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## Georg Pencz: Between Nuremberg, Cracow and Königsberg

Since the Middle Ages, the mobility of artists and craftsmen had depended entirely on the fact that, after completing their training, journeymen took to the road to broaden their knowledge. During these years of travel they would collect material in the form of copies and models for their later work.<sup>1</sup> However, our knowledge of most journeymen's travels amounts to nothing more than their mere existence. Only in very rare cases do we know more about the individual travels of artisans, for instance if documents or drawings have been preserved. Albrecht Dürer is without doubt one of these rare and fortunate exceptions, since his writings and his contemporaries tell us about his training and travelling. It is striking that the young Dürer enunciated one destination in particular: In Colmar he intended to meet Martin Schongauer to learn from him.<sup>2</sup> Dürer's motivation to continue his training just with "hubsch Martin", as Dürer named him, is unsurprising: From a family of goldsmiths himself, Martin Schongauer used his skills as a goldsmith to crucially refine the art of engraving; and moreover, he was also a famous painter. It must have been the young and strong-minded Albrecht Dürer's ambition to bring both crafts to perfection just as Martin Schongauer had done before him.

Besides the journeyman having to travel, which had been a traditional part of training ever since the Middle Ages, a whole range of different motives led artists to set out for foreign countries. Mostly it might have been economic, political and religious reasons, famines, uprisings or even banishments which caused them to leave their home town.<sup>3</sup> Several of these aspects apply to the Nuremberg engraver and painter Georg Pencz (ca. 1500-1550), which I discuss in the following. The additional question arises as to just how mobile Pencz was himself, and also how mobile his artworks were.

It is remarkable that his earliest biographical records do not include any notes about his artistic work,

but there are documents concerning a trial involving Pencz. Georg Pencz, who probably came from Westheim (near Nuremberg), became a citizen of Nuremberg in 1523. Just two years later, in 1525, he and his colleagues Barthel and Sebald Beham were expelled from the free city. The "three godless painters", as they were called in the examination transcripts, were accused of making common cause with the Anabaptists. As part of the so-called *Gottlosenprozess*, the three painters were imprisoned in order to be cross-examined about their beliefs and their attitude towards the city council. Their freethinking and opposing statements, which included "cannot believe in the holy scripture, do not believe in the sacrament of the altar, do not believe in baptism", and a theological judgement the city council had requested from the Augustinians and the preachers of the churches of St. Giles, St. Sebald and St. Lawrence, led to their banishment in spring 1525.<sup>4</sup> This verdict clearly hurt the artists, as they did everything within their power to return to Nuremberg as soon as possible. After several petitions and recommendations, one by Melchior I. Pfinzing, the former provost at St. Sebald's, was successful; the "three godless painters" were allowed to return in November 1525. No archival documents on Pencz are known for the following years. It is therefore assumed that Pencz failed to secure commissions following the court case, subsequently travelling to Italy for economic reasons. It is believed that he spent time in Venice and Mantua before returning to Nuremberg to marry the painter Michael Graf's daughter in 1529 at the latest.<sup>5</sup> No documents exist which verify Pencz' stay in Nuremberg, and nor is there any evidence of a trip to northern Italy. We do not even have a single artwork which can be connected unequivocally with a stay beyond the Alps. By contrast, the famines caused by crop failures in the Veneto at the end of the 1520s, and the precarious situation this triggered in Venice, rather indicate that Pencz did not stay in the

lagoon city for his own interests – especially when the plague broke out in summer 1528.<sup>6</sup> The Signoria was keen to expel foreigners in order to safeguard supplies for residents and to stem the plague. Therefore it seems much more likely that Pencz stayed in Nuremberg and did not cause a sensation, which would explain his name's absence from the archival documents.

Apparently only Pencz managed to gain a foothold, as Barthel and Sebald Beham left Nuremberg. Falling foul of the city council once more was probably the reason they left. In such a tense situation, the Beham brothers might well have had problems making ends meet. Ultimately, Sebald Beham moved to Frankfurt am Main. His younger brother Barthel went to Munich in 1527, where he became a court painter to Duke Ludwig X on 10th March 1537.<sup>7</sup>

However, following Albrecht Dürer's death Pencz rose to become Nuremberg's leading painter. According to a document dated 31st March 1532, Pencz placed himself and all his skills at the service of the city council.<sup>8</sup> In his function as an "Ehrbarer Diener"<sup>9</sup> (honourable servant), Pencz was without doubt one of a very small but privileged group of Nuremberg's citizens. Being an accepted and appreciated artist, it was not necessary for Pencz – unlike the Behams – to leave his home town. This also meant financial security, as Pencz received an income of 10 Rhenish guilders at the beginning of his service; this was later increased to 24 Rhenish guilders on 19th April 1539. Pencz was also paid separately for each of his works, and he was even allowed to accept external commissions provided they did not have an adverse effect on his work for the city council.

A few years later, such a situation can be seen when Georg Pencz and other Nuremberg artists received a very prominent commission: To decorate the royal burial chapel at the Wawel hill in Cracow. The Polish King Sigismund I (reign 1506-1548) erected a new chapel along the south side of the cathedral. Today it is one of 19 chapels surrounding the Wawel cathedral. King Sigismund I spared no expense on the building and its furnishings, summoning a number of foreign artists. Records show that this huge project was coordinated by Severin Boner, royal trustee and banker, who was tasked with overseeing all of the

work going on at Wawel Castle.<sup>10</sup> Bartolomeo di Luca Berecci<sup>11</sup> was commissioned to design the chapel in 1517. Just one year beforehand, it was probably this very artist who presented a model to Sigismund I, as the king himself reports to his imperial vicar Jan Boner, Severin's uncle:

"An Italian was with us with a model of a chapel, which he shall build for us, and we felt pleased with it, in any case we did it in such a way that none of the views we understand ourselves were changed. We even showed him how much of the tomb we want made from marble. You are to ensure that as much marble shall be brought for him from Hungary as will be necessary, as he told us that for such a work this marble is much more favourable than any other and it is much easier to transport the stones from there. He told us that he needs eight more craftsmen to carve the figures, and that once he has them he could finish the chapel within three-and-a-half years [...]."<sup>12</sup>

By around 1526, the Italian Renaissance-style chapel was already complete enough for work to begin on its decoration, which involved carving the sculptures and the reliefs. For this project, skilled Italian artisans were again commissioned to work together with Berecci in Cracow. This shows that above all personal networks and specific jobs were often the reason for an artist's mobility.<sup>13</sup> After a few years, in 1531, the fixed decorations were largely complete and work could begin on planning the movable pieces. For this task, German artisans were hired instead of Italian ones. More specifically, the coordinators sought artists from Nuremberg, who had shaped the arts in Cracow and Silesia up to the 16th century.<sup>14</sup> In this case the Vischer workshop delivered the bronze grille which separated the burial chapel from the nave. The goldsmith Melchior Bayer and the painter Georg Pencz – "Georg Pinczenstein" – were responsible for producing the so-called *Silveraltar*.<sup>15</sup> To this day, the *Silveraltar* can still be found in its original location at the east side of the Sigismund Chapel. Its name derives from the partially gilded silver reliefs (Fig. 1) depicting the life of St. Mary in ten images. St. Adalbert can also be seen in the upper left corner, and St. Stanislaus in the upper right.



Fig. 1 *Silveraltar*, opened, 1535-36/1538, 200 x 140 cm, Cracow, Wawel, Sigismund Chapel

The appearance of the *Silveraltar* was so impressive that the Dominican Martin Gruneweg mentioned the reliefs of the altarpiece during his visit to the Wawel in 1583<sup>16</sup> – but not the paintings. These can be found on the fixed and movable wings of the open altar, portraying the Passion of Christ on 14 small panels (Fig. 2). They can be read horizontally, starting down on the left of the fixed wing and always continuing register by register on the left side: The Last Supper, Mount of Olives, Christ before Annas, Christ before Caiaphas, Christ before Pilate, Christ before Herodias, the Crowning with Thorns, Carrying the Cross, the Crucifixion, the Lamentation, the Entombment, Christ in Limbo, the Resurrection and finally the Ascension. Georg Pencz was recognized as the creator of the paintings early on. The first mention comes from Tadeusz Kruszyński, who connected a record in Severin Boner's account books dating from July 1535 with the Nuremberg artist Pencz: "Sic Georgio Pinczenstain pictori, qui laborem extrinsecus pictori[s]

ornat, dati ad laborem et rationem monetae fl 290".<sup>17</sup> Two years later, in 1936, Friedrich Winkler conducted a stylistic analysis and also identified Georg Pencz as the paintings' creator – independently of Kruszyński.<sup>18</sup> At first sight it does not seem odd that Georg Pencz, an established painter from the free city of Nuremberg, produced the panel paintings on the *Silveraltar*. Indeed we know that other skilled Nuremberg artisans were also commissioned for this prestigious project. Yet it is still remarkable that there was a court painter in Cracow at that time. Hans Dürer, younger brother of the famous Albrecht Dürer, was appointed the "pictor Regie Maiestatis" of King Sigismund I on 9th July 1527.<sup>19</sup> Even more remarkable in this case is the known fact that Hans Dürer himself was already paid in 1531 for a "visierungk" for the *Silveraltar*, which he designed on canvas:

"Item dedi pro telae ulnis 21, super qua delineamentum alias visierungk tabulae Nurembergae argenteae fabricandae depictum est mrc. -- gr. 21". Shortly afterwards it reads: "Item dedi Ioanni Dijrer pictori Regio pro labore et pictura dicti delineamenti mrc. 12 gr. 24."<sup>20</sup>

With this in mind, one cannot help but ask: Why was it not Hans Dürer himself who painted the panels of the retable? After all, he had already produced the design and, according to the Wawel records, was also among the best-paid painters in Cracow between 1529 and 1534. Furthermore he was King Sigismund's court painter. In this context it is important to bear in mind the fact that, according to a record in Severin Boner's accounts, Hans Dürer already died in 1534.<sup>21</sup> It is not known whether his death was attributable to a disease he suffered from shortly beforehand, which would have explained why he broke off his work on murals in the so-called *Tuniersaal*<sup>22</sup> at the Wawel.

A rather neglected panel belonging to the *Silveraltar* is the predella showing the *Entry to Jerusalem* (Fig. 3). It was made separately and disguised the silver predella. Art historians always believed that the artist who painted the wings of the altar must have produced the predella as well.<sup>23</sup> But after closer inspection of the recently restored panels – which is not that easy since they are located in different places – the

different characters of these paintings become obvious. While the predella's chromaticity consists of smooth continuous tones and the figures are faintly outlined, with their contours seeming to disperse, the small panels of the wings are executed in shining local colours, especially the red, green and blue. Further, all of the figures are well outlined here, as is characteristic for Georg Pencz. Jadwiga Wyszzyńska (Faculty of Conservation and Restoration of Works of Art, Academy of Fine Arts in Cracow) was first to observe this difference; she also identified a different grounding during the conservation treatment.<sup>24</sup> While the lime-chalk grounding of the small panels consists of only two layers, the one on the predella is composed of several layers. This observation does not suggest different regional practices in the production of lime-chalk groundings, but does indicate that they were made by two different craftsmen. Perhaps it is possible that Hans Dürer, who produced the design for the altarpiece, started on the work and also painted the predella? Of course attributing the work to him based on stylistic grounds is almost impossible, as there is no proven oeuvre of Hans Dürer in existence.<sup>25</sup> Many of the works ascribed to him bore the monogram "HD", but this monogram was also used by Hans Döring, a painter from Cranach's circle. Consequently there was confusion in the matter of attribution from the very beginning.

