



## DÜRER AND BEYOND

CENTRAL EUROPEAN DRAWINGS, 1400-1700

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*Central European Drawings in  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1400–1700*

STIJN ALSTEENS and FREYDA SPIRA

with contributions by Maryan W. Ainsworth, Dirk H. Breiding,  
George R. Goldner, Guido Messling, Marjorie Shelley,  
and Joshua P. Waterman



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# CONTENTS

- vi Director's Foreword | *Thomas P. Campbell*
- vii Acknowledgments
- ix Introduction | *Stijn Alsteens*
- xvi Note to the Reader

## CATALOGUE

- 2 Artists Active before 1500
- 12 Albrecht Dürer and Artists Active in Nuremberg in the Early Sixteenth Century
- 42 Artists Active outside Nuremberg in the Early Sixteenth Century
- 68 Artists Active in the Mid-Sixteenth Century
- 94 Swiss Designers of Stained Glass Active in the Later Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries
- 110 Artists Active Mainly in Munich about 1600
- 132 Artists Active Mainly in Nuremberg, Prague, and Augsburg about 1600
- 154 Two Central European Traditions: The *Stammbuch* and the *Turnierbuch*
- 166 Artists Active in the Early Seventeenth Century
- 194 Artists Born after 1600
  
- 224 Bibliography
- 250 Index

## DIRECTOR'S FOREWORD

*Dürer and Beyond: Central European Drawings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1400–1700* and the exhibition it accompanies focus for the first time on a rich and varied facet of the Museum's collection. Presented in a loosely chronological manner to allow for groupings of works by city, school, and theme, the drawings selected for this catalogue range from rare early Bohemian head studies through the golden age of Albrecht Dürer to the diverse creations of Joachim von Sandrart, who was not only a highly proficient artist but the first art historian in Germany, composing and publishing biographies of many of the artists in this volume.

The Museum's collection of drawings has been assembled over a long period of time, by different departments, and from a variety of sources. The publication of this catalogue offers the opportunity to acknowledge those who have played an important role in the collection's development. Robert Lehman's bequest made a particularly significant contribution to the Museum's holdings of Northern works on paper from the early sixteenth century. The majority of the works in this selection have been enthusiastically acquired during the tenure of George R. Goldner, Drue Heinz Chairman of the Department of Drawings and Prints since 1993. Goldner recognized the weaknesses in the collection and systematically expanded and improved it with the finest works available.

The selection seen here offers a broad overview of the Museum's collection of Central European drawings

from about 1400 to 1700. Many of the sheets have never before been on public view, nor have they been published in any significant manner. To complement the highlights in this book, the remainder of the Museum's Central European drawings from the period under discussion has been catalogued and photographed, and is now available on the Museum's website.

The project was a collaborative effort by Stijn Alsteens and Freyda Spira, curators in the Department of Drawings and Prints, with contributions from colleagues both at the Museum and elsewhere. They present the Museum's holdings in this still-understudied field and explore the many roles played by drawings, both as finished works in their own right and as vital preparatory tools in the artist's workshop. Where possible, the drawings in the exhibition are enhanced by relevant comparative material from other departments at the Museum, as well as by several generous loans from the Pierpont Morgan Library and from private collections.

As always, our work is not possible without generous donors. Here, we thank The Peter Jay Sharp Foundation for its support of this catalogue and of the Museum's mission to share its permanent collection with the public.

*Thomas P. Campbell*

DIRECTOR  
THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

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The idea to work on a catalogue of Central European drawings from this period was borne of discussions with Dita Amory, Acting Associate Curator in Charge, Robert Lehman Collection, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. We would also like to express our gratitude to Maryan W. Ainsworth, Dirk H. Breiding, George R. Goldner, Guido Messling, Marjorie Shelley, and Joshua P. Waterman for their informed contributions to the catalogue. Additionally, we are particularly grateful to our intern, Mareike Wolff, for securing comparative images from America and beyond, as well as for her constant generosity and help with research queries.

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DEPARTMENT OF DRAWINGS AND PRINTS  
THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART





The history of the collection of Central European old master drawings at The Metropolitan Museum of Art is not a particularly distinguished one. In part, this reflects the general fact that drawings from the German-speaking countries have been collected only sparingly outside their place of origin.<sup>1</sup> With some notable exceptions, American private and institutional collectors of drawings—starting much later than most of their European counterparts—have been slow to assemble comprehensive collections that reflect the high quality of drawings by artists active in the Holy Roman Empire—a patchwork of small states coinciding roughly with the current boundaries of Germany, Switzerland, Austria, Hungary, Poland, and the Czech Republic.<sup>2</sup>

Four German drawings are part of the historical core of The Metropolitan Museum of Art's drawings collection: part of the gift made by Cornelius Vanderbilt in 1880, ten years after the Museum was founded. None of them is of much importance. The 1887 gift of another donor, Cephas G. Thompson, included a fine example of work by Johann Carl Loth.<sup>3</sup> It was not until 1906, however, that the Museum made its first purchase of a drawing.<sup>4</sup> That year Roger Fry—the British art historian, painter, and member of the Bloomsbury Group—was appointed curator in the Museum's Department of Paintings, which also took care of the drawings collection.<sup>5</sup> Among the works he acquired in his first year was a very early and fine example of the peculiar graphic style of the Danube school, Albrecht Altdorfer's *Samson and Delilah* (cat. 18). In 1919 Fry's successor, Bryson Burroughs, acquired the first autograph drawing by Albrecht Dürer to enter the collection (fig. 1),<sup>6</sup> as well as a preparatory drawing for a print by Sebald Beham (cat. 33). Both drawings were bought through the art historian and dealer Robert Langton Douglas at the sale of the collection of the British painter Edward John Poynter. (Another drawing by Dürer from that sale, known as the "Poynter Apollo" [fig. 2],<sup>7</sup> would come to the museum in 1963 as a gift of the same donor who had already given the artist's *Music-Making Angels* [cat. 10].) Overall, however, the number of Central European drawings acquired by the Department of Paintings is limited. Apart from the Altdorfer and the Beham



Fig. 1. Albrecht Dürer, *Saint Catherine of Alexandria*, ca. 1500 (?). Pen and brown ink,  $6\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{15}{16}$  in. (16.5 × 7.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1919 (19.75)



