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Silent Assistants

The “Wolfram” Candelabra in the Erfurt Cathedral in the Context of the 12th and 13th Centuries

Exegi monumentum aere perennius.
(Horace, carmen 3, 30)

In 2016, Julie Casteigt, Dietmar Mieth, and Jörg Rüpke published their research results on the so-named Wolfram candelabra in the Erfurt Cathedral under the title “The Bearer of the Giant Torah of Erfurt: A Religious-historical Hypothesis for an Overlooked Judaicum” (fig. 1). The group came to the conclusion that the Wolfram candelabra could initially have been the bearer of a giant Torah roll, which had undergone a ritual change of function as a consequence of a process of appropriation by the Christians in the wake of the pogrom of 1349, by transforming it into the figure of a candle bearer.¹ With this, Casteigt, Mieth, and Rüpke initiated a discussion, which once more proves how fruitful it is to look at an object from the perspective of a variety of disciplines, in order to re-evaluate prevailing research theories of medieval art, which over the course of the decades, mutate into seeming truths by constant repetition. From the vantage point of art history, I have noticed – and therefore the title of my contribution – that Sabine Poeschel’s fundamental study on the Wolfram candelabra, and its interpretation as a depiction of the Prophet Isaiah² or Anton Legner’s³ and Rainer Budde’s⁴ basic research of the Romanesque sculpture in Germany purports the theory that the Wolfram candelabra stands isolated in the history of art. At first glance, this might be viewed as a life-sized human figure bearing three

1 Julie Casteigt, Dietmar Mieth, Jörg Rüpke: Der Träger der Erfurter Riesentorahrolle: Eine religionsgeschichtliche Hypothese zu einem übersehenen Judaicum, in: *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 68.2 (2016), pp. 97–118.

2 Sabine Poeschel: Der Wolfram-Leuchter von Erfurt. Überlegungen zu Funktion und Identifikation, in: *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Thüringische Geschichte* 54 (2000), pp. 15–44. The following masters’ theses were unfortunately not available to me: Oda Virnich: *Der “Wolfram-Leuchter” im Dom zu Erfurt*, Gießen 1994; Norbert Schmidt: *Der Wolfram-leuchter in Erfurt*, Leipzig 1999.

3 Anton Legner: *Romanische Kunst in Deutschland*, München 1996, pp. 69 f., 179, with ill. 297.

4 Rainer Budde: *Deutsche Skulptur 1050–1250*, München 1979, pp. 55 f., with ill. 88–89.



Fig. 1: Wolfram candelabra, ca. 1160. Erfurt, Cathedral

candles. But if we take the words of Horace, quoted at the outset, together with the invocation by the two donors, Hiltiburg and Wolfram, in the inscription on the belt of the figure “Wolferamu [s]. Ora p [ro] nobis [an] c [t] a dei genetrix / Hiltiburg. Ut digni efficiamur gra [tiae] dei”,⁵ then the Wolfram belongs to the series of representative images which have been continuous since antiquity up to the Middle Ages. As early as 1984, Adolf Reinle had placed the “silent assistant” there; unfortunately, the subsequent research did not take Reinle’s findings into consideration.⁶

Of course, what makes the Erfurt bronze unique is that here we do not have an example of the usual representative images of princes, kings, or emperors. Such royal examples have been handed down to us through the ages by numerous sources, often in connection with pledges.⁷ The Wolfram figure, on the other hand, originally showed a man in secular clothing bearing three candles – before its mutilation – which cannot be understood without its liturgical and thus meaningful contexts.⁸

Two facts were always brought into the field for the purposes of dating the Wolfram candelabra: In 1157, the *ministerialis* from Mainz Wolfram Scultetus, was mentioned twice in Erfurt. The “Wolfram” candelabra is named after the donor Wolfram Scultetus, and the cathedral was already under construction in 1154, thus the dating of the candelabra could well be 1157.⁹

5 Christian Beutler: Bildwerke zwischen Antike und Mittelalter. Unbekannte Skulpturen aus der Zeit Karls des Großen, Düsseldorf 1964, pp. 23–27. Adolf Reinle: Das stellvertretende Bildnis. Plastiken und Gemälde von der Antike bis ins 19. Jahrhundert, Zürich–München 1984, pp. 10–26.

