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Intriguing Relationships:
An Exploration of Early Modern German Prints of
Relic Displays and Reliquaries

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

Master of Arts

in

Art History

by

Betty L. Schlothman

June 2013

Thesis Committee:

Dr. Jeanette Kohl, Chairperson

Dr. Kristoffer Neville

Dr. Conrad Rudolph

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The Thesis of Betty L. Schlothan is approved:

Committee Chairperson

University of California, Riverside

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PREFACE

This investigation into Rhenish prints of relic displays and reliquaries was sparked by the unique appearance of a late seventeenth-century print utilized by Avinoam Shalem in his book on Islamic objects in Christian church treasuries.¹ Shalem introduced the print as evidence of objects that had acquired different functions in Western European contexts. The source of the print, a German catalog for the 1972 *Rhein und Maas: Kunst und Kultur, 800-1400* exhibition in Cologne and Brussels, influenced some of the early concepts of this thesis, narrowing the focus to the unusual compositional format and the relationship of this form of imagery to pilgrimages.² Research began with the premise that an association existed between the imagery and the *praesentia* of the saintly relics.³ Similar to Peter Brown's dissolution of time through the reading of hagiography, the idea was that the prints transcended not only time, but also place.⁴ Several scholars, including Cynthia Hahn, Walter Melion, David Areford, and Philip Soergel, have recently investigated this important concept in relationship to different forms of devotional imagery, including early modern prints.⁵

¹ Avinoam Shalem, *Islam Christianized. Islamic Portable Objects in the Medieval Treasuries of the Latin West* (New York: Peter Lang, 1996), 419. The print was of the treasury in Cologne.

² Anton Legner, ed., *Rhein und Maas: Kunst und Kultur 800-1400*, Exh. cat., Vol. 1 (Cologne: Müller, 1972), 139ff.

³ Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (1981; repr., Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 88.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 80ff.

⁵ David S. Areford, *The Viewer and the Printed Image in Late Medieval Europe* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010); Cynthia Hahn, *Strange Beauty: Issues in the Making and Meaning of Reliquaries, 400-circa 1204* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012); Walter S. Melion, *The Meditative Art: Studies in the Northern Devotional Print, 1550-1625* (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press,

Archival research, partly funded by the Barbara Brink Travel Award, further shaped the approach. An important elaboration of the project was the inclusion of imagery of relic display events (*Heiltumsweisung*). Although early research had identified a mid fifteenth-century print of reliquaries in Maastricht, Aachen, and Kornelimünster (Fig. 1), which expanded the framing of time, space and function, it was the actions of a diligent archivist in Aachen who introduced these as a closely related form. Visits with scholars in Trier and Cologne, coupled with archival research in Nuremberg, provided opportunities for further investigation of both compositional forms and revealed additional avenues of investigation. Discoveries of snow in Michael Ostendorfer's print of the *Schöne Maria* shrine in Regensburg and applied color on some of the prints were particularly noteworthy. Despite many authors recognizing the relevance of the Ostendorfer print in discussions of social relations, political actions, and the raising of church building funds, the element of snow is absent in these explorations. Additionally, though awareness of the informative value of color in prints has increased since the *Painted Prints: The Revelation of Color* exhibition in 2002, research is still principally limited to color palettes, methods of application and conservation.⁶ This observation is not to denigrate, but rather to highlight, these important investigations. Some prints in Nuremberg, including one printed on multi-colored woven fabric (Fig. 2) and another woven with colored metal strips (Fig. 3), indicate two other avenues of investigation of color. Additionally, variance in the application of color on prints from

2009); Philip M. Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints: Counter-Reformation Propaganda in Bavaria* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993).

⁶ Susan Dackerman, *Painted Prints: The Revelation of Color in Northern Renaissance and Baroque Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002).

the same impression raises questions as to the reliability of information provided by color. Unfortunately, despite the intrigue of the snow and color, it is necessary that fuller consideration of the two elements be deferred.

The research took another major leap forward during an investigation of collecting, early modern collections, and organization of collections. Arthur MacGregor's reference to the prints led to a partial listing of the impressions created by Heinrich Otte in the nineteenth century.⁷ His 1868 list confirmed that the set of prints was greater than initially identified, and provided an early grouping of the prints. At the same time, archival research had revealed prints overlooked by Otte. The initial list by Otte, organized by names of cities, evinced a need for a typology. The development of a typology also led to the identification of antecedents and successors for the imagery, in illuminated manuscripts, paintings, and other prints.

Identification of the variety of the initial approaches demonstrates the abundance of information embedded in the prints. As noted by the thesis committee, several issues and themes are present which warrant further development.⁸ Interestingly, and very much in stark contrast to these many intriguing avenues of investigation, the prints discussed in this thesis are rarely addressed in art historical literature. Although the neglect of the prints in literature is not a wholly satisfactory determinant for classifying them as a group, it is but one of several correspondences between the prints which does support such a characterization. Another association, though not one explored here, is that

⁷ Arthur MacGregor, *Curiosity and Enlightenment: Collectors and Collections from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 4f; Heinrich Otte, *Handbuch der Kirchlichen Kunst-Archäologie des Deutschen Mittelalters*, Fünfte Auflage (Leipzig: T.O. Weigel, 1883).

⁸ An observation made by thesis committee members, and Drs. Françoise Forster-Hahn and Blair Davis.

between individuals. For example, beyond the famed competition in the collecting activities of Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg and Frederick the Wise noted in Chapter Two, the two were related politically, as well as through a network of artisans. It was the death of the brother of Frederick the Wise which led to the appointment of Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg.⁹ Frederick's memorial tomb, though made by Peter Vischer the Younger, was traditionally credited to his father, the Nuremberg-based designer of one of the first prints addressed in this narrative.¹⁰ Lucas Cranach the Elder, who engraved a relic book for Frederick and painted works for Cardinal Albrecht, visited Albrecht Dürer and Michel Wolgemut in Nuremberg.¹¹ Lucas Cranach also painted a portrait of his close friend, Martin Luther, who condemned the print of the *Schöne Maria* shrine in Regensburg by Michael Ostendorfer.¹² This illustration of the multiple personal connections may be closed with the engraving and illuminations of the *Hallesche Heiltumsbuch*, a record of Cardinal Albrecht's famed relic collection by Wolf Traut, a student of Dürer. Traut's compositional forms, and his organization of imagery and text are very similar to that designed by Cranach for the *Wittenberger Heiltumsbuch* for Frederick the Wise during the same period of time.¹³ A few years later, Lucas Cranach

⁹ Holger A. Klein, "Sacred Things and Holy Bodies: Collecting Relics from Late Antiquity to the Early Renaissance," in *Treasures of Heaven: Saints, Relics, and Devotion in Medieval Europe*, ed. Martina Bagnoli et al. (Baltimore: Walters Art Museum, 2010), 63f.

¹⁰ Cecil Headlam, *Peter Vischer* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1901), 101-106. Headlam credited the discovery of the correct attribution to Joseph Baader. See: Joseph Baader. *Beitrage zur Kunstgeschichte Nurnbergs* (1860).

¹¹ Gunnar Heydenreich, *Lucas Cranach the Elder: Painting Materials, Techniques and Workshop Practices* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2007), 327.

¹² Giulia Bartrum, *German Renaissance Prints, 1490-1550* (London: British Museum Press, 1995), 166.

¹³ Images of Cranach's book are available online. See: www.britishmuseum.org, object no. 1911,0708.1.

transformed Traut's engravings into a "lavish manuscript" for the Cardinal, creating a record of an intriguing material relationship.¹⁴

There are many approaches to addressing these prints, due to their compositional forms, content, contexts and functions. Throughout the research and development of this project, associations, both historical and present, have been extremely important. Thus, it seemed appropriate to introduce the group by identifying some of the many intriguing relationships.

¹⁴ Martina Bagnoli, Exhibition Catalog Entry 130 *Christ Designating a Child*, in Bagnoli et al., 229.

INTRODUCTION

Great discoveries, and contentious disputes, make for interesting tales. Numerous books and articles have long fascinated readers with debates about the presence and role of imagery in Christian worship, the cults of saints and relics, the materiality of reliquaries, imagery precedents, and representations of memory techniques. Furthermore, texts on the theatricality of the stage, early precursors of the rationality and order of the Enlightenment, politics, expressions of power, scandals around the selling of indulgences, the development of *Kunst- und Wunderkammern*, and the popular press (e.g., ‘event reporting’) garner a large audience. Famed artists and historical political figures, such as Albrecht Dürer, Lucas Cranach the Elder, Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg, and Elector Frederick the Wise of Saxony also attract attention. Although these elements and important personages, amongst many others, are to be found in this tale of early modern German prints of reliquaries and pilgrimage events, it is not a tale of exciting discoveries or contentious disputes. Despite some prints within the group being representations of spectacles, their very lack of breathtaking drama has perhaps allowed them to fade into near anonymity. The prints, though mentioned in numerous books and articles on early modern religion, history, politics, social structures, collecting, and numerous other topics, are rarely addressed with more than one or two sentences.¹ Yet, there must be something

¹ There are some rare exceptions. The intrigue of Michel Ostendorfer’s print of *Pilgrims at the Shrine of the Schöne Maria, Regensburg*, c. 1520, is evidenced in the multiple paragraphs written about it by several authors. However, the principal focus tends to be on the context of its production. See: Giulia Bartum, *German Renaissance Prints, 1490-1550* (London: British Museum Press, 1995), 200; Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Chicago and

inherently interesting in the imagery, as many authors do reference the prints, albeit in abbreviated fashion.² Remarkably, despite the interest evidenced in the references, the prints have yet to be considered fully in art historical literature.³ Though this paper will

London: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 453ff; Allyson F. Creasman, "The Virgin Mary against the Jews: Anti-Jewish Polemic in the Pilgrimage to the Schöne Maria of Regensburg, 1519-25," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 33, No. 4 (Winter 2002): 963-980; Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 129f, 174; Arthur MacGregor, *Curiosity and Enlightenment: Collectors and Collections from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 4f; Mitchell B. Merback, "Fount of Mercy, City of Blood: Cultic Anti-Judaism and the Pulkau Passion Altarpiece," *Art Bulletin* 87, No. 4 (December 2005): 589-642; Robert Scribner, "Popular Piety and Modes of Visual Perception in Late-Medieval and Reformation Germany," *Journal of Religious History* 15, No. 4 (1989): 448-469; James Snyder, *Northern Renaissance Art: Painting, Sculpture, the Graphic Arts from 1350 to 1575* (Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 2005), 355; and Philip M. Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints: Counter-Reformation Propaganda in Bavaria* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993), 52-69. Recent texts by Drs. David Areford and Wolfgang Schmid, as well as Markus Groß-Morgen and Franz Ronig, have addressed some of the prints more deeply. See: David S. Areford, "Multiplying the Sacred: The Fifteenth-Century Woodcut as Reproduction, Surrogate, Simulation," in *The Woodcut in Fifteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Peter Parshall (New Haven: National Gallery of Art, Washington, 2009), 119-154; Wolfgang Schmid, "Rheinische Schatzkammern im Zeitalter der katholischen Reform Bildpublizistik, Goldschmiedekunst und Wallfahrten in Trier, Aachen und Köln," in *Das Rheinland als Schul- und Bildungslandschaft 1250-1750*, Beiträge zur Historischen Bildungsforschung 39, ed. Andreas Rutz (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2010), 261-294; Wolfgang Schmid, "Bildpublizistik und katholische Reform. Die Trierer Heilig Rock-Wallfahrt von 1655 als Medienereignis," in *Wege zum Heil: Pilger und heilige Orte an Mosel und Rhein*, Geschichtliche Landeskunde 67, ed. Thomas Frank, Michael Matheus, and Sabine Reichert (Wiesbaden: Franz Stiner Verlag, 2009), 81-96; Wolfgang Schmid, *Graphische Medien und katholische Reform: Reliquienverehrung, Goldschmiedekunst und Wallfahrt in rheinischen Städten nach dem Dreißigjährigen Krieg* (Trier: Paulinus, 2008); Markus Groß-Morgen, "Ein Flugblatt zur Heilig-Rock-Wallfahrt 1655," *Wallfahrt und Kommunikation. Kommunikation über Wallfahrt*, ed. Bernhard Schneider (Mainz: Selbstverlag, der Gesellschaft für mittelrheinischen Kirchengeschichte, 2004), 245-280; Franz Ronig, "Die Heiligtümer des Trierer Domschatzes: Wallfahrtsbild von 1655, Kupferstich; Gestochen und Verlegt von Gerhard Altzenbach, Köln," Printed pamphlet (Trier: Bibliothek des Priesterseminars, n/d). The recent exhibition catalog *Treasures of Heaven* is also an important resource, see: Martina Bagnoli et al., *Treasures of Heaven: Saints, Relics, and Devotion in Medieval Europe* (Baltimore: Walters Art Museum, 2010).

² Anton Legner, ed., *Rhein und Maas: Kunst und Kultur 800-1400*, Exh. cat., 2 vols. (Cologne: Müller, 1972); A.M. Koldewij and P.N.G. Pesch, eds., *Het Blokboek van Sint Servaas: Facsimile met Commentaar op het Vijftiende-eeuwse Blokboek, de Servaas-Legende en de Maastrichtse Reliekentoning* (Utrecht: De Walburg Pers, in samenwerking met Algemene Boekhandel Veldeke, 1984); Erich Aretz et al., eds., *Der heilige Rock zu Trier: Studien zur Geschichte und Verehrung der Tunika Christi* (Trier: Paulinus-Verlag, 1995); Peter Parshall and Rainer Schoch, eds., *Origins of European Printmaking: Fifteenth-Century Woodcuts and Their Public*, Exh. cat. (New Haven: Yale University Press, in association with National Gallery of Art, Washington and Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, 2005).

³ The prints have been more fully addressed in German than in English. In addition to the texts referenced in Footnotes 1 and 2, see: Franz Falk, *Die Druckkunst im Dienste der Kirche*, (Cologne, 1879); Erich Stephany, "Wallfahrtspublizistik am Niederrhein am Vorabend der Reformation," in *Heiligenverehrung und Wallfahrt am Niederrhein*, ed. Dieter Geuenich (Essen: Pomp, 2004), 71-98. Hartmut Kühne incorporates several of the earliest images in his extensive study of relic displays. See: Hartmut Kühne,

not wholly rectify that situation, it does seek to investigate the prints more closely. This narrative, perhaps less in reference to the topics identified above, focuses on elements of composition, context, and function. These components unite the images into a group. The elements, seemingly simplistic, especially in the earliest impressions, facilitate the frequent authorial references. However, what is not noted in the brief asides by the authors is that the prints as a group trace societal changes. Indeed, many major themes evidenced in the later seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are present in these earlier works, including the rise of event reporting, printed advertising, collecting, and organization of knowledge.

The relative obscurity of the impressions may be attributed to two principal factors, the ephemerality of prints, and the inclusion of many of the prints in books. Though it has been estimated that over ten thousand Northern European prints exist from the fifteenth century, it has also been acknowledged that the totality of early print production cannot be ascertained.⁴ Many of the surviving prints from the earliest period of print production are sole exemplars, attesting to their ephemeral nature. The earliest impressions examined in this thesis survived because they were incorporated into incunabula. Though history and literature scholars have long utilized imagery, both illuminated and printed, in manuscripts and books to consider textual material more fully, many art historians have restricted their investigations of imagery incorporated in texts to

Ostensio Reliquiarum: Untersuchungen über Entstehung, Ausbreitung, Gestalt und Funktion der Heiltumsweisungen im römisch-deutschen Regnum (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2000).

⁴ Susan Dackerman, "Prints in Germany and the Netherlands," in *Painted Prints: The Revelation of Color in Northern Renaissance and Baroque Engravings, Etchings, and Woodcuts*, Exh. cat., ed. Susan Dackerman (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002), 10.

illuminations. Additionally, though the origins of aesthetic evaluations of printed imagery are not topical to this paper, it is notable that the earliest prints being addressed were long not considered works of art. Thus, these prints were generally not the impressions removed from books by antiquarians, dealers and collectors.⁵ Though Peter Vischer, a well-known master artist and sculptor of the Saint Sebald shrine in Nuremberg, created one of the earliest prints, the work may be more closely related to other routine workshop productions, such as festival banners or pilgrimage badges, or even to the documents used to plan, organize and record an event.⁶ Rather than a valuation dependent on aesthetic qualities, the merit of these earliest prints resides in their multiple functions. These informative, didactic, devotional, and political functions were also the origins of commissions to Albrecht Dürer and Lucas Cranach the Elder for the second generation of the prints by Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg and Elector Frederick the Wise of Saxony.

The prints discussed in this thesis were principally produced in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in the Rhenish region of Aachen, Cologne and Trier. The images are of festive events, tied to pilgrimages and displays of relics and reliquaries

(*Heiltumsweisungen*). There are outliers, that is, prints representing events and reliquary

⁵ Rebecca Zorach has observed that the absence of aesthetic interest in certain printed imagery causes that “such things do not generally appear in histories of the visual arts.” Though this observation was in reference to printed imagery accompanying the writings of Charles de Bovelles, a sixteenth-century French scholar, it is equally applicable to the prints considered in this thesis. See: Rebecca Zorach, “Meditation, Idolatry, Mathematics: The Printed Image in Europe around 1500” in *The Idol in the Age of Art: Objects, Devotions and the Early Modern World*, ed. Michael W. Cole and Rebecca Zorach (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), 318.

⁶ Though nearly all authors credit the print to Peter Vischer the Elder, Alfred Wenderhorst states that it was “printed by a certain Peter Vischer (not to be confused with Peter Vischer the Elder).” He does not provide an explanation, or citations, to support his conclusion. See: Alfred Wenderhorst, “Nuremberg, the Imperial City: From Its Beginnings to the End of Its Glory,” in *Gothic and Renaissance Art in Nuremberg, 1300-1550*, Exh.cat. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1986), 15.

displays beyond this region of Germany, and outside of this frame of time. Indeed the earliest impressions originated elsewhere (e.g., Maastricht and Nuremberg) in the fifteenth century. Yet, the resemblance of the compositional forms of the main body of the prints considered in this thesis with these earlier prints indicates the presence of an association. Similarities are also evident in images produced elsewhere (e.g., Paris), and in later periods. Thus, these impressions are also included in this assessment.

Walter Melion recently examined devotional prints produced between 1550 and 1625 in the Netherlandish cities of Antwerp, Amsterdam and Haarlem.⁷ His study utilizes scripture, treatises, and sixteenth century “poetic commentaries” to delve into the compositional elements which were expressly for meditative and self-reform purposes.⁸ There are similarities between the prints investigated by Melion and those addressed in this thesis. Both sets of prints were produced during a period in which there was “growing concern [amongst educated men], both practical and theoretical, with the nature of religious images, their legitimate uses, and their devotional, pastoral, and sacramental functions,” as well as calls for religious reform.⁹ Furthermore, the presence of Jesuits, who “embraced images, verbal and visual, descriptive and figurative, as a prime means of rhetorical persuasion,” an important factor in the visual choices represented in the Netherlandish prints, may also have had an impact on Rhenish print production.¹⁰ Finally,

⁷ Walter S. Melion, *The Meditative Art: Studies in the Northern Devotional Print, 1550-1625* (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph’s University Press, 2009).

⁸ *Ibid.*, 15.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 3.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

both sets of prints integrated imagery and text, and were, at least in part, intended for meditation and devotion.

Yet, there are critical differences between the two sets of prints. The prints analyzed by Melion are elegant rhetoricians, persuading viewers through “the horror of original sin” to meditate on their own sins, heightening awareness of the power of repentance, providing the means to visually follow Christ through the Stations of his Passion, and ruminate on allegorical representations (Fig. 4).¹¹ The prints addressed in this thesis are speechless in comparison (Fig. 5). They are not “paragon(s) of art and ingenuity.” Rather their power lies in forthright simplicity.¹² In contrast to the promotion of meditation on the mysteries of the Passion and Incarnation as an affective means of persuasion embodied in the prints addressed by Melion, the Rhenish prints sought to access the immaterial through presentation of the material.¹³ Such meditative practices, argues David Areford, were fostered by the implication of “an indexical relationship between the woodcut and the object it depicts.”¹⁴ Furthermore, the imagery considered by Melion was intended for independent meditation and personal reform, whereas the prints examined in this paper were oriented toward the communal. The Rhenish prints both reflect and confirm the presence of community, even if viewers were to meditate on the image independently. Additionally, the Rhenish prints further functioned as advertisements, as providers of information of events and objects. Ultimately both sets of prints were partly intended for contemplation of the Divine, though the Netherlandish

¹¹ Ibid., 8.

¹² Ibid., 4.

¹³ Ibid., 13, 15.

¹⁴ Areford, “Multiplying the Sacred,” 141.

prints do so through *imitatio Christi*, whereas access for viewers of the Rhenish prints was through contemplation of the intercessory presence manifested in saintly relics.

The nineteenth-century art historian, Heinrich Otte, for the purpose of identifying and documenting a hierarchy of the structural forms of reliquaries, provided an early grouping of the prints in 1868.¹⁵ After listing drawings of treasuries, Otte identified printed books of relics as informational sources.¹⁶ Otte organized his list alphabetically, based on the name of the city where the relic treasuries were situated. He identified sixteen treasuries recorded in printed materials. Otte, working in the positivist tradition, provided valuable information, including identification of artists that produced the original drawings, print-makers, publishing information, dates, formats of print, number of represented reliquaries, media, dedications, and naming of churches in which the treasuries had been, or were, stored. However, due to the availability of research materials, and Otte's devastating loss of materials, the information is incomplete.¹⁷

Otte's list was naturally tailored to the needs of his project. Though the information he provided is invaluable, this present study seeks to re-assess his list and identify other approaches to the prints. The tool created by Otte was specific to his needs, thus the particulars of his listing merit further investigation. For example, the printed materials utilized by Otte were primarily text-based. The so-called relic books, *Heiligtumbücher*, referenced by Otte included descriptions of relics and reliquaries that

¹⁵ Heinrich Otte, *Handbuch der Kirchlichen Kunst-Archäologie des Deutschen Mittelalters*, Fünfte Auflage (Leipzig: T.O. Weigel, 1883).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 186f.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, v. A fire destroyed over four decades of Otte's research shortly before he began revising the fifth edition.

were source(s) of miraculous events.¹⁸ These documentary texts, though fulfilling the devotional purposes required by early readers of the *Heiligtumbücher*, and supplying the textual and visual information of the variety of reliquary shapes for Otte, are less useful for establishing the history or typology of the printed images. Though it is not clear from Otte's list, the insertion of prints into earlier texts may complicate the dating, and evaluation of the role, of the prints. Another issue is the construct of national boundaries, which though well known and discussed in the late 1800s when Otte wrote his book, were less well defined in the 1600s. For example, Otte's investigation of German art and architecture naturally excludes that of the Dutch city, Maastricht, as it is outside of the German state boundaries. Yet, Maastricht was a member of pilgrimage unions established between the fourteenth- and sixteenth centuries with Aachen, Cologne and Trier.¹⁹ Thus, prints related to the reliquaries in Maastricht, and other nearby dioceses, are logical inclusions in the grouping. Significantly, at the same time that Otte excluded Maastricht, he included art and architecture from Switzerland and Austria in his book, thus expanding the national state definition of 'German' to include a cultural component.

Other limitations evidenced in the list stem from Otte's identification of the group of prints for the purpose of assessing the structural forms of reliquaries. First, his list excluded many prints that principally functioned as souvenirs and devotional images (Fig. 6). Such prints were seemingly produced with an economy of time, line and skill, with a corresponding degradation of clarity of form and quality of information. This

¹⁸ The origins of these books may lie in the popular Books of Miracles created in the late Middle Ages. For an exploration of miracle books, see: Benedicta Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record and Event 1000-1215* (London: Scolar Press, 1982); and Soergel.

