LATE GOTHIC ARCHITECTURAL MONSTRANCES
IN THE RHINELAND, C. 1380-1480:
OBJECTS IN CONTEXT

A Thesis in
Art History
by
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ABSTRACT

Between c. 1380 and 1480, nearly every church in Middle Europe (an area encompassing modern-day Germany and large areas of its neighbors) acquired an elaborate, expensive architectural Host monstrance. In the Rhineland, most of these monstrances remain in the churches for which they were made, and most of them originated in the city of Cologne. The display of a monstrance indicated that the Host wafer inside was consecrated, and individuals who gazed upon the Body of Christ found that the rock crystal vessel (which visually magnified the Host) and the complex architectural framework, improved their devotional experience. Far from being a simple accessory used in the Corpus Christi liturgy, the monstrance was the focal point of processions and liturgical celebrations. Unlike chalices and other liturgical vessels that were used every day, the monstrance was used only at certain times of year, and then with great pomp. I present the late gothic monstrances produced in the Rhineland between c. 1380 and 1480 as they might have been seen and understood in their own time. To this end, I examine the identity and motivations of their patrons, their monetary and symbolic value, the circumstances of their commissioning and production, their liturgical and processional use and their reception.
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INTRODUCTION

In a review of the 2001 exhibition of medieval objects from the Basel Cathedral Treasure at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, Holland Cotter drew attention to "a group of astonishingly tall, futuristic-looking objects known as tower monstrances. With their clear glass display cylinders surmounted by forests of Gothic spires, they seem poised for liftoff."¹ Late gothic viewers would have been similarly impressed by the elaborate miniature gothic architecture of the precious metal monstrances. They would have been puzzled, however, by the absence of the substance that the monstrance was meant to display: the consecrated Host. For the function of a monstrance was to protect and display the precious Body of Christ. To gaze upon the consecrated Host was to enjoy a spiritual communion, and the rock crystal of the monstrance visibly magnified the wafer, leading the faithful "to greater and better devotion".² Unlike a chalice or other liturgical vessel, the monstrance was only used at certain times of year, most

notably during the feast and octave of Corpus Christi. On these occasions, the monstrance and its precious contents were the focal point of processions and the liturgy, as demonstrated by the devout gazes of the onlookers depicted in an illuminated miniature of the Corpus Christi procession (Figure I.1). In addition to making the Host visible to the adoring public, such a procession also put an elaborate and expensive piece of goldsmithwork on display, demonstrating the wealth and taste of its patron or patrons. Host processions were often the site of social climbing, as individuals and groups jockeyed for positions closer to the monstrance, and thus higher in the social hierarchy. The monstrance thus performed many functions, and was subject to many possible interpretations by late gothic viewers.

With fewer than thirty architectural monstrances displayed in North American museums, Holland Cotter's fascination and puzzlement at the sight of the Basel monstrances are understandable. Outside of a limited number of European Catholic churches where they are still in use, most late gothic monstrances are displayed in museum vitrines, far removed from their original context and function. In their original context, however, these objects could provoke a profoundly emotional response. During her travels in Germany, the English mystic Margery Kempe "wept and cried amazingly bitterly," when she viewed the consecrated Host in a monstrance during the octave of Corpus Christi in 1433. Her response reflects an understanding of the Host as a manifestation of Christ's suffering and sacrifice that was prevalent beginning in the thirteenth century. The fourteenth century mystic Dorothea von Montau was able to determine, "with the eyes of her soul," whether or not a Host was consecrated. When she

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3 Most of these are reliquary monstrances from the Guelph Treasure, and can be found in the Cleveland Museum of Art, The Art Institute of Chicago, The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art in Kansas City, and the Museum of Fine Arts Houston. Host monstrances can be found in the Busch-Reisinger Museum at Harvard University, The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and the Malcove Collection in Toronto. Several museums, including the Wadsworth Atheneum in Hartford, CT, have monstrances in storage. 

encountered an unconsecrated Host being erroneously venerated in a monstrance, the Lord said
to her, "I am not present, this is only bread, not the Sacrament." ⁵ Unlike many modern viewers,
these women mystics had seen monstrances in use, and probably had some understanding of
their liturgical function. An uneducated woman by her own admission, Margery Kempe might
not have appreciated the finer points of symbolism or iconography. ⁶ In contrast, a learned
churchman such as Nicholas of Cusa, the well-traveled theologian, philosopher and
mathematician, certainly did. When he traveled through Germany as Papal Legate for Nicholas
V, he enacted church legislation prohibiting over-use of monstrances in order to preserve the
dignity of the Host. ⁷ Though the average medieval viewer would surely have been impressed by
the precious materials of a monstrance, its material value and the complex nature of its
construction were doubtless better understood by the goldsmith and patron. The reception of a
monstrance varied with the identity and experience of the viewer. My goal in this dissertation is
to reconstruct the original context of late gothic architectural monstrances produced in the
Rhineland between c. 1380 and 1480. I will thus examine these pieces in terms of the identity
and motivations of their patrons, their monetary and symbolic value, the circumstances of their
production, their liturgical and processional use and their reception.

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⁵ "…ego enim non sum ibi ut in sacramento, sed est panis solus non consecratus." Septililium B. Dorotheae
II:11, in Analecta Bollandiana 3 (1884): 132
⁶ Book of Margery Kempe, 1:52, 167.
⁷ On his legislation to prevent the over-visibility of the consecrated Host, see: Johannes Übinger,
"Kardinallegat Nikolaus Cusanus in Deutschland, 1451-52," Historisches Jahrbuch 8 (1887): 641; Peter Browe,
"Die Entstehung der Sakramentsandachten," Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft 7 (1927), in Browe, Die Eucharistie
im Mittelalter: Liturgiehistorische Forschungen in kulturwissenschaftlicher Absicht, ed. Hubertus Lutterbach and
Thomas Flammer, Vergessene Theologen 1 (Münster, Hamburg and London: LIT Verlag, 2003), 410-13; Browe,
"Die Entstehung der Sakramentsprozession," Bonner Zeitschrift für Theologie und Seelsorge 8 (1931), in Browe,
Eucharistie, 474. For brief summaries of Nicholas of Cusa's life and writings as well as analyses of his philosophy,
Peter L. McDermott, "Nicholas of Cusa: Continuity and Conciliation at the Council of Basel," Church History 67:2
(June 1998), 254-73. On his travels in Germany as papal legate, see: Erich Meuthen, "Das Itinerar der deutschen
Legationsreise des Nikolaus von Kues 1451/1452," in Papstgeschichte und Landesgeschichte: Festschrift für
Hermann Jakobs zum 65. Geburtstag, ed. Joachim Dahlhaus and Armin Kohne, (Cologne, Weimar and Vienna:
The monstrances in my study were produced in the Rhineland between c. 1380 and 1480. By the Rhineland, I am referring to an area primarily within the medieval Archdiocese of Cologne that follows the Rhine (and several of its tributaries) from the end of the Rheingau near Bingen in the south to the area around the modern border with the Netherlands in the north. The Rhineland thus encompasses much of what is now considered the Lower and Middle Rhine. The period between c. 1380 and 1480 saw the development and adoption of two standardized types, the tower monstrance and the disc monstrance, and ends just when individual artists begin to make monstrances with more distinctive forms and more expressive gothic tracery. Most of the monstrances surviving from the Rhineland were produced in or near Cologne, which, though always important in the history of medieval metalwork, was the foremost center of European goldsmithwork in the fifteenth century. The Rhineland was also characterized by a strong spirit of Eucharistic devotion. The feast of Corpus Christi first arose in local practice in the diocese of Liège, part of the Archdiocese of Cologne, and spread quickly throughout the entire archdiocese. Remarkably, most of the pieces still in the Rhineland remain in the churches for which they were produced. Unlike the late gothic monstrances in other areas of Europe, they were not destroyed during the Reformation or replaced by new sun monstrances during the Baroque period. A number of other notable pieces, like the 1414 Monstrance in Bonn and the \textit{Kölner Dommonstranz}, clearly originated in or near Cologne and remain in Rhineland collections. Rhenish monstrances can also be found in museums throughout Germany and in several other European and North American collections.

Although other scholars have addressed the stylistic developments of late gothic monstrances, the cost of a monstrance, the intricacies of the contract process, the motivations of monstrance patrons, the techniques employed by goldsmiths in monstrance construction, the role
of monstrances in the liturgy and processions and the ways in which monstrances were seen and understood in the late gothic period have received comparatively little attention. In this dissertation, I examine a select group of Rhenish monstrances from multiple points of view, using a synthesis of analytical techniques. I treat each piece as an illustration of the concepts discussed in the narrative text, and further present each one in detail in an appendix that follows the narrative text. A select bibliography is presented for each object in the appendix, as is any information that I have gathered about patrons, artists, contracts and liturgical use.

The five chapters each examine the monstrance from a different point of view. In Chapter 1, "Medieval Piety and the Development of the Monstrance," I trace the historical development of the late gothic need for visual contact with the holy, and the subsequent introduction of crystal vessels that allow such contact. I present the history of the Feast of Corpus Christi and examine the early experimental and later standardized forms of the monstrance. Chapter 2, "Commissioning the Monstrance," is concerned with the negotiations between the goldsmith and patron that led to a monstrance contract, and the terms that would be stipulated in such a document. I examine the goldsmith's rate of pay for the production of a monstrance, and compare this rate to that paid for other types of objects. I also investigate the monstrance design process and the possible motivations of monstrance patrons. In Chapter 3, "Making the Monstrance," the focus shifts to the goldsmith's shop and to his tools, assistants and techniques. My discussion of monstrance construction is based largely upon my own observations of the numerous monstrances that I have examined in European and American collections. I further address the restorations and repairs that took place over the centuries that a monstrance was in use. Chapter 4, "Using the Monstrance," is the largest chapter in this study. It begins with an examination of the nature of the Host wafer and then addresses the ways in which...
which the monstrance was used in the liturgy from the eve of Corpus Christi through the octave of the feast. Next, I investigate processions with the Host, beginning with the earliest known Corpus Christi procession, which took place at the church of St. Gereon in Cologne c. 1277. I examine Corpus Christi processions in terms of their routes, their vestments and equipment, and their personnel. I treat the Corpus Christi procession as both a reflection of and an influence upon the social hierarchy of the community in which it was held. My discussion of liturgical and processional material from numerous churches (including Cologne, Utrecht, Frankfurt, Mainz and Basel) synthesizes and compares rituals that have, prior to this study, been treated only separately. The chapter closes with a brief survey of Host processions outside of Corpus Christi and its octave in which the monstrance was used. Chapter 5, "Seeing the Monstrance," is a study of reception, how various late gothic viewers (like Margery Kempe, Nicholas of Cusa and others) might have seen and understood the monstrance. I examine descriptions of monstrances in inventories, liturgical books, chronicles and personal narratives, and selected images of monstrances in late gothic art. This chapter also addresses the tension between church officials, who attempted to limit the visibility of the consecrated Host, and the popular desire to see the Body or Christ in the monstrance. Before the concluding statements of the dissertation in Chapter 5, I examine the historical fate of the monstrance, and the ways in which it is seen today.

There is, unfortunately, no one monstrance for which we possess a complete history, a simultaneous knowledge of its conditions of manufacture, artist, patron, intended or documented use, and details of its reception by the public. Some pieces, like the exceptionally beautiful and well made *Kölner Dommonstranz*, a Cologne-made disc monstrance that was purchased on the art market in the nineteenth century and subsequently presented to Cologne cathedral, are entirely divorced from their original context. As I will demonstrate below, the questions
presented by the *Kölner Dommonstranz* are the basis for my study. In order to better present the possibilities, I am including a number of important works and documents from other areas of modern-day Germany, Austria, Switzerland and the Netherlands. In addition to monstrances and fragments, the materials examined in this study include records of payment and donation, goldsmiths' models, liturgical and processional documents, images of monstrances in paintings, manuscripts and woodcuts, and descriptions by chroniclers and travelers. With these I will present architectural monstrances in the Rhineland as they might have been seen and understood by their various audiences between c. 1380 and 1480.

**The Kölner Dommonstranz (Cologne Cathedral Monstrance)**

One of the finest examples of a Cologne-type disc monstrance, the *Kölner Dommonstranz*, now in the Cologne Cathedral treasury, has posed a fascinating puzzle to the historian of late gothic goldsmithwork. The unanswered questions regarding its commission, making, use and reception underlie and justify my approach in this study. One might assume, given the name and

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9 I wish to thank Leonie Becks and Rolf Lauer for giving me permission to study the late gothic monstrances in the Cologne Cathedral treasury, and Cordula Baumsteiger, the cathedral goldsmith, for her help and practical advice when I examined them in May, 2003.
exceptional richness and quality of this monstrance, that it was originally made for the cathedral of Cologne (Figure I.2). However, it did not appear in the cathedral treasury until March 1846, when the Cologne collector Therese Schaafhausen, nee de Maes, donated it to the cathedral. The donation was announced in Kölner Domblatt in May 1846, in an article that included letters between Ms. Schaafhausen and Archbishop Johann von Geissel. The nineteenth-century Latin inscription on the monstrance foot names the donor and the date of donation. Of its earlier provenance, we know only that Ms. Schaafhausen had purchased the monstrance from Johann Fontaine, a Cologne antique dealer. The Kölner Dommonstranz is effectively divorced from its original context, but its form, stylistic details and construction indicate that it was probably made in or near Cologne around 1400.

Since its donation to the Cathedral of Cologne in 1848, this remarkable monstrance has justifiably received a great deal of attention from art historians, including Franz Bock, Alexander Schnütgen, Fritz Witte, Lotte Perpeet-Frech, Johann Michael Fritz, Walter Schulten and Rolf Lauer. All have concluded, based upon its architecture, stippled decoration and cast figures, that the Kölner Dommonstranz is the product of an extremely talented Cologne goldsmith. The assignment of a date proved to be more problematic, because the figures on the monstrance were cast from models of differing styles. The six saints in the chapel at the base of the stem, for

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12 Perpeet-Frech includes the full name and address of the dealer in her 1957 article. Fontaine is identified as the monstrance seller in the 1846 article. "Kölner Dom"; Perpeet-Frech, "Sakramentsmonstranz," 92.
example, do not form a matched set. Saints Barbara and John the Evangelist are considerably taller than St. Christopher (Figures I.3 and I.4). Models for some of the figures on the *Kölner Dommonstranz* were used on a number of other pieces of goldsmithwork and over a considerable span of years. Thus Perpeet-Frech, in the most detailed investigation of this monstrance, erroneously assigned its date to c. 1440. Fritz, however, notes that the youngest models for the cast figures belong to the years around 1400, as does the style of the stippled decoration. The

![Figures I.3 and I.4. Cast figures of St. John the Evangelist (left) and St. Christopher (right) on the chapel at the top of the foot of the *Kölner Dommonstranz*. Photos: Rheinisches Bildarchiv.](image-url)

monstrance architecture and the complex outline of the foot also indicate a date of c. 1400. Fritz first published an article clarifying the date of the monstrance in 1963, and the authors of subsequent studies have accepted his conclusions. Of all these scholars, only Bock ventured to suggest the church for which this monstrance was made. He had misidentified one of the cast saint figures as Lawrence, and suggested that this piece was made for the parish church of St.

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Lawrence in Cologne.\textsuperscript{15} This piece was certainly made in Cologne for a wealthy donor or group of donors, but it is impossible to say that the church for which this monstrance was made was located in Cologne. Cologne was the place of origin of many high quality monstrances that are documented as having been made for places far away as Utrecht and Paris.

Unfortunately, since both the church for which the \textit{Kölner Dommonstranz} was made and the donor are unknown, it is impossible to reconstruct the context of this exceptional object. If the church could be identified, it might be possible to use documentary evidence to identify the patron or patrons, the artist, and even details about the contract process. In addition, the exact way in which the monstrance was used in the liturgy of Corpus Christi and the route of the Corpus Christi processions might be found. Period descriptions of the piece, if any existed, might reveal details of the reception of this monstrance in its own time. Like the \textit{Kölner Dommonstranz}, many late gothic monstrances, including most of the examples in North American museums, have been entirely divorced from their original context. For many others, we lack key pieces of information, such as a firm date of manufacture, the identity of their donor or goldsmith, and/or liturgical documents from their church. These are the circumstances that have prompted my study. Although there is no single monstrance about which all questions of context and reception can be answered, it is the goal of this study to identify and fully examine the most plausible answers. For example, though each of the extant monstrance contracts is different, they all adhere to a basic pattern. Workshop practices certainly differed from goldsmith to goldsmith, but many of their methods for constructing a monstrance were the same.

\textsuperscript{15} It is unclear from Bock's description which of the figures he considered to be St. Lawrence. He also identified one of the saints as Gereon, but the rest of his identifications (Christopher, Barbara, Catherine and Mary Magdalene) are correct. The figure of St. George, thrusting a spear into the dragon, seems impossible to identify as any other saint (except for another warrior saint). John the Evangelist, with his chalice and book, might be easier to confuse with another saint. Since neither figure wears a bishop's miter, it is unlikely that either could be St. Gereon. Similarly, neither one holds a grill, St. Lawrence's most customary attribute. Bock, \textit{Kunst- und Reliquienschatz}, 21-2.
And though liturgical use differed slightly from church to church, many points of the liturgy remained constant. The following chapters are arranged sequentially, beginning with the contract process and manufacture and continuing through to monstrance use and reception.

Ideally, the scholar of late gothic goldsmithwork should be able to use this study to postulate the context and reception of any late gothic architectural monstrance from the Rhineland.

**The State of Research**

**Monstrances in Art History**

The earliest significant study of monstrances, undertaken by Anton Joseph Binterim in 1833, consists of a survey of historical documents referring to monstrance development and use. He does not refer to any actual objects, however. Following the earliest major exhibitions of religious art, for example at Malines (1864), scholars began to examine a few notable late gothic monstrances in terms of their form and iconography. Corblet's article, "Des ostensoirs," part of a larger study of Eucharistic vessels and utensils, includes a brief examination of monstrance use and descriptions of a few notable examples that are widely separated by both geography and date. Important late nineteenth and early twentieth century exhibitions were soon followed by a number of articles on the late gothic works of art that had been displayed. The wide-ranging exhibition at Düsseldorf in 1902, which brought together works of art from churches, museums, and private collections, was particularly instrumental in increasing scholarly interest in late

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gothic monstrances. Although the catalogue provided only the barest information on each object, wealthy individuals were able to purchase a folio of high-quality photographs.19

In Alexander Schnütgen's journal, Zeitschrift für Christliche Kunst, the years after the Düsseldorf exhibition were marked by several articles describing individual late gothic monstrances in great detail, and the beginnings of systematic stylistic analysis leading to more secure assignments of date and regional origin.20 A canon of Cologne cathedral, Schnütgen was a dedicated collector of medieval church art, and devoted himself to "preserving, along with the objects themselves, some of the religious and generally traditional ethical values that were changing so quickly or worse, vanishing."21 In addition to establishing Zeitschrift für Christliche Kunst, Schnütgen organized exhibitions, opened his own collection to the public, and in 1906 donated it to the city of Cologne.22

Schnütgen's successor as director of the new museum was Fritz Witte, who produced a well-researched and lavishly illustrated catalogue of the liturgical vessels in 1913.23 He introduced the monstrances in the Schnütgen collection with a brief study of the development of the monstrance, with comparisons to earlier vessels like Eucharistic doves and pyxes, a discussion of the proper materials for the monstrance, the history of the feast of Corpus Christi, and finally a stylistic analysis of the monstrances in the museum.24 Witte's primary focus in this study is the creation of a stylistic framework that can be applied to the Schnütgen monstrances.

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19 I have only had access to the catalogue, and not to the photo collection. Few examples of the photographic folio appear to have survived. Kunsthistorische Ausstellung Düsseldorf 1902: Illustrirter Katalog, 2nd ed., (Düsseldorf: August Bagel, 1902).
20 For example, Alexander Schnütgen, "Hochgothisches Ciborium der Burgkapelle von Eltz (Nr. 876)," part 5 of a larger article, "Die kunsthistorische Ausstellung in Düsseldorf II," Zeitschrift für Christliche Kunst 15 (1902): 160.
24 Witte, Die liturgischen Geräte, 41-50.
Patronage, liturgical and processional use and reception thus receive little attention. Witte published his major five-volume work, *Tausend Jahre deutscher Kunst am Rhein*, in 1932. It represents a systematic attempt to trace the stylistic developments across artistic media over the centuries. The fifth volume, subtitled *Quellen zur rheinischen Kunstgeschichte*, is a collection of excerpts from archival documents for works of art in the Rhineland. Although extremely valuable, this archival research led Witte to match exemplary works of art (including several monstrances) with named artists and dated entries, often erroneously.

Beginning in the late nineteenth century, Paul Clemen edited a series of scholarly and well-illustrated inventories of architectural and artistic monuments in the Rhineland. Similar inventories were also undertaken in other regions of Germany. Such publications led to improvements to the dating of numerous late gothic monstrances, and, along with Witte's work, the identification of important workshops (like the one that produced the Ratingen and Gerresheim monstrances). Wider publication of archival material relating to late gothic art began in the 1930s, and led to a better understanding of goldsmithwork and the guild system. In 1947, Hans Reinhardt and André Rais dedicated a portion of an article to Georg Schongauer's monstrance in Porrentruy, and included a German translation of its contract. Rais published additional documents relating to the monstrance in 1962. Both articles explore the terms of the contract, particularly as they relate to design and payment, but the Rais and Reinhardt both

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neglect the liturgical use of the monstrance. Although valuable, these studies of Schongauer's monstrance in Porrentruy do not relate this object to any other pieces of goldsmithwork.

Lotte Perpeet-Frech published the only monograph dedicated to late gothic monstrances in 1964.\(^{30}\) Based upon her dissertation, it represents Perpeet-Frech's attempt to construct and apply a framework of stylistic development and workshop identification to Rhenish monstrances. Unfortunately the study relies too much on photographs (rather than first-hand examination of individual pieces), and Perpeet-Frech accepts Witte and Clemen's identification of workshops, artists and dates without critical analysis. Perpeet-Frech also provides a brief introduction to Corpus Christi and the early history of the monstrance as a liturgical vessel, but does not address the cost of a monstrance, the motivations of patrons, particulars of liturgical use or reception.

In the 1960s and 1970s Heinrich Kohlhaussen and Karl Bernd Heppe were among the other scholars to study the goldsmithwork of particular regions, again with contributions to workshop identification and stylistic development.\(^{31}\) Beginning in the 1960s, Johann Michael Fritz published several articles in an attempt to correct the errors, particularly in the assignment of dates and workshop identifications, found in earlier studies of late gothic goldsmithwork.\(^{32}\) Fritz's first-hand examination of individual objects forms the basis of much of his work. His efforts culminated in his monumental volume, *Goldschmiedekunst der Gotik in Mitteleuropa* in

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1982. In it, Fritz draws upon a great deal of earlier research in order to construct an overall image of goldsmiths and their work from the second half of the thirteenth century to the beginning of the sixteenth, using a lavishly illustrated catalogue of 949 objects and 42 supporting images. He begins with a survey of surviving objects and indicates the grievous losses, particularly of secular goldsmithwork, that have taken place over the centuries. He identifies the most common products of the goldsmiths, which sheds greater light upon the expense and artistic significance of surviving church plate. Fritz's broad survey includes brief discussions of patrons, liturgical use, guild and workshop practices, contracts and design. He identifies key centers for European goldsmithwork and details the particular features on pieces of goldsmithwork that can be used for a more reliable system of dating. Although Goldschmiedekunst der Gotik is a work of monumental importance, and should be used at the beginning of any investigation of gothic goldsmithwork, its great breadth is also its limitation. Because his approach in this volume is so all-encompassing, Fritz is unable to concentrate on any one object or category of objects in depth.

Since the publication of Fritz's monumental work, studies of late gothic monstrances have consisted primarily of short articles on individual pieces. One impressive example is Michael Reuter's detailed analysis of the Dorsten Monstrance from 2002, which concentrates particularly upon its iconographical program and a correct assignment of origin (Cologne or the Rhineland) and date (first quarter of the fifteenth century). Holger Guster has not yet completed his dissertation on the early experimental forms of Host monstrances throughout Europe. Ines

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33 Fritz, Goldschmiedekunst der Gotik.
Braun Balzer's dissertation, *Mikro-und Makroarchitektur: ein Vergleich am Niederrhein in der Zeit von 1394 bis 1521* (2005), examines architectural monstrances in terms of their design. Drawing upon the work of scholars like Francois Bucher and Peter Kurmann, Balzer links the design of monstrances to tabernacles and church towers in an identification of the late gothic artist as a well-educated design professional who is capable of working across the boundaries of individual media (e.g. architecture, sculpture and goldsmithwork). This is the most important study of monstrance design since Ingrid Weber's publications of the Tiefenbronn Monstrance and design drawings in Ulm in the 1960s and 1970s. Weber's primary concern in these articles is workshop identification and the transmission of design elements between shops.

**The Goldsmith's Wage**

Prior to this dissertation, no scholar has yet attempted to study the goldsmith's rate of pay in the late gothic period. Only Peter Cornelius Claussen, in his study of gothic shrines and workshop practice (1978), has so far attempted to analyze and compare the wages specified in multiple contracts. Although it is limited in its scope to only four large shrines, Claussen's study provides a valuable model for my analysis of the goldsmith's wage in Chapter 2, "Commissioning the Monstrance". In Chapter 2, I have examined contracts and payment records for monstrances and many other pieces of late gothic goldsmithwork in order to create a model of the goldsmith's variable rate of pay based upon the complexity of the objects that he (or she)

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produced. Monstrances were among the most complex of a goldsmith's products, and for these he (or she) received a substantially greater wage than for simple objects like rings and beakers. Although most of the documents that I have analyzed in this study have been published, their use by other scholars has been limited. The fact that these records originated in multiple centers of art production and refer to multiple systems of measurement and currency, means that they are generally used only to establish the date of an object or to list the products of a particular goldsmith. The widely scattered nature of these documents means that no comprehensive study of artist-patron relations and the goldsmith's wage, like those published by Michael Baxandall and Creighton Gilbert on Italian painting, have yet been published for late gothic goldsmithwork in Middle Europe. Reinhardt and Rais are among the few scholars to address the goldsmith's wage as it was recorded in a contract and subsequent payment records. They have calculated Georg Schongauer's rate of pay for the Porrentruy monstrance, but they have not related this wage to any other object. The business records of the Constance goldsmith Steffan Maignow are a potentially valuable source of information about the goldsmith's wage for simple, inexpensive pieces. They have been summarized in publication, but have yet to be fully

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43 See above, notes 28 and 29.
published.\textsuperscript{44} I have not yet had the opportunity to examine them. Unfortunately, Maignow's status as a producer of inexpensive goldsmithwork has done more to confuse the issue of the goldsmith's rate of pay than to improve scholarly understanding. Maignow's modest wage reflects the simplicity of his product and not, as some have concluded from these records, the prevailing wage of all goldsmiths.\textsuperscript{45} Therefore my explanation of the goldsmith's wage in the second chapter of this dissertation is intended to correct these assumptions and to present a more accurate model of the value placed on the artistic efforts of the goldsmith.

\textbf{Goldsmithing Techniques}

For the techniques of the medieval goldsmith, little has been published for the period between Theophilus and Cellini, with the notable exception of two excellent articles by Marian Campbell and Richard Newman.\textsuperscript{46} I was able to examine all of the monstrances that I have discussed in detail in this dissertation, and in some cases I was able to open and even partially dismantle them. I also had access to numerous monstrance fragments in the collection of the Museum Schnütgen in Cologne in May 2001 and during the academic year 2002-2003. Prior to my dissertation research, I studied the construction of thirteen monstrances and one fragment in


\textsuperscript{45} A number of my colleagues have stated, in conversation, that Maignow's low wage was typical for a late gothic goldsmith.

American museums for my master's thesis on monstrance construction.\(^{47}\) I have also had the opportunity to discuss certain pieces with Johann Michael Fritz and with the personnel of several museums and treasuries. They include: Marian Campbell at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, Ingeborg Krueger at the Rheinisches Landesmuseum in Bonn, Birgitta Falk at the Domschatz in Essen, Ralf Schürer at the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg, Dirk Jan Biemond at the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, Marie-Claire Berkemeier-Favre at the Historisches Museum, Basel, and Cordula Baumsteiger, master goldsmith at the Domschatz in Cologne. My discussion of goldsmithing techniques in Chapter 3, "Making the Monstrance," is therefore based primarily upon what I have learned from the monstrances and fragments that I have examined.

**Liturical and Processional Use**

Apart from brief general statements about its function as a container for display of the consecrated Host, most art historians have paid little attention to the liturgical use of the monstrance. One useful introduction to the subject in English, however, can be found in the catalogue *Eucharistic Vessels in the Middle Ages*.\(^{48}\) Unfortunately, since the scope of the exhibition was limited to objects in New England collections, it presents only a few monstrances, widely separated by origin and date. The pieces in the catalogue are all far removed from their original context, rendering it impossible to link them to churches, liturgical instructions or processional routes. In his handbook of liturgical vessels, Joseph Braun discusses the formal development and general iconography of the monstrance, and provides valuable early descriptions taken from archival material.\(^{49}\) Braun also lists, with examples from primary


\(^{49}\) Joseph Braun, *Das christliche Altargerät in seinem Sein und in seiner Entwicklung*, (Munich: Max Hueber Verlag, 1932), 348-411.
sources, the various terms that were applied to monstrances in the late gothic and early modern periods. However, the poor quality of his illustrations and the brevity with which the author deals with all examples in a given category (e.g. tower-like monstrances with a stem) render the work difficult to use when analyzing individual objects in detail. Braun also provides only the most basic indication of monstrance use. Peter Browe briefly examines the function and meaning of the monstrance as a container for the Host in his liturgical studies of the Eucharist. Like Braun, he also includes a discussion of terminology. However, Browe does not provide a detailed analysis of the form of the monstrance or the related practical issues of use (such as the ways in which the Host is accessed, the monstrance carried, etc.). His volume on the veneration of the Eucharist includes valuable descriptions of Host processions taken from primary source material, but these are not linked to surviving objects and the routes are never mapped out in detail.

Numerous studies have been published on the medieval and early modern liturgy of European churches, most of them utilizing the books of order (libri ordinarii) of individual churches. Many of them simply present a critical text of a liber ordinarius (or a portion thereof) with little commentary. Although the most detailed studies often include descriptions of altars and church furniture, they generally ignore the liturgical objects that were used in the ceremonies that these libri ordinarii describe. Thus Fritz Arens, in his critical study of the liturgy of the

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50 Browe's collected articles on the Eucharist have recently been published in a single volume (Eucharistie). Apart from this volume, his study of Eucharistic veneration is particularly valuable for the study of monstrance use, particularly chapter 4. Peter Browe, Die Verehrung der Eucharistie im Mittelalter, (Munich: Max Hueber Verlag, 1933); Browe, Eucharistie.

Münster in Essen, states that a covered pyx, and not a monstrance, was used in Corpus Christi celebrations in the late fourteenth century. His assertion is based upon the use of the word *pyxide* in the *liber ordinarius* written between 1370 and 1393. This term is also repeated in a fifteenth century copy of the Essen *liber ordinarius*. Essen, however, possesses a large Host monstrance from the mid-fourteenth century that pre-dates the *liber ordinarius*. Arens and subsequent scholars have ignored the presence of this object in the church and the fact that in the late gothic period, *pyxide, ciborium, vas* and *jocale* were among the various terms that could describe a monstrance.

A useful recent study of the Eucharist as an object of devotion is Miri Rubin's *Corpus Christi*. With its broad overview of the topic, from the earliest Eucharistic practices through the rituals associated with the feast of Corpus Christi, Rubin's study is a valuable and accessible English-language introduction to the topic. Rubin's work focuses primarily upon British rather than continental material. Although her examination of liturgical and processional practices is valuable, monstrances are discussed on only a few of Rubin's 361 pages, and are treated as simple functional containers.

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52 Fritz Arens, *Der Liber ordinarius der Essener Stiftskirche und seine Bedeutung für die Liturgie, Geschichte und Topographie des ehemaligen Stiftes Essen*, Beiträge zur Geschichte von Stadt und Stift Essen 21 (Essen: G.D. Baedeker, 1901), 32.


54 Essen, Damenstift, Liber Ordinarius, (c15th), Düsseldorf, Landesbibliothek, C47, fol. 50r. Although Arens and others have described this copy of the *liber ordinarius*, it has not been published.


Charles Zika has proposed a useful reading of miracle stories and late gothic miracle stories concerning the Host, as well as Host processions during Corpus Christi and other times of the liturgical year, as the means by which the church exerted its control over the Body of Christ, inserting the clergy between laypersons and "spiritual food." However, Zika's concluding characterization of the Host procession as a church-controlled expression of proper social and religious order seems to contradict his earlier acknowledgement of the multiple agendas, both secular and ecclesiastical, that could affect the character of a procession.

The most significant study to date of the Corpus Christi procession and its impact upon the social hierarchy of a community is Andrea Löther's *Prozessionen in spätmittelalterlichen Städten* (1999). Löther provides a brief but valuable survey of the middle European processions that have been published by other scholars, but concentrates primarily on Nuremberg and Erfurt. Like Gedeon, in his study of processions in Frankfurt, Löther provides maps of the Erfurt and Nuremberg processions that she discusses. The maps published by Löther and Gedeon are unusual: most studies of late gothic processions do not include maps. Although other scholars have discussed late gothic Corpus Christi processions in Cologne, I am the first to indicate their routes on a map. My analysis also incorporates descriptions and images of Host

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processions that have generally been treated only individually, as at Mainz and Frankfurt, or
published with little or no discussion.62 One particularly underutilized document that I examine
in Chapter 4 is the processional of the Oudmunster in Utrecht, published without commentary in
1934.63

Visual Piety

Johan Huizinga addresses the visual nature of late gothic visual piety in The Autumn of
the Middle Ages, but dismisses it a form of "the excesses of religious life" that overloaded
religious experience in the fifteenth century. Concentrating particularly upon the negative
reactions of theological reformers, Huizinga does not examine the forms of visual devotion in
detail.64 Virginia Reinburg offers a more positive interpretation of late gothic visual piety in an
article of 1992, "Liturgy and the Laity in Late Medieval and Reformation France."65 Anton L.
Mayer first introduced the concept of "the grace-giving glance" in 1938.66 In his article on the
subject, he attempted to trace the origins of medieval visual piety back to their most ancient roots
in folk superstition, and demonstrate the importance of the gaze in medieval religious
experience. G.J.C. Snoek explores a similar topic in his study, Medieval Piety from Relics to the
Eucharist: A Process of Mutual Interaction (1995), indicating that the popular desire to see the holy increased as access to relics and the Host were more limited.67

Two early studies that link the desire to gaze upon the consecrated Host and the development of the monstrance as a liturgical vessel are Édouard Dumoutet, Le désir de voir l'hostie et les origines de la dévotion au Saint-Sacrement (1926) and Michel Andrieu, “Aux origines du culte du Saint-Sacrement: reliquaires et monstrances eucharistiques,” (1950).68 Both studies provide valuable introductions to the topic of the monstrance as an object of display, but neither explores the patronage, manufacture or liturgical use of the monstrance in detail. Barbara Lane's studies of painted altarpieces with Eucharistic imagery have examined issues of the liturgical function of altarpieces in detail, and provide a valuable model for a study of liturgical vessels.69 She has been criticized, however, for her dedication to a sacramental reading for Northern Renaissance altarpieces to the exclusion of other possible interpretations. Two exhibitions at the Museum Schnütgen in the 1980s explored visual responses to the Host and to relics.70 The "relic culture" of medieval Europe, and especially of Cologne, has been well addressed in the work of Anton Legner, director of the Museum Schnütgen in Cologne between 1970 and 1990.71 His most recent volume, Kölner Heilige und Heiligtümer: Ein Jahrtausend europäischer Reliquienkultur, follows the itinerary of a late gothic pilgrim in Cologne, using

actual pilgrim guides and woodcuts of relic collections to narrate a tour of Cologne's most priceless and holy treasures. The showing of relics and their role in medieval visual piety have been a consistent theme in Legner's work from his earliest publications. Henk van Os, former director of the Rijksmuseum, organized an exhibition in 1994 entitled *The Art of Devotion*. In it, the largely visual nature of late gothic private devotion is well explored with lavish illustrations and a well-written text.

The most recent scholarship on medieval visual experience and visual piety has critiqued Mayer's magical interpretation of vision and the modern tendency to isolate visual experience from the other senses. Michael Camille and Cynthia Hahn have suggested new interpretations for vision in medieval experience in a volume edited by Robert S. Nelson (2000). A more recent volume (2006), edited by Jeffrey Hamburger and Anne-Marie Bouché, is entirely devoted to investigations of the relationships between art and theology, vision and imagination, and the role of images as vehicles for theological interpretation. The essays in this volume add new levels of complexity to the relationship between viewer and object that can enrich our reading of the monstrance as a work of art meant for display.

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Primary Source Material

The scholar of late gothic Germany is in a fortunate position: most of the archival material that concerns their work has either been previously published or described in detail in a published inventory. Archives in the Rhineland are particularly well documented. Unfortunately, large portions of the archives in Cologne and other areas of the Rhineland were lost during the Napoleonic Era. Thus no goldsmithwork contracts survive in Cologne, and only a few wills and payment records have been identified in the city and parish archives. The financial documents that I have analyzed in Chapter 2 are all published, with two exceptions. I have not yet been able to study the first, Steffan Maignow's accounts, but I received a photocopy and typescript of the second, the earliest surviving monstrance contract, from the parish archive of St. John the Baptist in Sambeek. Guild records for Cologne and several other major cities have been published, most with considerable commentary. There are many critical editions of liturgical books from Cologne and the Rhineland, and Andreas Odenthal recently published a critical edition of the *liber ordinarius* of the Collegiate Church of St. Gereon in Cologne. I was able,

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in the course of my studies, to limit my archival research to key documents like the *liber ordinarius* from Gerresheim that have not yet been published or described in detail.\(^{80}\)

The most important primary sources for my study are the objects themselves, the monstrances, fragments, goldsmiths' models, tabernacles, processional staffs, banners, candles, liturgical vestments and the embroidered stole that I encountered in the course of my research. I subjected each monstrance in my study to close scrutiny, handling them whenever possible. Only by holding and carrying a monstrance can one truly appreciate its weight, the effectiveness of a knob as a stable grip, and the role of the foot in balancing and stabilizing the monstrance. Similarly, one must open a monstrance in order to determine how well (or badly) it was designed to allow access to the Host. The magnifying effect of the rock crystal vessel is most apparent when a Host wafer or other object is placed in a monstrance. By closely inspecting the construction of each monstrance and fragment, and by partially dismantling a number of pieces, I was able to identify many of the techniques of the late gothic goldsmith. I was also able to determine whether or not certain objects that had been linked to the same workshop on the basis of photographs were truly made using the same molds. My observations also allowed me to identify certain other pieces of Cologne origin, and to link one of these with a workshop identified by Johann Michael Fritz.

My examination of the objects linked to monstrance use enriched my understanding of how monstrances might have been seen and understood in their own time. The late gothic

\(^{80}\) Johannes Knipping, *Liber ordinarius* (mid-fifteenth century). Düsseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Mss. C50. This is not the only unpublished *liber ordinarius* that I have examined, but it has proven by far the most useful. The other *libri ordinarii* that I studied did not present the rituals surrounding Corpus Christi and other uses of the monstrance in enough detail.
processional staffs in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum and Stadtmuseum in Munich, ceremonial candles in Andechs, and the elaborately embroidered stole worn by the monstrance bearer that survives in the Fritzlar treasury, helped me to better envision the vast undertaking that was a late gothic Host procession. Similarly, viewing the sixteenth and seventeenth century silk and painted linen guild banners that survive in Fritzlar allowed me to visualize their late gothic predecessors. The elaborate medieval liturgical textiles under discussion at the Görres-Gesellschaft symposium in Erfurt in 2002, and the pieces that I was able to view in other church and museum collections, gave me a better appreciation of the vestments and altar cloths that would have been used in conjunction with the monstrance. The wooden sacrament cupboards that survive in several churches and museum collections (for example in the Kestner Museum in Hannover) and the sacrament niches and freestanding stone tabernacles that can be found in many churches helped me to mentally reconstruct the conditions under which the monstrance might be visible outside of the feast of Corpus Christi. I consider my firsthand experiences of monstrances and other objects to be crucial to my reconstruction of the context of late gothic architectural monstrances in the Rhineland.

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CHAPTER 1.
MEDIEVAL VISUAL PIETY AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MONSTRANCE

Introduction

This chapter traces the early history of the monstrance as a vessel for the display of the consecrated Host. I begin with a brief discussion of medieval visual piety, particularly as it was focused upon relics and the consecrated Host, and the earliest development of crystal vessels that made their contents visible. The transparent nature of crystal, as well as the many symbolic interpretations that were applied to it, made it a particularly appropriate material for such containers. Next I present a brief history of the feast of Corpus Christi before examining the development of the monstrance as a new liturgical vessel in the late thirteenth century. Early monstrances were produced in a wide variety of forms, but by the end of the fourteenth century, when monstrance use was more widespread, and more monstrances were thus being produced, two standardized architectural types had emerged in Middle Europe. These were the tower and the disc monstrance. I describe the general characteristics of these monstrances and the connections between form and function before presenting the Cologne-type of both the tower and disc monstrance in detail. I conclude with a discussion of monstrance iconography, incorporating both the architectural framework of the monstrance as well as its figural decoration.

Visual Piety

A highly visual form of piety characterized the late gothic period. Anton Mayer has suggested that the desire to have visual contact with the remains of the saints and with the other mysteries of their faith fulfilled a innately human need to see mysterious or magical things for
oneself, and reflected a belief in the miraculous power of the act of seeing.\footnote{Anton L. Mayer, "Liturgie und Volkskunde, Liturgische Zeitschrift 4 (1932): 207-10; Mayer, "Die heilbringende Schau," 234-41.} More recently, scholars have criticized Mayer's concept of the "grace-giving glance" (heilbringende Schau) as overly magical.\footnote{See the detailed historiographical essay and critique of Mayer in: Thomas Lentes, "As far as the eye can see...": Rituals of Gazing in the Late Middle Ages," in The Mind's Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages, ed. Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Anne-Marie Bouché, (Princeton: University Press, 2006), 360-73.} When late gothic viewers subjected the sacred to a prolonged gaze, they enjoyed a multi-sensory experience. Vision was the vehicle by which one touched the holy with one's soul and tasted its sweetness.\footnote{See Lentes, "As far as the eye can see," 362; and Caroline Walker Bynum's discussion of spiritual communion in: Bynum, "Seeing and Seeing Beyond: The Mass of St. Gregory in the Fifteenth Century," in The Mind's Eye, 208-40, especially 213-15 and 227-33.} The urgency of the faithful to see was fueled by the increasing control that the Church exercised upon the holy in order to keep the mysteries of the faith free of superstition and heresy, and to protect relics and the consecrated Host from damage and misuse. Thus the practice of taking the Host, often a daily occurrence in the early church, was first limited to once a week in the early sixth century, and was later required only three times a year, at Christmas, Easter and Pentecost.\footnote{Peter Browe, "Die Pflichtkommunion der Laien im Mittelalter," Theologie und Glaube 20 (1928), in Browe, Eucharistie, 39.} As early as the seventh century, some masses in the East were celebrated with the priest's back to the congregation, and the transubstantiation, or conversion of the Host and wine into Christ's Body and blood, were thus obscured from view.\footnote{This occurred first in Syria, Greece and Egypt, then later in Palestine and Asia Minor when mass was celebrated at side altars that were placed against the wall of the church, thus allowing the priest no other position than with his back to the congregation. Medieval Piety, 42-44, 54.} Until the end of the twelfth century, when the practice of elevating the Host at the moment of consecration came into use, the only access that the laity had to the Host was when they took communion.\footnote{Browe, Verehrung, 28-31; V.L. Kennedy, "The Moment of Consecration and the Elevation of the Host," Medieval Studies 6 (1944): 121-150.} Similarly, relics were kept in closed containers, whether in the saints' graves, in altars or in reliquaries, and laypersons were strongly discouraged from having physical contact
with the relics. In 1215, in a decree that reflects centuries of compromise between the public desire for complete access and church limitations upon it, the Fourth Lateran Council ruled that the Eucharist should be kept under lock and key and that relics should not be venerated outside of their reliquaries. Visual contact, however, was not forbidden.