6 Reinle: stellvertretendes Bildnis (see fn. 5), pp. 320 f.

7 Beutler: Bildwerke (see fn. 5), pp. 23–27. Reinle: stellvertretendes Bildnis (see fn. 5), pp. 10–26.

8 In regard to the misinterpretation of the figure, the sources were erroneously associated with the Wolfram, which led to the separation of the candle mandrel located on the neck, see Hans Gerhard Meyer: Der Erfurter Wolfram und die Magdeburger Wettinwerkstadt, in: Martin Gosebruch (ed.): Der Braunschweiger Burglöwe. Bericht über ein wissenschaftliches Symposium in Braunschweig vom 12.10. bis 15.10.1983 (Schriftenreihe der Kommission für Niedersächsische Bau- und Kunstgeschichte bei der Braunschweigischen Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft, vol. 2), Göttingen 1985, pp. 135–137. For the exact technical report, which proves that the third candle mandrel was original, see Hans Drescher: Zur Herstellung des Erfurter Wolfram-Leuchters, in: Ernst Ullmann (ed.): Halberstadt – Studien zu Dom und Liebfrauenkirche. Königtum und Kirche als Kulturträger im östlichen Harzvorland – Halberstadt. Symposium des Leipziger Lehrstuhls für Kunstgeschichte und der Kommission für Bau- und Kunstgeschichte Niedersachsen der Braunschweigischen Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft. Halberstadt 7.–10. Oktober 1992 (Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-historische Klasse, vol. 74.2), Berlin 1997, pp. 191f.

9 See the summary of the differing opinions by Drescher: Herstellung Wolfram-Leuchter (see fn. 8), pp. 188–191.

If one follows the studies of Adolf Franz and those of Ludwig Eisenhofer of the medieval liturgy and leaves the worn paths of decades of art historical research, then the medieval age, especially in the case of votive Masses, placed great emphasis on a certain number of candles. Twelve were placed at Masses in honor of the Apostles, nine at the angelic office on Thursday, seven at Masses in honor of the Holy Spirit, five in honor of the Holy Cross (correspondent to Christ's wounds), and three in honor of the Trinity.¹⁰

The last number, in turn, creates a possible connection to the original liturgical integration of the "Wolfram" candelabra, especially if one remembers the donor's inscription on his belt. In addition, in 1501/02 Master Knappe poured two bearings for the already existing main bell of the cathedral, which is also called "Wolfram", according to the relevant invoice in the archive of the Erfurt Cathedral.¹¹ This coincidence leads to the conclusion, and here I am in agreement with Hans Drescher, that at the time, Hiltiburc and Wolfram donated a Mass together with the corresponding bell.¹² Unfortunately, this bell was recast six times between 1416, when the bell tower of the cathedral burned down, and 1942, whereby its material evidence in the present discussion has been lost.¹³

The fact that the bell and the figure were related to each other is demonstrable in the 15th century. In 1983, Hans Gerhard Meyer was able to confirm the Wolfram candelabra existed as of 10 May, 1425, on the occasion of the feast of St. Yvo Hélor by the Erfurt Law Faculty. Yvo, canonized on 19 May 1347, was patron of the jurists: "In primis et secundis vesperis et in missa locentur super altari beati Yvonis in sacrista 2 candeles, quelibet de dimidia libra et super candelabrum in medio chori, quod dicitur Wolveram, 3 Candeles de tribus libris que ardebunt dictis horis continue ..."¹⁴

Art historical research has always quoted these lines from Hans Gerhard Meyer. But if one reads the document to the end, the Wolfram bell, including the time of its ringing at the festivities, is precisely named

10 Adolph Franz: *Die Messe im deutschen Mittelalter. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Liturgie und des religiösen Volkslebens*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1902, p. 289. Ludwig Eisenhofer: *Handbuch der katholischen Liturgik*, vol. I, *Allgemeine Liturgik*, 2nd edn., Freiburg im Breisgau 1941, p. 287.

11 Franz Peter Schilling: *Erfurter Glocken. Die Glocken des Domes, der Severikirche und des Petersklosters zu Erfurt* (Das christliche Denkmal, issue 72/73), Berlin 1968, p. 47.

12 Drescher: *Herstellung Wolfram-Leuchter* (see fn. 8), p. 199.

13 Konrad Bund, Claus Peter: *Die Glockengüsse des Gherardus de Wou zu Erfurt im Jahre 1497*, in: *Jahrbuch für Glockenkunde* 1/2 (1989/90), pp. 37–63.

14 Meyer: *Erfurter Wolfram* (see fn. 8), p. 137. The source was published by Hermann Weissenborn (ed.): *Acten der Erfurter Universität*, part II (Geschichtsquellen der Provinz Sachsen und angrenzender Gebiete, publ. by Historische Commission der Provinz Sachsen, vol. 8, part 2), Halle 1884, p. 95.