¹⁹ Schmid, *Graphische Medien*, 12.

likely reduced their usefulness to Otte's investigations. These images are, however, closely related to the other impressions identified by Otte. Many are clearly small-scale replicas. Second, he did not fully inventory prints depicting *Heiltumsweisungen*, that is the public displays of relics (Fig. 7). These prints are 'narrative,' providing information about the event, but not necessarily precise detailing of the reliquaries. As the prints often do not clearly document the physical shapes of reliquaries, the impressions were mostly external to Otte's investigation. Yet such prints are associated to the imagery of the reliquaries, as recognized by print scholar David Areford and Arthur MacGregor, a scholar of the history of collecting. Areford states that prints of reliquaries "allowed people to learn the basic features and shapes of the relics and reliquaries, so that they could be recognized when presented high up on the *Heiltumstuhl*, or display platform."²⁰ He further observes that depictions of pilgrims in the prints of relic displays serve to validate the event.²¹ MacGregor, referencing the "cyclical exhibitions" as "another platform for the development of some principles of display," notes that the same platforms conveyed the close relationship of the sacred and profane.²² The narrative imagery documents the performative elements of the displays, which served both ecclesiastical and civic purposes. Sacred and profane integration is also found in the mingling of sacred relics and imperial regalia in cathedral treasuries, and reinforced through ecclesiastic provision of indulgences and imperial, or civic, support and

²⁰ Areford, "Multiplying the Sacred," 133.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 124.

²² MacGregor, 4f.

promotion of the event.²³ A third limitation embedded in Otte's list is the absence of consideration of the prints as works of art. Undeniably, the prints are documents of events and objects, but at the same time, as evidenced by the multiple references to Ostendorfer's image in art historical texts, aesthetic decisions were made in their production. Therefore, it is necessary for this discussion of the prints to expand Otte's grouping: temporally, spatially, and functionally.

The number of prints under discussion is not extensive. Otte identified approximately thirty-five prints of the sixteen treasuries.²⁴ This number includes re-prints, either from the same woodblock or plate, direct copies of earlier prints, and even facsimiles produced in the 1800s. Though Otte wrote that the images were from printed relic-books, his list also includes prints that were part of chronicles, as well as others that were distributed as single sheets. As Otte's list was developed to analyze the structural forms of reliquaries, it did include some prints of public displays of relics. These prints were limited, however, to those images in which the relics were housed in reliquaries (i.e., Nuremberg, Trier and Wittenberg), and in which the reliquaries were easily visible. In fact, Otte did not mention any prints related to the displays in Aachen, of which several were identified during the course of research. A justification for the abbreviated record may be that Otte was not acquainted with the other prints. This explanation is supported by the absence of prints from Aachen depicting the structural forms of reliquaries, of which nine impressions were located. Another possibility is that he chose

²³ Ibid. 5; Arnold Angenendt, "Relics and Their Veneration," in Bagnoli et al., 23.

²⁴ Otte, 187f. Though Otte noted the dates of some reprints, if there were frequent reprints, not all dates were listed.

not to incorporate certain prints as the depictions of the reliquaries are minute and of indeterminate structure, or that the represented structural forms duplicated other representations. The images may have been less useful for his investigations.²⁵

Direct research at archives in Aachen, Trier, and Nuremberg has revealed printed works not identified by Otte. These prints will be discussed within the larger context of the works. It is further recognized that other archives, collections, and museums, are likely to have additional prints that are related to these under discussion. Finally, though Otte's list is being extended to include Maastricht, due to that city's affiliation with Trier and Aachen, it must also be acknowledged that a likelihood exists that other Netherlandish, and French, towns may have produced similar imagery. The expansion of Otte's list may thus indicate a significant genre of early printing that has not been comprehensively addressed in current printmaking literature. Further investigation of these prints may yet lead to other noteworthy relationships.

Despite the limited number of prints, a classification system is warranted. The establishment of a typology will facilitate the incorporation of additional prints that may be revealed through future research. The prints considered in this thesis are principally comprised of two types: images of events involving the display of relics (Fig. 8), and images of displayed reliquaries (Fig. 9). The content of the events' imagery provides in a visual format a seemingly idealized eyewitness report of the *Heiltumsweisung*, including depictions of the objects displayed, the ritual and manner of display, participants in the

²⁵ All prints identified by Otte, and those identified during the course of thesis research are listed in Appendix A.

ritual, and the diversity of the attendees.²⁶ Additionally, by the early sixteenth century, church structures dominate the imagery. Many of the later prints are broadsheets. Often the images include text, which further identifies the venue, the venerated relics, and the date of the event. Though text may be integrated into the image, it is most often separated from the scene. Some prints include smaller explanatory images surrounding a large central image, similar to predellas on altarpieces. Text, in the form of *cedulae*, may accompany the smaller images. Regardless of the presence, or absence, of text and explanatory imagery, these prints are essentially narrative; they serve as a record, or summary, of the event.

It is the content of the other major body of works that was most useful to Otte. These prints display relics and reliquaries, often with identifying text. The impressions visually document the physical structures of the reliquaries, with limited references to their saintly remains. Though prints of single reliquaries are often found in relic books, Otte highlighted the images in which the reliquaries were arranged in uniform rows, framed in arched niches and boxed spaces. A sense of “visual inventory” permeates this imagery.²⁷ In some instances, textual supports augment this cataloging of objects with embedded text identifying the saintly remains in a documentary manner (e.g., ‘Head of Saint Matthew the Apostle’).²⁸ On some of the prints, additional printed textual matter is attached to the sides, top and/or bottom, of the display. Beyond identifying the relics, the

²⁶ David Areford, in reference to other printed imagery of the fifteenth century, notes, “the goal of reproduction was apparently not to document the exact details of the church furnishings...but to communicate an important part of the experience of the devotee...” Areford, “Multiplying the Sacred,” 124.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 133.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 131.

added text incorporates prayers and dedications (Fig. 10). As noted, some prints were incorporated into books. Though the imagery in relic books tends to depict single objects, the prints in larger chronicles were often of more populated displays (Fig. 11). Similar to the narrative prints, many later representations are broadsheets.

There is complexity in the naming of the second group of prints. Though the prints may be categorized as images of ‘display,’ the word does not adequately represent the multiplicity of functions, especially that of devotion, attendant to the imagery. Furthermore, a title of display may be equally applicable to the narrative prints, as recognized by MacGregor.²⁹ Though the display of physical objects is evidenced in the second grouping, the performative nature of display is similarly manifested in the narrative prints. The labels, ‘catalog,’ ‘inventory,’ ‘register,’ or ‘archive,’ are equally inadequate. Therefore, to distinguish this group of prints from the narrative prints, the category will be termed ‘index,’ as a reference to both the physical and spiritual elements of the objects portrayed.³⁰

The prints’ lack of eloquence, noted in comparison to prints discussed by Melion, seems not to detract from their intrigue. The numerous references to the prints confirm this interest. Simultaneously, the brevity of the same references highlights the absence of even a survey of the prints. This investigation of the narrative and index prints seeks to begin filling the gap. After outlining several topics relevant to this study, the analysis begins with the narrative prints. Though a record of societal changes is embedded in “the

²⁹ MacGregor, 4f.

³⁰ Areford has previously argued the existence of “an indexical relationship between the woodcut and the object it depicts...” See: Areford, “Multiplying the Sacred,” 141.

act of borrowing, responding or repeating,” compositional forms in both types of prints, there are some changes more evident in each group.³¹ Changes in rituals and the expansion of eyewitness reporting will be traced in the discussion of narrative prints. Consideration of the index prints will highlight the multiplicity of functions, including their relationship to the organization of collections, sacred and profane.

³¹ Claire Farago, “The Concept of the Renaissance Today: What is at Stake?” in *Renaissance Theory*, ed. James Elkins and Roberts Williams (New York: Routledge, 2008), 81.

CHAPTER 1. TRACES OF RELATIONSHIPS

An investigation of early modern Rhenish prints of reliquaries and relic displays will naturally touch on many issues beyond the scope of this paper. It is necessary, however, to discuss briefly certain topics, as traces are woven into the prints and this narrative. These threads unite relics, imagery, pilgrimages and indulgences. Other strands connect extravagant reliquaries, *Schatzkammern* in cathedrals, and the periodic displays of relics, the *Heiltumsweisungen*. The development of printmaking, early printed texts, and collecting in the early modern period contributes to the pattern. Woven through the entirety are relationships: arguments in the period of Late Antiquity supporting the *pars-pro-toto* principle as the basis for the living presence of the saint in body parts facilitate medieval exchange and collecting of body part relics; imperial and other elite collections donated to churches become components of popular pilgrimage sites; printmaking accelerates the development for marketing and eyewitness reporting, as well as sales of indulgences and images for devotional and souvenir purposes.³²

ACCESS TO THE DIVINE

Belief in the mediating actions of saints, on behalf of supplicants, is a significant component of Catholicism. This belief is the foundation for the veneration of saints,

³² “The relic as *pars pro toto* was the body of a saint, who remained present even in death and gave proof of his or her life by miracles.” Belting, 299.

dating back to the earliest days of the Christian faith.³³ The absence of saintly remains in Constantinople, and the theological belief that saintly body parts “are synecdoche for the whole person” led to the acceptance and exchange of body part relics, first in the Eastern Roman Empire, and later in the West.³⁴ The declaration of the Second Council of Nicaea, 787, that every church was to hold a saintly relic reinforced the importance of saintly presences.³⁵

Concurrent with the development of the cult of saints, theologians debated the presence and role of imagery and figurative representations. Tertullian, an early Christian theologian, argued that not only were statues and images forbidden by Scripture, but even the act of production of the same was an act of idolatry, thereby preventing artisans from being Christians.³⁶ By the twelfth century, Bernard of Clairvaux wrote of the importance of personal experience as a means to achieve a relationship with God. Though referencing mental images, this led to “new forms of language and modes of representation of mystical consciousness.”³⁷ Thomas Aquinas, in the thirteenth century, supported the presence of imagery because of its value in “instruction, affect, and recall.”³⁸ Geiler von Kayserberg, a fifteenth-century German priest renowned for his

³³ Jonathan Sumption, *Pilgrimage: An Image of Mediaeval Religion* (London: Faber and Faber, 1975), 90. Sumption notes that the fourth-century Spanish pilgrim, Egeria, was familiar with saintly martyrs, indicating that she had likely read Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*.

³⁴ Caroline Bynum Walker, *Wonderful Blood: Theology and Practice in Late Medieval Northern Germany and Beyond* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 14.

³⁵ James Robinson, “From Altar to Amulet: Relics, Portability, and Devotion,” in Bagnoli et al., 112.

³⁶ Caecilia Davis-Weyer, ed. *Early Medieval Art 300-1150: Sources and Documents* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, in association with the Medieval Academy of America, 1971), 3.

³⁷ Bernard McGinn, “The Changing Shape of Late Medieval Mysticism,” *Church History*, Vol. 65, No. 2 (June 1996): 197.

³⁸ Herbert L. Kessler, “Gregory the Great and Image Theory in Northern Europe during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries,” in *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, ed. Conrad Rudolph (repr., Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 152.

orations, endorsed the usage of imagery as a means to access the mediatory powers of a saint, writing,

If you cannot read, then take one of those paper images on which the meeting of Mary and Elizabeth is painted. You can buy one for a penny. Look at it, and think of how happy they were and full of hope, and come to know that in your faith! Then show your extreme reverence for them; kiss the picture on the piece of paper, bow down before it, kneel in front of it! Call upon the Virgin, give alms to a poor person for her sake!³⁹

The images referenced by Geiler von Kayserberg were available, and inexpensive, due to the introduction of paper in Europe in the late medieval period, and the development of printmaking. Indeed, as noted by Caroline Bynum Walker, during the fifteenth century in northern Germany, “visual materials – from the grand winged altarpieces ... to tiny prayer cards, devotional pamphlets, and broadsides – proliferated.”⁴⁰ Yet, countering this proliferation of imagery were monastic reforms that sought to remove private devotional objects from the cells of monks and nuns.⁴¹ Holding the private objects to be distractions, the reformers advocated communal devotions.⁴²

³⁹ Geiler von Kayserberg, as quoted by Linda C. Hulst, *The Print in the Western World: An Introductory History* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996), 19. Also quoted by Otto Clemen, *Die Volksfrömmigkeit des ausgehenden Mittelalters* (Dresden and Leipzig: 1937), 14, as cited by Rainer Schoch, “A Century of Nuremberg Printmaking,” in *Gothic and Renaissance Art in Nuremberg*, 95.

⁴⁰ Bynum Walker, 8.

⁴¹ Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany* (New York: Zone Books, 1998), 427 – 467.

⁴² *Ibid.* Hamburger principally discusses reforms in Zurich and Alsace.

STEPPING TOWARDS INDULGENCES

Another early component of the Christian faith was the pilgrimage, which was established by the fourth century.⁴³ Despite the Christian belief that the Holy Spirit was ever present and accessible, and patristic arguments “that the true Christian acquires eternal life by living well rather than by visiting holy places, that God is not to be found in some places more than in others, and that pilgrims are exposed to many dangers of body and soul,” many early Christians made pilgrimages.⁴⁴ The pilgrims undertook the often lengthy and difficult travels to gain knowledge of the Holy Lands, and for purposes of devotion, meditation, proselytizing and salvation. The correspondence of Egeria, a fourth-century Spanish pilgrim, records the importance of devotional acts.⁴⁵ Beyond her lengthy descriptions of sites visited and explanations of their importance, her letters indicate that she purposely planned visits to specific holy sites, often attending or arranging for Bible readings and prayer sessions at these sites. She wrote of relic veneration and recorded her emotional response to relics and sites referenced in the Bible.⁴⁶

By the thirteenth century both voluntary and compulsory pilgrimages were well established.⁴⁷ Voluntary pilgrimages, as expressions of personal piety, were meant to cleanse a personal sin, or to perform penance on earth to alleviate time in purgatory after

⁴³ Brouria Britton-Ashkelony, *Encountering the Sacred: The Debate on Christian Pilgrimage in Late Antiquity* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005), 18-25.

⁴⁴ Giles Constable, “Opposition to Pilgrimage in the Middle Ages,” in *Religious Life and Thought: 11th – 12th centuries* (1976; repr., London: Variorum Reprints, 1979), 145.

⁴⁵ Egeria, *Egeria’s Travels to the Holy Land*, transl. John Wilkinson, rev. ed. (Jerusalem: Ariel Publishing House, 1981), passim.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ Sumption, 98.

death.⁴⁸ Public penance required by the church or the court was compulsory, unless one had the financial means to set aside such judgments, through the support of a proxy pilgrim, or a donation to the church.⁴⁹ It was these inducements to avoid banishment and the penalty of public penance, which evolved into indulgences.⁵⁰

Indulgences were not an early Christian practice.⁵¹ However, as traced by Sumption, the practice of penance, along with the concept of purgatory, was emphasized by the late Middle Ages.⁵² This led to practices intended to abbreviate the period of time spent in purgatory, including the performance of charitable works, pilgrimages, crusades and donations of gifts to the church.⁵³ Indulgences, “commonlie called the popes pardo[n]s,” were one form of abbreviation.⁵⁴ Pope Urban II expanded pardons with the issuance of the first plenary indulgence in 1095, as an incentive during the recruitment of Crusaders.⁵⁵ After the introduction of printmaking, indulgences were often printed on single sheets or bound into books. In the early modern period, indulgences were available at pilgrimage sites and saints’ festivals.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 98ff.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 99.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 107f.

⁵¹ Ibid., 98.

⁵² Ibid., 100. Evelyn Welch also provides a thoughtful summary of the development of the practice of indulgences, as a means to identify impacts on social and cultural patterns. See: Evelyn S. Welch, *Shopping in the Renaissance: Consumer Cultures in Italy, 1400-1600* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 297-301.

⁵³ Ibid., 100f.

⁵⁴ William Allen, *A treatise made in defence of the laful power and authoritie of pr[i]esthod to remitte sinnes: of the people duetie for confession of their sinnes to Gods ministers: and of the churches meaning concerning indulgences, commonlie called the popes pardo[n]s*, (Lovanii: Ioannem Foulerum, 1567).

⁵⁵ Patrick J. Geary, ed., “The First Crusade,” in *Readings in Medieval History*, 4th ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), III.5, 397; also see: Sumption, 141-145.

GILDED DISPLAYS AND TALES

One attraction of holy places and shrines for pilgrims was the panoply of holy relics, especially in regards to their containers, as evidenced in the words of a mid-ninth century pilgrim to Prüm, a German monastery. She expressed her great disappointment by advising her friends “that there was nothing holy contained there.”⁵⁶ Thangmar, beyond recording Bernard of Hildesheim’s construction of a chapel for the relics of the Holy Cross, noted that the bishop had the relics “enclosed beautifully with gems and pure gold.”⁵⁷ Ecclesiastical and secular rulers recognized that reliquaries and church buildings needed to be adorned in a manner worthy for the worship of the Divine, as “attractive packaging was an essential element in the saint’s appeal.”⁵⁸ Paulinus of Nola likened the adornment of shrines to divine renewal, a “pleasing and ennobling act.”⁵⁹ Abbot Suger’s argument for the enhancement of reliquaries, and the building program of Saint-Denis, was built on a similar premise.⁶⁰ It was further recognized that as “relics were guarantors of political prestige and spiritual authority,” enhancements of relic containers were expressions of power with potential eternal rewards.⁶¹ The magnificence of reliquaries came to be expected.⁶² The 1215 Lateran Council requirement that relics were to be

⁵⁶ *Historia SS. Chrysanti et Dariae* 9, PL 121:676, as quoted in Conrad Rudolph, *The “Things of Greater Importance”: Bernard of Clairvaux’s Apologia and the Controversy over Monastic Art* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990), 72. See also: Sumption, 153; Martina Bagnoli, “The Stuff of Heaven: Materials and Craftsmanship in Medieval Reliquaries,” in Bagnoli et al., 138.

⁵⁷ Davis-Weyer, 123.

⁵⁸ Sumption, 153.

⁵⁹ Paulinus of Nola, *The Poems of St. Paulinus of Nola*, ed. P. G. Walsh (New York: Newman Press, 1975), Poem 30, 308, as quoted in Cynthia Hahn, *Strange Beauty: Issues in the Making and Meaning of Reliquaries, 400-circa 1204* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012), 9.

⁶⁰ Erwin Panofsky, *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St. Denis and Its Art Treasures* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946), 81, 105, and 107.

⁶¹ Sumption, 30.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 153.

housed in containers, for their protection, provided the opportunity for reliquaries to become the principal visual sign of the relics.⁶³

The power of a saint to manifest miracles was another attraction for pilgrims. Early church hagiography had already confirmed the position of saints in the church, as intercessors and models of behavior. During the medieval period, along with the development of the cult of relics, hagiography was extended to document miracles attributed to saintly powers. Frequently the miracles were recorded in books at the shrines.⁶⁴ The popular text, *Golden Legend*, by Jacobus de Voragine, is a thirteenth-century compilation of these miraculous tales.⁶⁵ Highlighting the connection between tales of miracles and popular pilgrimage destinations in the late medieval period is an observation by Joseph Lortz that “the urge to pilgrimage reached almost epidemic proportions. Further, it was a phenomenon often accompanied by a craze for miracles and visions.”⁶⁶ Printmaking enhanced the popularity of the miracle books as devotional texts, popular souvenirs for pilgrims, and advertisements for future visitors. The inclusion of representations of relics, the *Heiltumsweisung*, and textual information, increased their utility as religious aids. An attractive feature of the relic-books is that they may have “allowed constant access to sacred objects that were displayed” infrequently.⁶⁷ Another important aspect of the relic books, and *Heiltumsblätter*, that is, single prints, was tied to

⁶³ Raymonde Foreville, *Concilium Lateranense 4, can. 62, Lateran I-IV, Geschichte der ökumenischen Konzilien*, ed. G. Dumeige and H. Bacht, Bd. 6 (Mainz, 1970), 439, as cited in Angenendt, 25f.

⁶⁴ Sumption, 156.

⁶⁵ Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, transl. William Granger Ryan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012).

⁶⁶ Joseph Lortz, *The Reformation in Germany*, trans. Ronald Walls, vol. 1 (London 1968), 114f, as cited by Carl C. Christensen, *Art and the Reformation in Germany* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press and Wayne State University Press, 1979), 22.

⁶⁷ Areford, “Multiplying the Sacred,” 133.

indulgences and salvation. The devout believed that the efficacy of the relics, and their associated indulgences, was transmitted through their images.⁶⁸

POWER OF THE COLLECTIVE

Originating from the biblical reference to souls under the altar, early Christian churches incorporated physical confirmations of saints, Biblical sites, and stories.⁶⁹ “The relics of saints and martyrs in flesh and bone provided seemingly incontestable proofs of biblical truth.”⁷⁰ Seeking to build collective councils of saints, churches sought donations, gifts, and resorted to theft.⁷¹ Sacral collections were furthered by the declaration of the Second Council of Nicaea, 787, that each altar of a church was to hold a saintly relic. Concurrent with the development of saintly collective councils was the growth of church treasuries. Though the objects may have principally served as a means of holding wealth during periods of instability, they also evidence the performance of devotional acts of adornment.⁷² The material wealth held by churches is evidenced in the inventory of objects donated by Bishop Desiderius of Auxerre to two churches built in the early seventh century, Einhard’s record of an “abundance of sacred vessels of gold and silver” donated by Charlemagne to the Aachen cathedral, an early ninth-century inventory of objects owned by a monastery in Centula, and the collections of Frederick the Wise and

⁶⁸ Ibid. See also: Zorach, 319; David S. Areford, *The Viewer and the Printed Image in Late Medieval Europe* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), 13f.

⁶⁹ Revelations 6:9

⁷⁰ MacGregor, 3.

⁷¹ Sumption, 32, 215; Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity*, (repr., Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 96ff. See also: Patrick J. Geary, *Futra Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages*, rev. ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).

⁷² Davis-Weyer, 66.

Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg, held in Wittenberg and Halle, respectively.⁷³ The adoration of relics, as well as their theft, created the need for relics to be protected in reliquaries and shrines, as decreed by the 1215 Lateran Council.⁷⁴ The value of the objects also led to their placement in special rooms - treasuries.

The Church was not, however, the only party interested in relics. “Aristocratic families also acquired relics both for private devotion and to demonstrate their own power.”⁷⁵ The elite dominated the relic trade in Late Antiquity.⁷⁶ Collecting was not an activity that originated with Christian relics, as evidenced in numerous archaeological sites. Anthony Storr, a psychiatrist, hypothesized that the “forming [of] a collection is to ensure that one’s existence is remembered.”⁷⁷ Pliny the Elder wrote of famed collections, such as the gemstone collections of Scarus, Pompey the Great, Julius Caesar and Marcellus. Significantly, Pliny mentioned these collections, excepting that of Scarus, in connection with their being donated to religious entities.⁷⁸ This practice continued with Christian saintly relics. The elite, seeking salvation, demonstrating piety, power, or for the fulfillment of some other need, including Storr’s ‘remembrance of one’s existence,’ often donated relics and other objects of value to church treasuries.

⁷³ Ibid., 67ff, 83f, 95f.

⁷⁴ Sumption, 215.

⁷⁵ Derek Krueger, “The Religion of Relics in Late Antiquity and Byzantium,” in Bagnoli et al., 8. See also: K. Bowes, *Private Worship, Public Values and Religious Change in Late Antiquity* (NY: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 84-96.

⁷⁶ Krueger, 8.

⁷⁷ Anthony Storr, Review of *The Cultures of Collecting* by John Elsner and Roger Cardinal, eds., *Journal of the History of Collections* 8, no. 2 (1996): 217, downloaded, courtesy of Getty Research Institute: <http://jhc.oxfordjournals.org/> [accessed 23 October 2012]. Manfred Sommer makes a similar argument. See: Manfred Sommer, *Sammeln: Ein philosophischer Versuch* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1999).