For unknown reasons – perhaps he preferred other works, or perhaps Hans Dürer was suffering from a disease – he was unable continue his work on the *Silveraltar*. This meant that another painter had to be found as soon as possible. Georg Pencz would have been an ideal candidate. First, he was a very highly skilled and established painter who worked for Nuremberg's city council. Second, he could directly arrange things with his colleagues in Nuremberg, who had been commissioned to work on the silver reliefs. But another scenario is conceivable: Georg Pencz was commissioned with the small panels from the very beginning, but the predella was executed in Cracow after work on the altar was complete.

The written sources provide an insight into the manufacture of the silver reliefs thus far: Still in Cracow, the royal woodcarver Johannes was commissioned to deliver a wooden relief as a model, giving



Fig. 2 *Silveraltar*, closed, showing the Passion of Christ, 1535-36, 200 x 140 cm, 14 panels (45,3 x 32,5 cm), Predella (29,5 x 95,5 cm), Cracow, Wawel, Sigismund Chapel

information on thickness and dimensions for the silver reliefs. The royal trustee Severin Boner paid Johannes in 1531:

"Item dedi Iohanni statuario Regio alias schnyczer pro exemplari sculpendo de ligno, cuius crassitudinis vel relevationis esse debent imagines argenteae ad capellam Regiam Nurembergae fabricandae mrc. 5 gr."<sup>26</sup>

It is most probable that the wooden model was sent to the goldsmith Melchior Bayer directly, who was responsible for making the partially gilded silver relief and was paid by Severin Boner in summer 1535:

"Item per factorem meum Nurembergensem dati sunt Melchior Bayer aurifici imagines vel tabulam regiam ad capellam Regiam laboranti ad rationem et emendum argentum monetae fl. 5574 gr. 8."<sup>27</sup>

In 1546, the Nuremberg biographer Johann Neudörfer mentioned in his records on Melchior Bayer, that Peter Flötner had carved the wooden models and sculptures for the *Silveraltar* and Pankraz Labenwolf cast them in brass and mounted chased silver on the brass panels.<sup>28</sup>

But let us return to the paintings of the *Silveraltar*. Even if we do not know from the documents that they also produced in Nuremberg, then we might assume as much for practical reasons, but also because the panels themselves support this hypothesis. First, the small format of each panel, measuring about 50 x 30 cm, allows much easier transportation. Second, the original preserved rear of most of the paintings – those of the fixed wings were thinned during conservation treatment in 1924 – show fibres and single letters running from A to G.<sup>29</sup> The latter is most interesting as similar markings can also be found on the silver reliefs and even on the framing. This would suggest that the letters give information about the installation of the altarpiece and that the Nuremberg artisans' presence in Cracow was not obligatory. Another marking on the back of one of the small paintings is also remarkable: It shows Georg Pencz' monogram, GP.<sup>30</sup> One might therefore assume that all of the Nuremberg artisans involved in this prestigious project manufactured the pieces of the *Silveraltar* entirely in Nuremberg based on instructions sent from Cracow. For further coordination, the Nuremberg artisans sent several models back to Cracow.<sup>31</sup> It seems that Georg Pencz had no reason to leave Nuremberg in the following years. Nevertheless, it is assumed that Pencz went to Italy for a second time in around 1540/41.<sup>32</sup> But it was precisely during these years that Pencz was rather occupied with the fortification of Nuremberg's city walls: He and the carpenter Sebald Beck were responsible for the survey.<sup>33</sup> Furthermore, he is mentioned in the Nuremberg documents several times during this period.

One of the last records, dated 1st June 1550, refers to when Pencz received his annual payment for the last time,<sup>34</sup> as he had accepted a more lucrative offer. He must somehow have had the opportunity to begin serving as a court painter to Albrecht von Brandenburg-Ansbach and Duke in Prussia. We know this from a document dated 6th September 1550,

when Pencz was appointed "hofmaler".<sup>35</sup> This record gives further insight into the tasks and demands he was expected to fulfil. As a court painter Pencz was responsible for executing any painting, including portraits, designs and murals. He should have been paid separately for all these works, but he would not have wanted to cheat the duke since he already received an annual income of 45 marks and 20 marks for food, and also had free lodging and was even given court dress. How did this come about?

Following the sudden death of his court painter Crispin Herrant in 1549, probably in October,<sup>36</sup> Duke Albrecht was forced to find a suitable successor. Crispin Herrant, journeyman of the deceased Albrecht Dürer, had once successfully applied as a painter at Duke Albrecht's court in early 1529; we know this from a letter which Duke Albrecht sent to Sebald von der Thil in Nuremberg.<sup>37</sup> Interestingly, Herrant did indeed serve as a painter for Duke Albrecht, and was even appointed court painter and paid for his work. Not until years later, on 12th August 1544, was he appointed court painter for life.<sup>38</sup> Since then Herrant had received an annual payment of 30 marks, court dress and twelve bushels of corn. Compared to Crispin Herrant, Georg Pencz was paid much more: 45 marks, plus 20 marks for food, court dress and free lodging. The reason for this might be that Pencz was held in higher regard by Duke Albrecht and that the duke had to offer Pencz a much more lucrative position in Königsberg than the artist had in Nuremberg in order to make him leave his steady job and home town. With regard to the position of artists at the court in Königsberg, the following conclusion can be drawn: Besides Crispin Herrant, Jakob Binck<sup>39</sup> also worked at the court of Duke Albrecht at the very same time. In 1543, Duke Albrecht asked the Cologne-born artist to work for him in Königsberg, and consequently Jakob Binck was forced to temporarily quit his role at the court of King Christian III of Denmark in Copenhagen. According to correspondence between Duke Albrecht and King Christian III, one can see that Binck's foreign service in Königsberg took much longer than expected and this began to test King Christian III's patience.<sup>40</sup> It was probably only possible to keep Jakob Binck in Königsberg for so long because Duke Albrecht married the Danish king's sister, meaning the