“...Et propter conformitatem ad solemnizandum festum predictum post primam pulsacionem cum campana, que dicitur Wolveram, et est tertia post maiorem, domini illustres comites barones nobiles doctores et scolares omnes vel maior pars, qui commode possunt, congregentur in ambitu ecclesie beate Marie predicte et quando pulsatur sexta, que est immediate ante missam ad chorum, cum campana, qui dicitur nova et est secunda post maiorem, intransibus pueris ad chorum, tunc domini precedentibus pedellis cum baculis ... Et ad turrim fiat bona prepulsacio ante sextam cum campana, que dicitur Wolveram, pro congregacionem dominorum doctorum et scolarium, qui misse solempniter intererunt; ceterum pulsabitur sicut in diebus celebribus apostolorum...”¹⁵

If we open the methodological aperture in favor of a cultural-historical approach and place the Wolfram candelabra in its liturgical context, then the figure does not stand alone in the period of the fading Romanesque and the beginning of the Gothic. On the contrary, the Wolfram proves to be an integral part of a group of anthropomorphic Christian cult implements, augmented from ca. 1250 onwards, with angelomorphic implements due to the increasing Eucharistic piety.¹⁶ My main theme for the following sections is – and therein I follow Adolf Reinle – the dating of the preserved examples of “silent assistants”.¹⁷

In order to understand the origin of this delight in a zone between reality and *trompe-l'œil*, to which we owe the genesis of those “silent assistants”, let us describe these against the background of those ceremonies from whose splendor they once arose, a splendor born from the synthesis of sumptuous ceremony and spoken word. At the beginning stands the Freudenstadt lectern (fig. 2), which was carved ca. 1150, since it is chronologically closest to the Wolfram candelabra.¹⁸ Here the figures of the four Evangelists – like Atlantes – bear the actual lectern case and are positioned according to the tradi-

15 Weissenborn (ed.): Acten der Erfurter Universität (see fn. 14), pp. 95 f.

16 Johannes Tripps: The Priest Assisted by Automaton. Medieval Altars and Altarpieces with Mechanical Figures, in: Andreas Hartmann et al. (eds.): Die Macht der Dinge. Symbolische Kommunikation und kulturelles Handeln. Festschrift für Ruth-E. Mohrmann, Münster–New York–München–Berlin 2011, pp. 339–347. Dietmar Lüdke: Die Statuetten der gotischen Goldschmiede. Studien zu den “autonomen” und vollrunden Bildwerken der Goldschmiedeplastik und den Statuettenreliquiaren in Europa zwischen 1230 und 1350 (tuduv-Studien, Reihe Kunstgeschichte, vol. 4), part I: text and illustrations, München 1983, pp. 105 f., part II: catalog and indices, pp. 594 f.

17 Reinle: stellvertretendes Bildnis (see fn. 5), pp. 320 f.

18 Reinle: stellvertretendes Bildnis (see fn. 5), p. 320. Heribert Meurer: Zu Funktion, Provenienz und Stil des Freudenstädter Lesealtars, in: Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Württemberg 17 (1980), pp. 77–84. Poeschel: Wolfram-Leuchter (see fn. 2), p. 25. Johannes Tripps: Mechanische Adler, vergessliche Mesner und rauchspeiende Evangelistensymbole – oder: Funde zur Inszenierung liturgischer Bücher im Mittelalter, in: Annette Hoffmann, Frank Martin, Gerhard Wolf (eds.): Bücher-



*Fig. 2: Freudenstadt
lectern, ca. 1150.
Freudenstadt, municipal
church*

tion of the Evangelists in the four cardinal directions: Matthew in the north, Mark in the east, Luke in the west, and John in the south.¹⁹ The inside of the lectern case reveals a thick layer of soot, which could be caused from burning the frankincense. In addition, carefully drilled channels lead from the inside out into the mouth, jaws, muzzle, and beak of the evangelical symbols.²⁰ Thus it would be conceivable that, before the reading of the Gospels, a smoldering thurible had been hung or placed in the lectern case, and the smoke of the frankincense billowed from the mouths of these symbols.²¹

The Freudenstadt lectern can be placed between two further examples with sensory effects: In 971, Foulques, Abbot of Loches, had a bronze gospel lectern cast with a mechanical gilded eagle on its top. If the deacon wanted to put the Gospel Book upon the animal for the reading, the bird spread its wings to support the Book, and could, “as it were, artfully move its neck as if it were eager to listen and in so doing, emitted a cry”. As to the censuring of the Gospel lectern, there was a small pan for glowing charcoal inside the eagle: Frankincense granules were cast upon it, and the perfume wafted out from the animal.²² A second example is Villard d’Honnecourt’s “Carnet” which provides two drawings (fol. 7^r and fol. 22^v) of eagle lecterns

gänge. *Miszellen zu Buchkunst, Leselust und Bibliotheksgeschichte. Hommage an Dieter Klein*, Heidelberg 2006, pp. 47–55.

19 According to Legner: *Romanische Kunst* (see fn. 3), p. 58.

20 The whole situation is difficult to assess because medieval carvers partially dried the wood over an open fire to speed up the drying process, which also led to traces of soot. Such traces can be found in Bernt Norke’s Triumphal Cross in the Cathedral of Lübeck; for further information see Hans Westhoff, Hilde Härlin, Ernst-Ludwig Richter, Heribert Meurer: *Zum Freudenstädter Leseputz. Holztechnik, Fassung und Funktion*, in: *Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Württemberg* 17 (1980), pp. 41–84, here pp. 59–61, 79f.