⁷⁸ MacGregor, 2.

THEATRICALITY and EDIFICATION

The origins of relic displays are unknown. Egeria, the late fourth-century Spanish pilgrim, described the ritual enacted in a display of the Holy Cross.⁷⁹ She wrote that after a bishop “takes his seat, a table is placed before him with a cloth on it, the deacons stand round, and there is brought to him a gold and silver box containing the holy Wood of the Cross. It is opened and the Wood of the Cross and the Title are taken out and placed on the table.”⁸⁰ As deacons and the bishop carefully guarded the relic, pilgrims touched the relic with their foreheads, eyes and lips, before turning to kiss the Ring of Solomon.⁸¹ Paulinus of Nola’s letter to Sulpicius Severus provides additional information.⁸² According to Paulinus, there is an annual display of the Holy Cross, on Passover, by the Bishop of Jerusalem.⁸³ Paulinus specifies that the Cross is venerated on this day, as it is “the day when we celebrate the mystery of the cross itself.”⁸⁴ The bishop also retained the right to display the relic at other times, sometimes in response to requests from pilgrims. The presence of ritual indicates that by the late fourth-century displays of Holy Cross relics were well established.

Relic displays were not limited to relics of the Passion. Materials from the Holy Land and saints’ relics were also exhibited. Originally, veneration of saints had occurred at gravesites. During the medieval period, the translation of relics served to elevate

⁷⁹ Egeria, 37.1-3.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid., 37.2.

⁸² Paulinus of Nola, *Letters of St. Paulinus of Nola*, transl. P. G. Walsh (Westminster, Maryland: Newman Press, 1967), Letter 31.6, 132.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

remains from below ground to ever-higher levels.⁸⁵ Translations did not, however, serve to make the relics more visible, as “originally relics always had to be veiled.”⁸⁶

According to Thiofrid of Echternach, in the late eleventh century, coverings served to surround the saintly remains, “as the Eucharist, the true flesh and blood of Jesus Christ, was fittingly surrounded by the external form of the bread and wine.”⁸⁷ Cynthia Hahn notes, “Throughout the Middle Ages ... the faithful almost never experienced unobstructed views of relics.”⁸⁸ The Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 secured the association between the coverings and the relics.⁸⁹ The Council, seeking to end both the sales of saints’ relics and the indiscriminate display of relics, in order to protect the reputation of the Christian religion, decreed, “that ancient relics from now on are not to be shown outside the reliquary or put up for sale.”⁹⁰ Though the containers – reliquaries, shrines, churches, and cathedrals, housing relics were sumptuously adorned from the early days of Christianity, as evidenced in Paulinus of Nola’s letter to Sulpicius Severus, the 1215 decree, confirmed the importance and role of the container.

Displays of relics were not frequent events. Though some churches displayed their relics annually, others did it at prescribed intervals (often of six or seven years), or not at all.⁹¹ Some cathedrals coordinated their relic displays with other cathedrals,

⁸⁵ Angenendt, 21, 25; Bynum Walker, 4, 87; Ben Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines of Medieval England* (1998, repr., Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2001), 62.

⁸⁶ Angenendt, 25.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 25, 101n.

⁸⁸ Hahn, 22.

⁸⁹ Geary, “Canons of the Fourth Lateran Council,” in Geary, 430-455.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 450.

⁹¹ The donations of Ottonian emperor Henry II to Cluny “were exhibited on feast days and carried in procession.” Davis-Weyer, 120; Henry II’s donations to the bishopric of Basel in 1019 were memorialized with an annual reading into the 1500s, see: Davis-Weyer, 118; annual displays of holy relics and imperial

forming pilgrimage unions.⁹² “In 1424, [Pope] Martin V permitted churches to show their relics to the faithful whenever they wished... This was followed by a succession of well-attended exhibitions, notably in Germany.”⁹³ During the early modern period, the manner of the displays shifted. Matthew Paris, in the mid-thirteenth century, depicted Louis IX standing on the small platform to exhibit relics acquired during the Crusades (Fig. 12). Peter Vischer’s depiction of a relic display in Nuremberg in the late fifteenth century also includes a platform structure (*Heiltumsstuhl*), though significantly taller and larger than that used by Louis IX, and the involvement of more people (Fig. 13). Similar to the elevation of relics during the medieval period, the displays in the early modern period were moved to ever-higher cathedral balconies (See Fig. 8).⁹⁴ Simultaneously, the label accompanying the displayed relic of the Cross, noted by Egeria, evolved into ritualized presentations of readings from saints’ lives, miracle stories, and identification of the origins of relics, along with prayers.⁹⁵ The exhibitions came to function not only as a display of relics, but also a site to convey knowledge, to ensure that congregations “were at least aware of the central tenets of Christian belief, particularly those which

insignia in Nuremberg began in 1424 after King Sigismund transferred the imperial regalia to Nuremberg, see: http://www.historisches-lexikon-bayerns.de/artikel/artikel_45392 [accessed 26 February 2013]; the Holy Robe of Trier was exhibited every seven years from 1512 to 1585, see: Schmid, *Graphische Medien*, 10; some “churches never displayed their relics,” for fear of theft, see: Sumption, 215.

⁹² Schmid, *Graphische Medien*, 10-13; Erich Stephany, “Der Zusammenhang der großen Wallfahrtsorte an Rhein-Maas-Mosel,” in *Achthundert Jahre Verehrung der Heiligen Drei Könige in Köln, 1161-1964*, ed. Joseph Hoster (Cologne: J.P. Bachem, 1964), 163-179.

⁹³ A. L. Mayer, “Die heilbringende Schau in Sitte und Kult,” in *Heilige Überlieferung*, Festschrift I. Herwegen (Münster, 1938), 245-249, as translated and quoted in Sumption, 216.

⁹⁴ “In the later Middle Ages the expositions held ... were from a gallery, a chancel, a higher place or a podium. In Aachen... these expositions were held inside the cathedral until 1320, after that from the gallery of the tower so that they were clearly visible to the crowd on the cathedral square.” G. J. C. Snoek, *Medieval Piety from Relics to the Eucharist: A Process of Mutual Interaction* (New York: E.J. Brill, 1995), 281.

⁹⁵ Egeria, 37.2; Bagnoli, 142.

differentiated their church from its rivals, and which adhered to a regular set of religious practices.”⁹⁶

CHAPTER CONCLUSION

Imagery, pilgrimage events, indulgences and the other topics, are woven through the remainder of this narrative. Although each of these threads has been addressed in an abbreviated manner, this does not in any way negate the importance of these elements. Indeed, despite the Reformation, wars of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, cessation of pilgrimage unions and regular relic displays, the populace of the Rhenish region maintained the memory of the traditions.⁹⁷ After the Thirty Years War, some earlier pilgrimage sites, and cathedrals, began to sponsor pilgrimages once more, albeit sporadically. Some of the prints addressed in this thesis were produced during the period that pilgrimages and *Heiltumsweisungen* were being re-established.

⁹⁶ Joseph Bergin, “Introduction: The Uncertain Prospect,” in Joseph Bergin, ed., *The Seventeenth Century: Europe 1598-1715* (NY: Oxford University Press, 2001), 6.

⁹⁷ Schmid, *Graphische Medien*, 90.

CHAPTER 2. TYPOLOGY OF THE PRINTS

Otte, in devising his list of prints, carefully considered whether descriptive elements of the reliquaries were visible. Due to the clarity of details, he emphasized broadsheets over smaller works. Quarto-sized prints were included in the absence of larger representations. Additionally, index prints were chosen over narrative prints. Though he included narrative images of *Heiltumsweisungen*, he did so only when the containers of the relics were prominent. Any further ties between the two compositional forms were not considered, as they were external to his investigation.

There were, however, several connections between the two forms. Examination of the prints indicates that some relationships are direct, whereas others are more oblique. Direct visual associations include the presence of relic lists in the narrative imagery (Fig. 14), and attached to the edges of the index prints (See Fig. 10). The inclusion of relic display imagery in an index print also evidences a link (Fig. 15). Another direct affiliation is manifested in the joined impressions in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum collection. A print of a *Heiltumsweisung* in Aachen has been joined to one that includes imagery of relics, instruction, and figural representations of Charlemagne and the Virgin Mary (Fig. 16). The sequentially numbered joined impressions were likely integrated into an album or book, based on the folds. Though it is regrettable that the particulars of the potentially original context have not been preserved, it is very fortunate that the two prints remain joined, as they attest to the association between the two compositional forms, at least in the eyes, or hands, of one early viewer. More oblique relationships are

present in Albrecht Dürer's *Triumphal Arch* and the *Aacher Chronick* by Johannes Noppius. Dürer's propagandistic masterpiece, from the second decade of the 1500s, includes a woodblock print by Albrecht Altdorfer of an imperial treasury (Fig. 17), and another by Dürer of the first display of Trier's Holy Tunic of Christ in 1512 (Fig. 18). The 1632 Noppius chronicle, printed in Cologne, also includes prints of a relic display in Aachen, an index print of the treasury of Aachen, and other prints, though not in sequential order. There is also a correspondence in the presence and utilization of architectonic forms in the compositions.

The discussion of the types will begin with the narrative prints. These images embody old traditions and new practices. They are early exempla of event reporting, advertising, and printed souvenirs. In addition to these secular uses, the prints functioned as devotional objects. Simultaneously, the prints are both didactic and advise on changes that are economic, political and ecclesiastic in nature.

The counterparts to the narrative prints are those that record the physical characteristics of the objects. These index prints will be addressed in the second part of the chapter. Otte identified more of these prints as they were crucial to his identification of a hierarchy of structural containers. Similar to the narrative prints, the index prints fulfill informative and didactic functions. Equally important is the sacral nature of the index prints, as they provide access to a portable collection of saintly essence.⁹⁸ Closely corresponding to these presentations of displayed reliquaries are images of secular

⁹⁸ In a similar manner, Areford suggests such prints "allowed constant access to sacred objects that were [infrequently] displayed." Areford, "Multiplying the Sacred," 133.

collections. Beyond serving as sites for the organization of knowledge, the collections, both sacred and profane, served important political and propaganda functions.

SECTION A. NARRATIVE PRINTS

The earliest printed images in the fifteenth century were single-sheet woodcuts, many of which were distributed independent of any textual support.⁹⁹ The vast majority of these prints no longer exist.¹⁰⁰ A principal factor in their disappearance is the manner in which the prints were displayed, as they were pasted to walls, doors, ceilings, inside of boxes and onto the backs of benches, as well as being attached to clothing as talismans and souvenirs.¹⁰¹ Fortunately, some prints were incorporated into manuscripts and early printed texts. The extant narrative prints from the fifteenth century considered in this thesis were found in incunabula. Undoubtedly their inclusion contributed to their survival. These earliest prints were included in “a new kind of devotional object,” the relic book.¹⁰² Relic books (*Heiltumsbuch*) developed from the traditions of hagiography, recording of miracles, and personal devotional books (Books of Hours). Significantly, a relic book from Nuremberg, *Der Schatzbehälter oder Schrein der wahren Reichtümer des heils und wahren Seligkeit*, published by Anton Koberger in 1491, also represents another association.¹⁰³ This lengthy book, which contains 96 woodcuts, incorporates biblical

⁹⁹ Hults, 22.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Areford, *Viewer and Printed Image*, 4.

¹⁰² Gabriella K. Szalay, Exhibition Catalog Entry 125 *Nuremberg Relic-Book*, in Bagnoli et al., 224.

¹⁰³ Stephan Fridolin, *Der Schatzbehälter oder Schrein der wahren Reichtümer des Heils und wahren Seligkeit* (Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1491), digital copy from Digitale Sammlungen Darmstadt

stories, accompanied by margin notations of the applicable verses, and hagiography. Nearly all of the woodcuts in the book illustrate these stories. However, there are two woodcuts that differ from the others. The first represents the processing of relics (Fig. 19); the second image is of a royal advent (Fig. 20). The two prints, disjointed from the biblical and hagiographical text and images, promote other important relationships between relics, ornate reliquaries, treasury donations, the nobility, and traditional imperial and religious practices.

RECORD OF TRADITION and EYEWITNESS REPORTING

The multi-talented Nuremberg artist, Peter Vischer, directed the production of an early narrative print of a *Heiltumsweisung* in 1487, now in the collection of Staatsarchiv Nürnberg (See Fig. 13).¹⁰⁴ Vischer's print, *Heiltumsweisung am Schopperschen Haus*, incorporates many of the elements that characterize this genre of prints, serving to position it both within cultural tradition and artistic practices. The print is also a record of change. The annual festival in Nuremberg depicted by Vischer ended with the Reformation. Though relic displays originated during the early Christian period, it was King Sigismund's decree on September 29, 1423, that the imperial treasury was to be housed in Nuremberg, which set the foundation for a century of annual displays of holy

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek: <http://tudigit.ulb.tu-darmstadt.de/show/inc-iv-440> [accessed 8 April 2013].

¹⁰⁴ Szalay, 224. Though the relic book produced in Nuremberg is labeled as "the first of its kind" by Szalay, a limited number of prints exist that antedate Vischer's print, including prints from a block-book produced in Maastricht. See: P. C. Boeren, *Heiligdomsvaart Maastricht: Schets van de geschiedenis der heiligdomsvaarten en andere jubelvaarten* (Maastricht: Ernest van Aelst, 1962).

relics and imperial insignia in Nuremberg.¹⁰⁵ Though the patron, if any, of the 1487 *Heiltumsbuch* created by Vischer is unknown, it is likely that the woodcut print, measuring 8¼ by 5½ inches, was commissioned to celebrate the annual display.¹⁰⁶ Relic-books, available at such events, “served as mementos for those who traveled great distances, ... and as advertisements for those who had yet to make the journey. Relic-books were also powerful aids to devotion.”¹⁰⁷ Vischer’s incunabula, though likely fulfilling one or more of these functions, were seemingly more luxurious renditions of relic-books. Three surviving impressions from Vischer’s woodblock were printed on parchment and colored by hand, without stencils.

Matthew Paris, a thirteenth-century chronicler of Saint Albans Cathedral in England, had earlier illuminated a display of reliquaries in his manuscript, *Chronica Majora* (See Fig. 12). Paris’ illumination depicts the French King Louis IX standing on a temporary wooden structure, similar to that represented by Vischer, although the thirteenth-century structure was far simpler than that constructed in Nuremberg in the late fifteenth century. Elaboration is further evidenced in Vischer’s documentation of participants: bishops, monks, city elders, armed guards, and a diverse crowd. Vischer also recorded the continuing use of textiles to decorate the structure, lit candles to reinforce the heavenly light emanating from the relics, and the display of banners.¹⁰⁸ The fluttering banners in the Nuremberg print have imagery related to the Passion of Christ, reflecting

¹⁰⁵ www.historisches-lexikon-bayerns.de/artikel/artikel_45392 [accessed 26 February 2013]; Giulia Bartrum, *German Renaissance Prints, 1490-1550* (London: British Museum Press, 1995), 9.

¹⁰⁶ The relics were represented in the two other woodblock prints in the book. See: Szalay, 224.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ Kühne, 285; Hahn, 150.

the increased focus on the Eucharist in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.¹⁰⁹

Additionally, Vischer captured an aural component in the depictions of round metal disks, like clanging cymbals.¹¹⁰ Both Augustine of Hippo and Paulinus of Nola commented in the fourth century on the cacophony that frequently accompanied the displays.¹¹¹ Despite the elaboration of practices documented in Vischer's image, the continuity of traditional customs is evident.

A principal difference between the illumination by Matthew Paris and Peter Vischer's print is the level of detail. Paris' image does not provide contextual information, whereas Vischer's image is brimming with visual information. Vischer's greater detail creates a semblance of reality, facilitating the experiential integration of the viewer into the crowd - visually, physically and aurally. Beyond generating a semblance of festivity, the informative details, whether a truthful depiction or not, serve to construct an aura of veracity.¹¹² The artist utilizes this element of apparent fidelity in an attempt to

¹⁰⁹ Bynum Walker, 4, 87.

¹¹⁰ Kühne, without further clarification, identified the same metal disks as mirrors ("Einige Figuren halten Spiegel in die Höhe...die auf das oben ablaufende Geschehen gerichtet sind."), as did Areford. Kühne, 4; Areford, "Multiplying the Sacred," 133. Though this is possible, it seems improbable. Even after the introduction of tin mercury coatings for mirrors in the early sixteenth century, mirrors remained luxury items. Thus, it may be argued that the likelihood of entrusting a young child with a mirror in the midst of events such as these, which were known to be rowdy affairs, is low. Per Hadsund, "The Tin-Mercury Mirror: Its Manufacturing Technique and Deterioration Processes," in *Studies in Conservation* 38, no. 1 (February 1993): 3-16.

¹¹¹ Sumption, 211f.

¹¹² The 'aura of veracity' as referenced here differs from both the "legends of veracity" discussed by Hans Belting in *Likeness and Presence*, and the "perception of veracity" recently explored by David Areford. Belting investigated the legitimacy accorded to icons which originates in the tales of supernatural origin. Areford formulated his analysis as a contradiction to Walter Benjamin's identification of loss of aura through reproduction. Part of Areford's argument is that the replication of prints transmits a sense of truthfulness. Though not denying the presence of a validation of veracity through replication as identified by Areford, in this essay, the 'aura of veracity' is established through the provision of informative details. See: Belting, 4-7; Areford, *Viewer and Printed Image*, 9-16; and Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (1936; repr., New York: Schocken, 1969), 217-251.

either persuade an audience, or to establish an accord, that the 1487 spectacle transpired as represented.¹¹³ This semblance of reality serves to position this print in the early development of eyewitness reporting. Building on the base established by Vischer, Frans Hogenberg, nearly a century later, became famous for prints of current events, including ravages of war, executions, comet sightings, and ceremonial events.

The activity in Vischer's print is contained within a wooden structure constructed especially for the event. Situated at the very top of the tented structure are the flying banners. Between the banners, a peaked repository shelters a bell. On the top floor five men, attired in decorated bishop mitres and green copes, hold reliquaries of different shapes. Another five men, ranging in age from young adult to old age, attend the bishops. Vischer documents the constancy of relic veneration rituals by portraying these men holding tall-lighted candles.¹¹⁴ Beliefs in both the emission of sanctified light from the relics and allusions of Heaven were embedded in traditions of utilizing lighted candles and lamps to honor relics.¹¹⁵ Similar to the annual reading of a list of objects donated by Emperor Henry II in 1019 to the cathedral in Basle, the final man present, wearing a scholar's cap and gray gown, reads aloud from a printed columnar list, while using a pointer to identify one of the reliquaries. Just below the men hangs fabric patterned with diamond-framed yellow crosses. In front of the textile a dark-haired, bearded man, kneels on a beam while carefully steadying another tall candle. Evenly spaced across the beam, reinforcing the cross-shaped textile design, are six more candles made of coiled wax.

¹¹³ Further archival research is necessary to determine the accuracy of the representation.

¹¹⁴ Hahn, 26 and 150.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 26; and Claudia Lega, Exhibition Catalog Entry 18 *Capsella Africana*, in Bagnoli et al., 41.

Another textile, a striped valance, hangs below this floor. The economic value of the reliquaries is evidenced by the presence on this level (the first floor above the ground) of armed men. These guardians, dressed in armor, carry swords, maces and crossbows. Some guardians keep their eyes on the reliquaries, while others look directly over the crowd on the cobbled street below. The artist carefully conveyed the diversity of attendees at the *Heiltumsweisung*: an aristocratic woman holding a staff, a young man dressed in a short green cape and multi-colored tights, a tonsured monk, an armored soldier holding a mace, a woman holding the hand of a young boy, a scholar, and a ragged pilgrim. This variety serves to indicate the popularity of the display.¹¹⁶ In response to the proceedings above, some viewers raise noisemakers, others appear to verbally respond to the ritualistic presentation, while yet others raise, or clasp, their hands in prayer.

A striking feature of Vischer's print is the presence of color. Fortunately, and quite unusually for a fifteenth-century print, there are three known colored impressions of this image.¹¹⁷ The application of color differs slightly in each print; possibly indicating different artisans applied the color.¹¹⁸ Despite several twentieth-century assessments of color in early modern European prints as anomalies, in the fifteenth century color was perceived from the initial conception of a design as an integral element of prints.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶ Though Soergel's comment, "During the later Middle Ages, pilgrimages of all kinds in Bavaria grew to new heights of popularity..." is directed at Bavaria, it is applicable to most of Europe. Soergel, 7.

¹¹⁷ The prints are found at the Staatsarchiv Nürnberg, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, and the Rare Book and Special Collections of the Library of Congress, Washington DC.

¹¹⁸ Though color variances complicate the inclusion of the Vischer print in the development of eyewitness reporting, and instigate questions of perceived veracity, the variances do reveal critical information.

¹¹⁹ Susan Dackerman addressed the origins of this anomaly in the exhibition catalog, *Painted Prints*. See: Dackerman, 2f, 10-15.

Applied pigments may be utilized to access information about artistic and workshop practices. Though the origins of printmaking remain shrouded, similar to that of relic displays, it is probable that printmaking replicated the workshop practices of other forms of art, including that of painting. Richard Field, in an essay highlighting the mysteries of early printmaking, advised that it is known and agreed that, “a division of labor, which was typical of the later Middle Ages, was employed when necessary in the making of woodcuts throughout the [fifteenth] century.”¹²⁰ This division of labor is evident in the coloring of prints, especially when variations in method of application and palette exist. Though more limited, the pigments used in coloring prints are identical to those applied to paintings and manuscript illuminations. Yet, the mobility of prints, as well as the multiplicity of functions filled by a single printed image, presents the possibility for additional information to be embedded in the coloring. Arthur Hind’s suggestion that color in prints may be used to “localize a print’s place of production,” is reiterated in John Gage’s assertion that the meaning of color is heavily dependent on local context.¹²¹ This suggestion is, however, countered by the aspect that prints and printed books, more so than paintings, or even illuminated manuscripts, offer the opportunity for color to be applied by someone separated from its original production, by locale, time and purpose. Thus, any consideration of color in prints must be tempered by recognition of the after-production, and market, application of color, as well as their ease of transport.

¹²⁰ Field, 24.

¹²¹ Arthur M. Hind, *An Introduction to the History of the Woodcut* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1935; reprint, New York: Dover Publications, 1963), 167-70; See also: Dackerman, Footnote 1, 45; John Gage, *Color and Meaning: Art, Science, and Symbolism* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999), 43.

As noted above, the three known impressions of the Vischer print are hand-colored, though not in a consistent manner. Beyond conveying the possibility that the image presents a constructed version of the event, the variation in the application and selection of pigments indicates the participation of several artisans, possibly from different workshops and guilds. Stencils were not used, and fields of color vary between the prints. The applied color mostly facilitates understanding of the elements of the dense scene by distinguishing various elements and composing relationships. Though only a couple of the inside folds of the bishops' mitres are colored, the coloring of their copes, in alternating shades of green and a wash of ochre, serves to differentiate the bishops from the others. The men attending the bishops, mostly dressed in black with white collars, are differentiated by the color (and quantity) of their hair.

Simultaneously, color heightens the harmony of the image and serves as an effective means to engage the viewer. Though perhaps inadvertent, a broken rose-colored line highlighting the cheeks of the men serves to unite them. Color further unites the armed men on the second floor, with nearly all the men on this level wearing dull-gray armor. Yet, color functions differently at the street level. Here color is used to both express diversity and magnify the number of attendees standing on the cobbled street. The sense of variety created by the many colors, and positioning of diverse figures, serves to create space within the crowd for the viewer to vicariously participate in the spectacle. The unity defined by the hint of rose across the faces of the clerics, and through the dull-gray armor, also appears in the gentle washes of color across the entirety of the image, from the orange on the tented roof, to the orange in the fringe, to the orange

on the child below; the green of the bishops' capes, the green pants on the candlelighter, the green in the fringe and the green dresses and capes amongst the viewers. Though the cross-patterned textile in all three impressions is certainly eye-catching, overall the coloring of the prints appears very balanced.