The initial C on a detached leaf from a late fourteenth century German missal in the Morgan Library in New York is filled with a scene of the Elevation of the Host in the mass for Corpus Christi (Figure 1.1). The word *ciabavit*, "he fed," begins with the initial (the word continues below), and the scene shows the spiritual nourishment that can be gained by visual contact with the Host, which is also displayed in a monstrance. The anonymous author of a *Summa*, written c. 1180, wrote that Christ instituted the Eucharist in part

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7 Reliquaries protected the relics from harm and misuse, and also housed the relics inside containers that were considered appropriate for them because of their precious materials. The faithful, however, desired the closest possible contact with relics, and sought to touch and kiss them when possible. See: Nicole Herrmann-Mascard, *Les reliques des Saints: Formation coutumière d'un droit*, (Paris: Éditions Klincksieck, 1975), 203-5; Renate Kroos, "Von Umgang mit Reliquien," *Ornamenta Ecclesiae: Kunst und Künstler der Romanik* 3, ed. Anton Legner (Cologne: Schnütgen-Museum, 1985), 25-6, 30-1; Snoek, *Medieval Piety*, especially 69-74; Arnold Angenendt, *Heilige und Reliquien: Die Geschichte ihres Kultes vom frühen Christentum bis zur Gegenwart*, (Munich: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1997), 158.


so "...that in this sacrament his entire self could be received and viewed by the faithful."\(^{10}\) The nature of the Host was explained by the Fourth Lateran Council as follows: "There is one true universal church of the faithful, outside of which no one can be saved, in which Jesus Christ himself is priest and sacrifice, whose body and blood are truly contained in the sacrament of the altar beneath the species of the bread and wine; the bread being transubstantiated into the body..."\(^{11}\) This miraculous transformation of bread into flesh took place at the moment of consecration, and the event was marked by the elevation of the Host, incense, and the pealing of bells. A view of the Host at the moment of elevation became the primary goal of late gothic Christians attending mass.\(^{12}\) They craned their necks and surged forward for a better view, and some of them even ran from church to church in order to witness as many elevations as possible.\(^{13}\) Others initiated lawsuits in order to obtain a better view of the altar, and thus the moment of consecration.\(^{14}\) Prolonged viewing and contemplation of the consecrated Host became a more common practice, and a new vessel, the monstrance, was soon developed to facilitate the pious gaze.

The term *monstrance* (Latin *monstrantia*) refers to a vessel that is used to hold and display the consecrated Host for veneration by the faithful, whether it is placed upon an altar or used in procession.\(^{15}\) The Latin words *ostensorium*, *tabernaculum* and *custodia* are all synonyms

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11 Concilium Laterensae IV, ch. 1, in Devlin, *Corpus Christi*, 2.
for monstrantia, as are other descriptions, including jocale, cristallus corporis Christi and reliquiarium in qua portatur corpus Christi.\textsuperscript{16} Ostensorium is the official church term for such a vessel, but this designation was not in use until the sixteenth century. In the late gothic period, monstrantia was the most common appellation.\textsuperscript{17} I will therefore use monstrance in this dissertation to refer to vessels meant to display the consecrated Host, and reliquary monstrance for reliquaries that similarly exhibit their contents.

Crystal reliquaries, which allowed clear visual access to their contents, can be documented as early as the ninth century. Charlemagne owned a rock crystal amulet containing a hair of the Virgin.\textsuperscript{18} The 867 Testament of Count Eberhard of Friuli mentions a \textit{“bustea cristallina cum reliquis,”} and a \textit{“phylacterium cristallinum”}.\textsuperscript{19} Despite earlier documentary evidence, the oldest extant reliquaries with crystal vessels date to the tenth and eleventh centuries. Their crystal vessels are small bottles of Near Eastern origin, most of which came from Fatimid Egypt. Decorated with incised leaves, animals, or geometric patterns, these crystal vials were originally intended for domestic use as bottles for perfume or other fluid substances.\textsuperscript{20} They came to the West as souvenirs from the Holy Land (acquired to hold sacred material like

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Braun, Altargerät, 349-52; Browe, Verehrung, 98-102; Benedetta Montevecchi and Sandra Vasco Rocca, Suppellettile ecclesiastica I.4: Dizionari terminologici, (Florence: Centro Di, 1988), 115.
\item Braun, Altargerät, 349-50.
\item Joseph Braun, Die Reliquiare des christlichen Kultes und ihre Entwicklung, (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder & Co., 1940), 100.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
water or soil from the holy sites), as gifts from eastern to western royalty, and through trade.\textsuperscript{21}

When they were donated to or purchased by the Church, the vessels were put to use as relic containers, a function befitting their preciousness and the clarity of their material. In some cases, as in a late-eleventh century reliquary cross from the church of St. Nikomedes in Steinfurt-Borghorst, the crystal vials were simply inserted into a larger object.\textsuperscript{22} Otherwise, they were made into small reliquaries with new mountings (generally a new lid and a stable base with a stem and foot). Often the vessels themselves were altered to accommodate their new ecclesiastical function, whether through re-carving the decorative surface or re-shaping the entire vessel.\textsuperscript{23}

The manufacture of crystal vessels was by no means confined to the East: there were major European crystal mining sites located in the Alps, with additional sites in the Pyrenees and other mountainous areas of France.\textsuperscript{24} Pliny mentions rock crystal mines in the European Alps in his Natural History, and a number of Antique crystal pieces can be found reused in European treasuries.\textsuperscript{25} Carolingian artists were certainly capable of cutting and engraving crystal, and in the twelfth century instructions for polishing, engraving, cutting, and drilling through rock crystal appeared in Theophilus' \textit{De diversis artibus}.\textsuperscript{26} Guild regulations for crystal workers appeared in Paris in 1259, in Venice in 1284 and in Prague in 1324. By 1292 there were

\textsuperscript{21} Shalem, \textit{Islam Christianized}, 37-8, 56.
\textsuperscript{22} \textit{Ornamenta Ecclesiae} 3, cat. H28; Exhibition catalogue \textit{Das Reich der Salier 1024-1125}, (Sigmaringen: Historisches Museum der Pfalz, Speyer, 1992), 279.
\textsuperscript{23} Shalem, \textit{Islam Christianized}, 132.
\textsuperscript{25} Pliny the Elder, \textit{Naturalis Historia} 37:9; Wentzel, "Bergkristall," 275, 282.
eighteen professional *cristalleurs* in Paris, and by the fifteenth century additional crystal-working guilds can be documented in Freiburg, Waldkirch and along the Saar and Nahe rivers.\(^{27}\)

The purity and clarity of rock crystal led to a number of allegorical interpretations for the material by medieval scholars. Nearly all interpretations of crystal drew heavily upon its physical nature as defined by Pliny. According to Pliny, rock crystal was a pure form of ice that had been transformed into rock. Medieval intellectuals Christianized Pliny's explanation of rock crystal and related it to Biblical accounts of crystal. In his *de Universo*, a ninth century encyclopedia based upon Isidore of Seville's Etymologies, Hrabanus Maurus explains that crystal can symbolize either the sacrament of baptism, in its relation to the "sea of glass, like crystal" in Revelation; heaven above the realm of angels, as described in Ezekiel; or the incarnation, in the way that crystal, like the body of Christ, is incorruptible.\(^{28}\) Ivo of Chartres, in his late eleventh century sermon for the Annunciation of the Virgin, compares the virginity of Mary to crystal, in the way that the light of the sun can penetrate crystal without breaking it.\(^{29}\) These allegorical interpretations were repeated and expanded in the works of later scholars as well as in popular literature, including German poetry of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.\(^{30}\) Poets like Heinrich von Krolwitz and Albrecht von Scharfenenberg wrote that large portions of the heavenly Jerusalem, God's palace in heaven and the temple of the Holy Grail were made of crystal.\(^{31}\)

William Durandus lists crystal among the appropriate materials in which to house the

\(^{29}\) Ivo of Chartres, *De ecclesiasticis sacramentis et officiis ac praecipius per annum festis sermones*, Sermo XV: *De Annuntiatione B. Mariae*, *Patrologia Latina* 162, col. 585c.
consecrated Host, and states that a container for the Host symbolizes the body of the Virgin.\textsuperscript{32} These associations with Heaven, Christ, and the Virgin, in addition to its preciousness and transparency, made rock crystal the ideal material to house the Body of Christ in a new liturgical vessel developed in the thirteenth century: the monstrance.

Monstrances are constructed with central crystal vessels that, according to a document from 1343, allow their contents "to be better protected…and to lead the people to greater and better devotion."\textsuperscript{33} The Host is held upright in a lunula, a semicircular or crescent-shaped holder that stands inside the central vessel of the monstrance (Figure 1.2). In contrast to monstrances, Eucharistic vessels like pyxes, ciboria and Eucharistic doves are closed containers in which the reserved Host is generally hidden from view.\textsuperscript{34} Some medieval pyxes and ciboria were made of crystal, but, unlike the monstrance, these vessels were designed for storage and not display.\textsuperscript{35}

The monstrance as a liturgical object developed as a result of the institution of the feast of Corpus Christi. This feast, first established when Urban IV published the bull \textit{Transiturus de hoc mundo} in 1264, was intended to celebrate the sacrificial, redeeming and miraculous nature of

\textsuperscript{32} Durandus quotes Psalms 132:8 as justification for this interpretation: \textit{Surge Domine in requiem tuam, tu et archa sanctificationis tue} (Arise, O Lord, and go to thy resting place, thou and the ark of thy might. RSV).


\textsuperscript{34} A useful English introduction to these objects can be found in: Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, "Pyxes and Ciboria," and Heidi Roehrig Kaufmann, "Eucharistic Doves," in \textit{Eucharistic Vessels}, 65-71 and 86-91. Browe provides a more detailed study in: Browe, \textit{Altargerät}, 280-345.

\textsuperscript{35} Some monstrances were, in fact, described as crystal pyxes or ciboria, as in the 1383 testament of Gerard Foec, a canon of the Oudmunster in Utrecht: "Donavit ecclesiae nostrae ciborium de cristallo, margaritas et argento…quod alio nomine Monstrantia vocari solet…" Louise E. van den Bergh-Hoogterp, \textit{Goud- en zilversmeden te Utrecht in de late middeleeuwen}, vol. 2, (The Hague: Gary Swartz/SDU Publishers, 1990), 495-6.
the consecrated Host. In the early thirteenth century, Blessed Juliana of Cornillon reported a vision of the moon with a small dark area on one side. After repeated visions, Juliana interpreted the moon as the Church, and the dark blemish as the lack of a feast honoring the Eucharist. Following about twenty years of visions, Juliana disclosed the nature of her visions and her desire to institute a new feast for the Host to a select group of theologians. One of them, John of Lausanne, Canon of Liège, then referred the issue to Jacques Pantaléon, Archbishop of Liège (later elected Pope Urban IV in 1261). Juliana and others prevailed upon Bishop Robert of Liège to institute a new feast dedicated to the Sacrament in his diocese in 1246. In 1251 Hugh of Saint-Cher, cardinal legate of Innocent IV, imposed celebration of the feast in Germany, Dacia, Bohemia, Moravia and Poland. On August 11, 1264, six years after Juliana’s death, Pope Urban IV established the Feast of Corpus Christi throughout the church. According to tradition, the pope commissioned Thomas Aquinas to compose the mass and office for Corpus Christi.

Urban IV died shortly after establishing Corpus Christi, and only a few of the multiple copies of

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Transiturus, each probably accompanied by a small liturgical booklet, were sent out. Consequently, the new feast was not ratified and published until 1317 under John XXII.\(^40\)

The earliest statutes and offices for the feast of Corpus Christi simply mention that the consecrated Host should be honored with readings and hymns.\(^41\) Exposition of and processions with the Host did not follow until later. The earliest known Corpus Christi procession was held at the church of St. Gereon in Cologne before 1277.\(^42\) It is not surprising that Cologne should be the site of the first Corpus Christi procession: Theodor Schnitzler has portrayed medieval Cologne as a city with Eucharistic veneration in the air.\(^43\) There were three miraculous Hosts in the city and five more in the surrounding countryside. One of these was at the parish church of St. Christopher's, beside St. Gereon's. Another was kept at the parish church of St. Alban near the Roman Mars Gate, and the third belonged to the parish church of St. Kolumba (Figure 1.3).\(^44\)

The Beguines, lay sisters who were especially devoted to the body of Christ, flocked to these miraculous Hosts. Thus the greatest concentration of Beguine houses in late gothic Cologne

\(^{40}\) Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 177, 181-2.
\(^{42}\) The document describing the institution of Corpus Christi and the procession at St. Gereon was first published, with commentary, by Richard Stapper and later included in Peter Browe's collection of texts relating to Corpus Christi. Richard Stapper, "Der alte Gereonsaltar und die früheste Form der Fronleichnamsfeier in Köln," in *Annalen des historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein insbesondere die alte Erzdiözese Köln* 106 (1922): 130-141; Browe, *Textus antiqui*, 44-46. Several early processions occurred within the diocese of Liege, for example at Maastricht (before 1328 and Aachen (1334). Other early Corpus Christi processions in Germany are recorded at Hildesheim (1301), Quedlinburg (1317), Worms (1325), Warburg (1331) and Neuss (1336). The earliest Swiss procession occurred at Winterthur in 1344. The records of the synods in Sens (1320) and Paris (1323) indicate that Corpus Christi processions were already established in those cities, and early processions are also documented in Tournai (1323) and Chartres (1330). In Spain, Corpus Christi processions are first documented in Vique (1330) and in Valencia (1335). Mansi records an early procession at Sta. Maria Novella in Florence (1295), but Browe indicates that the earliest Italian procession occurred in Milan (1336), followed much later by Rome (1378). J.D. Mansi, ed., *Sacrorum Conciliorum Collectio* 26 (Florence: A. Zatta, 1759-1798), col. 53. For the spread of Corpus Christi processions throughout Europe, see: Browe, *Verehrung*, 94-8; Browe, "Sakramentsprozession," in Browe, *Eucharistie*, 468-74.

\(^{43}\) "So liegt denn die Eucharistieverehrung im Stiftsgebiet von St. Gereon so sehr in der Luft, daß sich darin die Fronleichnamsprozession, die Frömmigkeit des Volkes und das mit der Devotio moderna und Thomas von Kempen eng verbundene Fronleichnamskloster entwickeln." Though Schnitzler is describing one particular quarter of Cologne in this passage, he also calls attention to the importance of Eucharistic veneration throughout the city and its surrounding countryside in his article. Schnitzler, "Liturgiegeschichte," 676-77.

could be found near the churches of St. Christopher and St. Kolumba.\textsuperscript{45} Juliana of Cornillon, whose visions of the Host led to the establishment of Corpus Christi, was a Beguine, and she led a group of these holy women on a pilgrimage to Cologne around 1240.\textsuperscript{46} By 1326, nearly every church in Cologne had its own procession either on Corpus Christi or during its octave.\textsuperscript{47}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{cologne_map.png}
\caption{Map of Cologne showing the locations of the cathedral, St. Gereon, and churches with miraculous Hosts. Graphic illustration: author.}
\end{figure}

In the 1277 procession, following the earlier custom of not exposing the consecrated Host except at the moment of elevation, the monks of St. Gereon carried the Host in a closed pyx.


\textsuperscript{47} Peter Joerres, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Einführung des Fronleichnamsfestes im Nordwesten des alten Deutschen Reiches," \textit{Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte} 16 (1902): 175; Browe, \textit{Verehrung}, 106
Although this reluctance to show the Host uncovered persisted in a number of churches throughout the thirteenth and into the fourteenth centuries, the earliest known monstrance can be securely dated to 1286 (Figure 1.4). It was donated by Abbess Adelheid of Diest to her Cistercian Abbey at Herkenrode, northwest of Liège. This silver-gilt monstrance bears the mark of the royal gold and silver workshops of Paris as well as an inscription naming its patron and date of donation. It is constructed in the shape of a six-sided gothic chapel standing upon a stem with a carrying knob and foot and crowned by a crucifix flanked by the Virgin and St. John the Evangelist. The six sides of the central chapel-shaped vessel are glazed with windows of rock crystal, allowing visual access to the Host. Braun classifies this object as a reliquary rather than a monstrance, since it is known to have held a miraculous bleeding Host. However, the abbey did not acquire the bleeding Host until 1317. Furthermore, the monstrance contains two lunulae,

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48 A pyx was used in processions in Hildesheim (1301), and Braun records their use at Gerona (1320) and Barcelona (1322). The Host was hidden inside a chalice in processions at the Church of St. Martial in Limoges as late as 1470. Braun, Altargerät, 355; Browe, Verehrung, 98.

49 The inscription reads: Anno domini M' cc' lxxvi' vi' fecit istud vas fieri domina Heilwigis de Dist priorissa in herkenrode commemoratio in perpetuum cum fidelibus habeatur. Robert Didier translates Heilwigis as Adelheid, but does not include the inscription in his catalogue entry. Weale, Instrumenta ecclesiastica, cat. 26; E. Maffei, La réservation eucharistique jusqu'à la Renaissance, (Brussels: Vromant, 1942), 129, fig. 49; Andrieu, "Reliquaires et monstrances," 403; Robert Didier, catalogue entry in: Schatz aus den Trümmern: Der Silberschrein von Nivelles und die europäische Hochgotik, (Cologne: Verlag Locher, 1995), no. 27; R.H. Marijnissen, "De monstrans van Herkenrode," Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en schone Kunsten van Belgie, Klasse der schone Kunsten 56, 1 (1996), 81-6.

50 Braun, Altargerät, 356.

most likely indicating that one lunula held the miraculous Host relic and the other was used for the consecrated Host.52

The earliest monstrances did not adhere to a particular type: their forms were varied and experimental, having only their function and a central crystal vessel in common. Among the early descriptions of such objects are a cristallus corporis Christi in Zurich (1333), a pyxide cristallina in Trier (1340), and a ciborium de crystallo in Utrecht (1383).53 Many of these pieces were simply adaptations of other types of church objects. Either an object with a different function was altered to become a monstrance, or existing forms were adapted to make new monstrances.54 The Herkenrode Monstrance, for example, combines two thirteenth century reliquary forms: a small architectural shrine with glazed windows and an early reliquary monstrance with a vertical crystal vessel on a stem and foot.55 Reliquary monstrances with horizontal crystal cylinders supported either by four legs or by a stem with knob and foot, were also adapted to become Host monstrances. This form was used particularly in France during the recognizable image of the Herkenrode monstrance being used to carry the miraculous Host in procession. Judith H. Oliver, "The Herkenrode Indulgence, Avignon, and Pre-Eyckian Painting of the Mid-Fourteenth-Century Low Countries," in: Flanders in a European Perspective: Manuscript Illumination around 1400 in Flanders and Abroad, Proceedings of the International Colloquium Leuven, 7-10 September 1993, ed. Maurits Smeyers and Bert Cardon, (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 1995), 187-204.


55 For an early example of a glazed reliquary shrine, see the Shrine of St. Simon in Bensdorf-Sayn, made in Trier around 1220-30. Hahnloser and Brugger-Koch, Corpus der Hartsteinschliffe, no. 31, plate 34; Exhibition Catalogue Schatzkunst Trier, (Trier: Spee-Verlag, 1984), no. 76. Early thirteenth century reliquary monstrances with vertical cylinders can be found in many locations, including the Pierpont Morgan Museum, New York (c. 1210-30). Hahnloser and Brugger-Koch, Hartsteinschliffe, cat. 240, colorplate XVII.
fourteenth century. An early fourteenth century monstrance at Fritzlar was made in the form of a crystal pyx (Figure 1.5). Its lunula, which is original to the piece, is proof that it was intended to be a monstrance (Figure 1.6). After the same church received a donation of a new, larger monstrance in a testament of 1473, the lunula was removed and this pyx monstrance was used as a reliquary. The Eucharistic inscription on its foot (Figure 1.7), which refers to the Lamb of God, prompted Johann Michael Fritz to identify the original lunula and recognize this important early monstrance. Similar pyx monstrances can also be found in Paderborn and Münster.

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Early monstrances were generally quite small. The Herkenrode Monstrance, for example, stands 44.5 cm high, and the Fritzlar Pyx Monstrance just 35 cm. Monstrances of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were much taller, from 60 cm to more than a meter in height. The 1418 inventory of the Mainz Cathedral treasury includes two entries that exemplify this shift from smaller to larger monstrances. The first entry describes the "new silver gilt monstrance, in which the Host is carried," and the second the "old monstrance, in which the Host was formerly carried." The new monstrance contained nearly double the silver of its predecessor, and must have been correspondingly larger. Similar cases can be found in Cologne, Utrecht, Fritzlar and other communities. As the celebration of Corpus Christi became more widespread and increasingly complex between the late fourteenth and the end of the fifteenth century, nearly every church in Europe acquired a new, large Host monstrance. Larger monstrances allowed the Host to be more visible in the elaborate processions and static displays of the Host that occurred during the octave of Corpus Christi. In Middle Europe, an area roughly comprising present day Germany and large portions of its immediate neighbors, we see the development of two new monstrance forms at the end of the fourteenth century. These new forms, the tower monstrance

59 For Paderborn, see Fritz, Goldschmiedekunst der Gotik, no. 421; for Münster, see Géza Jászai, Der Dom zu Münster und seine Kunstschätze, (Münster: Dialogverlag, 2000), 83.
and the disc monstrance, became the standard types used in Middle Europe until the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.\textsuperscript{61}

Between approximately 1400 and 1450, these established architectural monstrance forms persisted with only minor stylistic changes. Monstrances produced between 1450 and 1480, though generally adhering to the earlier types, exhibit a growing tendency towards more slender forms with spiky crockets and pinnacles.

\textsuperscript{61} Other monstrance types developed in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century, including the cross monstrance, the non-architectural disc monstrance and the ciborium monstrance, but we possess only a few examples of these different forms. They did not enjoy the popularity of the architectural tower and disc monstrances, which became the standard types. Braun describes a wide range of monstrance types in his study, but the more limited number of classifications given by Perpeet-Frech has enjoyed wider use by art historians. Braun, \textit{Altargerät}, 366-379; Perpeet-Frech, \textit{Monstranzen}, 21-28.
that emphasize their height (Figure 1.8). After 1480, the standard forms were generally abandoned in favor of new types, in which, reflecting the developments in late-fifteenth century architectural design, the architectural members on the monstrance become increasingly intricate and expressive (Figure 1.9). This dissertation addresses the more standardized architectural disc and tower monstrances produced in Cologne and the surrounding Rhineland between c. 1380 and c. 1480.

**Disc Monstrances and Tower Monstrances**

Unlike their experimental predecessors, tower and disc monstrances were designed specifically for the display of the consecrated Host (Figures 1.10 and 1.11). In both types, the central crystal vessel for the Host is surrounded by an elaborate buttressed gothic structure with a spire. The vessel and architectural framework rest upon a chalice-like base with a stem, carrying knob and foot. The primary difference lies in the form and placement of the crystal vessel. A vertically aligned crystal cylinder or beaker characterizes a tower monstrance, whereas a disc monstrance contains a narrow horizontal cylinder of crystal or metal with crystal discs at the front and back. In both cases, metal bands hold the crystal in place. The form of the crystal vessel determines the means of access to the Host. On a tower monstrance, the spire is removed to allow access to the crystal vessel from above. In most tower monstrances, the lunula is equipped with a long handle that allows it to be easily removed from the crystal vessel. This helps to prevent damage to the Host when it is inserted or removed from the monstrance. Disc monstrances generally have hinges on the metal framework enclosing at least one of the two crystal discs, and this disc opens like a door. In some cases, the lunula can be removed for easier access.
Figure 1.10. Solingen-Gräfrath
Monstrance, Cologne, c. 1400 (foot restored by Leonhard Schwann, Cologne, c. 1850-60), silver gilt, rock crystal and enamel, h: 69.4cm, Gräfrath, Deutsches Klingemuseum (on loan from the Kirchengemeinde St. Mariä Himmelfahrt). Photo: author.

Figure 1.11. Monstrance from the former Premonstratensian Abbey Church in Steinfeld, Cologne, c. 1430, silver gilt and rock crystal. Photo: Rheinisches Bildarchiv.
A disc monstrance offers more convenient, less complicated access to the Host, but from the number of surviving pieces, it is clear that tower monstrances were considerably more popular. Although no late gothic documents explain the greater popularity of tower monstrances, two practical considerations might offer an explanation. First, with their larger crystal vessels, tower monstrances allowed more light to illuminate the Host, and second, the vertical central vessel allowed the populace to see the Host from multiple angles instead of just the front and back as in the case of a disc monstrance.

The stem, knob and foot are important to the function of both tower and disc monstrances, allowing the monstrance to be easily carried in procession and placed upon the altar for display of the Host. The base of the crystal vessel, which has the shape of a truncated chalice, has a practical function (supporting the vessel) and, in my opinion, might also symbolically refer to a chalice and the blood of Christ. The intricate architectural framework surrounding the central crystal vessel has little utilitarian value except to help balance the weight of the monstrance when it is carried. Its function is more symbolic. On both tower and disc monstrances, the architectural elements consist of two pier buttresses that flank the central vessel and are attached with flyers to the base of an elaborate spire. The arrangement resembles a section of a gothic cathedral, and can be interpreted as a small church. A small number of tower monstrances have three, four or six pier buttresses instead of the usual two. These can be interpreted as gothic towers or central-plan churches in miniature.

**Cologne-Type Monstrances**

Tower and disc monstrances likely first developed in Cologne, one of the most significant goldsmithing centers of late gothic Europe. Cologne was the site of the earliest known Corpus
Christi procession, held by the monks of St. Gereon in 1277. The archdiocese of Cologne, one of the earliest to adopt Corpus Christi celebrations, covered an enormous geographic area and saw a steady stream of visiting churchmen. So many monstrances were made in Cologne workshops that there is an identifiable Cologne type for both tower and disc monstrances, which emerged around 1400 and was widespread by 1425 (Figures 1.9 and 1.10). Examples can be found spread throughout the Lower and Middle Rhineland. In a number of cases, goldsmiths of other cities consciously adopted Cologne types, as in the case of Johann Marpurg of Frankfurt, whose Koblenz-Moselweiß Monstrance (1469) clearly adheres to the Cologne type (Figure 1.8).

Both Cologne monstrance types are generally supported by a six-sided foot that rises to a hexagonal stem. The sides of the foot are usually lobed, although more complex shapes are not unusual. At the top of the foot is a six-sided chapel that is often decorated with figures or elaborate tracery. The knob is generally shaped like an elaborate cushion, sometimes with circular projections corresponding to each side of the stem.

Cologne tower and disc monstrances have two buttresses flanking the central crystal vessel. These main buttresses are the largest of a series of pinnacled flying buttresses that can be found throughout the upper part of the monstrance. In some cases, cast flying buttresses or narrow strip buttresses decorate the chapel-like structure at the top of the foot. Tiny cast gargoyles are generally placed at the end of each flyer. The base of each of the main flanking buttresses ends in a spiral, often with a daisy-like flower at the center. Additional flowers are used to decorate the bands enclosing the crystal, either on the circumference of the flat discs on a disc monstrance or the upper and lower rims of the cylinder on a tower monstrance. The flowers

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62 The document describing the institution of Corpus Christi and the procession at St. Gereon was first published, with commentary, by Richard Stapper and later included in Peter Browe’s collection of texts relating to Corpus Christi. Richard Stapper, "Gereonsaltar," 130-141; Browe, Textus antiqui, 44-46.
63 The Cologne type is defined by Perpeet-Frech in: Perpeet-Frech, Monstranzen, 26-7, 33-42.
have five or six cut petals that are usually given a concave shape. Many Cologne-type monstrances also have flowers decorating the knob. In more expensive monstrances, the flowers are decorated with translucent enamel. Tower monstrances of the Cologne type have a dome-shaped base to their spire that sits atop the crystal vessel and provides a support for the structure of the spire. This dome is usually ornamented with additional cut flowers. The buttresses and spires of Cologne-type monstrances are generally quite open, with many areas that can house tiny cast figures. Most Cologne monstrances have a canopied chapel at the center of the spire that houses a large figure either of the Madonna or the patron saint of the church for which it was made. The monstrances that figure most prominently in my study were all made in or near Cologne, and most of them adhere to the Cologne type.

**Symbolic Architecture**

I have stated above that the architectural framework of a monstrance could be read as a miniature gothic cathedral. That the church was considered the appropriate setting for the consecrated Host is demonstrated by a miracle story recorded first by Peter the Venerable of Cluny (d. 1156) and later retold by Stephen of Bourbon, Caesarius of Heisterbach and others.64 A farmer stole the consecrated Host and placed it in a beehive in order either to attract more bees, to increase honey production, or to cure a plague among the insects (depending on the version). The bees, recognizing the Body of Christ, built a miniature church, entirely of beeswax, and placed the Host on a tiny wax altar inside. The farmer, observing this, was afraid and confessed to a priest. The priest arrived and took the miraculous Host and its elaborate wax

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container back to his church where it was placed upon the high altar for veneration by the populace. In later versions of the miracle story, the wax chapel is described as a tiny architectural monstrance or tabernacle. The miracle in the beehive demonstrates the medieval notion that the proper setting for the consecrated Host is an architectural one, and that even common insects could recognize that fact.

The architectural form of the monstrance, with its resemblance to a tiny gothic cathedral, could be interpreted in a number of ways. For example, it might symbolize the Heavenly Jerusalem or, with the centralized plan of the spire, the Holy Sepulchre. It could also be seen as a miniature church, as in the following description from the inventory of the collection of Charles V: "a reliquary of gold in the shape of a nave, for carrying the Body of our Lord, which is held by two angels." The display of the consecrated Host inside a miniature church of precious metal might have been intended to emphasize church control over the Eucharist.

Charles Zika has explored popular piety and superstitions concerning the Host in late gothic Germany, and church attempts to control access to and interpretations of the Host. Zika argues that the Host was controlled by the church, with priests acting as mediators between the populace.

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65 This summary is based upon the translation from Stephen of Bourbon in Dana Carleton Munro, ed., Medieval Sermon Stories, rev. ed. of Medieval Sermon Stories of the XIII Century, (Philadelphia: Department of History, University of Pennsylvania, 1901), 29-30. Other versions of the tale can be found in Kretzenbacher.


67 Ung reliquiaire d'or en façon d'une nef, à porter le corps Nostre Seigneur, que deux angelotz soustinent; et poise neuf marcs septe onces d'or." Jules Labarte, Inventaire du mobilier de Charles V, Roi de France, (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1879), 46, no. 171.
and the Body of Christ. The sight of a church-like monstrance in the hands of a priest would have emphasized the integral role of the clergy in the reception of the Eucharist.

**Iconography**

Many monstrances have an iconographical program that encompasses both their architectural and figural decoration. The early fifteenth century Dorsten Monstrance, for example, illustrates the earthly and heavenly hierarchy (Figure 1.12). Four tiny crenellated towers, resembling city watchtowers, support the foot at the corners. Each tower houses a tiny beast with a long snout. Between the towers are enthroned figures that, though dressed like men, resemble apes (Figure 1.13). The foot of the monstrance is clearly the earthly realm. At the base of the stem, a buttressed, four-sided construction with turrets contains representations of the Man of Sorrows at the front of the monstrance and the Madonna and Child at the rear. These are reminders of Christ's incarnation, suffering and sacrifice on earth. Above this level, the figural and architectural decoration progresses towards the heavenly. Thus saints and apostles decorate

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68 Zika, "Hosts, Processions and Pilgrimages," esp. 27-35 and 63-4.
the knob, flanking buttresses and lower portions of the spire. These same areas are richly
decorated with gothic flyers, pointed arches and tracery. The upper spire contains reminders of
Christ's incarnation and sacrifice: the Madonna and Child stand in the vaulted spire chapel, and
the spire is crowned with a crucifix.69

Cast figures are found on almost every architectural monstrance, occupying niches,
arcades and chapels throughout the architecture. References to Christ's birth, suffering and
death, as seen in figures of the Madonna and Child, the Three Magi, John the Baptist, the Man of

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69 This monstrance was published by Fritz Witte in 1910, and subsequently ignored by art historians for
nearly a century. Witte provides a complete description and stylistic analysis but does not address the complex
iconographical program of this monstrance. This task was undertaken by Michael Reuter in his very complete study
Sorrows and angels with instruments of the passion, are especially common in figural programs. Saints are frequently represented, particularly the patron saints of the church for which the monstrance was made. The Dorsten Monstrance, for example, is decorated with figures of John the Baptist (on the base of the right flanking buttress, next to an angel with the lance and three nails), the original patron saint of the church, and St. Agatha (on the rear of the left buttress), who was added as a patron in the fourteenth century (Figure 1.1). St. Peter, who represents the archdiocese of Cologne, is also prominently displayed (on the rear of the right buttress). Cast figures sometimes refer to the donor of a monstrance. On the Dorsten Monstrance, St. Nicholas is enthroned in the chapel of the spire. His presence might indicate that the boatmen's guild, of which St. Nicholas was the patron,

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70 Reuter, "Turmmonstranz," 94.
donated the monstrance. Similarly, five prominently placed saint figures on the spire of the Ratingen Monstrance symbolically refer to the biography of its donor, the priest Bruno Meens (Figures 2.12, 2.14 and 4.4). Each one represents an institution tied to an event in Meens’ life, including the church where he was ordained, his parish church at Ratingen, and another church where he donated an expensive statuette of the Virgin.

Conclusion

Monstrances were developed in response to the need to see the consecrated Host as well as the increasingly visual nature of Corpus Christi celebrations beginning in the late thirteenth century. Because they were intended to display the Host on the altar and in processions, and because it was necessary to have convenient access to the Host, monstrances were designed with stems, feet and carrying knobs supporting a crystal vessel that could be easily opened. These functional concerns were combined with complex iconographical programs in the architectural monstrances produced throughout Middle Europe. So many pieces originated in Cologne that an easily identifiable “Cologne-type” emerged in the late fourteenth century and persisted through the fifteenth. The complex negotiations between the goldsmith and the patron or patrons, the goldsmith’s rate of pay, and the possible motivations of monstrance patrons will be addressed in Chapter 2, “Commissioning the Monstrance.”

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71 Reuter, "Turmmonstranz," 95.
72 For a list of the figures on the Ratingen monstrance, see Perpeet-Frech, Monstranzen, cat. 135.
CHAPTER 2.
COMMISSIONING THE MONSTRANCE

Introduction

This chapter presents the circumstances surrounding the commission of a Host monstrance, beginning with the terminology used in contracts, payment records and other financial documents associated with such a commission. I draw a clear distinction between the value of a monstrance as it is reported in an inventory and the value of the monstrance when it was commissioned. For this earlier value was based upon both the cost of the raw materials and the goldsmith’s wage. Inventories, on the other hand, present only the value of the raw materials in an object. In order to determine the goldsmith’s rate of pay, I examine financial documents for monstrances and other types of goldsmithwork and compare the reported costs of materials and labor. Using this data, I present a model of the variable rates paid to goldsmiths in the fifteenth century that is based upon the value of the raw materials and the complexity of the end product. Next, I examine the nature of a commission and the documents related to it, identifying the general features of each one. Following a discussion of the design drawings and models that were sometimes stipulated in a contract, I address questions of monstrance patronage. These include the identity of the patron or patrons and their possible motivations.

Commissions

A commission is the result of negotiations between a patron and artist for the production of a work of art. In the case of a monstrance, these negotiations usually involved questions of material, size, architectural design and iconographic program as well as the goldsmith's rate of pay. The particulars that were settled between the goldsmith and his patron are presented in greatest detail in a monstrance contract. Unfortunately, only five monstrance contracts survive
from the fifteenth century. This apparent paucity of material is supplemented by many other
documents concerning monstrances, including testaments, account books, design drawings and
inventories. Documents relating to other types of goldsmithwork are also valuable: they can
clarify our understanding of commissions in general and thus shed more light upon the
particulars of a monstrance commission.

Problems and Terminology

Before engaging in a study of commissions, it is important to identify the problems
inherent in the sources and to work within their limitations. Few documents are written in clear
Latin: more often they contain a confusing mix of Latin and a regional dialect of late gothic
German, French or Dutch. Object descriptions are often short and cryptic, and can contain
unfamiliar terms for objects, currency and mass. Though one might assume that the mark or
marc, a unit of mass, was consistent from one late gothic city to another, economic historians
have identified distinct regional variations in the mass of the mark. Currencies also varied from

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1 The earliest known monstrance contract, between Willem van Moudick and representatives of the parish
curch of St. John in Sambeek (1438), is not published. The archives of the Parish of Sint Jan de Doper, Sambeek,
sent a typescript and a photocopy of this contract to me. Information about the contract can be found in: Beelden uit
Brannt: Latgotiche kunst uit het oude hertogdom, 1400-1520, exhibition catalogue (s'Hertogenbosch:
Hans Rutenzwig and the parish church of Porrentruy (1477) is summarized in: J. Trouillat, Monuments de l'histoire
de l'ancien Évche de Bâle V (1867): no. 179, p. 522. The contract between Georg Seld and the church of Ss. Ulrich
and Afra in Augsburg (1486) for a monstrance that alternately held relics or the Host can be found in: Ingrid S.
published twice: in 1946 with a German translation (by Hans Reinhardt and André Rais) and by Rais in 1962 with
additional documents related to the payment for the monstrance. Hans Reinhardt and André Rais, "Neue Beiträge
einigen Stucken des Basler Müsterschatzes," Historisches Museum Basel: Jahresberichte und Rechnungen des
Vereins für das Historische Museum und für Erhaltung baslerischer Altertümere und der Kommission zum
Historischen Museum (1946): 38-9; André Rais, “L'histoire du Grand Ostensoir gothique de Porrentruy Œuvre de
The contract between the goldsmiths Hans Payer and Master Frantz and the church in Neunkirchen (1490) is
printed in: Heinrich Kohlhaussen, Nürnberg Dekundance des Mittelalters und der Dürerzeit: 1240 bis 1540
city to city and, with forgery and debasement, from year to year. Thus it is nearly impossible to establish clear rates of exchange from one currency to another. I will begin with a brief explanation of the most common terms for objects, currency and mass, before discussing the source documents and the information that can be gleaned from them.

Given that there was no official term for a Host monstrance until 1591, there are many words that can refer to such an object. These range from general, blanket terms like jewel (kleinod or jocale), vessel (vas or theca) or container for the sacred (hierotheca), to references to crystal vessels with a specific function (e.g. cristallus corporis Christi). Some terms appear to refer to different types of vessels, usually pyxes and ciboria. In every case, context is of utmost importance. A pyxis cristallina in qua portatur Corporis Christi refers not to a closed pyx in which the reserved Host is placed but to a monstrance in which the consecrated Host is carried. The crystal in the description indicates that this vessel was meant for display, and the fact that it was used to carry and not store the Host provides confirmation that this was a monstrance. One

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3 The term ostensorium is stipulated in Myller's Ornatus ecclesiasticus of 1591 (ch. 17): "Primum est ergo ostensorium seu quod vulgo monstrantia dicitur." Braun, Altargerät, 349.

4 See the following records for examples of these terms: for kleinod and jocale, a monstrance donation for the cathedral of Utrecht in 1375 (G. Brom, “Middeleeuwsche Kerksieraden,” Archief voor de geschiedenis van het Aartsbisdom Utrecht 26 (1900) 233-321, here 237); for vas, a record of visitation in Wammys in the diocese of Lausanne in 1453 (R. Fetscherin, "Visitationsbericht des Bisthums Lausanne, Bernischen Antheils, vom Jahre 1453," in Abhandlungen des Historischen Vereins des Kantons Bern 1 (1848)), 260; for theca, a record of a donation from the chronicle of St. Peter's in Herford in 1470 (O. Holder-Egger, ed., Cronicae S. Petri Erfordensis modernae appendices VI, in MGH SS 30.1, (Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1896) p. 487 (online ed. www.dmgh.de); for hierotheca, which refers to a vessel for the sacred, a record of a monstrance donation for the parish church in Kempen in 1456 (R.D. Wilmius, Narratio historica rerum Kempensium in Witte, Quellen, 51). The description cristallus corporis Christi is from an inventory for the Großmunster in Zurich cited in Browe, Verehrung, 99.
should not automatically assume that something called an ostensorium or a monstrance was a container for the Host unless it is specifically stated. Strictly speaking, ostensoria and monstrances were vessels that made their contents visible, but many of these were actually reliquaries or crystal containers for holy water or consecrated oil.\(^5\) Thus it is only when one reads the entire inventory description of the following monstrance in Utrecht that the function of this vessel becomes clear:

> In primis unum jocolae pulchrum seu clenogium argenteum deauratum, habens in sua circumferencia quasdam columnnas seu pilernas, et desuper capsulam quondam, argenteas deauratas, in quo quidem dicto clenogio seu jocali eciam existit cristallum pro venerabili Sacramento Corporis Christi deferendo…\(^6\)

The entry describes a tower monstrance for the Host as a beautiful jewel of silver-gilt with columns or piers along its circumference (probably three or more flanking buttresses) and a central crystal vessel that is meant to hold and display the consecrated Host. It is, of course, possible to identify a Host monstrance from a shorter description, so long as the sacrament is mentioned or its function is described.

The currency used to pay for monstrances varied from city to city. W.A. Shaw, commenting on silver coinage in Germany between 1300 and 1500, remarks, “The various denominations of silver coins which arose in Germany, in those years, make it a work of extreme difficulty even to attempt averages.”\(^7\) Francs, guilders, grossos, livres and silver marks are among the coins that a document might refer to. Even coins of the same denomination from different cities could have very different value. The silver Lübeck mark coin, for example, was

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\(^6\) Dean Zweder van Uterloo (d. 1378) donated this monstrance was donated to the Cathedral of Utrecht in 1375. G. Brom, “Middeleeuwsche Kerksieraden,” Archief voor de geschiedenis van het Aartsbisdom Utrecht 26 (1900) 233-321, here 237.

divided into 16 *solidi* (shillings) with 12 *denarii* (pennies) to the *solidus*. The silver Xanten mark, however, was divided into 12 *solidi*, again at 12 *denarii* to the *solidus*. In some cases, when rates of exchange can be documented, it is possible to compare prices between two cities. Generally, however, I have attempted to work only within the currency system of each document.