21 In Legner: *Romanische Kunst* (see fn. 3), pp. 58f., there is the statement that no soot traces could be found in the drilled canals to the mouths of the evangelist symbols, and therefore the simultaneous function as a lectern and thurible is unlikely. This information is not complete. The examinations of the lectern in 1977 showed that the channels and holes in the mouth, jaws, and muzzle, of the symbols of Matthew, Mark, and Luke were reworked; therefore no soot was detectable here. However, the canal and the hole in the beak of John’s eagle were not reworked. Here soot traces, which also reach as far as the outer edge of the beak are swiftly found; see Hans Westhoff: *Zur Frage der Funktion des Leseputzes als Weihrauchständer*, in: Hans Westhoff, Hilde Härlin, Ernst-Ludwig Richter, Heribert Meurer: *Zum Freudenstädter Leseputz. Holztechnik, Fassung und Funktion*, in: *Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Württemberg* 17 (1980), p. 59.

22 “Pulpitum evangelii tal modo fecit ut essent IV emicedia altrinsecus e regione in modum crucis posita, quae es aere ductilia ad libitum artificis per loca scalprata et deaureata, postibus undique secus deargentatis, in septentrionali parte, fusilem habebant aquilam optime deaureatam, quae interdum alas stringebat, inderdum alis expansis capacem evangeliorum codici locum pandebat, colloque, quasi pro libitu, artificiose ad audiendum retorto et iterum reducto, immissis fragrantiam superimpositi thuris emittebat [...]”, Jean Mabillon (ed.): *Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti*, lib. 47, t. III, Paris 1706, p. 609;

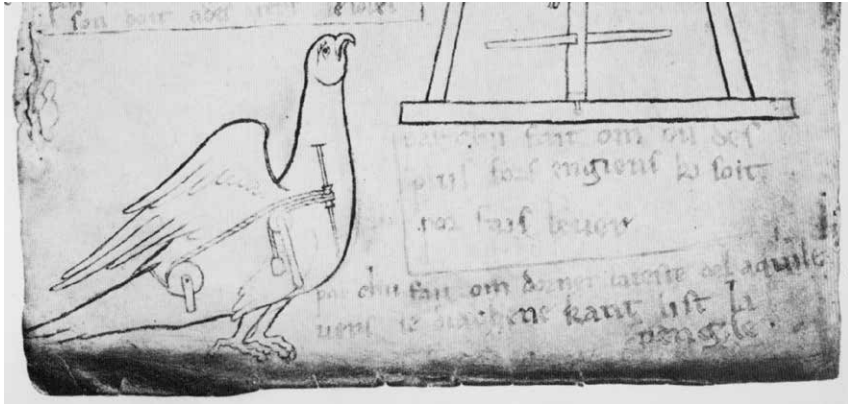


Fig. 3: Detail drawing of an eagle lectern, ca. 1230. Villard d'Honnecourt, *Portfolio*. *Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Fr. 19093, fol. 22^v*

for the period after the Freudenstadt lectern. On fol. 22^v, Villard sketches the longitudinal section through a mechanical eagle and an hitherto unknown scribe, called “hand III”, provides information on the pulley mechanism inside the animal (fig. 3). While the deacon laid the Gospel Book on the bird, he could use a pull rope to make the eagle turn his head from the front to the back, to the right, and to the left during the reading, and finally return to the starting position: “Par chu fait om dorner la teste del aquile / vers le diachene kant list la / vengile”.²³

Durandus (IV, c. 24, n. 20) gives the lectern, on which the Book is placed during the reading of the Gospel, the name “Aquila”, and refers to Psalm 17, 11: “*et volavit super pennas ventorum*”.²⁴ For our discussion however, the sketch of the second eagle lectern (fol. 7^v) in the “Carnet” is the more revealing (fig. 4). Here Villard not only draws an eagle, but also the two fig-

Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptorum IV, ed. by Georg Heinrich Pertz et al., Hannover 1841, pp. 57–74. The same text is quoted by Hans R. Hahnloser (ed.): Villard de Honnecourt. Kritische Gesamtausgabe des Bauhüttenbuches Ms. Fr. 19093 der Pariser Nationalbibliothek, 2nd edn. Graz 1972, pp. 137f., with note 25; as well as by Meurer: Freudenstädter Leseputz (see fn. 18), p. 80.

23 Hahnloser: Villard de Honnecourt (see fn. 22), pp. 137f.; as well as Roland Bechmann (ed.): Villard de Honnecourt: La pensée technique au XIII^e siècle et sa communication, préface de Jacques Le Goff, Paris 1991, p. 300. Carl F. Barnes: The Portfolio of Villard de Honnecourt (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Fr 19093). A new critical edition and color facsimile (AVISTA studies in the history of Medieval technology, science, and art: Special publication), Farnham 2009, pp. 11–13, 159, with color plate 47.