In addition to contributing to the creation of a harmonious image, color provides information.¹²² It is clear from the three prints that the venue of the event was a multi-level structure erected in Nuremberg. Though the print in the collection of Staatsarchiv Nürnberg advises that the event was held on the cobbled "main market square," the applied color in the other two prints seems to indicate a grassy field, in conflict with the engraved lines, and actual venue (Figs. 21 and 22).¹²³ Yet, it is the heightened color in the other two prints that elucidates the structure, indicating that it is slightly more than one-and-a-half stories tall, with stairs in the middle. Additionally, the color applied on all three prints to the fringe above the armored men relates the textile on the temporary structure in Nuremberg to a contemporary textile adorning the altar in Saint-Denis in Paris as portrayed by the Master of Saint Giles in the image titled, *The Mass of Saint Giles* (Fig. 23), as well as a fabric included in the late fourteenth-century manuscript, *La Vie de Saint Louis* by Guillaume de Saint-Pathus (Fig. 24).

Beyond advising on artistic practices and associations, Vischer's fifteenth-century print documents the continuity of traditional practices in the display of relics. These

¹²² Richard S. Field, "Early Woodcuts: The Known, the Unknown," in *Origins of European Printmaking: Fifteenth-Century Woodcuts and Their Public*, ed. Peter Parshall, et al. (New Haven: National Gallery of Art, Washington, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, in association with Yale University Press, 2005), 20.

¹²³ Rainer Schoch, Exhibition Catalog Entry 59 *The Holy Relics of Nuremberg*, in Parshall and Schoch, 212ff.

cultural practices, also evidenced in the thirteenth-century manuscript illumination by Matthew Paris, date from the early days of Christianity. Vischer's print, intentionally or not, served to support the maintenance of customs. Additionally, the print established a foundation for later narrative prints.

RECORD OF NEW PRACTICES, ADVERTISING and PROPAGANDA

Many of the elements featured by Vischer in 1487 are present in the woodcut print of the Church of the Beautiful Virgin in Regensburg, c. 1520, probably the best-known image considered in this thesis (Fig. 25).¹²⁴ This broadsheet, measuring 21 3/8 x 15 3/16 inches, is one of the few images under discussion that has been honored with more than one or two sentences by other writers.¹²⁵ Its popularity is not a new phenomenon, as evidenced in the multiple versions produced in the sixteenth century.¹²⁶ Similar to the Vischer print produced thirty years earlier, this print includes a wealth of details. Beyond incorporating the same features, the print, designed by Michael Ostendorfer, depicts the localization of the very popular Cult of the Virgin Mary, and newer religious practices.¹²⁷ Consistent with the documentation of the details of an event,

¹²⁴ The church was also known as the Church of the Fair Mary. See: Soergel, 55.

¹²⁵ See Footnote 1.

¹²⁶ The Germanisches Nationalmuseum has two versions: Folder HB2370, dated 1516; and HB24657a, dated 1645. Snyder includes an impression, c. 1520, from the collection of the New York Library. See: Snyder, Fig. 14.33, 355.

¹²⁷ The Germanisches Nationalmuseum dates the print to 1516 (Folder HB2370). James Snyder dates the print to c. 1520. Snyder wrote that the Jews were expelled, and their synagogue destroyed in 1519. If this information is correct, then the print cannot date prior to the building of the church after this date. Soergel confirms Snyder's brief reference with more particulars of the town's council decree and the destruction of the synagogue. See: Snyder, 355f; Soergel, 52-56.

as seen in the Vischer print, Ostendorfer's print further evidences the utilization of the printing press for event reporting, advertising, and propaganda.

The represented scene is of a pilgrimage event celebrating miracles of the *Schöne Maria* icon inside of the church and *Schöne Madonna* statue in front of the church. The entirety of the activity captured in the print is in the lower third of the image. The numerous pilgrims encircling the church are following fluttering banners. Parading male pilgrims, on the left, carry thrusting spears, a bayonet-type weapon. Though not the armed guard of Vischer's print, the men impart a protective presence. The last two pilgrims in this line carry a lighted candle and rosary; thus, reinforcing the traditional importance of light and documenting the presence of a new devotional practice, the cult of the Rosary. Dominicans promoted this practice of using a strand of beads to properly recite prayers, beginning in the later half of the fifteenth century.¹²⁸ The repeating of prayers was believed to abbreviate the time one would spend in Purgatory.¹²⁹ Ostendorfer, similar to Vischer, differentiated the men by their clothing, distinguishing between the style and material of their cloaks and collars. The artist even detailed the men's leg coverings, gartered just below the knee, providing a glimpse of the stirrups attached to the leg coverings of the shoeless man in the last row (Fig 26). The shoeless pilgrim represented the ideal, as "barefoot pilgrims were particularly esteemed."¹³⁰

Emerging from behind the church on the right side are three more groups of people. One of the prelates in the group of monks and clergy carries a cross, whereas

¹²⁸ Henk van Os, Eugène Honée, et al., *The Art of Devotion in the Late Middle Ages in Europe, 1300-1500*, transl. Michael Hoyle (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 154.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 155.

¹³⁰ Sumption, 127.

another holds a crozier. Nearby, processing confraternities follow two men, one carrying a large banner, and another carrying a monstrance-style reliquary. The bare-footed women on the far right, whose youth, purity, and innocence, is reinforced by the crowns and wreaths resting on long, flowing locks, carry lighted candles. Though many of the candles are small enough for the holders to shelter the flames with their hands, two candles appear to be three- to four- feet tall. Leading this group are two shoeless men; of whom, one, crowned with a wreath, also carries a candle. However, this candle is excessively large, requiring its weight to be supported by a sling over his shoulders. The other man carries yet another large banner. The men lead the group of women to their right as they approach the church, seemingly without any notice of the two cloaked and hooded women who model an act of kindness by helping a crippled woman.

An ecstatic group of pilgrims, wildly proclaiming their veneration for the *Schöne Madonna* by hugging, collapsing and reaching out to the statue, is depicted in the foreground. The statue, raised on a column above the heads of the pilgrims, is feebly protected from this overt display by an ornate metal fence. Against this fence a woman nurses her child, while another comforts a prone praying woman. Overcome by the sanctity of the site, five men assume postures of ecstasy and humility.¹³¹ As a young man lying on the ground props up his head, a nearby female pilgrim reverently raises her eyes upward and kneels in prayer. In this early narrative print Ostendorfer seemingly captures the depth of the emotion evidenced at holy shrines, which heightened the profound feeling of *Cor unum et Anima una*, of one heart and soul, thereby creating a sense of

¹³¹ Bartrum, 200; Sumption, 130ff; Ward, 124.

community.¹³² The depiction of the extreme emotion was also didactic, providing a meditative and behavioral model for viewers of the print.

Similar to Vischer's image, Ostendorfer's print provides considerable information about cultural practices associated with shrines. Immediately behind the charged display of emotion pilgrims patiently shuffle into the church. The object of their veneration is the icon of *Schöne Maria*, deep inside the church (Fig. 27). Similar to Vischer, Ostendorfer carefully highlighted the multiplicity of devotees. The group on the left includes a knight in armor; barefoot and strong-legged wildmen dressed in furs; and women carrying pitchers, platters, yarn winders, spinning implements, and pots with stirrers. The devotees in the group on the right carry food offerings on platters, in skillets, wood baskets and in slings over their shoulders. Along with traditional votive offerings of wax body parts, the abundance of rivers, fields, and forests are evidenced in the donations of fish, sickles, racks, hoeing implements, and bundles of wood. The clothing of this group differs from the pilgrims encircling the church. More of the men wear hats, their coats fall below their knees, and they have ankle-cuffed shoes. The women wear long dresses, and wear their hair either in braids, or covered with fabric wrapped around their heads. The depiction of a large and diverse ensemble by Ostendorfer serves to both provide "model(s) for viewers to emulate," and lend credence to the saintly icon.¹³³ The audience is "indispensable" in authenticating and validating a relic, as observed by Cynthia Hahn.¹³⁴

¹³² Louis Chatellier, *The Europe of the Devout: The Catholic Reformation and the Formation of a New Society*, transl. Jean Birrell (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 52f.

¹³³ Hahn, 51f.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 9.

Though today the intrigue of Michael Ostendorfer's print resides in both the extent and quality of its illustrative and narrative content, in the early sixteenth century the image was valued for both for its religious significance and relationship to external events. It fulfilled event-reporting, advertising and propagandistic functions. In 1519, in a gesture of independence from imperial politics, just after the death of Emperor Maximilian I, the town council of Regensburg expelled Jews from the town.¹³⁵ Immediately thereafter, the Jewish quarter was demolished.¹³⁶ The destruction is visible in the background of the print. During the dismantling of the synagogue a workman was seriously injured. His 'miraculous' recovery was taken as a sign that the actions taken by the council were just. The wooden church, as depicted by Ostendorfer, was quickly constructed in honor of the miracle. Though the image did not include any reference to the miraculous event, viewers of the image were likely acquainted with the tale. By commissioning the print, the town council sought to advertise the miracle. In competition with the numerous miraculous sites that developed in German territories from the fourteenth through early sixteenth centuries, the town council aimed not only to exhibit the miraculous powers of the icon and statue, but also to relate the shrine to the famed golden sculpture that had been part of the "French Treasure." This golden sculpture had been located at Unsere Schöne Frauenkirche in Ingolstadt, and after 1509, at the church

¹³⁵ Emperor Maximilian I had denied the town council's previous attempts to evict the Jewish population. Within a month of the emperor's death, the city voted for an immediate eviction. Soergel, 52f.

¹³⁶ http://www.britishmuseum.org/system_pages/beta_collection_introduction/beta_collection_object_detail.s.aspx?objectId=1423270&partId=1&searchText=1909,0612,3 [accessed 1 Feb 2013]. In addition to the texts referenced in Footnote 1, Mitchell Merback, who has written extensively on this topic, just published a new book exploring events of similar nature. Unfortunately I have not had the opportunity to read the book and ascertain whether he includes the events of Regensburg. See: Mitchell Merback, *Pilgrimage and Pogrom: Violence, Memory, and Visual Culture at the Host-Miracle Shrines of Germany and Austria* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013).

dedicated to the Virgin Mary in Altötting.¹³⁷ Closely corresponding to earlier tours of relics to raise building funds, the Regensburg council sought to use the printed image, and its affiliation with other Marian sites, to collect donations. The events of the Reformation ended their building plans, but not before they commissioned Ostendorfer to produce a printed rendering of the planned cathedral dedicated to Saint Mary (Fig. 28).¹³⁸

Another important relationship evidenced in this version of the print is of the cult of the Virgin Mary, promoted by Cardinal Albrecht von Brandenburg, archbishop of Mainz.¹³⁹ As a response to agitation for church reform, confraternities of the Rosary intensely promoted Marian devotion in the late fifteenth century, for the Virgin Mary was seen as the “guardian of the church in times of gravest danger.”¹⁴⁰ The popularity of the Marian shrine at Altötting led to the establishment of other Marian focused shrines in Bavaria, including that of Regensburg.¹⁴¹ Beyond indicating the presence of newer forms of devotion, the rosary embedded in the image, designed during the period of Martin Luther’s calls for reforms, references the embattled Catholicism, and Cardinal Albrecht’s response.

The edition of the print assessed in the literature differs slightly, but significantly, from the one represented here.¹⁴² This edition of Ostendorfer’s print includes gently falling snow, closely tying the veneration of the Regensburg’s pilgrims to a founding

¹³⁷ Soergel, 55.

¹³⁸ This print, as it does not pertain to an actual event, is not a member of the group addressed in this thesis.

¹³⁹ Snyder, 298.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Soergel, 25f.

¹⁴² The versions encountered in the literature during the course of thesis research were without snow. The print with snow is in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, File HB2370. An example of the print without snow is reportedly in the New York Library. See: Snyder, 355.

miracle of the Cult of the Virgin Mary.¹⁴³ Reportedly the site for the first church dedicated to the Virgin Mary, Santa Maria Maggiore, was identified in the fourth century by a miraculous summer snowfall on the Esquiline hill in Rome. Contemporary viewers of Ostendorfer's print possibly recognized the connection to Santa Maria Maggiore, as well as the cult of *Maria-Schnee*, though it is rarely noted in today's literature. Martin Luther was certainly cognizant of the reference to the cult, if not the founding miracle, as he condemned the spread of chapels dedicated to the Virgin Mary in several places, specifically mentioning Regensburg.¹⁴⁴ Albrecht Dürer's awareness is confirmed in a handwritten note on a copy of Ostendorfer's print, articulating his concern that such imagery countered the Holy Scripture, utilized it for material purposes, and separated the Virgin Mary from Jesus Christ, thus dishonoring her.¹⁴⁵ The representation of the snow may further serve as a political statement of propaganda, against the Jewish population, as the snow may represent a cleansing of the site.¹⁴⁶

The prints by Vischer and Ostendorfer rely on earlier artistic forms and the new technology of printmaking, to document traditional practices of veneration, festive *Heiltumsweisungen*, new religious practices, including the expansive spread of Marian devotion, the use of the rosary, and the development of confraternities. The contextual

¹⁴³ Further investigation is required to determine the chronology of the various editions of the print. Besides the two print editions referenced in Footnote 73, there is a later print, without snow, dated 1645, in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, file HB24657a.

¹⁴⁴ Unless a copy of Ostendorfer's print resides among the personal documents of Martin Luther, it is likely to remain a mystery as to which version of the print he had seen. Snyder, 356.

¹⁴⁵ Though the literature does not clarify whether Dürer's copy of the print is with, or without, snow, the absence of commentary on the snow indicates that it was likely without snow. Snyder, 355ff.

¹⁴⁶ I appreciate Dr. Conrad Rudolph's identification of the possible functions fulfilled by the depiction of snow.

information embedded in the imagery attests to the multiple functions fulfilled by these works of art related to pilgrimages and relic displays.

At the same time, the prints serve as ‘thesauri,’ that is, as repositories of compositional forms from which other artists drew. Though investigations of origins of specific compositional forms, and tracing subsequent usages, are of interest, it is the alterations of forms that intrigue. Fortunately, an early seventeenth-century print credited to Abraham Hogenberg facilitates the investigation by recording other modifications of traditional practices and replicating the extraordinary detail evidenced in the Ostendorfer print.

RECORD OF LOSS and MODIFICATION

Before turning to Hogenberg’s impression, an assessment of other sixteenth-century prints is warranted. Significantly, for the century after the early 1520s, imagery similar to that devised by Vischer and Ostendorfer is seemingly absent. Though the possibility exists that the expansion of Otte’s list may lead to identification of comparable imagery for this period, it is necessary to consider possible explanations for the apparent absence.

The Reformation, Counter-Reformation, and Council of Trent decrees, are often referenced as principal causes for changes in imagery in the sixteenth century. The sermons and writings of the reformers, responses and arguments from the Catholic Church, as well as censorship from both sides and civic institutions, did have a major impact on cultural traditions and artistic productions. Indeed, the iconoclasms that led to

the decisions of the city councils of Nuremberg and Regensburg, amongst others, to adopt Lutheran doctrine ended annual relic displays, eliminating an actual event to advertise and report. Additionally, countless works of art were lost during this period of time, including prints.¹⁴⁷ Finally, the promotion by Protestants of private devotions over public communal displays further erased the basis of the compositional forms presented by Vischer and Ostendorfer.

Accompanying these changes was the development of newer popular forms of prints, including that of portraiture, landscape, and architectural rendering.¹⁴⁸ The development of schools and universities in Germany, Protestant emphasis on education, and even “the bent for social commentary” in German Renaissance cities, increased demand for prints with allegorical and moral foundations.¹⁴⁹ Eyewitness reporting, focused on secular events, such as comet sightings and Turkish invasions, also grew in popularity.¹⁵⁰ The independent commissioning of designs by “corner press printers,” versus printers working in painting workshops or religious houses, fulfilled these market demands.¹⁵¹ Such commissions facilitated the shift in determination of printed imagery from the artist to the publisher and market.¹⁵² Concurrent with these changes was the

¹⁴⁷ However, it should be noted, “prints, as far as we know, did not figure prominently in iconoclastic destruction.” Zorach, 317.

¹⁴⁸ Landau and Parshall, 230, 337.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid. Scribner, however, notes that “literacy was very low in sixteenth-century Germany...[though] it was certainly widespread in towns.” He estimates that only 2.5% of the population was literate. R. W. Scribner and C. Scott Dixon, *The German Reformation*, 2nd ed., (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 19f.

¹⁵⁰ Landau and Parshall, 227, 237.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 347.

¹⁵² Ibid., 223, 347.

development of print collecting, which further shaped compositional forms.¹⁵³ David Landau and Peter Parshall, after noting that fifteenth-century prints were “almost exclusively of devotional subjects,” estimated that by the mid-sixteenth century only five percent of the prints produced by corner press printing houses were of “conventional religious subjects.”¹⁵⁴

Landau and Parshall reference another factor in the loss of certain compositional forms: the absence of well-trained printmakers in the second half of the sixteenth century.¹⁵⁵ Though this statement may be countered by the works and presence of Jost Amman, Hendrick Goltzius, the Wierix brothers, and others, Giulia Bartrum’s discussion of German Renaissance printmaking demonstrates the extent of the loss by death: Michael Wolgemut, 1519; Wolf Traut, 1520; Hans von Kulmbach, 1522; Hans Holbein the Elder, 1524; Hans Wechtlin and Hans Springinklee, late 1520s; Albrecht Dürer, 1528; Hans Burgkmair, 1531; Barthel Beham and Hans Schäufolein, 1540; Erhard Schoen and Leonard Beck, 1542; Hans Baldung, 1545; Peter Flötner, 1546; Sebald Beham and Georg Pencz, 1550; and Lucas Cranach the Elder, 1553.¹⁵⁶ However, death was not the sole contributory factor. The shifting of patronage to the courts from ecclesiastical entities and free cities during the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Reformation and Counter-Reformation, wars and economic declines, as well as Council of Trent formulations of

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, passim.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 230, 260. However, Landau and Parshall estimate that prints produced from painters’ workshops were nearly one-third of religious subjects. Unfortunately, a weighted estimate by category for the combined production was not provided.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 365. Beginning “around 1550 in Antwerp, Augsburg, Basel, Nuremberg and Strasbourg, there were no virtuosi able to compete with the founding generation of engravers.”

¹⁵⁶ Bartrum, passim.

appropriate imagery, significantly impacted artisan communities, artistic productions, and compositional forms.

Changes are evident not only in the subject matter, the artistry, and patronage, but also in the distribution of prints. During the fifteenth century, prints were principally distributed locally.¹⁵⁷ In the sixteenth century, collectors, utilizing the same distribution networks as book publishers and sellers, not only procured their prints from local vendors and markets, but also from distant printmakers and agents. A principal attribute of prints, their ease of transport, facilitated the exchanges. These exchanges, along with artists' travels, further altered compositional forms.

An examination of a print designed by Flemish engraver, Raphael Sadeler reveals the modifications. The impression includes representations of a 1589 *Heiltumsweisung* and the processing of a relic in a reliquary (Fig. 29). Dedicated to Elizabeth of Denmark, the Duchess of Brunswick, the 1590 print was designed by a minor Italian artist from Forlì, Giovanni Francesco Motiliani.¹⁵⁸ Reflecting the career of peripatetic Sadeler, the impression is a hybrid. Though it incorporates civic and liturgical elements represented by Vischer - armed guardians, lit candles, diverse audience, and multiple participants in the relic display - Sadeler composed the format of the print in the manner of Italian

¹⁵⁷ Landau and Parshall, 64f. Landau and Parshall chose to restrict their investigation of Renaissance prints to 1470-1550. The determination that there was a dearth of well-trained printmakers after 1550 partly serves to justify the end bracket. There were, however, very talented printmakers in the late sixteenth century, including Hieronymous Cock, Hendrick Goltzius and Jacob de Gheyn II.

¹⁵⁸ Georg Rathgeber, *Annalen der niederländischen Malerei, Formschneide- und Kupferstecherkunst*, (Gotha, Germany: J.G. Müller, 1844), 308f, digital copy, courtesy of Google Books: <http://books.google.com/books?id=2BBBAAAacAAJ> [accessed 3 April 2013]. Johann Rudolf Füssli and Johann Heinrich Füssli, *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon: Oder: Kurze nachricht von dem Leben und den Besten der Maler, Bildbauer, Baumeister, Kupferstecher, Kunstgießer, Stahlschneider* (Zurich: Orell, Füßli und Compagnie, 1809), 919f, digital copy, courtesy of Google Books: <http://books.google.de/books?id=CDEuAAAAYAAJ> [accessed 3 April 2013].

Renaissance altarpieces, with framed narrative predellas. Raphael, along with his brother, Jan, spent over ten years in Italy, after leaving Antwerp during the rebellion in the Low Countries. The majority of this time was spent in Venice. However, this print was engraved during the period of time that Raphael and Jan resided in Munich, from 1588 to 1596.¹⁵⁹

Predella imagery, which also existed in northern Europe, was part of the framing device of an altarpiece. The didactic imagery was highly specialized: scenes from the life of the saint to whom the altarpiece was dedicated, and related miracles.¹⁶⁰ The images served a “broad range of religious and aesthetic, and even social or political functions, that might vary in emphasis according to the needs and tastes of the particular donor, clergy or artist.”¹⁶¹ In an Italian altarpiece, these functions were closely related to its setting. Though German altarpieces functioned similarly, predella imagery in the north differed. It often incorporated landscape, a representation of “the earthly realm in contradistinction to a heavenly event hovering in the sky.”¹⁶² However, here, Sadeler has replicated the Italian form in a German print. The multiplicity of the prints served to further magnify and extend the functions of an altarpiece beyond its physical site.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁹ Michael Bury, *The Print in Italy, 1550-1625* (London: British Museum Press, 2001), 232; http://www.britishmuseum.org/system_pages/beta_collection_introduction/beta_collection_search_results.aspx?people=93950&peoA=93950-2-60 [accessed 21 April 2013].

¹⁶⁰ Belting, 380.

¹⁶¹ Peter Humfrey, *The Altarpiece in Renaissance Venice* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 1.

¹⁶² Christopher S. Woods, *Albrecht Altdorfer and the Origins of Landscape* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 37ff.

¹⁶³ In reference to fifteenth-century religious printed imagery Areford argues, “Through inscriptions, life-size scale, and visual details that attest their authenticity, these woodcuts exploit spatial and physical dimensions often defined through an indexical connection to a sacred original. In this regard, the woodcut serves as an extension of the precious object, in a kind of relay that receives and amplifies not only its visual qualities and special powers but also a moment of sight, touch, or spatial intimacy that can be endlessly re-experienced and reimagined.” Areford, “Multiplying the Sacred,” 147.

A similar modification of compositional form was manifested in a contemporary print credited to Alexander Mair of Augsburg. The impression of Saint Mary's Chapel, Altötting, Bavaria, incorporates considerable detail and historical elements (Fig. 30). Similar to the earlier image by Ostendorfer of Regensburg, Mair's 1598 print incorporates references to the city's patron saint, Rupert, and the history of the city. Mair's image also includes references to Altötting's imperial affiliations to Charlemagne and King Otto. Another parallel to the Ostendorfer print is Mair's record of a new practice, that of the confessional screen. Yet, resembling the later impression by Sadeler, a central image is surrounded by narrative predella images. However, Mair's predella images are of miraculous events. The predella format establishes a close relationship between popular miracle books and the print.¹⁶⁴

Though the prints created by Raphael Sadeler and Alexander Mair varied significantly from the basic compositional forms of this narrative genre, the two printmakers incorporated elements that related to the Vischer and Ostendorfer prints. Confirmation of this presence of similar forms can be found in a brief assessment of two other contemporary prints.