Fig. 2. Albrecht Dürer, *A Standing Nude Man Wearing a Laurel Wreath with a Bow and a Ball* ("Poynter Apollo"), ca. 1501–3. Pen and black ink, over a tracing in pen and brown ink,  $8\frac{5}{8} \times 5\frac{11}{16}$  in. (21.9 × 14.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Mr. William H. Osborn, 1963 (63.212)

already mentioned, those included in the present catalogue are works by Hans Suess von Kulmbach (cat. 12) and Wolfgang Huber (cat. 24). Among those left out here should be mentioned a drawing by Hans Baldung and one by Georg Beham.<sup>8</sup>

The Department of Prints, founded in 1916,<sup>9</sup> also acquired drawings, especially those related to prints or those that would complement the department's collection of ornamental and architectural designs. The latter collection was started (in the words of the department's legendary first curator, William M. Ivins) for "its value

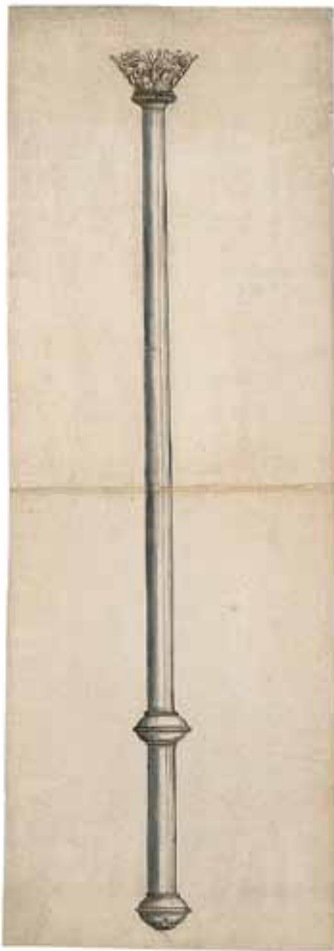


Fig. 3. Anonymous (German, second half of 16th century), *Design for a Scepter*, ca. 1550–1600. Pen and black ink, gray and brown washes,  $24\frac{3}{16} \times 8\frac{9}{16}$  in. ( $61.4 \times 21.7$  cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Janos Scholz, 1960 (60.526.1)

to professed students and to the staff of the Museum,” but also because it was deemed “of great value to the practising designers of the day, as it would seem to need no argument to prove that the proper study of designers is design.”<sup>10</sup> In fact, the print department acquired almost as many sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Central European drawings as the Department of Paintings and (from 1960) the Department of Drawings, before the latter was merged with the print department in 1993. In truth, it must be said that many of the drawings acquired by the print department will be of limited interest to most students of the field. But they include, among other highlights, the two attractive print designs by Heinrich Aldegrever discussed in this catalogue (cats. 35, 36), as well as a rare design for a scepter from the second half of the sixteenth century (fig. 3) and a seventeenth-century drawing of a chandelier designed by the Nuremberg trumpet maker Johann Isaak Ehe (cat. 86). In addition to the print and painting departments, at least one more department was involved with acquiring drawings—that of Arms and Armor, which in 1922, for instance, added to its holdings a charming tournament book, included here (cat. 74).

Not until 1960, ninety years after the founding of the Museum, was the Department of Drawings established.<sup>11</sup> Its first curator was Jacob Bean, whose knowledge of and great taste in French and Italian drawings were not matched by a similar disposition toward the Northern schools.<sup>12</sup> This was even more true for German and Swiss drawings than for Dutch and Flemish ones. All told, only about twenty Central European drawings from before 1700 entered the department’s collection on Bean’s watch, the majority of which were gifts or bequests. Of these, sheets by Dürer (cat. 10), Sebald Beham (cat. 32), Hans Werl (cat. 54, acquired as by Peter Candid), Hans Rottenhammer (cat. 55), Isaak Major (cat. 69), and Jacob Marrel (cat. 90) are included in the present selection. This lack of interest meant that the Museum missed out on many a potential acquisition, such as a drawing by Hans Burgkmair, offered in 1978 at the “sale of the century” (that of the collection of Robert von Hirsch) and acquired that year by the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C. (fig. 4).<sup>13</sup>

This situation was counterbalanced in 1975 by a small but outstanding group of drawings included in one of the most significant bequests in the institution’s history—that of the banker Robert Lehman. The sale of the von Hirsch collection seems to have been the last opportunity in history to acquire major drawings by

Dürer,<sup>14</sup> but in 1952 Lehman had been able to purchase three of the best sheets by Dürer from a much older collection, that of the princes Lubomirski, the fabled and eventful provenance of which probably goes back to Rudolf II.<sup>15</sup> All three are included in our selection (cats. 6, 7, 9). Among the few drawings of iconic status in the Museum, the double-sided sheet with Dürer’s self-portrait (cat. 6) is arguably second only to Michelangelo’s *Libyan Sibyl*.<sup>16</sup> In addition to the Dürers and a sheet by Martin Schongauer (cat. 5), Lehman brought together several other German drawings, of which those by an anonymous draftsman of about 1460–70 (cat. 3), Hans Baldung (cat. 16), Hans Schwarz (cat. 23), and Sebald Beham (cat. 34) are discussed in this catalogue.<sup>17</sup>

After the retirement of Jacob Bean, George R. Goldner was appointed chair of the Department of Drawings and Prints, newly formed in 1993 from the former Department of Drawings and what had become the Department of Prints and Illustrated Books. Supported by the museum’s director, Philippe de Montebello, the department embarked on a campaign to correct the lack of balance between the different schools in the collection.<sup>18</sup> Taking up this task at such a late date, the department was confronted with an art market that made it very difficult to acquire fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century German and seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish drawings, which for centuries had enjoyed popularity with both public and private collectors. Fortunately, sufficient attractive opportunities arose to enable the Museum to complement in a meaningful way the works by Northern draftsmen from these periods already in the collection. Of these acquisitions, included here are, among others, works by two anonymous early Bohemian artists (cats. 1, 2), Hans Suess von Kulmbach (cat. 13), Hans Schäufelein (cats. 14, 15), Hans Burgkmair (cats. 20, 21), Urs Graf (cats. 25, 26), Hans Holbein the Younger (cat. 29), and Peter Flötner (cats. 30, 31). But it was in fields that had been less a focus of collectors and connoisseurs in the past—sixteenth-century Netherlandish drawings and those by later sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Central European artists—that most acquisitions could be made. This circumstance had the happy result that the traditional bias toward Dürer and his circle, evident in the Museum’s early acquisitions of Central European drawings as well as in Lehman’s collection, was offset by a growing number of drawings by later artists, some of whom were little appreciated or studied even in their home countries.<sup>19</sup>

Three-quarters of the drawings in this publication were acquired by the Department of Drawings and Prints; about twenty were added in the last five years alone. This reflects more or less the numbers of the collection as a whole. Of the Museum's more than 325 Central European drawings before 1700, fewer than one hundred were acquired before 1994, the year the new department acquired its first drawing within the scope of the present catalogue: a work by the Swiss artist Christoph Murer that is not included in the present selection<sup>20</sup> but that was followed in 1995 by another drawing by the same artist that is (cat. 47). Quite a few of these drawings are recent discoveries, some unpublished or here fully discussed or correctly attributed for the first time.