24 Josef Andreas Jungmann: *Missarum sollemnia: eine genetische Erklärung der römischen Messe*, vol. I, *Messe im Wandel der Jahrhunderte – Messe und kirchliche Gemeinschaft – Vormesse*, 5th edn., Freiburg 1962, p. 534. Eisenhofer: *Handbuch allgemeine Liturgik* (see fn. 10), p. 384.

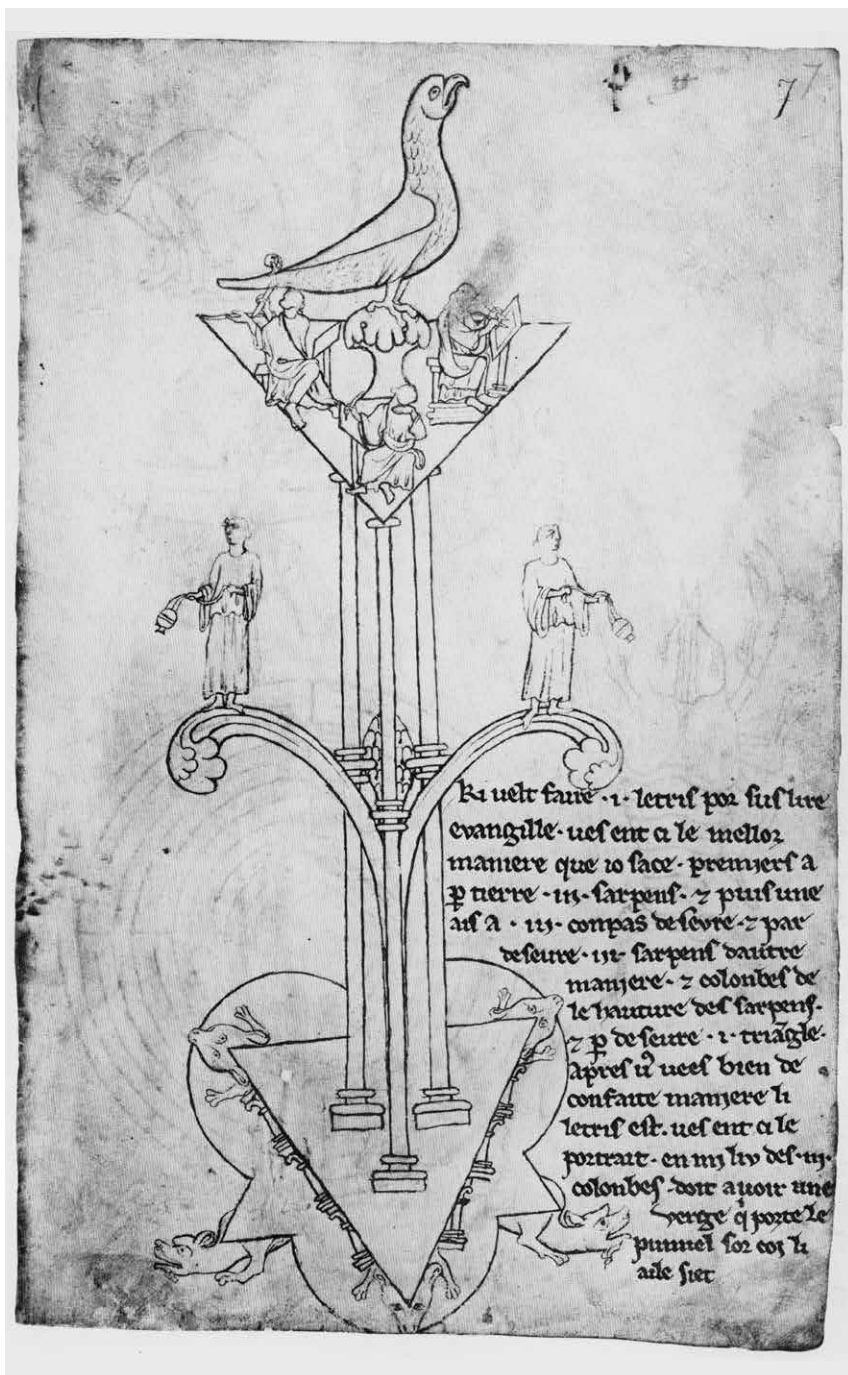


Fig. 4: Drawing of an eagle lectern with two thuriferarians, ca. 1230. Villard d'Honnecourt, Portfolio. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Fr. 19093, fol. 7^r

urines of thuriferarians who gently swing their thuribles. They stand below the bookrest of the lectern on volutes of foliage that grow midway up out of the central column. Whether these figures were mechanical “little figures” is not evident from Villard’s comments. The vigorous dangling of their thuribles, however, suggests this conclusion.²⁵