Precious metals were measured using the mark, a unit of mass roughly equivalent to half a pound. A silver mark could be divided into four *fertos*, eight *ounces* or sixteen *lots*. The *lot* was divisible into four *quentis*, with sixty-four *quentis* in a mark. For gold, the mark was divisible into twenty-four karats with twelve grains in each karat. For a number of major late gothic trade centers, economic historians have calculated the mass, in grams, for a standard mark, making it possible to determine the amount of silver or gold in a particular object. In the absence of an exact measurement for the mark in a given city, I have applied the metric value of the mark in the nearest major trade center (e.g. Cologne) or applied that of the widely used *marc de Troyes*. Most cities had strict regulations concerning the purity of their gold and silver,

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10 A *ferto* could also be called a *vierdung*, and the *quent* (pl. *quentis*) could also be called a *quetschen*. When the term *ferto* is applied to another measure or currency, it generally means that it is one quarter of the whole. Thus a *ferto* of a pound is ¼ pound, a *ferto* of a *denarius* is ¼ *denarius*. I have chosen to use the more Latinized term for each measure. For documentation of the term *ferto*, see Deutsches Rechtswörterbuch online version: http://www.rzuser.uni-heidelberg.de/~cd2/dr2/a/F26.htm. Most measurements are clearly explained in Eikenenberg, *Handelshaus der Runtinger*, 288. For the value of the pound (Pfund), see Günter Aders, “Die Beschlagnahme der Kirchenschätze im rechtsrheinischen Kleve im gelderschen Erbfolgekriege 1543,” *Düsseldorfer Jahrbuch: Beiträge zur Geschichte des Niederrheins* 45 (1951), 269-279, here 271.


12 The weight of the mark differed by city. The *marc de Troyes* had a metric equivalent of 244.7529g. It was widely used in Flanders and in Paris. In Cologne, however, the mark was 233.856g (a standard used in much of
mandating the use of a hallmark as proof of this purity. For some cities like Cologne, the price of these materials can be documented from year to year. In general, the price of gold was between ten and eleven times that of silver. Thus most objects of goldsmithwork were made of silver and then gilded. Nearly all cities prohibited the production of gilded copper and bronze except in the case of church plate. An area of the vessel in question would be left ungilded, allowing even a layperson to determine that the piece was made of copper or bronze.

**Inventories**

The most familiar documents for the historian of medieval goldsmithwork are probably inventories. These are lists of the possessions of churches and individuals, with object descriptions that can vary from extremely simple, single-word entries to complex accounts of size, material, decoration and use. Most inventory entries consist of a brief description of the object and a statement of its value based upon its metal content and weight. Relatively simple objects are given short descriptions, like “Item, a silver censer, having 4 marks and 3 lot,” or “Item, the new large chalice, having 5 marks 3 lot with its paten, [and] having at its center six

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15 Fritz, *Goldschmiedekunst der Gotik*, 40, 42-3, 123, 144, 151, 152. For Cologne, where this prohibition against copper work could be found as early as the mid-fourteenth century, see: Von Loesch, *Die kölnner Zunfturkunden*, Bd. 1, nos. 26B and 27, pp. 75, 81 and Band 2, nos. 465-6, pp. 244-5. For Frankfurt, see: Schmidt, *Frankfurter Zunfturkunden*, 232 (page numbers are for reprint edition).
stones, red, green [and] blue.\textsuperscript{16} More complex objects are often described in greater detail, as in the following entry: “Item a silver arm, not gilded, with a long crystal, [and] within its length relics of St. James, all together weighing 5 ½ marks and 1 lot.”\textsuperscript{17} In some inventories, particularly those that record the property of an individual after their death, the monetary value of these materials is calculated, based upon contemporary market price.\textsuperscript{18} It can be tempting to interpret an inventory value as the price of an object. But it should be remembered that many inventories treated the treasury as an emergency cash reserve, consisting of objects that could be melted down or otherwise liquidated.\textsuperscript{19} Lorenzo Ghiberti, in his tale of the Cologne goldsmith Master Gusmin, tells us that the master, "saw his oeuvre destroyed, which he had made with so much love and art, for the public needs of the duke."\textsuperscript{20} Many archives possess lengthy lists of church vessels that were, in the words of an early sixteenth century document from Salzburg, "all melted down and made into coin…in the war emergency."\textsuperscript{21} A silver chalice weighing 1 mark

\textsuperscript{16} “Item thuribilum argenteum habet 4 marcas et 3 ½ loit”; “Item calix novus magnus, tenet 5 marcas 3 loit cum pathena, habens in medio sex lapides, roit, grün, bla”. Both entries come from the 1460 inventory of the Collegiate Church of St. Bartholomew, Frankfurt, fols. 28v, 29r, in: Karen Stolleis, \textit{Der Frankfurter Domschatz}, Bd. III: \textit{Inventare und Verzeichnisse: Quellen zur Geschichte des Domschatzes}, (Frankfurt am Main: Waldemar Kramer, 1994), 47, 48

\textsuperscript{17} “Item brachium argenteum, non deauratum, cum longo cristallo, in quo longa pars reliquarum sancti Jacobi, similitur in toto ponderans 5 ½ marcas et 1 loit.” 1460 inventory, fol. 27v, in: Stolleis, \textit{Inventare}, 46-7.

\textsuperscript{18} See, for example, the 1477 inventory of the silver and ornaments of Simon Savary, in: A. de la Grange and Louis Cloquet, “Études sur l'art à Tournai et sur les anciens artistes de cette ville,” part 2, \textit{Mémoires de la Société Historique et Littéraire de Tournai} 24 (1888): 320-22.


\textsuperscript{21} “...in den kriegsñosten...alles verschmelezt und zu geld gemacht...” Parish record from August 31, 1525. Konsistialarchiv Salzburg, Archivalien Franziskanerkirche, Ökonomica 5/69, Pfarrkirchenrechnung von 1525, fol. 26-7, in Wagner, "Goldschmiedekunst," 76.
thus had an inventory value equivalent to a silver ingot of the same weight. The inventory value
of an object, barring alterations that affected the weight of the piece, remained fixed over time.
The purchase price of the object, however, included the salary of the goldsmith and any other
artists involved in its design and manufacture. The best-known record of a goldsmith's pay is
taken from the accounts of Steffan Maignow, a goldsmith in Constance active in the late fifteenth
century. It indicates that Maignow was paid very little for his labor. However, his trade was
limited to small, secular pieces like rings, beakers and chains. Before assuming that Maignow's
low salary is indicative of the pay of all goldsmiths, it is important to look at a range of objects
and the financial documents pertaining to them.

The Goldsmith's Wage

Abbot Suger, describing the main altar he commissioned for Saint Denis, states that the
chased decoration at the rear of the altar is "equally remarkable for its form as for its material, so
that certain people might be able to say: The workmanship surpassed the material." Suger
unfortunately omits the fiscal details of this commission, leaving us to wonder if the goldsmith,
when paid, shared his opinion. By the mid-thirteenth century, shrine contracts indicate that the
goldsmith's pay was dependent upon the amount of silver that he used. In some cases, when a
significant amount of gold was used, a separate rate was paid. Features like jewels, gilding and
enamel were generally not included in the goldsmith's wage. The 1242 contract for the Shrine of


St. Genevieve in Paris stipulates that Master Bonardus receive a sum equal to 24.66% of the total cost for silver and gold, or one-fifth the overall price of the shrine.\(^{24}\) The 1272 contract for the Gertrude Shrine in Nivelles states that Colard of Douai and Jacquemon of Nivelles will be paid 20 sous per mark silver used. Assuming the price of silver was similar in 1242 and 1272, Masters Colard and Jacquemon received roughly 89% the value of the silver used in the shrine.\(^{25}\) Their salary, however, was offset by the fact that they had to provide their own workshop and finance the cost of an assistant.\(^{26}\) Finally, the 1292 contract for the Shrine of St. John in Beverly seems to indicate that Master Roger of Faringdon was paid a sum exactly equal to the value of the silver that he used.\(^{27}\)

The steady rise in labor costs between 1242 and 1292 might be explained by the increasing complexity of shrine architecture.\(^{28}\) By the mid fourteenth century, goldsmiths' salaries were clearly dependent upon both metal weight and difficulty of execution. On July 22, 1372, the city of Cologne indicated that city goldsmiths did not have set labor prices. Rather, wages for silver gilt and silver were negotiable based upon the weight and complexity of the object in question.\(^{29}\) The Cologne statement was in response to an attempt by the city of Breslau

\(^{24}\) Master Bonardus was paid 200 livres and the materials cost was 811 livres, with silver purchased at 2.25 livres per mark. The contract is published by Bonnin and Claussen and discussed by Claussen and Didier. T. Bonnin, "Prix de la châsse de Sainte Geneviève exécutée par Bonardus, orfèvre parisien du treizième siècle," in *Archives de l'Art Français* V (1857-58), 55; Peter Cornelius Claussen, "Goldschmiede des Mittelalters. Quellen zur Struktur ihrer Werkstatt," in *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft* XXXII (1978), 46-86, particularly 59-63 and 83; Robert Didier, "Die Interpretation des Vertrages," in *Schatz aus den Trümmern: Der Silberschrein von Nivelles und die europäische Hochgotik*, exhibition catalogue, (Cologne: Schnütgen-Museum/Verlag Lochner, 1996), 82-90, particularly 83.

\(^{25}\) I am using the exchange rate of 9 sous to 1 livre provided by Claussen and payment and weights from Bonnin and Didier. Bonnin, 55; Claussen, "Goldschmiede," 73; and Didier, "Interpretation," 87-88.


\(^{27}\) Claussen, "Goldschmiede," 79, 90.

\(^{28}\) This theory is advanced by Claussen in "Goldschmiede," 79.

to standardize prices with Cologne and Brussels. Brussels was the only city with a documented price scale for goldsmithwork, and this, too, was dependent upon metal weight and difficulty of execution. According to the Brussels price scale, goldsmiths were paid 1 muton d’or per mark silver for simple tankards and cups and roughly double that rate for smaller, more intricate vessels containing approximately 1 ½ marks silver. The highest rate paid in Brussels was for a complex lady's girdle, for which the goldsmith received a sum equal to the cost of his materials.30 Although the price of silver in muton d’or is not recorded, it is clear that in Brussels, as in Cologne and Breslau, the goldsmith's pay increased with the complexity of his product.

A number of payment records, account books and contracts survive from the late gothic period, making it possible to establish a hierarchy of goldsmithwork based upon salary. Unfortunately, not all documents contain complete information: in all cases we are at the mercy of the medieval clerk and his decision whether or not to fully describe a transaction. If we can identify the overall price of an object and the cost of materials, the difference between the two is the goldsmith's salary. Many documents combine the goldsmith's wage with the cost of silver, stating, for example, that Jehan de Braban of Bruges will be paid 7 ¼ francs per mark silver for two quartes (footed and covered wine jugs containing one quart), 7 francs per mark for an aiguiere (a ewer with a spout and handle) and 6 francs per mark for twelve hanaps (broad drinking bowls).31 Even when it is impossible to find the price for silver, it is clear that there is a


hierarchy of goldsmithwork. The simpler items of plate command a lower wage than the more complex.

The lowest wages were paid for the items most commonly produced: simple objects of plate and jewelry. In most cities, the three pieces that a goldsmith had to produce to gain the status of master were objects that represented the goldsmith's usual stock in trade: a ring set with a precious stone, an engraved seal and either a beaker or chalice. A poem in Hans Sachs' 1568 book of trades begins: "I, the goldsmith, make valuable things, seals and golden signet rings," and ends with a listing of jewelry and vessels like beakers, goblets, dishes and bowls (Figure 2.1). Images of goldsmiths, like Petrus Christus'
1449 painting of a Bruges goldsmith in his shop, show objects like these, many of which could have been produced speculatively for the market (Figure 2.2).35 A mid-fifteenth century inventory of the property of a Cologne goldsmith describes several simple pieces that could have been made speculatively, including four beakers and five kettles.36 Another such inventory, of a Cologne goldsmith in York, lists several silver spoons.37 The objects most commonly listed in fifteenth century testaments from 's-Hertogenbosch are drinking vessels, spoons and dishes.38 Such simple pieces do not appear to have been made according to contract: the only extant late gothic contracts are for expensive, complex pieces like shrines, altar crosses, university scepters and monstrances.39 From the account book of Steffian Maignow, we

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35 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Robert Lehman Collection (1975.1.110)
learn that for uncomplicated items of jewelry and secular plate, his wage was between 5 and 12 percent of the total price of an object. Similarly, on February 20, 1431, an agent of the archbishop of Cologne paid Matthäus von Gent 25 guilders to make a gem-encrusted gold collar, the total price of which was 294 guilders. Master Matthäus' wage was 8.5 percent of the total price, which falls at the center of the pay range in Steffan Maignow's account books. This range represents the first and lowest level of goldsmithwork based upon salary represented in Table 2.1. Maignow, like many other goldsmiths of his time, routinely extended credit to his clients

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and accepted payments in the form of goods, particularly wine, as well as in coin. In many cases, goldsmiths received old items of secular and church plate as payment, basing their value upon the market price of the component metals.

The second level of payment was for slightly more complicated objects like tankards and simple pieces of church plate like crosses, candlesticks and small censers. For these items, the goldsmith received between 14 and 25% of an object's total price for his labor. Records seem to indicate that at least some of these objects were made to order. In May of 1455, Willem van Vleuten of Bruges, the possible subject of Petrus Christus's 1449 painting (Figure 2.2), received nearly 25% for applying gold decorations to two German short swords and lengthening three gold chains for the Duke of Burgundy. Eight years earlier, Master Willem was paid just under 15% of the total cost of two silver tankards that the Duke presented to Guillaume de la Mandre. The sword decorations were certainly custom-made, and the tankards could have been decorated expressly for the purpose of presentation.

For more elaborate objects, like small reliquary monstrances and cloak clasps, goldsmiths received between 29 and 36% of the total price of the object. For example, Willem van Vlueten

42 Nuglisch, "Geschäftsbuch," 466-8.
44 According to the account books of the church of St. Nicholas Opper Mathena in Wesel, Master Jan aan der Steynporten made a silver cross for the church choir in 1455, for which he received 14% of the total price of the object. The same church paid an unnamed goldsmith a rate of 22.6% for a silver censer in 1480. Jan aan der Steynporten received a fee of 13 albus (24 to the guilder) for making a cross for the choir, the material value of which was 3 guilder 8 albus. The total cost of the cross being 3 guilder 21 albus, the goldsmith's labor price is 14% of the total price of the object. Witte, Quellen, 65, 67, 68. Master Johann de Hem was paid 16% of the total price of a candelabra for the Cathedral of Cambrai in 1361 (labor is recorded as 10 lb. 2 s, and materials as 49 lb. 19 s., with a total price of 59 lb. 21 s.). A separate payment is recorded for gilding a portion of the candelabra. This payment is just for the gold florins that were melted down and does not include labor. In this and in other documents, gilding does not seem to have been accorded a separate labor payment. Houdoy, Histoire artistique de la cathédrale de Cambrai, 160 (page numbers are from reprint edition).
was paid nearly 27% of the total price for his work on a gold cloak clasp that he fashioned for Duke Philip the Good in 1455.\textsuperscript{47} Master Otte van Toven made a small monstrance (probably a reliquary) for the church of St. Nicholas Opper Mathena in Wesel in 1451. He was paid 3 guilders per mark of silver used. One year earlier, an unidentified goldsmith was paid the same wage for work on a small silver monstrance for relics of St. Anthony. In both cases, the cost of the silver is not recorded.\textsuperscript{48} Assuming the price of silver was similar in 1450 and 1451 to the price recorded in the church records in 1442, labor accounted for 30% of the total price of the smaller reliquary monstrances.\textsuperscript{49}

Although goldsmiths frequently provided their own materials, particularly for smaller items, in the case of the two reliquary monstrances above, the goldsmiths were making new objects out of old silver.\textsuperscript{50} We are told that the silver used in 1450 was collected by the church. It was probably old silverware donated by pious laypersons. In 1451 the clerk states that "our silver," probably from old and broken church objects, was used. Old silver was made into new objects in three possible ways: old secular plate and jewelry being made into new secular pieces, old secular pieces being made into church plate, and old church plate made into new vessels for the church.\textsuperscript{51} The price of the old silver was taken into account when determining the goldsmith's wage. Hans Rutenzwig's 1477 contract for the first monstrance at Porrentruy stipulates that Rutenzwig supply his own silver at a set price for materials and labor per mark, and further states that the price of any silver provided by the church will be deducted from

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Recept of Willem van Vlueten relating to a payment for various works and repairs, May 24, 1455, Archives Departmentales du Nord, Lille, B 2021, no. 61599, in: van der Velden, "Defrocking St. Eloy," 272.
\item Witte, \textit{Quellen}, 65.
\item In 1442, the going rate for silver was 7 guilders per mark. Witte, \textit{Quellen}, 64.
\item The Emden goldsmiths guild stipulated in their ordinances of 1491 that old silver or gold obtained from broken objects or coins be strictly regulated for purity. This was doubtless to discourage goldsmiths from illegally disposing of stolen goods by melting them down. Friedländer, Ernst, ed., \textit{Ostfriesisches Urkundenbuch}, Bd. 2, Bd. 10 of \textit{Quellen zur Geschichte Ostfrieslands} (Emden: W. Haynel, 1881), no. 1299. See also Nuglisch, "Geschäftsbuch," 469.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
Rutenzwig's fee. After Rutenzwig's monstrance was damaged in a theft, it was remade by Georg Schongauer in 1487. Schongauer was paid two different wages for the silver he used for the new Porrentruy monstrance: he received 3 florins for each mark of old silver from the damaged monstrance, and 7 ¼ florins for each mark of his own silver. The rate for Schongauer's silver includes the materials cost plus his wage.

The highest wages, totaling between 40 and 55% of the total price, were paid for the goldsmith's most intricate products, including complex repoussé figures and body-part reliquaries, elaborate jewelry, and large host monstrances. For some of these objects, it is clear that the goldsmith's labor truly surpassed the value of his materials. Financial records for complex objects like these are often highly detailed, and offer a glimpse into the negotiations between the artist and patron. Goldsmiths were often given exacting specifications for the design, materials, and decoration of such high priced objects, as an examination of monstrance contracts will demonstrate.

**Monstrance Contracts**

A typical monstrance contract would state the names of the goldsmith and his patron or patrons, the name of the church, and any witnesses involved. For example, the 1438 contract between Master Willem van Moudick of Nijmegen and two representatives (the priest and sacristan) of the parish church of St. John the Baptist in Sambeek was witnessed by four wine.

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54 See, for example, the payment to Willem van Vlueten for a pair of jeweled E's for Philip the Good in 1461, payments to Johannes Swartemolen for making a silver figure of the Virgin for the Collegiate Church in Kleve in 1426, payment to Hugo the Goldsmith for making a silver gilt arm of St. George for the Cathedral of Cambrai in 1377 and the contracts that I will discuss below (full bibliographic information in note 1). Archives Departmentales du Nord, Lille, B 2041, no. 62924, in: van der Velden, "Defrocking St. Eloy," 275; Witte, *Quellen*, 54.
merchants.\textsuperscript{55} The size of the monstrance was stipulated in terms of its metal content and minimum and maximum weight, and the goldsmith's payment, based upon metal weight, would be stated. The purity of the silver would also be set. According to the 1477 contract, Hans Rutenzwig's monstrance for Porrentruy was to contain 12 marks of fine and pure silver, with an allowance of half a mark more or less.\textsuperscript{56} Additional materials, like rock crystal, gilding and precious stones were usually subject to a separate payment. In 1488, Georg Schongauer was given gold coins to melt down for the gilding of the second Porrentruy monstrance, and a separate sum to cover the cost of the central vessel of the monstrance.\textsuperscript{57}

The monstrance contract might also include a deadline for the finished work, information about how it would be used, and details about its style and specific features like figures and buttresses. In 1487, for example, the parish church of Porrentruy hired Georg Schongauer to create a new host monstrance to replace Hans Rutenzwig's monstrance of 1477. The 1477 monstrance had been stolen in 1487 and recovered that same year, but in a badly damaged state. Schongauer was to use the recovered silver, plus any additional new silver that he required, to create a monstrance "in the German style," in which he would place the six silver figures that had been recovered from the old monstrance. The basic design of the monstrance was also described in the contract, particularly the use of three flying buttresses surrounding the central vessel.\textsuperscript{58} In some cases, the goldsmith was required to imitate a well-known object. For example, in 1438 Willem van Moudick of Nijmegen was contracted by the parish church of Sambeek to create a

\textsuperscript{55} I have translated kirckmeister as sacristan. Contract for a host monstrance, 1438. Parish Archive of Sint Jan de Doper, Sambeek.

\textsuperscript{56} Trouillat, Monuments de Bâle, no. 179, p. 522.

\textsuperscript{57} In this case, the vessel was made of glass. 1488 addendum to the terms of the 1487 contract for the Porrentruy monstrance. Rais, “L’histoire du Grand Ostensoir,” 78-79.

\textsuperscript{58} Reinhardt and Rais, "Neue Beiträge," 38-9; Rais, “Grand Ostensoir,” 78-80; Amweg, Les arts dans le Jura II, 91.
monstrance "after the monstrance in Kranenburg." Similarly, the goldsmith Master Leinharten was sent from Freiburg to Colmar in 1517 to see a "particularly lovely monstrance" there and make a quick drawing based either on the monstrance itself or upon its visierung (design sketch or visualization) if it was still available. From this drawing, Master Leinharten was to make a monstrance for Freiburg.

**Design Drawings**

Drawings were often included in the contract process. The goldsmith might be required to submit his own visierung for approval or refer to a sketch produced by another artist. The Würzburg goldsmith Georg Ziechlin provided the visierung for a monstrance that another goldsmith, Hans Schmidt, made in 1484. John the Bell Founder drew a visierung for Hans Rutenzwig's 1477 Porrentruy monstrance, and the contract stipulates that Rutenzwig adhere to the scale of the drawing. Comments on an ink visierung in the Ulm city archives reveal that the proposed monstrance, as drawn, would be too large to fit into the church tabernacle (Figure 2.3). A line on the left side indicates the maximum height of the tabernacle door and suggestions for reducing the height of the monstrance are written to the right of the spire. Goldsmiths

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59 "…gewracht nader monstrancie to Cranenburch…" Contract for a host monstrance, 1438. Parish Archive of Sint Jan de Doper, Sambeek.

60 In the letter from the city of Freiburg to the City of Colmar, the piece that is being drawn is called "gar ein schöne monstranz." The letter continues, "Ist unser fruntlich pitt, ir wollen verschaffen, domit meister Lienharten, dern goldtschmidt, zeiger ditz briefs, die berurt monstrantz gezeigt und, ob die visierung, davon ewer monstrantz gemacht, noch vorhanden, zu handen gestelt werde," Hans Rott, *Quellen und Forschungen zur südwestdeutschen und schweizerischen Kunstgeschichte im XV. Und XVI. Jahrhundert*, Band III: Der Oberrhein, Teil I, (Stuttgart: Strecker und Schröder Verlag, 1936), 154; Fritz, *Goldschmiedekunst der Gotik*, 126. For more information concerning the term visierung, see below, note 54.


sometimes worked from a three-dimensional model that they or another artist produced. Benvenuto Cellini tells us that he produced drawing and a wood and wax model of a chalice that he made for the Pope, and the sculptor Sigmund Sattler was paid 3 florins, 2 ½ pounds for three wooden models for the figures on the Neunkirchen monstrance in 1490.\textsuperscript{64} A more detailed measured drawing, or \textit{riss}, might also be made before fabrication of the monstrance.\textsuperscript{65} A late-fifteenth century monstrance \textit{riss} in the Kupferstichkabinett, Basel shows signs of grime, wear and tear, as well as minor changes to the design, indicating that it was likely used in the workshop during the production of the monstrance.\textsuperscript{66} That changes frequently did occur between the \textit{visierung}, \textit{riss} and actual monstrance can be inferred from the fact that only one object, a

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{figure2.3.png}
\caption{Monstrance drawing, anonymous South German goldsmith, c. 1500, ink on paper, h. 69.2cm, Stadtarchiv Ulm, Inv. no. 26.}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{64} Benvenuto Cellini, \textit{Autobiography}, chapter 9; Kohlhaussen, \textit{Nürnberger Goldschmiedekunst}, 220.

\textsuperscript{65} Although \textit{Visierung} and \textit{Riss} are sometimes treated as synonyms, there are distinct differences between the two terms. \textit{Visierung} refers to a visualization or an imagining of something, and thus a preliminary drawing, while a \textit{Riss} is a much more measured and exact working drawing. \textit{Risse} were used particularly for the design of architectural monuments. Jacob Grimm and Wilhelm Grimm, \textit{Deutsches Wörterbuch}, (Leipzig: S. Hirzel 1854-1960, internet version: http://germazope.uni-trier.de/Projects/ WBB/woerterbuecher/dwb), s.v. "Visierung," "Risz."
chalice in Strasbourg, has been found to correspond exactly to its *riss*, and that many other objects of goldsmithwork relate to drawings only in part. Not all drawings of goldsmithwork appear to have been working drawings: the drawings from the Amerbach collection, now in the Kupferstichkabinett, Basel, originated in multiple workshops in Basel and show little evidence of the wear and tear that would affect a working drawing. Some of the drawings represent works made by the goldsmiths themselves, others record works that they had seen, and still others are schematic designs for piers, tracery and other architectural details that could be applied to any architectural goldsmithwork, including monstrances. Many of them appear to have been copied (some are traced) from other drawings, probably for didactic or theoretical purposes. Some goldsmiths kept collections of drawings: Georg Ziechlin left a number of design drawings in his will to his two sons, along with his goldsmiths' models and works in silver, iron, stone and wood. In addition to providing a record of a goldsmith's ideas and work, such drawings were responsible for the spread and development of new designs within and between workshops. Drawings were also kept in architectural workshops, as at Cologne Cathedral, and, in some cases, the *visierung* or *riss* for a piece of goldsmithwork was produced by the architectural workshop. In 1484, for example, the church of St. Jan in 's-Hertogenbosch commissioned Henricus Borchgrevius, a Cologne goldsmith, to make a monstrance based upon a drawing

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68 Though the drawings are given the title *Goldschmiederisse*, some came from members of other guilds, including sculptors and architects.
70 Zülch, *Frankfurter Künstler*, 221.
71 See the discussion in Braun-Balzer, *Mikro- und Makroarchitektur*, 7, 24, 34-6, 123-5.
produced by Alart Duhamel, architect of the church. In a case like this one, the patron of the monstrance dictated the design to the goldsmith rather than negotiating based upon the goldsmith's visierung.

**Monstrance Patrons**

Payment records and contracts for late gothic monstrances clearly indicate that patrons were willing to pay a premium for the goldsmith's expertise. The contract for Georg Schongauer's monstrance in Porrentruy required that it be "well and richly made." The council of Bern recognized Hans Rutenzwig in 1466 for creating a monstrance that was "masterfully done." A Cologne monstrance donated by Gerard Foec in his testament of 1383 to the church of the Savior in Utrecht was described as "wonderfully made." Given the high cost of materials, the goldsmith's labor, and the additional factors that contributed to their price, only the very richest individuals or groups of people could afford a monstrance. Late gothic monstrances generally had multiple patrons. Most surviving monstrances bear no indication of an individual donor, neither in the form of an inscription, a coat of arms, or a donor portrait; and most financial documents, including the five surviving fifteenth century monstrance contracts, refer to multiple donors. The inscription on a monstrance in Tamsweg declares that Lawrence Mautter, finance master of the church of St. Leonard, caused the piece to be made from the numerous ornaments offered to the pilgrimage church. Though Lawrence Mautter's name appears in the inscription,

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74 "...das er ouch meisterlich getän..." The ouch (also) refers to the figures on the monstrance, and the statement continues to recognize the excellence of the entire work. Rott, *Quellen*.III, 259.
76 "Lawrence Mautter burger zu Temssweg zechmeister sand Lienharcz auz menigerlay clainaten dew der chirchen sand Lienharcz geopfert sind anno d[omi]ni m° cccc° xil," inscription on the plinth beneath the figure of St.
he credits the pilgrims with providing the cost and materials of the monstrance. Similarly, the contract for Georg Seld's monstrance in Augsburg from 1486 indicates that pious women gave rings, rosaries and other valuables to fund the creation of the monstrance. The carrying knob of the Gerresheim Monstrance bears the inscription: *co(mun)is eley(mosyn)a me fecit*, indicating that the offerings of the community funded its creation (Figure 2.4). Multiple donors are sometimes described in church records, as for example in a list of eighteen wealthy men who contributed the cost of Georg Schongauer's new monstrance for the parish church of Porrentruy Leonard on a Host monstrance in the Pilgrimage Church of St. Leonard, Tamsweg. Fritz, *Goldschmiedekunst der Gotik*, inscription 66, p. 343.


78 This inscription, *cois eleia me fecit*, was originally interpreted as an artist's signature (e.g. by Clemen), but was later identified by Dresen as an abbreviation of *co(mun)is elee(mosyn)a me fecit*. I am using Heppe's spelling of the inscription. Paul Clemen, *Der Stadt und des Kreises Düsseldorf*, Bd. 3.1 of *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Rheinprovinz*, (Dusseldorf: L. Schwann, 1894), 103; Arnold Dresen, *Die Ratinger Monstranz* (Ratingen: Max Wagner, 1913), 7-8; Karl Bernd Heppe, *Düsseldorf-Gerresheim*, no. 350 of *Rheinische Kunststätten*, ed. Rheinscher Verein für Denkmalpflege und Landschaftsschutz, (Neuss: Neusser Druckerei und Verlag, 1990), 29.
in 1487. More often, however, the exact manner in which a monstrance was financed is not described in the contract or other documents. The contract for the Sambeek monstrance, for example, simply states that the priest and sacristan of the parish church of St. John the Baptist were acting on behalf of the entire parish.

A number of monstrances in my study, including the Gerresheim, Lorch and Kolumba monstrances, place particular emphasis upon the patron saint of the church for which the monstrance was made. Outside of the Virgin and Child, the figures on the Gerresheim monstrance represent the dedication of the collegiate church in Gerresheim and the patron saints of altars within the church (Figure 2.5). St. Martin, patron of the Lorch parish church, is prominently placed within large vaulted chapel beneath the lunula of the Lorch monstrance (Figure 2.6). Depicted aiding the beggar while astride his horse, St. Martin is significantly larger than any other figure on the monstrance, and these other figures (the Virgin, John the Evangelist and angels with symbols of the passion) all refer to the Body of Christ. Similarly, on the

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80 “T is te weten, dat her Jonan vande Velde, pastoir tot Zandsbeke, Gerit van Holt ende die kirckmeister aldair in behoeff onsers kirspels vurs. Verdingt hebben an Willem van Moldick, goltsmit, burger tot Nymegen, een monstrancie van syns selfs sthoff te maken...” Typescript of a contract for a monstrance between Willem van Moudick and the Parish Church of Sambeek, 1438 (Parish archives of Sint Jan de Doper, Sambeek).
monstrance from the parish church of St. Kolumba in Cologne, a large figure of St. Kolumba occupies the center of the spire chapel, a place normally reserved for the Virgin and Child (Figure 2.7). Two other pieces from St. Kolumba's, a processional cross from c.1400 and a small reliquary monstrance of the mid-fifteenth century also give prominence to the saint. Kolumba occupies the spire of the reliquary, which contains a thorn from Christ's crown of thorns, and she stands in a niche at the base of the cross, just under a medallion with the symbol of St. John (Figures 2.8 and 2.9). Given the fact that neither the Lorch monstrance nor the pieces from St. Kolumba's can be clearly identified with a donor, it may be reasonable to assume that these objects, like the Gerresheim monstrance, were funded by the collected offerings of the church community. A more compelling reason to believe that parishioners funded the Lorch and Kolumba monstrances is the nature of the parish itself. A parish constituted the smallest part of a diocese, and its church, unlike a cathedral, collegiate church or monastery, served a set group of people in a specific area. Parish churches baptized and buried their parishioners, and were supported by their tithes. In a small town like Lorch, with only one parish, the community

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Figure 2.7. Detail of the spire of the Kolumba Monstrance, showing the figure of St. Kolumba and the construction of the chapel buttresses, Cologne, c. 1400, silver gilt, Cologne, Domschatz (on loan from the Kirchengemeinde St. Kolumba). Photo: author.

Figure 2.8 (far left). Reliquary Monstrance with a Thorn from Christ's Crown, Cologne, mid-fifteenth century, silver, gold, rock crystal and precious stones, h: 48.5cm, Cologne, Domschatz (on loan from the Kirchengemeinde St. Kolumba). Photo: Rheinisches Bildarchiv.

Figure 2.9 (center). Processional Cross, detail showing St. Kolumba at the foot of the cross, Cologne, c. 1400, silver, partly gilt, total height without staff 79.8 cm, Cologne, Domschatz (on loan from the Kirchengemeinde St. Kolumba). Photo: Rheinisches Bildarchiv.

Franz Schmitt, 1996), 35-6; Hegel, "Das mittelalterliche Pfarrsystem und seine kirchliche Infrastruktur in Köln um
must have identified itself with the parish church. Most late gothic cities were divided into a small number of parishes: there were just two parish churches in Nuremberg and five in Utrecht, for example. Cologne, with nineteen parishes, was quite unusual. Unlike other major trade centers like Utrecht and Lübeck, Cologne lacked a central market church that could be identified with all of its citizens. And since the burgers of Cologne had first exercised their independence from the archbishop in 1079, they no longer identified themselves with the cathedral. Thus each of Cologne's nineteen church parishes maintained an identity distinct from the others. Parish pride and inter parish rivalries were manifested in increasingly larger churches, taller spires, and more lavish church decoration. The Kolumba monstrance, which was carried along the boundaries of the parish in the Corpus Christi procession, would have demonstrated the wealth, prestige and Eucharistic piety of the parish (Figure 4.8).

**Individual Patrons**

A description of a silver gilt and crystal monstrance donated by Johannes of Trier (d. 1349) to the cathedral of Mainz includes the statement that this act benefited the soul of the patron. On the foot of a mid-15th century monstrance in the Museum Schnütgen, Cologne, an inscription implores us to pray for Hermann Starkmann, his wife, and their descendents (Figure 4.8).

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84 Beuckers 43-57.

85 See the discussion of the processions on Corpus Christi and its octave at the parish of St. Kolumba's in chapter 4, p. 4.19-20

Monstrance donations by a single patron like Johannes of Trier or Hermann Starkmann were unusual. It was more common for individuals to donate more affordable objects like chalices and patens, censers or small reliquaries to the church. Donors of church plate were often granted indulgences. They were also remembered for their pious donations, particularly when objects were marked with an inscription, coat of arms or, less commonly, a donor portrait. Many inscriptions invite the reader's prayers or ask for God's mercy, as in this late fourteenth century inscription from a chalice in Ohrenbach (near Rothenburg an der Tauber): *Steffan groz heiz ich gott derbarm sich üb[er] mich* (Steffan Gross is my name, God take pity upon me). Chalices far outnumber other donations in the late gothic period. The Münster in Ulm, for example, had 71 chalices.

A relatively small amount of silver was required to make a chalice: the 24 silver chalices listed in

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87 “Orate p(ro) hermano starkman et et(iam) uxore atque eor(um) p(ro) genie.” Museum Schnütgen, Cologne, no. G97. This disc monstrance was clearly made in Cologne c. 1430, but no information has yet been discovered about its patron. Perpeet-Frech, *Monstranzen*, no. 89; Fritz, *Gestochene Bilder*, no. 374; Fritz, *Goldschmiedekunst der Gotik*, no. 458.
89 See, for example, the indulgences granted to individuals who donated funds towards the church furniture and ornament at a number of Cologne churches in: Christiane Neuhausen, *Die Ablaßwesen in der Stadt Köln vom 13. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert*, Band 21 of Köln Schildern zu Geschichte und Kultur, ed. Georg Mölich (Cologne: Janus Verlag, 1994), nos. 118, 202, 207, 222.
the 1360 inventory of the treasury of St. Bartholomew in Frankfurt had an average weight of 1.998 marks, or nearly one pound. They were also quite simple to make, and thus the labor cost for the average chalice was quite low. Patrons usually donated a chalice along with funds endowing memorial masses that would be read each year on the anniversary of their (or their spouse's) death. Memorial books listed the donors of these masses (and the amount that they had donated) along with important members of the church community (like abbesses and priests) and individuals who had made significant contributions towards the fabric, furniture and ornaments of the church. Unlike the funds for memorial masses, which would be eventually depleted, chalices and other items of church plate were intended to last forever, thus better ensuring the patron's memory.

The average monstrance was much larger and significantly more expensive than a chalice, making a monstrance donation a more conspicuous act of piety. The case of Bruno Meens, patron of the 1394 Ratingen monstrance, is a good example. The entry for December 13 in the fifteenth century memorial book of the parish church in Ratingen lists the anniversary of the death of Bruno, "one time pastor of this church," and the four yearly memorial masses that he endowed. In a lengthy gloss from 1633, we learn that Bruno was also a canon of the collegiate

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92 Treasury inventory of Baldemar von Petterweil, 1360. Institut für Stadtgeschichte Frankfurt am Main, St. Bartholomäusstift Bücher V, 43, fol. 91r, in: Stolleis, Inventare, 28-9. Similarly, the average weight of 60 chalices inventoried together for the Münster in Ulm was 1.823 marks. Weser. "Kirchenschatz von Ulm," 89.

93 Theophilus describes the method for making two chalice and paten sets. The simplest chalice can be made from just four individual pieces of silver that are hammered into the shape of the bowl, the foot and two hemispheres of the knob. Theophilus, De diversis artibus III, 26, from Hawthorne and Smith, Theophilus, 99-103.

94 I am translating the term ewige messe, used in numerous late gothic testaments, as memorial mass, based upon the definition and examples in Grimm's Deutsches Wörterbuch. Grimm and Grimm, Deutsches Wörterbuch (internet version), s.v. "Messe."

95 Several testaments, in fact, stipulate that the donated items of church plate never be sold or melted down. See Jaritz, "Stiftungen," 28-9.

church of St. Victor in Xanten and donor of the "most beautiful monstrance" (Figure 2.11). The 1394 Ratingen monstrance is considered one of the greatest examples of late gothic goldsmithwork from Cologne. In donating this large, spectacular monstrance, which contained at least 15 pounds of silver, Bruno Meens spent far more than was necessary to receive indulgences and memorial masses. The inscription on the monstrance foot, bid vor den priester de dit cleynoyt al up bereyt gegeven heet deser synre kyrken to Ratinghen ter eren des heylgen sacramets anno d(omi)ni MCCCXCIIII (pray for the priest who caused this ornament to be made and gave it to his church in Ratingen in honor of the Holy Sacrament, AD 1394), tells us that the patron had a special veneration for the Sacrament, something that he clearly wished to be remembered for (Figure 2.12). The fact that he is only called the priest in the inscription seems to be false or exaggerated humility, particularly considering the fact that the four saints decorating the upper portion of the monstrance spire all refer to Bruno Meens' ecclesiastical career. The saints are Peter, patron of Ratingen, where Meens was the parish priest from 1371 onwards, Victor (Figure 2.13) and Helena (Figure 4.4), patrons of the collegiate church in Ratingen.

Figure 2.11. Ratingen Monstrance, anonymous Cologne goldsmith, 1394, silver gilt, rock crystal and precious stones, Ratingen, parish church. Photo: Rheinisches Bildarchiv.

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98 Dresen gives the weight of the monstrance with its crystal vessel, a large antique covered beaker, as 18 lbs. Dresen, Ratinger Monstranz, 4.
Xanten, where he served as a canon, and Barbara, patron of Cologne’s Charterhouse, of which Meens was a member by 1398.\footnote{Perpeet-Frech, Monstranzen, cat. 135, pp. 200-201, Rhein und Maas: Kunst und Kultur 800-1400, (Cologne: Schnütgen-Museum, 1973), 400, cat. Q1; Anton Legner, ed., Die Parler und der schöne Stil 1350-1400, vol. 1 (of 3): Europäische Kunst unter den Luxemburgern, (Cologne: Schnütgen-Museum, 1978), 200; Fritz, Goldschmiedekunst der Gotik, 243.} Although it is possible that his identity might have been lost on the average viewer, the churchmen who used the monstrance probably identified it with Bruno Meens, and remembered him for his devotion to the Sacrament in their thoughts and prayers. The parish church of Ratingen was not the only institution to benefit from his patronage: Meens also donated a bejeweled silver gilt figure of the Virgin and Child, flanked by

Figure 2.12. Foot, stem and knob of the Ratingen Monstrance, Cologne, 1394, silver gilt, rock crystal and precious stones, Ratingen, Parish Church. Photo: Rheinisches Bildarchiv.

Figure 2.13. St. Victor, detail from the spire of the Ratingen Monstrance, Cologne, 1394, silver gilt, rock crystal and precious stones, Ratingen, Parish Church. Photo: Rheinisches Bildarchiv.
kneeling angels, and 225 marks coin to the Cologne Charterhouse in 1409.\footnote{100} Despite the fact that he described himself only as the priest, Meens appears to have been a man of property: tax records from Ratingen in 1362 indicate that he owned both a house in town and a farm in the countryside.\footnote{101}

The considerable expense of a monstrance allowed its patron to dictate the way in which he or she was seen and remembered. Monstrances were a conspicuous demonstration of their donor's wealth and Eucharistic piety both during their lifetime and after their death. The case of Henry de Cervo is a particularly good example. He was a canon of St. Mary ad Gradus in Cologne and a wealthy landowner whose holdings included a number of wineries. In his will of 1358, de Cervo donated funds for memorial masses in St. Mary's for himself and numerous family members, and requested to be buried in the choir next to the tabernacle where the Sacrament was held. Immediately after naming his place of burial, Henry de Cervo ordered the donation of a Host monstrance worth 80 florins, "in which the sacrament [would] be carried."\footnote{102}

This monstrance was doubtless housed in the tabernacle next to his tomb. Clearly he was making a grand gesture demonstrating his wealth and his devotion to the consecrated Host. His expensive donation probably also gave Henry de Cervo greater leverage when it came to dictating a burial site that would be close to the consecrated Host. Reflecting a similar wish to be eternally close to the consecrated Host, tiny cast figures of the brothers Johann and Heinrich Tygel kneel on either side of the lunula of the Xanten monstrance (Figure 2.14). They are


\footnote{101} For his house, Meens was taxed 14 marks per year. His nearby neighbors paid between 1 and 26 marks per year, with an average payment of 11.5 marks. No rate of taxation is recorded for the farm. Joseph Schleuter, Ratinger Stadtbücher des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts, series: Beiträge zur Geschichte Ratingens 3, (Ratingen: A. Henn Verlag, 1964), 20-26.

\footnote{102} Heuser, "Heinrich von Hirtz," 70-71, 75.
identifiable by their names and coat of arms, and hold a banderole inscribed *ecce panis angelorum*. Both were churchmen: Heinrich was a curate both in Xanten and in Kleve, and Johann was a parish priest in Birten and a canon of Xanten. The monstrance was likely left to the collegiate church of Xanten in Johann's will (he died March 19, 1377).\textsuperscript{103} It is a particularly impressive piece, decorated throughout with translucent enamels and tiny cast figures. The arms of the Tygel family on the lunula, placed directly beneath the receptacle for the Host, would be clearly visible when the monstrance was displayed on the altar or carried in processions.

Some patrons were responsible for donating a large Host monstrance as part of the establishment of a new Corpus Christi procession. In 1383, Friedrich von Öttingen, Bishop of Eichstätt, donated a monstrance to the cathedral of Eichstätt, as well as a tabernacle where it would be kept and a silk canopy that would be carried over the monstrance in processions. He also founded a Corpus Christi procession. According to his biographer, these donations reflected the bishop's intense

veneration of the Sacrament. Konrad Gross of Nuremberg went even further when in 1339 he founded the Hospital of the Holy Spirit, an enormous charity hospital for pilgrims and the poor, and four years later established a Corpus Christi procession there, complete with a new Host monstrance. In the 1443 document of donation, Konrad Gross stipulated the date of the procession (Sunday after Corpus Christi), the identity of its participants (the priests of the hospital, two honorable men and all the students and craft guilds of the city) and its approximate route (stopping at every church in Nuremberg). In both of these cases, Friedrich von Öttingen and Konrad Gross placed an expensive object associated with them at the center of a procession, ensuring that a large audience would witness their expensive acts of Eucharistic piety. Konrad Gross also dictated the route of his procession, ensuring that the maximum number of Nuremberg's citizens would see his monstrance.