The sources of the acquisitions are diverse, although the majority recently surfaced at public sales—either at the big auction houses (for instance, drawings by Hans Suess von Kulmbach, cat. 13; Jörg Breu the Elder, cat. 22; and Jost Amman, cat. 44) or at smaller auctions (drawings by Hans Burgkmair, cat. 21; Hans Rottenhammer, cat. 56; Hans von Aachen, cat. 63; and Joseph Heintz the Elder, cat. 66). Several come from old collections, such as those of the princes of Oettingen-Wallerstein (drawings by Daniel Lindtmayer the Younger, cat. 45; Johann Christophorus Storer, cat. 96; and Joachim von Sandrart the Elder, cat. 97) or the princes of Liechtenstein (drawings by Hans Schäußelein and Urs Graf, cats. 15 and 26, respectively). Others had belonged to distinguished twentieth-century collections, including those of Franz Koenigs (drawings by Hans Holbein the Younger and Wenzel Jamnitzer, cats. 29 and 42); Arthur Feldmann (drawings by Wendel Dietterlin the Elder and Jochim Lüchteke, cats. 61 and 71, respectively); and Ingeborg Tremmel (a drawing by Peter Candid, cat. 52). In 2007 the department acquired fifty-four drawings by Swiss and German artists of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries that were contained in a small album owned in the eighteenth century by the Swiss collector Hans Wilpert Zoller (fig. 5).<sup>21</sup> Inscribed on the cover *Handriß* & c. (Drawings etc. etc.), it is part “friendship album,” part collector’s album. It contained a surprising variety of works, although all limited by the album’s small size. Included from it here are works by Peter Flötner (cats. 30, 31), Tobias Stimmer (cat. 38), and Conrad Meyer (cat. 93). The album seems to have come to the Museum more or less intact, although at least one important work was missing when it was offered at auction in 2006: a drawing attributed to the younger



Fig. 4. Hans Burgkmair, *A Fight between a Wild Man and a Soldier in a Forest*, ca. 1500–1503. Pen and black ink, 8¼ × 11¼ in. (21 × 28.6 cm). National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (1978.77.1)

Holbein, acquired from the album’s previous owner and given to the Kunstmuseum Basel in 1984 (fig. 6).<sup>22</sup>

Although new additions to the collection of Central European drawings continue to be made, it can be said that the systematic acquisition policy of the last two decades has now resulted in a collection worthy of a museum that strives to be universal. Exactly thirty years ago, when Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann published the exhibition catalogue *Drawings from the Holy Roman Empire, 1540–1680: A Selection from North American Collections*, only three drawings from the Museum were included.<sup>23</sup> Now its collection in this field may be richer and better balanced than any other in this country and even than most outside Central Europe.

The selection of one hundred works contained in the present catalogue is intended to be a record of the collection’s quality, variety, and depth. At the same time, it aims to make the case for the diversity and vitality of Central European drawing before 1700. In order to make this overview as appealing as possible, it centers, naturally, on the best drawings in the collection. Artists who lived beyond the year 1700 have been omitted (as was Johann Carl Loth, who died in 1698 but who would



Fig. 5. Binding of the Zoller album, ca. 1710–50. Paper, board, approximately  $5\frac{1}{8} \times 8\frac{1}{4} \times 1\frac{3}{16}$  in. ( $13 \times 21 \times 3$  cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, Jean A. Bonna Gift, 2007 (2007.223)

have needed to be discussed by comparing his drawings with those of Daniel Seiter, who died in 1705). In addition to the masterworks, a few more modest drawings have been chosen, which highlight the depth of the collection: for example, Johann Isaak Ehe's design for a chandelier (cat. 86), a curious and rare rather than attractive work by the Monogrammist AW (cat. 39), and the slightly naive tournament book from the Department of Arms and Armor (cat. 74). The definition of a drawing has been used rather loosely: the catalogue includes a painting (see below) and could have included as well a small tabernacle by the Augsburg silversmith Matthias Wallbaum, surrounding miniature gouaches on parchment by Anton Mozart (figs. 7, 8).<sup>24</sup>

The one hundred works have been divided into ten sections, which are organized in roughly chronological order; at the same time, we have tried to make relevant groupings that illuminate certain stylistic and historical connections among the artists. The first section comprises five works by artists active before 1500, including two extremely rare Bohemian drawings (cats. 1, 2) and a small but exquisite sheet by the engraver Martin Schongauer (cat. 5), whose example inspired the young Dürer. Dürer's dominating artistic personality is at the center of the next chapter. The five works on paper by the master himself—from one of his early self-portraits to two mature drawings related to a large commission—can provide only a hint of his genius, which (like Schongauer's) is primarily that of a graphic artist. One of Dürer's two paintings in the Museum's collection,



Fig. 6. Hans Holbein the Younger (retouched by a later hand?), *Head of a Young Man Wearing a Hat*, ca. 1520–21. Metalpoint, red chalk, pen and brown ink, white gouache, on prepared paper,  $5\frac{7}{16} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$  in. ( $13.8 \times 10.8$  cm). Kupferstichkabinett, Kunstmuseum Basel (1984.7)

the *Salvator Mundi* from about 1504–5 (cat. 8), is included because of the meticulous underdrawing, visible thanks to the unfinished state of the painting. The chapter concludes with a group of drawings by artists active in Nuremberg, initially as apprentices to Dürer, most notably Hans Suess von Kulmbach, Hans Schäufelein, and Hans Baldung. The last named, without much doubt the most original of the three, is represented by an intriguing work from the Lehman collection (cat. 16).