Fig. 3 Georg Pencz, *Silveraltar*, Predella, showing the *Entry to Jerusalem*, 1535-36, 29,5 x 95,5 cm, Cracow, Wawel, Sigismund Chapel

two rulers were related by marriage. On 25th October 1547, Duke Albrecht even managed to employ Jakob Binck in Königsberg. With a most generous offer he obviously wanted to keep the artist at his court for a long time. According to the contract, Binck was to receive an annual sum of 200 marks plus free lodging as well as a nobleman's court dress and a customary one for his assistant, and what is most remarkable is that he was to be released from common painting and other 'coarse' work: "gemeyne[n] malerey und auch anderer grobe[r] arbeit".<sup>41</sup> The execution of this coarse work was instead the task of Crispin Herrant. A comparable constellation can be observed in Nuremberg, where the city painter Hans Plattner was responsible for coarse work, while Georg Pencz was tasked with creating more artistic pieces.<sup>42</sup>

As Jakob Binck was ordered by King Christian III to return to Stockholm in 1548 and Crispin Herrant died in 1549, there were no painters available to Duke Albrecht. He was forced to find a dependable replacement as soon as possible. Duke Albrecht did not see his future court painter in either of the two painters Master Hanns and Wolff, the latter of whom was paid to finish the works Herrant had started.<sup>43</sup> Nor was it Adam Lange, who offered his services in a letter dated 27th July 1550.<sup>44</sup>

Since the Ansbach-born Duke Albrecht was always in close contact with his Franconian native country and with Nuremberg, of which he also was burggrave, it is highly likely that Duke Albrecht was aware of the artist Pencz and wanted him at his court.<sup>45</sup> It is still unclear whether any correspondence actually passed between Duke Albrecht and Georg Pencz or whether Pencz was recommended by intermediaries. A good many links exist. For instance,

Duke Albrecht's Nuremberg agent Georg Schultheiß might have been instrumental in this matter. On 19th October 1539, Schultheiß wrote to the Duke from Nuremberg, saying that he could send him two designs showing the building, which was making good progress. Schultheiß was probably referring to the fortress in Nuremberg.<sup>46</sup> As mentioned above, Georg Pencz was also involved in this prestigious project: Together with Sebald Beck he was conducting the survey of the city, and was probably also responsible for the accurate scaled drawings which were glued into the extensive report.<sup>47</sup> Pencz was asked to provide precisely these skills when he was employed as a court painter on 6th September 1550. Another link to Georg Schultheiß can be found in a letter dated 22nd June 1550, when Duke Albrecht gave Georg Schultheiß 50 guilders to pay the artist, who was asked to paint a posthumous portrait of Veit Dietrich, a highly respected Nuremberg theologian.<sup>48</sup> Although there is no mention of the artist's name, it was Nuremberg-based Georg Pencz who was intended to paint the portrait. We know this from further correspondence between Duke Albrecht and Veit Dietrich's widow Kunigunde. In the end, however, Pencz never did paint the portrait. Kunigunde Dietrich did not meet him because he was away. So she was forced to find another artist and asked Lucas Cranach in Wittenberg. Cranach, however, did such a bad job of the portrait that she refused to send it to Duke Albrecht; she claimed it was ugly and unworthy:

"[...] Außgericht het, hab mich darauf weil Jorg Pentz seliger, vonhinen verraißet war, neben überschickung der abgoßenen bildnis bey meister Lucas Cranachen zw Wittenberg umb solche Contrafactur

beworbenn, welcher vor wenig tagen mir eine zugeschickt. Doch solcher unform dise weiter zuschicken nit würdig [...]”.<sup>49</sup>

We can assume that Georg Schultheiß, who lived in Nuremberg for many years, might also have been important for arranging Nuremberg artist Georg Pencz’ engagement at the court in Königsberg. Although there are no documents which could prove this hypothesis, a comparable case does exist. Georg Schultheiß was successfully engaged by Duke Albrecht to look for a suitable armourer in Nuremberg, as the one in Königsberg had died suddenly.<sup>50</sup> But there were also other cases where Duke Albrecht asked specifically for Nuremberg craftsmen. It was the highly respected councillor Caspar Nützel the Elder who initially put forward the master builder Friedrich NUSDÖRFER, while Linhart Helt was ultimately responsible for the contact with Königsberg.<sup>51</sup> It should also be mentioned that Caspar Nützel’s son of the same name helped the court painter Crispin Herrant to get paints from Nuremberg.<sup>52</sup> As Ursula Timann has suggested previously, it might also have been the theologian Andreas Osiander, the former preacher at St. Lawrence’s who left Nuremberg following a disagreement in 1548, who vouched for the artist Georg Pencz.<sup>53</sup> Furthermore, it is also important to consider the close contact between King Sigismund I and Duke Albrecht, his vassal. It is highly likely the two rulers did not only correspond on the subject of politics, but also on cultural and artistic subjects. It is thus quite possible that Duke Albrecht heard about the prestigious Silveraltar and his craftsmen, especially Georg Pencz. Duke Albrecht might have already known of the Nuremberg artist since then.

This brief, broad overview has examined the network between Königsberg and Nuremberg, which was based on highly complex personal relationships. These relationships were of course not limited to the two cities, but also spread to other regions. Personal contacts between rulers, councillors but also between artisans and agents attest a mutual trust which often served to solve problems and sort out affairs. It seems most probable that Georg Pencz also got the opportunity to become a court painter in Königsberg because of his own complex network – his career may

have been advanced by a personal network, or one which involved a number of intermediaries.

