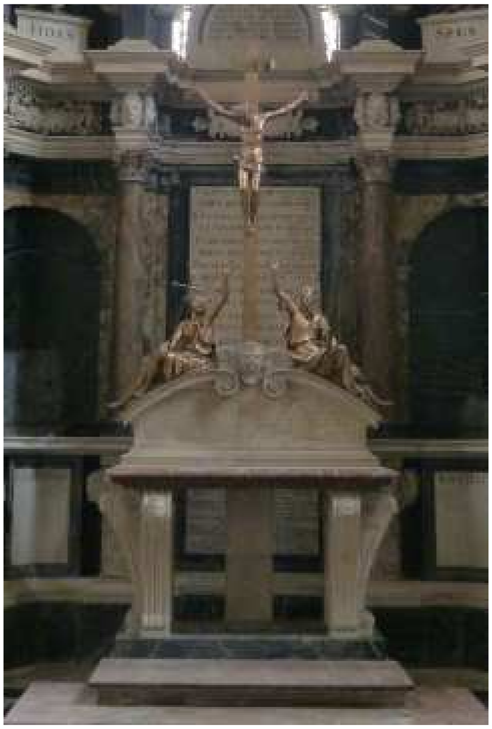


Fig. 2.7:
Carlo di Cesare (sculptor), after Giambologna (bronze statues) and Michelangelo (marble base), 1592/3, Freiberg Cathedral
Dynastic chapel (altar)
Bronze and marble

Fig. 2.8:
Giambologna, 1588
Crucifix
Bronze


(Fig. 2.7)

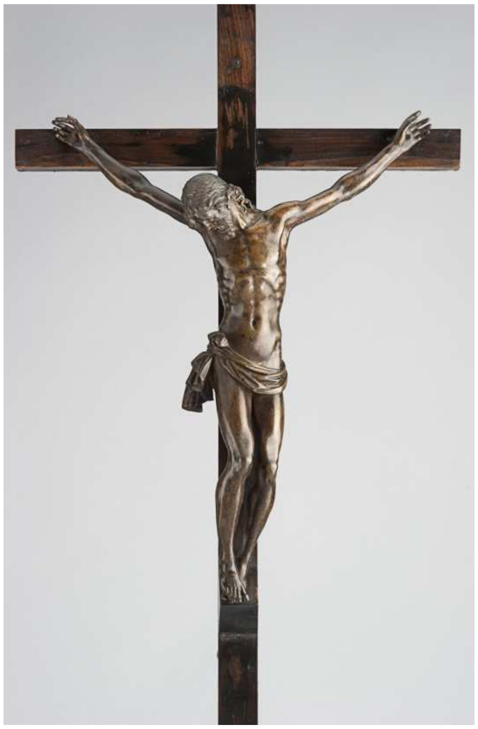

(Fig. 2.8)

Fig. 2.9:
Don Giovanni de' Medici (principal architect) and Matteo Nigetti (acting architect), 1604-eighteenth century, San Lorenzo, Florence
Cappella dei Principi
Agate, jasper, multicolored marbles, bronze, various precious stones