Artists active in the early sixteenth century whose style was rooted in traditions developed outside Nuremberg are presented in a third section of great variety. Typical for the Danube school is the sheet by Altdorfer already mentioned (cat. 18), a moralizing scene set before a townscape in a craggy German landscape. Three recent acquisitions (cats. 20–22) highlight the distinctive style of Hans Burgkmair and Jörg Breu—the main painters during this period in the Imperial Free City of Augsburg—which was characterized by the influence of antique and Italian art. Usually considered to be part of the Danube school as well, the eccentric



Fig. 7. Matthias Wallbaum and Anton Mozart, *Shrine with a Miniature Triptych*, 1598–1600. Ebony, silver, silver gilt, gouache, parchment, 16<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 7<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> × 4<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (43 × 18.4 × 10.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.823)

Wolfgang Huber is represented by one of his expressive head studies, a relatively early and outstanding acquisition by the Department of Paintings (cat. 24). More recently, the collection has added one fine and one major drawing by another unconventional artist, the Swiss draftsman and printmaker Urs Graf (cats. 25, 26). The two works concluding this chapter may not do full justice to the prodigious talent of their makers, Lucas



Fig. 8. Anton Mozart, *The Circumcision of Christ, The Adoration of the Shepherds, and The Presentation of Christ in the Temple* (part of the shrine reproduced as fig. 7). Gouache on parchment, left wing: 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> × 7<sup>8</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (6.3 × 2.2 cm); center panel: 2<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 1<sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (6.1 × 4.5 cm); right wing: 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> × 1<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (6.3 × 2.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.823)

Cranach the Elder and Hans Holbein the Younger, but they are nonetheless interesting drawings by artists who, along with Dürer and Altdorfer, were unsurpassed in originality and prominence at the beginning of the sixteenth century in Central Europe.

In the middle of the century, several artists, especially those active in Nuremberg, still worked under the influence of Dürer, as can be seen in the fourth chapter. Among these was Sebald Beham; but whereas Dürer's example is evident in an early work (cat. 32), at least one of the two later drawings included here displays a style further removed from that of the master (cat. 33). Beham's precious, meticulously executed engravings, which earned him and two fellow artists the nickname *Kleinmeister* (Little Masters), are akin in spirit to those by Heinrich Aldegrever, who lived and worked in Westphalia; the Department of Prints acquired two of his characteristic preparatory drawings for prints (cats. 35, 36). Two recent additions to the collection by another Nuremberg printmaker, Virgil Solis (cat. 37), and by the Swiss Tobias Stimmer (cat. 38) present a less familiar side in two profile portraits of dogs. Stimmer's drawing entered the Museum with the Zoller album, as did a

small group of quirky drawings (cats. 30, 31) by the versatile Nuremberg sculptor and designer Peter Flötner, who played an important role in introducing Renaissance ornament to German art. Drawings by the peripatetic Melchior Lorck, often considered the first Danish artist (cat. 40); the Venetian-inspired Bavarian painter Hans Mielich (cat. 41); and the Nuremberg goldsmith Wenzel Jamnitzer (cat. 42) speak as much to their makers' originality as to the enormous stylistic and technical variety in German art of this period.

Stylistically more coherent and conservative are Swiss drawings from the mid-sixteenth century through the early seventeenth, mainly designs (*Scheibensrisse*) for the ubiquitous stained-glass panels, as shown in the fifth chapter; all of these works included here entered the collection after 1995. Particularly strong is the next section, on artists active or trained in Munich about 1600. Many of them worked, at least initially, under Friedrich Sustris, who was born to a northern Netherlandish father in the Veneto and who, in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, was superintendent of all major artistic projects undertaken at the court of William V, duke of Bavaria. A rare early drawing by Sustris (cat. 50) is a brilliant example of the work he did while at the Medici court in Florence, working under Giorgio Vasari; his second drawing here (cat. 51) is an exquisite example of the highly elegant manner that earned his reputation as one of the most accomplished Northern European draftsmen of his generation. Sustris's unofficial successor at the Bavarian court, Peter Candid, is also represented by one work each from his Italian and Munich periods (cats. 52, 53), as is Hans Rottenhammer (cats. 55, 56), who went from Munich, where he was trained, to Venice and Rome, and whose suave style is perhaps the best embodiment of the Italianate current in German art about 1600.

When Rottenhammer returned to Bavaria, he settled in Augsburg, which was then second only to Munich as an artistic center in southern Germany. Drawings by two other artists active in Augsburg, Matthäus Gundelach and Johann Mathias Kager (cats. 67, 68), conclude the seventh chapter, devoted to artists active in cities outside Munich. The most important was the capital of the Holy Roman Empire at the time, Prague. Many of the artists contributing to the exceptional flourishing of the arts under Emperor Rudolf II—including Bartholomeus Spranger, Roelant Savery, and Paulus van Vianen—were born in the Netherlands and are generally considered as belonging to the Netherlandish school. For this reason, they have not been included here, leaving the

German Hans von Aachen and the Swiss-born Joseph Heintz the Elder as the only Rudolphine Mannerists in our selection. The latter is especially well represented, with three drawings spanning his entire career (cats. 64–66). One of the two drawings by von Aachen, a newly discovered sheet, is an allegory of one of Rudolf's victories over the Turks (cat. 63). The chapter opens with two artists of very different temperaments: Hans Hoffmann from Nuremberg, who at the end of his life also worked in Munich and Prague in the service of Rudolf, building a career as a follower of Dürer, especially the latter's nature studies (cats. 59, 60); and Wendel Dietterlin the Elder, whose work as a fresco painter is now overshadowed by his fame as the author of an architectural treatise and as a designer of ornament (cat. 61).

Many of the names mentioned so far may be unfamiliar to some, but their contribution to Central European art has earned them the recognition of specialists at least. This cannot be said of the artists in the eighth chapter, devoted to entries (*Stammbuchblätter*) from friendship albums or loose sheets made as gifts for friends. These signed works are often the only work by and the only biographical record of the artists. The Nuremberg tournament book (cat. 74) is another example of a local tradition of bound collections of drawings.

The last two chapters bring together artists who worked in the seventeenth century. Their names, too, may be unfamiliar to most, but the quality of their drawings should be sufficient proof of the talent of such draftsmen as Augustin Braun (cats. 75, 76), Hermann Weyer (cat. 79), Bartholomäus Reiter (cat. 80), Hans Ulrich Frank (cats. 83, 84), and Francis Cleyn (cat. 87). Among artists born after 1600, to whom the last chapter is devoted, Nicolaus Knüpfer (cat. 88), Wenzel Hollar (cat. 95), and Joachim von Sandrart the Elder (cats. 97, 98) are undoubtedly the best known; but the works by Conrad Meyer (cats. 92, 93—the latter a *Stammbuchblatt* from the Zoller album), Johann Christophorus Storer (cat. 96), and Jonas Umbach (especially cat. 99) deserve equal interest. Drawings by Jacob Marrel, who spent a large part of his career in Holland, and Johann Jakob Walther the Elder are outstanding exemplars of the tradition of natural history drawings (cats. 90, 91), which also took firm root in the Netherlands.