An early sixteenth-century print of another Marian shrine, the Santa Maria shrine in Loreto, is contemporaneous to Ostendorfer's image of Her shrine in Regensburg (Fig. 31). The Italian shrine is reportedly the site of the transported house of the Virgin Mary. The impression, by an unknown artist, is a crude woodcut. Referencing the history of the shrine, the house, supported by two angels, hovers above the city. Four pilgrims

¹⁶⁴ Soergel, 32-37.

journeying to the shrine are depicted. A miraculous event appears in the upper right corner. Though the dense image contains several pieces of information, it does not advise on traditions, new forms of veneration, political or economic changes. Fulfilling devotional needs, and perhaps, that of a souvenir, the image is reinforced with a songful prayer.

Another Marian print was impressed in Saint Quentin, France, in 1659 (Fig. 32). This print, dedicated to the Bishop Henri de Baradat, announces an indulgence for inhabitants of the diocese. A central image of the veneration of a sculpture of a standing Madonna and Child is bordered with side predellas. Similar to the Mair print, the images reference miracles enacted through the efficacy of a miraculous image, or presence, of the Virgin Mary. The imagery does not, however, possess any of the elements featured by Vischer, Ostendorfer, or Hogenberg. Though the print may be considered a reporting of miraculous events, its veracity resides in faith rather than the provision of eyewitness details.

RECORDS OF CONTINUITY

The late sixteenth-century prints by Raphael Sadeler and Alexander Mair indicate that printmakers, after nearly a century of upheaval, were investigating different compositional forms. Beyond the devotional prints addressed by Melion, the prints from Italy and France are records of alternative forms for religious imagery. The presence of these diverse contemporary forms makes Abraham Hogenberg's decision to return to the earlier representational format for relic displays notable.

Abraham, the son of Frans Hogenberg, was part of a print family dynasty. In addition to the event reporting prints mentioned earlier, Frans Hogenberg was publisher of the Mercator map, and co-publisher of *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* with Abraham Ortelius, and *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* with the Canon of the Cologne Cathedral, Georg Braun.¹⁶⁵ Though Frans passed away when Abraham was about twelve years old, the publishing house that Frans established in Cologne remained in the family, first managed by Abraham's older half-brother, Johann, and then by his mother, Agnes.¹⁶⁶ Abraham began to manage the printing house in 1605.¹⁶⁷ It is possible that in this role, Abraham was exposed to the earlier prints of Vischer and Ostendorfer.

Hogenberg's early seventeenth-century impression of the display of relics in Aachen incorporates many of the elements identified by Vischer (See Fig. 33).¹⁶⁸ The print also provides a wealth of eyewitness detail about the audience, in the manner of Ostendorfer. Another commonality between the prints is the recording of cultural practices: Vischer recorded information about the continuity of tradition at the festive events, with its noise-making and guardians; Ostendorfer advised on newer practices related to confraternities, the rosary, and shrines dedicated to Marian devotion; Hogenberg's print highlights changes in the venue of the event, and the elevation of the staging of a *Heiltumsweisungen*.

¹⁶⁵ <http://www.rheinische-geschichte.lvr.de/persoenlichkeiten/H/Seiten/FransHogenberg.aspx> [accessed 24 March 2013].

¹⁶⁶ De Gruyter, *Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon: De Bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker*, Band 74 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2012), 178.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁸ The Aachen Domschatz Museum dates the print to 1622. An impression was included in the Noppius Chronicle, which is dated 1632.

The earlier images by Matthew Paris and Peter Vischer advised that the relics were displayed on temporary platforms. This was not unusual, as noted by Cynthia Hahn.¹⁶⁹ Vischer, emphasizing the temporary nature of the venue, had even depicted the pegs holding the structure together. Additionally, the images by both earlier artists indicated that the displays were on elevated platforms. In comparison, Hogenberg's print advises that the venue of the display in Aachen is permanent and at a very high vantage point. The *Heiltumsweisung* is on the parapets of the cathedral. Though Abbot Suger's description of large crowds endangering relics and clergy, likely intended as justification for enlarging the cathedral of Saint Denis in the twelfth century, affirm that relic displays were not solely held on temporary structures, Hogenberg's imagery is not without significance.¹⁷⁰ The scene presents a shift in focus, from the relics being displayed, to the ornate cathedral and the large diverse crowd. Additionally, there may be a sub-text to the high position of the display, correlated to the Elevation of the Host during the Eucharistic mass.¹⁷¹ The existence of a consecrated Host indicated the "Eucharistic presence of Christ," which transformed the physical structure into the "house of God."¹⁷² The higher vantage point may also indicate another change, the availability of texts and imagery. Gabriella Szalay has suggested "the distance between the pilgrims and the relics underscores the extent to which relic-books provided a more intimate access to the

¹⁶⁹ Hahn, 159f. "They [relics] were virtually exposed from ... and temporary structures at a distance from churches."

¹⁷⁰ Panofsky, 89.

¹⁷¹ Bynum Walker, 4, 87.

¹⁷² Christensen, 16.

remains of saints than what one experienced in ceremonies like the *Heiltumsweisung*.¹⁷³

Relics during the early days of Christianity were rarely seen. The declaration of the 1215 Lateran Council that relics should be made visible, and protected in reliquaries, had led to the popularity of *Heiltumsweisungen*. Relic-books and prints reinforced this heightened visibility, both in the physical presence of the relics in the church, and beyond, in the private spaces of the devout.¹⁷⁴

A generation later, Wilhelm Altzenbach chose to reproduce the narrative format of the earlier prints. Altzenbach's print, dated 1664, closely replicates that of Hogenberg (See Fig. 8). Similar to the earlier prints, Altzenbach presents a draped carpet, display of a relic (Virgin's Shroud) from a very high vantage point, clergy using pointers to direct the attention of viewers to the relic, lighted candles, and horns for noise-making.

Altzenbach, though increasing the size of Hogenberg's near complete spatial void between the cathedral and the crowd, has sparsely populated the space. Several of these figures gesture towards the elevated *Heiltumsweisung*, perhaps to reinforce the didactic nature of the event (Fig. 34). The crowd, also modeled on Hogenberg's crowd, is considerably larger, and the characterizations of the audience in the immediate foreground are more individualistic. The people portrayed are nearly identifiable. Rural villagers mingle with urban elites. Pilgrims wearing the badges of Santiago de Compostela stand in front of cossacked monks. While a dog tugs at the stick carried by a young boy, other boys carry and blow on horns. A Capuchin discourses with a visitor

¹⁷³ Though interesting, and offered in the mode of Areford's assertion that the prints "allowed constant access to sacred objects," this comment warrants further investigation. Szalay, 224; Areford, "Multiplying the Sacred," 133.

¹⁷⁴ Belting, 6, 14.

from the East. These details counter the gestural displays, thus reinforcing the shift of focus from the relic displays to the cathedral and audience evidenced in Hogenberg's impression.

Thirty years after Hogenberg designed his print, and approximately a decade before Altzenbach replicated the form, Johan Eckhard Löffler composed a very similar print in Trier (Fig. 35). This print, possibly a sole exemplar, is at the Bischöfliches Museum in Trier. As with the other prints, Löffler depicts an enormous crowd attending the 1655 event in Trier. The crowd is so densely packed into the plaza space in front of the church, that it appears as a sea of heads. It is near impossible to differentiate between the attendees, except for the armed guardians near to the cathedral and the people in the very back. Despite the latter facing forward, the artist has carefully provided details of their attire, alluding to Capuchin monks, a pilgrim who traveled to Santiago de Compostela, scholars, women, and even a married couple. Another correspondence with the other prints: banners flutter, though now, from the horns of musicians.

Consistent with the event in Nuremberg, the Trier display occurs on a temporary structure. This platform, draped with carpets, is affixed to the front of the cathedral. Though elevated, it is close enough to the crowd that some may possibly hear the announcer. Indeed, due to the variance in scale, the church officials on the platform are emphasized. In contrast to the Hogenberg print, the hieratically scaled figures, which are nearly one-third the height of the apse, and performing the display of relics, draw attention to the didactic nature of the event. Löffler enhances the theatricality of the event, by incorporating French and German texts in the fashion of curtains drawing back

to reveal the cathedral.¹⁷⁵ Corresponding to the opening of reliquaries to expose relics, the curtains are opened to convey the presence of the holy.¹⁷⁶

Temporal references and continuity of practices are also present in Löffler's image. On the left, the construction on the deacon's residence has been temporarily suspended.¹⁷⁷ The roof has yet to be built and pillars for the scaffolding remain in place. The temporality evidenced in the scaffolding and construction is reinforced by Löffler's decision to utilize the printmaking technique of etching. Etching, as demonstrated to great effect by Löffler's contemporary, Rembrandt, can capture the spontaneity and excitement of the present. Though the exhilaration of the moment can also be recorded in woodblock and metal plate engraving, these two techniques require more production time. Löffler may have selected the etching technique to accelerate production and marketing of the image.

This genre of narrative prints began in Nuremberg and traveled to Regensburg. A century later, despite the evolution of hybrid compositional forms that incorporated relic displays and pilgrimage images, the type reappeared in Trier and Aachen. The narrative prints presented in this grouping are closely related to earlier cultural and artistic forms. Beyond recording traditional practices, the prints, reflecting "the original meaning of the

¹⁷⁵ Curtains in images "could create a special aura and change a mere appearance into an epiphany, the ritualized act of appearance." Belting, 82.

¹⁷⁶ Belting, 481. Curtains could also reinforce the sanctity of an event, by indicating that it exists in the divine realm, separate from nature. Furthermore, Leonardo da Vinci advised that the drawing back of curtains makes "the divine conception of the painting (the *Iddea*) appeared as if alive, being the divine person (*Iddio*) in the ideal of beauty (*idea*), thus uniting religion and art in one." Leonardo da Vinci, *Treatise on Painting*, in *Leonardo on Painting*, ed., Martin Kemp (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 20.

¹⁷⁷ Director Markus Groß-Morgen, in conversation with Dr. Wolfgang Schmid and author on 28 August 2012. This information was provided in a discussion as to whether the print was a proof.

word ‘*historia*’ as an account of individual events and occurrences of the past,” united the viewer with the event.¹⁷⁸ Simultaneously, the representation of the event fulfilled propagandistic and didactic functions. Finally, the immediacy of printmaking and the development of distribution networks supported the timely reporting of events, visually.

SECTION B. INDEX PRINTS

A close look at the prints created by Vischer and Löffler reveals the intimate relationship between narrative and index prints. Within these narrative representations, it is possible to detect a print in the hand of the herald. Vischer’s detailed image depicts the object as a list, similar to a listing of relics in a seventeenth-century proof in the archives of the Bischöfliches Museum in Trier.¹⁷⁹ These listings are sometimes found attached to the sides of, or below, index images. Another visual tie between the two compositional forms is the inclusion of a depiction of a *Heiltumsweisung* in an index print from Aachen. Beyond these visual allusions, other associations between the narrative and index prints exist. Similar to the link between print viewer, large audience, and displays of relics present in the narrative images, the index prints facilitate viewer access to saintly relics.¹⁸⁰ This access is further heightened by identification of the saints associated with

¹⁷⁸ Horst Bredekamp, *The Lure of Antiquity and the Cult of the Machine: The Kunstammer and the Evolution of Nature, Art and Technology*, transl. Allison Brown (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1995), 8.

¹⁷⁹ I appreciate Director Markus Groß-Morgen, Bischöfliches Museum, Trier, for bringing this printer’s proof to my attention. The proof serves to demonstrate that the texts pasted to the sides of the index prints originated as single sheets, which were then cut apart, and attached to the central print. The proof at Bischöfliches Museum has unrelated printed material on the recto.

¹⁸⁰ Areford, “Multiplying the Sacred,” 133.

the relics and reliquaries (Fig. 36). The titles embedded in the pictorial field serve as authentiques, allowing viewers to read aloud saints' names.¹⁸¹ This traditional practice was "a powerful intercessory mechanism," as evidenced in Thiofrid's characterization of "the power of uttering saints' names as equal to that of the relic themselves."¹⁸²

Similar to the secular event reporting function of the narrative prints, the index prints are also related to the profane realm. The printed representations of church treasuries, corresponding to the treasuries themselves, may be compared to "a cabinet of curiosities with its many vertical, diagonal, and horizontal 'conversational' connections."¹⁸³ These associations exist beyond the two-dimensional surface of a print, creating and organizing knowledge, as well as conveying historical and political information. These relationships were manifested in the earliest precursors to the prints of ecclesiastical treasuries – sculpted reliefs, illuminated miniatures, and guidebooks.

REPRESENTATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS and LOCUS

Art historian Avinoam Shalem has identified a "fourteenth-marble relief at the entrance to the treasury of San Marco ... [as] the earliest depiction of a treasury's contents."¹⁸⁴ Another fourteenth-century sculpted relief of a treasury is found on the tympanum of San Giovanni cathedral in Monza, Italy.¹⁸⁵ Cynthia Hahn, in her discussion

¹⁸¹ Authentiques reference the names of saints written on pieces of parchment. "The presence of the authentiques encouraged worshipers to look and thus gain knowledge of sacred presence." Bagnoli, 142.

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ Hahn, 173.

¹⁸⁴ Avinoam Shalem, *The Oliphant: Islamic Objects in Historical Context* (Boston: Brill, 2004), 125. Dr. Shalem confirmed that to the best of his knowledge no earlier depiction has been identified. Email dated 7 January 2013.

¹⁸⁵ Hahn, 172f.

of these unusual reliefs, found that the sculptures, though providing information about the contents of the respective treasuries, served different purposes at the two sites.¹⁸⁶ The relief at Monza, with its imagery of chalices, votive crosses, and royal donations of artworks and coronation insignia, documented the cathedral's biblical and apostolic relationships, in addition to its historical ties to Lombard royalty.¹⁸⁷ The relief, which augmented the narrative of the church's legendary history, was part of a larger decorative program intended to bolster the status of the cathedral.¹⁸⁸ In comparison, the sculpted relief in Venice transmitted the impression of Venice as a city divinely blessed. This work of art included a representation of God's hand and *spolia* from the Crusades (i.e., relics of the True Cross, Christ's blood and the skull of Saint George), thereby conveying divine approval of Venice's role as a successor to Constantinople.¹⁸⁹ Thus, the relief at Monza documented the historical importance of the cathedral in the past, whereas that of San Marco conveyed Venetian confidence in its present and future position. Significantly, despite a primary dimension of relics being veneration, neither of these reliefs specifically presented, nor functioned as, a devotional image.

This documentary aspect is also present in two other early depictions of saintly relics. Both of the images are of imperial treasuries. Despite saintly relics being part of the collections, the imagery was designed to construct and convey political statements of power. The first representation, by Diebold Schilling the Younger, is an illumination of the treasury of Charles the Bold (Fig. 37). A 1513 manuscript contains the image of the

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., 172-175.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 172.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 174.

Burgundian treasury after the rout of the Duke by the Swiss at Grandson in 1476. A quick turn in the battle caused the Duke to swiftly flee, leaving behind his many valuables.¹⁹⁰ Though objects from this treasury later passed into the collections of Pope Julius II, King Henry VIII, and King Philip of Spain, the Duke's treasury was originally deposited in the Lucerne cathedral. As evidenced in the earlier imperial donation by Ottonian King Henry II in the eleventh century, and Holy Roman Emperor Sigismund's 1423 decision to house the imperial regalia in the Saint Lorenz Cathedral in Nuremberg, churches were perceived as safe places for the storage, whether voluntarily or not, of valuables.¹⁹¹ The illumination of the treasury, as an important record of the Swiss victory, is part of the construction of the historical and political narrative of Lucerne.

The second depiction, by Albrecht Altdorfer, is incorporated into Albrecht Dürer's *Triumphal Arch* (See Fig. 17). As one of the 192 woodcut prints, the image of the treasury is built into the outermost tower on the right, with other "scenes from the private life of Maximilian."¹⁹² Though this interesting observation by Giulia Bartrum warrants further investigation, as it seemingly separates the imperial treasury from the public aspects of Maximilian's reign, of equal interest is that the treasury, including its relics contained therein, though recording an act of veneration, is not presented in a manner to facilitate veneration.

Despite the compositional forms of the four representations differing, each fulfills political and propaganda functions. These functions were partly embedded in the

¹⁹⁰ Lina Hug and Richard Stead, *The Story of Switzerland* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1890), 211-216, digital copy: <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/39695/39695-h/39695-h.htm> [accessed 17 January 2013].

¹⁹¹ Nilson, 142

¹⁹² Bartrum, 27.

affiliations of the represented material objects to physical locations. The images found in Monza and Venice directly connect to objects found within their respective physical structures. Beyond conveying biblical, apostolic, imperial, and civic relationships, the representations expanded the sanctity of the sites to the distance from which the imagery was visible.¹⁹³ As a political statement, the Lucerne manuscript documented the failure of the Burgundian Duke, the strength of the Swiss, and the resulting economic benefit to Lucerne. The miniature in the manuscript related directly to objects found within a closely related physical structure. Despite the later dispersal of the treasury, and the capacity of manuscripts to circulate, this manuscript remains in Lucerne. For Altdorfer's print of Emperor Maximilian's treasury, as evidenced in the physicality of the vaulted ceiling, the allusion to a physical place, despite being less concrete than the other images, was no less absolute. It was undoubtedly tied to a specific physical place, though the actual location was irrelevant. Albrecht Dürer's *Triumphal Arch*, including the detail by Altdorfer, was meant to not only confirm the political strength and wealth of the Emperor, but through its replication, the *Triumphal Arch* was intended to promulgate the same across his kingdom and beyond. Thus the associations formed between material objects and physical sites by the visual representations served to support political functions, albeit at times to the detriment of the spiritual functions.

¹⁹³ For an analysis of a similar occurrence, see: Scott Montgomery, "*Quia venerabile corpus redicti martyris ibi repositum*: Image and Relic in the Decorative Program of San Miniato al Monte, Florence," in *Images, Relics, and Devotional Practices in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*, ed. Sally J. Cornelison and Scott B. Montgomery (Tempe, AZ: The Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2006), 7-26.

INFORMATION, SOUVENIRS and DEVOTION

Guidebooks to pilgrimage sites are another important source of index imagery.¹⁹⁴ Travel guides were transformed in the late 1400s, with the development of the print industry, from written manuscripts with limited distribution to more widely distributed printed publications of text and images. Though the propagandistic elements of such prints and narratives may not have been recognized immediately, the value of the imagery for pilgrims was clearly recognized when *Mirabilia Romae*, one of the most popular guidebooks for German travelers to Rome, incorporated images at the beginning of the fourth quarter of the fifteenth century (See Fig. 7).¹⁹⁵ Michael Bury noted that printed material “fits in with a tradition of describing holy sites of pilgrimage so as to encourage others to make the journey and to provide a surrogate experience for those who could not.”¹⁹⁶ Though Bury’s comment was in reference to printed tourist souvenirs, it is equally applicable to popular travel books, such as *Mirabilia Romae* and Bernhard von Breydenbach’s *Peregrinationes in Terram Sanctam*.¹⁹⁷ Travel guides were critical in the planning of long distance pilgrimages, and equally useful for pilgrimages made within local geographical regions. An impression, dating from c. 1468-1475, utilizes the popularity of the guides to highlight important relics at three sites of the Rhenish

¹⁹⁴ Areford, “Multiplying the Sacred,” 133.

¹⁹⁵ Hind, 215. Thirty editions of *Mirabilia Romae* were produced between 1484 and 1500 in Italy alone.

¹⁹⁶ Michael Bury, *The Print in Italy, 1550-1620* (London: The British Museum Press, 2001), 66. Areford suggests a “goal of reproduction was ... to communicate an important part of the experience of the devotee...” Areford, “Multiplying the Sacred,” 124.

¹⁹⁷ Bernard von Breydenbach, *Die Reise ins Seilige Land: Ein Reisebericht aus dem Jahre 1483, mit 17 Holzschnitten, 5 Faltkarten und 6 Textseiten in Faksimile*, ed. Elisabeth Geck (Wiesbaden: Guido Pressler, 1977).

pilgrimage union - Maastricht, Aachen and Kornelimünster (See Fig. 1).¹⁹⁸ Alternating bands of xylographic text and crudely outlined imagery populate each of the three columns in this print. Textiles, including that which swaddled the decapitated head of Saint John the Baptist and the cloak of Saint Mary, predominate. Affirming their importance, the most detailed images are of the bust reliquaries for Saint Servatius in Maastricht and Saint Cornelius in Kornelimünster, though neither are true representations. The identification of important relics in three different dioceses on this early print affirms its use as a guide for pilgrims, despite the limitations of the imaged information.¹⁹⁹ This absence of detail does not, however, hinder other functions of the prints, including its souvenir and devotional purposes.

MATERIALITY, SAINTLY PRESENCE, and NOBLE POWER

The Monza, Venetian, Lucerne, and *Triumphal Arch* representations, beyond affirming associations with physical sites, confirmed the presence of extravagant treasuries, and close relationships with nobility. In addition to models of liturgical vessels and crosses, the Monza relief included an image of “Hens and Chicks,” a bronze sculpture believed to have been donated to the cathedral by Queen Theodelinde in the seventh century.²⁰⁰ Liturgical objects and a suspended olifanten bracket angels hoisting a large monstrance in the Venetian relief.²⁰¹ The Lucerne miniature advises that the

¹⁹⁸ Schmid, *Graphische Medien*, 14. This union was founded in the fourteenth century and included Maastricht, Kornelimünster, Aachen, Cologne, Düren and Trier.

¹⁹⁹ Legner, Vol. 1, 139.

²⁰⁰ Hahn, 170.

²⁰¹ Shalem, *Islam Christianized*, 418.

traveling treasury to a battlefield included a portable triptych altar, covered chalices, boxes, textiles, several other objects, and banners. Among the many items recorded in Altdorfer's print are platters, pitchers and basins, chains, large chests, bust and arm reliquaries. The focus on objects evidenced in these representations, beyond fulfilling the already mentioned political and propaganda functions, reproduces a trope of early modern imagery. The aspect of materiality evidenced in these early representations of noble and ecclesiastical treasuries, though not negating the treasuries' spiritual associations, coincides with depictions of physical objects in the early stages of printmaking, as well as in other media.²⁰² Whether the popularity of such imagery may be attributed to a shared expression of "both the natural sciences and aesthetics" on the properties of the arts to "mediate between human beings and nature," the simple delight of recognition by viewers, or a reflection of the increasing economic wealth of the early modern period, remains a topic yet to be fully explored.²⁰³ In printmaking, numerous works, including those by the Master of the Housebook, Roberto Valturio's *De re military* or even the various Mass of Saint Gregory images, bear an association to this 'display of object' form.²⁰⁴ The imagery is of pictorial inventories of imperial treasuries,

²⁰² Areford, highlighting the spiritual functions of the prints, expands on the use of prints to reproduce imagery of icons and statues, as well as to serve as models for the design of other paintings and sculptures, in order to suggest "an indexical relationship between the woodcut and the object it depicts." His observation further implies that "medieval tradition of creating copies that share in and extend an original's power" continue in the late Renaissance world. Areford, "Multiplying the Sacred," 141, 121.

²⁰³ Bredekamp, 12. For recent works investigating the materiality evidenced in the Late Renaissance see: Lisa Jardine, *Worldly Goods* (New York: Doubleday, 1996); and Evelyn Welch, *Shopping in the Renaissance: Consumer Cultures in Italy 1400-1600* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).