In some cases, the donation of a new monstrance improved an established procession. Corpus Christi processions first developed in Mainz during the fourteenth century. The 1418 inventory of the Mainz Cathedral treasure describes two monstrances: the "new silver gilt monstrance, in which the Host is carried," and the "old monstrance, in which the Host was

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106 Bruder, "Die Fronleichnamsfeier zu Mainz," 492.
formerly carried. The new monstrance, which contained nearly double the silver of its predecessor, must have made the Host more visible both in processions and on the altar. The Collegiate Church of the Savior in Utrecht, known as the Oudmunster, saw a similar monstrance donation. Gerard Foec, a canon and former dean of the Oudmunster, donated a monstrance to that church in his 1383 testament. From the testament and several inventory descriptions, it is clear that Foec’s monstrance, which was made in Cologne, was large and very precious. The monstrance that it replaced is described in a 1369 inventory as "a small ciborium in which the sacrament is reserved." The Oudmunster took the primary role in citywide Corpus Christi processions because it was the oldest church in Utrecht. These processions, which involved all five collegiate churches, are documented in the Oudmunster Liber cantentatus beginning in 1343. Gerard Foec led at least two Corpus Christi processions during his tenure as dean, in 1354 and 1365. Since he had likely carried the smaller monstrance in these processions, Foec probably intended his new, larger monstrance to make the Host more visible. Although he probably never lived to see his precious donation in use, it was certainly carried in citywide processions. The Oudmunster Liber cantentatus records a procession with "the precious


109 See the discussion of the descriptions in the various Oudmunster inventories in Ch. 4., p. 4.10.

110 "Item parvum ciborium in quo reservatur sacramentum.” Inventory of relics, ornaments and books from 1369, in W.J.A. Visser, "Relieken van den H. Willibrordus, die in 1301 aan de Oudmunster te Utrecht ten geschenke zijn gegeven," *Archief voor de geschiedenis van het Aartsbisdom Utrecht* 57 (1933): 204.


113 Ibid., 209-10.
monstrance" in 1416 and another with "the large monstrance" in 1438. Foec's commission ensured that an object associated with him carried the Host in processions, just as he had led the Corpus Christi processions in 1354 and 1365. It also ensured his memory as a man of taste, the patron of the "precious monstrance."

It may seem surprising that Gerard Foec chose to commission such an expensive object in Cologne and not in his native city of Utrecht. He was, after all, dean of the Oudmunster from 1348 to 1374, and remained a canon of the Oudmunster until his death in 1383. The skill of the Utrecht goldsmiths can be seen in the Reliquary Bust of St. Frederick, made by Elyas Scerpswert for the Oudmunster in 1362. I suggest that Foec's decision not to use an Utrecht goldsmith was influenced by his career, which frequently took him outside of his native city. Foec was a specialist in both church and secular law and held a number of posts outside of Utrecht. Most significant to this study is the time he spent in Cologne. Utrecht was part of the archdiocese of Cologne until 1550, and Foec, like many other Utrecht churchmen, belonged to a number of Cologne chapters during his career. He became a canon of Cologne cathedral in the 1340s and entered the service of the Archbishop of Cologne in 1352, where he eventually rose to the office of vicar general. Finally, in 1374, he took the office of thesaurier of the church of St. Andreas in Cologne and gave the deanship of the Oudmunster to his nephew.

As thesaurier at St. Andreas, Gerard Foec was responsible for maintaining the church plate and liturgical textiles, and for organizing the lights within the church. This would

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114 Visser, "Berichten over processien," 212, 214.
115 Fritz, Goldschmiedekunst der Gotik, no. 395.
117 Van Genderen, De Heren van de Kerk, 590.
118 Van Genderen, De Heren van de Kerk, 175, note 46; 361, 589.
119 I Van Genderen, De Heren van de Kerk, 346.
120 A description of a thesaurier's duties can be found in Stuart F.C. Moore, The Cathedral Chapter of St Maarten in Utrecht before the Revolt (Ph.D. diss., University of Southampton, 1988), 22-23.
necessarily have brought him into contact with the goldsmiths of Cologne, whose workshops occupied an area just south of the cathedral. He might also have seen new monstrances in the city churches and others in production. Because of his ties to St. Andreas and other Cologne chapters, Gerard Foec was certainly aware of the citywide Corpus Christi procession and might have been a participant. He probably also knew of the three miraculous Hosts in the city, at the churches of Ss. Kolumba, Alban and Christopher. The miracle that took place at St. Christopher's in 1331 had attracted so much attention that a new church dedicated to the Corpus Christi was founded just three years later.\textsuperscript{121} Gerard Foec's exposure to and participation in the Eucharistic piety of Cologne doubtless influenced his decision to donate a monstrance to the Oudmunster in 1383, and his familiarity with the Cologne workshops, which produced many of the monstrances that can still be found in the Rhineland, must have led him to choose a Cologne goldsmith.

\textbf{Conclusion}

Gerard Foec, like Bruno Meens, should be understood as a pious donor who was devoted to the consecrated Host. In choosing to donate a silver gilt monstrance, a patron was counting on the immutability of the material to make his or her gift an everlasting one. The fact that a monstrance was more precious than a smaller object like a chalice might also have ensured its survival: it was less likely that the church in question had a surplus of large monstrances to be melted down.\textsuperscript{122} And the fact that a Host monstrance was a processional object would have


\textsuperscript{122} In 1543, the Duke of Kleve ordered churches in his lands to surrender all their silver plate, save one chalice and paten, to ducal officials during the war of succession in Geldern. All churches had the opportunity to ransom their objects by paying coin instead, and though smaller objects like chalices were generally surrendered, a significant number of churches chose to ransom their monstrances. These events will be discussed further in the
ensured a wide audience for the patron's expensive act of devotion. Bruno Meens and Gerard Foec commissioned their monstrances from the most highly skilled goldsmiths available, artists who, in a market as large as Cologne, were able to specialize in such complex objects. Each man, like any other monstrance patron or representative of a group of donors, doubtless insisted upon a detailed contract stipulating the size and metal content of the monstrance. Certain iconographic details, like the saint figures on Bruno Meens' monstrance for Ratingen, might also have been required. The patron may have asked to see design drawings and models. Monstrance patrons insisted upon a suitable design and quality execution, and they paid highly for the goldsmith's labor and expertise. The goldsmith's means of fulfilling the demands of his patron will be discussed in chapter 3, "Making the Monstrance".

CHAPTER 3.
MAKING THE MONSTRANCE

Introduction

This chapter explores the circumstances of monstrance production. The monumental achievement that is an architectural monstrance is best appreciated when one considers its complex design and construction. I begin with a discussion of the goldsmith’s workshop, namely its location and equipment. Next, I address the personnel working in the shop and the guild regulations governing their training. Following an explanation of the numerous parts that made up an architectural monstrance, I describe the techniques that were used in monstrance production. These goldsmithing techniques are ones that I observed when I handled monstrances and fragments in the course of my research. I also address issues related to workshop identification. Following this is an explanation of the sorts of restorations and alterations that might have affected a late gothic monstrance over the course of its history, including the construction of monstrance pastiches from collections of fragments. The chapter ends with a description of the fate of late gothic monstrances.

Goldsmiths' Workshops

Late gothic images of goldsmiths in their shops, for example a late fifteenth century engraving of St. Eligius, patron saint of goldsmiths, by the Master of Balaam, often show the goldsmith at work in front of a large open window. (Figure 3.1) Large windows provided a great deal of natural light for detail work, and allowed the goldsmith's wares to be seen by the public. The goldsmith in Petrus Christus' 1449 painting sits in front of his open window as he weighs a ring for the two customers standing behind him (Figure 2.2). On the shelves behind him are displayed several finished pieces, including an elaborate covered goblet called a pokal, a covered
crystal beaker, a coconut-shell goblet, and a selection of jewelry. Crystal, pearls, coral and other materials are placed on the lower shelf. The mirror at the goldsmith's elbow reflects two shoppers in the street or marketplace in front of his shop.¹ The pre-1365 ordinance for goldsmiths in Munich states that artists working gold and silver should do so in shops located in the market or on a street.² In Cologne, as in many other European cities, goldsmiths were forbidden to work privately in their homes. Instead, they were required to practice their trade in public places, with workshops that opened onto the street.³ According to the 1397 ordinance of

¹ The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Robert Lehman Collection (1975.1.110).
² "Swer von golt und von silber wuerchen kan, der sol in goltsmitten wuerchen, die ze margt und ze strazz ligent." Max Frankenburger, Die Alt-Münchner Goldschmiede und ihre Kunst, (Munich, 1912), 429.
³ Other cities with early examples of this rule include Strasbourg (1363), Vienna (1366), and Brünn in Moravia (1367). See Fritz, Goldschmiedekunst der Gotik, 41; First Book of the Goldsmiths, Strasbourg, article 25, Strassburger Stadt-Archiv, in: Meyer, Strassburger Goldschmiedezunft, 6; W.A. Neumann, "Kleinkünste während des Mittelalters," in Geschichte der Stadt Wien, Bd. III, (Vienna, 1906), 568; Codex Diplomaticus et epistolaris
the Cologne goldsmiths’ guild, this allowed the goldsmiths to be seen, thus preventing cheating and falsely made pieces (e.g. gilt copper falsely substituted for gold or silver gilt).⁴ Further emphasizing the need for goldsmiths to be seen, they were forbidden to work by candlelight after the street lamps had been lit nearby.⁵

Like other artists and craftsmen, goldsmiths practiced their trade in a particular quarter of the city. In Paris, the goldsmiths located their shops along the Seine as early as the mid-eleventh century. The Lübeck goldsmiths are documented in the city market by 1324. The modern street name of Unter Goldschmiede in Cologne reflects the location of the goldsmiths of that city—earlier versions of the street name are "platea inter aurifabros," "Goultsmedengasse" and "Under

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Figure 3.2. Map of Cologne showing the location of the goldsmiths (Unter Goldschmiede). Graphic illustration: author.

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⁴ "Von so en sall nieman van den goltsmeden heimlich gadom uphalden, mer offenbair zer straissen uis, alsodat man ien oeversien moge, alle misswerk zo verhoeden, updat niman bedrogen en werde." Article 4 of the 1397 ordinance of the goldsmiths' guild, Cologne, in von Loesch, Die köln Zunfturkunden, Bd. 1, no. 27, p. 81.
⁵ "Von so en sall man niet langer mit kirzen wirken dan bis nachtlichtzijt, as man zo s. Laurencius ind s. Albaen geluit hait," Article 8, Ibid.
Goltsmeden.\textsuperscript{6} This goldsmiths' street ran north to south between the cathedral precinct parish and the church of St. Alban, just west of the Rathaus and the Altmarkt (Figure 3.2). Goldsmiths' workshops were easily accessible to the city markets, the harbor, and to the numerous clerics that visited the cathedral. By 1395, there were 122 master goldsmiths in Cologne, and this number remained relatively constant into the sixteenth century.\textsuperscript{7} Cologne's status as a major trade center and the fact that it boasted so many master goldsmiths meant that the market for Cologne goldsmithwork extended far beyond the city walls. Among other objects, there is documentary evidence of Cologne masters making monstrances for Utrecht, Paris and 's-Hertogenbosch.\textsuperscript{8} Monstrances, however, were unusual and complex items that were not part of the goldsmith's typical repertoire, which generally consisted of secular eating and drinking vessels, jewelry (particularly girdles, brooches and rings), seals and chalices. But in Cologne, it was possible for some goldsmiths to specialize in more complicated and unusual pieces like monstrances, processional crosses, shrines and the like. Although there are unfortunately few surviving financial records for Cologne goldsmithwork, documents from other cities indicate that certain goldsmiths were in demand when it came to complex objects. Hans Rutenzwig of Basel, for example, is documented with having made at least two monstrances, one in Bern (1466) and the other in Porrentruy (1477).\textsuperscript{9} Two Cologne monstrances, in Gerresheim (Figures 2.5 and A.1)

\begin{footnotes}
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and Ratingen (Figure 2.11), have been linked to the same workshop.\textsuperscript{10} A second Cologne workshop has been identified with the Kölner Dommonstranz (Figure 1.10) and two crosses, the first a processional cross from St. Kolumba's in Cologne (Figure 2.10, now in the cathedral treasury) and the second a reliquary cross in Solingen-Gräfrath (Figure 3.3).\textsuperscript{11} It is my contention that the finest Cologne monstrances were made in workshops like these, where the master goldsmith specialized in complex, expensive commissions.

The workshop of a successful late Gothic goldsmith in Cologne probably resembled St. Eligius' workshop as shown in the Master of Balaam's engraving, except, of course, for the bishop's throne and disruptive animals. According to Theophilus (c. 1125), the goldsmith's shop should be spacious, airy, and lit with as many windows as possible. However his suggested arrangement, with a large room for casting and two smaller rooms for silverwork

\textsuperscript{10} Paul Clemen was the first to note the nearly identical feet of the two monstrances, as well as their remarkably similar figures. Clemen, \textit{Der Stadt und des Kreises Düsseldorf}, 159. See also Fritz, \textit{Goldschmiedekunst der Gotik}, nos. 409-412.

\textsuperscript{11} Alexander Schnütgen was the first to recognize that the \textit{travail pointillé} on the Solingen-Gräfrath cross and the Kölner Dommonstranz was by the same hand. Alexander Schnütgen, "Hochgotisches Kreuzpartikelreliquiar der Pfarrkirche zu Gräfrath," \textit{Zeitschrift für Christliche Kunst} 17 (1904): 222. See also Perpeet-Frech, "gotische Sakramentsmonstranz," 101; Fritz, \textit{Goldschmiedekunst der Gotik}, nos. 424-5, 439-440.
and goldwork, was probably impossible in an urban workshop. The engraving of St. Eligius shows the goldsmith saint and his assistants working in a single room. Similarly, Alexander Neckham's late twelfth century description, which was likely based upon his travels in Paris and London, seems to imply that the workshop was a single room.

The goldsmith should have a furnace with a hole at the top so that the smoke can get out by all exits. One hand should operate the bellows with a light pressure and the greatest diligence, so that the air inside the bellows, being pressed through the tubes, may blow up the coals and that the constant spread of it may feed the fire. Let there be an anvil of extreme hardness on which iron and gold may be softened and may take the required form. They can be stretched and pulled with the tongs and the hammer. There should be a hammer also for making gold leaf, as well as sheets of silver, tin, brass, iron or copper. The goldsmith must have a very sharp chisel by which he can engrave in amber, diamond or ophelta, or marble, or jacinth, emerald, sapphire, or pearl, and form many figures. He should have a hardness stone for testing metals, and one for comparing steel with iron. He must also have a rabbit’s-foot for smoothing, polishing, and wiping the surface of gold and silver, and the small particles of metal should be collected in a leather apron. He must have small boxes, flasks, and containers, of pottery, and a toothed saw and a gold file, as well as gold and silver wire, by which broken objects can be mended or properly constructed. The goldsmith should be skilled in feathery work as well as in bas-relief, in fusing as well as hammering. His apprentice must have a waxed or painted table, or one covered with clay, for portraying little flowers and drawing in various ways. That he may do this conveniently let him have litharge and chalk. He must know how to distinguish solid gold from brass and copper, that he may not purchase brass for gold...  

The furnace and bellows from Neckham's description are clearly visible in the Master of Balaam's engraving. So are the hammer and anvil, used by St. Eligius to form the cup of a chalice, the leather aprons hung beneath each workspace to catch scraps of metal, and a wide selection of tools hung on the wall and scattered on the workbench. These include shears, files, hammers, tongs, and chisels. Of particular note is a pair of calipers, which is being used to

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measure the lobed rim that will be attached to the bottom of the chalice foot. The calipers and lobed rim are placed at the center of the workbench, and the unfinished chalice foot is placed on a board just behind them. The high lip of the workbench, like the leather aprons at each workplace, prevents small scraps and filings of precious metal from being lost. To the left of St. Eligius, one apprentice draws wire through an iron plate pierced with holes of varying widths, and to his right, a female apprentice is about to punch a design onto a flat piece of metal.\(^{13}\) She raises a hammer before striking the punch.\(^{14}\) The activity of the third assistant is unclear: it is possible that he is using his tweezers to place wire or gold granules for filigree.\(^{15}\)

Alexander Neckham's description, which comes from his encyclopedic treatise on tools, may not reflect the state of all goldsmiths' workshops. Similarly, St. Eligius' idealized workshop as portrayed by the Master of Balaam may not reflect the humbler reality of an average goldsmith's shop. An inventory from 1380 of a London goldsmith's shop lists only a workbench, mortar and pestle, a pair of tongs, a varnish barrel (probably for mordant gilding) and two *trebulettes*, tapered mandrels used to shape rings.\(^{16}\) The trade of this goldsmith, like Steffan Maignow of Constance nearly a century later, was probably limited to inexpensive jewelry. The 1490 inventory of the shop of John Colan of York, a more successful goldsmith, lists a wide range of tools and finished pieces of secular and church plate in silver, gold and tin as well as a jet rosary. He had five scales for weighing precious metals, a *tryblett* for making rings, enameling equipment and several punches, molds and patterns (probably lead or wood models for making molds). Colan, whose name indicates that he probably emigrated from Cologne,

\(^{13}\) For a description of the wire-making tool, see Theophilus, *De diversis artibus* 3:8, in Hawthorne and Smith, ed. and trans., *Theophilus*, 87.

\(^{14}\) For punches, see Theophilus, *De diversis artibus* 3:13, in Hawthorne and Smith, ed. and trans., *Theophilus*, 92.

\(^{15}\) Theophilus describes the technique of filigree as it is used to decorate a gold chalice. Theophilus, *De diversis artibus* 3:52, in Hawthorne and Smith, ed. and trans., *Theophilus*, 123-5.

\(^{16}\) Campbell, "Goldsmiths' tools," 217.
appears to have had a varied and profitable business similar to a successful goldsmith in Cologne.\textsuperscript{17} The workshop of the Cologne goldsmith who produced the monstrance from St. Kolumba's would have included a furnace, anvil, hammers and tongs for shaping the various pieces of the monstrance, a wire pulling tool to produce the wires that attach several of these pieces, dies for the decorative cutwork and casting equipment for architectural details and the figure of St. Kolumba. Engraving tools would have been necessary to produce the exquisitely engraved enthroned saints on the foot and evangelist symbols on the dome of the spire (Figure A.4). The translucent enamel on many pieces, most notably the Lorch monstrance, with its figures of St. Martin and the beggar on a green enameled ground with tiny enamel flowers, would have required appropriate equipment (Figure 2.6).\textsuperscript{18}

**Personnel**

St. Eligius, as depicted by the Master of Balaam, has three apprentices or, more likely, two apprentices and a journeyman. The figure who appears to be performing the more complex task of working with filigree is probably the journeyman. In most cities, a master goldsmith could have a maximum of two apprentices and two journeymen.\textsuperscript{19} Though documents from the Cologne goldsmiths' guild do not expressly limit the number of apprentices or journeymen, they

\textsuperscript{17} *Testamenta Eboracensia*, no. XXVI, pp. 58-9. For a discussion of this inventory, see Campbell, "Goldsmiths' tools," 218, 219. Another goldsmith, Eleazer d'Ecclesia of Draguignan in Provence, had a similarly wide selection of tools and wares when his workshop was inventoried in 1498. He appears to have been primarily in the employ of the church in this small village (ca. 2000 inhabitants at the end of the fifteenth century), and was equipped to make a wide variety of objects. Catherine Arminjon, "Un atelier d'orfèvre de la fin du Moyen-Age," in *Outils et ateliers d'orfèvres des temps anciens*, ed. Christiane Eluère, no. 2 of *antiquités nationales memoires* (Saint-Germain-en-Laye: Société des Amis du Musée des Antiquités Nationales et du château de Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 1993), 227-30.

\textsuperscript{18} Unfortunately most of the enamelwork on this monstrance has flaked off, but traces of the green enamel ground and white and purple flowers remain. It is also possible that St. Martin's cloak was enameled: this would account for its rough texture.

are usually described singly.\textsuperscript{20} It is therefore possible that the average Cologne goldsmith had only one apprentice and one journeyman. There is one documented example, from 1371, of a Cologne goldsmith having two apprentices. In this case, the brothers Johannes and Gyso were apprenticed by their mother Christine to the goldsmith Franconi Loschart. Christine paid a fee to cover their living expenses and new clothing over eight years.\textsuperscript{21} In other cities, apprentices could serve as few as three years, but in Cologne, the customary apprenticeship lasted eight.\textsuperscript{22} Young men (and sometimes young women) of legitimate birth were apprenticed in their teens—no older than fifteen in Cologne.\textsuperscript{23} Parents were expected to pay for the training of their children, and apprentices were not paid for their work in the goldsmith's shop.\textsuperscript{24} A prospective apprentice in Cologne was allowed a trial period of four weeks under a master before payment for his or her apprenticeship was expected.\textsuperscript{25} There is unfortunately no account of exactly what a goldsmith's apprentice was taught, though the aforementioned Christine specifically states that her sons will receive instruction in the mechanical arts that will lead to their future profession.\textsuperscript{26} From Alexander Neckham's description, we can assume that apprentices learned drawing and how to tell base metals from precious ones. Albrecht Dürer remarked at the end of his time as a goldsmith's apprentice, "I can now work neatly."\textsuperscript{27} That the training was difficult can be inferred

\textsuperscript{20} Such description can be found in the earliest guild ordinance, from the early fourteenth century. See: von Loesch, \textit{Die kölnner Zunfturkunden}, Bd. 1, no. 26A, p. 73. The regulations of the Luneburg goldsmiths (c. 1400) also refer to goldsmiths having one apprentice. Bodemann, \textit{Zunfturkunden der Stadt Lüneburg}, 97-8.

\textsuperscript{21} Von Loesch, \textit{Die kölnner Zunfturkunden}, Bd. 2, no. 425, p. 211.

\textsuperscript{22} Although the earliest guild ordinance stipulates that an apprenticeship last eight years, in later ordinances this is described as the "usual" time period. See: von Loesch, \textit{Die kölnner Zunfturkunden}, Bd. 1, no. 26A, p. 73; no. 27, p. 82. For a summary of the apprenticeship period in other cities, see Fritz, \textit{Goldschmiedekunst der Gotik}, 41.

\textsuperscript{23} For legitimacy, see von Loesch, \textit{Die kölnner Zunfturkunden}, Bd. 1, no. 26B, p. 80; for age, Ibid., no. 27, p. 82.

\textsuperscript{24} Von Loesch, \textit{Die kölnner Zunfturkunden}, Bd. 1, no. 28, pp. 84-5.

\textsuperscript{25} Von Loesch, \textit{Die kölnner Zunfturkunden}, Bd. 1, no. 28, pp. 84-5.

\textsuperscript{26} Von Loesch, \textit{Die kölnner Zunfturkunden}, Bd. 2, no. 425, p. 211.

\textsuperscript{27} "...ich nun seüberlich arbeiten kund..." Albrecht Dürer, \textit{Familienchronik}, in: Hans Rupprich, ed., \textit{Dürer, Schriftlicher Nachlaß} 1, (Berlin: Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1956), 30 (lines 194-5)
from documents regarding runaway apprentices and what should be done about them. 28 A letter from the city of Mühldorf in Bavaria to the goldsmiths of Cologne, recommending that Wolfgang Weilkircher be accepted as a journeyman in Cologne, states that Wolfgang has learned the craft of goldsmithing from his master, and that he served his apprenticeship "truly and faithfully." 29

Following his or her apprenticeship, young goldsmiths received a letter like Wolfgang Weilkircher's stating that they were of legitimate birth and had successfully completed their training under a master goldsmith. This letter enabled the young goldsmith to begin his or her journeyman period, during which he or she received further training under a master in another city. Journeymen in Cologne served eight years, a period that was later shortened to four, with the possibility of a fifth year. 30 During this time they presumably performed more complex tasks than an apprentice, but neither journeymen nor apprentices were allowed to sell their own work. 31 Journeymen worked only for a single master, and any payment for their work was mediated by him. 32 Journeyman goldsmiths could travel quite far from home: journeymen from Cologne are documented in Lübeck and Vienna, and Cologne masters took on journeymen from Lübeck, Augsburg, Mühldorf and Nuremberg. 33 Others, of course, did not travel as far: Cologne also had journeymen from Andernach (north of Koblenz on the Rhine) and Dringenberg (near Paderborn). 34 Some young goldsmiths might work in several cities before becoming a master. In 1478 Paul Schongauer of Colmar purchased citizenship in the city of Leipzig, with the intent

28 Guild regulations as well as legal notices dealt with runaway apprentices. For Cologne, see von Loesch, *Die kölnner Zunfturkunden*, Bd. 1, no. 28, pp. 85-6; Bd. 2, no. 439, pp. 221-222.
30 The fourteenth century ordinances stipulate a period of eight years, but this is shortened in the 1456 ordinance.
31 Von Loesch, *Die kölnner Zunfturkunden*, Bd. 1, no. 28, pp. 85-6
32 Von Loesch, *Die kölnner Zunfturkunden*, Bd. 1, no. 28, p. 86.
34 Von Loesch, *Die kölnner Zunfturkunden*, Bd. 2, nos. 431 and 442.
of starting a business there.\textsuperscript{35} Although there are no records of his journeyman period, it is possible that he had served two years under a Leipzig goldsmith, as were stipulated in that city's 1493 goldsmiths' ordinance.\textsuperscript{36} In 1489, a legal notice in Basel described Paul Schongauer as a journeyman goldsmith from Colmar and not from Leipzig, possibly indicating that Schongauer had abandoned his goldsmith's shop in Leipzig some time before.\textsuperscript{37} He was finally described in a Basel legal notice as \textit{meister paulin} in 1491.\textsuperscript{38}

Apart from the tasks performed by their apprentices and journeymen, master goldsmiths generally worked alone. Goldsmiths of the same family might work together, like Georg Seld of Augsburg, his brother Heinrich and his nephew Hans, but it was more unusual for other goldsmiths to collaborate.\textsuperscript{39} Generally collaboration took place on large, time-consuming projects like shrines, or in cases when the patron was in a particular hurry.\textsuperscript{40} In the 1490 contract from Neunkirchen am Brand, the one documented case of two goldsmiths working on a monstrance, Master Frantz was clearly the artist in charge, and Master Hans Payer acted in a secondary role, performing minor tasks like sorting old silver to be melted down.\textsuperscript{41} The

\textsuperscript{37} Basel, Gerichtsarchiv, Urteilsbuch A 37, in Moser, "Paul Schongauer," 67.
\textsuperscript{38} Basel, Gerichtsarchiv, Urteilsbuch A 39, in Moser, "Paul Schongauer," 68.
\textsuperscript{39} Fritz, \textit{Goldschmiedekunst der Gotik}, 48. A master could also use the labor of his or her children without the regulations that were imposed upon apprenticeship or the taking of a journeyman. See: David Nicholas, "Child and Adolescent Labour in the Late Medieval City: A Flemish Model in Regional Perspective," \textit{The English Historical Review} 110:439 (Nov. 1995): 1108; Steven A. Epstein, \textit{Wage Labor and Guilds in Medieval Europe} (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 106; Shulamith Shahar, \textit{Childhood in the Middle Ages} (London: Routledge, 1990), 231-2.
\textsuperscript{40} Colard of Douai and Jacquemon of Nivelles collaborated on the Gertrude Shrine in Nivelles (contract 1272) and Peter Ratzko and Hans Scheßlitzer were responsible for the Shrine of the Relics of the Imperial Insignia, Nuremberg, (1438-40). Didier, "Interpretation," 87-88; Kohlhauzen, \textit{Nürnberger Goldschmiedekunst}, cat. 169, pp. 95-7. Fritz lists several "rush orders" that required the work of more than one goldsmith for objects like royal seals, a tankard, and a large number of silver pilgrim badges. Fritz, \textit{Goldschmiedekunst der Gotik}, 47-8.
\textsuperscript{41} Fritz suggests that Master Hans Payer performed his minor tasks for free, but there is no specific payment made to either goldsmith in the records published by Kohlhauzen. The rate of 10 florins per mark silver in the monstrance that is mentioned in a payment record from 1490 probably reflects the goldsmith's fee for labor, and
Neunkirchen monstrance was made very quickly—in less than a year—because the church's old monstrance was melted down for the new monstrance. The goldsmiths had to hurry in order for the new monstrance to be ready for Corpus Christi.\textsuperscript{42} From other documents, it appears that a monstrance generally took two to three years to complete, depending on its size and complexity. Georg Seld's monstrance for Ss. Ulrich and Afra in Augsburg was delivered three years after he was contracted to make it, and Hans Rutenzwig required two and a quarter years to make the first Porrentruy monstrance.\textsuperscript{43}

**Parts of a Monstrance**

Monstrances were extremely complex objects made up of many individual parts (Figure 3.4). The main body of the foot (c), shaped like a flared cone with projecting edges, would be made in one piece, but the projecting rim beneath it (a) was generally cut separately and then attached. The decorative band between the rim and the body of the foot (b) might also constitute a separate piece. The feet of some monstrances, for example the two large reliquary monstrances in Klosterneuburg, have thin engraved plates that are attached to each lobe of the foot.\textsuperscript{44} On others, like the St. Kolumba monstrance, the engravings were done directly on the main body of the foot. At the top of a typical monstrance foot, the chapel-like construction (d) serves the practical function of disguising the attachment of the stem to the foot. The stem was usually made in two pieces (e, g) that were attached to the top and bottom of the knob (f). Generally, the knob consisted of two hemispheres joined at the center, with embellishments like cut flowers,

\textsuperscript{42}Work was begun on July 6, 1490, and the monstrance was first carried on the feast of Corpus Christi in 1491 (June 1 of that year). Kohlhaussen, *Nürnberger Goldschmiedekunst*, 220.

\textsuperscript{43}Weber, "Drei Aufrisse," note 36; Rais, "Grand Ostensoir," 74-5.

\textsuperscript{44}For the conservation of these reliquaries, see: Hannelore Karl, “Beobachtungen an den beiden gotischen Turmonstranzen in Klosterneuburg,” *Festschrift für Hermann Fillitz zum 70. Geburtstag, Aachener Kunstblatter* 60 (1994): 327-332.
Figure 3.4. Parts of a Host Monstrance. Solingen-Gräfrath Monstrance, Cologne, c. 1400 (foot restored by Leonhard Schwann, Cologne, c. 1850-60), silver gilt, rock crystal and enamel, h: 69.4cm, Gräfrath, Deutsches Klingemuseum (on loan from the Kirchengemeinde St. Mariä Himmelfahrt). Photo and graphic illustration: Author.

inscribed bands or cast foliage to hide the seam. The flared, chalice-like vessel base (i) would be made in one piece like the monstrance foot. The bottom of the vessel base was usually embellished with a projecting molding (h) where it joined the stem. Each flanking buttress (k) generally rested upon a rectangular projection (j) extending horizontally from the vessel base. On most Cologne monstrances, these rectangular projections are ornamented with spirals and flowers that extend below each buttress. The vertical crystal vessel of a tower monstrance (l) was usually held at the top and bottom by cut silver bands (m, n). Sometimes the lower band rested on top of a truncated cone (o) that was attached to the top of the vessel base.

Generally a metal strip cut with tracery (p) was used to join the lower band (or flaring base) and the flanking buttresses. Cast flyers (q) joined the buttresses to the upper band and the flared truncated cone (r) that supported the spire. This truncated cone would be cut with slots or have projecting tabs to hold the spire in
place. A typical spire for a tower monstrance would consist of a domed base (s) to which buttresses (t) would be attached. Like the buttresses flanking the crystal vessel, the larger buttresses on the spire would be made of cut and folded sheets of silver, and each one would be attached separately to the dome. Smaller buttresses were generally cast. A small chapel (u), complete with a stepped base, vaulting and cast buttresses might form the center of the spire. Finally, a narrow conical roof (usually with four or six distinct edges) would top the spire (v). The surface of the monstrance was enhanced with cast elements like figures, gables, crockets, pinnacles and gargoyles; punched decoration, bands of cutwork, cut and enameled flowers, and engraved or pointillist images.

**Goldsmithing Techniques**

One of the most important techniques of the goldsmith was hammering, which allowed the goldsmith to stretch and compress a flat sheet of metal into a three-dimensional form. In the Master of Balaam's engraving, St. Eligius can be seen forming the bowl of a chalice by hammering it on an anvil. Theophilus describes this technique as follows:

> When you begin to hammer the silver, look for the middle of it and make a center point with the compasses. Around this you are going to make a square projection onto which you will [later] fix the foot. Now when the silver has been made so thin that it can be bent by hand...draw [concentric] circles with the compasses, from the center to halfway out on the inside, and on the outside from halfway out to the rim. Then, following the circles, hammer on the inside with a round hammer to give depth and, following the circles on the outside up to the rim, hammer with a medium-size hammer on a rounded anvil to make [the bowl] narrower.  

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46 Theophilus, *De diversis artibus* III, 26, from Hawthorne and Smith, *Theophilus*, 99-100.
The dome of a monstrance spire, the flared base of the crystal vessel, and the monstrance foot could all be fashioned using this technique. The base of the crystal vessel from the St. Kolumba monstrance, made in Cologne c. 1400, is an excellent example of this sort of work. (Figure 3.5) The basic flared cone was formed from a single flat piece of silver in a manner similar to Theophilus' description, and the six edges were likely raised using the sharply angled horn of an anvil. An anvil with sharply tapered and angled horns is depicted next to the anvil that St. Eligius is using in the Master of Balaam's engraving. The inset tracery windows on the vessel base of the Kolumba monstrance were probably chased, that is, pushed in on the front side of the silver. The crosshatching was made with a very sharp engraving tool, and thick silver wires were soldered on to form the tracery.

Many parts of a monstrance, particularly the stem and flanking buttresses, were made of flat sheets of silver that were cut, chased with angles, and then bent into shape. Most monstrance stems are hexagonal tubes, requiring the goldsmith to bend five crisp edges and attach the two long sides of the tube at the sixth edge. Flanking buttresses were made in the form of narrow rectangular boxes cut with windows to which cast and cut decorations could be applied, as can be seen in a buttress from a lost monstrance in the Museum Schnütgen, Cologne.47 (Fig. 3.6) In

some cases, seams would be soldered together, but they could also be attached using slots and tabs cut from the metal that were then burnished to hide the join.\footnote{Theophilus describes the making and use of solder, and a more recent analysis of the composition of medieval solder can be found in Newman. Theophilus, \textit{De diversis artibus} III, 31, from Hawthorne and Smith, \textit{Theophilus}, 107-8; Newman, "Materials and Techniques," 34.} The foot of the Kölner Dommonstranz displays an interesting means of attachment for two pieces: the body of the foot and the cut rim that it rests upon were both cut in a crenellated pattern on the edges where they join together. Each projecting crenellation was folded into a corresponding depression on the edge of the other piece, effectively knitting the foot and its rim together. The crenellations were then burnished until they were nearly flat. When a monstrance was finished, its seams were generally hidden under gilding. Unless the gilding has worn away, it can be very difficult to determine whether the goldsmith used solder or a mechanical means of attachment.

Repoussé, the technique of pushing up a relief design in metal from the rear or underside, was used particularly in the creation of the knob of the monstrance. Although it is possible to do freehand repoussé work without a mold, late gothic goldsmiths probably used a hard negative mold to form the hemispheres of a knob.\footnote{For the use of repoussé on the knob of a particular monstrance, see the description of the Gerresheim monstrance in: Karl Bernd Heppe et al, \textit{Frommer Reichtum in Düsseldorf: Kirchenschätze aus 10 Jahrhunderten}, exhibition catalogue (Düsseldorf: Stadtgeschichtliches Museum, 1978), no. 16.} Monstrance knobs have such complex cushion-like forms that a mold would improve the goldsmith's chances of making two halves that would precisely match. Negative molds for repoussé were individually cut from stone or a hard metal like bronze and would be more difficult to reproduce than a casting model.
Many decorative elements on a monstrance, including figures, tracery, finials and gargoyles were cast, usually in molds that were made using goldsmiths' models. A large number of these models, originally acquired by Basilius Amerbach from Basel goldsmiths in the sixteenth century, can now be seen in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Basel (Figures 3.7-3.9). The Basel goldsmiths' models are primarily made of lead, though copper or bronze could also be used in the production of such models. The goldsmith would press a model into fine sand and then cast a wax positive in the sand for lost-wax casting or for the production of a piece mold.

![Figure 3.7](image)

**Figure 3.7.** Goldsmiths' Tracery Models, from the workshops of various goldsmiths, c. 1500, lead, Historisches Museum, Basel. Photo: Alwin Seiler, 2003.

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50 The photographs in figures 3.7 through 3.9 were made by the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Basel, at my request. The photos that have previously been published of these models show only a few of them, and none of the published photos include the finials in figure 3.9.

Figure 3.8. Goldsmiths' Figural Models, from the workshops of various goldsmiths, c. 1500, lead, Historisches Museum, Basel. Photo: Alwin Seiler, 2003.

Figure 3.9. Goldsmiths' Models of Finials and Architectural Ornament, from the workshops of various goldsmiths, c. 1500, lead, copper and bronze, Historisches Museum, Basel. Photo: Alwin Seiler, 2003.
This method allowed the goldsmith to produce elements like finials, which were used profusely on a monstrance, quickly and easily. Another timesaving method was to use the same model for multiple figures like virgin saints by simply changing their attributes on the wax positive. Since models like these were made to be easily reproduced, it is not surprising that particular figures, tracery motifs and finial types can be found on many monstrances and other pieces, sometimes widely separated both chronologically and geographically. The mourning figures of the Virgin and John the Evangelist in the Liebieghaus, Frankfurt, are an excellent example (Figure 3.10). These early fifteenth century figures, which were likely conceived as part of a crucifixion group, appear on four Cologne monstrances and a fifth from Frankfurt. These are: the (stolen) Aldenhoven monstrance (c. 1400), monstrances in the Kestner-Museum, Hannover (Figure 3.11) and in Esch (second quarter of the fifteenth century), the Vallendar monstrance (c. 1450, Figures 3.12 and 3.15), and the monstrance in Koblenz-Moselweiß, made by the Frankfurt goldsmith Johannes Marpurg in 1469 (Figure 1.3). The mourning figure of Mary appears on an additional monstrance in Trent, donated in 1486. Goldsmiths' models were sometimes passed down from one generation to another (for example in wills) and they were also easily copied and thus transferred from one goldsmith to another. The Basel goldsmiths' models, which originated in multiple Basel workshops, have been linked not only to objects in Basel but also to pieces in Augsburg, Zurich, and Aachen.52

Figure 3.10. Cast Figures of Mary and John the Evangelist, anonymous goldsmith, c. 1400, silver, partially gilt, Frankfurt, Liebieghaus—Skulpturensammlung, Inv. nos. 225, 226. Photo: Liebieghaus—Skulpturensammlung.
Figure 3.11. Monstrance, Cologne, second quarter of the fifteenth century, copper gilt, Hannover, Kestner-Museum, Inv. no. 1926.59. Photo: Kestner-Museum.

Figure 3.12. Vallendar Monstrance, Cologne, second quarter of the fifteenth century, silver, partially gilt, h. 104cm, Vallendar, Ss. Peter and Marcellinus. Photo: Rheinisches Bildarchiv.
Once all the component parts of a monstrance were made, it had to be assembled. Although goldsmiths could use solder to join the pieces of a monstrance, it was more practical for future repairs to make the piece so it could be dismantled. Hinges were often used to attach the frame of the crystal vessel on a disc monstrance. On the spire of the Kolumba monstrance, hinges join the small cast flying buttresses to the colonnettes of the spire chapel. Pins and holes can be found throughout a monstrance, particularly at the joining of the stem to the knob and the flanking buttresses to the rectangular projections on either side of the vessel base. Most knobs were made with a short projecting horizontal rim at the center. This rim would fit snugly within the hexagonal monstrance stem and they would be secured with a long pin that would run from one side of the stem to the other. Such pins can often be seen just above and below the knob of a monstrance. On tower monstrances, the flanking buttresses are secured to the rectangular projections on either side of the vessel base with pins or tabs. A particularly interesting vessel base, made from a recycled piece of engraved copper, can be seen in the parish church of Altenheerse (figure 3.13).53 On it, the holes for the attachment of the flanking buttresses are clearly visible. In the case of a silvered and gilt copper monstrance at the Busch-Reisinger Museum at Harvard University, made in Cologne c. 1430, the buttresses fit snugly inside moldings on each projection. The buttresses and projections are incised with corresponding Roman numerals (buttress I fits into projection I, buttress II into projection II).54

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54 Henry Lie, Conservator at the Busch-Reisinger Museum at Harvard University, dismantled this piece for me on July 2, 1996. Busch-Reisinger Museum, Harvard University 1962.85
A pin, running from the front to the back of the monstrance, secures each buttress in place. It was also possible for buttresses to be completely assembled and then attached with pins or hinges to the monstrance vessel base without rectangular projections, like the buttress in Figure 4. Cast figures were often secured with pins. A tab cut with a hole would be attached either to the back of each figure or below the feet. This tab would fit into a slot cut into the monstrance, and a pin would secure the figure in place (Figure 3.14). The cast figures of the mourning Virgin and John the Evangelist on the monstrance in Vallendar are attached using dovetails, an innovative technique that I have seen on no other monstrance. Beneath the feet of each figure is a flat cut dovetail that fits precisely into the dovetail opening in the figure's pedestal. The same technique is used in the attachment of the floor of the spire chapel (Figure 3.15). Cast figures and finials could also be attached using snugly fitting sockets. Generally a square projecting tab on the bottom of a finial or figure would fit inside a shallow square socket. On the Lorch monstrance, the cast angels flanking the central vessel are attached using triangular sockets. Each angel has a long triangular projection soldered to its base, and this fits snugly inside an arcaded triangular plinth projecting from the flanking buttress. A similar long projecting tab can be found on the angel to the right of the vessel of the

Figure 3.14. The attachment of a cast figure to a buttress by means of a tab and pin. Graphic illustration: author.
Kölner Dommonstranz, although this angel stands on a narrow square plinth. Since this angel must be removed in order for the vessel to be opened, the long projecting tab was probably used to increase the stability of this frequently used portion of the monstrance.

The heavy crystal vessel and architectural framework of a monstrance, coupled with its function as a processional object, meant that its relatively narrow stem and knob were subject to a great deal of metal stress. Goldsmiths often stabilized the monstrance stem by inserting a tube of copper, bronze or iron at its center. When the chapel at the top of a monstrance foot or a knob has been cut with windows or quatrefoils, it is sometimes possible to see a central tube stabilizing the monstrance stem. A payment record from 1490 for the Neunkirchen monstrance includes ½ florin for iron that was placed "in and under the foot," possibly referring to this sort of stabilization. The Cologne monstrance in the Busch-Reisinger Museum and the two large Klosterneuburg reliquary monstrances were made with a stabilizing tube at the center of the stem that is attached to the foot by means of a large, hand-cut screw on the inside of the foot.\footnote{Johann Michael Fritz has several photographs taken by Hannelore Karl during her conservation of the Klosterneuburg reliquary monstrances that show these pieces completely dismantled. I examined these photos and}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{Figure315.jpg}
\caption{Vallendar Monstrance, detail of the spire chapel with Ss. Peter and Marcellinus. Photo: author.}
\end{figure}
stabilizing tube is attached to the monstrance vessel base, but the exact means of attachment (solder, screw or pin) is hidden on all three monstrances. The head of the screw is broader than the top of the monstrance foot, and its threads match up with threads in the stabilizing tube. When the screw is tightened, it firmly attaches the top of the foot to the stem. The stabilizing tube of the Klosterneuburg Cross Reliquary fits inside of several individual pieces, including the knob, pieces of the stem, the chapel at the top of the foot, and two decorative bands. They are all strung together on the tube like beads on a necklace. The stem and knob of the Harvard monstrance, on the other hand, are firmly pinned to each other and to the monstrance vessel base.