The wide variety of seventeenth-century Central European drawings testifies to the important religious and cultural differences in the region and to the different stylistic influences from Italian, Dutch, and

Flemish art. It is perhaps this lack of unity, the eagerness of the artists to embrace foreign models, and the fact that in the latter half of the period covered by this catalogue no dominating personality emerged—no Raphael or Dürer, no Titian or Brueghel, no Rubens or Poussin—that have so long discredited Central European art from this period in the public's eye. Part of our aim with the present catalogue is to let go of such prejudices and explore the great quality, colorfulness, and originality of Central European drawings beyond the great masterworks by the best-known artists.

1. For a general overview of the collecting of Central European drawings, see Sieveking 2010.
2. For the history of collecting Central European drawings in America, see Robison 2001; Robison 2010; and the unpublished text of a lecture by Christiane Andersson, "Landscapes, Portraits and Witches: The Crockers and Collecting German Drawings in America," presented at the symposium "Pioneering Collectors: The Crockers and Master Drawings," Crocker Art Museum, Sacramento, December 11, 2010. I am grateful to Christiane Andersson for making her text available to me.
3. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. 87.12.70 (Ewald 1965, no. 25, pl. 54; Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann in Princeton and Santa Barbara 1989–90, no. 28, ill.). The Vanderbilt gift included one drawing accepted as an early work by Loth (acc. 80.3.31; Ewald 1965, no. 21a, pl. 67).
4. Bean 1962, p. 157.
5. For Fry's career at the Museum, see Tomkins 1970, pp. 103–10, 168, 169.
6. F. Winkler 1936–39, vol. 1 (1936), no. 90, ill.; Washington 1971, no. 1v, ill.; Strauss 1974, vol. 2, nos. 1503/25, 1503/26, ill.
7. F. Winkler 1936–39, vol. 1 (1936), no. 262, ill.; Strauss 1974, vol. 2, no. 1501/8, ill.; Barbara Drake Boehm in New York and Nuremberg 1986, no. 115, ill.
8. Respectively acc. 36.101.3 (Rainer Schoch in New York and Nuremberg 1986, no. 177, ill. [as attributed to Baldung]) and 39.81.3 (Kaufmann in Princeton, Washington, and Pittsburgh 1982–83, no. 44, ill.).
9. Ivins 1917; see also De Forest 1918.
10. Ivins 1921, p. 259; see also Ivins 1920.
11. Bean 1962.

12. For Bean, see Cazort 1993; Mules 1993; Russell 1993; White 1993.
13. Timothy Husband in New York 1980–81, no. 34, ill. The drawing was offered at Sotheby's, London, June 20–21, 1978, lot 23. The sale was referred to as the "sale of the century" by the "excitable London art world" (Apple 1978).
14. See the catalogue of the sale, Sotheby's, London, June 20–21, 1978, lots 14, 20, 21.
15. For this provenance, see cat. 6.
16. For the *Libyan Sibyl* (acc. 24.197.2), an acquisition of the Department of Paintings under Burroughs, see Carmen C. Bambach in Ottawa 2009, no. 10, ill.
17. All fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Central European drawings from the Robert Lehman Collection have been extensively catalogued by Fritz Koreny in Haverkamp-Begemann et al. 1999, nos. 1–21, ill. For Lehman's few later German drawings (works by Georg Anton Urlaub, Adolph Menzel, and Wilhelm Kuhnert), see Françoise Forster-Hahn in Brettell et al. 2002, nos. 71–73, 136, 137, ill., and her entry in Koeppel et al. 2012.
18. For an overview of the department's activity from 1993 until 2009, see Goldner 2009.
19. For an overview of Central European drawings in the period 1540–1640, see Geissler 1979; Kaufmann 1982.
20. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. 1994.24; formerly at Sotheby's, New York, January 12, 1994, lot 37 (reproduced in the catalogue).
21. For the album, see Ganz 1925–27 (reissued in Stuker 2006, pp. 20–51).
22. Ganz 1925–27, p. 269; C. Müller 1988, no. 27, ill.
23. Kaufmann in Princeton, Washington, and Pittsburgh 1982–83, nos. 31, 44, 50, ill. Two more drawings by artists with careers beginning in the seventeenth century were included in the sequel exhibition (Princeton and Santa Barbara 1989–90, nos. 2, 28, ill.). In his "Census of Drawings from the Holy Roman Empire, 1540–1680, in North American Collections" (Kaufmann 1985), Kaufmann listed all the Central European drawings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art from the second half of the sixteenth and the seventeenth century that were known to him in 1985, including drawings in the Department of Arms and Armor. Some of the sheets he included are considered Netherlandish in the Museum and have not been represented here, namely, works by Joris Hoefnagel, Erasmus Hornick, and Bartholomeus Spranger.
24. Klaus Pechstein in Bursche et al. 1970, under no. 49; Strouse 2000, p. 29, fig. 31.



## Note to the Reader

The biographies presented in this catalogue aim to give a general overview of the artists' lives; in most cases, the general literature is selective, and in some cases highly selective.

The book benefitted greatly from discussions between the authors and Marjorie Shelley, who undertook a detailed technical examination of the pigments used in the selected drawings. The results of her research could only be partially reflected in the present publication. She will publish a fuller account of her insights in a forthcoming essay about the often surprisingly sophisticated techniques employed by the draftsmen under discussion.

The dimensions given for the drawings are maximal, with height preceding width.

In the description of inscriptions and marks, the mention of Lugt followed by a number refers to Frits Lugt's *Les marques de collections de dessins et d'estampes*, published in 1921, followed by a supplement in 1956; both volumes, as well as additional marks and information on previously published marks, are

available online at [www.marquesdecollections.fr](http://www.marquesdecollections.fr). The Museum's own mark (Lugt 1943) or inscriptions related to the Museum's ownership of a drawing have not been noted.

For the identification of watermarks, reference is made mainly to the database of the Piccard watermark collection, available online at [www.piccard-online.de](http://www.piccard-online.de).

In the provenance, all available information about a drawing's ownership history has been conveyed. Brackets are used to designate dealers. The Museum departments mentioned are those under whose custody the object entered the collection.

Unless otherwise indicated, the literature on the drawings given at the end of each entry is meant to be exhaustive.

The authors of the entries are Maryan W. Ainsworth (MWA), Stijn Alsteens (SA), Dirk H. Breiding (DHB), George R. Goldner (GRG), Guido Messling (GM), Marjorie Shelley (MS), Freyda Spira (FS), and Joshua P. Waterman (JPW).