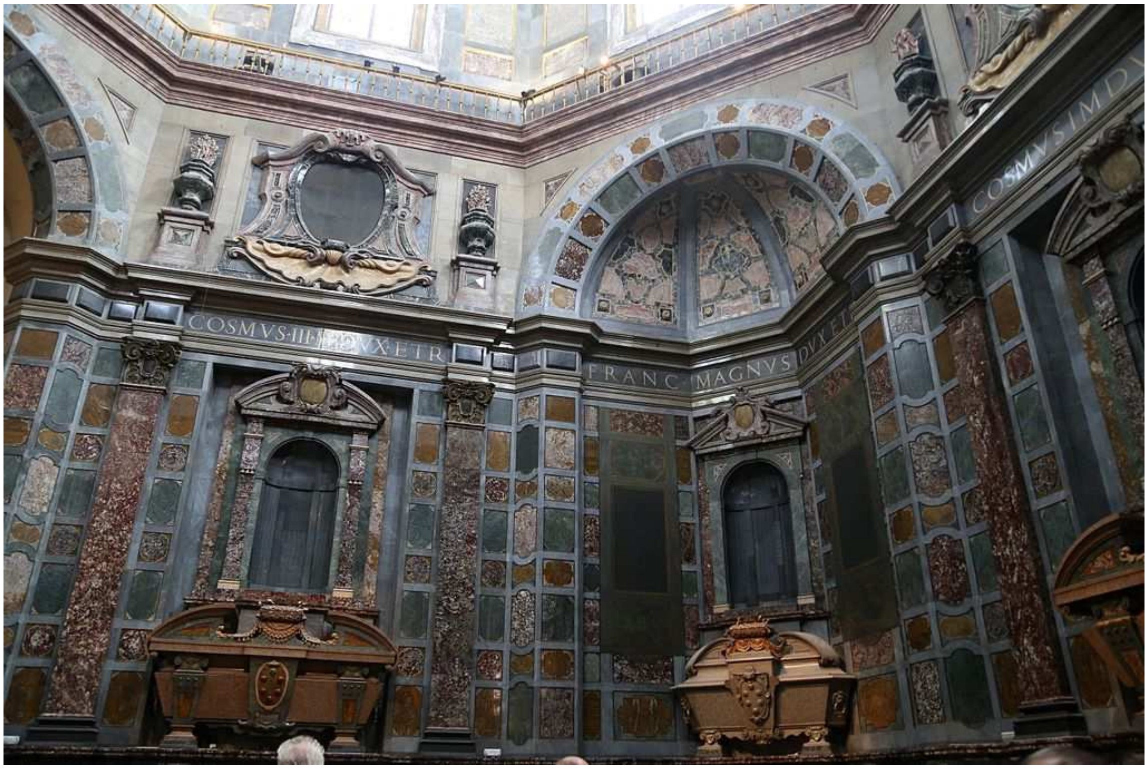

COSMVS·III·DVX·ETR
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Fig. 2.10:
Jacopo da Trezza (design), Leone and Pompeo Leoni (bronze group, completed 1593), 1579-1586, El Escorial Basilica
High altar
Marble, red granite, jasper stone, gilt bronze figures