Unfortunately, no documents were found in the archives which give further insight into the circumstances surrounding why Georg Pencz left Nuremberg. Since he held the position of an “Ehrbarer Diener”, it was not possible for him to leave the city immediately. Pencz must have first resigned, or he must at least have had the permission of the city council to travel to Königsberg. We know this in the case of the gunsmith Stefan Fischer, for instance: In a letter dated 14th February 1541, Duke Albrecht asked the Nuremberg councillor Leonhard Schürstab whether Stefan Fischer could stay in Königsberg for a little longer.<sup>54</sup> The reason why we have only very few documents detailing Georg Pencz’ service in Königsberg, is related to the fact that the artist and his son Egidius passed away unexpectedly in Breslau in October 1550 – shortly after Pencz had been appointed court painter.<sup>55</sup> Nevertheless, Georg Pencz did leave some traces in the Königsberg documents: On 24th February 1551, Georg Schultheiß was commissioned to bring back the 20 guilders that had once been given to Georg Pencz.<sup>56</sup> For this amount of money, the artist was to buy a considerable number of items for the crossbow maker Hans Schlappenhauer and then send them to Königsberg: “etlich Zeug erkauffen, und zu unnserer notturfft hereyne schicken”. However, since the artist and his son died – “der Pentz sampt seynen sohne undterwegens gestorben seyn sollt” – the money or the items seem to have disappeared.

When considering the life of Georg Pencz, the different aspects of mobility or non-mobility become clear. Although the artist initially had considerable, and serious problems with the city council which saw him expelled from the city, some years after his return to Nuremberg he managed somehow to gain the councillors favour. He must have felt a strong need to stay in the flourishing city, and he abandoned his critical and heretical beliefs. Becoming an “honourable servant” in 1532, Pencz found himself in a fairly comfortable position; he received a small annual salary and it was certainly much easier for him to build up his own complex network and to be part of a network. All this was the prerequisite for him being commissioned to work on prestigious projects such as the

*Silveraltar*, but also for generating interest among people. Ultimately Pencz became mobile through a combination of fortunate factors, including his own skills, his position, his relationships and a generous offer. Becoming a court painter in Königsberg was a great step in his career, which unfortunately ended quite abruptly when he died after only around four weeks in his new role.