# CATALOGUE

## Artists Active before 1500

### ANONYMOUS

Bohemian, active ca. 1360–65

#### 1 | Anonymus

*Head of a Bearded Man*, ca. 1360–65

Pen and carbon black ink, gray ink wash, vermillion and yellow iron-based earth watercolor, lead white heightening, 4<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 3<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (11.3 × 8.5 cm)  
Purchase, Gift of Dr. Mortimer D. Sackler, Theresa Sackler and Family, 2003 (2003.29)

Verso, at lower center, inscribed 12 / [. . .] 05 869 in black chalk or graphite (18th- or 19th-century handwriting?); at lower left, collector's mark of Adalbert von Lanna (Lugt 2773)

*Watermark*: none



Fig. 1. Circle of Master Theodorik, *A Philosopher (?) and an Astronomer*, ca. 1365–70. Pen and brush and black, red, and yellow ink, 5<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 5<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (13.6 × 13.5 cm). Graphische Sammlung, Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg, Erlangen (Bock 1)

This is one of a small handful of seemingly independent drawings that survive from the great flowering of Bohemian art in the second half of the fourteenth and the early fifteenth centuries.<sup>1</sup> Drawn with a fine brush, it shows a command of media and a refinement that place it above contemporary drawings such as those in the model book in Erlangen (fig. 1).<sup>2</sup> The robust naturalism and rather sculptural approach to form led me to date the Museum's drawing to the time of the great series of painted saints in the Chapel of the Holy Cross in Karlštejn Castle (fig. 2), rather than to the early fifteenth century, as had been proposed by Otto Benesch.<sup>3</sup> It is clearly a generation earlier than the famous model book in Vienna and another in Braunschweig that are exemplars of the International Gothic Style.<sup>4</sup> This revised dating was followed in the catalogue accompanying the exhibition "Prague: The Crown of Bohemia, 1347–1437" in New York and Prague in 2005–6.

Although *Head of a Bearded Man* contains a number of features that recall the Karlštejn paintings, it cannot be directly related to any one of them or to any other



Fig. 2. Attributed to Master Theodorik, *Saint Andrew*, 1360–64. Oil tempera and gold on panel, 45¼ × 36<sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (115 × 93.5 cm). Chapel of the Holy Cross, Karlštejn Castle

finished work. This, as well as the general practice of the period, suggests that it was once part of a model book of types that could be used within a workshop. GRG

1. For an overview of Bohemian drawings from this period, see Drobná 1956; New York and Prague 2005–6, passim.
2. Bock 1929, vol. 1, no. 1, vol. 2, ill.; Robert Suckale and Jiří Fajt in New York and Prague 2005–6, no. 35a, ill.; Jiří Fajt and Robert Suckale in Fajt 2006, no. 162, ill.; Stephanie Buck in Buck and Messling 2009, no. 1, ill.
3. Jiří Fajt in Prague 1998, pp. 330–31, ill. For the castle at Karlštejn, see Neuwirth 1896; Prague 1998; Fajt 2003, passim. For Benesch's dating, see Vienna 1962, pp. 248–49; followed by Fajt and Suckale in Fajt 2006, pp. 494–95.
4. The Vienna model book, dated in the first or second decade of the fifteenth century, is preserved at the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, inv. KK 5003, KK 5004 (Hana Hlaváčková in Vienna 1990, no. 67; Scheller 1995, no. 20, ill.; Suckale and Fajt in New York and Prague 2005–6, no. 117, ill.). The one in Braunschweig is preserved at the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, vol. 63; it is mostly the work of a Bohemian artist active ca. 1390–1400 (Neuwirth 1897; Scheller 1995, no. 18, ill.; von Heusinger 1992–97, vol. 1, pp. 146–51, no. 63, vol. 2, pls. 6–12).

*Provenance:* Adalbert von Lanna (1836–1909), Prague; Franz Kieslinger (1904–1999), Vienna; Anton Schmid (1904–1991), Vienna, before 1962; his heirs; [Arnoldi-Livie, Munich]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 2003

*Literature:* Otto Benesch in Vienna 1962, no. 246 (as by an anonymous Bohemian artist active in the early fifteenth century); Krása 1969, p. 166; Krása 1974, pp. 36, 49, fig. 16 (as by an anonymous Bohemian artist active ca. 1410–30); Michiel C. Plomp in “Recent Acquisitions” 2003, p. 16, ill. (as by an anonymous Bohemian artist active ca. 1355–80); Xiomara M. Murray in New York and Prague 2005–6, no. 34, ill. (as by an anonymous Bohemian artist active ca. 1460–80); Jiří Fajt and Robert Suckale in Fajt 2006, no. 162, ill. (as by an anonymous Prague artist active ca. 1410–20)

## ANONYMOUS

Bohemian, active ca. 1405–10

### 2 | Anonymous

*Head of a Woman*, ca. 1405–10

Pen and carbon black ink, gray ink wash, vermilion and yellow iron-based earth watercolor, over traces of stylus-incised underdrawing, on vellum prepared with calcite, 3<sup>9</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 2<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (9.1 × 7 cm)

Purchase, several members of The Chairman's Council and Jean A. Bonna Gifts, 2010 (2010.119)

The reign of Wenceslas IV as king of Bohemia (r. 1378–1419) witnessed the high point of the International Gothic Style in Prague, characterized by a preference for surface decoration over spatial definition, by the tendency of linear design elements to become calligraphic





Fig. 1. Anonymous (Prague, active ca. 1405), *The Nativity in an Initial O*, ca. 1405, from the *Seitenstetten antiphonary*, detail of fol. 58r. Tempera and gold on vellum, 22 $\frac{5}{16}$  × 15 $\frac{5}{16}$  in. (56.8 × 38.9 cm). Cleveland Museum of Art (1976.100)



Figs. 2 and 3. Anonymous (Bohemian, active ca. 1400–1410), *Head of the Angel Gabriel* and *The Virgin Annunciate*, ca. 1400–1410. Brush and black and red inks over black chalk on vellum, each 2 × 1 $\frac{7}{16}$  in. (5.1 × 3.6 cm). Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, Cambridge, Alpheus Hyatt Purchasing Fund (1947.79 and 1947.80)

and ornamental rather than adhering to nature, and by a partiality for refined, almost idealized figures that seem to have an inner light.<sup>1</sup> The exquisite *Head of a Woman* exemplifies this style, presenting a serene young woman in three-quarter view, looking off to the left. While her face is rendered with minuscule strokes, a technique Fritz Koreny compares to that used in manuscript illumination,<sup>2</sup> long undulating lines define the waves of her hair, which curl into calligraphic strokes framing her face. Further linking this work to a manuscript tradition is the use of an extremely fine-haired brush and an emphasis on color. An uncommon richness is conveyed through the use of red in the lips and cheeks, the golden ochre of the hair, and the dark tones of gray and black in the eyes. Such concentrated colors can also be found in contemporary miniatures like the Crucifixion scene from a missal by Zbyněk of Hazmburk (ca. 1403–15).<sup>3</sup> Koreny links the Museum's drawing to the Virgin in a Nativity in the *Seitenstetten Antiphonary* (fig. 1).<sup>4</sup> Created in Prague about 1405, this illumination depicts the Virgin with a similarly large head, clinging wavy hair, a small pursed mouth, flushed round cheeks, and pointed nose and chin.