The particular ceremony, which led to the genesis of these figures, was the censuring of the Gospel Book before the reading, which probably already had a special significance in the 9th century. In any case, ever since the 11th century, the missals contained the text of the prayer that was to be spoken during the censuring of the Gospel Book: “With the fragrance of His heavenly inspiration, the Lord enlightens our hearts to hear and understand the doctrine of His Gospel.”²⁶ The action was integrated into a larger ceremony: The deacon says a prayer to purify himself, receives a blessing from the priest, he then takes the Book of the Gospels from the altar and goes to the reading place, whereby two acolytes with burning candles and a thuriferarian precede him. The book is placed on the lectern and the declamation of the holy verses follows the described censuring.²⁷

The declamations of the Epistles and Gospels were even more splendid when performed from the pulpits or rood screens, which bore the stage-like character of a *sacra repraesentatio*. The subdeacon read the Epistles on the southern side of either the rood screen or, as in Italy, from the southern side of the pulpit. He climbed the northern spiral staircase of the rood screen accompanied by an acolyte and crossed the platform of the rood screen to the southern side to perform the declamation of the Epistles. After the reading, they descended again using the southern staircase. The ceremony of the Gospel reading took place in the opposite direction during a procession, in which a cross was carried at the front of the procession in some churches and a ministrant always led the cortege with a thurible followed by two acolytes with candles; the subdeacon walked behind them with the Book of the Gospels followed by the deacon. The group ascended via the southern

25 Hahnloser: Villard de Honnecourt (see fn. 22), pp. 33 f., pl. 13; Bechmann: Villard de Honnecourt (see fn. 23), p. 300, assumes that the mechanical eagle on fol. 22^v could be a detail drawing of the eagle from the lectern on fol. 7^r. Barnes: Portfolio (see fn. 23), pp. 57 f., with color plate 16.

26 See Meurer: Freudenstädter Leseputl (see fn. 18), p. 79. Jungmann: Missarum sollemnia (see fn. 24), p. 579. Felix Heinzer: Die Inszenierung des Evangelienbuches in der Liturgie, in: Stephan Müller, Lieselotte E. Saurma-Jeltsch, Peter Strohschneider (eds.): Codex und Raum (Wolfenbütteler Mittelalterstudien, vol. 21), Wiesbaden 2009, pp. 43–58.

27 Ludwig Eisenhofer: Handbuch der katholischen Liturgik, vol. II, Spezielle Liturgik, 2nd edn., Freiburg im Breisgau 1933, pp. 114 f. On the Epistle Reading, see Jungmann: Missarum sollemnia (see fn. 24), pp. 535–538.

spiral staircase and crossed over to the northern section of the platform. The deacon then held the reading on the northern side of the rood screen. Afterwards the group descended again over the northern spiral staircase.²⁸

Certainly, it is this delight in the ceremonial, which led to the emergence of lecterns, candelabras, or acquamaniles in human form to mirror all the participants involved in the liturgy. In an inimitable manner, two marble figures of subdeacons standing on lions depicted on the pulpit at Salerno (ca. 1180) are holding the bookrest over their heads with arms raised in varying positions (fig. 5). The sculptor gave the figures differently raised arms and immortalized the heaviness of the book so anecdotally, giving the impression that the two are sustaining this position only with great effort during the reading.²⁹ The first surviving example of *Atzmänner* dates from the first half of the 13th century onwards, but the history of their origin might well reach back into the 12th century. Otto Schmitt expressed this idea as early as 1937.³⁰ Unfortunately, it is not yet possible to reconstruct the liturgical function of the statues of the four sacred Virgins (Etheldreda, Sexburga, Ermenilda, and Werburga), which Brithnod, Abbot of Ely (d. 981), in southern England, had placed on either side of the altar of his monastery church. They were wooden figures covered with silver plating:

Ipse fecit beatarum Virginum imagines, easque auro et argento gemmisque pretiosissime texuit, et iuxta altare duas a dextris et duas a sinistris statuit; quae et in dedicatione Willielmi regis excrustatae, et quaeque meliora ecclesiae ornamenta ablata, sola nuda ligna hactenus valent intueri (AA. SS. Junii, t. V, p. 449) [...] Similiter imagines sanctarum Virginum multo ornatu auri et argenti monachi spoliaverunt, ad solvendum predictam summam pecuniae. (AA. SS. Junii, t. V, p. 453).³¹

But let us return to the *Atzmänner*, a term which can be substantiated from 1480 onwards as referring to lecterns in the shape of a subdeacon with me-

28 Erika Kirchner-Doberer: Die Deutschen Lettner bis 1300, PhD., University of Linz 1946, p. 210; Kirchner-Doberer refers to Durandus, L. IV. X c. XVI and c. XXIV.