Reviewed by Matthew Rockey

## Endnotes

- In general see Knut Schulz, *Wanderungen von Handwerkern, Künstlern und Spezialisten im spätmittelalterlichen Europa (14.-16. Jahrhundert)*, in: Martin Gruneweg (1562-nach 1615) - Ein europäischer Lebensweg, ed. Almut Bues (= Deutsches Historisches Institut Warschau Quellen und Studien 21), Wiesbaden 2009, p. 111-135, with further literature.
- Hans Rupprich, *Dürer. Schriftlicher Nachlass*, vol. 1, Berlin 1956, p. 295.
- Dorothee Heim, *Die Suche nach Geld, Freiheit und Ansehen. Künstlermigration nach Kastilien im 15. Jahrhundert*, in: "Das kommt mir spanisch vor" Eigenes und Fremdes in den deutsch-spanischen Beziehungen des späten Mittelalters, eds. Klaus Herbers and Nikolaus Jaspert, Münster 2004, p. 315-338.
- Records of the compilation of the examination transcripts were first published by Joseph Baader, *Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte Nürnbergs*, vol. 2, Nördlingen 1862, p. 74-79, see latest Katrin Dyballa, *Georg Pencz. Künstler zu Nürnberg*, Berlin 2014, p. 30-33, source 15, p. 427-429.
- Helene Burger, *Das älteste Ehebuch der Pfarrei St. Lorenz in Nürnberg 1524-1542*. (= Freie Schriftenfolge der Gesellschaft für Familienforschung in Franken 2), Nürnberg 1951, p. 38, no. 1064.
- Dyballa 2014, *Georg Pencz*, p. 80-81.
- In 1540 Sebald Beham acquired citizenship in Frankfurt am Main; Adolf Rosenberg, *Sebald und Barthel Beham, zwei Maler der deutschen Renaissance*, Leipzig 1875; Kurt Löcher, *Barthel Beham. Ein Maler aus dem Dürerkreis* (= Kunstwissenschaftliche Studien 81), Berlin and München 1999, p. 15; Martin Knauer, *Kupferstiche der deutschen Kleinmeister. Zur Erforschung eines Bildmediums in einer Epoche kulturellen Umbruchs*, in: Zwischen Dürer und Raffael. Graphikserien Nürnberger Kleinmeister, ed. Karl Möseneder, Petersberg 2010, p. 14-15.
- First published by Ernst Mummenhoff, *Der Maler Jörg Benntz (Pencz), Bürger zu Nürnberg, stellt Bürgermeistern und Rat daselbst als Stadtmaler Revers aus. 1532 Mai 31*, in: Mitteilungen des Vereins der Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg 8, 1899, p. 246.
- Staatsarchiv Nürnberg, Reichsstadt Nürnberg, Stadtrechnungen, no. 27, fol. 164v.
- Jan Ptaśnik, *Bonerowie* [The Boners], Rocznik Krakowski, vol. VII, 1903, p. 1-134 - here quoted after Dr. R.A. Klostermann Berlin 1941, p. 116/113. The Boners emigrated from the Rhineland to Poland in the 15th century. Johan Boner, head of a trading company and a bank, soon became established at the Polish royal court, where he became a royal trustee and even financier to the King. See also Kenneth F. Lewalski, *Sigismund I of Poland: Renaissance King and Patron*, in: Studies in the Renaissance, vol. 14, 1967, p. 60.
- The architect and sculptor Bartolomeo Berecci, born in Pontassieve close to Florence, was trained by Andrea Ferrucci and Ambrogio da Sangallo the Younger, probably together with Sansovino. See Katarzyna Mikocka-Rachubowa, *Bartolomeo Berrecci*, in: *Saur Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon. Die Bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker*, vol. 9, München / Leipzig 1994, p. 635-637; for the Sigismund Chapel, see in general Stanisław Mossakowski, *King Sigismund Chapel at Cracow Cathedral (1515-1533)*, Cracow 2012.
- Translation by Matthew Rockey. For the German version see Tomasz Torbus, *Italien in Krakau. Der Bau des Königsschlusses auf dem Wawel und der Sigismund-Kapelle (ca. 1504-1537)*, in: *Hans Holbein und der Wandel der Kunst des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts*, eds. Bodo Brinkmann and Wolfgang Schmid, Turnhout 2005, p. 277; in Latin see Mossakowski, *King Sigismund Chapel*, 2012, p. 290, App. 1,1.
- See Mossakowski 2012, *King Sigismund Chapel*, p. 58-59.
- Lewalski 1967, *Sigismund I of Poland*, p. 54. See also the paper by Agnieszka Patała in this volume.
- Dyballa 2014, *Georg Pencz*, p. 260-262, source 48, p. 434 with further literature.
- "[...] Hatt ein sielberne taeffel aufm altare uber eines mannes höge von außgegoessenen bilderen des leebens unser lieben Frauen, ales tzum altare gehörig ist von lauterem sielber, golde und edlem gesteine. [...]"]", quoted after Almut Bues ed., *Die Aufzeichnungen des Dominikaners Martin Gruneweg (1562-ca. 1618) über seine Familie in Danzig, seine Handelsreisen in Osteuropa und sein Klosterleben in Polen*, vol. 2, 2008, Edition des Manuskripts fol. 726-1453, p. 822.
- Tadeusz Kruszyński, *Georg Pencz aus Nürnberg als Maler der Altarflügel in der Sigismundkapelle im Krakauer Dom*, in: *Biuletyn historii sztuki i kultury* vol. 2, 1934, pp. 179-216 based on Stefan Komornicki, *Kaplica Zygmuntowska w katedrze na Wawelu. 1517-1533* [The Sigismund Chapel in the Wawel Cathedral 1517-1533], in: *Rocznik Krakowski*, vol. 23, 1932, pp. 82-83, 120, who published the record. Further I am most grateful to Christina Meckelnborg (Universität Osnabrück) who translated this and all the following records from Latin to German.
- Friedrich Winkler, *Notiz zu Jörg Pencz*, in: *Jahrbuch der preußischen Kunstsammlungen*, vol. 57, 1936, p. 71, without knowing the publications of Komornicki 1932, *Kaplica Zygmuntowska* and Kruszyński 1934, *Georg Pencz aus Nürnberg*.
- See Matthias Mende, *Hans Dürer (1490-1534)*, in: *Fränkische Lebensbilder*, vol. 20, Würzburg 2004, p. 43 with further literature.
- See Mossakowski 2012, *King Sigismund Chapel*, p. 313.
- Mende 2004, *Hans Dürer*, p. 45.
- Mende 2004, *Hans Dürer*, p. 45.
- Including even the author herself; see Dyballa 2014, *Georg Pencz*, p. 260-261. The author has since changed her mind in this article.
- All paintings are executed on limewood, see Jadwiga Wyszńska, *Konserwacja malowideł Georga Pencza z ołtarza w Kaplicy Zygmuntowskiej* [Conservation of the Sigismund Chapel painted Altar by Georg Pencz], in: *Biuletyn Informacyjny Konserwatorów Dzieł Sztuki*, vol. 15, no. 1-2, 2004, p. 138.
- See Mende 2004, *Hans Dürer*, and on the works of Hans Dürer see also Dieter Koeplin, *Neue Werke von Lukas Cranach und ein altes Bild einer polnischen Schlacht von Hans Krell?*, Basel 2003, p. 90-91.
- Quoted after Mossakowski 2012, *King Sigismund Chapel*, p. 313, Severin Boner's account books (dating from 1st January to 31st December 1531), Krakau, Czartoryski Library, MS 1035; see also Krzysztof J. Czyżewski, *Der Krakauer Dom um 1600 im Lichte zeitgenössischer Quellen*, in: Bues 2009, *Martin Gruneweg*, p. 366.
- Quoted after Mossakowski 2012, *King Sigismund Chapel*, p. 316; Severin Boner's account books dating from 1st March 1533 to 31st October 1535 were destroyed by fire in World War II, Warschau, Archiwum Głównie, Div. XIX, books 2-16.
- Georg Wolfgang Carl Lochner, *Des Johann Neudörfer Schreib- und Rechenmeister zu Nürnberg. Nachrichten von Künstlern und Werkleuten daselbst aus dem Jahr 1547 nebst der Fortsetzung des Andreas Gulden* (= Quellenschriften für Kunstgeschichte und Kunsttechnik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance 10), Wien 1875, p. 32, 125; see also Barbara Dienst, *Der Kosmos des Peter Flötner*, München 2002, p. 499-501.
- The letter F is written on the back of "Entombment". Wyszńska has not indicated the distribution of the remaining letters.