The small size, delicate technique, and vellum support also link this drawing to pattern books used by illuminators, such as the Vienna model book (ca. 1410–20), with its mix of seemingly commonplace animals, faces (both idealized and distorted), and religious scenes.<sup>5</sup> It demonstrates the narrative of the Annunciation with two bust-length portraits: the angel Gabriel facing to the right and the Virgin facing left—a formula also found in a pair of drawings in the Fogg Museum (figs. 2, 3).<sup>6</sup> The shape of the skull and the facial features of the woman in the drawing under discussion are more rounded, but the similarity in the composition and in her expression suggests that this drawing, too, shows the Virgin at the moment of the Annunciation. Exquisite in appearance, this diminutive drawing served as a model in the artist's workshop for larger, more complex compositions. FS

1. G. Schmidt 2005, pp. 109–10.

2. Koreny in New York and Prague 2005–6, p. 276.

3. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Cod. 1844, fol. 149 (G. Schmidt 2005, p. 106, fig. 9.1).

4. Koreny in New York and Prague 2005–6, p. 277. For more on this antiphonary, see Gerhard Schmidt, Martin Roland, and Barbara Drake Boehm in New York and Prague 2005–6, no. 116, ill.

5. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, inv. KK 5003, KK 5004 (Hana Hlaváčková in Vienna 1990, no. 67; Scheller 1995, no. 20, ill.; Robert Suckale and Jiří Fajt in New York and Prague 2005–6, no. 117, ill.).

6. Poszler 2006, pp. 525–26, fig. 22.

*Provenance:* Friedrich Falk, Zurich; [Moeller Fine Art, New York and Berlin]; private collection, United States; [Adrian Eeles, London]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 2010

*Literature:* Fritz Koreny in New York and Prague 2005–6, no. 118, ill.; Franz Kirchweyer in Fajt 2006, no. 194, ill.; Stijn Alsteens in “Recent Acquisitions” 2010, p. 15, ill.

## ANONYMOUS

Middle Rhine, active ca. 1460–70

### 3 | Anonymous

*A Standing Scholar (or Prophet?), Turned to the Left;*  
verso: *A Standing Scholar (or Prophet?), Turned to the Right,*  
ca. 1460–70

Pen and carbon black ink, traces of black chalk underdrawing,  
on paper prepared with sanguine wash, 7<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 3<sup>9</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.  
(19.5 × 9.1 cm)

Robert Lehman Collection, 1975 (1975.1.765)

At lower left, unidentified collector's mark (Lugt 622). Verso, at  
lower left, collector's mark of Joseph Daniel Böhm (Lugt 271)

*Watermark:* tower (fragment)<sup>1</sup>

Each side of this sheet, which is trimmed along all four edges, shows a pen drawing of a standing man. Underlying the drawings are preliminary sketches in black chalk. Both of the standing figures are dressed in fifteenth-century costume, wearing pointed shoes and a long cloak; the beardless figure on the verso is additionally equipped with a hat, called a *Gugel* (or chaperone), with a veil thrown loosely over his shoulder. The bearded man on the recto, who is depicted wearing a hat with a small brim, seems to have a similar chaperone draped across his back.

Although the two figures complement each other as a pair, they should be regarded as intended for a larger compositional context. The figure on the verso is holding an item made out of fabric, probably some kind of headgear, and faces the viewer while pointing to the right with his other hand. The second man, with his posture and gaze turned toward the left, would complement the other figure rather well if they were standing side by side. His inquisitive facial expression and the gesture of his hands suggest that he is involved in a conversation, arguing his case. Although the two standing figures lack specific attributes, they can be identified as scholars by their costumes and general demeanor. Comparable figures can also be found in depictions of saints in conversation with each other or of debating scholars, as in a woodcut illustration published in 1477 (fig. 1).<sup>2</sup>



Fig. 1. Anonymous (active ca. 1477), *A Dispute between Jews and Gentiles*, from Petrus Niger, *Stern des Meschiah*, Esslingen, 1477. Woodcut, 6<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 4<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (15.6 × 10.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Bequest of James C. McGuire, 1931 (31.54.525)

The two men lack the scrolls traditionally associated with prophets, but they are nevertheless very similar to them in terms of type. The figures are so generalized in appearance, like models in a pattern book, that they could easily have been transformed into prophets just by adding a scroll.

The Lehman drawing was sold at auction in 1865 as by Hugo van der Goes, and the attribution to a Netherlandish artist of the fifteenth century remained unquestioned for more than a century. In 1999 Fritz Koreny—following Karel G. Boon, who had suggested



*A Standing Scholar (or Prophet?), Turned to the Right (verso of cat. 3)*

a German origin for this work in 1989—identified the drawing as the work of an artist from the Middle Rhine region and dated it to about 1470–80.<sup>3</sup> Koreny's attribution was based on a comparison with drypoints by the Master of the Housebook (also known as the Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet), whose drawing style bears some resemblance to that of this work.<sup>4</sup> The prints bear similarly free, scratchlike lines and are also comparable in the varying width of the lines as well as the comma-



Fig. 2. Anonymous (Middle Rhine, active ca. 1470–90), *Two Dragons*, ca. 1470–90. Brush and pen and black ink, over black chalk, on red prepared paper, 12<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 8<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (31 × 20.4 cm). Graphische Sammlung, Städel Museum, Frankfurt (631)

shaped parallel lines of hatching. An even closer relationship can be detected with a model-book sheet in Frankfurt that shows two dragons (fig. 2).<sup>5</sup> One of these beasts also appears in the margin of an illuminated copy of the edition of the correspondence of Saint Jerome published in Mainz in 1470 by Peter Schöffer.<sup>6</sup> It can therefore be assumed that the draftsman of the sheet under discussion would also have been active in the Middle Rhine region. The drawing bears yet another remarkable connection to the Frankfurt sheet: the subtle pink tonality of the paper. Such sanguine prepared papers first appeared north of the Alps about 1450, in the circle of Rogier van der Weyden and in Franconia.<sup>7</sup> Contrary to Koreny's dating of the New York study to about 1470–80, and therefore to the period in which the Housebook Master was active, the watermark suggests a slightly earlier date. GM