When the hand cut screw beneath the foot is removed, only the foot can be separated from the monstrance. Screws like these can be found on a number of other monstrances, but many of them have been soldered in place (probably during modern restorations).

**Workshop Identification**

The monstrances in Ratingen and Gerresheim have been linked to the same workshop for a variety of convincing reasons.\(^{56}\) First, their feet are nearly identical in shape as well as in decoration, although the decorative bands between the projecting rim and the body of each foot are different both in height and ornament. The knobs of the two monstrances (Figures 2.4 and 2.12) are extremely similar to one another and remarkably different from the knobs of other Cologne monstrances. The two knobs differ only in the decorative bands at the hemisphere of each. The band on the knob of the Ratingen monstrance is engraved with a vine scroll, while the

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\(^{56}\) Fritz, in his discussion of the Gerresheim Monstrance, mentions its foot, knob and a number of figures, particularly St. Hippolytus, that resemble portions of the Ratingen Monstrance. Fritz, *Goldschmiedekunst der Gotik*, no. 412.
one on the Gerresheim monstrance is inscribed *cois eleia me fecit.*

The buttons that project from this decorative band are wider and longer on the Ratingen monstrance, although this may be due to the nineteenth century restoration of the piece. Another nearly identical feature is the cutwork band that encircles the vessel base of each monstrance (Figures 2.5 and 2.12). Similarly, the cast bands of fleurs-de-lis that hide the attachment of the spire to the top of each monstrance vessel appear to have been cast from the same mold. Finally, the same models were used in the casting of several figures. For example, St. Victor on the spire of the Ratingen monstrance corresponds to St. Hippolytus on the flanking buttress of the Gerresheim monstrance.

The identification of workshops can be extremely problematic, because similarities should be expected in two or more objects originating in the same city within several years of each other. The knobs of the Kölner Dommonstranz and the 1414 Monstrance in Bonn are very similar, prompting Fritz to suggest that they were made using the same model (Figures 3.16 and 3.17). The *travail pointillé* decoration on the two monstrances, however, was clearly done by two different hands (the pointillism on the Kölner Dommonstranz is finer and more accomplished). This raises three possibilities: first, that the two were produced in the same workshop but that someone other than the master (a journeyman, for example) did the *travail pointillé* on the Bonn piece; second, that the same negative mold for the knob was passed from one Cologne workshop to another; or third, that the knobs were made in two different, but very similar negative molds, one perhaps being a measured copy of the other. Upon closer

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57 *co(mun)is eley(mosyn)a me fecit*

58 New colored stones were set into these projecting buttons by the goldsmith Werner Hermeling during his restoration of the Ratingen monstrance in 1850-1. Dresden, *Ratinger Monstranz*, 12-15.

59 The link between these two pieces was first published by Fritz in 1963, in an article that was intended to correct the date assigned to the Kölner Dommonstranz by Lotte Perpeet-Frech in 1957. In 1963, Fritz suggests that the two knobs might have been made in the same mold, and in 1967, states that they absolutely were made using the very same mold. Fritz, "Datierung," 17; Fritz, "Zwei Kölner Silberfigürchen des frühen 15. Jahrhunderts," in *Kunstgeschichtliche Studien für Kurt Bauch zum 70. Geburtstag von seinen Schülern*, (Munich and Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1967), 66.

60 Fritz, "Datierung," 16; Fritz, *Goldschmiedekunst der Gotik*, no. 442.
examination of the two monstrances, it is clear that their knobs were made using two similarly shaped but different molds. The raised lobes on the knob of the 1414 Monstrance from Bonn come to a longer, sharper point than the broader lobes on the Kölner Dommonstranz, and the concave areas between the lobes on the Bonn knob are deeper and more sharply defined. At the same time, the raised triangles between the lobes on each knob are remarkably different. On the Bonn monstrance, they are tiny, nearly equilateral triangles.
that are only half as long as the lobes, whereas the triangles on the Kölner Dommonstranz are wider and nearly as long as the lobes. That one goldsmith would copy another in a city like Cologne where so many goldsmiths were working in the same area is not surprising. Features like the knobs and travail pointillé on these two monstrances can be used to identify their city of origin and approximate date, but not their workshop. Workshop identification requires more evidence, as can be seen in the case of the Ratingen and Gerresheim monstrances.

**Inexpensive, "Mass-Produced" Monstrances**

Although the large, beautifully worked silver Host monstrances that I have so far described were clearly the result of commissions with contracts, a number of fifteenth century copper gilt monstrances from Cologne appear to have been made speculatively for sale to smaller, poorer church communities. A total of seven monstrances have been identified, and these fit into two clear groups of nearly identical monstrances. The first group, with examples in the Kestner Museum, Hannover (Figure 3.11), and parish churches in Metternich and Gleul, has rounded knobs shaped from the same negative mold and nearly identical spires, flanking buttresses and feet.61 The Hannover and Metternich monstrances are most closely related, and share two distinctive features: first, the crocketed borders that decorate the edges of the monstrance vessel base and the edges of the cut flowers beneath the flanking buttresses, and second, the flat strips cut with keyhole-shaped arches that are placed on the spire (between the central chapel and buttresses) and beside the central vessel (between the vessel and flanking buttresses). Aside from the fact that the Gleul monstrance lacks these distinctive features, the

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61 Both Fritz and Perpeet-Frech have identified four additional monstrances that have some features in common with this group, but since they do not fit the description of "nearly identical," I have not included them. Fritz's article is well illustrated with examples from both of these groups. Fritz, "Zwei Kölnische Monstranzen des 15. Jahrhunderts in Hannover und Berlin," *Niederdeutsche Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte* VI (1967): 117-122; Perpeet-Frech, *Die gotischen Monstranzen*, cat. nos. 37, 49, 51, 52, 90, 92, 112, 140.
primary difference between the three monstrances in this group is the cast figures placed in the spire chapels and flanking buttresses. The second group is made up of monstrances in
Brauweiler, the Kunstgewerbemuseum, Berlin (originally from Paderborn), the Museum Schnütgen in Cologne (Figure 3.18, originally from Herford), and the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg (Figure 3.19, originally from Neuenkirchen in Oldenburg). These monstrances have nearly identical flanking buttresses and knobs, and all but the monstrance in Nuremberg are engraved with the same design of alternating rosettes and vine scrolls on the foot (the Nuremberg monstrance foot is decorated with a variety of vine scrolls and foliage). The four monstrances all share three distinctive features: first, the use of round turrets projecting from the lowest story of the flanking buttresses; second, gables on the second story of these buttresses that project strongly and support cast pinnacles; and third, the use of tiny cast columns that fill the arches on the second story of each flanking buttress. The monstrances in Brauweiler, Cologne and Berlin all feature a pointed projecting cut tracery element beneath their flanking buttresses. The Nuremberg monstrance might also have shared this decorative feature, but it was replaced with a cast vine scroll in 1895. The spires of the monstrances in Berlin, Cologne and Nuremberg are all slightly different, but they have a number of common features. The now missing spire of the monstrance in Cologne had projecting round turrets at the top of the spire chapel that are nearly identical to those on the Nuremberg monstrance. Tiny buildings that project between the spire buttresses and the projecting point of the spire chapel base can be found on both the Nuremberg and Berlin monstrances. And all three spires have copper strips placed between the spire chapel and buttresses that are cut with a similar design of a quatrefoil above two arches. Clearly, like the monstrances in the first group, these four monstrances came

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62 Fritz identified the first three monstrances in this group, and names a fourth (stolen) monstrance from XX. I have not discussed this monstrance because I have not seen it. So far as I know, I am the first to identify the monstrance in Nuremberg (Germanisches Nationalmuseum, no. KG 855) with this group. Fritz, "Zwei Kölnische Monstranzen," 122-4.

63 Although the spire to this monstrance was lost, it was photographed with its spire for Witte's 1913 catalogue of the Schnütgen collection. Witte, Die liturgischen Geräte, plate 23.
from the same workshop and were made according to a standard design. Since copper gilt monstrances like these were less expensive to produce than the silver gilt monstrances I have so far described, goldsmiths might have produced pieces like these speculatively, then altered them based upon the wishes of the customer. Cast saint figures could be added in order to link a monstrance to the patron saints of the church for which it was purchased. The goldsmith might also keep a copper gilt monstrance in his shop as an example, and alter its design according to the wishes of the customer. This could account for the variations in the spires of the second group of monstrances.

**Repairs and Restorations**

It is important to remember that most late gothic Host monstrances were in constant use for five to six centuries. The resulting wear and tear necessitated frequent repairs and restorations. The account books of the Collegiate Church of St. Victor in Xanten contain a number of payments for repairs to their late fourteenth century monstrance. The lunula was enlarged and gilded in 1399, the foot was repaired and gilded in 1406, and additional repairs are recorded in 1466.64 An entry from 1499 in the account books of the Collegiate Church of St. Bartholomew in Frankfurt records the payment of one pound "to repair the monstrance, as the little cross on top was broken off in the procession on St. Mary Magdalene's day."65 Similar entries can be found in the accounts of other churches. In some cases, patrons funded additions to a monstrance, as in the case of a diamond-studded lunula donated in 1700 by Rudolf von Geyr

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64 Witte, *Quellen*, 103, 110, 111.
and Maria von Groote for the early fifteenth century monstrance at St. Kolumba's in Cologne. Baroque figures and other decorative elements can be found on many pieces, like the scrollwork beneath the flanking buttresses of the Gerresheim monstrance that supports two early seventeenth century cast figures (Figure 2.6). Many pieces were restored in the nineteenth century. The best documented restoration is for the Ratingen monstrance (Figure 2.12): in 1913, Arnold Dresen published Werner Hermeling's restoration contract of 1850 and his subsequent correspondence with parish officials. In addition to repairing damaged crockets, pinnacles and figures, Hermeling reworked the knob of the monstrance (Figure 2.13), adding a number of colored semiprecious stones, reattached the silver rosettes on the foot with new silver screws and renewed the gilding. He also changed the way in which the spire was secured to the top of the crystal vessel, introducing a new silver frame with a latch and a jeweled button that is pressed to release the spire. Nineteenth century restorations often included the introduction of glass in place of the central crystal vessel, and alterations to the way in which a monstrance was opened. Many new glass vessels have metal handles that allow them to be lifted up when the monstrance spire is removed, thus providing easier access to the lunula and consecrated Host. Occasionally a monstrance would be dropped, necessitating emergency repairs, as at Vallendar. Some repairs are easily detectable. New components are sometimes made of inferior materials, like brass, and soldered areas often show visible heat damage to the silver and gilding. On the Lorch monstrance, a new brass framework was placed between the canopied chapel with St. Martin and the beggar and the central vessel when the crystal was replaced with a hinged glass door (Figure 3.20). Original cast gables and pinnacles were attached to the new framework to disguise it.

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66 Walter Schulten, Der Kölner Domschatz, (Cologne: Greven Verlag, 1980), cat. 33, p. 20.
67 Dresen, Ratinger Monstranz, 11-16.
68 I met with Uta David, Kusterin of the church of Ss. Marcellinus and Peter in Vallendar, on June 30, 2003, and she informed me that their monstrance had once been dropped in the Corpus Christi procession, but she did not know the year in which this occurred.
but a visible seam and the difference in color between the old and new components make it possible to perceive the repair. In many other cases, however, new gilding hides the work of the restorer, and obscures signs of the original construction.

Monstrances and Modern Collectors

Reputable goldsmiths in Cologne and other cities produced many neo-gothic monstrances in the nineteenth century, and some of these were copies of late gothic pieces. However it is unlikely that any fake monstrances were produced for the modern market. The sheer weight of precious metals required, and the extreme complexity of its design, would have made a monstrance an unprofitable production for a forger. Damaged monstrances and monstrance fragments were available, however, and these were either restored with new components or assembled into new monstrances for modern collectors. The inscription on the foot of the 1414 Monstrance in Bonn (Figure 3.17) indicates that it was made for Johann Hoingen and his wife...
Nungel.\textsuperscript{69} This silver-gilt monstrance was probably made in Cologne for the parish church in Sinzig, where it appears in a mid-nineteenth century photograph.\textsuperscript{70} By 1875 it formed part of the collection of Guido Oppenheim in Frankfurt, and it changed hands several times before its acquisition in 1962 by the Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn.\textsuperscript{71} The monstrance was modified in the sixteenth century, when new canopies and figures were made for the spire and a low-relief female bust was applied to the foot. Sometime in the nineteenth century, the spire was remade. In order to disguise his work, the restorer removed the cast outer buttresses from the flanking buttresses and used them as casting models for the decoration of the new spire. Similarly, the papal saint was removed from the left side of the arcade next to the monstrance vessel and used as a model when the restorer replaced damaged or missing figures in the left and right flanking buttresses. The difference in quality and color between the original saint and the pitted, crudely finished cast replacement figures is clear upon a close examination of the monstrance.

Alexander Schnütgen of Cologne owned numerous monstrance fragments and at least one pastiche, a copper-gilt monstrance now in the Museum Schnütgen, Cologne (Figure 3.21).\textsuperscript{72} The foot of this monstrance, shaped like an octagon with convex sides, is the product of the


\textsuperscript{70} Unfortunately I have not located the Sinzig photograph, which Fritz mentions briefly in his 1982 entry on the monstrance. According to Goldkuhle, photos from c. 1870-90 show a different spire configuration. There are no old photos currently in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum files for this object, and Goldkuhle does not indicate where he found the photos to which he refers. Fritz, \textit{Goldschmiedekunst der Gotik}, no. 442; Fritz Goldkuhle, object description in \textit{Kunst und Kunsthandwerk}, no. 4 of Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn, Auswahlkatalog (Cologne: Rheinland-Verlag, 1977), no. 27, pp. 58-60.

\textsuperscript{71} For the provenance of this piece, see Fritz, "Goldschmiedearbeiten des 14. – 18. Jahrhunderts," 10.

\textsuperscript{72} Cologne, Museum Schnütgen, no. G 94. I examined this piece on July 15, 2003, with the help of Anke Müller, objects conservator of the museum. Witte, \textit{Die liturgischen Geräte}, 101, plate 25.2; Ulrike Mathies, object description in \textit{Fragmented Devotion}, no. 9.
mid to late fourteenth century, but the architectural framework of the central vessel is in the style of the mid-fifteenth century. The monstrance appears to have been assembled from six separate fragments: the foot with its chapel, the stem with the knob, the monstrance vessel base and framework, the two flanking buttresses, and the spire. All of the pieces have similar dimensions, but the stem is noticeably narrower than the top of the foot and the bottom of the vessel base, and the spire is wider than the top of the vessel framework. The projections on either side of the vessel base that support the buttresses appear to have been altered: a long rectangular slot on the side of each projection marks the attachment point for a now-missing element. The current buttresses, which appear unusually narrow, were crudely attached to the framework at the top of the vessel with new props that are pinned in place. It is possible that these buttresses were once the outer portions of a wider architectural framework, for example on a disc monstrance.

This monstrance pastiche presents a collection of fragments in a new, functional context, and well represents Alexander Schnütgen's personal motto, "Colligite fragmenta ne pereant." From

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the examples of the 1414 Monstrance in Bonn and the monstrance pastiche in the Museum Schnütgen, it should be clear that all pieces, and particularly objects that have passed through the art market should be examined with great care.

**The Fate of the Host Monstrance**

From the time that a Host monstrance was made, it saw regular processional and liturgical use until it was replaced, destroyed, stolen or sold on the art market. In Middle Europe, particularly in the Rhineland, many late gothic monstrances remain in the possession of Catholic churches, and continue to be used during Corpus Christi and its octave. Ratingen (Figure 4.11),

![Procession on the Feast of the Holy Blood (Sunday after Corpus Christi) with the Gerresheim Monstrance and Holy Blood Reliquary, view of participants returning to the church of St. Margaretha, June, 2003. Photo: author.](image)

**Figure 3.22.** Procession on the Feast of the Holy Blood (Sunday after Corpus Christi) with the Gerresheim Monstrance and Holy Blood Reliquary, view of participants returning to the church of St. Margaretha, June, 2003. Photo: author.

Figure 3.23. The Corpus Christi procession at the Münster in Bonn, June 13, 2003. At the end of the procession, the Dean of the Catholic Theological Faculty at the Universität Bonn traditionally carries the late gothic monstrance into the cathedral and uses it to make the final sign of benediction. Photo: A. Becker.74

Figure 3.24. Corpus Christi Procession at Cologne Cathedral, 2001, with a Baroque sun monstrance from the cathedral treasury. Photo: Regina Schymiczek.75

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74 This photo was kindly provided by A. Becker, Kuster of the Münster in Bonn, shortly after I examined the monstrance in 2003.
Gerresheim (Figure 3.22), Dorsten, Düsseldorf, Bonn (Figure 3.23), Vallendar, Koblenz-Moselweiß, and Lorch are among the communities where late gothic monstrances are still in use today. Though the Kölner Dommonstranz and the Kolumba Monstrance are kept in the Cologne cathedral treasury, a Baroque sun monstrance is now used in the cathedral Corpus Christi procession (Figure 3.24). In many areas of modern-day Germany and its immediate neighbors, late gothic Host monstrances were either sold or destroyed. Such pieces could be melted down for a great deal of silver coin in a time of war or great need. Since there was no place for Host monstrances in the Reformed liturgy, Reformed churches either sold or destroyed their monstrances. The broken remains of two late gothic Host monstrances that were shown in an exhibition of medieval goldsmithwork in Lutheran churches in Sachsen-Anhalt indicate that at least some pieces remained in church treasuries.\(^76\) Both of the fragmentary monstrances in the exhibition had their spires, crystal vessels and lunulae removed, thus rendering them unusable as Host monstrances.\(^77\)

\(^{75}\) This photo was kindly provided by Regina Schymiczek, formerly an intern at the Museum Schnütgen, Cologne, shortly after my visit to Cologne in 2001.

\(^{76}\) Due to issues of security, the exact location of the objects is not provided in the catalogue. Individual entries list only the region in which a given piece can be found. Bettina Seyderhelm, catalogue entries in \textit{Goldschmiedekunst des Mittelalters im Gebrauch der Gemeinden über Jahrhunderte bewahrt: Eine Ausstellung der Evangelischen Kirche des Kirchenprovinz Sachsen}, exhibition catalogue (Leipzig: Kunst- und Verlagsbuchbinderei, 2001), cat. 48, 92.

**Conclusion**

The size and complex design of an architectural Host monstrance meant that its manufacture was a time consuming process, requiring a multitude of techniques. The goldsmith’s efforts are best appreciated upon close examination. A detailed investigation of an object can lead to the identification of a goldsmith’s workshop, or, on the other hand, the correction of an erroneous attribution. Although repairs and alterations often obscure the techniques employed by the original master, they can reveal a great deal of information about the more recent history of a given monstrance. As I have demonstrated in the preceding chapters, the finest late gothic architectural monstrances were remarkable for their size and expense, the complexity of their architecture and iconography, and the quality of their workmanship. In Chapter 4, "Using the Monstrance," I will explore another factor that made a monstrance remarkable: its status as a container for the most precious Body of Christ and the liturgical and processional practices that were centered upon the monstrance and its contents.
CHAPTER 4.
USING THE MONSTRANCE

Introduction

Monstrances were designed to display the consecrated Host to the faithful, to facilitate their pious gaze. This chapter addresses the particulars of monstrance use, beginning with the careful attention given to the baking of the Host and the events leading up to its insertion in the monstrance. I investigate the liturgy of Corpus Christi as it pertains to monstrance use, beginning with the eve of the feast and continuing through the octave. I utilize several liturgical documents from the Rhineland and a number from other cities in an attempt to present the general character of the Corpus Christi liturgy. The vessels, textiles and other objects that were employed in conjunction with the monstrance served to enrich a late gothic viewer’s experience of the monstrance. Next, I examine the elaborate preparations for Corpus Christi processions, the identity of the participants and the routes that they would follow. I also address the use of the monstrance to influence the social hierarchy. Host processions were often the site of social climbing, with groups and individuals competing for places nearer to the focal point of the procession, the monstrance.

Although they were most commonly used during the feast and octave of Corpus Christi, monstrances could also be used at other times of year, particularly on days related to Christ's body and sacrifice, including the feasts of the Conception, Circumcision, Epiphany, Palm Sunday, Easter, and Ascension. A monstrance might also be used to display the consecrated Host in a special procession in times of plague, war, natural disaster or the entry of an important personage (a king or pope, for example) into a city. The exact times that a Host monstrance was used outside of the feast and octave of Corpus Christi differed from church to church and city to city, and a number of individual cases will be discussed below.
The Host

When the monstrance was in use, the consecrated Host was held upright in a lunula that was placed inside the central crystal vessel. The crystal acted to protect and magnify the Host as the monstrance was either displayed statically upon the altar or carried in procession. Despite the impressive beauty and expense of a monstrance, it was merely a container for a much more precious substance. The Eucharistic wafer, which was transubstantiated into the body of Christ at the moment of consecration, had to be made with the utmost care using special equipment and the purest ingredients. Jacques de Vitry stated in his *De sacramentis*, "only that which is of grain will be transubstantiated."¹ In twelfth century tracts on the nature of the sacraments, it was explained that wheat was the only grain that could be used, because Christ compared himself to a grain of wheat in John 12:24, saying: "unless a grain of wheat falls to the ground and dies, it remains alone; but if it dies, it bears much fruit."² Master Simon, writing in the Low Countries around the mid-twelfth century, tells us: "The bread which is placed on the altar must be of wheaten grain, to which the Lord wished to compare his body when he said: 'A grain of wheat' etc. If it is made of another grain it cannot be offered; what we have said makes sense by the change whereby in substance it is changed into God's body."³ According to the eleventh century customs at the monastery of Hirsau, the wheat for the host was selected grain by grain, ground in a mill that had been cleansed and hung with curtains, and made into dough and baked in silence.

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² Rubin, *Corpus Christi* 38; P. Boeren, "Une traité eucharistique inédit du XIIe siècle: Convenientibus vobis in unum (I Cor. 11.20)," in *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 45 (1978): 198; John 12:24, Revised Standard Version.

to prevent the breath of the monks contaminating the bread. The eleventh century constitutions of Lanfranc of Bec indicate that, except for the accompanying minister and the brother holding the host iron, the sacristan and his assistants should be dressed in albs and amices when preparing the hosts. Lanfranc describes a simple dough made of flour and water, kneaded on a clean table and pressed until thin. As at Hirsau, silence was maintained, except when the brother holding the host iron gave instructions about the fire. The dough was baked in a special host iron that was greased with wax rather than with oil or lard, so that the wafer did not fry and brown in the fat. Eucharistic wafers were kept fresh (baked once a month in Bordeaux) and carefully locked in clean vessels to prevent theft. The 1406 Synod of Breslau forbade the use of wooden containers, lest the Body of Christ be destroyed by fire. Once a Host was consecrated, it could be reserved for a limited amount of time. Pope Innocent IV (1243-54) said in a letter to the bishop of Tusculum that the Eucharist should never be kept more than fifteen days.

Provincial synods at Trier (1238), Münster (1279) and Cologne (1281) stipulated that hosts be renewed twice a month, though several German councils in the mid- to late-fifteenth century allowed renewal to take place monthly or even bi-monthly in certain circumstances.

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6 Jacques de Vitry, De sacramentis, 218; Councils and synods with other documents relating to the English Church, II (1205-1313), Part I: 1205-1265, ed. F.M. Powicke and C.R. Cheney, (Oxford, 1964), 170.


8 Braun, Der christlichen Altar, 587.

9 Archdale A. King, Eucharistic Reservation in the Western Church (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1965), 126.

10 The later councils were held at Freising (1440 and 1480), Eichstätt (1447), Constance (1465 and 1483) and Salzburg (1490). King, Eucharistic Reservation, 126-7.
consecrated Hosts were consumed by the priest, either at the altar or in the sacristy.\textsuperscript{11} If Eucharistic wafers were kept too long or otherwise neglected, the Body of Christ could be corrupted. Regino of Prüm warned against mice eating the host in his tenth century \textit{Liber de synodalibus causis}.\textsuperscript{12} The archbishop of Geneva described the deplorable state at St. Sixtus' church in Binz that he found in his visitations of 1443-5: "Christ's body...is kept in great disgrace, scattered uselessly in the pyx among dust and worms and without a corporal."\textsuperscript{13}

As early as the fourth century, Eucharistic wafers were prepared in molds that decorated the "living bread" with inscriptions and relief images that referred to Christ's body and sacrifice. A fourth century host mold from Dejeberiana, Tunisia, is inscribed, "\textit{ego sum panis vivus qui de caelo descendi}," from John 6:50.\textsuperscript{14} Late gothic images of the consecrated Host, either in a monstrance or at the moment of consecration, often depict the

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\textsuperscript{11} King, \textit{Eucharistic Reservation}, 128.
\textsuperscript{12} Braun, \textit{Der christlichen Altar}, 584.
\textsuperscript{13} L. Binz, \textit{Vie religieuse dans le diocese de Genève pendant le Grand Schisme et le crise consiliaire (1378-1450)}, (Geneva, 1973), 210. I have used Rubin's English translation, in Rubin, \textit{Corpus Christi},
Late gothic hosts were decorated with low relief images including the Lamb of God, the crucifixion, Christ rising from the tomb, variations of Christ's monogram (e.g. I.X., IHS, XPS) or the alpha and omega. These motifs were sometimes combined, for example a crucifix accompanied by the letters IHC, as in the uppermost host iron impression in figure 4.1. Several host irons from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries survive in French and Swedish collections. A typical late gothic host iron was made of a pair of rectangular forged iron plates with long handles (Figure 4.2). One of these plates was cut with the circular shapes of hosts and engraved with their decorative details, and the other was generally smooth.

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15 See, for example, fifteenth century painted wooden tabernacle doors like the one in the Museum Schnütgen, Cologne (A799); images of the Mass of St. Gregory, for example a panel of the Mass of St. Gregory, school of Amiens, c. 1440-50, in the Louvre (Maurice Vloberg, *L'Eucharistie dans l'art*, vol. 2, [Grenoble and Paris: B. Arthaud, 1946], 197); representations of the elevation of the Host as in an illuminated initial for Corpus Christi on a leaf from a missal painted by Master Bertram of Minden before 1381 in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York M892, fol. LV; ([Goldgrund und Himmelslicht: Die Kunst des Mittelalters in Hamburg, exhibition catalogue, ed. Uwe Schneede, [Hamburg: Hamburger Kunsthalle, 1999], cat. 6); and images of the Host in a monstrance, for example in a woodcut by Master WB showing a monstrance (illustrating the year 1267) in Konrad Bote's *Chronenken der Sassen*, printed by Peter Schöffer, Mainz, 1492 (Munich, Bayerisches Staatsbibliothek Rar. 883, online edition at http://mdz.bib-bvb.de/digbib).

16 Rupin lists only one exception, a host iron in Orléans that has engraved decoration on both halves. Rupin, "Pince et fer à hosties," 281.
When the two halves were fitted together by means of a rivet, the wafers could be shaped and baked within the host iron.\(^{18}\) Although the host iron in the University of Uppsala was used to make four wafers of identical size, most of the surviving French examples could be used to make two large and two small hosts.\(^{19}\) The priest elevated the larger hosts in the mass, and the smaller were offered to the faithful at communion.\(^{20}\) It is likely that larger hosts like these were used in the monstrance: the lunulae of the late gothic monstrances that I have examined could have accommodated large hosts with a diameter of 5-6 cm.\(^{21}\)

The Monstrance in Use: Primary Sources

Descriptions of late gothic monstrances in use are most often found in *libri ordinarii*, reference books used in preparations for worship throughout the liturgical year. *Libri ordinarii* were based upon the local customs of the church for which a given book was written.\(^{22}\) The terms *processionale* and *ceremoniale* are counted among the numerous synonyms of *liber ordinarius*.\(^{23}\) Such volumes generally contained the *incipits* that described the texts to be read, chanted and prayed, particularly on each feast day.\(^{24}\) Many early *libri ordinarii* contain little more than *incipits*, but later books (particularly from the sixteenth century) can be quite detailed, 

\(^{18}\) See the clear description and excellent photographs in Guy Quincy, "Le fer à hosties de la Chapelle-Saint-Géraud et les fers de la Corrèze," *Bulletin de la société scientifique, historique et archéologique de la Corrèze* 46 (1974): 175-6, figures 1-3.

\(^{19}\) For the host iron in Uppsala, see: Aron Andersson, *Silberne Abendmahlsgeräte in Schweden aus dem XIV. Jahrhundert* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1956), 235.


\(^{21}\) Barbier de Montault records five host irons with molds for large hosts that had an average diameter of 5.7cm. Barbier de Montault, "Le fer a hosties," 258, 266-8.


\(^{24}\) Foley, "libri ordinarii," 133.
and often include descriptions of the church furniture, liturgical textiles and vessels to be used, and the individual personnel who would participate on a particular occasion. In many cases, these later *libri ordinarii* reflect earlier practices, some dating back as far as the twelfth century.\(^{25}\) Other useful sources are accounts of monstrances in use by chroniclers and travelers, and documents like wills and letters of donation stipulating a particular use for a monstrance.

**Preparations for Corpus Christi**

Generally, the preparations before Corpus Christi receive less attention in primary sources than the events of the feast day and its octave. Only a few sixteenth century sources describe the consecration of the Host and its insertion into the monstrance, which occurred on the eve of the feast. The most detailed account can be found in Hieronymus Brilinger's *Ceremoniale Basilensis Episcopatus*, written between 1517 and 1526.\(^{26}\) The *Ordo ornamentorum* of the Oudmunster in Utrecht, a collection of instructions for the sacristan written between 1525 and 1530, describes similar procedures to those at Basel, but in less detail.\(^{27}\) The same can be said for the 1528 instructions for the sacristan of the abbey of Brauweiler, just east of Cologne.\(^{28}\) There is unfortunately no surviving description of Corpus Christi preparations in Cologne, but it may be reasonable to assume that, since Utrecht and Brauweiler were part of the archdiocese of

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\(^{26}\) For a description of the *Ceremoniale* and its copies, see: Konrad W. Hieronimus, *Das Hochstift Basel im ausgehenden Mittelalter (Quellen und Forschungen)*, (Basel: Historischen und Antiquarischen Gesellschaft, 1938), 99-107.


Cologne, the arrangements there were similar. The fact that comparable rituals are described in all of the aforementioned sources as well as in the *Liber ordinarius* of the Cathedral of Mainz (c. 1500) and in an anonymous chronicle from Biberach (1530s) indicate that preparations for Corpus Christi probably followed a similar pattern throughout Middle Europe.\(^{29}\) Although most of the monstrances corresponding to these liturgical descriptions are either lost or were made after 1480 (the end date of the monstrances in this study), a portion of the late fourteenth century monstrance that was used at the Oudmunster in Utrecht survives, and its use will be described below.

Preparations at Basel began the day before Corpus Christi, when the *hebdomadar* (the priest appointed to perform that week's official duties) consecrated three Hosts at the high mass. He consumed the first one, as was customary in the mass, the second was placed in the monstrance, and the third was kept in case misfortune befell the second Host. Following the communion, the *subcustos* (under-sacristan) came to the altar wearing a stole over his shoulders and carrying the monstrance without its spire. He was preceded by two young men carrying large wax candles. The celebrant placed the Sacrament into the lunula, which was then placed inside the monstrance. The remaining Host was wrapped in the corporal, and it and the monstrance were given to the *subcustos* to secure in the tabernacle.\(^{30}\)


\(^{30}\) "In vigilia Corporis Christi consecrat hebdomadarius in summa missa tres hostias: unam per eum sumendam, alteram ad monstrantium ponendam, tertiam vero pro cautelâ servandam, ut, si frangeretur illa, quae ad monstrantium ponitur, ad manum haberetur altera. Sane communione peractâ accedit subcustos de sacristia ad altare, stolâ tantum amictus, monstranciam sine superiori tabernaculo portans precedentibus eum duobus iuvenibus, sine cappis, cum duobus intorticijs ardentibus, applicat celebrans sacramentum lunulae, in qua ponit ad monstranciam; quo facto subcustos cum monstrancia et corporali, in quo secunda hostia consecrata iacet, ad sacarium redit…" Hieronymus Brilinger, *Ceremoniale Basilensis Episcopatus*, in Hieronymus, *Das Hochstift Basel*, 218.
Utrecht, two hosts were consecrated on the day before Corpus Christi, one of which was placed in an open monstrance and then taken to the tabernacle. In Utrecht, as at Basel, the deacon holding the monstrance wore a stole over his shoulders.\(^{31}\) The Brauweiler sacristan was exhorted not to forget to reserve two large hosts, one of which was placed in the monstrance. Although the *Ordo ornamentorum* of the Oudmunster in Utrecht does not describe the function of the second host, at Brauweiler it was used in Communion. As at Basel and Utrecht, the monstrance was enclosed after mass in the protection of the tabernacle.\(^{32}\) At the parish church of St. Martin in Biberach (south of Ulm), the monstrance with the consecrated Host was first placed in the tabernacle before Vespers on the day before Corpus Christi, and then it was transferred from and to the tabernacle with great pomp during Vespers.\(^{33}\) Six students clad in choir mantles preceded the monstrance. One carried a high staff with a light at its top, two carried high lanterns, two carried *fönlin* (possibly small banners), and the sixth carried a light that was decorated with three little bells. Next followed the priest carrying the monstrance with a stole around his shoulders. The priest used the monstrance to make the sign of the cross several times, alternating with the choir singing hymns and genuflecting, before the monstrance was locked away in the tabernacle.\(^ {34}\)

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\(^{31}\) "Feria Quarta post octavas Pentec. consecratur duae substantiae, et ponetur ciborium post elevationem proper summam altura supra scabellum; et tempore communionis aperietur per diaconum, et una substantia consecrata per eundem imponitur, postea per sacristam cum stola, aut per diaconum reponatur ad domum Sacramenti." *Ordo ornamentorum exponendorum secundum exigentiam cujuslibet festi candelarum lampdumque ardere consuetarum in ecclesia Sancti Salvatoris Trajectensis per totum annum*, in van Rossum, "Kerkelijke Plechtigheden," 188.


\(^{33}\) On the purpose of the anonymous chronicle of the 1530s, written to record the liturgical drama in Biberach that was lost in the Zwinglian iconoclasm of 1531, see: Christopher S. Wood, "In Defense of Images: Two Local Rejoinders to the Zwinglian Iconoclasm," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 19:1 (1988): 25-7.

\(^{34}\) "Istem. Ehe man die Vesper hat angefangen, so ist ain hüpsch Sacramendt kisten uff dem Cohr Alltar gestanden, der Alltar und Taffel auch uff das Hüpschest zugericht. So hat man das Sacramendt heraus Tragen und in das gehèuss gestellt. Zue dem so hat man ein fordere, Hüpsche, grose, Silberin Monstranz gehabt, darin das
Gerard Foec's Monstrance at the Oudmunster in Utrecht

The term used to describe the Oudmunster monstrance in the *Ordo ornamentorum* is *ciborium*. However it is clear from the inventories and records of the church that the ciborium in question is a monstrance donated by Gerard Foec, a canon and former dean of the Oudmunster, in his testament of 1383. The testament describes Foec's donation as a precious ciborium of crystal, pearls and silver gilt that was wonderfully made in Cologne. The reader is informed that another designation for this object is "monstrance," and that it is used for the reservation of the body of Christ.\(^{35}\) The 1569 inventory of the Oudmunster describes this same object as a large ciborium of gilt silver decorated with pearls that is used during Corpus Christi and its octave.\(^{36}\) In later inventories, we learn that this monstrance had a lunula decorated with two censing angels.\(^{37}\)

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\(^{37}\) The inventories that describe the angels are from 1609, 1627, 1670 and 1811, and are published by Visser and Brom. W.J.A. Visser, "Een inventaris van kerksieraden uit 1609, toebehorende aan Oudmunster te Utrecht," *Archief voor de geschiedenis van het aartsbisdom Utrecht* 58 (1934): 187; Visser, "Een inventaris van goederen toebehorende aan de vijf kapittelen te Utrecht, die in 1811 bij de saecularisatie in staatsbezit zijn overgegaan," in *Archief voor de geschiedenis van het aartsbisdom Utrecht* 58 (1934): 208; G. Brom, "Kerksieraden
Though Gerard Foec's monstrance is now lost, the lunula survives in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (Figure 4.3). The censing angels adhere to a late fourteenth and early fifteenth century type of kneeling angel with outstretched arms that can be found throughout the Rhineland. The quality of their execution, however, is remarkable. Their fleshy faces and intense physical presence beneath their heavy draperies (seen for example in the arch of the foot visible beneath the robes of the left hand angel) make these angels most comparable to figures from the greatest Cologne workshops, like the saints on the famous 1394 Ratingen monstrance (Figure 4.4). Compare the swell of St. Helena's bust beneath her robes to the clearly defined shoulders and thighs of the angels, and the treatment of faces, hair and drapery on both pieces.

The travail pointillé vine scroll on the base plate of the lunula has close ties to late fourteenth and early fifteenth century Cologne goldsmithwork, including the 1414 Monstrance in Bonn.

Another examination of the Oudmunster lunula allows us to imagine the way in which the celebrant placed the Host inside the monstrance on the eve of Corpus Christi. Most fourteenth and fifteenth century lunulae, like the one from the 1394 Ratingen monstrance, were made with a long, thin handle that allowed the lunula to be removed from the crystal vessel of the monstrance and to be replaced without endangering the Host (Figure 4.5). The Oudmunster lunula does not have a handle. The celebrant thus pinched the wings of the right-hand angel in order to gingerly lower the lunula into the monstrance. The damage to the wings of the angel corresponds exactly to the pressure exerted by a thumb and forefinger year after year as the lunula was raised from and lowered into the crystal vessel. Although the design of the Ratingen lunula is more advanced, it is not surprising that the crystal vessels of many late gothic tower monstrances were later replaced with hinged glass cylinders that could be opened for easy access to the Host. Disc monstrances had hinged crystal doors that could be opened by the removal of a pin (or an angel in the case of the Kölner Dommonstranz, Figure 4.6). The lunulae of disc monstrances were usually held in place by two thin strips of metal, allowing the lunula to slide in and out of the opened crystal vessel. Since these lunulae were handled at their bases, they could be inserted and removed from the monstrance without endangering the consecrated Host.
The Feast of Corpus Christi

Beginning on the eve of Corpus Christi and continuing to the feast day, the choir of the Oudmunster in Utrecht blazed with candles at vespers, compline, matins and at the high mass. Nine candles were placed on the high altar, four in the middle of the choir and five more in front of images.\textsuperscript{38} The altar was dressed with the best red cloth, and relics and images were placed upon it.\textsuperscript{39} Red was used as a reminder of Christ's sacrifice, but the dominant liturgical color for Corpus Christi was white, symbolizing purity and innocence and resembling the white of the

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure46.jpg}
\caption{Detail of the rear of the Kölner Dommonstranz, showing the means of opening the monstrance. Note that the angel on the right has been removed, and that the flyer on the left side has been cut in order to allow the rear disc to swing open.}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{38} “In die Sacramenti ardebunt in summo altari ix candelae et quatuor in medio chori, et quinque inferius ante ymagines ad utrasque vesp., utrumque compl., ad matut., et ad missam…” \textit{Ordo ornamentorum} in van Rossum, “Kerkelijke Plechtigheden,” 188.

\textsuperscript{39} The \textit{Ordo ornamentorum} instructs the sacristan to decorate the altar as on the Feast of the Dedication of the Oudmunster (celebrated after Ascension), but with exceptions. The first quotation is from the instructions for Dedication, and the second from Corpus Christi. “Ponentur tres cappae aurae super summum altare... Ornabitur altare ymaginibus et reliquis...”; “…ornabitur altare sicut in Dedicacione, sed crux argentea non ponitur super summum altare; et exponetur ornamentum rubeum melius.” \textit{Ordo ornamentorum} in van Rossum, “Kerkelijke Plechtigheden,” 176-77, 188.
consecrated Host and the robes of angels. The monstrance with the consecrated Host made a triumphant entrance. At most churches, two torchbearers or candle bearers preceded the monstrance as it was carried from the tabernacle to the high altar. At the parish church of St. Martin in Biberach, each time the priest carried the monstrance from the tabernacle to the altar or back to the tabernacle, he was accompanied by the same group of light bearers that had preceded him on the eve of Corpus Christi. The monstrance was brought forth each day around four in the morning, and remained on the altar until none (3:00 PM). It was brought out again for vespers and compline. At the Cathedral of Cologne, the Dean or a canon priest carried the monstrance preceded by two torchbearers and led by the eldest of the choir and two other choir members wearing wreaths on their heads and carrying angel figures. The monstrance was set in the middle of the high altar after it was used to make the sign of the cross. In Cologne, this ritual entrance took place on Corpus Christi and each day of the octave before matins and vespers.

The angel figures carried before the monstrance are probably two brass and silver gilt kneeling angels holding candlesticks donated c. 1500 by Ulrich Kryttwyß of Esslingen. According to the inscriptions on the plinths below each figure, they were intended to act as candleholders flanking the monstrance when it was displayed on the altar. Although it is possible that such angel figures

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42 "Antequam inchoantur matutinae et vesperae per totam octavam, portatur venerabile sacramentum ad summum altare per decanum vel presbyterum canonicum indutum suppellicio et desuper cappa, praeecedentibus duobus torticiis accensis et chorali seniori nolando, duobusque alisis choralibus ornatis sertis super caput portantibus duos angelos, et sic posito venerabili sacramento cum benedictione, supra medium altaris…” *Ceremoniale*, fol. 68v-69r, in Amberg, *Ceremoniale Coloniense*, 208.

figures were not used at Cologne Cathedral before 1500, the monstrance was doubtless flanked by candles on the altar in order to make the consecrated Host more visible.