²⁰⁴ Valturio's woodcut prints are of military firearms. Ivins characterizes such prints as being "made definitely for informational purposes." William M. Ivins, Jr. *Prints and Visual Communication*, (London: Routledge and Kegan, 1953), 31.

necessary household objects, and “the weapons of our Lord.”²⁰⁵ The index prints, as records of reliquaries, constitute part of this family.

A late fifteenth-century index print incorporates this facet of display, as well as the foundation for its presence. This broadsheet, created “from four separate woodblocks on a single sheet of paper,” was designed for a Benedictine monastery in Andechs in 1496 (Fig. 38).²⁰⁶ An altar, in the center of the lower register, supports an extensive display. Buried within the altar are bones of saints, identified by cedulae-styled inscriptions. The presence of saintly remains validates the two rows of reliquaries balanced above the altar. However, it is the display of the reliquaries that dominates the image. The power embedded in the saintly remains extends beyond the physical presence of the reliquaries to the printed representation.²⁰⁷ Simultaneously, the symmetrical design of the print provides an order that transcends the saintly bones, closely relating the print to physical displays on altars and in reliquary cabinets.²⁰⁸

The print, beyond assembling the saintly remains to form a heavenly council, further records affiliations between displayed treasures, nobility, and the monastery, as well as reinforces the didactic function of the image.²⁰⁹ The print includes two coats of

²⁰⁵ Schoch, Exhibition Catalog Entries 59 *The Holy Relics of Nuremberg*, 60 *Household Goods*, 75 *The Mass of Saint Gregory*, in Parshall and Schoch, 212, 214f, 250ff.

²⁰⁶ Gabriella K. Szalay, Exhibition Catalog Entry 127 *Broadside of Relics from Kloster Andechs*, in Bagnoli et al., 226.

²⁰⁷ “According to medieval pictorial convention, the sacred power of an originating prototype image ... could transfer not only to copies but also to more extensive elaboration of the basic image.” Schoch, in Parshall and Schoch, 251.

²⁰⁸ A fifteenth-century reliquary cabinet at Saint Kunibert’s church, Cologne, was also ordered symmetrically, and included bones. See: Regina Urbanek, *Die Goldene Kammer von St. Ursula in Köln: Zu Gestalt und Ausstattung vom Mittelalter bis zum Barock* (Worms, Germany: Wernersche Verlagsgesellschaft, 2010), 31.

²⁰⁹ Belting, 335, 404. Furthermore, depictions of kneeling pilgrims “are meant as models of response...” Areford, “Multiplying the Sacred,” 122.

arms. Significantly, the coat of arms on the left is that of Duke Albrecht III of Bavaria, the fifteenth-century founder of the monastery.²¹⁰ The dukes of Bavaria had acquired the relics in the fourteenth century, after the discovery of the saintly remains in Andechs. In the manner of the Monza relief, the print, nearly one hundred years after the acquisition of the relics by the Bavarian dukes, and forty years after Duke Albrecht III returned the bones to Andechs, attests to the continuity of the noble relationship. The portrait of Abbot Johann Schattenbach, kneeling opposite the ducal coat of arms, further reinforces the association between the monastery and its founders.²¹¹ Additionally, the image, similar to images of *Heiltumsweisungen*, presents a model of behavior in the portrayal of the kneeling abbot.

The Nuremberg relic-book from 1487, which included Peter Vischer's *Heiltumsweisung am Schopperschen Haus* print, included two other woodblock prints on parchment.²¹² The printed imagery, integrated into, and dominated by, the text, represented famed holy relics housed in Nuremberg, including fragments of the True Cross and Longinus' lance (Fig. 39). The inclusion of these prints contributed to the valuation of the book, as an informational, luxury souvenir, as well as devotional object. Devout viewers believed that the images, though not of the first order of relics, retained the efficacy of the relics.²¹³ This translated power was also applicable to the indulgences associated to the relics.

²¹⁰ Ibid.

²¹¹ Ibid.

²¹² Szalay, 224.

²¹³ Areford, *Viewer and Printed Image*, 13f.

Nearly a decade later, the chronicle of Andechs was published.²¹⁴ This slim book, similar to the Vischer relic-book, but on paper, contains three woodcuts and is associated with indulgences. Another similarity between the two incunabula is that the synthesis of the text and image privileges the elements of devotion. Yet, unlike the Nuremberg relic-book, the materiality of the reliquary has been given prominence in Andechs chronicle. The book, fronted by woodcuts of three saints and an ornate monstrance, begins with a prayer. After identifying the origins of the most important relics, perhaps with an over-emphasis on those that had been ‘saved’ from Constantinople, the text lists the indulgences conferred by Pope Nicholas V (r. 1397-1455), Cardinals Peter and Theodosius, and Bishop Laurencius. Next, the text lists the relics and Sacred Hosts, with brief explanations of their importance.²¹⁵ The book closes with the printed and painted image of an angel holding two coats of arms.²¹⁶

It is the second woodcut in the *Andechs Chronick*, of the ornate monstrance, that is of interest (Fig. 40). An arched flourish, painted in blue, frames the reliquary. The Sacred Host has been tinted buff, whereas the reliquary has been washed in ochre. The altar, upon which the monstrance stands, is painted sap-green, as is the crown of thorns in the lower right corner. On the left rests an uncolored cloth. Though the relic book was intended to focus the viewers’ attention on the Sacred Host, the woodcut shifts the emphasis to the painted container. In the process, the image becomes an “expression of

²¹⁴ *Chronick von dem hochwirdigen vnd loblichen heyltum auff dem heyligen Perg Andechs genant in oberen Bayern* (Augsburg: Hannsen Schönsperger, 1495), Special Collections, Getty Research Institute.

²¹⁵ For example, “Item ein kleines eysen der nagel die Christo unse remheyleyler durch fein heylighend und füsse feind geschlagen worden.” Ibid.

²¹⁶ The same coats of arms had appeared in the large broadsheet print documenting the relics of Kloster Andechs.

power and prestige,” corresponding to that present in the elaboration of painted icons and reliquaries.²¹⁷

A similar transformation was manifested in a Bamberg relic book, printed by Hans Mair in 1493.²¹⁸ This book is important for its expansion of the imagery. Beyond including a portrait print of the donors, an image of a procession accompanying a *Heiltumsweisung*, and images of relics, the book included numerous depictions of reliquaries, loosely arranged in columns (Fig. 41). Similar to the relic book produced by Peter Vischer, integrated text and images document the relationships between the saintly relics and displayed reliquaries. However, in the manner of the Andechs’ chronicle, the individualistic modeling of the structural forms stressed the materiality of the container. Though even illiterate viewers could use the images for devotional purposes, the emphasis on saintly power has been compromised. Another important compositional feature of the imagery is the organization of the embellished reliquaries into groups.²¹⁹ According to a catalog entry in *Treasures of Heaven*, the ordering into groups, and the order within the groups, reflects the order in which the relics were presented during the *Heiltumsweisung*.²²⁰ Whether or not the index prints recorded the actual order of presentation, the organization evidenced in the impressions does indicate that form – bodily or structural - rather than a hierarchy of saints, governed the displays. This visual organization also relates the printed imagery to secular collections (Fig. 42).

²¹⁷ Belting, 301f.

²¹⁸ Gabriella K. Szalay, Exhibition Catalog Entry 126 *Bamberg Relic-Book*, in Bagnoli et al., 225.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²²⁰ *Ibid.*

In the early modern period, knowledge was developed through the playful associations created by visual links between objects. Often these connections were part of the organizational structure of a collection, though this may not have been evident to the uninformed viewer. Some displays, especially temporary displays, were purposely created to appear confusing and chaotic. According to the Hermetic intellectual traditions, knowledge was gained through the assessment of correspondences. An educated viewer would appreciate “the elegant deployment of metaphor.”²²¹ Thus the apparent lack of any semblance of order was not meant to indicate that order did not exist, but rather, as in the cosmos, there was fluidity to the positioning of the objects. By the middle of the sixteenth century, however, collections began to be more narrowly focused.²²² Though depictions of the collections still appeared chaotic, Laura Laurencich-Minelli has identified that order was expressed in the displays of collections.²²³ She found that

Two kinds of symmetry can be detected amongst the exhibits on the walls of the *studio*: the first, concerning the display of individual items, may be termed ‘alternate microsymmetry,’ in which items of similar appearance are never displayed next to one another but invariably alternate with other, dissimilar objects [Fig. 43]; the second system, which we may call ‘repeating macrosymmetry,’ involved the arrangement of groups of items on a thematic basis [Fig. 44].²²⁴

²²¹ MacGregor, 57.

²²² Ibid., 11.

²²³ Laura Laurencich-Minelli, “Museography and Ethnographical Collections in Bologna during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,” in *The Origins of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities in the Sixteenth- and Seventeenth Century Europe*, eds. Oliver Impey and Arthur MacGregor (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 19.

²²⁴ Ibid.

Through such displays, collections evidenced “the hidden unity of the universe ... making no distinction between *naturalia* and *artificialia*.”²²⁵ Whether collections evidenced microsymmetry, macrosymmetry, or scattered and deliberate disorder in their displays, the purpose remained the same, the acquisition of knowledge and understanding of the world. The claim by Manfredo Settala, a Milanese builder of scientific and mechanical instruments, “that his cabinet represented an image of the world” records the primary goal of many collectors from the fifteenth through the eighteenth century.²²⁶ Devout viewers of the index images also sought a represented world, though the world they sought was that of the divine realm.

Similar to the narrative prints, index prints seemingly disappeared in the sixteenth century. Though the justifications proffered for the narrative prints are equally applicable to the index imagery, especially in light of Protestant charges of idolatry, there is another factor to be considered - the presence of insatiable noble collectors. Thus far, the commissioning of the prints has not been fully explored. Current literature does not identify the patrons of Peter Vischer, Alexander Mair, Abraham Hogenberg, Gerhard Altzenbach, or for the *Andechs Chronicle*. Dedications, in the manner of Raphael Sadeler, Johann Löffler, and some of the others, are not absolute indicators of patronage. Artistic practices of the period included unsolicited dedications and presentations of artworks to members of the nobility, in hopes of payment, future commissions, and on-going support. It is yet to be confirmed that the inclusion of coats of arms, or the image of Abbot Johann Schattenbach on the *Andechs*’ broadside, are records of, rather than

²²⁵ Mauriès, 157.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, 158.

hopeful possibilities, of patronage.²²⁷ There are, however, exceptions. Emperor Maximilian I was the patron of Albrecht Dürer's *Triumphal Arch*, which incorporated Albrecht Altdorfer's representation of the ornate objects and reliquaries in the imperial treasury. Shortly before this enormous project were artistic productions by Lucas Cranach the Elder and Wolf Traut, commissioned by Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony and Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg, respectively.

Investigations by Holger Klein indicate that the accumulation of relics by the nobility “seems to indicate that personal salvation remained the most pressing concern and ultimate motivation for elite patrons to endow churches with sacred relics.”²²⁸ Rudolph I, Elector of Saxony, an ancestor of Frederick III, made a salvific donation of a Crown of Thorns' relic to the All-Saints church in Wittenberg in 1353.²²⁹ Nearly 150 years later, Frederick sought to ensure his family's salvation, as well as his personal fame, by donating his collection to the same church and promoting its annual display. Frederick's activities as a collector accelerated after his 1493 pilgrimage to Jerusalem.²³⁰ The prints created by Lucas Cranach for the *Wittenberger Heiltumsbuch* recorded the Elector's extensive collection, which surpassed 19,000 relics in 1520.²³¹ Though Frederick may have been motivated to assemble a relic collection for salvific purposes, “Cranach's prints had the effect of advertising the artistic and intellectual vitality of the

²²⁷ See: Nadine Orenstein, et al., *Print Publishers in the Netherlands, 1580-1620*, in *Dawn of the Golden Age: Northern Netherlandish Art, 1580-1620*, ed. Ger Luijten, et. al. (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 1993), 173f.

²²⁸ Holger A. Klein, “Sacred Things and Holy Bodies: Collecting Relics from Late Antiquity to the Early Renaissance,” in Bagnoli et al., 62.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, 63.

²³¹ *Ibid.*

Duchy and the magnificence of its patronage, matters of very great importance to Frederick the Wise.’²³²

Frederick also had a role in the formulation of a competing collection. After the death of his brother, Ernst von Wettin, a son of the Brandenburg Elector was appointed archbishop of Magdeburg.²³³ Beyond taking on the responsibilities of the archbishoprics of Magdeburg (1514), Mainz, and soon thereafter that of a cardinal (1518), Albrecht, as the appointee, assumed control of Ernst’s relic collection.²³⁴ To celebrate the expansion of the collection under Albrecht’s guidance a *Heiltumsweisung* was arranged in 1520.²³⁵ Utilizing the model established by Frederick the Wise, Wolf Traut, a student of Dürer, was hired to produce a relic book, the *Hallesches Heiltumsbuch*, to commemorate the event.²³⁶ The collection and relic book are staggering for their numbers: the collection, though not as large as Frederick’s, contained 8,133 relic fragments, and forty-one saintly bodies; Traut completed 237 woodcuts for the relic book; the indulgences available for purchase totaled 39,240,120 years.²³⁷ Traut’s woodcuts, framed in simple boxes, were accompanied by textual descriptions of the relics (Fig. 45). Despite the absence of background details, Traut conveys three-dimensional form in the manner of Dürer. In one of the woodcuts, the figure of Saint Andrew balances on its right leg, in a contrapposto pose, slumping into the X-shaped cross formed by tree trunks. The modeling of the

²³² Landau and Parshall, 177.

²³³ Klein, 63.

²³⁴ Ibid., 63f.

²³⁵ Ibid., 64.

²³⁶ Ibid. An engraved portrait by Dürer of the Cardinal was included in the book.

²³⁷ Ibid.; Susan R. Boettcher, Review of exhibition *Der Kardinal. Albrecht von Brandenburg, Renaissancefürst und Mäzen*, <http://www.h-net.org/~german/reviews/boettchermarch07.htm> [accessed 14 April 2013].

saint's robe and cloak indicates the fullness of the figure standing on the foliated base. Though text supported the imagery, the elaborate portrayals of the reliquaries, and the quantity of collected and displayed relics, emphasized the materiality of the collection. Despite the tradition of creating councils of saintly presence in churches by the collecting of relics, the collections of Frederick the Wise and Cardinal Albrecht were excessive. Though Protestant calls for reform preceded these unrestrained collecting activities, the substantial collections contributed to Protestant disavowal of the veneration of relics.

The prints addressed in this section highlight the importance of materiality of the reliquaries, and an interest in display. The broadside of the relics at Kloster Andechs, while emphasizing the materiality of the reliquaries, accentuates the bond between the saintly remains and the reliquaries. Though relics, reliquaries and textual information are balanced in the print designed by Peter Vischer, the emphasis is shifted from the relic to its container in the Andechs' relic book. The imagery in the Bamberg relic book confirms the importance of, and ordering by, the structural form. Though Frederick the Wise utilized his collection to generate funds for the pope, church, canons, and himself, its material extravagance, along with that of the collection of Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg contributed to Martin Luther's call for reforms.²³⁸ Yet, as will be seen, in the seventeenth century this interest in materiality and display was resurrected.

²³⁸ Martin Luther directly referenced the relic collections of Halle and Wittenberg. Christensen, 44.

MAGNIFICATION and REPLICATION

Beyond presenting records of elite and physical associations, behavioral models, saintly presence and zealous collectors, the imagery of the reliquaries served as documentary records. Undoubtedly, when the inventories of Wittenberg church treasures were being made, at the direction of the city council, the printed relic books proved to be important checklists.²³⁹ Though the printed index images were catalogs of saintly relics, ornate reliquaries, and extravagant collections, thus seemingly fulfilling informative functions rather than being conveyances of holy grace, they also served as sources for pilgrimage souvenirs and popular devotional prints.

Abraham Hogenberg, borrowing yet again an older compositional form to access its “greater credence and authority,” is associated with an index representation of the reliquaries in Aachen (See Fig. 11).²⁴⁰ The 1632 broadsheet is an assembly of framed spaces, arranged in rows and columns. Reinforcing the relationship between the narrative and index prints are four representations of relic displays along the top row. Similar to the narrative imagery, Hogenberg incorporated important officials and heralds. However, in contrast to the narrative images, Hogenberg depicts the *Heiltumweisungen* within a structure, and at ground level. Though the alcoves behind the foliated and ribbed columns appear to be connected, the disparity of architectural forms on the edges of each space indicates that the spaces are not aligned. The separation expressed by the architectural

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, 39.

²⁴⁰ Belting, 432.

variation expands the display spaces to encompass the entirety of the cathedral.²⁴¹

Bordering this representation of the cathedral are two niched, and numbered, alcoves, each holding a full-size sculpture. Labels, on ornate tablets, identify the saintly relics.

Supporting the images of relic displays are four rows of arched niches. These spaces provide the physical, and theological, foundation for the displays. Within each niche, housed in an ornate reliquary, and identified both in Latin on an ornamental plaque and with a numeric key, are more relics of saints. Similar to the care evidenced in the earlier index prints, the depictions of the reliquaries are very detailed. Bordering the arched niches are four larger framed spaces. Replicating the arched niches in the center of the print, the top two boxes hold reliquaries, again identified by both a numeric key and inscribed tablet. The numbers correlate to the separately printed text seen earlier in the hands of the announcers. The final two representations, situated in the bottom left and right-hand corners, are of the Virgin Mary and Charlemagne, conveying the spiritual and imperial associations, as well as the sacred and political authority, embedded in the collection.

Twenty years later, Gerhard Altzenbach recorded the treasury of Trier (See Fig. 10). In contrast to the defined architectural spaces of Hogenberg's impression, the reliquaries are housed in squared fields with open sky backgrounds. Though the symmetry of the presentation is not as precise as in some of the earlier impressions, Altzenbach designed an image for a diverse audience. Residing in the fourteen boxes surrounding the large middle field appears to be seventeen reliquaries. Portrayed in the

²⁴¹ Further investigation as to whether the background of the spaces relate to specific architectural forms in the Aachen cathedral is warranted.

center field are realms of heaven and earth. Bordered by mountains and water, a skyline of churches fills the Roman city of Trier.²⁴² Above, two angels, resting on clouds, display the tunic of Christ in the space of the divine. Wolfgang Schmid, in his detailed analysis of the reliquaries, identifies the presence of forty-five relics.²⁴³ Sophisticated viewers would have recognized that the Passion relics held by the angels, a piece of the wooden cross and nail, though physically manifest were only truly visible with higher levels of vision.²⁴⁴

Löffler designed a similar record of the treasury of Cologne, in the third quarter of the seventeenth century (Fig. 46). In contrast to the broadsheets by Hogenberg and Altzenbach, this large broadsheet is crowded with an abundance of reliquaries, and sculpted saints. Known as the *Thesaurus*, this image is constructed of seven rows and columns. Heightening the drama of the retable display, the arched niches embedded in squared fields are separated by thin columns.²⁴⁵ Two angels in the upper corners rest on columns bordering the shelving. Modeling on the angels, saints' portraits and Virgin Mary reliquaries, creates a sense of dynamic movement. Though relics are effaced from the heavily detailed representations of reliquaries, Löffler provided a means to access the immaterial through contemplation of individual material features. Despite this meditative function, the print overwhelms with its worldly presence.

²⁴² After assessing the veracity of the image as less than truthful, Schmid characterizes the city view as that of an orderly holy city ("gut regierten heiligen Stadt"). Schmid, *Graphische Medien*, 22f.

²⁴³ Ibid., 34.

²⁴⁴ Belting, 475.

²⁴⁵ Legner, 141.

SECTION C. CHAPTER CONCLUSION

A facet of the intrigue of the narrative prints is found in the quantity and quality of information incorporated within the imagery, as evidenced in the early impressions by Peter Vischer and Michael Ostendorfer, and the seventeenth-century prints by Abraham Hogenberg, Gerhard Altzenbach, and Johann E. Löffler. The details supply information about traditional customs, new practices and shifting politics. While the earliest prints predate the famed use of printed text and images as propaganda by Protestants and Catholics during the Reformation, their proclamation of the *Heiltumsweisungen* established a foundation for future event reporting and advertising. These functions did not, however, negate the utilization of the prints for religious purposes. The rarity of the prints attests to their ephemerality, yet the same ephemerality may document the commonality of their presence in daily life.²⁴⁶

The early imagery of treasuries, serving a variety of purposes, evidenced connections between nobility, civic and ecclesiastical entities. Simultaneously, the early impressions struggled to develop an appropriate representational form for the saintly presence. Though the audience likely perceived a unity between the sacred remains of saints, reliquaries, *Heiltumsweisungen*, assemblies of reliquaries, and the prints, the representations shifted from recording the source, as evidenced in the Andechs' print which incorporated the bodily remains embedded in the altar, to highlighting ornamented reliquaries and elaborate arched, niched, and framed display spaces.

²⁴⁶ Antony Griffiths, "The Archaeology of the Print," in *Collecting Prints and Drawings in Europe, c. 1500-1750*, ed. Christopher Baker, et al. (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, in association with the *Burlington Magazine*, 2003), passim.

Simultaneously, the early prints coincide with secular developments in the categorization of objects. Representations of displays quickly evolved into symmetrical and asymmetrical patterns of organization, corresponding to those present in secular collections. The arrangements were intended to create connections, vertically, diagonally and horizontally, in order to obtain greater knowledge of the universe, both sacred and profane.

An element present in both compositional forms is their “attempt to carefully condition and circumscribe the approach of the believer to the holy. In particular, they propose a complex interaction of the senses and the imagination, originating a discourse on the holy that encompasses space, time, and performance.”²⁴⁷ Though Cynthia Hahn’s words were written in reference to reliquaries, they are equally applicable to the prints. In contrast to the reputation of Northern European devotional art being “awash in blood,” these prints are passive.²⁴⁸ The closest these prints come to violence is the presence of some tools of martyrdom (Fig. 47). Though their passivity and silence, in comparison to other Northern European works of art, may have been one factor in their anonymity, it does not indicate an absence of intrigue or important relationships. Indeed, despite the recognition that these prints differ from the eloquent prints considered by Melion, further investigations into both sets of prints and Jesuits’ activities in Germany may indicate a connection, especially in light of Louis Chatellier’s characterization of the origins of Marian confraternities within the Society of Jesus.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁷ Hahn, 8.

²⁴⁸ Bynum Walker, 1f.

²⁴⁹ Melion, 8; Chatellier, 4.

Finally, beyond the relationship embodied in the joining together of two prints of the different compositional types in Aachen, Vischer's incorporation of the printed list into the narrative imagery of Nuremberg, the integrated depiction of relic displays in Hogenberg's index imagery, and the involvement of some of the same artists, patrons, and civic and religious entities, there is an intriguing affiliation between the elaboration of the imagery. The increased stylization of the manner of display seen in the index prints coincides with that seen earlier in the narrative prints.

CONCLUSION

The early years of printmaking were characterized by the rapid development of materials, techniques, compositional forms, and uses. During this period printed imagery progressed from simple outlined forms to highly detailed and modeled designs. Paralleling this evolution of print was a transformation of knowledge, including that of science, nature, the cosmos, and the humanities. By the early sixteenth century these developments contributed to the collecting and study of prints for their informational and aesthetic qualities.