29 Reinle: stellvertretendes Bildnis (see fn. 5), p. 320. Joachim Poeschke: Die Skulptur des Mittelalters in Italien, vol. 1, Romanik, München 1998, pp. 180–182.

30 Otto Schmitt: art. “Atzmann”, in: Reallexikon zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte, ed. by Otto Schmitt, vol. I, Stuttgart 1937, cols. 1220–1223, see also: RDK Labor, URL: <http://www.rdklabor.de/w/?oldid=89961> [03.03.2017]. Elisabeth Hohmann: art. “Chorpult”, in: Reallexikon zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte, ed. by Otto Schmitt et al., vol. III, Stuttgart 1954, cols. 546–556; in RDK Labor, URL: www.rdklabor.de/w/?oldid=92600 [03.03.2017].

31 Paul Deschamps: Étude sur la Renaissance de la Sculpture en France à l'Époque Romane, in: Bulletin monumental 84 (1925), p. 34 with notes 3 and 4, p. 42 with note 2. Harald Keller: Zur Entstehung der sakralen Vollskulptur in der ottonischen Zeit, in: Kurt Bauch (ed.): Festschrift für Hans Jantzen, Berlin 1951, p. 77.



Fig. 5: Pulpit with two sub-deacons holding a bookrest, ca. 1180. Salerno, Cathedral



*Fig. 6: "Atzmann", ca. 1250.
Naumburg, Cathedral*

ticulous attention to detail: alb, dalmatic, humeral veil, and maniple are depicted, as if the figures were teaching aids designating the liturgical vestments.³² Anja Lempges compiled 23 examples from the earliest example in the Naumburg Cathedral (fig. 6) up to the end of Late Gothic period.³³ Besides Naumburg (here the chronological delineation is roughly retraced for the sake of brevity), the examples are located at Strasbourg (ca. 1250; Musée de l'Œuvre Notre-Dame, formerly in the cathedral), Fritzlar (13th century; Collegiate Church), Limburg an der Lahn (Diocesan Museum and Cathedral Treasury, originally at the Monastery of Marienhausen in the Rheingau), Sinnershausen (14th century; parish church), Heiligenstadt in the Eichsfeld (first half of the 14th century; St. Martin), Frankfurt (first half of the 15th century; Frankfurt Cathedral), Frankfurt (ca. 1414; St. Leonhard's Church), Korbach (early 15th century; parish Church of St. Kilian), Mainz (ca. 1500; Cathedral and Diocesan Museum, originally in the Monastery of St. Jacob), Bingen (ca. 1500; Collegiate Church), Würzburg, Workshop of Riemenschneider (beginning of the 16th century; Cathedral of St. Kilian) and in Ebersdorf by Hans Witten (ca. 1513; Collegiate Church of Chemnitz-Ebersdorf). The latter, as counterpart, still possesses a lectern in the form of an angel.³⁴ As for the one in Ebersdorf, I would like to include two French bookrests in the form of angels, which have been overlooked in art historical research in this present context. The two mutilated but still salvageable angels were found among the debris of the once five-arched hall rood screen of Saint-Lazare Cathedral of Autun, built shortly after 1469 under Bishop Jean Rolin (1463–1483, son of the Burgundian Chancellor Nicolas Rolin).³⁵

The depiction of liturgical actions by “silent assistants” even extends to the handwashing of the priest: In 1871, in the case of the demolition

32 Anja Lempges: *Schatz im Schutt. Der Atzmann aus der Leonhardskirche in Frankfurt am Main*, in: *Das Münster* 67.4 (2014), p. 266.

33 Lempges: *Schatz im Schutt* (see fn. 32), p. 266. On the Naumburg Atzmann in particular, see Lutz Stöppler: *XV.1 Diakon oder Atzmann*, in: Hartmut Krohm and Holger Kunde (eds.): *Der Naumburger Meister. Bildhauer und Architekt im Europa der Kathedralen*, Exhibition Catalogue Naumburg, vol. 2, Petersberg 2011, pp. 1320–1322.

34 Schmidt: *Atzmann* (see fn. 30), col. 1220–1223. Reinle: *stellvertretendes Bildnis* (see fn. 5), pp. 320 f. Adolf Reinle: *Die Ausstattung deutscher Kirchen im Mittelalter. Eine Einführung*, Darmstadt 1988, pp. 49–55. Lempges: *Schatz im Schutt* (see fn. 32), pp. 262–269. The only known depiction of a small carved table bookrest, supported by four kneeling angels, is mentioned in the “Heiltums Büchlein” of Wittenberg. This bookrest also served as a reliquary for 123 particles; the Duke of Berry had a similar lectern, which was supported by two angels; see Lüdke: *Statuetten I* (see fn. 16), p. 106.