30. See the photographic documentation of Jadwiga Wyszyńska, Faculty of Conservation and Restoration of Works of Art, Academy of Fine Arts in Cracow (Wydział Konserwacji Dziel Sztuki ASP w Krakowie).
31. "Item feci adducere at missae sunt per factorem meum Nurembergensem ex Nuremberga probae cupreae inargentatae et inauratae pro imaginibus argenteis super altare in capella Regia fabricandis, quae constant mrc. 18 gr. 36"; quoted after Mossakowski 2012, *King Sigismund Chapel*, p. 313.
32. Gmelin 1966, *Georg Pencz*, p. 67; David Landau, *Catalogo completo dell'opera grafica di Georg Pencz*, Mailand 1978, p. 44; Sabine Czymmek, *Die architektur-illusionistische Deckenmalerei in Italien und Deutschland von den Anfängen bis in die Zeit um 1700. Beiträge zur Typologie, Herleitung, Bedeutung und Entwicklung*, Köln 1981, p. 79.
33. See Dyballa 2014, *Georg Pencz*, p. 41-44, with further literature.
34. First published by Ursula Timann, *Zum Lebenslauf des Georg Pencz*, in: *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums* 1990, p. 106.
35. Berlin, GStA PK, HA XX, Ostpr. Fol. 918, fol. 50r-51v: "Georgen pentzen Mahlers bestallung den 6.ten September Von gots gnaden, Wir Albrecht V. Bekennen vnd thun kunth gegen Jedermennighlichen dieses users briefes ansichtigen In sonderhait den er zuwissen von nöten, das wir den Ersamen unsern lieben getreuen Georgen pentzen zu unserm Conterfeyer und hofmaler volgender massen bestellet vnd angenommen haben, Bestellen Inen hiemit vnd Inn crafft ditz users briefs, also, das er sich zu allerley mahlerwerk; er sey mit Conterfeien, Visirungen, gebeuden und wie es namen hat, gebrauchen lasse, dasselbs mit treuen vleis abzuwarten, vnd sonst unsern fromen zufordern allen schaden und nachteil, so viel Ime möglich zuwenden, und wie einem treuen diener eigent und gebürdt, sich zu allen zuertzeigen schuldig sein solle, Da entgegen vnd umb solchen seiner dinstbarkeit willen, sollen vnnd wollen wir Ime Jerlich vnd ein Jedes Jar besonder, so lange er unser diner sein wirt, aus unserer Rentkamer reichen vnd geben lassen 45 mk [Mark] besoldung, desgleichen 20 mk für den tisch, alles preussischer müntz, Je 20 grn [Groschen] für die marg gerechent, zu dem ein gewonlich hofkleid und frey wonung, so solle Ime auch zimblischen gebür, betzalet werden Dieweil wir Ime aber den obgemelten vnderhalt vnnd besoldung geordent, So will und soll er uns bey seinen pflichten und treuen, damit er uns verwandt wirt die arbeit dermassen anschlagen, auff das wir damit nicht ubersetzt, Alles treulich und ohn geferde zu urkunth A. Hack "
36. Herman Ehrenberg, *Die Kunst am Hofe der Herzöge von Preußen*, Leipzig / Berlin 1899, p. 27.
37. "Und nachdem an uns gelangt, dass Meister Albrecht Dürers, in Gott verstorben, Gesell gern uns dienen wolt', so teile ihm mit, das wir ihn zu einem Diener annehmen wollen und er sich baldigst nach Preußen verfügen soll, Reisegeld ist ihm vorzustrecken. Wenn er sich zu uns begeben wird, soll er 'uns Gepeu und Panel oder Welschtfelwerk, die etwas künstlich sein, auch ob die von Nürenberg etliche neu Geschütz gegossen, dasselbig alles conterfeidisch von im abgerissen von abgeteilt' mitbringen, womit er uns einen besondern Gefallen erweisen wird." Quoted after Ehrenberg 1899, *Die Kunst am Hofe der Herzöge von Preußen*, p. 148, no. 40, Berlin, GStA PK, HA XX, Ostpr. Fol. 26, fol. 166v; the letter is dated 28th February 1529.
38. See for instance the accounts dating from September 1539-September 1540, Berlin, GStA PK, HA XX, Ostpr. Fol. 13458, fol. 72r; further Duke Albrecht's correspondence dated 24th June 1534 to Johannes Dantiscus, asking to allow Crispin Herrant to copy certain paintings, see Ehrenberg 1899, *Die Kunst am Hofe der Herzöge von Preußen*, p. 154, no. 97; Appointment of Crispin Herrant see Ehrenberg 1899, *Die Kunst am Hofe der Herzöge von Preußen*, p. 168 no. 223, Berlin, GStA PK, HA XX, Ostpr. Fol. 916, fol. 212r-212v: "[...] Dagegen wollen wir, unsere nebenn und nachkommende herrschaft Ime Jar Jerlichen und einer der Jar besonder zu seinem Erbtagenn zur Besoldung funffzehenn marck vnnd für die anddere notturft alle zu hof wie es sonnstn seiner nach [unleserlich] hat, auch funffzehenn marck zwanzig groschen preussischer marck [...] monnz für einen marck gerechnet. Welchs in einer summe Dreissig marck machenn that.
- Die er vom quartalenn zu quartalenn aus unserer Rentkamer zu empfachen. Uberreichenn zu dem Jerlich ein hofkleid sampt zwelf scheffel von korn geben lassenn, alles treulich und onhe gererde zu urkundt haben ime diese bestallen [...]".
39. The PhD thesis by Cynthia Osiecki on Jakob Binck (University of Greifswald) is highly anticipated.
40. Ehrenberg 1899, *Die Kunst am Hofe der Herzöge von Preußen*, p. 47, 175 no. 282, 283.
41. Berlin, GStA PK, HA XX, Ostpr. Fol. 917, fol. 91r-92r, in the contract Jakob Binck was further promised he would receive payment of grace of 500 marks when he quit his service in Königsberg; see Ehrenberg 1899, *Die Kunst am Hofe der Herzöge von Preußen*, p. 176 no. 293.
42. Katrin Dyballa, *Zu Diensten der Stadt und des Hofes: Georg Pencz (um 1500-1550) – Ein „ehrbarer Diener“ der Reichsstadt Nürnberg*, in: *Civic Artists and Court Artists (1300-1600)*. Case Studies and Conceptual Ideas about the Status, Tasks and the Working Conditions of Artists and Artisans, eds. Dagmar Eichberger and Philippe Lorentz, (in print).
43. Berlin, GStA PK, HA XX, Ostpr. Fol. 13466 (= fiscal year 1549), fol. 286r; 13467 (= fiscal year 1550), fol. 259r; 13468 (= fiscal year 1551), fol. 259r.
44. Generally, for court painters in Königsberg see Dyballa 2014, *Georg Pencz*, p. 52-53; for the painter Adam Lange see Ehrenberg 1899, *Die Kunst am Hofe der Herzöge von Preußen*, p. 184, no. 356; from 1559 Adam Lange carried out some polychromy in Königsberg, and from time to time he was also asked to paint some portraits. Lange died in Königsberg on 13th July 1593. Hermann Ehrenberg and A. Schultz, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der schlesischen Maler*, Breslau 1882; Anderson, *Adam Lange*, in: *Thieme-Becker. Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*, vol. 22, Leipzig 1928, p. 323.
45. For instance, Duke Albrecht ordered several books from Nuremberg for his "Silver Library". In the years from 1550 to 1562 the book covers were decorated with small silver reliefs after the Little Masters' engravings, including those of Georg Pencz.
46. Ehrenberg 1899, *Die Kunst am Hofe der Herzöge von Preußen*, p. 160, no. 142.
47. See Dyballa 2014, *Georg Pencz*, p. 41-44; Fundamentally for the Nuremberg fortress see Joachim Neubauer, *Der Bau der großen Bastei hinter der Veste 1538-1545*, in: *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg* 69, 1982, p. 196-263.
48. Berlin, GStA PK, HA XX, Ostpr. Fol. 31, p. 85: "[...] Daneben haben wir auch an sie gnediglich gesonnen unns lrenn erbitten nach berumbts Ires seligen Herrn Contrafact auff eyn taffel verfertigen zulassen. Also wollest Du uns solich by geschehen wirt, dem Mhaler unnsert halben geburende entrichtung thun. Unnd dyeselve nach gelegenheit entweder uns zuschicken oder mit dir selbst hereyn bringen. [...]".
49. Berlin, GStA PK, HA XX, HBA, A4, Kasten 225.
50. Berlin, GStA PK, HA XX, Ostpr. Fol. 29, p. 259, 25th July 1542: "Vomnach ist unser bemelich an Dich, Du wollest unns einen tuchtigen vorfremdigenn platner, und dar ein Meister des handtwergks, welcher nicht ein seuffer sonnder [...] seiner kunst vertigk vnnd gwis zuhandlen [...] herein schicken"; Berlin, GStA PK, HA XX, Ostpr. Fol. 29, p. 310-311.
51. For Friedrich Nusdörfer see Ehrenberg 1899, *Die Kunst am Hofe der Herzöge von Preußen*, no. 59, 61, 66, 84, 85; on 15th August 1534 Friedrich Nusdörfer's brother, Georg Nusdörfer, was ordered to come to Königsberg to support his brother, who had since been elected as the major master builder, see Berlin, GStA PK, HA XX, Ostpr. Fol. 914, fol. 155v.
52. Ehrenberg 1899, *Die Kunst am Hofe der Herzöge von Preußen*, p. 149, no. 49, (16. Juli 1529).
53. Timann 1990, *Zum Lebenslauf des Georg Pencz*, p. 106.
54. Berlin, GStA PK, HA XX, Ostpr. Fol. 29, p. 45.
55. Dyballa 2014, *Georg Pencz*, p. 437, source 78, 79 with further literature.
56. Berlin, GStA PK, HA XX, Ostpr. Fol. 31, p. 162.