Little is mentioned about the role of the monstrance during the services on Corpus Christi, save that it was displayed upon the altar and used to make the sign of the cross.\textsuperscript{44} At Biberach the monstrance was decorated with a wreath of red roses, "to honor the Sacrament," throughout the events of the feast day.\textsuperscript{45} The Basel \textit{Ceremoniale} informs us that the Sacrament (which had been placed in the monstrance the day before) was brought to the high altar during the earliest mass of the day, just after the Elevation of the Host. The mass for Corpus Christi, which was to be attended by everyone, began after sext (noon). The personnel of each church and monastery gathered in the cathedral choir with the reliquaries that would accompany them in the procession. They were seated according to the order of the procession, with the religious from St. Alban and St. Leonhard seated first on the right side of the choir, and the canons from St. Peter on the left. The remaining religious were seated on both sides of the choir in declining order of precedence. Crosses and banners for each institution were arranged in the nave, and candle bearers stood before the doors. The students who would participate in the procession remained in the cloister during the service.\textsuperscript{46} At the end of the mass, after the sign of benediction was made with the Host in the monstrance, the celebrant and his ministers returned to the

\textsuperscript{44} \textit{Excerpta}, fol. 144r, in Albert, "Gottesdienstordnung," 377; \textit{Ordo ornamentorum} in van Rossum, "Kerkelijke Plechtigheden," 191;

\textsuperscript{45} “…und allweeg dem Sacramendt oder Monstranz ein hüpschen Rosen Kranz uffgesetzt dem Sacramendt zu Ehren," (description of the hours on Corpus Christi); "...das Sacrament Tragen in der grossen Silbernen Monstranz und uff der Monstranz ein schöner, rother Rosen Kranz." (description of the procession), in: Schilling, "Die religiösen und kirchlichen Zustände," 141, 143.

sacristy to wait until the procession was ready to begin.\footnote{47 “Missâ deinde finitâ et benedictione cum sacramento datâ celebrans cum suis ministris ad vestiarium redit, ibi prestolans processionis ordinationem.” Brilinger, Ceremoniale Basilensis Episcopatus, in Hieronimus, Das Hochstift Basel, 221.} Once all of the participants were arranged, the priest who would later carry the monstrance in the procession prostrated himself before the high altar and began the antiphon Veni sancti spiritus, which the choir sang through to the end. After the collect, he took the monstrance from the altar and made the sign of the cross with it, singing Ecce panis angelorum before taking his place in the procession.\footnote{48 “Processione taliter ordinatâ baiulus sacratissimi corporis dominici, casulâ indutus, procumbens an[te] summum altare incipit antiphonam "Veni sancte spiritus", quam cantores usque ad finem continuunt. Subiungit ipse versum et collectam de eodem, accipit deinde sacramentum de altari, ostendens populo cantat "Ecce panis angelorum", eo modo, ut subcustos, dans benedictionem, vadit deinde cum sacramento sub umbracu[lu]m…” Brilinger, Ceremoniale Basilensis Episcopatus, in Hieronimus, Das Hochstift Basel, 222-3.}

The feast of Corpus Christi at the cathedral of Mainz proceeded in a similar manner. The Liber fundationum et praesentiarum, c. 1400, states that after the office of Prime (sung this day at 5:00AM rather than 6:00AM), all the religious, teachers, students and boys who wished to take part in the procession gathered in the cathedral. Everyone wore their best robes, and all the religious were to carry small reliquaries. The boys wore wreaths made of flowers and foliage on their heads and carried small banners hung with tiny bells. At 6:00AM, the cathedral canon placed the monstrance with the Host upon the altar in the choir. He then raised the monstrance and sang the Agnus Dei, using the notes used for Regnum mundi. The choir, kneeling, sang Qui tollis peccata mundi. This ritual was repeated twice. Then two individuals dressed as winged angels stood on the steps of the choir with burning candles in their hands and sang Ecce advenit Dominator. The choir answered: Deus, iudicium tuum Regi da Gloria Patri, and the angels repeated Ecce advenit Dominator. While the angels and the choir were singing, the procession was organized within the cathedral. The great cathedral bells were rung when the procession left the church and again when the procession returned. After the procession, all participants arranged themselves within the cathedral in two rows according to the procession order. The
priest sang *Ego sum lux mundi* three times, each time answered by the choir, before making the sign of the cross with the monstrance over the assembly. Then he carried the monstrance back to the high altar and placed it there, as the choir sang the hymn *Jesu, nostra redemptio*. At this point, the priest returned to the sacristy to prepare for the high mass, and all the religious who had participated in the citywide procession returned to their own churches to celebrate the feast.⁴⁹

**The Corpus Christi Procession**

The earliest documented Corpus Christi procession was held in Cologne at the church of St. Gereon before 1277 (Figure 4.7, church 1). In this procession, the chapter of St. Gereon wore purple copes and carried the Host in a pyx.⁵² The reliquaries of St. Helena's crown and St. Gereon's head were also carried. The chapter processed from the choir, through the cloister, and to the neighboring parish church of St. Christopher (2), where they offered hymns and praise. The procession continued through St. Gereon's cloister of to the chapel of St. Quirinus and finally, after prayers and memorials, returned to the church.⁵³ By 1326, all churches in Cologne held their own Corpus Christi processions either on the feast day or during its octave, and we know from the city council's expenditure on candles that a citywide procession was held by

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⁴⁹ These events are published in a German translation of the original Latin *Liber fundationum et praesentiarum Ecclesiae Metropol. Mogunt.*, fol. 7-8r, in Bruder, "Die Fronleichnamsfeier zu Mainz," 502-6.

⁵² Braun indicates that purple, like red, was a reminder of blood. Braun, "Farben," 191.

⁵³ "Ante miasam ipsa quinta feria sollemplnie fieri debet proceesio cum cappis purpureis choralibus circa claustrum cum corpore Chriati deportato et capite sancti martyris et corona sancte Helene, sicut decet ipsam sollemplitatem, [et] ad sanctum Christophorum curn canticis et laudibus est eundum, proxima vero dominica cum predicta sollemplitate et reverencia, ut supradictum est, cum processione et reliquiarum portacione circa claustrum et ad sanctum Quintinum est eundum, ut dominus propter memoriam et reverenciam sui sanctissimi corporis omne malum et [a] nobis et a nostra ecclesia avertere dignetur, amen." Pfarrarchiv von St. Gereon, Kartular der Vikare B. I Nr. 1 fol. 61ff, in Stapper, "Der alte Gereonsaltar," 140. Stapper provides lengthy commentary on the pyx used to carry the Host, the reliquaries, and the procession route (pp. 134-5).
Since the earliest Corpus Christi procession in Cologne was held at the church of St. Gereon, this church, and not the cathedral, was the site of the citywide procession that took place on the first day of the octave. A description of this procession, circa 1400, indicates that it began at St. Gereon, passing through the Helen gate and Friesentor and continuing to St. Christopher's before ending at St. Gereon. The canons of the cathedral, like the personnel of the other churches in the city, held their own Corpus Christi procession as well. The cathedral

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55 I use the term "citywide procession" to refer to a procession in which most or all of the populace takes part, as opposed to a procession held by the personnel of a single monastery, church or parish.

procession, as described in the cathedral *Ceremoniale*, followed a roughly rectangular route. It began in the choir and exited by the side door (3). It continued through the new (unfinished) cathedral, and at the Hachtpforte (chopping gate), the sign of the cross was made over the prisoners. Presumably the monstrance was used to make the sign. Outside the gate, the sign of the cross was made in four directions: first in the direction from which the procession had come, second towards the Neugasse (a), third towards the street of the church of St. Lawrence (4), and the last in the direction of the Mariengarten church (5). The procession continued down the street "Unter fetten Hennen" (b) to "Unter Goldenwaagen," where the sign of the cross was made again. Near the Pfaffentor, the sign was made towards Mariengarten and also near the walls of the Roman castrum. Once through the Pfaffentor, the sign of the cross was again made in four directions before the procession continued to the church of St. Lupus (6). After the sign of the cross was made in four directions, the procession headed towards the parish church of St. Mary ad Gradus (church 7), turning at the Sporgasse. When they reached the Hachtpforte, the sign of the cross was made four times before the procession returned to the cathedral. After the procession, the monstrance was placed on the high altar and the antiphon *O sacram convivium* was sung before the mass began.  

57 I have been unable to identify all of the streets and gates described in the *Ceremoniale*, but the ones that I have found indicate that a rough rectangle was made around the cathedral precinct. These locations are indicated on the map in figure 6. Although the routes of the Cologne processions have been described, I am the first to indicate them on maps.

58 "Et sic eundo ex choro transit processio per ianuam, quae est in latere praepositi, eundo per novum summum; iuxta portam dictam "die Hachtportz" datur captivis benedictio, transuendo per portam istam cruces fiant quatuor. Prima versus viam, per quam venit processio, alia versus novam plateam, tertia versus plateam seu ecclesiam sancti Laurentii, quarta versus ecclesiam ad hortum Mariae. His peractis transit processio per pinguem gallinam. Apud plateam dictam "aurae libra" fiat una crux versus eandem plateam, deinde transeuntes versus portam presbyteriorum fiat adhuc una crux per plateam, quae respicit ad hortum Mariae. Et circa murum castri similiter fiet una crux, deinde eundo per portam presbyteriorum, cum ventum fuerit quasi ad duodecim passus, iterum fiant quattuor cruces ut supra. Prima versus portam presbyteriorum, secunda versus Smerstræß, tertia versus plateam sancti Marcelli, quarta versus Dranckgassen, eundo per eandem plateam. Iuxta ecclesiam sancti Lupi iterum fiant quattuor cruces. Prima versus ecclesiam sancti Pauli, secunda versus plateam sanctorum Joannis Cordulae, tertia versus portam Dranckgassen, quarte versus ecclesiam ad gradus Mariae. Deinde eundo versus eandem ecclesiam, non intrando, sed declinando ad plateam Sporgasse, circa portam draconam non datur benedictio.
Two Corpus Christi processions that can be tied to an extant monstrance took place in the largest and wealthiest parish in late gothic Cologne, the parish of St. Kolumba (Figure 4.8). These processions were held on Corpus Christi and the following Thursday, and are described in Peter Hausmann's *Rituale Columbanum*. On Corpus Christi, the procession route began at St. Kolumba's and traced the boundaries of the parish, with stations at three churches and a street nearest the four corners. At each station the sign of the cross was made with the monstrance. The second procession followed the most heavily populated streets at the center of the parish, with stations at churches along the route. The parish priest of St. Kolumba's was required to take part in the citywide rogation processions, springtime processions with relics and the Host that symbolically blessed and protected the area of the parish. Therefore, the parish did not have its own rogation processions. The two Corpus Christi processions performed the role of the rogations and also symbolically marked the territory of the parish. The focus of these

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60 Hegel, "Stadtkölnischer Pfarrgottesdienst," 151.

61 Hegel, "Stadtkölnischer Pfarrgottesdienst," 150.

processions was the expensive, beautifully worked Kolumba monstrance, which demonstrated the wealth, prestige and Eucharistic piety of the parish.

Cologne, with a citywide procession that covered a compact processional route in the neighborhood around the church of St. Gereon, was rather unusual for the late gothic period. Such limited routes were more typical for the Corpus Christi procession of a single church.63 The major Host procession in Cologne, called the Grosse Gottestracht, will be discussed below. A more typical citywide Corpus Christi procession, for example in Eichstatt and Utrecht, had a route that encircled the city and included stations at all the major religious foundations.64 The Eichstatt procession, which was founded by Bishop Friedrich von Öttingen in 1383, is described in his biography as a "circuit of the city."65 Citywide Corpus Christi processions in Utrecht, which involved the chapters of the cathedral and four collegiate churches, were led by the canons of the Oudmunster because it was the oldest church in the city.66 Such processions are recorded in the Oudmunster Liber cantentatus beginning in 1343.67 This document describes a procession with "the precious monstrance" in 1416 and another with "the large monstrance" in 1438.68 The monstrance in question was most likely Gerard Foec's monstrance, the lunula of which survives in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (Figure 4.3). The Liber cantentatus informs us that in 1416, the Feast of St. Boniface fell two days after Corpus Christi. The deans, canons and vicars of the four other collegiate churches gathered at the Oudmunster, which was also dedicated to St.

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63 Corpus Christi processions for the cathedrals of Speyer and Bamberg were limited to a circuit around the boundaries of the church territory, and parish processions generally took place within the boundaries of a given parish. Löther, Prozessionen 106.
64 Similar routes are also documented for Regensburg, Göttingen and Biberach. Löther, Prozessionen 106.
65 "...in proccessione per circuitum civitatis..." L. Bethmann and G. Waitz, eds., Gesta Episcoporum Eichstetensium continuata, MGH Scriptorum XXV, (Hannover, 1880), 602.
67 Visser, "Berichten over processien," 209.
68 Visser, "Berichten over processien," 212, 214.
Boniface and thus was the stationary church for the feast. Mass was followed by a solemn procession throughout the city and its fortifications.69 Although the exact route is not described, the procession might have included the via triumphalis between St. Mary's and the Cathedral, which followed the long axis of the cross shape formed by the cathedral and four collegiate churches (Figure 4.9).70 The consecrated Host was carried in the precious monstrance by two canons and four vicars of the Oudmunster, with

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69 “Anno Domini millesimo CCCXX decimosextio in die Sancti Bonifacii qui tunc venit feria sexta ante sacrum diem Pentecostes decani, canonici et vicarii quatuor ecclesiarum traiectensium in ecclesia Sancti Salvatoris ad stacionem congregati ob rogatum civitatis traiectensis post summam missam solemnem processionem intra ipsam civitatem per fossatum eiusdem...” Visser, "Berichten over processien," 212.

70 Mekking, "Een kruis van kerken," 41-43.
the four vicars probably supporting a canopy over the monstrance. They were followed by other churchmen of the city, in order of precedence, and members of the populace.\footnote{…fecerunt deferendo in precioso ciborio dominicum corpus per duos canonicos et quatuor vicarios dictae ecclesiae Sancti Salvatoris presbiteros, subsidiarios, precendentibus, sicut moris est in talibus, religiosis et universo populo comitantibus…” Visser, “Berichten over processien,” 212.}

The reference to the large monstrance in the \textit{Liber cantentatus} is from 1438. In that year, Corpus Christi corresponded with the feast of St. Odulphus, a Dutch saint of whom the Oudmunster possessed a head reliquary. The chapters of St. Mary, St John and St. Peter, along with the conventual religious, canons regular, friars and friars minor gathered at the Oudmunster for mass followed by a procession that went throughout the city and included a complete circuit of the fortifications. The dean of the Oudmunster and another senior canon carried the Host in the large monstrance. Since two persons are named as carriers of the monstrance, it was probably placed upon a bier. High city officials carried a

\textbf{Figure 4.10.} A stole used on Corpus Christi. Linen with silk embroidery, Fritzlar?, mid-fifteenth century. Fritzlar, Collegiate Church of St. Peter, Treasury. Photo: author.

\footnote{Anno Domini millesimo CCCC\textsuperscript{o} XXXVIII\textsuperscript{o} festum magnifici Sacramenti evenit in die Sancti Odulphi confessoris. In quo completis missarum solemnii et prohibita statione consueta in ecclesia Sancti Salvatoris collegia quatuor traiectensia una cum religiosorum conventibus, videlicet canoniciorum regularium, fratum predicaturo et minorum necnon domorum Sanctae Katharine et Teuthonorum sollemnem processionem fecerunt totum fossatum civitatis interirem circumeundo, magistro Waltero Grauwert decano cum seniore canonico presbitero dictae ecclesiae Sancti Salvatoris corpus dominicum in magno ciborio supra fretrum ac maioribus consulibus civitatis obumbraculum ex deauratis pannis solito desuper deferentibus una cum capsas reliquiarum Sancti Odulphi; multitudine populi utriusque Sexus copiosa subsequente.” Visser, “Berichten over processien,” 214.}
The head reliquary of St. Odulphus followed next, and a multitude of people of both sexes brought up the rear of the procession. From other fourteenth to mid fifteenth century processional records in the Oudmunster Liber cantentatus, we learn that the cathedral canons wore silken copes and that each chapter carried the banners of their church.

For further detail on the Utrecht Corpus Christi procession we must look to the Oudmunster Ordo ornamentorum. It stipulates that a special stole be worn about the shoulders of the one carrying the monstrance. The ends of the stole were used to hold the knob and foot of the canopy of gold over the monstrance. The head reliquary of St. Odulphus followed next, and a multitude of people of both sexes brought up the rear of the procession. From other fourteenth to mid fifteenth century processional records in the Oudmunster Liber cantentatus, we learn that the cathedral canons wore silken copes and that each chapter carried the banners of their church.

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Figure 4.11 (above). Corpus Christi procession in Ratingen, June 19, 2003, detail showing the priest with the monstrance and stole. Photo: author.

Figure 4.12 (right). Detail of the stole in the Fritlar Treasury (see Figure 4.10). Photo: author.

the monstrance, so that it was carried with veiled hands.\textsuperscript{75} A mid fifteenth century stole of this type can be found in the treasury at Fritzlar, and modern versions can be seen in present-day processions (Figures 4.10-4.12).\textsuperscript{76} The \textit{Ordo ornamentorum} describes the procession as follows: First came two torchbearers, then four acolytes in red robes, two with candles, one with a censer and the fourth with a book for the subdean. Next came a subdeacon with a book for the dean, another deacon carrying nothing, and three students, two with cushions and the third carrying incense. At the center of the procession was the monstrance with the consecrated Host, presumably carried by the dean, followed by two torchbearers, two students with candles and two students carrying either small bells or cymbals.\textsuperscript{77}

The atmosphere of the Corpus Christi procession was that of a triumph, with the Body of Christ carried in glory, accompanied by reliquaries and scores of expensive candles. Bells rang loudly, and musicians often accompanied the monstrance group, playing for the King of Kings. Everyone in the procession dressed in his or her very best. The monstrance was carried with veiled hands beneath a canopy. Greenery, sweet smelling grass or flowers were strewn before the monstrance, and clouds of incense filled the air.\textsuperscript{78} The citywide Corpus Christi procession in Frankfurt is the subject of several particularly vivid descriptions. This procession began and

\begin{footnotesize}
\footnote{\textsuperscript{75} "…cinget se una stola feriali in qua fiet nodus sub pede Ciborii." van Rossum, "Kerkelijke Plechtigheden," 189-90. On the design and function of the stole, see: Braun, \textit{Paramente}, 228-31.}
\footnote{\textsuperscript{76} For the stole in Fritzlar, see: C. Alhard von Drach, \textit{Kreis Fritzlar}, Bd. 2 of \textit{Die Bau-und Kunstdenkmäler im Regierungsbezirk Cassel} (Marburg: N.G. Elwertsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1909), 94.}
\footnote{\textsuperscript{77} "Item. Quatuor tortisiae exponentur quorum duae praecequent processionem et duae portabuntur una cum tortisis dominorum ante venerabile Sacramentum. Et sequentur duo servientes in tunicis rubeis portantes candelas ardentem, et tertius in tunica rubea portans thuribulum cum incenso; deinde sequitur quartus serviens in tunica portans librum diaconii; et sequitur subdiaconus portans librum diaconii; postea sequitur diaconus nihil portans. Et erunt tres scholars, duo portantes cussinos, et tertius navim thuris. Et hebdomedarius portans venerabile Sacramentum, ante quod portabuntur duae candelae gedreyt in candelabras ad hoc deputatis per duos scholars, et etiam ibunt duo scholars cum nolis sive cum cymbalis." van Rossum, "Kerkelijke Plechtigheden," 189-91. Van Rossum indicates in a footnote that the first book was meant for the subdean, and not the dean. That the dean carried the monstrance is indicated in the \textit{Liber cantentatus}, as for example in the entry from 1438. See above, note 55.}
\footnote{\textsuperscript{78} On the triumphal nature of the Corpus Christi procession, and the use of incense, flowers, grass and greenery, see Browe, \textit{Verehrung}, 109-112.}
\end{footnotesize}
ended at the Collegiate Church of St. Bartholomew, and the dean of the church carried the monstrance (unless a higher-ranking church official was present). The monstrance was carried under a heavy cloth canopy, and was sometimes preceded by trumpeters and lute players. Reliquaries and shrines usually accompanied the monstrance group, which formed the center of the procession. The procession began with the city guildsmen and members of the religious brotherhoods, all carrying candles. Next, behind a processional cross, processed students, the conventual religious and the priests of the city before the monstrance group. Behind the monstrance group walked the members of the city council and their ten (later twelve) candle bearers, a second processional cross, and finally the remaining citizens of Frankfurt in two large groups separated by gender. In his description of the 1395 Corpus Christi procession in Frankfurt, Bernhard Rohrbach informs us that the students of the city wore green wreaths decorated with fragrant herbs and flowers upon their heads. Members of the three mendicant orders in Frankfurt, who had taken the side of the city in a conflict between Frankfurt and the Archbishop of Mainz, processed in 1395. Due to the conflict, brother Johannes Rosenbeimchin, an ordained priest, took the place normally reserved for the dean of St. Bartholomew's.

Rohrbach further informs us that Rosenbeimchin wore a wreath of roses and other flowers on his head, doubtless a sign of his elevated status as the monstrance carrier in the procession. In his description of the 1468 Corpus Christi procession, Bernhard Rohrbach names several men who accompanied the monstrance, including four who carried a the canopy, four torch bearers and

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one with "the light and the bell." This individual presumably carried a processional staff with an enclosed lamp in one hand and a bell in the other. Another man carried "the wood upon which the monstrance rests," and was followed by three men singing in tenor voices. Finally came a lute player and "Peter, the city trumpeter, [with] a muffled trumpet." Banners and special angel costumes for the procession are described in an inventory of St. Bartholomew's, begun in 1460 by Heinricus Sculteti and finished by Philipp Scheid in 1490. There were two new and two old banners made of red silk decorated with gold stars. Each banner was painted with a different scene, the new ones with the Resurrection and Ascension and the old with Saints Bartholomew and Charles (Charlemagne). The inventory also lists three pairs of old red and green silk banners, and eight special staffs. The staffs for the new banners were gilded, and the rest were painted red. From the list of *ornamenta per angelis* in the 1460-90 inventory, we learn that eight boys dressed as angels accompanied the processions on Corpus Christi and the feast of Mary Magdalene. Children were often included in processions because of their purity and innocence. Each angel in the Frankfurt processions wore an *alb* (a white linen robe reaching to the feet with decorative borders at the cuffs and lower edge). Two of these were

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85 Although the entry for the albs gives the total as seven, eight albs and eight pairs of angel wings are described under the heading *ornamenta per angelis die corp(o)risChristi et die Marie Magdalene*. 1460-90 inventory, fol. 22v, in: Stolleis, *Inventare*, 44.


decorated with red borders and gold stars, two more with red stars and blue borders (the borders had yellow stars), two with red and blue stars and no colored borders, and the remaining two albs were plain. Each angel was equipped with a pair of wooden angel wings that were painted with peacock feathers on a green background and decorated with gilded mirrors. Most carried small banners of red or green silk, but one angel walked in front of the group with the monstrance strewing roses on the ground from a green-painted box. This same angel wore special gilded leather shoes.88

The accounts of the Frankfurt Corpus Christi procession unfortunately do not include a detailed description of the canopy over the monstrance. From the accounts of processions in other cities, it is clear that such canopies, held in honor over the Body of Christ, were elaborate and expensive. In her will of 1420, a woman named Jehenetta donated twelve Rhenish guilders to purchase expensive cloth woven with gold for a canopy "under which the most holy Body of the Lord would be carried on Corpus Christi," for the collegiate church of St. Kastor in Karden.89

The canopy donated by Bishop Friedrich von Öttingen to the cathedral of Eichstätt in 1383 was made of cloth of gold.90 According to the Liber fundationum et praesentiarum of Mainz cathedral (c. 1400), the cathedral's canopy was made of beautifully painted cloth, with a gilded angel figure wearing a crown attached to each of the four canopy poles. During the procession, these gilded angels carried lit candles.91

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88 1460-90 inventory, fol. 22v, in: Stolleis, Inventare, 44.
90 "velum de panno deaurato…ut in festo corporis Christi in ipsa monstrancia et sub ipso velo cum magna reverencia perpetuis temporibus portetur similiter et conservetur." Bethmann and Waitz, eds., Gesta Episcoporum Eichstetensium, 602.
Stephan Schuler's description of the Corpus Christi procession at the Frauenkirche in Nuremberg offers an informative glimpse into the monumental task of organizing a procession and the many people and objects involved. The source is Schuler's Salbuch, a book of instructions for the Pfleger (lay-caretaker) of the Frauenkirche, written during his service as Pfleger in 1442. Schuler states that the Pfleger must arrange for three musicians (playing a lute, a portable organ and a guitar or zither) to precede the Sacrament in the procession. He also allows for the possibility of a harpist and a singer. The musicians were to be provided with wreaths of roses or other flowers for their heads. The Pfleger must also gather the musicians on the Sunday before Corpus Christi "in order that they practice together," and feed them. The meals, on the evening before Corpus Christi, early morning and on the evening of the feast day, and the evening before and morning of the octave, were provided at the expense of the Frauenkirche. Another responsibility of the Pfleger concerned the roses strewn in front of the monstrance group. He had to assign two boys (the sons of honorable parents) to perform the task.

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92 The office of Pfleger was separate from that of the sacristan: the Frauenkirche also had a sacristan who was a cleric.
and arrange for enough roses to cover the procession route on Corpus Christi and the octave.  

As at Mainz and other churches, these boys were dressed as angels. The inventory in Schuler's manual describes four linen angel costumes decorated with silk and gold fringes, eight gilded angel wings, "that the rose strewers wear on Corpus Christi" and four leather breastplates that accompany the wings. Fresh grass was strewn on the floor of each church along the processional route, ensuring a fresh scent and pleasant appearance on the Corpus Christi and its octave. For the Corpus Christi procession, the sacristan had to select two men to carry the large banners of the Frauenkirche. The priests of the Frauenkirche, each wearing a long robe and carrying a chalice, followed behind. Schuler informs us that he commissioned a new six-pole canopy that would be carried over the monstrance, and that six sons of council members must be invited to hold the canopy. The monstrance-bearer was led two priests carrying enormous five and one half pound wax candles of gold and green. The Pfleger had to arrange for the production of these and the seven smaller (one pound) candles that were used in the

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98 See Löther for a list of processions in which angels participated (with accompanying bibliography). Löther, *Prozessionen*, 115-16, note 264.


100 "Item auch soll bestellen der Messner, dass man hab an unsers Herrn Leichnams-Tag und an der Octave Gras ein gute Nothdurft in der Kirchen, und dass man auch des Morgens Gras umd die Kirchen auswendig streu, so man mit der Processen um die Kirchen will gen." Schuler, *Salbuch*, in : Baader, "Fronleichnams-Prozession," 69. Grass and/or roses were commonly scattered along the routes of Corpus Christi processions, and houses along the route were often decorated with flowers. Löther, *Prozessionen*, 136-8.


procession on the octave. Finally, many of the participants and others involved in the procession had to be paid, either in coin or in food or drink. The banner and candle bearers in the 1492 Corpus Christi procession at St. Sebald in Nuremberg each received four pennies and a meal of soup. The woman who made the wreaths for the St. Sebald procession received half a roasted hen, a quart of wine, a loaf of "wedding bread" and two rolls.

In addition to the monumental task of organizing the personnel and equipment for the procession, the route had to be prepared as well. Thus a marginal gloss informs the reader of the Ceremoniale of Cologne cathedral that an altarista should be sent to the mayor on the day before the Corpus Christi procession to request that gates along the procession route be opened. The streets and buildings along the processional route had to be clean and in good repair, as indicated by a Würzburg legal document from 1476. In it, the citizens are informed that any time the relics of selected saints and the "most highly revered Sacrament of our Lord's Body and the most godly [and] holy red-colored blood of our Lord Jesus Christ" are carried in procession, the route should be suitably prepared. Specifically, "all the streets and alleys in front of houses and such like inside the ring walls of the city of Würzburg, should be made clean and orderly by means of improvement to the road surface, brushing aside animal droppings, and raking the surface where

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106 "...krentzlmacherin ein halbe hennen, gepratens, 1 viertl wein, 1 hochzeit brot und 2 wecklin..." Sebald Schreyer, Kirchenordnung St. Sebald, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg, Merkel-Hss, No. 100, fol. 9, in: Löther, Prozessionen, 132.
107 "N(ota) B(ene) altarista praecedente die debet accedere dominium primarium consulem regentem et petere, ut aperiantur portae in Dranckgas et Newgaß." Ceremoniale, fol. 68v, lower margin, in Amberg, Ceremoniale Colonien, 208.
it has been rooted by pigs," in order to make it pleasant to walk or ride along the streets.\textsuperscript{109} Property owners along the routes of Würzburg's five processions with the Sacrament had to ensure that the streets and alleys in front of their property were in good order at least eight days before each procession, or a fine would be levied against them.\textsuperscript{110} Similarly, in 1475 pigs were banned from roaming the streets of Cologne during the Host procession that occurred the second Friday after Easter. In order to further preserve the dignity of the occasion, food and drink sellers were prevented from hawking their wares along the route.\textsuperscript{111}

**Hierarchy in the Procession**

Despite the wealth of colorful textiles, flowers, candles, reliquaries and other objects on display, the monstrance, with the consecrated Host, was the clear focal point of the Corpus Christi procession. The Host monstrance occupied the position of highest honor beneath an expensive canopy at the center of the procession, and was generally carried by the highest-ranking churchman present. The remaining participants in the procession were positioned according to their ecclesiastical and secular status. Images of the 1415 Corpus Christi procession in Constance from a c. 1465 copy of Ulrich Richenthal's Chronicle show the arrangement of the various groups in the procession, with those of highest rank closest to the monstrance (Figure 4.13). The entire procession takes up eight illustrated pages, of which five are divided into four registers, one into three registers, and the pages with the monstrance, the patriarch, the king and


\textsuperscript{111} *Van der procession myt dem heiligen Sacrament omb die Stat zo dragen, proclamatun anno (14)78 23 Martij*, §1, in: Gerd Schwerhoff, "Köln rüstet sich zur Gottestracht: Eine Morgensprache vom 23 März 1478," in *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Köln*, Bd. 2, Spätes Mittelalter und Frühe Neuzeit (1396-1794), ed Joachim Deeters et al (Cologne: Bachem Verlag, 1996), 130, 132. For the original text and my translation, see below, p. 4.40 and notes 137-8.
visiting queens divided into two registers. The procession begins with students, clerics, and singers. Next come Franciscans, Dominicans and other monks, more clerics, cathedral canons, professors and students with the insignia of their schools, and abbots followed by additional monks and clerics. Bishops and archbishops, cardinals and patriarchs come next, followed by the monstrance on a bier, accompanied by clerics and bishops. The four individuals carrying the canopy are identified by their coats of arms. Behind the monstrance group are three canopies, under which walk the Patriarch of Constantinople, the king and two visiting queens. High-ranking personnel accompany these personages (bishops with the Patriarch and nobles with the king and queens). The procession ends with the citizens of Constance.112 As at Frankfurt, the citizens walk in two large groups separated by gender, with the women at the very end of the procession. The order set in 1476 for Host processions in Würzburg, in which the entire populace was arranged from "high, middle and low according to [their] spiritual and lay status,"

could apply to Corpus Christi processions in many other cities.\textsuperscript{113} In the words of Richard Trexler, "the procession \textit{was} a social order."\textsuperscript{114} A Sacrament procession, with its single focus on the Host in the monstrance, clearly illustrated the status of its participants.

Involvement in a Sacrament procession was a significant event for an individual. Konrad Herdegen counted his role as a rose-scattering angel in the 1420 Corpus Christi procession in Nuremberg as one of the notable events of his life. He later became a Benedictine monk.\textsuperscript{115} The musicians who played and walked before the monstrance group in Nuremberg and other cities must have enjoyed more than just free meals: having their talents on display for such a wide audience certainly benefited them professionally. Processions with the Host often became the site of social climbing, with groups or individuals jockeying for positions closer to the monstrance. Surviving records detail competitions between craft guilds, religious brotherhoods, churches, noblemen and even siblings. In an attempt to prevent conflicts between individuals and groups, the council of Strasbourg issued the following directive for candle bearers in the 1472 ordinance for the Corpus Christi procession: "no one, whether he go before or behind, shall act in such a way or say to the other, 'I am of a [better] trade, I am better [than] or I should go before you.'\textsuperscript{116} In Colmar, the apprentice bakers had traditionally held pride of place just before and behind the monstrance group in the Corpus Christi procession. The bakers were the oldest of the city guilds and their apprentices carried the most expensive candles in the procession. In

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item[114] Italics are Trexler's. Trexler, \textit{Public Life}, 340.
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1494, however, three other guilds purchased costlier candles and were granted the highest rank in the procession by its organizers, the canons of St. Martin. The apprentice bakers purchased four additional candles, with a total value of 120 guilders, but were unable to regain their honored position. The city council attempted to intervene on their behalf, but without success, so the apprentice bakers quit the procession in protest. In 1495, they left the city and sold off their expensive candles, again refusing to take part in the Corpus Christi procession. After lengthy legal battles between the council of Colmar and the apprentice bakers, who had moved to Oberbergheim, the dispute was finally resolved in 1505. The apprentices each paid a fine, which was held as surety by their guild, and then all parties agreed to forget the matter. Unfortunately, there is no record of whether the apprentice bakers took part in subsequent Corpus Christi processions.117

In Utrecht, the citywide Corpus Christi procession was customarily led by the canons of the Oudmunster carrying their monstrance. The Oudmunster canons claimed this right because their church was the oldest in the city. Thus the Oudmunster was the first station for the Corpus Christi procession, and the personnel of the other four chapters gathered there. In 1438, a dispute, presumably over the precedence of the Oudmunster on Corpus Christi, led the canons of the Cathedral of St. Martin to boycott the city procession. Since the two churches were built side by side, this dispute must have been particularly disruptive for religious life in the city. Processional records in the Oudmunster *Liber cantentatus* declare that in 1438, "contrary to ancient custom", the canons of St. Martin omitted the station at the Oudmunster and instead held

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their own Sacrament procession around the cathedral.118 In 1455, we learn that the canons of St. Martin held the Oudmunster "in contempt," and, to the detriment of the solemn services held in the Oudmunster, "sang and played the organ disruptively" in the cathedral.119 In 1460, the canons of St. Martin came to the station at Oudmunster, but held a second, separate procession around the cathedral cemetery.120 The canons of St. Martin excused themselves from the citywide Corpus Christi procession in 1465, and participation in the citywide procession was deemed voluntary for all religious institutions in order to avoid further escalation of the dispute. The chapters of St. Peter, St. John and St. Mary all chose to participate in the procession that began at the Oudmunster.121 This was the situation until 1488 when the dispute was finally resolved. The procession still began at the Oudmunster, but it was modified to include a circuit of the cathedral precinct and services within the cathedral. More importantly, the dean of the Oudmunster no longer carried the monstrance in procession. Instead, the dean of St. Martin took this role, and the dean of the Oudmunster carried the monstrance back to the Oudmunster.

118 "Canonici vero Sancti Martini contra antiquam consuetudinem omissa statione in dicta ecclesia Sancti Salvatoris consueta fieri per se dumtaxat post missam in circuitu ecclesiae suae corpus dominicum deportaverunt." Visser, "Berichten over processien," 214.
120 "Anno Domini M' CCCCC' LX' dies beati Odulphi evenit in die venerabilis et magnifici Sacramenti. In quo in primis et secundis vesperis illi de Sancto Martino venerunt ad stacionem ecclesiae nostrae ut aliarum ecclesiarum canonici et ibidem in festo ante missam una cum quatuor aliiis ecclesiis per circuitum ecclesiae nostrae venerabile Sacramentum honorifice deportaverunt. Qua processione facta illi de Sancto Martino ad ecclesiam suam sedeuntes missam cum organis ludendo decantarunt et tandem missa finita venerabile Sacramentum secundo per circuitum cimiterii eorum soli deportarunt." Visser, "Berichten over processien," 216. Since "quatuor ecclesiis" generally refers to the four chapters outside of the Oudmunster (St. Peter, St. John, St. Mary and the cathedral of St. Martin), it appears from this description that the canons of St. Martin might have participated in a portion of the citywide procession before walking to mass at the cathedral.
121 "Anno etc., LXVI' mensis Junii, die quinta fuit festum venerabilis Sacramenti ipso die beati Bonifacii patroni ecclesiae Sancti Salvatoris ad quam venientibus tune in die ad missam et ad utrasque vesperas tribus aliiis collegiis, videlicet Sancti Petri, Sancti Johannis et Beatae Mariae fuit inibi celebrata stacio solita. Et ipso die ad precies civitatis venerabile Sacramentum ex eadem ecclesia Sancti Salvatoris portatum per civitatem a quatuor collegis predictis et religiosis solito more, sed domini de ecclesia Sancti Martini in sua mansuerunt et divina inibi in canticis et organis prefererunt, ad huismodi processionem generalen venire recusantes. Item supplicatum fuit eodem tempore per superiores civitatis monasteriis et religiosis ut cum presbyteris de ecclesia civili ex eadem venerabile Sacramentum ut premititur portare voluissent. Qui forte avisi desuper ab ecclesiis vel alisi invitata domino dies facere recusaverunt et sic venerunt idem superiores civitatis ad ecclesiam Sancti Salvatoris rogentes dominos licet tarde satis ut ex illa nostro promisso portaret. Quod ad honorem Dei et peticionem civitatis quae eciam tria alia collegia predicta cum religiosis ob hoc rogari, fecit sic factum est." Visser, "Berichten over processien," 216-17.
afterwards. In this new arrangement, the Oudmunster retained the distinction of being the first station of the citywide procession, the cathedral was restored to its earlier position as a station along the route, and the dean of the cathedral assumed the central role of monstrance-bearer. Since the dean of the Oudmunster carried the monstrance back to his church, it is very likely that the monstrance in question was the large precious Oudmunster monstrance that had been donated by Gerard Foec over a century before.

Citywide Corpus Christi processions in Strasbourg were set up to avoid the conflicts that plagued Utrecht. At each station along the procession route, the monstrance changed hands. From the cathedral to the church of St. Martin, the king of the Choir (holding an office founded by Henry II) carried the monstrance. Then the archpriest of the parish of St. Lawrence carried it to the church of St. Thomas, where the monstrance was transferred to the priest of St. Thomas. As the procession wound through the city, priests from St. Martin's, Old St. Peter's and New St. Peter's carried the monstrance before it was given over to the chief of the senior member of the cathedral curacy and then the provost or dean of the cathedral. The bishop was the final monstrance-bearer. Once he reached the main portal of the cathedral, he made the sign of the cross with the Host monstrance before entering the cathedral.

In at least one case, a Sacrament procession was the stage upon which sibling rivalry was played out. Bernhard Rohrbach reports in his family chronicle that he founded and fully funded...
a sacrament procession by the Friars Minor of Frankfurt in 1477. The annual procession was held on the Sunday after Ascension, which happened to correspond to both the anniversary of his parents' death and to the consecration of the church. Rohrbach also undertook to have the procession confirmed by Rome. Rohrbach set a particular limit upon the procession, that of choosing the highest-ranking layperson in it. He states: "From now on, while I live, I myself, along with a person that I will name, will lead the man (priest) who carries the Sacrament in this procession, and no one else, and after my death the eldest Rohrbach of my—Bernhard's—line and not from Heinrich my brother's line, and if there is no Rohrbach of my—Bernhard's—line, then it should be the nearest from my get, and in no way should [any from] my brother's begetting lead." Bernhard Rohrbach's reason for excluding his brother is as follows: "...I have alone paid all that [this procession] cost, and Heinrich my brother has little sympathy, [and] thus will not pay with me." Bernhard was fourteen years younger than his brother Heinrich, and appears to have engaged in fierce competition with him. Seven months after Heinrich left his

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post on the city council in 1475, Bernhard took his place. Bernhard also exclusively adopted the arms of his father, rather than his brother, who was the eldest son and heir. In creating his own Sacrament procession that he could lead during his lifetime, and stipulating that his elder brother and his descendents be forever prevented from leading the same procession, Bernhard Rohrbach ensured that there would always be a public event in which he and his descendents took precedence over his elder brother Heinrich. The fact that the procession was also a memorial to his parents, must also have allowed Bernhard Rohrbach to dramatically sieze the role of the more dutiful son.

**Monstrance Use Outside of Corpus Christi**

Bernhard Rohrbach's procession with the Host on the Sunday after Ascension is not the only example of an annual Sacrament procession outside of Corpus Christi and its octave. Monstrances were frequently used on the feast days relating to Christ's sacrifice, particularly during the Easter season. A late fifteenth century *liber ordinarius* from the cathedral of Bamberg indicates that a monstrance was used in the Good Friday liturgy. An elaborate procession brought the Host monstrance to the altar of the Holy Cross, where communion was celebrated. After communion, the procession continued to the altar of St. George, where a temporary tomb had been erected, and the monstrance was enclosed in the tomb. During the Easter vigil, in the middle of the night, the entire clergy assembled in the sacristy before processing to the altar of St. George in the east choir. The bishop (or another clergyman acting in his place) took the

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monstrance from the tomb, and the procession continued to the west choir, where the monstrance was placed upon the high altar. Following a ritual of confession, the consecrated Host was honored with the hymn *O vere digna hostia*, and then the monstrance was returned to its place in the sacristy. On Easter Sunday at the collegiate church of Gerresheim, the early fifteenth century Gerresheim Monstrance, with the consecrated Host, was displayed alongside the cross that had been entombed on Good Friday. At many churches, the monstrance with the consecrated Host was displayed on the mornings and evenings of major feast days. The Gerresheim canon Johannes Knipping lists twenty-four entries under the heading *In quibus festis monstrantz ad altare* in his mid-fifteenth century *Liber ordinarius*. They include feasts associated with Christ and his sacrifice (e.g. Nativity, Circumcision, Epiphany, Palm Sunday, Easter and its octave, Ascension, Pentecost and its octave), feasts associated with the Virgin (her birth, conception and Assumption), and several saints' days. Host processions could also occur on major feast days, as at Brandenburg, where Bishop Dietrich von Schulenburg ruled in 1372 that city churches could hold such processions at Easter, Pentecost, Corpus Christi, All Saints, Christmas and the dedication day of the church. After these processions, the Host monstrance was displayed upon the altar.

Several cities had major annual Host processions outside of Corpus Christi and its octave. The angel costumes described in the inventory of the collegiate church of St. Bartholomew in

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136 "In nova civitate Brandenburg. concedimus quatenus vos aut vester capellanus…eucaristiam, h. e. hostiam consecratam 6 diebus festivis infra scriptis ad monstranciam cristallinam a nobis benedictam ante horam solemnis processionis ponere et cum reverencia locare possitis ipsamque monstranciam cum hostia consecrata imposita, in processionibus…solemniter et devote valeatis portare et post processionem quamlibet in altari in quo tunc summam missam contigit celebrare, collocare et statim, finita eadem missa, eandem hostiam de ipso cristallo excipere ac eam in loco, ubi alias corpus dominicum pro infirmis servari consuevit, absque predicta monstrancia…reponendo…” Browe, *Verehrung*, 122, note 208.
Frankfurt were used in Sacrament processions on Corpus Christi and the feast of Mary Magdalene. In Cologne, the consecrated Host was carried in procession on the Feast of the Holy Lance and Nail (the second Friday after Easter). Called the *Grosse Gottestracht*, this most important procession in late gothic Cologne can be documented as early as third quarter of the fourteenth century. Beginning in 1371, payments were made to the canopy and candle bearers in the monstrance group and to five *vigilites ante sacramentum*. The *Grosse Gottestracht* followed the entire circuit of the thirteenth century walls of Cologne with the Host and the major relics of the cathedral. There were ten to fifteen stations along the way. An ordinance for the procession from 1475 indicates that all the guilds and brotherhoods in the city were expected to carry their candles in strict hierarchical order. Given the length of the procession and its location outside the security of the city walls, many rules were imposed to avoid crime and disruption. Bread, wine and beer could not be sold along the route, and pigs were forbidden to roam free. Violators of either rule risked having their wares (or pigs) given over to the city charity hospitals for distribution to the poor.