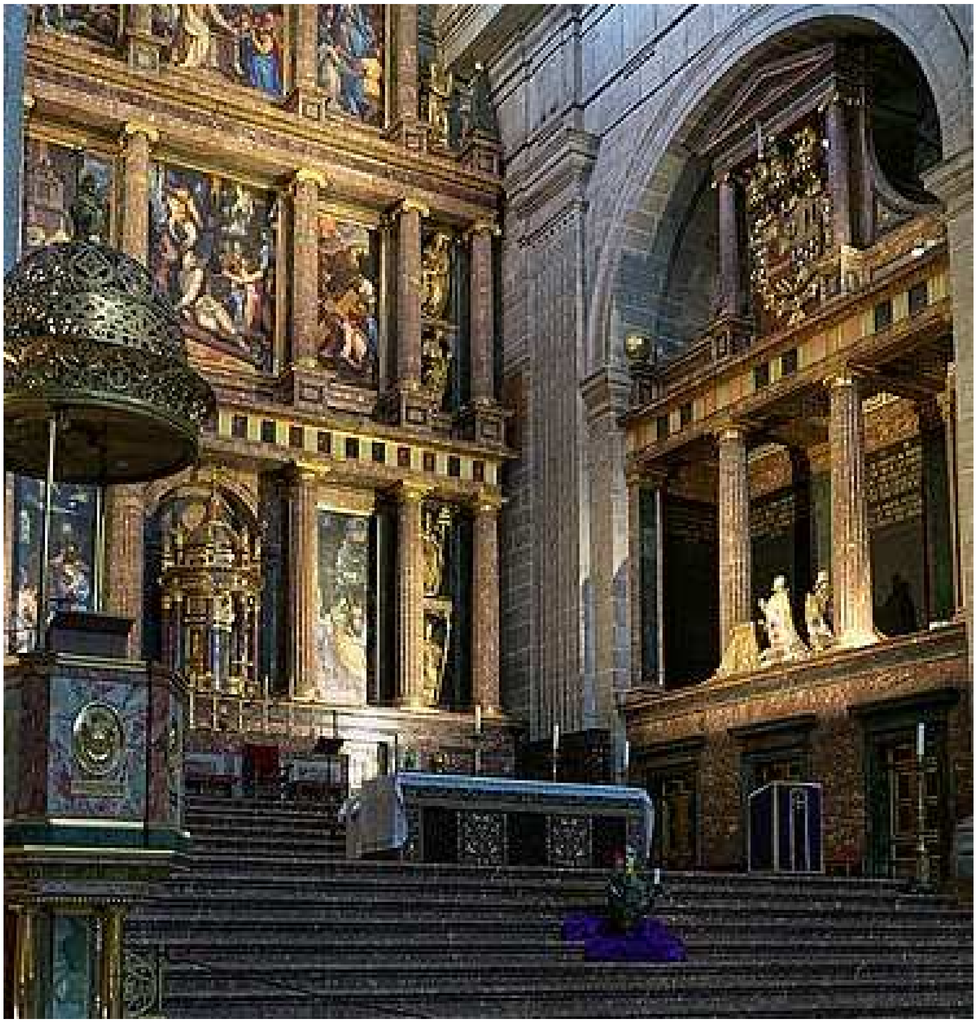


Fig. 2.11:
Giovanni Maria Nosseni (design), Hans Irmscher (architect), Carlo di Cesare (bronze statues), 1589-1594, Freiberg Cathedral
Dynastic chapel (central bays)
Marble, colored stones, terracotta, bronze figures

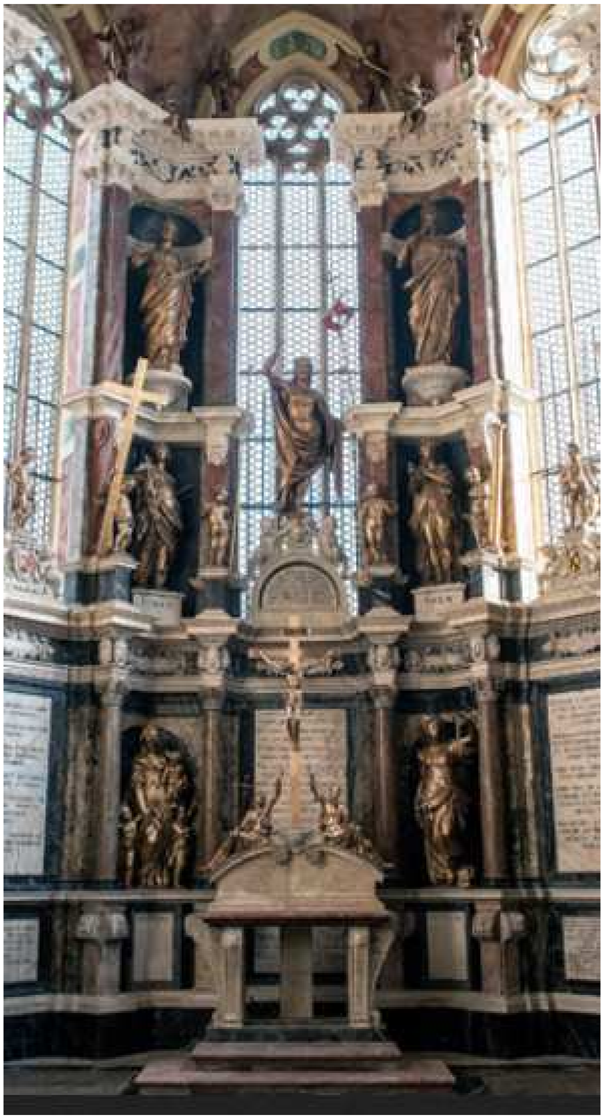


Fig. 2.12:
Giovanni Maria Nosseni (design), 1589-1594, Freiberg Cathedral
Dynastic chapel (detail)
Alabaster, marble, colored stones

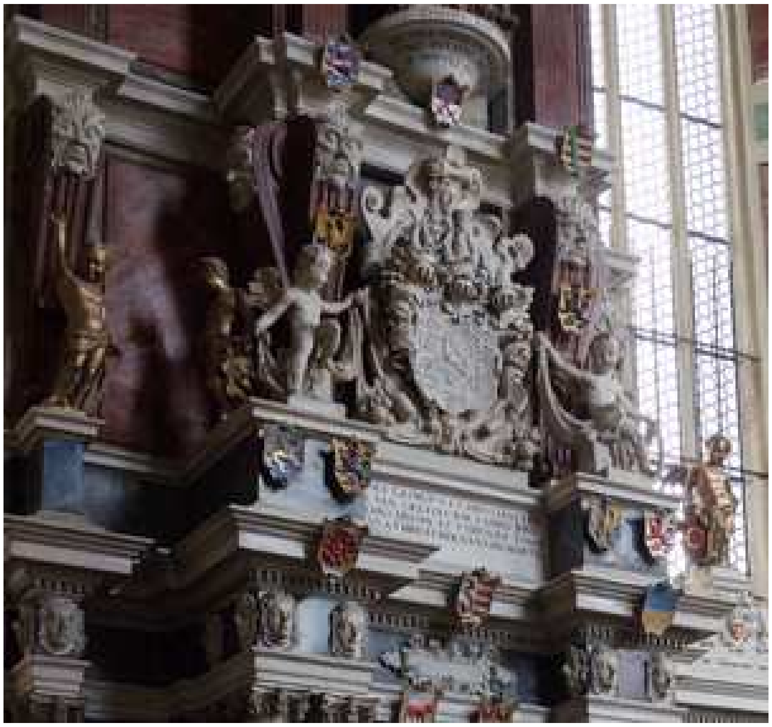


Fig. 2.13:
Carlo di Cesare, 1591/2, Freiberg Cathedral
Putto as shield-bearer
Bronze