Though not wholly neglected in the earliest art historical literature, fuller assessments of prints as documents, decoration, apotropaic objects, and works of art, did not begin to appear until the twentieth century. Despite Vasari's late sixteenth-century writings on several printmakers, including Albrecht Dürer, Marcantonio Raimondi and Lucas of Leyden, and his granting technical developments to the Italians (i.e., chiaroscuro printmaking to Ugo da Carpi and etching to Domenico Beccafumi), and the seventeenth-century cataloguing of prints, it was not until the explorations of printing techniques, methods and places of production, and the linking of narratives of artists, patrons, printers, and publishers, by print specialists Arthur Hind, William Ivins, and A. Hyatt Mayor, that the history of prints really entered the mainstream of art historical scholarship.²⁵⁰ Beginning in the late twentieth century, several scholars, including Linda

²⁵⁰ Giorgio Vasari, *The Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, transl. A.B.Hinds, 1927, repr. (New York: Dutton, Everyman's Library, 1970), 3:68-86. See: Hind; Ivins; A. Hyatt Mayor, *Prints and People: A Social History of Printed Pictures* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1971).

Hults, Peter Parshall, and Rainer Schoch, greatly expanded the knowledge of prints through their explorations of these same topics, as well as with investigations into associations with guilds, courts, monasteries, and the market.²⁵¹ Concurrent with these more thorough investigations were focused appraisals of prints, defined by region, time or function, such as those by Giulia Bartrum, Michael Bury and Philip Soergel.²⁵²

The inclusion of printed imagery in art historical survey texts has increased awareness of certain popular forms, including that of single prints of saints, portraits of individuals of civic and imperial importance, nineteenth-century lithographs, and twentieth-century abstractions. More recently, certain categories of prints have come to be more closely investigated, such as the empathetic devotional imagery addressed by Walter Melion, depictions of tools of torture, including the cross and wheel, by Mitchell Merbach, and painted prints by Susan Dackerman.²⁵³ It is in line with these more focused considerations that this thesis features a group of prints associated with reliquaries and relic displays.

These prints, first identified as a group in the 1860s by Heinrich Otte, contain a wealth of information. Yet, in spite of being a respectable foundation for both his studies of reliquary structural forms and this thesis, the list created by Otte is incomplete. To incorporate the prints identified through research, and in anticipation of future expansion of the listing, a two-part typology was proposed. The first category, labeled ‘narrative,’ is of relic display events. In describing this group, records of the continuity of the liturgical

²⁵¹ See: Hult; Parshall; Schoch.

²⁵² See: Bartrum; Bury; and Soergel.

²⁵³ See: Melion; Merbach; and Dackerman.

traditions of relic displays, as well as modifications to practices were highlighted. Additionally, the prints were proposed as early expressions of advertising, propaganda and eyewitness reporting, albeit with a high likelihood that not all is true as depicted. The second category of prints was labeled ‘index.’ Identification of the origins of the practice of depicting secular and profane treasuries, relationships to physical locales, travel guides, and relic books, in addition to discussions of collectives of saints, materiality, display, and the organization of knowledge, were utilized to describe this group. Despite these various approaches, it is to be acknowledged that this survey of these prints and their functions is not comprehensive. Indeed, as noted by the thesis committee, and likely recognized by readers, there are many avenues yet to be explored, each of which may reveal further insights into social, cultural, religious, and political practices in the early modern period.

This narrative in its exploration of these prints features associations which serve to not only connect the two compositional formats, but also to highlight their relationship to emerging themes. Though Otte identified the preliminary grouping of these prints, he did not approach the prints as works of art. MacGregor, referencing the prints as a group and as important precursors to the documentation of collections, also did not address them as artworks, but rather as documentary objects. This is not, however, a new mode of response to the prints as “sixteenth-century populations, as a whole, clearly placed a great deal more weight upon religious than upon aesthetic or purely cultural values.”²⁵⁴ Indeed, the aesthetic valuation of certain prints, as noted by Rebecca Zorach, does not

²⁵⁴ Christensen, 103f.

diminish the information encoded therein.²⁵⁵ It is the information portrayed in the prints of “the practices, rituals and objects that were seen by followers as foundational to the church,” that is of importance.²⁵⁶ This thesis seeks to provide a preliminary assessment of this information, both within and beyond the realm of religion, as codified within the relationships embedded in the prints. Though this paper identifies a number of other research approaches, it is these associations that have maintained the intrigue through the centuries.

²⁵⁵ Zorach, 318.

²⁵⁶ Koerner, 23.

ILLUSTRATIONS



Fig. 1 - Unknown artist, *Guide to Relics at Maastricht, Aachen and Kornelimünster*, woodcut, c. 1468-1475. Domarchiv Aachen, Germany. Photograph by author.



Fig. 2 – Unknown artist, *Maria with Child*, printer's ink on woven colored fabric, n/d. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, Germany. Photograph by author.



Fig. 3 – Unknown artist (Bohemia?), *Religious Procession*, printer's ink on paper woven with colored metal strips, n/d. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, Germany.
Photograph by author.

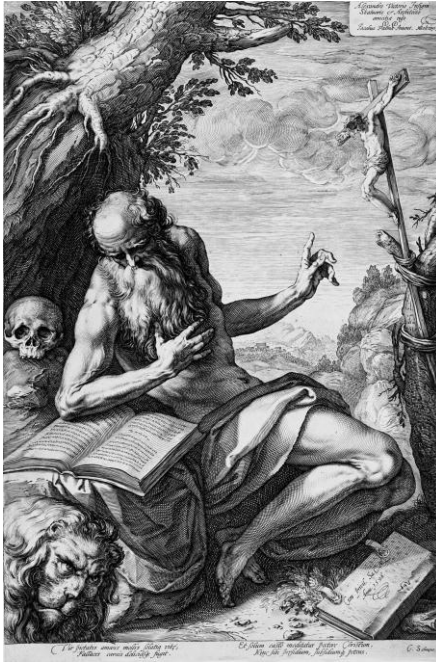


Fig. 4 – Hendrik Goltzius, *Saint Jerome in the Desert*, engraving, c. 1596. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, California.

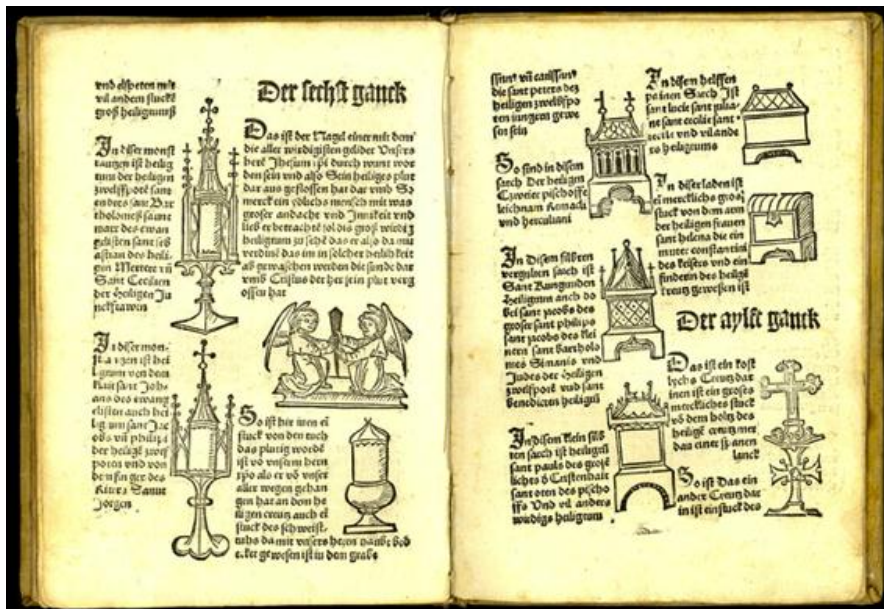


Fig. 5 – Hans Mair, *Bamberg Relic-Book*, woodcut, 1493. Library of Congress, Washington, DC, Rare Book and Special Collections Division.



Fig. 6 – Unknown artist(s), Devotional and Souvenir Prints, after 1632.
Domarchiv Aachen, Germany. Photograph by author.



Fig. 7 – Unknown artist, “Relic Display of Veil of Veronica,”
Mirabilia Romae, woodcut, c. 1475.
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Germany.



Fig. 8 – Gerhard Altzenbach, *Aachen Heiltumsweisung*, 10 Juli 1664, engraving, 1664. Domarchiv Aachen, Germany. Photograph by author.



Fig. 10 – Gerhard Altzenbach, *Trier Treasury with text*, engraving 1655. Der Bibliothek des Bischöflichen Priesterseminars Trier, Germany. Photograph by author.



Fig. 11 – Abraham Hogenberg, “Aachen Treasury,” in *Aacher Chronick* by Johannes Noppius, engraving, 1632. Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen, Germany. Photograph by author.



Fig. 12 – Matthew Paris, “King Louis IX Displaying Relics of the Passion,” in *Chronica Majora*, illumination, 1241. Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Oxford, England.

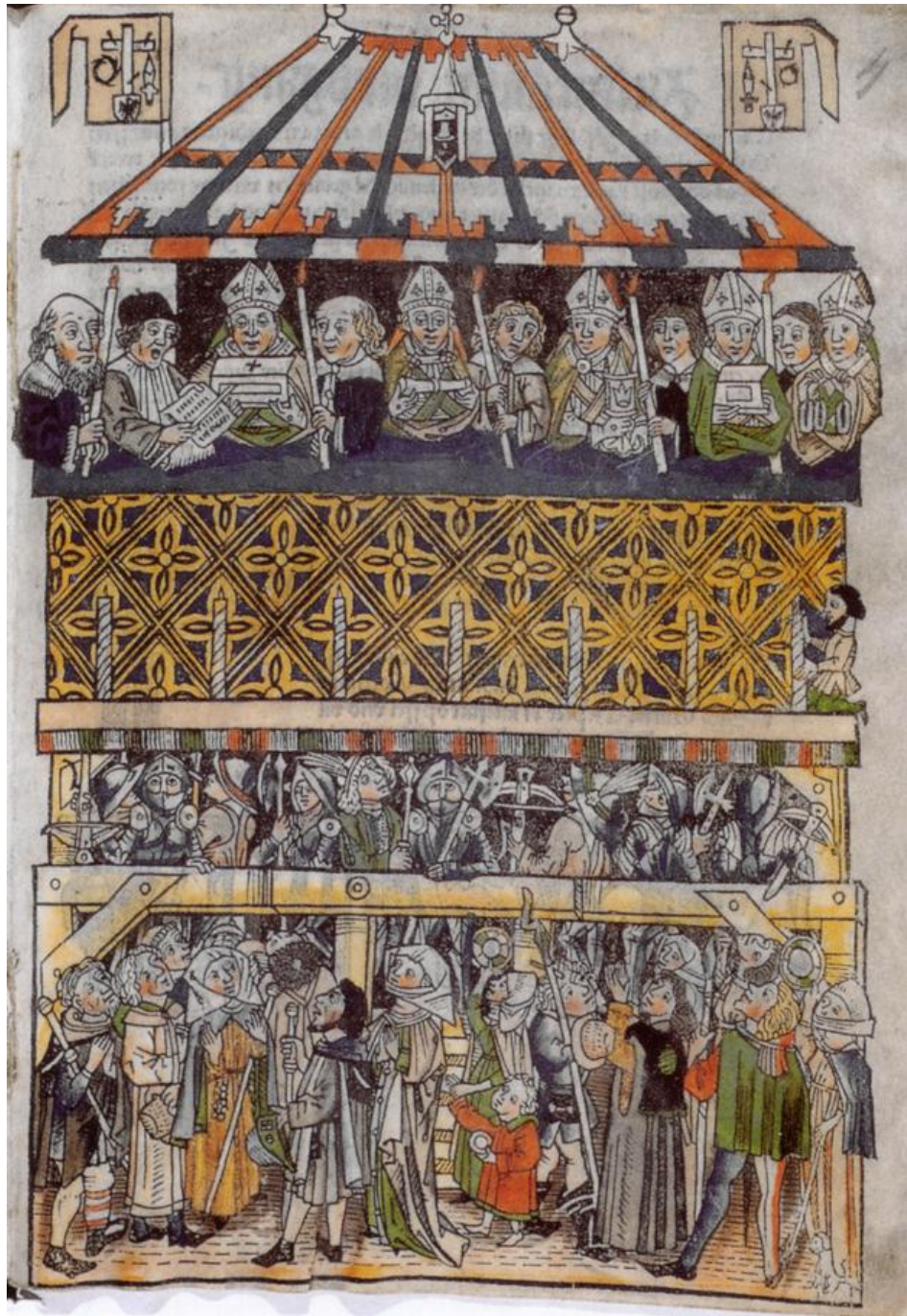


Fig. 13 – Peter Vischer, *Heiltumsweisung am Schopperschen Haus*, Nuremberg, woodcut with color added, 1487. Staatsarchiv Nürnberg, Nuremberg, Germany.



Fig. 14 – Detail. Peter Vischer, *Heiltumsweisungam Schopperschen Haus*, Nuremberg. woodcut with color added, 1487. Staatsarchiv Nürnberg, Nuremberg, Germany.

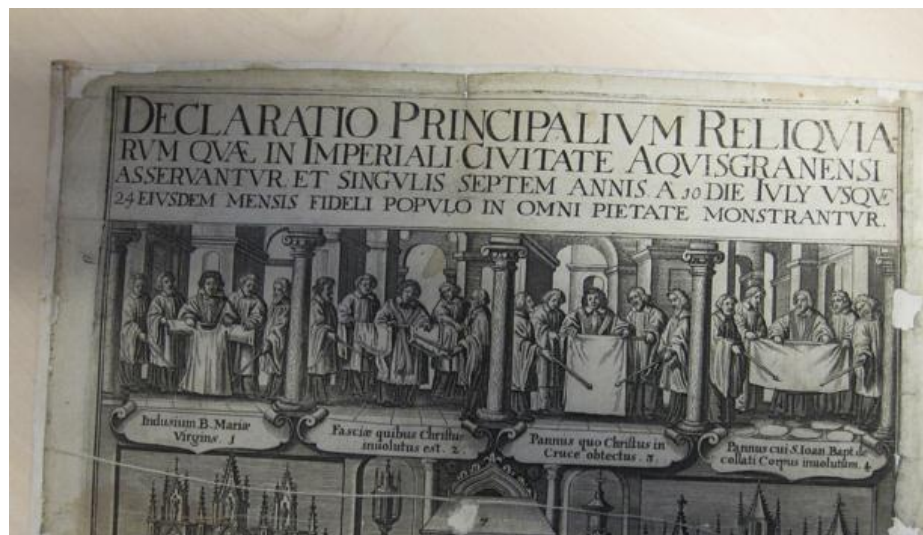


Fig. 15 – Detail. Gerhard Altzenbach, *Aachen Treasury: Declaratio*, after Abraham Hogenberg, engraving, 1655. Domarchiv Aachen, Germany. Photograph by author.



Fig. 16 – Joined prints. Wufsim, *View of Aachen Heiltumsweisung*, after Abraham Hogenberg, engraving, c. 17-18th century. Wufsim, *Aachen Treasury*, after Abraham Hogenberg, engraving, c. 17-18th century. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, Germany. Photograph by author.



Fig. 17 – Albrecht Altdorfer, “Treasury of Emperor Maximilian I,” Detail from Albrecht Dürer’s *Triumphal Arch*, woodcut, c. 1515, 1799 impression. National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC.



Fig. 18 – Albrecht Dürer, “Emperor Maximilian and the Holy Robe, 1512,” Detail from *Triumphal Arch*, woodcut, 1515, 1799 impression. National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC.



Fig. 19 - Michael Wolgemut (attrib.), *Processing of Relics*, woodcut, c. 1491. Digitale Sammlungen Darmstadt Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek.

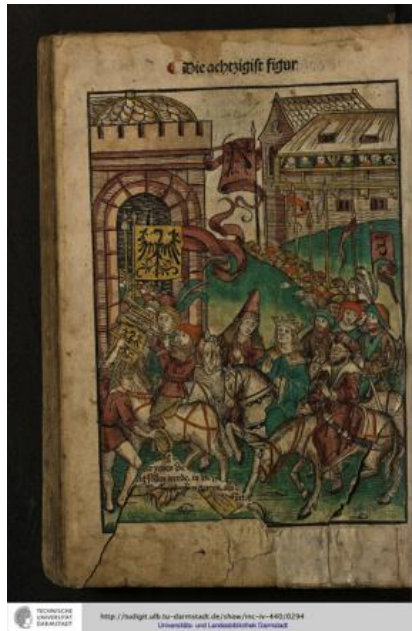


Fig. 20 - Michael Wolgemut (attrib.), *A Royal Advent*, woodcut, c. 1491.
Digitale Sammlungen Darmstadt Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek.



Fig. 21 – Peter Vischer, *Darstellung der Heiltumsweisung von 1487*, woodcut with color added, 1487. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Germany.



Fig. 22 – Peter Vischer, *Heiltumsweisung am Schopperschen Haus*, woodcut with color added, 1487. Rare Book and Special Collections Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.



Fig. 23 – Detail. Master of Saint Giles, *The Mass of Saint Giles*, oil and egg on oak, c. 1500. The National Gallery, London. © The National Gallery, London, 2013.



Fig. 24 – Guillaume de Saint Pathus, *La Vie de Saint Louis*, illumination, c. late 14th century. Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, France. © Photo Scala, France, 2012.



Fig. 25 – Michael Ostendorfer, *Pilgrimage to Schöne Maria*, woodcut, c. 1520. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, Germany. Photograph by author.



Fig. 26 – Detail. Michael Ostendorfer, *Pilgrimage to Schöne Maria*, woodcut, c. 1520. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, Germany. Photograph by author.



Fig. 27 – Albrecht Altdorfer, *The Beautiful Virgin of Regensburg*, colored multi-block woodprint, 1519/1520. National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC.



Fig. 28 – Michael Ostendorfer, *The New Church of the Beautiful Virgin of Regensburg*, woodcut, 1519/1520. British Museum, London, England. © The Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 29 – Raphael Sadeler, *Wundertätige Marienfigur*, engraving, 1589/1590. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, Germany. Photograph by author.



Fig. 30 – Alexander Mair, *Die Muttergottes von Altötting, Ihre Kapelle und ihre Wunder*, engraving, 1598. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, Germany. Photograph by author.



Fig. 31 - Unknown artist, *View of Santa Maria da Loreto*, woodcut, late 16th century. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, Germany. Photograph by author.



Fig. 32 - Unknown artist, *Devotional Image of St. Quentin, France*, woodcut, 1659. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, Germany. Photograph by author.



Fig. 33 - Abraham Hogenberg, *View of Aachen Heiltumsweisung*, print, 1622/1632. Domschatz des Domkapitels, Aachen, Germany. Photograph by author.



Fig. 34 – Detail, Gerhard Altzenbach, *View of Aachen Heiltumsweisung*, print, 1664. Domarchiv Aachen, Aachen, Germany. Photograph by author.



Fig. 35 - Johann Eckhard Löffler, *View of Trier Heilumsweisung*,
 etching, 1655. Bischöfliches Dom- und Diözesanmuseum, Trier, Germany.
 Photograph by author.



Fig. 36 –Detail. Gerhard Altzenbach, *Aachen Treasury: Declaratio*, after Abraham Hogenberg, engraving, 1655. Domarchiv Aachen, Germany. Photograph by author.



Fig. 37 – Diebold Schilling the Younger, “*Treasury of Charles the Bold*,” in *Lucerner Chronik des Diebold Schilling*, illumination, c. 1513. Zentralbibliothek, Korporation der Stadt Luzern.



Fig. 38 – Unknown artist, *Broadside of Relics from Kloster Andechs*, colored print, 1496. British Museum, London, England. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

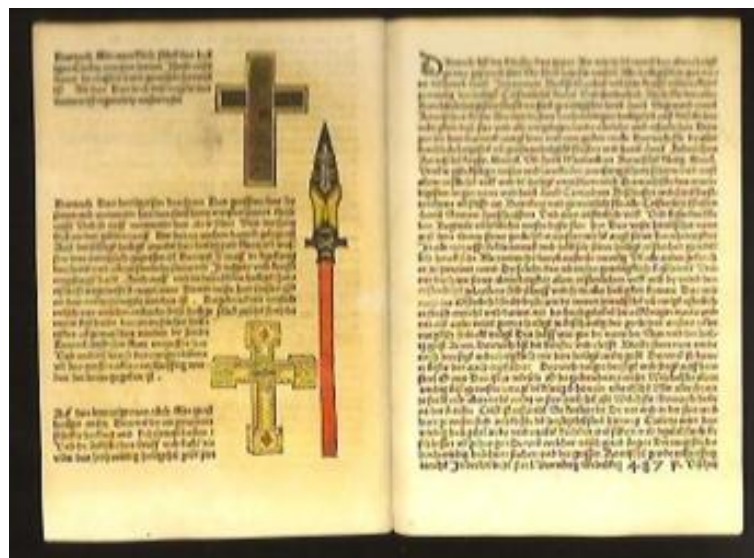


Fig. 39 – Peter Vischer, *Nuremberg Relic-Book*, woodcut with color added, 1487. Rare Book and Special Collections Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.



Fig. 40 - Hannsen Schönsperger (printer), "Monstrance," in *Andechs Chronicle*, woodcut with color added, 1495. Special Collections, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, California. Photograph by author.



Fig. 41 - Hans Mair, *Bamberg Relic-Book*, woodcut, 1493. Rare Book and Special Collections Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.



Fig. 42 – C. Vitale, *Il Museo di Ferrante Imperato Dell’historia naturale*, woodcut, 1599. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

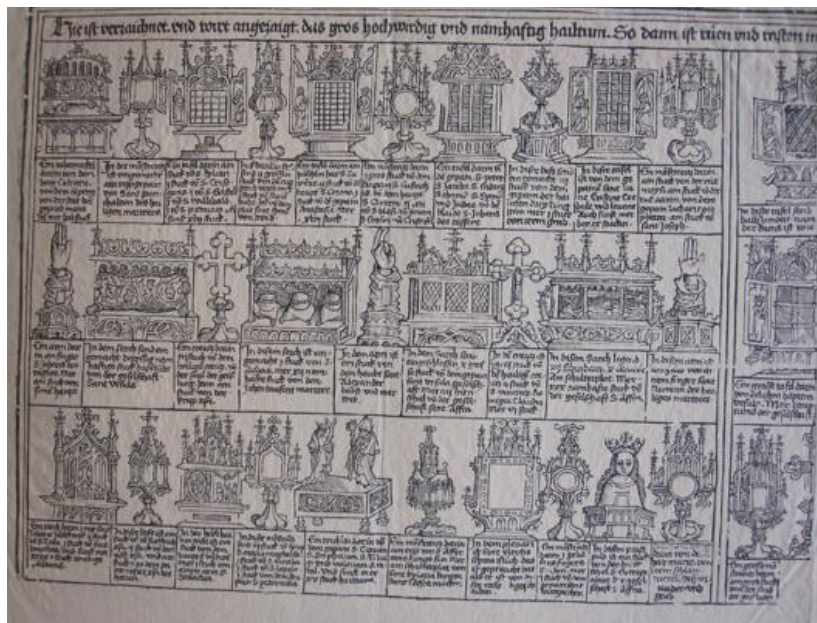


Fig. 43 – Example of alternate microsymmetry. Unknown artist, *Treasury of Saints Ulrich and Afra*, Augsburg, woodcut, uncolored, c. 1480-90. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, Germany. Photograph by author.



Fig. 44 – Example of repeating macrosymmetry. Gerhard Altzenbach, *Treasury of Aachen: Declaratio*, engraving, 1655/1664. Domarchiv Aachen, Germany.
Photograph by author.



Fig. 45 - Wolf Traut, “Image of St. Andrew,” in *Hallesche Heiltumsbuch*, woodcut, ca.1510. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Connecticut.



Fig. 46 – Johann Eckard Löffler, *Cologne Cathedral Treasure*, engraving, 1671. Dombauarchiv Köln, Germany. Photograph by author.



Fig. 47 – Detail. Gerhard Altzenbach, *Trier Treasury with correction*, engraving, 1655. Der Bibliothek des Bischöflichen Priesterseminars Trier, Germany. Photograph by author.