A Host monstrance was often included in triumphal processions, in times of victory and the entry of royalty or high-ranking churchmen into a city. A victory might be commemorated with a single procession or the founding of an annual procession. Dukes Friedrich and Heinrich

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137 1460-90 inventory, fol. 22v, in: Stolleis, *Inventare*, 44.
139 Browe, *Verehrung*, 122.
140 Schwerhoff, "Gottestracht," 129.
141 "Ind och, dat die kertzen gedragen na grade, as die Ampte ind Gaffelen in dem verbundebrieve geschreven steent ind Jairs gewoenlich is..." *Van der processio...anno (14)78 23 Martij*, §1, in: Schwerhoff, "Gottestracht," 130.
142 "Vort verbiedent onse heren, dat nyemant up dach der procession wyn, broit noch bier up dem graven viel haven soele, und off yemant dar weder dede, so sall man sulce pravande neymen ind armen luden in die hospitale dragen und verdeilen."; "(Van den Vercken) Vort gebiedent onse heren vanne Raide, dat nyemant, hey sy wer hey sy, bynnenna noch buyszen der alder myuren vercken halden sall up der straessen gaende...der sall van yeden vercken, so dwck dat bevonden wurde, 8(s)ch(illing) zo boesse gheve. ...ind off die vercken bynen den nyesten dryn daghen nyet geloist noch die boisse betzailt wurde, so sall man die vercken in die hospitale gheven..." *Van der procession...anno (14)78*, §3, 13, in Schwerhoff, "Gottestracht," 130, 132.
of the house of Lüneburg instituted an annual Host procession in Brunswick to commemorate their 1388 victory at Winsen. Similarly, in 1441, the Bishop of Brandenburg allowed the city of Bernau to celebrate their freedom from the Hussites with a Host procession. Chronicles of many cities record Host processions for the entry of a visiting dignitary. Ulrich Richenthal records the processions held for the entry of the pope and other church dignitaries who arrived in 1414 for the Council of Constance (Figure 4.14). The pope entered the city in an enormous procession: "In front of the pope were nine white horses bedecked with red cloth, and eight of these were loaded with cloth sacks and on the ninth was a silver gilt chest with a monstrance. In it was the holy Sacrament…” The illustration in manuscript K of the chronicle shows an enormous monstrance and two large candles borne on the back of a white horse. The horse is adorned with red cloth, and a sash of white is placed beneath the monstrance. The chest in Richenthal's description has been omitted. Instead, the monstrance and candles appear to be attached to a green cushion. Behind the monstrance group rides the pope. He is surrounded by four canopy bearers, identifiable by their coats of arms, and accompanied by a priest, an armored soldier and an attendant leading his horse. Richenthal describes the priest as

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143 Browe, Verehrung, 122-3.
145 "Und hielten vor dem bapst 9 wisse roß, alle verdeckt mit rotten tüch, und waren die 8 geladen mit watsecken, und uf dem nünden was ain silbri vergülti lad mit ainer monstrantz. Da was in das hailig sacrament..." Ulrich Richenthal, Chronicle of Constance, manuscript K, fol. 10a, in: Otto Feger, Ulrich Richental: Das Konzil zu Konstranz, vol. 1 (Starnberg: Josef Keller Verlag, 1964), 161.
follows: "Next to the pope rides a priest who throws pennies to the people…" 146 The triumphal procession for the papal entry included all the churchmen of Constance, who preceded the monstrance in a similar arrangement to the Constance Corpus Christi procession described above. 147

Host processions were also used to bless and protect a city or a given district. Rogation processions took place annually, generally in the spring, and emergency processions could be formed in times of war, plague or natural disaster. 148 Rogation processions in Cologne occurred on the feast of St. Mark and also over the Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday before Ascension. The three processions that took place before Ascension collectively covered every part of the city. 149 At each church along the route, hymns of supplication were sung. 150 Although rogations were more solemn than Corpus Christi, the clergy still processed with the banners and major relics of each church. 151 Cologne chroniclers describe emergency processions with little more detail than the type of disaster and the fact that the Host was carried, but it might be reasonable to assume that, since these processions had a similar function to the rogation processions, banners and relics were carried in them as well. Emergency Host processions were prompted by a flood in February of 1374, in which water high enough to drown horses remained until Easter, and an unusually cold spring in 1491. 152 According to the Cronica van der hilligen Stat von Coelle, the Sacrament procession on May 16, 1491 was held for "good weather for the fruit,"

146 Ulrich Richenthal, Chronicle of Constance, manuscript K, fol. 10b, in: Feger, Richental, 162.
147 For Richenthal's description of the various groups, see: Ulrich Richenthal, Chronicle of Constance, manuscript K, fols. 10a-b, in: Feger, Richental, 161-2.
148 See Browe, Verehrung, 126-134.
149 Torsy, "Bittprozessionen," 71-76.
150 For the complete early fourteenth century liturgy, see: Torsy, "Bittprozessionen," 83-97.
151 Torsy, "Bittprozessionen," 84-97.
152 "In den iaren uns heren 1374 in deim mainde Februario des 9. dages do was der Ryn as groys, dat man vur der monzen de pert drenckde, dat gewesser werde bis payschen." De Cronica van Collen, in :L. Ennen, "Kölner Chronik (274 bis 1399)," in Annalen des historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein, insbesondere das Alte Erzbistum Köln 23 (1871): 54; Browe, Verehrung, 125.
because "in the extremely cold weather, the fruit was very scrawny." Joannes Latomus states that in 1402, all the citizens and clergy of Frankfurt held a Host procession against an epidemic. Bernhard Rohrbach records another such procession, on October 2, 1467, in his Liber gestorum. He also describes a procession in 1480, "for the great flood…so great a water danger had not yet been heard of in these lands." The same flooding "swept the Rhine bridge in Strasbourg away, [as well as] many villages and people, [and] damaged fruit and hay in the fields." A procession was held in which most chose to dress in black, and the city guildsmen, who normally carried enormous candles in festive processions, carried small wax candles. Choir crosses were the only church objects carried in the procession. No banners or reliquaries were included, and jewelry was strictly avoided. The route they followed was that of the Corpus Christi procession, but due to the extreme solemnity of the occasion, the Host was not carried. After the high mass on that day, Rohrbach tells us, "from [that] hour [the water] was completely good and pressed down."

The procession held in Frankfurt during the floods of 1480 was so solemn and penitential in nature that its organizers chose to hold it without a Host monstrance. Bernhard Rohrbach,
whose descriptions of events in late gothic Frankfurt often include minute details of clothing, carefully noted what lacked in the procession: "no banners…one carried no reliquary, nor Sacrament, nor any large candles…" The silent black-clad procession of 1480 was the antithesis of a festive, colorful Host procession, and this underscored the seriousness of the situation. When the consecrated Host was carried in a large, expensive monstrance through the streets of a city, participants in the procession wore their very best garments. Banners, reliquaries and expensive candles accompanied the Body of Christ in its precious container. Corpus Christi processions appealed to all the senses, with music and song, colorful banners, wreaths and flowers, sparkling reliquaries and processional crosses. Participants and bystanders alike breathed in the scent of incense, candle wax, flowers and crushed grass. Although the pomp and splendor of such a procession was clearly inviting, it was the salvific power of the consecrated Host that was on display. People yearned to see the Body of Christ and participate in the spiritual communion that was offered by such a sight.

A view of the consecrated Host offered saving grace. Thus, beginning in 1418, the Dominicans of Lübeck routinely displayed the Sacrament either in a monstrance or in an image of the Virgin upon the altar of a chapel that had been built outside their church. This chapel was built in 1377 for the express purpose of giving condemned prisoners a place to confess their sins en route to their execution. The Host was displayed in order that the prisoners "might adore it and entrust their souls to God." According to a document of 1477, this static display

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160 See note 139 above.
162 The building of the "domicilium paruum pro confessionibus audiendis eorum, qui pro sceleribus suis mortis supplicio sunt addixti," is described in a document of October 2, 1377. Urkunden-Buch der Stadt Lübeck 4, part 1 of Codex Diplomaticus Lubecensis (Lübeck, Ferdinand Grautoff, 1873), doc. 342.
163 "… achter vnseme hoghen altare ene nyge taffelen, daryne stan moghe besloten vnde wol bewaret dat werde hilghe sacrament des hilghen lichnames vnses Heren Jhesu Cristi in ener monstrancien edder in enen
later became an elaborate ceremony in which all the brothers processed before the Sacrament as it left the choir of the church, singing *O salutaris hostia*. The Dominicans then stood and sang in two groups before the doors of the chapel and the priest stood at the center with the monstrance. Prayers for the condemned prisoners were spoken outside the chapel before the brothers finally filed back into the church, this time following the priest with the monstrance, singing *Miserere mei Deus*.\(^{164}\)

**Conclusion**

In this chapter, I have presented the variety of ways in which the monstrance was used, both during and outside the feast and octave of Corpus Christi. Because the monstrance contained and displayed the Body of Christ, its use was an occasion of great pomp. The status of the monstrance as the focal point of processions often led to rivalries, as individuals and groups jockeyed for better positions nearer the monstrance (thus demonstrating their improved social status). The desire to see the consecrated Host, and what its display in a monstrance meant to various groups and individuals in the late gothic period, will be discussed in Chapter 5, "Seeing the Monstrance."

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CHAPTER 5.
CONCLUSION: SEEING THE MONSTRANCE

Introduction

In the preceding chapters, I have presented architectural monstrances in the Rhineland as intricately designed, lavishly produced display objects, the use of which commanded the attention of the late gothic viewer. Among the finest and most expensive of the goldsmith’s products, a late gothic architectural monstrance could bring notoriety to a skilled goldsmith, and prestige to its patron or patrons. Patrons would be recognized for their wealth, taste and Eucharistic devotion, and their expensive purchase would place an object associated with them at the focal point of the Corpus Christi procession, and thus at the highest point in the visible social hierarchy. This final chapter explores the ways in which the monstrance was seen and understood by various audiences in the late gothic period. I begin by discussing the effectiveness of the monstrance as a vessel for display and as an aid to devotion. Next, I present the monstrance as a symbol, inextricably associated with the presence of the consecrated Host, the Body of Christ. Challenging Huizinga’s characterization of the monstrance as the focus of late gothic devotion (as opposed to the Host inside), I demonstrate the medieval conception of the monstrance as a valuable container for even more precious contents. After discussing the controls placed upon monstrance use (and thus the visibility of the Host) in the fifteenth century, I present documents and images that indicate a late gothic appreciation for the monstrance as a well-made work of art. Certainly some pieces were so greatly valued that individuals and communities went to great lengths to save them from liquidation in times of war and financial crisis. Given the comparative lack of scholarly attention devoted to monstrances today, I conclude this chapter, and the dissertation, with suggestions for continuing research.
Monstrances and Display

Holland Cotter of the New York Times, describing the monstrances of the Basel Cathedral treasury, called attention to "their clear glass display cylinders surmounted by forests of Gothic spires."\(^1\) The late gothic monstrance, its crystal container surrounded by an elaborate architectural framework, was designed to call attention to its precious contents, whether they were relics or the consecrated Host. This visually demonstrative function of the monstrance is clearly illustrated by an illuminated initial in a document of relic donation from April 25, 1360 (Figure 5.1).\(^2\) In the initial, St. Paul hands one of his teeth to Johann Senn von Münsingen, Bishop of Basel. With his other hand, the bishop offers an architectural reliquary monstrance containing the tooth to the Virgin and Christ Child. The Virgin personifies the Cathedral of Basel, which was dedicated to her, and the monstrance is evidence of the bishop's improvement to the relic. The tooth is now held within an honorific container that can be placed upon an altar and carried in procession, with a central crystal vessel that magnifies and protects its precious contents. Attached to the document of donation are two additional texts detailing the indulgences that would be granted for

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\(^1\) Holland Cotter, "Reuniting the Pieces," E36.
venerating the relics. Reliquary monstrances like the one pictured would have allowed the faithful to have visual contact with the objects of their devotion.

In a similar manner to the tooth relic, the consecrated Host is shown twice in an illuminated initial from a missal painted by Master Bertram of Hamburg before 1382 (Figure 5.2). The initial C, from the word *Ciabavit* in the Corpus Christi liturgy, encloses an image of a priest elevating the Host in the mass. He is accompanied by a deacon in red and a sub deacon in violet who holds a paten. An angel, floating above on a cloud, censes the Host, thus calling attention to the moment of consecration. Upon the altar, just to the right of the upraised Host, is an architectural monstrance containing a consecrated Host. In addition to reflecting the actual

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4 *Ciabavit* means, literally, "he fed."
5 A Carmelite *Ordo* from 1312 stipulates that at the moment of elevation, two incense-bearing acolytes should kneel slightly behind the priest and cense the Host. The practice of using incense at the moment of elevation was widespread by the end of the fourteenth century. Michael Pfeifer, *Der Weihrauch: Geschichte, Bedeutung, Verwendung* (Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 1997), 77.
practice of displaying the Host in a monstrance during the Corpus Christi liturgy, the monstrance in the initial serves to further emphasize the focus of the feast day, the Body of Christ.

It was generally assumed that the Host in a monstrance was consecrated before it was placed inside. I know of only one recorded example of an unconsecrated Host being displayed in a monstrance, and it is described as an error. According to her biographer, St Dorothea von Montau of Danzig was accustomed to go to the Corpus Christi church in Danzig in the early morning in order to see the consecrated Host displayed in a monstrance. On one occasion, however, she went instead to the church of St. Gertrude in the early morning. There she saw a wafer displayed in a beautiful monstrance, and the people venerating it as if it were consecrated. St. Dorothea, however, was able to discern with the "eyes of her soul" that the wafer was unconsecrated. In order to confirm her suspicions, the Lord said to her, "do not pray before this; I am not present; this is only bread, not the Sacrament."6 According to her biographer, the lay-management of the church had apparently placed the unconsecrated wafer on display without the knowledge of the priest.7

Late gothic donors had a clear idea of the function of a Host monstrance. In the document of his donation of a Corpus Christi procession and accompanying monstrance in 1343, Konrad Gross of Nuremberg indicates that the Host "is better protected" inside the crystal monstrance. Furthermore, "the crystal should lead the people who see the Body of Christ to greater and better devotion." The rock crystal vessel of a monstrance serves to magnify the Host, making it more visible. The crystal also intensifies the light that illuminates the pale wafer. When I visited Ratingen in 2001, Dr. Andreas Odenthal used two lunulae to demonstrate the

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6 "Hic non adores nec ores; ego enim non sum ibi ut in sacramento, sed est panis solus non consecratus." Septililium B. Dorotheae II:11, in Analecta Bollandiana 3 (1884): 132
7 Septililium B. Dorotheae II:11, in Analecta Bollandiana 3 (1884): 132.
intense magnification caused by the thick crystal beaker at the center of the 1394 Ratingen Monstrance. The nineteenth century lunula that had been made to accommodate larger host wafers functions poorly in the late gothic monstrance, because magnification and the curve of the crystal cause the edges of the wafer to be visually cropped. A smaller wafer in the original lunula, however, appears to fill the entire vessel, despite the thickness of its crystal walls (Figure 5.3).

The Monstrance as Symbol

The effectiveness of the monstrance as an aid to devotion, and the fact that a Host in a monstrance was surely consecrated, led to the monstrance becoming a symbol for the consecrated Host. Late gothic images of consecrated Hosts show either the moment of elevation in the mass or a monstrance containing the Host, but the monstrance is the simpler, more graphically readable sign. In a late fifteenth century woodcut of the Seven Sacraments, attributed to the Nuremberg Master of the Legend of St. Meinrad, the Eucharist is symbolized by a monstrance containing a consecrated Host (Figure 5.4). In the print, Christ is depicted at the center, pressing the wound in his side. From it issue streams of blood that attach to scenes showing each of the Sacraments. The Eucharist (represented by the Host monstrance) is shown directly below Christ, and is the largest of the eight images in the print. Christ's blood flows directly to the Host, and touches the image of the crucified Christ on the wafer. A monstrance is often used to symbolize the consecrated Host in Books of Hours, and images of a monstrance (either alone, flanked by angels, or displayed upon an altar), often accompany

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8 Eric P. Baker, "The Sacraments and the Passion in Medieval Art," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 89.528 (Mar., 1947), 81, plate B.
Figure 5.4. *The Seven Sacraments*, Master of the Legend of St. Meinrad, Nuremberg, late fifteenth century, woodcut. Photo: Baker, "Sacraments," plate B.
devotional prayers for the Host (Figure 5.5). The doors of fifteenth century wooden Sacrament cupboards are often painted with the image of a monstrance flanked by two angels (Figures 5.6 and 5.7). Similar imagery can often be found on tabernacles as well. Like the eternal flame that burns near the tabernacle or a similar receptacle for the consecrated Host in a church, the image of a monstrance would indicate the presence of the consecrated Host inside the Sacrament cupboard or tabernacle. St. Clare, who stood above the city gate and held the Sacrament against the Saracens in Assisi, is frequently portrayed with a monstrance (Figure 5.8). Browe notes,

9 There are excellent examples in two Flemish Books of Hours in the Huntington Library in San Marino, CA: HM 1131 (late fifteenth-early sixteenth century), fol. 117r (showing two angels holding up a monstrance below the rubric Oracio ante communionem dicenda) and HM 1087 (mid-fifteenth century), fol. 80r (showing a group of men and women kneeling before an altar upon which the Host is displayed in a monstrance, above the rubric Salutaciones ad sacrosanctum sacramentum). Huntington Library Digital Scriptorium website: http://sunsite.berkeley.edu/scriptorium/hehweb/HM1131.html; http://sunsite.berkeley.edu/scriptorium/hehweb/HM1087.html.
Figure 5.7. Sacrament Cupboard (Sakramentsschrank) from the Old Church in Bispingen, anonymous, mid-fifteenth century, painted oak, Hannover, Kestner-Museum, Inv. no. LM 942. Photo: Niedersächsisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege, Fotothek der Bau- und Kunstdenkmalfpflege.

however, that the earliest descriptions of Clare, written shortly after her death in 1253, describe her holding a closed vessel in which the Host was not visible.\textsuperscript{10} The monstrance in images of St. Clare is used to symbolize the consecrated Host, which is more properly the attribute of the saint. The description of St. Clare "holding a monstrance with the holy and worthy Body of Christ before the enemy and speaking her prayer," in the early

\textsuperscript{10} Browe, \textit{Verehrung}, 99-100, note 57.
sixteenth century *Liber chronicarum* of Hartmann Schedel and Georg Alt, reflects the accepted late gothic function of the monstrance as a vessel that displayed its contents.\(^{11}\)

**Venerating the Host in the Monstrance**

The plethora of monstrance images produced in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries might have prompted Johan Huizinga's statement that the monstrance "displaced the Host itself as an object of veneration."\(^{12}\) Huizinga might have seen an image of a Corpus Christi procession with kneeling bystanders gazing adoringly at the monstrance, as in a quarter-page miniature from a Breviary painted by the Master of the Croy Prayerbook (Figure 5.9). It is important to realize, however, that late gothic viewers recognized that it was the Host contained within, and

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\(^{11}\) "…mitt vorgeender Monstranz darinn das heilig darinn das heilig un[d] wirdigst Sacrament unsers herren fronleichnam was für die feind tragen und sprach ir gebet..." Hartmann Schedel and Georg Alt, *Liber chronicarum*, Augsburg: Johann Schönsperger, 1500, p. 136, online edition available through the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (http://mdz.bib-bvb.de/digbib/), BSB-Signatur: 2 Inc.c.a. 3925.

\(^{12}\) Huizinga, *Autumn*, 234.
not the monstrance, that was of utmost importance. The prayers that accompany monstrance images in Books of Hours are prayers to the Host, not the monstrance. Late gothic descriptions of monstrances indicate that they were meant to hold the consecrated Host, and Host processions are described as processions with the Sacrament or processions with the Sacrament in a monstrance. Similarly, the severity of the punishment for stealing a monstrance was based upon whether or not it contained the Host at the time. In early sixteenth century Bamberg, the penalty for stealing a church vessel was the same as for any theft, and was thus based upon whether the crime was the first, second or third offence. Young or first-time offenders received a relatively mild punishment, but habitual thieves were put to death. However, if the Sacrament or a relic was mistreated during the theft, the punishment was much more severe. According to Johann von Schwarzenberg's Bambergische Peinliche Halsgerichtsordnung of 1507, anyone who "steals a monstrance that contains the holy Sacrament at that time...and throws the Sacrament...out of [the monstrance]" would be put to death by fire. Margery Kempe, who in

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13 See, for example, the monstrance donated by Dean Zweder van Uterloo (d. 1378) to the cathedral of Utrecht, described as "unum jocale pulchrum seu clenogium argenteum deauratum...in quo quidem dicto clenogio seu jocali eciam existit cristallum pro venerabili Sacramento Corporis Christi deferendo..." (Brom, “Kerksieraden,” 237); Gerard Foe¢¢'s monstrance, described in his testament of 1383 as a "ciborium de cristallo, margaritis et argento deaurato...quod alio nomine Monstrantia vocari solet, ad conservandum sacratissimum corpus Domini in eodem..." (Testament of Gerard Foe¢¢, in Van den Bergh-Hoogterp, Goud- en zilversmeden, 2:495-6); and two monstrances in Mainz, described in the 1418 inventory as 'ITEM MONSTRANCIA NOVA DEAURATA, IN QUA PORTATUR corpus Christi. Ponderat xiiij [=13 ¼] marck; ITEM MONSTRANCIA ANTIQUA DEAURATA, in qua olim portabantur corpus Christi. Ponderat viij [=7 ½] marck ij lott" (Ordinarius sive registrum presenciarum secundum chorum ecclesiae Magontine, Bibliothek des Bischöflichen Priesterseminars Mainz, HS 92, fol. 172r, in: von der Gönna, "Der Mainzer Domschatz," 358). Processions with the Sacrament or with the Sacrament in a monstrance, were held in Biberach ("...das Sacramendt Tragen in der grosen Silbernen Monstranz..."; from the description of the procession in: Schilling, "Die religiösen und kirchlichen Zustände," 143); in Utrecht ("...fecerunt deferendo in precioso ciborio dominicum corpus..."; description of the 1416 Corpus Christi procession in the Liber canonibus in Visser, "Berichten over processien," 212); and Frankfurt ("...portaverunt sacramentum corporis Christi..."; Bernhard Rohrbach's description of the 1395 procession in Rohrbach, Liber gestorum, in Froning, Frankfurter Chroniken, 188).


15 "Item so einer ein Monstranzen stilt da das heylig Sacrament alßbaldt innen ist...und das Sacrament...darauff schüet...sollen avenge dieb oder diebin mid dem fewer von leben zum tode gericht werden." The same punishment was also given to individuals who stole any other type of Eucharistic vessel and threw out its
1433 reacted emotionally to the sight of the Host "in a crystal container," clearly indicates that it was the Sacrament that led to her dramatic response. In her autobiography, which was dictated to her spiritual advisor, she states: "And when she [Margery Kempe] beheld the precious Sacrament, our Lord gave her so much sweetness and devotion that she wept and sobbed amazingly bitterly and could not restrain herself from doing so." The function of the monstrance, for Margery Kempe, is to allow "people to see [the Host] if they wished."\(^{16}\)

The overwhelming popular desire to see and adore the Body of Christ as often as possible gave rise to its frequent display in a monstrance in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. People desired the spiritual communion that was offered by a view of the consecrated Host. This was particularly true in the large parish of St. Andreas in Hildesheim, where craftsmen and minor tradesmen who were often unable to attend mass dominated the population. According to a letter sent by the council and citizens of Hildesheim to Pope Boniface IX (1389-1404), this inability to attend mass left many of the citizens of Hildesheim without the view of the consecrated Host, thus endangering their souls. Therefore they asked the pope to allow them to "display the most holy Body of Christ on a consecrated Altar in a costly vessel...in order that whomever wished to see it, could do so enough." Unfortunately the pope's answer, if it was ever sent, has been lost.\(^{17}\)

In a similar manner, the city of Reval arranged with Bishop Ludwig to have the Host continually displayed in a monstrance inside the tabernacle of the church of the Holy Spirit. The monstrance would be veiled if the city was under an Episcopal interdict, but if another church official (including the pope) declared interdict against Reval, the monstrance would remain uncovered.

\(^{16}\) Book of Margery Kempe, 2.6, 279-80.
for all to see. In his Chronicle of Kaisheim, written in 1531, Johann Knebel describes a
donation made by Hans Wilprecht and his wife Hailtwig in 1393 concerning a similar display.
The couple donated "a beautiful monstrance with a precious beryl, in which the holy Sacrament
should be seen," as well as a stone tabernacle located behind the high altar and in front of the
altar of the Trinity. They further donated an oil lamp that would be perpetually lit in front of the
tabernacle. All these donations were made "in order that the most venerable Sacrament should
be visible the entire year and every day in a beryl in the form of a large Host…so that it is seen
the entire year as it is during the octave of Corpus Christi." Another response to the popular
desire to see and venerate the Host was to increase the number of feast days when it would be
made visible in the monstrance. Thus Johannes Knipping, in his mid-fifteenth century Liber
ordinarius of the collegiate church in Gerresheim, lists twenty-three occasions outside of Corpus
Christi and its octave when the monstrance was displayed upon the high altar. The number of
processions in which the Host was visible in the monstrance also increased greatly during the
fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

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18 “So hebbe wi borgermestere und ratmanne der stat to Revele gantzlichen eindrachtlich sint geworden mit
dem erw. vader in Gode und heren bisschop Lodewige der kerken to Revele, as umme de monstrantia mit dem hl.
lichnamme in dem stenen ciborio in der kerken des hl. geistes binnen Revele, dat de monstrantia dar staende bliven
sal openbare to ewigen tiden, it en were, dat bishop Lodewich vorbenom. mit sine rechte dat gesenge legerde over
de stat te Revele, so sal men de monstrantia bedecken. Weret aver, dat dat senge van buten to gelegert werde, als
van dem pawese edder anderen geistliken herschaft, so sal de monstrantia mit dem hl. lichhamme openbare staende
bliven unverdecket." Estonisches und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch 3 (1857), no. 1176 and Reg. no. 1387, in
Browe, Verehrung, 165, note 125.
19 “Also dan bey im ain lobliche stiftung im MCCCLXXXIII an der hailigen drey king tag geschach, daß
Hanß Wilprecht und Haitwig sein haußfrau von Munichen stifteten..." Johann Knebel, Chronicle, in Franz Hüttnner,
ed., Die Chronik des Klosters Kaisheim, verfasst vom cistercienser Johann Knebel im Jahre 1531, (Tübingen:
Litterarischen Verein in Stuttgart, 1902), 166.
20 "Darzu hat er auch lassen machen ain schone monstranz mit ainer kostlichen barillen, darin daß hailig
sacrament behalten solt werden. Auch hinder dem choralitar vor der hailigen dreyfeltigsaitlar ain stainin geheuß
darzu lassen machen, darin dis monstranz mit dem hailigen sacrament solt behalten werden sichtigelig. Auch ein
ewig öllicht bey demselbigen geheuß gestift..." Knebel, Chronicle, in Hüttnner, Chronik des Klosters Kaisheim, 166.
21 "...daß deß hochwurdig sacrament sollte daß ganz jar und alle tag bloß duch ain parillen in ainer grossen
ostien gesehen werden...daß es also daß ganz jar stand wie in der octave corporis Crist." Knebel, Chronicle, in
Hüttnner, Chronik des Klosters Kaisheim, 166.
22 Knipping, Liber ordinarius, Düsseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Mss. C50, fol. 66v.
23 Browe, Verehrung, 166-76.
Limitations on the Monstrance

Such frequent expositions of and processions with the Host in a monstrance led to the fear, on the part of bishops, papal legates and theologians that the power and mystery of the Body of Christ would be lessened by overexposure. They also wished to prevent the consecrated Host from being seen as magical or talismanic.\textsuperscript{24} In Naumburg, therefore, where the Host had been displayed in a monstrance every Sunday, the bishop limited the practice only to feast days. The ruling was made "partly out of deep respect for the Sacrament, [and] partly in order to limit the damage that could arise out of the frequent exposition [of the Host] in parish churches."\textsuperscript{25} In 1416, the bishop of Breslau issued a decree revoking his permission for the Host to be openly displayed once a week. Instead, he allowed priests to set out a veiled Host during a special devotional office. His reason was that "as a result of these frequent expositions…which grew from the devotion of the common people, reverence [for the Host] was reduced."\textsuperscript{26} Early fifteenth century church legislation forbade the monastic (and particularly mendicant) practice of displaying the Host in a monstrance in order to attract offerings.\textsuperscript{27} The Antonite house in Grünberg listed "four monstrances…that are taken on the journey" in their 1525 inventory.\textsuperscript{28} "The journey" refers to long voyages that the Antonites were allowed to take in search of alms. Donors were granted indulgences in return for their money, and descriptions of such journeys indicate that the monks often held colorful processions to gain the attention of potential

\textsuperscript{24} Browe, \textit{Verehrung}, 169-71.
\textsuperscript{25} \textit{Thüringischer Geschichtsquellen} 5, II (1892), no. 501, in Browe, \textit{Verehrung}, 168
\textsuperscript{26} "…ex qua frequenti expositione…excrucet indevotio multorum, minoratur reverential…" Hartzheim, \textit{Concilia Germaniae} V, 154; Browe, \textit{Verehrung}, 167, note 132.
\textsuperscript{27} Browe, \textit{Verehrung}, 168.
Nicholas of Cusa, who traveled an indirect route from the Tyrol to Brussels as papal legate between 1451 and 1452, was responsible for the most wide-reaching church legislation limiting overexposure of the Host. Declaring, "it should be the stuff of food, and not of sight," he issued decrees limiting the display of and processions with the Host outside of Corpus Christi and its octave. That Nicholas of Cusa was unopposed to processions at the appropriate time is demonstrated by the fact that in 1451, on the Sunday after Corpus Christi, he carried the monstrance in procession in Magdeburg. He was also responsible for the ordinance, in the Cologne provincial council of 1452, that each parish in the city could hold only three Host processions per year: two during Corpus Christi and its octave and the third on a day determined by the parish.

The limitations placed upon monstrance use led to the practice of carrying the Host either in a closed container that prevented it from being seen, or in a monstrance covered by a veil. A woodcut from Hartmann Schedel's Weltchronik illustrating a Sacrament procession in Utrecht in 1493 shows a priest carrying a veiled monstrance. The veil is specially made to fit tightly to the monstrance spire. The shape of the vessel beneath the veil, the veiled hands of the priest and the bell in the hands of the banner bearer all combine to demonstrate that this is a Host procession with a monstrance beneath the veil. Despite the fact that the veil prevents the monstrance from displaying the Host, it is clear that the presence of the Sacrament should be

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30 For a detailed itinerary and summaries of the legislation of regional councils en route, see: Übinger, "Cusanus in Deutschland," 632-665.
31 "…sie sei als Speise, nicht als Schaumittel eingesetzt," Browe's translation from Albertus Krantzius, Ecclesiastica historia, sive Metropolis de primis Christianae religionis in Saxonia initis deque eius episcopis, & horum vita, moribus, studiis & factis... (Frankfurt: And. Wecheli, 1576) XI, c. 39, in Browe, Verehrung, 170.
32 Übinger, "Cusanus in Deutschland," 644.
34 Browe, Verehrung, 172-3.
understood and treated with dignity. The artist demonstrates the power of the Host by splitting the scene into two distinct moralizing zones. On the left, the bridge breaks beneath the feet of the people who mock the Body of Christ, while on the right it remains whole beneath the priest and banner bearer. Even disguised by a veil, the monstrance is a recognizable symbol of the presence of the consecrated Host.

**The Beauty of the Monstrance**

Despite the fact that the monstrance was understood to function primarily as a container for its revered contents, late gothic viewers clearly appreciated the design and workmanship that went into these precious objects. Numerous inventory descriptions refer to monstrances that are
"beautiful" or "wonderfully made." A lengthy seventeenth century gloss in the memorial book of the Ratingen parish church refers to the "most beautiful monstrance," donated by Bruno Meens in 1394. Some monstrances were famous, and thus Willem van Moudick of Nijmegen was contracted to make a monstrance for the parish church of St. John the Baptist in Sambeek that was "after the monstrance in Kranenburg." It is possible that the fame of the nearby Ratingen Monstrance led the multiple donors of the Gerresheim Monstrance to hire the same Cologne goldsmith. The feet and knobs of the two pieces are nearly identical, as are a number of the figures. The care and detail that are used in some images of monstrances, particularly on the painted wooden doors of Sacrament cupboards and in panel paintings, go far beyond what would be strictly necessary to produce an easily readable symbol for the consecrated Host. In these paintings, and in eleven copper engravings of monstrances from the mid-to late fifteenth century, artists celebrate the possibilities of the monstrance form and glory in the intricacies of interwoven tracery and foliate

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36 "…gewracht nader monstrancie to Cranenburch…” Contract for a host monstrance, 1438. Parish Archive of Sint Jan de Doper, Sambeek.
37 A terminus ante quem non of 1398 can be established for the Gerresheim Monstrance because until 1398, the collegiate church at Gerresheim was a dependant of St. Ursula's in Cologne.
ornament. The fact that only three of the monstrance engravings show anything inside the crystal vessel indicates that most of them, unlike the simpler, more iconic images in woodcuts and devotional books, are not meant to be read as symbols for the consecrated Host (Figure 5.11). It is also unlikely that these were designs produced for a goldsmith or patron. Although a few details have been located on individual monstrances, not one of the monstrances represented in a fifteenth century engraving has been securely linked to the design of an actual monstrance. The exact purpose for these prints, except as showpieces for the monstrance form and the engraver's talents, is unclear.

Saving the Monstrance

The sheer weight of the expensive materials that went into a monstrance meant that in times of financial crisis it was in danger of being melted down. It is therefore significant that despite the turmoil of the centuries that passed between their creation and the modern era, so many monstrances have survived in the churches for which they were made. Clerics and laymen often went to great lengths to save a monstrance, hiding it away or evacuating it to a safe location. A fifteenth century silver monstrance from Nuremberg, for example, was found in a wall during renovations of the parish church of Auerbach in Bavaria in the mid 18th century. A monstrance in Sedlec, Czech Republic, was first evacuated during a war and then later walled up in the Cistercian church for which it was made. It was rediscovered in 1702. The monstrance had been hidden away in a special wooden box that had been made to protect it during storage.

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38 These engravings are catalogued and most are illustrated by Perpeet-Frech. Perpeet-Frech, Monstranzen, 119-20, Abb. 205-212. See also Max Lehrs, “Über gestochene Vorlagen für gotisches Kirchengerät,” Zeitschrift für Christliche Kunst 6 (1893): 65-74.
A similar box is described in payment records from Wesel in the Lower Rhine, commissioned to house a new, large monstrance in 1442.  

The canons of the Oudmunster in Utrecht went to extraordinary lengths to protect their greatest treasures, among them Gerard Foec's "precious monstrance" that had been donated in his will of 1383. Between 1578 and 1580, war and religious conflict led to the destruction of most of the ecclesiastical treasures in Utrecht. On February 28, 1578, Archduke Matthew of Brussels ordered the confiscation of two thirds of all unconsecrated church plate in order to finance Utrecht's role in the rebellion against Philip II.  

There were further losses in the iconoclastic riots that took place in May 1579 and March 1580. On March 16, 1580, the abbeys, monasteries and five collegiate churches of Utrecht were ordered to inventory their remaining goods and surrender half their value to the city. However, the canons of the Oudmunster evacuated their most precious textiles and eighteen pieces of church plate to Emmerich, where they remained until 1610. Catholicism was finally banned in June 1580, but the chapters were allowed to retain their secular status and remaining possessions. When the Oudmunster was demolished in 1587, its canons retained possession of a number of treasury objects. Six pieces,

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41 Total payment for the box was 11 shillings. Fritz Witte, *Quellen zur rheinischen Kunstgeschichte I: Rechnungsbücher des Niederrheins, die Chronik des Wilmius*, Berlin: Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1932, 64.
45 G. Brom, “Een inventaris van kersiersaden uit 1609, toebehoorende an Oudmunster te Utrecht,” in *Archief voor de geschiedenis van het aartsbisdom Utrecht* 58 (1934), 182-188. Brom published two inventories of objects returned to Utrecht: the 1609 inventory lists textiles and the 1610 inventory lists church plate.
46 Kaplan, *Calvinists*, 137, 264.
including the surviving lunula from Gerard Foec's monstrance, were finally surrendered to the
government in 1811, and later transferred to the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam.\footnote{W.J.A. Visser, “Een inventaris van goedern, toebehoorende an de vijf Kapittelen te Utrecht, die in 1811 bij de saecularisatie in staatsbezit zijn overgagaan,” in Archief voor de geschiedenis van het Aartsbisdom Utrecht 58 (1934): 207-209.}

Although the liturgical changes of the Protestant Reformation led to the destruction of
monstrances throughout Europe, the lower Rhine, under the control of the staunchly catholic
Dukes of Kleve, remained relatively unscathed. However, this same area was taxed heavily
during the war of succession that took place between Duke William of Kleve and Emperor
Charles V. In June 1543, the duke ordered all ecclesiastical institutions within his lands of
Jülich, Kleve, Berg, Mark and Ravensberg to surrender their silver and gold church ornaments,
excepting one chalice and paten, to ducal officials. Churchmen were given the option to ransom
objects with coin based upon their weight. The collected funds were intended to support

Inventories were made of the church plate that was surrendered and/or ransomed by each church,
one of which survives for the Dinslaken area. The Dinslaken inventory lists fifteen parish
churches, three convents, a hospital and a large abbey.\footnote{The city of Duisburg is listed in the document, but not inventoried. Its mayor, council and citizens refused to surrender their silver and gold church ornaments, and their statement is included in the document. Aders indicates that Wesel was similarly troublesome. Aders, “Beschlagnahme der Kirchenschätze,” 271, 277-278.} Of these twenty ecclesiastical
institutions, thirteen possessed a silver or silver gilt Host monstrance, and one church owned two
such monstrances. The others might have owned monstrances of copper gilt or another less
expensive material. Eight of the fourteen churches (57%) chose to pay a ransom in coin in order
to retain their monstrances.\textsuperscript{50} The decision was likely based upon the size and expense of a monstrosce, as well as the function of the monstrosce as an important aid to devotion.

In many cases, as at Ratingen, there must have been a deep reluctance to sacrifice a masterpiece of the goldsmith's art to the crucible. The parish church in Ratingen, like so many other churches in the lower Rhine, was subject to the collection of church plate, but their monstrosce survived. A record from 1567 indicates that the citizens of Ratingen collected funds to ransom their monstrosce. During the French Revolution, when Ratingen was inundated with French and Belgian refugees, the monstrosce was removed to the vicinity of the abbey of Werden for safekeeping. When this location was deemed unsafe in 1797, two members of the church council were dispatched to smuggle the monstrosce back to Ratingen. The monstrosce was restored at great expense between 1850 and 1851, and again in 2001.\textsuperscript{51} It attracted great attention when it was displayed alongside other late gothic monstrosces in the \textit{Rhein und Maas} exhibition of medieval art in 1972. Andreas Odenthal, who saw the monstrosce in the Cologne exhibition as a boy, told me that he never dreamed that he would be assigned as chaplain to the Ratingen parish church.\textsuperscript{52} A respected scholar of medieval liturgy, not only did Dr. Odenthal carry the "most beautiful monstrosce" in Corpus Christi processions, but he also revived the use of the original 1394 lunula as opposed to the larger nineteenth century one.\textsuperscript{53} Today the

\textsuperscript{50} Although the average chalice in the inventory was less expensive to pay off, weighing less than one fifth of the average monstrosce, only twelve of the thirty-two chalices (37.5\%) were ransomed. When calculating the weight of the objects, I have not considered monstrosces that have their weight based upon materials other than silver. Similarly, a number of chalices in the inventory are weighed along with other objects like chrisimatories, and I have not included these in my weight calculation. I have, however, considered all objects when determining the percentage of objects ransomed.


\textsuperscript{52} Conversation with Andreas Odenthal, Ratingen, May 2001.

\textsuperscript{53} Conversation with Andreas Odenthal, Ratingen, May 2001.
Ratingen monstrance is displayed (without the Host) in a vitrine within the parish church, and it is still used in the annual Corpus Christi procession.

**Seeing the Monstrance in the Twenty-First Century**

At Ratingen, as at Gerresheim, Lorch, Koblenz-Moselweiß and many other towns in the Rhineland, large gothic monstrances, masterworks of the goldsmith's art, remain in use. In such communities, they are seen and appreciated as functional liturgical vessels, as priceless treasures, and as pieces of local history. Although church sacristans might not fully appreciate the art historical significance of the objects in their care, monstrances in church treasuries remain close to their original context and intended use. Monstrances in museum collections, on the other hand, are generally appreciated as beautifully made objects, but they have been completely removed from their original context. When a monstrance is displayed in a treasury room, as at the Cloisters in New York City, or in a sacristy, as at the Museum Schnütgen in Cologne (which is housed in the Romanesque Church of St. Cecilia), it is surrounded by other liturgical and treasury objects. However, didactic panels and informative labels cannot reproduce the rituals of the liturgy or the splendor of a Corpus Christi procession. The monstrance in a museum is also displayed without the consecrated Host, the very substance that was the impetus for its creation. In this way, a Host monstrance in a museum is even more removed from its original context than a reliquary monstrance, because many reliquary monstrances retain their contents. Thus the function of the Host monstrance as a devotional object is unclear unless the modern viewer is familiar with late gothic visual piety and the feast of Corpus Christi.54

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54 An American college student on exchange in Bamberg has an entire page on his personal website devoted to the 2006 Corpus Christi procession in Bamberg, with twenty-two photos of the banners, candlesticks, processional statues and religious confraternities. One photo shows the monstrance group at the center of the procession, with a Baroque sun-monstrance carried by the Bishop of Bamberg, his hands veiled by a stole. He stands beneath a gold canopy and is flanked by candle bearers. (For a similar image, see Figure 3.22.) The caption
Unfortunately, since most examples of the so-called "minor arts" are missing from the traditional canon of art history, it is unlikely that even an art historian viewing a monstrance in a museum would truly appreciate the full function and meaning of that object. It is ironic that medieval goldsmithwork, regarded in its own time as the only suitable medium to contain the holy (i.e. relics and the Eucharist), and celebrated for its beauty and sumptuousness, is today classified as a "minor art." The church furniture, textiles and vessels housed within the church have historically been neglected, particularly when the scholarship on such objects is compared with the continuing scholarly attention given to impressive cathedrals, sculpture and stained glass of the gothic era. The function of the gothic cathedral as a liturgical space is still a relatively new concept in art history, and the liturgical "minor arts" have received even less attention. Although Joseph Braun's encyclopedic studies of altars, liturgical vestments, liturgical vessels and reliquaries are widely available, their muddy photographs and cumbersome categorizations make them difficult to use. The studies that have been published recently on medieval art and liturgy are generally broad, but with little depth. Thus, in an unpublished address of c. 2001, Johann Michael Fritz laments:

beneath the photo reads: "The best picture I could get of the Bishop, he was under an awning and had the cross relic against his forehead the whole time. Before the mass, another priest opened the center part of the relic, took something out and held it up then everyone clapped and he placed whatever it was back in the center glass compartment, no one ever said what it was exactly." http://www.coreywood.net/fronleichnam.htm, accessed July 27, 2006.

55 One notable study of the Romanesque church as a liturgical space that was accessible in different areas by different groups of people is: Clemens Kosch, Kölns Romanische Kirchen: Architektur und Liturgie im Hochmittelalter, Große Kunstführer 207, (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2000).