## Picture credits

Fig. 1 Dyballa 2014, *Georg Pencz*, p. 261

Fig. 2 and 3 Dyballa 2014, *Georg Pencz*, p. 165

## Summary

Both the mobility of artists and the mobility of artworks are discussed based on the example of Georg Pencz, who rose to become Nuremberg's leading painter following the death of Albrecht Dürer. Becoming an "honourable servant" in 1532, Pencz found himself in a fairly comfortable position; he received a small annual salary, and it certainly became much easier for him to build up his own complex network and to be part of a network. All this was the prerequisite for him being commissioned to work on prestigious projects such as the Silveraltar, which was made for the burial chapel of the Polish King Sigismund I (reign 1506-1548). But his prominent position also allowed Pencz to generate interest among a number of people. Ultimately Pencz became mobile through a combination of fortunate factors, including his own skills, his position, his relationships and a generous offer. Becoming a court painter in Königsberg was a great step in his career, which unfortunately ended somewhat abruptly when he died after only around four weeks in his new role.

## Author

Katrin Dyballa studied Art History, History, Classical Archeology and Economics in Erlangen and Rome. In 2011 she completed her PhD thesis on the Nuremberg artist Georg Pencz at the University of Frankfurt am Main. As an intern at the Staatliche Museen in Berlin she assisted with the exhibition project *The Road to Jan van Eyck* in Rotterdam in 2012/13. Between 2013 and 2015 she worked as an Assistant Curator of Old Master Painting in the Städel Museum, where she was involved in two exhibitions: *Albrecht Dürer. His Art in Context, and Realms of Imagination* and *Albrecht Altdorfer and the Expressivity of Art around 1500*. In 2014 she was elected to the board of the ANKK (Arbeitskreis Niederländische Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte e.V.). She is currently writing a catalogue of Early French and Netherlandish paintings in the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin, a project funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft and the Ernst von Siemens Kunststiftung.

## Title

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