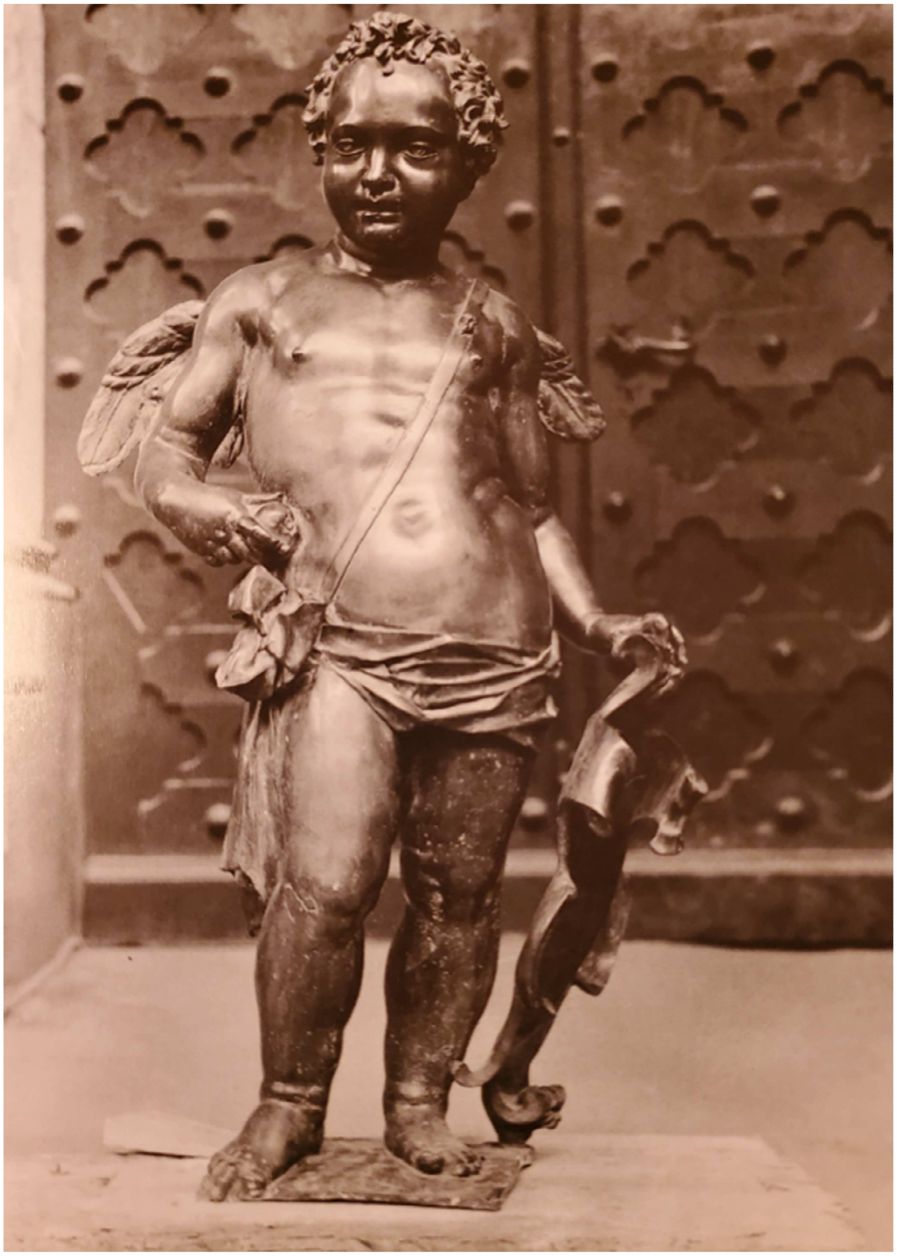
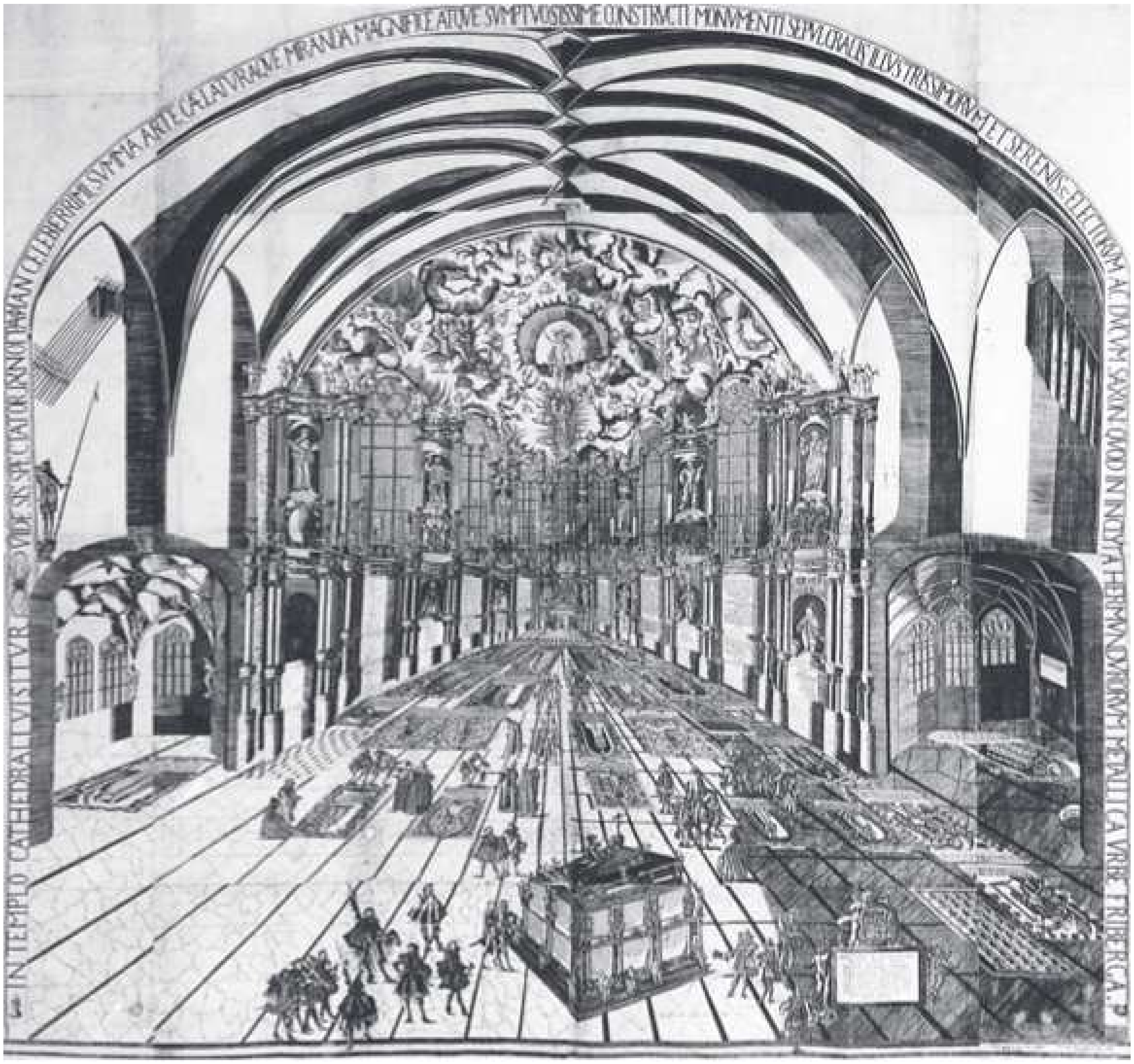


Fig. 3.1:
Christoph Vogel, 1619
Interior view of the dynastic chapel in Freiberg Cathedral
Engraving


IN TEMPLO CATHEDRALI VISITVR
VIDES SIS SPECTATOR
SVMMA ARTE CAELATVRAQVE MIRANDA MAGNIFICE ATQVE SVMPTVOSISSIME CONSTRVCTI MONVMENTI SEPVLCRALIS ILLVSTRISSIMORVM ET SERENIS. ELECTORVM AC DVCVM SAXON. QVOD IN NOVA HERMVNDVRORVM METALLICA VRBE FRIBERGA.

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Abbreviations in the footnotes:

StAD = Staatsarchiv Dresden

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