56 Braun, Altargerät; Braun, Der christlichen Altar; Braun, Paramente; Braun, Die Reliquiare

57 For example, Renate Kroos has examined, in a very broad manner, the location and decoration of the various altars at the cathedrals of Bamberg and Magdeburg, and the reliquaries and vessels used at each one, as described in the medieval liturgical books of each cathedral. The studies, however, are not illustrated, and present only an introductory look at this extremely rich avenue for art historical study. The Medieval Institute at Kalamazoo has recently published a collection of valuable introductory essays to the subject of medieval liturgy. Of particular note are Elizabeth C. Parker's "Architecture as Liturgical Setting," (pp. 273-326) and Elizabeth Parker McLachlan's "Liturgical Vessels and Implements" (pp. 369-429). Renate Kroos, "Quellen zur liturgischen Benutzung des Domes und zu seiner Ausstattung," in Ernst Ullmann, ed., Der Magdeburger Dom: ottonische Gründung und staufischer Neubau, Bericht über ein wissenschaftliches Symposion in Magdeburg vom 7.10. bis 11.10.1986, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Niedersächsische Bau- und Kunstgeschichte 5 (Leipzig: VEB E.A.
Because the art historians of today have no knowledge of catechism at all, nor of the order of the Mass, nor of the liturgical function of the "ornamenta ecclesiae", we need not be astonished when we hear from them totally wrong statements. In a habilitation paper [roughly equivalent to a master's thesis], I recently read the sentence: "When the priest elevates the monstrance during the transubstantiation…"\(^5\)

At the same time, historians of medieval liturgy tend to ignore the art historical value of the buildings, furniture and vessels that were used in the ceremonies that they describe. A church is reduced to a ground plan marked with the location of particular altars; and church furniture, textiles and vessels are treated only as types. One might read a description of a priest dressed in a red chasuble who consecrates a special Host for Corpus Christi before it is placed in a monstrance, but the particular appearance and iconography of his vestments, the altarpiece and the monstrance are not explored.

An important new direction for the medieval art historian, therefore, is the study of "minor arts" in the service of the liturgy. The increasing availability of liturgical books both in critical published editions and scanned manuscripts on the Internet makes it possible to engage in such a study without lengthy archival research. Church inventories, which are often used by art historians only to establish provenance, can at times be used to gauge the reception of a particular object, especially if adjectives like "precious" or "beautiful" are applied to it. An inventory can also inform the art historian about the objects and textiles that were used in conjunction with a particular piece, and clarification can be found in some liturgical books. It may be possible, for example, to use inventories and liturgical books to reconstruct the

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\(^5\) Johann Michael Fritz, "Vasa sacra et non sacra: Stepchildren of Theology and Art History," unpublished typescript from a lecture, c. 2001 (printed for me by Prof. Fritz when I visited his home in May, 2001).
appearance of the candlesticks, textiles, altar cross and reliquaries that might have been placed on the high altar along with the monstrance on Corpus Christi at a given church.

Contracts, payment records, testaments and other financial and legal documents constitute another rich source of material for the medieval art historian. Ignorance of the value that was placed on the goldsmith's expertise led a German colleague to insist that the goldsmith received only the barest compensation for his work on a monstrance, and that the value of a work of goldsmithwork lay primarily in its materials. This illogical statement ignores the high status held by goldsmiths' guilds in late gothic cities. Furthermore, when one subjects the legal and financial documents to a thorough analysis, it is clear that the goldsmith was very highly paid for the production of a complicated object like a monstrance. In addition to providing information about the artist's rate of pay, financial and legal documents can illuminate the wishes of the patron or patrons and the intended function of the object in question. Many financial documents have been ignored by art historians because of their difficult terminology, but again, the increasing availability of Internet resources, particularly online historical dictionaries like the *Deutsches Rechtsworterbuch* and *Grimms Deutsches Worterbuch*, has begun to alleviate these problems.

These little utilized methods of research, when combined with the traditional techniques of the art historian, can shed new light upon the works that we study. In this dissertation, I have examined late gothic architectural monstrances in the Rhineland from multiple points of view, using a synthesis of analytical techniques. I envision my future research employing such a multifaceted investigative approach, as I continue to examine the ways in which objects of medieval church art were conceived of, contracted, created, used and understood in their own time.
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APPENDIX.
SELECT CATALOGUE

No. 1: The Oudmunster Lunula (from Gerard Foec's Monstrance)
Silver gilt.
Cologne, after 1383.
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum N.M. 598.
Height 7cm, diameter of base 11.5cm.

Illustration in text: Figure 4.3.


Gerard Foec's Testament (1383): ...Item idem magister Gerardus donavit ecclesiae nostrae ciborium de cristallo, margaritis et argento deaurato nuper Coloniae de suis propriis bonis arte mirifica fabricatum quod alio nominee Monstrantia vocari solet, ad conservandum sacratissimum corpus Domini in eodem... (Item: the same master Gerard donated to our church a ciborium of crystal, pearls and silver gilt, a wonderfully made product of Cologne, which is commonly called a Monstrance, for the reservation of the most sacred Body of Christ…)

Because this lunula is a small surviving fragment from a lost monstrance, it has received relatively little attention from art historians. It is, however, well documented in the inventories of the Oudmunster in Utrecht (in Visser and Brom), and liturgical and processional information can be found as well (in Visser and Van Rossum). The career of its patron, Gerard Foec, a canon of the Oudmunster who had also served as dean of that church and had traveled to Avignon and Cologne, is also well documented by Van Genderen. Van den Bergh-Hoogterp classifies the lunula as a fragment from a earlier small monstrance that was remade according to the stipulations of Gerard Foec's testament. The earlier pieces to which she refers, however, are clearly described in the Oudmunster inventories as small monstrances. Given the height and the diameter of the base of the Oudmunster Lunula, it is clear that this piece came from a very large monstrance, one approaching a meter in height. According to the 1627 Oudmunster inventory, the lunula rested within a crystal monstrance, and the circular base indicates that the lunula must have belonged to a tower monstrance.  

In terms of the quality of its execution, the Oudmunster Lunula compares well to the finest late-fourteenth century monstrances, including the Ratingen Monstrance and \textit{Kölner Dommonstranz}. The vine scroll on the base plate of the lunula was made using the \textit{travail pointillé} technique that can be found on the \textit{Kölner Dommonstranz} and 1414 Bonn Monstrance, although the execution lacks the subtlety found on the \textit{Dommonstranz}. The two angels are beautifully made, and, though small, represent a monumental achievement. They hold tiny repoussé censers that swing from fully functional chains. Like the figures on the Ratingen Monstrance, there is a clear sense of the physical body of each angel beneath the heavy drapery. Their faces are fully individualized, and they appear to be gazing rapturously outward from the (now lost) crystal vessel of the monstrance. Each wing is beautifully rendered with incised details marking the edges and texture of individual feathers. The damage to the upraised wings of the right-hand angel was caused by the pressure of the thumb and finger of the celebrant who pinched the wings when the lunula was removed from and placed inside the crystal vessel. Some early lunulae like this one (and the lunula from the Xanten Monstrance) were not made with the handles that were a common addition to lunulae from the Ratingen Monstrance onward.

The iconography of the Oudmunster Lunula is particularly interesting. It is the only example that I know of with censing angels. The angels on other lunulae flank the crescent-shaped holder for the Host, and generally face inward. These angels face outward, and stretch their hands forward with their tiny censers. The censers would have swung gently with the motion of the monstrance when it was carried. Incense was customary in Corpus Christi processions, with censer bearers often accompanying the monstrance group. The pose and movement of the angels on the Oudmunster Lunula recall the actual moment of Elevation, and remind us of Christ's real presence in the sacrifice of the mass. They also echo the incense bearers accompanying the monstrance in the Corpus Christi procession. Finally, they call attention to the high and late gothic interpretation of incense as a visual sign of prayers (rising upwards to heaven) and heavenly grace (spreading outwards to the faithful).

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\footnote{This technique, which involves fine stippling made with a very thin, pointed tool like a needle, can be found in a total of fifteen pieces of late gothic goldsmithwork from Cologne and a number of other fourteenth and fifteenth century examples from modern-day France and the Netherlands. Although Johann Michael Fritz never published the monograph on travail pointillé that he suggested in his \textit{Gestochene Bilder}, he did present a symposium paper on the subject in 1995. Johann Michael Fritz, \textit{Gestochene Bilder: Gravierungen auf deutschen Goldschmiedearbeiten der Spätgotik}, series: \textit{Beihefte der Bonner Jahrbücher} 20, (Cologne and Graz: Böhlau Verlag, 1966), note 165 (pp. 99-100); Fritz, "Travail pointillé in Mitteleuropa," (Colloquium 1995), in \textit{Studien zu Email und Goldschmiedekunst der Gotik für Neil Stratford anläßlich des Colloquiums vom 12-14 November 1997}, (typescript provided by the author in 2002), 7-14.}

\footnote{Michael Pfeifer, \textit{Der Weihrauch: Geschichte, Bedeutung, Verwendung} (Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 1997), 79. Another link between acolytes and angels can be found in Corpus Christi processions, where angels often accompanied the monstrance group (see Chapter 4, "Using the Monstrance," for specific examples).}

\footnote{The practice of using incense at the moment of consecration in the mass was widespread by the end of the fourteenth century. Pfeifer, \textit{Der Weihrauch}, 79. The Elevation of the Host with a censing angel acting as a heavenly acolyte is depicted in an illuminated initial by Master Bertram of Hamburg (Figure 5.2).}

\footnote{Aquinas interpreted clouds of incense as a visual symbol of grace: "See the smell of my son is as a field at harvest. From Christ it spreads to the faithful through its ministers, who through us spreads the fragrance of the knowledge of him everywhere." Incense imagery is also contained in the Old and New Testaments: in Psalms 141:2 (RSV): "Let my prayer be counted as incense before thee," and Revelation 8: 3-4: "And another angel came and stood at the altar with a golden censer; and he was given much incense to mingle with the prayers of all the saints upon the golden altar before the throne; and the smoke of the incense rose with the prayers of the saints from the hand of the angel before God."}
No. 2: The Ratingen Monstrance
Silver, silver gilt, antique rock crystal beaker, and precious stones.
Cologne, 1394.
Ratingen, Parish Church of Ss. Peter and Paul
Height 89cm; diameter of foot 28.5cm.

Illustrations in text: Figures 1.2, 2.11, 2.12, 2.13, 4.4, 4.5, 4.11 and 5.3.


Inscription: bid vor den priester de dit cleynoyt al up bereyt gegeven heet deser synre kyrken to Ratinghen ter even des heylogen sacraments anno d(omi)ni MCCCXIII (pray for the priest who caused this ornament to be made and gave it to his church in Ratingen in honor of the Holy Sacrament, AD 1394)

The Ratingen Monstrance is the earliest monstrance that can be securely dated from an inscription. This piece, therefore, is used alongside a limited number of other securely datable objects to establish a stylistic timeline for late gothic goldsmithwork in the Rhineland.

Although the inscription refers to the monstrance patron only as the priest, the cast figures on the spire and a seventeenth century gloss in the memorial book of the parish church indicate that the patron is Bruno Meens of Duisburg. In addition to his duties as the Ratingen parish priest, Meens was also a canon of the collegiate church of St. Victor in Xanten, and at his retirement from his ecclesiastical offices in 1398, joined the Cologne Charterhouse. Tax records from Ratingen in 1362 indicate that he owned both a house in town and a farm in the countryside. The Cologne Charterhouse also benefited from Meens' patronage: he donated a jeweled silver gilt figure of the Virgin and Child, flanked by kneeling angels, and 225 marks coin to the Charterhouse in 1409. Four of the large cast saints decorating the upper portion of the Ratingen Monstrance spire refer directly to Bruno Meens' ecclesiastical career. The saints are Peter, one of the two patron saints of the church in Ratingen, where Meens was the parish priest from 1371 onwards, Victor (Figure 2.14) and Helena (Figure 4.4), patrons of the collegiate church in

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6 Among the other pieces are a large ciborium in Rees (1396); the 1414 Bonn Monstrance; the Sambeek Monstrance (Willem van Moudick, Nijmegen, 1438 contract) and the Koblenz-Moselweiß Monstrance (Johannes Marpurg, Frankfurt, 1469).
8 For his house, Meens was taxed 14 marks per year. His nearby neighbors paid between 1 and 26 marks per year, with an average payment of 11.5 marks. No rate of taxation is recorded for the farm. Schleuter, Ratinger Stadtbüche, 20-26.
Xanten, and Barbara, patron of Cologne’s Charterhouse. The remaining large figures represent St. Catherine, who was popular among the citizens of late gothic Ratingen, and the Virgin and Child.

Unfortunately, there is no known late gothic liturgical or processional information for this extremely high quality monstrance. It must have attracted attention when it was in use, however. At its center is an antique covered rock crystal beaker, and the dome of the spire is actually the crystal cover of the cup. When the Host is placed inside the original lunula of the Ratingen Monstrance, it appears to be held up by angels. Their upraised wings embrace the outer edges of the crescent-shaped Host holder and their adoring gaze is directed both upward and outward. Twelve large figures of the Apostles and John the Baptist stand around the base of the crystal dome of the spire and face outward. Their presence serves to accentuate the presence of the Host within the crystal vessel. Most of the forty-three cast figures on the monstrance are partially gilded, with their faces and hands rendered in silver. This subtle color difference in the precious metal accentuates the lifelike appearance of the figures, who seem to move and breathe within their gracefully draped garments. The face and pose of each figure is individualized, and the goldsmith has rendered the attributes of each with exquisite detail. The instruments held by the music-making angels on the chapel at the top of the foot, for example, are all clearly identifiable, and stringed instruments are rendered with tiny strings. The figure of St. Helena in the spire is shown with an elegant wimple topped by a crown, while the younger St. Catherine, also crowned, has long, flowing curls.

The design of the Ratingen Monstrance is incredibly complex. Although the foot itself is divided into the six sections so widely seen on Cologne-type monstrances, the edge of each section is scalloped with three concave curves. The base of the foot consists of a complex stepped plinth decorated with indented circles. Bruno Meens' lengthy dedicatory inscription runs along the edge of the top of the foot, following the complex scalloped shape. Each of the foot sections is engraved with an intricate vine scroll and ornamented by three tiny cut flowers with button-like centers and curving petals. The structure at the top of the foot consists of six arched niches enclosed within curving balustrades. A music-making angel stands within each one. Tiny cast strip buttresses are placed at each corner, and a crenellated parapet crowns the top of the structure. Simple slot-like windows are cut into the lower portion of the stem, and more complex tracery windows decorate the upper portion. The knob has four projecting buttons that reflect the four-sided architecture of the upper part of the monstrance. The silver band at the center of the knob is decorated with flowing scrollwork, and each of the gilded hemispheres features a complex pattern of overlapping scalloped repoussé semicircles.

References to the Eucharist begin at the top of the stem, which is decorated with an intricate cut vine scroll. Vine leaves twine up the base of the central vessel, and the base of each buttress is enclosed in curling leaves. A six-petaled flower is held within the base of each buttress, and the top of the vessel base is decorated with additional flowers and vine scrolls. Each of the four flanking buttresses is inhabited by a large and a small angel. The large angels flank the crystal vessel and hold instruments of the passion. Each one stands upon a crenellated plinth set within the arched opening of a tiny wall. Each arch is framed by cast columns and a crocketed gable, and each wall is topped by spiky plant forms resembling fleurs-de-lis. The smaller angels, like the angels at the top of the foot, play beautifully detailed instruments.
Eucharistic iconography continues in the spire, with the twelve figures of the Apostles and John the Baptist encircling the base of the crystal dome. The Virgin and Child stand in the upper part of the spire, and the monstrance is crowned with a crucifix. Between the Virgin and the Apostles stand the figures of Ss. Peter, Victor, Helen and Catherine. (Barbara stands at the rear of the monstrance at the same height as the Virgin). Each one occupies a canopied niche, and stands atop an arcaded plinth. The arrangement of figures, beginning at the base with angels, and then continuing with saints and Christ in the spire, is clearly hierarchical.

The complex design of the upper portion of the monstrance, beginning with the flanking buttresses and ending with the crucifix, is best understood if one stands above the monstrance and looks down. Then it is reduced to a complex arrangement of squares of varying size, some of which are rotated 45°. Seen in this way, the Ratingen Monstrance resembles the complex ground plan for a late gothic church tower or tabernacle. Viewed from the side, with all its the overlapping layers of buttresses, tiny walls cut with windows, finials, pinnacles, gables, openwork flyers and crockets, the upper portion of the Ratingen Monstrance resembles a forest of gothic elements framing the Host. In addition to the elements most commonly associated with the architecture of gothic churches, the goldsmith has included elements of secular architecture throughout. These include crenellations, found particularly in the lower portions, and the cast round turrets and cut stepped gables that are found particularly at the very top of the spire.

No. 3: The Gerresheim Monstrance
Silver gilt and rock crystal
Cologne, c. 1400 (after 1398)
Gerresheim, Parish Church of St. Margaretha (former collegiate church)
Height 72cm.

Illustrations in text: 2.4, 2.5, 3.22 and A.1.


Inscription: co(mun)is eley(mosyn)a me fecit (the offerings of the community made me).

This monstrance has been convincingly linked to the Cologne master who produced the Ratingen Monstrance in 1394. Because the inscription on the knob of the monstrance refers to the offerings of the church community (canonesses), and the fact that the collegiate church in Gerresheim was a dependant of St. Ursula's in Cologne until 1398, this year has been accepted as a terminus ante quem non. Since Gerresheim is only a short distance from Ratingen (approximately 10km southeast), it is likely that the community at Gerresheim was aware of the Ratingen Monstrance and wished to hire the same talented master. The feet of the two monstrances are nearly identical in shape as well as in decoration, although the decorative bands between the projecting rim and the body of each foot are different both in height and ornament.
The knobs of the two monstrances (Figures 2.4 and 2.12) are extremely similar to one another and remarkably different from the knobs of other Cologne monstrances. The two knobs differ only in the decorative bands at the hemisphere of each. The band on the knob of the Ratingen monstrance is engraved with a vine scroll, while the one on the Gerresheim monstrance is inscribed *cois eleia me fecit*. The buttons that project from this decorative band are wider and longer on the Ratingen Monstrance, although this may be due to the nineteenth century restoration of the piece.\(^{10}\) Another nearly identical feature is the cutwork band that encircles the vessel base of each monstrance (Figures 2.5 and 2.12). Similarly, the cast bands of fleurs-de-lis that hide the attachment of the spire to the top of each monstrance vessel appear to have been cast from the same mold. Finally, the same models were used in the casting of several figures. For example, St. Victor on the spire of the Ratingen Monstrance closely resembles St. Hippolytus on the flanking buttress of the Gerresheim Monstrance. The figural decoration of the Gerresheim Monstrance is considerably more limited than the Ratingen Monstrance, with the Virgin and Child and St. Hippolytus in the spire, mourning figures of the Virgin and John the Evangelist on the spire buttresses, Ss. Margaret and Catherine on the outside of the side buttresses, and the figures of Bl. Gerrich (founder of the church) and Lawrence flanking the central vessel. The collegiate church was originally dedicated to Margaret, Hippolytus and Gerrich, and had an altar dedicated to St. Catherine. The outermost figures of Ss. Margaret and Sebastian were added, with the volutes that they stand upon, in the early seventeenth century.

The fifteenth-century liturgical books of the church indicate that the "large monstrance" was used

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\(^{10}\) New colored stones were set into these projecting buttons by the goldsmith Werner Hermeling during his restoration of the Ratingen monstrance in 1850-1. Dresen, *Ratinger Monstranz*, 12-15.
often during the liturgical year.\textsuperscript{11} It was displayed on the high altar not only throughout Corpus Christi and its octave but during the Easter and its octave and on twenty-two additional feast days.\textsuperscript{12} Unfortunately there is no description of the late gothic Corpus Christi procession, except that the route went through the marketplace.\textsuperscript{13} The monstrance was originally made to hold both the consecrated Host in its lunula and an important relic of Christ in the spire. This relic consisted of soil from Golgotha, which was likely presented to the collegiate church in Gerresheim by Arnold von Eller in 1319. The blood relic was visible in the spire of the Host monstrance through tiny circular windows that had been cut into the dome of the spire. Each window was glazed with a disc of rock crystal. A reliquary monstrance was made to hold the blood relic c. 1425, probably because of the desire, on the part of church officials, to avoid associating the Host with relics. The Holy Blood procession, in which the blood relic was carried, was held at Gerresheim on the Sunday after Corpus Christi. The modern practice is to combine the Corpus Christi and Holy Blood processions with a community celebration on the Sunday after Corpus Christi.\textsuperscript{14}

**No. 4: The Kölner Dommonstranz**

Silver gilt, rock crystal, translucent enamel, mother of pearl and pearls.

Cologne, c. 1400.

Cologne, Domschatz.

Height 87cm, foot 31cm wide and 22cm deep.

**Illustrations in text:** Figures I.2, I.3, I.4, 3.16 and 4.6.


**Inscription:** *Mar. Ther. de Maes vid. A. Schaafhausen Anno MDCCCXLVI ecclesiae majori Colonensi dono dedit* (Maria Therese de Maes, wife of A. Schaafhausen, donated [this] in AD 1846 to the major church of Cologne).

This extraordinary disc monstrance, which has been completely divorced from its original context, did not appear in the cathedral treasury until March 1846, when the Cologne collector Therese Schaafhausen, nee de Maes, donated it to the cathedral.\textsuperscript{15} Of its earlier provenance, we

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{11} Arnold Dresen describes some of the content of Johannes Knipping's *Liber ordinarius* and a second liturgical book. Dresen, "Die Feier der Hochfeste," 205-219. Although I have had access to the *Liber ordinarius* (Düsseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Mss. C50), Knipping's second book on the liturgy of Gerresheim (Düsseldorf, Hauptstadsarchiv, Stift Gerresheim, Hs. 3) was unavailable at the Landesarchiv NRW Hauptstaatsarchiv Düsseldorf when I visited in October 2004.
  \item \textsuperscript{12} Düsseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Mss. C50, fol. 17r.
  \item \textsuperscript{13} Dresen, "Die Feier der Hochfeste," 216.
  \item \textsuperscript{14} I attended such a procession in 2003.
  \item \textsuperscript{15} The donation was announced in *Kölner Domblatt* in May 1846, in an article that included letters between Ms. Schaafhausen and Archbishop Johann von Geissel. The nineteenth-century Latin inscription on the monstrance
\end{itemize}
know only that Ms. Schaafhausen had purchased the monstrance from Johann Fontaine, a Cologne antique dealer.¹⁶ Comparisons to other objects, particularly the 1414 Bonn Monstrance and a late-fourteenth century figure of St. Catherine in the Museum Schnütgen (which closely resembles the Madonna figure in the spire), have indicated that the Kölner Dommonstranz was probably made in or near Cologne around 1400.

Apart from the central crystal vessel, the monstrance is made entirely of silver. Every surface that might be seen by the viewer has been gilded, except for those areas that were originally enameled. A number of the cut silver flowers decorating the monstrance bear traces of translucent blue and violet enamel on their petals. Cut flowers of mother of pearl adorn the carrying knob, and the figures of the Virgin and St. Christopher both feature pearls. The Virgin holds a flower or floral scepter crowned by a pearl and St. Christopher's staff has a pearl at its tip. Though the monstrance is in a good state of preservation, several areas show signs of damage, alteration and restoration in its history. Most of the translucent enamel is missing, and where it is present, there are only small traces. Six holes near the top of the foot correspond to holes on the six angles of the lower stem, indicating that the chapel-like construction between the stem and foot was originally ornamented with strip buttresses. Two stippled, overlapping coats of arms were added to left rear section of the hexagonal top of the stem in the nineteenth century. These represent the modern patron's families of de Maes and Schaafhausen. The architectural frame of the central vessel was originally much broader: its base extends beyond the present architectural ornament, and there are attachment points for the now-missing outermost buttresses on the present side buttresses.¹⁷ On the front of the monstrance, just below the crystal lens of the central vessel and behind the crenellations of the base, is a small hole. It might have attached a figure or some other decorative feature. Alexander Schnütgen, in his proposed reconstruction of the monstrance, suggests that a kneeling angel was attached here. Finally, at the very top of the monstrance spire, the tip of the fleur-de-lis appears to be damaged or broken, possibly indicating that a crucifix or a pearl crowned the spire.¹⁸

It is clear from the elaborate stepped plinth above each spiral that the main flanking buttresses of this monstrance were originally much larger. The empty plinths are shaped roughly like an equilateral triangle with a rectangular projection extending from one point. These projections extend outward on either side of the monstrance. In a ground plan of the monstrance vessel base, the outer portion of each plinth would be shaped like a Y placed on its side with its stem pointing away from the central vessel. The extant portions of each buttress, placed immediately next to the central vessel, also have a Y-shaped footprint. The arms of each Y

¹⁶ Perpeet-Frech includes the full name and address of the dealer in her 1957 article. Fontaine is identified as the monstrance seller in the 1846 article. "Eine Monstranz für den Kölner Dom," 109ff. Perpeet-Frech, "Sakramentsmonstranz," 91-113.

¹⁷ Alexander Schnütgen published three photographs of the monstrance in 1899, including a reconstructed view of the front of the monstrance with its missing elements restored according to Schnütgen's assumptions. Schnütgen, "Monstranz des Kölner Domes," plate V.

¹⁸ Perpeet Frech suggests that a crucifix was originally set at the top of the spire. This would be consistent with most host monstrances. It is also possible that a simple cross, a crucifix flanked by the Virgin and John the Evangelist or a more elaborate floral decoration would have topped the monstrance. Joseph Braun lists these as the usual decorations for the top of monstrance spires. Given the presence of pearls, particularly the pearl that tops the flower held by the Virgin, I suggest that a pearl might have topped the fleur-de-lis on the spire.
project outward. They originally enclosed the missing outer portion of each buttress. Each extant buttress consists of a two-story pier buttress decorated with narrow crosshatched windows and cut lancet windows topped with cast gables. Above the second story, each arm of the Y is topped by a tall, thin pinnacle and crowned by a cast fleur-de-lis. The attachment point for the missing buttress section can be found above the lower window in the fork of each Y. In Schnütgen's proposed reconstruction, the outer buttresses have a simple rectangular footprint and are ornamented by cast saint figures and crocketed pinnacles. Although it is consistent with the silhouette and decoration of a typical Cologne type disc monstrance, this reconstruction is oversimplified in my opinion. The actual missing outer buttresses must have been more elaborate in plan, and would have presented the viewer with a forest of tall, thin pinnacles. Cast saint figures, if any, would probably have decorated the projecting stem of the Y. The figures would be placed in small niches located either on the end of the projecting stem or on its sides. Either placement would be possible on a Cologne type monstrance. These cast figures might have indicated the patron saints of the church for which this monstrance was made, or given clues to the identity of its donor.

Despite its missing elements, the Kölner Dommonstranz is an excellent example of a Cologne type disc monstrance, with elaborate openwork architecture and lavish stippled (travail pointillé) and figural decoration. The monstrance rests upon a six-sided foot of complex design. Stippled decoration is found on the surface of the foot and the base of the central crystal vessel. The foot is shaped like a compressed hexagon, with the broadest sides at the front and rear. Each side of the hexagon is flat, and the corners end in large circular lobes that extend approximately 270 degrees. At the front of the foot is a representation of the resurrected Christ rising from the tomb with a cross behind him. His facial features and drapery are very sensitively and subtly rendered. On his head, which leans slightly to the viewer's left, are a halo and the crown of thorns. Instruments of the Passion are displayed on the front and side sections of the foot. Christ holds the scourge and rod in his arms, and the vinegar bucket sits to the left of the sarcophagus. The left front section of the foot depicts the sponge and the lance on either side of the column from the flagellation. At the top of the column stands the rooster that crowed at the denial of St. Peter. The right front section depicts the bag from which the soldiers drew lots, dice, a hammer and a lantern. A smiling sun with flaming rays is depicted at the very top of each of the side sections, and the remaining space in them is filled with flowers and vine scrolls. The rear sections of the foot represent a paradise garden of flowers, elaborate leaves and vines containing an owl, and a heron with a snake in its beak.

The base of the monstrance vessel is shaped like the cup of a six-sided chalice that has been slightly flattened. It flares outward on all sides, and its widest sections are at the front and rear. Like the foot, the vessel base is exquisitely decorated with a stippled paradise garden. An eagle occupies the vine scroll on the front and rear panels. The eagle on the rear panel bends over a nest, feeding unseen chicks, while the eagle on the front stands in profile and raises its right foot. The paradise garden motif is broken only in the front left panel, which depicts a sun with long, flaming rays.

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19 Perpeet-Frech indicates that both birds are eagles, but Schnütgen describes the rear bird as a phoenix. Perpeet-Frech, "Sakramentsmonstranz," 94; Schnütgen, "Monstranz des Kölner Domes," 228.
The hexagonal roofed chapel at the top of the foot contains six shallow cast saint figures. Each saint stands within a rounded archway supported by tiny cast columns that is topped by an ogee-curved gable decorated with crockets and a fleur-de-lis shaped finial. The top of each gable overlaps the crenellated parapet at the base of the roof, which is tiled with engraved lozenges. Holes at each corner of the chapel (in the spandrel next to each arch) and at the top of the foot indicate that tiny cast buttresses may have been placed at the corners. These are shown in Alexander Schnütgen's proposed reconstruction from 1899.20 Beginning at the front of the monstrance, the cast saints are: George killing the dragon, John the Evangelist with a book, Christopher with a staff carrying the Christ child, Catherine with a sword and wheel, Barbara with a small tower and Mary Magdalene with her perfume jar. Because they are so small, the cast figures appear rather crude and unfinished. However the goldsmith has included a number of fine details, including the narrow spokes of Catherine's wheel, the fully articulated armor of St. George and the individual toes of St. Christopher's left foot. Each figure is also posed convincingly; particularly St. George with his emphatic spear thrust into the dragon and St. Christopher bowing under the weight of the Child.

The figural decoration on the upper portion of the monstrance is of exceptional quality. Even the tiny cast gargoyles are animated, with twisting bodies and open mouths. Although they were all cast from the same mold, the four angels flanking the front and rear discs were finished with exquisite detail. They stand with the graceful, attenuated sway associated with the international style, and the drapery of their robes crumples and pools at their feet. The collars of their robes appear to be folded downward, and the short sleeves of their upper robes are clearly differentiated from the sleeves of their under tunics. The angels have fat, cherubic faces crowned by tumbling curls, and their wings and attributes are finished with painstaking detail. It is possible to see individual lute and harp strings, for example. Only the overlarge hands of the angels appear clumsy and rough, doubtless a consequence of the fact that they had to be shaped separately to hold each angel's attribute. Though the cast angels are beautifully finished, they are no match for the Madonna and Child. Mary stands with pronounced contrapposto and balances Christ on her left hip. She supports her nude, potbellied son in the crook of an arm swathed in drapery. Her gaze is focused upon an elaborate flower (crowned with a pearl) that she holds in her right hand. The Christ child stares off into space, an easily distractible infant, and holds an orb in his left hand. With his right hand, he reaches idly for the drapery at the neck of the Virgin's gown. His parted legs and bent knees give the impression that Christ is squirming in Mary's grasp. Christ's pose and cruciform nimbus are reminders of His coming sacrifice, but He remains very childlike in this representation. The Virgin, with her oversized crown, heavy drapery and serene expression, is here presented as Queen of Heaven. Once again, the goldsmith has excelled in the finishing of these figures. One can make out the layers of fabric on Mary's wimple, her fingers (and fingernails!) on the hand holding the flower, and Christ's fingers, toes, eyelids and curling hair.

Although this monstrance is completely removed from its original context, it is possible to reconstruct the way in which it was opened for the insertion or removal of the Host. On the rear of the monstrance, the angel on the right (holding a lute) can easily be removed from its

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20 Schnütgen published three photographs of the monstrance in 1899, including a reconstructed view of the front of the monstrance with its missing elements restored according to Schnütgen's assumptions. Schnütgen, "Monstranz des Kölner Domes," plate V, center image.
parapet. Normally, this angel's wings keep the rear disc of the monstrance from opening. When the angel is removed, the disc opens to allow access to the lunula inside. One set of hinges, on the left side, holds this disc in place. The upper flyer behind the angel on the left is attached to the decorative border of the rear disc and not, as in the other flyers, to the parapet behind the border. This same flyer simply rests upon its pier buttress, providing extra stability when the disc is closed, and allowing the disc to freely swing open when the monstrance is opened. The front disc of the monstrance is held on both sides by hinges. As on the rear, these hinges are hidden behind the broad decorative frame of the disc. Although the front disc can be opened, the position of the hinges makes removal of their pins difficult. The cut flyer and removable angel on the rear of the monstrance indicate that the goldsmith intended this piece to be accessed from the rear and designed it to withstand years of use.

No. 5: The Lorch Monstrance
Silver gilt, translucent enamel, modern glass and brass (?) repairs.
Cologne or Mainz, early fifteenth century.
Lorch, Parish Church of St. Martin
Height 81cm.

Illustrations in text: Figures 2.6, 3.20, and A.2.

Select bibliography: Fritz, Goldschmiedekunst der Gotik, no. 447; Perpeet-French, Monstranzen, no. 109.

Despite the fact that this monstrance remains in the church for which it was made, details of its patronage and liturgical and processional use remain a mystery. Its unusual design, with a large canopied chapel beneath the central crystal (now glass) vessel, is unlike any other surviving Rhenish monstrance. Within this chapel is a rectangular silver cushion decorated with enameled grass and flowers upon which stand St. Martin and the beggar. The cloaked St. Martin is depicted atop his horse, holding the (now broken) reins in one hand as he turns slightly towards the beggar. The beggar holds a cane and stands at the rear left flank of the horse. The fact that this chapel was part of the original design for the monstrance can be inferred from the fact that the unusually tall flanking buttresses have no obvious seams or breaks that would indicate later alteration. The obvious
repairs at the top of the St. Martin chapel below the Host vessel must have been necessary when the original crystal was replaced with a glass cylinder.

The fact that Lorch was within the Archdiocese of Mainz has prompted Fritz to suggest that this piece was made by a Mainz goldsmith. The Lorch seal (c. 1325) depicts St. Martin and the beggar beneath the wheel that was the symbol of Mainz, and Lorch was an early seat of the Archbishop of Mainz. The architectural design of the monstrance, however, leads me to believe that this piece was actually made in Cologne. The mourning figures of the Virgin and John the Evangelist, which are found on so many Cologne monstrances, are also found on this piece. The angels on the Lorch Monstrance and Kölner Dommonstranz share the same model (used on many Cologne pieces), although their wings are different. The two pieces also share a manufacturing technique (angel attachment) and have similar buttress designs. Each one of the angels flanking the Host vessel of the Lorch Monstrance has been soldered to a long, triangular pin made of folded silver. This long pin fits inside the plinth beneath each angel. The same means of attachment can be found on the removable angel that stands beside the crystal disc at the rear of the Dommonstranz. The Y-shape of the side buttresses is also remarkably similar on both pieces. Furthermore, the design of the Lorch Monstrance knob strongly resembles that of both the Kölner Dommonstranz and the 1414 Bonn Monstrance. The overall form of the Lorch Monstrance adheres to the Cologne type, except, of course, for the fact that the dimensions of the flanking buttresses have been stretched to accommodate the height of the chapel-central vessel combination, and the buttresses of the spire chapel have been similarly elongated to give the monstrance a better overall visual balance. The steeply angled crocketed gables of the St. Martin chapel and the spire chapel on the Lorch Monstrance recall the gables on the canopies over the large saints occupying the spire of the Ratingen monstrance. If the Lorch Monstrance was indeed made in Mainz, the goldsmith in question must have been quite familiar with Cologne forms and techniques. It is more likely, in my opinion, that this piece was made in Cologne.

No. 6: The Kolumba Monstrance
Silver gilt, rock crystal, enamel (lunula), precious stones and pearls.
Cologne, c. 1400.
Cologne, Domschatz (on loan from the Kirchengemeinde St. Kolumba).
Height 88.5cm.


Even among the highest quality tower monstrances, the Kolumba Monstrance ranks as an outstanding example of the goldsmith’s art. In it, the goldsmith combined a highly refined architectural design with beautifully executed engravings. The spire chapel that houses the figure of St. Kolumba is rendered as a web of delicate tracery surrounded by colonnettes, flying buttresses and cast pinnacles (Figure 2.7). A smaller chapel above her houses three additional virgin martyrs cast in silver. The dome of the spire, which also serves as the lid of the crystal vessel, is beautifully engraved with the symbols of the four evangelists. On most monstrances, this area would be studded with cut enameled flowers or left undecorated. Flowers can also be found at the center of spirals below the buttresses of most monstrances. The Kolumba Monstrance, however, has tiny animated corbel figures that appear to support each buttress. These corbel figures resemble tiny wild men. The stem and base of the crystal vessel, which receive only the most basic ornament on other pieces, are here decorated with colonnettes, overlapping ribs and fine crosshatching (Figure 3.5). The complex stepped base of the stem resembles that of a compound pier. This architectural emphasis suggests that the Kolumba goldsmith might have had the geometric design training recommended by the goldsmith Hans Schuttermeyer in his 1486 book on finial design. Finally, the foot of the Kolumba Monstrance

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21 Schuttermeyer dedicated his booklet to the glory of God, the church, and: “alle(n) maisteren vn gesellen die sich diser hohen vn freyen kunst der Geometria geprauchen ir gemute speculirung vnd ymaginacion dem ware(n) grunt des maswercks paß zuunterwerffen nach gedencken vnd ein zu wurtzeln.” Ulrich Coenen, *Die spätgotischen*
is a masterpiece in its own right (Figure A.4). Each of the six lobes is engraved with an enthroned saint contained within a plain border and finely crosshatched background. In each lobe either a foot, a piece of drapery or a portion of throne overlaps the plain border. Compositonally and stylistically these enthroned saints resemble painting and manuscript illumination in Paris and the Low Countries. A strong comparison can be made with André Beauneveu's miniatures of prophets in the Psalter of Jean, Duc du Berry. There was a great deal of artistic exchange between Cologne and Paris and the Low Countries, and the Kolumba goldsmith has adapted the imported style, masterfully designing these enthroned saints specifically for the lobes of the monstrance foot. The feet of most other monstrances are decorated with scrollwork or with simple figural compositions that do not take the shape of the lobes into account. For a more typical monstrance foot, see Figure 2.10.

This costly monstrance was most likely the donation of the entire parish of St. Kolumba in Cologne. Citizens in late gothic Cologne tended to identify themselves in terms of their parish or neighborhood, and at St. Kolumba's and other parishes within the Roman and earliest medieval walls, the area of the parish and neighborhood were identical. St. Kolumba's parish was the richest and most populous in late gothic Cologne. Among its residents were many of Cologne's Werkmeisterbücher in Deutschland: Untersuchung und Edition der Lehreschriften für Entwurf und Ausführung von Sakralbauten, Beiträge zur Kunstwissenschaft 35 (Munich: scaneg Verlag, 1990) 42, 353.

22 Ohm was the first to indicate the similarities between the Kolumba monstrance foot and the illuminations of Beauneveu (c. 1386), but overestimated their importance (by assuming the goldsmith copied them) and misdated the monstrance (c. 1480). Fritz correctly states that although Beauneveu's miniatures are compositionally similar to the Kolumba engravings, the engravings reflect contemporary taste that can also be found in the Nicholas panel from Soest, attributed to Conrad of Soest (c. 1400), and the similarity of both to the Kolumba engravings reflects the large number of Netherlandish artists working in and around Cologne. Annaliese Ohm, "Rheinische Goldschmiedearbeiten der Spätgotik," Trierer Zeitschrift 22 (1953): 192; Fritz, Gestochene Bilder, 90-99, cat. 358. For André Beauneveu's prophet miniatures, see: Millard Meiss, French Painting in the Time of Jean, Duc de Berry: The Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke, National Gallery of Art Kress Foundation Studies in the History of European Art 2 (London and New York: Phaidon, 1967) 135-40, 331-2.
wealthiest noble and merchant families as well as prominent craftsmen, university professors and students. The parish also contained several conventual and mendicant houses as well as the largest number of Beguines in the city.\(^{23}\) The church of St. Kolumba possessed a miraculous Host, and it was likely that the citizens of the parish were active in the culture of Eucharistic piety that was so pervasive in Cologne. Around 1400, when the St. Kolumba Monstrance was made, the parish was experiencing a surge in one particular part of its population: Neuburgern, or the nouveau riche new citizens of Cologne. Neuburgern were rich men, generally merchants and skilled craftsmen who had purchased their citizenship after residing in the city for three years. Cologne's Neuburgern were eager to establish themselves in their new community, and usually accomplished this through large and very visible acts of charity and church patronage. Prominence brought power in trade and guild relations, and in parish and city politics.\(^{24}\) Contributions towards a large, expensive and high quality monstrance would have helped to establish the place of these new citizens within their parish. The preciousness of the monstrance demonstrated the high status of the parish within Cologne, particularly when it was used in Corpus Christi processions. As I discussed in chapter 4, the processions that took place in the parish of St. Kolumba's on Corpus Christi followed the boundaries of the parish. The Kolumba Monstrance demonstrated the wealth, prestige and Eucharistic piety of its parish during the late gothic period and for several centuries afterward. This monstrance was not supplanted by a newer monstrance in the Baroque period, but remained in use. The medallions dangling below the central vessel commemorate its use in processions during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the lunula and jeweled medallion were donated in the eighteenth century. During the French occupation of Cologne in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, the Kolumba Monstrance was kept despite the fact that parish processions were forbidden and religious displays strictly limited. The parishioners managed to keep their monstrance and a few other treasury objects (including the cross and reliquary in Figures 2.8 and 2.9) from being melted down in 1794 by paying the French a huge ransom in silver coin.\(^{25}\) These pieces were hidden away during World War II and survived the bombing that destroyed the church of St. Kolumba. They are now displayed in the Cologne cathedral treasury.

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\(^{24}\) Hugo Stehkämper, "Kölner Neubürger 1356-1798," *Mitteilungen aus dem Stadtarchiv von Köln* 61 (1975): 49, 53-4, 73, 83, 98; Hegel, *St. Kolumba*, 97-100. Changes in the structure of city government at the end of the fourteenth century made the guilds much more powerful in government, since the reorganized city council (*Rat*) consisted of representatives elected by the guilds and not by the limited number of rich noble families that had previously held power. This change made it possible for Neuburgern to play a role in the council, provided they were able to establish themselves as prominent members of their guild and community. For a clear summary of changes in Cologne's government to c. 1500, see: Klaus Gereon Beuckers, Köln: Die Kirchen in gotischer Zeit: Zur spätmittelalterlichen Sakralbauätigkeit an den Kloster-, Stifts- und Pfarrkirchen in Köln, Stadtspuren—Denkmäler in Köln 24, ed. Ulrich Krings (Cologne: J.P. Bachem Verlag, 1998), 25-40.

VITA

I began my academic career intending to become a painter. Virginia Commonwealth University granted me a four-year scholarship, and I completed my freshman fine arts courses in a six-week advanced placement program. At VCU I explored several disciplines and spent one semester in Winchester, England while earning two bachelor’s degrees. Art history soon became an integral part of every semester, complementing and balancing my printmaking classes. My decision to continue studying medieval art history at Penn State was largely influenced by my experience of living in a cathedral city. In 1995 and 1996, I worked on the exhibition “Medieval Art in America, Patterns of Collecting 1800-1940,” at the Palmer Museum of Art organized by my thesis advisor, Dr. Elizabeth B. Smith. In addition to writing two catalogue articles and two object entries, I was allowed to handle the Monstrance with a Finger of John the Baptist from the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art in Kansas City when the show was dismantled. This first-hand experience of goldsmithwork appealed to me both as an art historian and as an artist. I chose to write my master's thesis on the construction of late gothic monstrances. In the course of my thesis research, I realized that the context of these objects was largely ignored in the scholarly literature, and thus it became my dissertation topic. In 2001, I met Johann Michael Fritz, a specialist in gothic goldsmithwork, and he agreed to become my mentor. As a Fulbright scholar, I spent the academic year 2002-2003 in Germany examining numerous objects, studying in archives and libraries, and observing late gothic monstrances in use. My interest in visual culture and the medieval experience of works of art informs every aspect of my research. Since my return, I have presented my research at the International Congress on Medieval Studies at Western Michigan University and a symposium at Florida State. The Florida State paper will be published in the Journal Athanor in 2007.