35 Jan Schirmer: *Gotische Chorabschränkungen in Burgund* (Göttinger Beiträge zur Geschichte, Kunst und Kultur des Mittelalters, vol. 5), Göttingen 2001, pp. 67 f., 145–150, pls. 4.1–5.2.

work in the former Monastery of Seligenstadt, a *piscina* (dated 1240/1250) was found in the form of a subdeacon with amice and alb, carrying a lavabo (h 106.5 cm, w 35 cm, d 43 cm). The lavabo has an all-round groove for lowering the cover. The figure is now in the Hessian State Museum in Darmstadt (fig. 7).³⁶ Moritz Woelk, on the occasion of his inventory catalog, compiled a group of such figures, the oldest of which is the subdeacon of Seligenstadt followed by the examples of Saint-Pierre-Le-Jeune in Strasbourg (ca. 1300?), in the parish church of Saint-Hilaire at Marville near Montmédy (16th century; Luxembourg), and in the church in Arrancy (16th century; Luxembourg).³⁷

The *Ordines* of that time provide detailed information as to when, how, and with which accompanying words, the handwashing was carried out during the Mass. Within the framework of the medieval liturgy, five washes can be distinguished: The celebrant washed his hands before the Mass, at the beginning of the Offertory, before the Canon, and/or after the Communion; the deacons and subdeacons washed their hands during the Offertory.³⁸ As early as the year 850, Leo IV (847–855) had obligated two handwashes to be binding: before the Mass and after the Communion. In the course of the High Middle Ages, the sanctity of the Eucharist played an ever-increasing role; a process that was further reinforced in the 13th century by the doctrine of transubstantiation, during which bread and wine are transformed during the Mass into the body and blood of Christ. As a result, the Purity Order for the treatment of the host and the chalice was further elaborated upon. During the ritual, two hand washings were now required: After the Offertory, or preparation of the materials for the Eucharist, and after the Communion.³⁹

In summary, if we look back on these multifaceted images of liturgical sources and sculptures discussed in this contribution, the following conclusion becomes evident: The Wolfram candelabra of Erfurt fits neatly into the period from 1150 to 1250, in which the sumptuous liturgy, its religious activities, and their respective actions were interpreted in detail to take shape

36 Reinle: stellvertretendes Bildnis (see fn. 5), p. 321. Moritz Woelk: Bildwerke vom 9. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert aus Stein, Holz und Ton im Hessischen Landesmuseum Darmstadt (Kataloge des Hessischen Landesmuseums Darmstadt, vol. 19), Darmstadt 1999, pp. 87–94, ca. 1240–1250; h: 106.5 cm, w: 35 cm, d: 43 cm.

37 Woelk: Bildwerke Landesmuseum Darmstadt (see fn. 36), p. 94, with note 10.

38 For detailed description see Michael Hütt: “Quem lavat unda foris ...”. Aquamanilien, Gebrauch und Form, Mainz 1993, pp. 83–103.

39 Justin E. A. Kroesen: Die liturgische Piscina und ihre Ausstattung im Mittelalter, in: Ulrike Wendtland (ed.), ...das Heilige sichtbar machen. Domschätze in Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft (Arbeitsberichte 9), Regensburg 2010, pp. 238 f.



*Fig. 7: Subdeacon with
lavabo, ca. 1240/50.
Darmstadt, Hessisches
Landesmuseum: Inv. PI
01:19*

in proxy images.⁴⁰ Adolf Reinle had already placed the Wolfram in this context in 1984, and here it was to remain.

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At the time of printing this contribution, access to the unpublished dissertation about “Atzmänner” by Anja Lempges was denied as the publication date for the dissertation was announced for October 2017. See Anja Lempges: *Der Atzmann. Form und Funktion eines mittelalterlichen Pultträgers*, Regensburg 2017.

Translated by Patricia Smith

Photographic acknowledgements

Fig. 1: after Legner: *Romanische Kunst in Deutschland* (see fn. 3), fig. 296. Photo: Albert Hirmer, Irmgard Ernstmeier-Hirmer

Fig. 2: Legner: *Romanische Kunst in Deutschland* (see fn. 3), fig. 259. Photo: Albert Hirmer, Irmgard Ernstmeier-Hirmer

Fig. 3: after Hahnloser: *Villard d’Honnecourt* (see fn. 22), pl. 44. Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France

Fig. 4: after Hahnloser: *Villard d’Honnecourt* (see fn. 22), pl. 13. Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France

Fig. 5: after Poeschke: *Die Skulptur des Mittelalters* (see fn. 29), fig. 221. Photo: Albert Hirmer, Irmgard Ernstmeier-Hirmer

Fig. 6: after Stöppler: *Diakon oder Atzmann* (see fn. 33), p. 1320. Photo: Vereinigte Domstifter zu Merseburg, Naumburg und des Kollegiatstifts Zeitz

Fig. 7: after Woelk: *Bildwerke* (see fn. 36), p. 88. Photo: Sina Althöfer

40 For additional details see Hütt: *Aquamanilien* (see fn. 38), pp. 95–107.