APPENDIX A

This list of prints, originating from the list assembled by Heinrich Otte in the mid-nineteenth century, includes the prints located during the course of thesis research. In the spirit of Otte's original list, information extends beyond that generally supplied in a List of Illustrations. The list, however, makes no pretensions of being complete. It is a work-in-progress.

The listing is alphabetized by city name, and then by date of print. Information derived from Otte's book (pages 186-187) is followed by his name. Additional information is listed in subordinate bullet points. Other textual sources are identified by authors' surnames (see Bibliography for full citation). Prints identified with (N) are narrative; with (I) are index.

1. Aachen

- a. Unknown artist, *Relics of Aachen, Kornelimünster, and Maastricht*, woodcut, 1468 or 1475, Domarchiv Aachen. (I)
 - i. Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich, Inv. No. 118 308.
 - ii. Literature: Legner 1972, Fig. VII-g, 139; Blick and Tekippe, Fig. 323.
- b. Abraham Hogenberg, *Presentation of the so-called 'four Great Relics,'* engraving, c. 1622, Domschatz des Domkapitels Aachen. (N)
 - i. This differs from 1. c., as the cathedral dome is rounded.
- c. Abraham Hogenberg, "View of Aachen *Heiltumsweisung*," in *Aacher Chronick* by Johannes Noppius, engraving, c. 1632, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv, Aachen, File: Noppius, *Aachener Chronik*, Signatur 1938, 244. (N)
 - i. This differs from 1. b., as the cathedral dome is pointed.
 - ii. Literature: Legner 1972, Fig. VIII-I, 144.
- d. Abraham Hogenberg, "Aachen Treasury," in *Aacher Chronick* by Johannes Noppius, engraving, 1632, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv, Aachen, File: Noppius, *Aachener Chronik*, Signatur 1938, 244. (I)
 - i. Literature: Legner 1972, Fig. VII-h, 140; Hartwig (?).
- e. Abraham Hogenberg, *Reliquary Treasury of Saint Adalbert's Church, Aachen*, engraving, 1632, Domarchiv Aachen. (I)
 - i. Surrounding central image of Saint Henry the Emperor are eight reliquaries.
- f. Theod. Holtmann, fecit, Gerhard Altzenbach esec., *Relic Display and Reliquary Treasury of Aachen*, engraving, c. 1630, printed in Cologne, Germanisches Nationalmuseum HB24724. (N) (I)

- g. Gerhard Altzenbach, *Sacred Relics of Kornelimünster*, engraving, n/d, printed in Cologne, Rheinisches Bildarchiv No. 109816. (I)
- h. Gerhard Altzenbach, *Aachen Treasury: Declaratio*, engraving, 1655, Domarchiv Aachen. (I)
- i. Unknown artist(s), *Aachen Treasury*, keyed, mostly engravings, quartos, c. 1640-1685, Domarchiv Aachen. (I)
 - i. Version 1 – Harrewijn fecit. Handwritten title: AIX La Chapelle;
 - ii. Version 2 – Three separately framed woodblock prints surrounded by decorative edging. Woodblock prints on sides are keyed images of reliquaries similar to other versions. Center image is of Charlemagne, identified with Latin text, above a city view. Beneath the three images is German text in fraktur font, “Abbildungen der Monstranzen und übrigen Gefäßen worin die kleine Heiligthümer aufbewahrt warden.”
 - iii. Version 3 – Along bottom of print is a line of printed text in German, “Reliquien. So alle 7 Jahr und alle jahreimal öffentl...
 - iv. Version 4 – Engraving is very rough, perhaps indicating plate has been re-cut. No text.
 - v. Version 5 – Similar to version 4; includes printed text in German in an elegant script font, “Die berühmten Reliquien in der Kirche U.L. Frauen zu Aachen.”
 - vi. Version 6 – Similar to versions 4 and 5, but prior to any re-cutting of plate. On lower left, there is printed text in script font in French, “Les Fameuses Reliques de l’Eglise Notre Dame d’Aix-la-chapelle.” On lower right, there is printed text in script font in Dutch, “De Beroemde overblijfselen te sien de Kerk van Aken.”
- j. Gerhard Altzenbach, *View of Aachen Heiltumweisung*, engraving 1664, Domarchiv Aachen. (N)
 - i. Dome is rounded, as in Hogenberg’s earlier image, but left tower differs.
- k. Wilhelm Altzenbach, after Abraham Hogenberg and Gerhard Altzenbach, *View of Aachen Heiltumsweisung*, engraving, 1664, British Museum Q5.377. (N)
- l. Johann Eckard Löffler, *Cathedral Treasury of Aachen*, engraving, 1671, Domarchiv Aachen. (I)
 - i. Another impression is at Domschatz des Domkapitels Aachen.
- m. Unknown artist, *Die Heilige Reliquien des Münsters zu Aachen*, quarto, after 1685, Domarchiv Aachen. (I)
- n. Wufsim, *View of Aachen Heiltumsweisung*, after Abraham Hogenberg, engraving, c. 17-18th century, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, HB6734. (N)
 - i. Joined with l. m.

- o. Wufsim, *Aachen Treasury*, after Abraham Hogenberg, engraving, c. 17-18th century, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, File: HB 6734. (I)
 - i. Joined with 1. 1.
- p. A. Becf, *Die Heiligtumsfahrt in Aachen: Vorzeigung der Reliquien an der Nordseite des Domes*, engraving, folio, 1860, Domarchiv Aachen. (N)

2. Alt-Ötting

- a. Hochfelder, *Die Legende des Wallfahrtsortes*, quarto, 1497, printed in Nuremberg (Otte).
 - i. Hochfelder = Kaspar Hochfelder, printer;
 - ii. Jakob Issickemer, printer, “Madonna and Child in Glory,” in *Mirakelbuchlein des Altottinger Chorherren*, frontispiece woodcut, quarto, 1497, Hain Nr. 9319, Hauptstaatsarchiv Munich; *source*: <http://www.digital-collections.de> [accessed 9 January 2013].
 - iii. Jakob Issickemer (or Johann Graff (?)), printer, *Buchlein der Zuflucht zu Maria der Mutter Gottes in alten Oding*, 1497, printed in Leipzig (?).
 - iv. “Das Altottinger Mirakelbuchelein,” possible reprint, 1540.
 - v. Literature: Bach (?).
- b. A. Lutz, *Aventinus Historia Otingae* (?), frontispiece woodcut, quarto, 1519, printed in Ingolstadt (Otte).
 - i. A. Lutz = Andreas Lutz, printer;
 - ii. Otte did not provide title for text, though he noted that it had been composed by Aventinus.
 - iii. Johann Stuchs first printed the text in Latin, 1518, in Nuremberg. The Latin version did not include any prints. Digital copy available from Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.
- c. Alexander Mair, *Saint Mary’s Chapel, Alt-ötting*, engraving, 1598. Germanisches Nationalmuseum HB24888. (N)

3. Andechs

- a. J. Bämmler, *Relic book of Andechs*, folio, n/d; printed in Augsburg (Otte). (I)
 - i. J. Bämmler = Johann Bämmler;
 - ii. Johann Bämmler, “View of Monstrance Reliquary,” in *Die Chronik von dem hailigen berg Andechs*, frontispiece woodcut, 1473.
 - 1. Text is also titled as *Von dem ursprung und anfang des heyligen pergs und burg Andechs.*; <http://dfg-viewer.de> [accessed 10 February 2013].
- b. Reprint, frontispiece woodcut, folio, 1493 (Otte). (I)

- c. Unknown artist, *Broadside of Relics from Kloster Andechs*, colored print, 1496, British Museum, London, Acquisition: PD 1895, 0122.188-89, © The Trustees of the British Museum. (I)
 - i. Literature: Hahn, 159; Bagnoli, 226.
- d. Schoensperger, reprint of Bämle's incunabula(?), quarto, c. 1500; printed in Augsburg (Otte).
 - i. Schoensperger = Hannsen (Johann) Schönsperger, printer;
 - 1. Schoensperger's stepfather was Johann Bämle (Kühne, 42).
 - ii. Schönsperger produced two editions, with colored woodcuts, c. 1495.
 - 1. *Chronick von dem hochwirdigen vnd loblichen heyltum auff dem heyligen Perg Andechs genant in oberen Bayern*. Augsburg: Hannsen Schönsperger, 1495. In Getty Research Institute, Special Collections, ID 93-B19985.
- e. L. Zeisemayer, *Relic book of Andechs*, 1505, printed in Wessobrunn Abbey (Otte).
 - i. L. Zeisemayer = Lucas Zeissenmair, publisher.
 - 1. Zeissenmair had print shops in both Wessobrunn abbey and Augsburg.
 - 2. Zeissenmair married the daughter of Johann Bämle. See: www.stadtlexikon-augsburg.de [accessed 9 January 2013].
 - ii. Multiple reprints, undated (Otte).

4. Augsburg

- a. Unknown artist, *Sixty Reliquaries from Church of Saints Ulrich and Afra*; broadsheet woodcut from two blocks, c. 1480-90, printed in Augsburg, (Otte). (I)
 - i. Facsimile in "Germanischen Museums, Taf. CXVI-CXIX," (Otte);
 - ii. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, HB4500-01;
- b. After drawings by Matthew Kaper, "gest. von W. Kilian," *Relic book of Church of Saints Ulrich and Afra*, Fifty-nine copper plates, after 1630 (Otte). (I)

5. Bamberg

- a. Hanns Puchdrucker, *Bamberg relic book*, 117 woodcuts, 1493, printed in Bamberg (Otte). (I)
 - i. Hans Mair, *Bamberg Relic-book*, 1493, Rare Book and Special Collections Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC, Incun. 1498.H46 Rosenwald Coll. No. 162, folio, 11v.
 - 1. Reportedly reprinted in 1495, 1508/09.

2. Reportedly this relic book also contains a print of the relic display event.
 3. Literature: Bagnoli, 213, 225.
 - b. J. Pfeil, *Bamberg relic book*, 130 woodcuts, 1509 (Otte). (I)
 - i. Hans Pheil, *Bamberger Heiltumsbuch*, 1509. *Die weysung unnd auzruffung des Hochwirdigen Heylthumb zu Bamberg*, 1509, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, Signatur 341 (Cárdenas, 130).
6. Cologne
- a. Koelhoff, *Relic-book of Cologne*, 1492 (Otte). (I)
 - i. Koelhoff, *Die Cronica van der hilliger Stat va Coelle*, c. 1499.
 1. Digital copy: www.ahnenforschung-bildet.de;
 2. Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbittel dates this book to c. 1571.
 - b. Reprints in 1505, 1509, and thereafter (Otte).
 - c. Johann Peter Gossart (?), *Heilige Thesaurus of Cologne*, early 16th century, Dombauarchiv Köln. (I)
 - d. Johann Eckard Löffler, *Der Kölner Domschatz mit seinen Heiligtümern*, (aka *Thesaurus SS Reliquiarum*), engraving, 1671. (I)
 - i. Published by Peter Schonemann, the cathedral sacristan (Legner 1982, 79).
 - ii. Schnütgen-Museum, object # M678.
 - iii. Literature: Legner 1972, Fig. VIII-k, 141.
 - iv. Germanisches Nationalmuseum HB2484;
 - v. Dombauarchiv Köln (2 impressions).
7. Einsiedeln
- a. Unknown artist, *Chronik*, quarto, 1494, printed in Ulm (Otte).
 - b. Master E.S., *The Madonna of Einsiedeln*, colored engraving, 1466. Staatliche Museen, Berlin. (N)
 - i. http://www.wga.hu/html_m/m/master/es/1virgin.html;
 - ii. Literature: Hults, Fig. 1.32, 49.
8. Halle
- This treasury collection of Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg was first housed in the collegiate church of Saint Maurice and Mary Magdalene in Halle. Due to the Reformation, the collection was moved to Saint Martin's cathedral in Mainz.
- a. Wolf Traut, *Hallesche Heiltumsbuch*, 237 woodcuts, quarto, 1520. (I)

- i. This book, commissioned by the Cardinal, includes a portrait of Cardinal Albrecht by Dürer, and dedication of the new collegiate church in Halle by Archbishop Ernst and Cardinal Albrecht. (Otte)
- ii. Per Otte, the “231 woodcuts are after drawings by Matthias Grünewald (?)”
- iii. *Hallesche Heiltumsbuch*, (aka Aschaffenburg manuscript), 344 illuminations on parchment, 1520 (Otte);
 - 1. Illuminations attributed to Lucas Cranach the Elder;
 - 2. Aschaffenburg Schloßbibliothek, MS.14.
 - 3. Literature: Bagnoli, 228f.
- b. *Hallesche Heiltumsbuch*, reprint (?), 1525, Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, Cod. T24.4 Helmst (3) fol. iv (Bagnoli, Fig. 28, 63). (I)
- c. P. Helwig, printer, *Hallesche Heiltumsbuch*, reprint, quarto, 1617; printed in Wittenberg (Otte). (I)
- d. Dreyhaupt, *Geschichte des Saalkreyses*, 2 volumes, c. 1749-1755 (Otte).
 - i. Dreyhaupt = Christoph von Dreyhaupt, historian;
 - ii. Per Otte, a reprint is included in Dreyhaupt’s history.
- e. Jos. Merkel, *Sixteen Colored Prints of Mainz’ Treasure*, 1848 (Otte). (I)

9. Maastricht

- a. See 1. a.
- b. Unknown Artist, *Het Blokboek van Sint Servatius*, woodcuts, c.1450 - 1460, Brussels, Bibliotheque Royale Albert I, Cabinet des Estamps, MS18.972. (N)(I)
 - i. “First Ostension: Display of the Celestial Funeral Cloth and Pilgrimage Staff of Saint Servatius,” in *Het Blokboek van Sint Servatius*, 21;
 - ii. “Red Celestial Cloth and Crozier of Saint Servatius,” in *Het Blokboek van Sint Servatius*, 22;
 - iii. “White Celestial Cloth, Chalice and Paten of Saint Servatius,” in *Het Blokboek van Sint Servatius*, 23;
 - iv. “Reliquary Bust of Saint Servatius, Arm Reliquary of Saint Thomas the Apostle, and the Cross made by Saint Luke,” in *Het Blokboek van Sint Servatius*, 24;
 - v. Literature: Blick and Tekippe, Fig. 318-321.

10. Magdeburg

- a. J. Ravenstein-Westfal, *Magdeburg relic-book*, n/d; quarto sized (Otte).

11. Mainz – See Halle.

12. Nuremberg

- a. Per Otte, shortly after 1424, a large woodcut was created, of which only part remains. Facsimile in “Holzschnitten des German. Museums, Taf. XIV u. XV,” (Otte). (I)
 - i. Unknown artist, *Holy Relics of Nuremberg*, woodcut with xylographic text, c. 1425 - 1450, reprint from c.1600, Germanisches Nationalmuseum HB24755.
 - ii. *Wie das hochwirdigist Auch keiserlich heiligthum Und die grossenn Romischen genad dar zu geben ist vnd Alle Jare ausz gerufft vndgeweist wirt In der loblichen stat Nuremberg*, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Signatur 8 inc 1928,10 (Cárdenas, 130).
 - iii. Literature: Parshall and Schoch, Fig. 59, 212ff.
- b. Hans Spoerer (?), *The Relics, Vestments and Insignia of the Holy Roman Empire*, colored woodcut, c. 1470-80, reprinted 1496, British Museum K74843; 1916,0913.1; and 1933,0102.1. (I)
 - i. Literature: Parshall 2009, Fig. 11, 132; Bagnoli, 226f.
- c. P. Vischer, *Relic book of Nuremberg*, woodcuts, quarto, 1487 (Otte). (N) (I)
 - i. Prints of *Heiltumsweisung am Schopperschen Haus*, and of relics.
 - ii. At: Staatsarchiv Nürnberg; Bayerische Staatsbibliothek; and Library of Congress, Rare Book and Special Collections Division.
 - iii. Literature: Bagnoli, 224; Wendehorst, Fig. 11, 15.
- d. Hans Mayr, *Relic book of Nuremberg*, six woodcuts, quarto, 1493 (Otte). (I)
- e. Albrecht Altdorfer, “Treasury of Emperor Maximilian I,” in *Triumphal Arch*, woodcut, c. 1515. (I)

13. Paris

- a. C. Du Molinet, *Relics of Abbey of Sainte Genevieve*, engraving, 1692.
 - i. Literature: MacGregor, 36. (I)
- b. Michel Félibien, “Relics of Abbey of Saint Denis,” in *Historie de l’Abbaye de Saint Denys, Paris*, Plate 2, engraving, 1706. (I)
 - i. Literature: Mauriès, 6f; MacGregor, 5.
- c. S. J. Morand, “Grande Chasse, Sainte Chapelle,” in *Histoire de la Ste.-Chapelle Royale du Palais*, Plate opposite page 40, engraving, 1790. (I)
 - i. Literature: MacGregor, 4.

14. Regensburg

- a. Unknown artist, *View of Church and Worshippers*, folio, 1519 (Otte). (N)
 - i. It is likely that this print is: Michael Ostendorfer, *Pilgrims at the Church of the ‘Beautiful Virgin’ at Regensburg*, c. 1519-20, British

Museum, #1895-1-22-77; Kunstsammlungen, Veste Coburg G.967; also Germanisches Nationalmuseum HB2370.

1. Multiple reprints. See: 14. E.
 2. Literature: Bartrum, 200f; Landau and Parshall, 340.
- b. Michael Ostendorfer, *The New Church of the 'Beautiful Virgin' at Regensburg*, woodcut, c. 1519-20, British Museum # 1895.1, 22-78.
- i. See: Bartrum, 200ff.
- c. P. Kohl, *Miracle of Beautiful Mary at Regensburg*, frontispiece woodcut, quarto, 1520 (Otte).
- i. Per Landau and Parshall, Kohl did not begin printing in Regensburg until 1521.
- d. Albrecht Altdorfer (after), untitled, large woodcut, 1610 (Otte). (I)
- e. After Michael Ostendorfer, *Pilgrims at the Church of Beautiful Maria, Regensburg*, c. 1645, Germanisches Nationalmuseum SP24657a. (N)

15. Rothenburg ob der Taube

- a. Otte indicates that a quarto-sized print was produced in 1520, but provides no further information.

16. Trier

- a. Many texts on the Holy Robe (Otte);
- b. Johannes Scheckmann, *Display of Trier Relics*, woodcut, 1513, printed in Cologne, Bibliothek des Bischöflichen Priesterseminars Trier. (N) (I)
 - i. Literature: Aretz et. al., 186.
- c. Albrecht Dürer, "Display of Holy Robe of Trier to Emperor Maximilian I," in *Triumphal Arch*, woodcut, c. 1515, printed in Nuremberg (?). (N)
- d. Hanns Froschauer, untitled, 32 woodcuts, quarto, 1512, printed in Augsburg (Otte).
- e. Johann Eckhard Löffler, *Translation of Relics of Eberhard of Trier*, 1623, published in Cologne by Peter Overadt, Germanisches Nationalmuseum HB24961. (N)
- f. Gerhard Altzenbach, *Der Trierer Domschatz mit seinen Heiligtümern*, engraving, 1655, printed in Cologne. Bibliothek des Bischöflichen Priesterseminars Trier. (I)
 - i. Literature: Ronig; Legner 1972, Fig. VIII-j, 141.
 - ii. A print with a pasted correction (See: Illustrations, Fig. 47) is in the Bibliothek des Bischöflichen Priesterseminars Trier.
 - iii. Reprinted in Regensburg, 1845 (Otte).
- g. Johann Eckhard Löffler, *Heiltumsweisung in Trier*, etching, 1655, Bischöfliches Dom- und Diözesanmuseum in Trier. (N)
- h. Reprint of 16. d., printed in Regensburg, 1845 (Otte).
- i. Unknown Artist, *Relic Display of Trier*, 1891. (N)

17. Ulm

- a. Raphael Sadeler, *Wundertätige Marienfigur*, engraving, 1589, printed in Ulm, Germanisches Nationalmuseum HB24926. (N)

18. Vomp, Tyrol, Austria

This site was labeled “St. Georgenberg (in Tyrol bei Innsbruck...)” by Otte.

- a. A. Sorg, *Relic book of St. Georgenberg Abbey*, 1480, printed in Augsburg (Otte).
 - i. A. Sorg = Anton Sorg, printer
 - ii. Copy at Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek Wien, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, file GW 10642 (?). (Cárdenas, page 130).
- b. Benedikt III Herschel, Abbot, *Athos Georgianus*, 1652. Archiv Fiecht.
 - i. Possible reprint of the *Chronik von Kloster St. Georgenberg*.

19. Vienna

- a. J. Winterburg, woodcut, quarto, 1502 (Otte). (I)
 - i. Johannes Winterburger, *Wiener Heiltumsbuch, 1502*. “In Disem Puechlein ist verzaichent das hochwirdig heyligtu[m]b so man In der Lob-lichen stat Wienn In Osterreich alle iar an sonntag nach dem Ostertag zezeigen pfligt,” Staatlich Museen zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, Signatur 640 (Cárdenas, 130).
 - ii. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.
 - iii. Literature: MacGregor, 6.
- b. Reprint of 19. a., quarto, 1514 (Otte). (I)
- c. Reprint, with image of “Heiligtumsstuhl,” 1882, facsimile at Museum für Kunst und Industrie, Vienna (Otte).

20. Wittenberg

- a. Unknown artist, *Display of 117 Artworks in 8 “Gängen,”* (Otte); (I)
- b. Unknown artist, untitled, 119 woodcuts, 1509, quarto-sized (Otte); (I)
 - i. Per Otte, this was later printed in combination with the Hallesche Heiltumsbuch.
- c. Lucas Cranach the Elder, artist, Symphorian Reinhart, printer, *Wittenberger Heiltumsbuch, 1509-10*. (I)
 - i. Possibly same item referenced by Otte, as it includes approximately 117 artworks, *Dye zaigung des hochlobwirdigen hailigthums der Stiff kirchen aller hailigen zu wittenburg*, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, Signatur 646 (Cárdenas, 130).

1. British Museum 1949,0411.4991.
- ii. Per Cárdenas, there were two editions printed in 1509; the first had 108 images; the second edition had 117 images.
- iii. ‘Clippings’ from “so-called Wittenberger Heiligthumsbuch” are in the British Museum, Reg. E,7.146. Curator’s comments indicate that there were 119 illustrations by Cranach.
- iv. *Register zum Wittenberger Heiltum*, Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Weimar, Ernestinisches Gesamtarchiv, Reg. O 212, *In diessem Register ist die ordenung in welcher das hochwirdige heylthum zu Wittemberg montage nach Misericordias domini jerlich getzeigt wirdet* (Cárdenas, 130).
- v. Literature: Bagnoli, 63.
 1. A caption in Bagnoli (63) attributes the printing of the *Wittenberger Heiltumsbuch* to Melchior Lotter in Leipzig, 1514, and that the object is in British Museum, no. PD1949,0411.4991. This information is incorrect.
 2. Per British Museum, the printer is Symphorian Reinhart, in Wittenberg, and object no. 1911,0708.1, *source*: www.britishmuseum.org [accessed 26 May 2013].

21. Würzburg

- a. Hans Mair, printer, *Relics of Saint Kilian*, quarto, 1483; printed in Nuremberg (Otte);
 - i. Hans Mayr, *Würzburger Heiltumsbuch*, printed in Nuremberg 1483. *In disem puchleine ist tzu wysen das hochwirdig heylthum in der loblichen stat Wirtzburg das man do pfligt zu weisen alle Jar an Sant kyligans Tag*, Faksimile Neudruck, London, 1904 (Cárdenas, 130).
- b. Reprinted in Nuremberg, 1485, quarto-sized (Otte).

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