1. The watermark is similar to watermarks found in paper used in Augsburg, Esslingen, Ingolstadt, Nuremberg, and Wemding between 1455 and 1459 (Piccard-Online, nos. 100476, 100480, 100484, 100553, 100652, 100656; accessed August 22, 2011); reproduced in Haverkamp-Begemann et al. 1999, p. 7.
2. Schramm 1920–43, vol. 9 (1926), no. 6, ill.; *Illustrated Bartsch* 1978–, vol. 81 (1981), no. 1477/257, ill.
3. Boon to Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann, November 28, 1989 (letter in the Museum’s departmental files); Koreny in Haverkamp-Begemann et al. 1999, pp. 7–11.
4. For the Master of the Housebook, see Amsterdam and Frankfurt 1985.
5. Schilling 1973, vol. 1, no. 191, vol. 2, pl. 51; Stephanie Buck in Frankfurt 2003–4, no. 5, ill.
6. This copy of the *Epistulae* (Letters) is in a private collection in Washington, D.C. (Buck in Frankfurt 2003–4, p. 44, fig. 1).
7. Buck and Messling 2009, pp. xviii–xix.

*Provenance:* Unidentified private collection, possibly Vienna, ca. 1800; Joseph Daniel Böhm (1794–1865), Vienna; his sale, Posonyi, Vienna, December 4, 1865, lot 1291; Stefan von Licht (1860–1932), Vienna; Edwin Czeczowiczka (1877–1979), Vienna; his sale, C. G. Boerner and Paul Graupe, Berlin, May 12, 1930, lot 23; [Matthiesen Gallery, London]; Robert Lehman (1891–1969), New York, 1959; given by the Robert Lehman Foundation to the Museum in accordance with the collector’s wishes, 1975

*Literature:* Posonyi 1865, lot 1291 (as by Hugo van der Goes); Boerner and Graupe 1930, lot 23, pl. 9 (as by an anonymous Netherlandish artist of the fifteenth century); Lawrence 1969, no. 35, pl. 33 (as by a Burgundian [?] artist active in the third quarter of the fifteenth century); Schrader 1970, p. 42, ill. no. 6 (verso) (as by a Burgundian [?] artist active in the third quarter of the fifteenth century); George Szabo in New York 1978–79, nos. 13, 13a, ill. (as by a French or Burgundian artist active in the third quarter of the fifteenth century); Boon 1992, vol. 1, p. 505, n. 6; Fritz Koreny in Haverkamp-Begemann et al. 1999, no. 2, ill.; Stephanie Buck in Frankfurt 2003–4, p. 44, n. 4

## ANONYMOUS

Upper Rhine, active ca. 1480–90

### 4 | Anonymous

After Hans Pleydenwurff (ca. 1420/25–1472)

*The Agony in the Garden*, ca. 1480–90

Pen and iron gall ink, cut around the figures (laid down),  
10 × 11 in. (25.4 × 27.9 cm)

Purchase, Anne and Jean Bonna Gift, 1998 (1998.264)

Verso of the secondary support, at upper right, inscribed 23 in  
graphite (20th-century handwriting)

*Watermark:* none visible because of the secondary support

The praying Christ and the three sleeping disciples in this drawing conform with the traditional imagery of their night in the Garden of Gethsemane on the Mount

of Olives, known as the Agony of Christ (Matthew 26:36–46). The placement of the isolated figures in a bare and unstructured space nonetheless suggests that the figures were copied from another source. The draftsman concentrated on the drapery, leaving facial features merely hinted at rather than fully modeled.

The source for this composition—which is best viewed as an accumulation of drapery studies—is found in Hans Pleydenwurff’s *Agony in the Garden*, a panel originally part of the retable erected in 1465 in the church of Saint Michael in Hof, Upper Franconia (fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> Differences in the details of the drapery and the grouping of the figures suggest that the draftsman may not have been familiar with the altarpiece but consulted an intermediary drawing instead. Alternatively, these changes could be interpreted as artistic liberties taken by him when adapting the composition to a landscape



Fig. 1. Hans Pleydenwurff, *The Agony in the Garden*, 1465. Oil on panel, 6<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 4<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (17.7 × 11.2 cm). Alte Pinakothek, Munich (663)





Fig. 2. Master of the Drapery Studies, *Christ Appearing to Mary Magdalen*, ca. 1490. Pen and brown ink, brush and brown wash, over black chalk, 97/8 × 65/8 in. (25.1 × 16.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Walter Lowery, 1957 (57.32.1)



CAT. 4

format—the changes and the focus on the drapery might reflect his own personal interests.

The Museum's drawing was previously attributed to the Master of the Drapery Studies, an anonymous draftsman active in Strasbourg about 1470–1500.<sup>2</sup> However, there is no direct evidence for any journey by that artist to Franconia, and this drawing does not fit easily into his oeuvre, which is the largest known by any Northern draftsman before Dürer.<sup>3</sup> In contrast to the characteristically free and hastily sketched lines and the spontaneous style that are pervasive in works by

and even copies after the Master of the Drapery Studies (fig. 2),<sup>4</sup> the drawing under discussion appears remarkably even and controlled. The attribution is especially questionable with regard to the rather hesitantly drawn heads: the Master of the Drapery Studies had a livelier hand in rendering facial features like mouths and eyes. Furthermore, the abrupt contrast seen here between the faces and the more finished areas of the drapery is usually less evident in his drawings.

At the same time, in terms of other work being produced in Franconia during the period, this sheet stands

out as being rather close to the Master of the Drapery Studies, and it was likely made by an artist who was active in his circle. The Master of the Drapery Studies was closely connected with a circle centered on the Strasbourg glass painter Peter Hemmel, who supplied works to a wide range of southern German art centers, including Nuremberg.<sup>5</sup> The Museum's artist could have been an apprentice who took to the road, a widespread custom at the time, or he could have been a draftsman from the Upper Rhine who traveled to Franconia in connection with a delivery of stained glass.

There are echoes of Pleydenwurff's Hof retable—a vanguard work and a good example of German panel painting inspired by Netherlandish art—in many other works as well.<sup>6</sup> We can assume that it would have served as an influential source of inspiration to a draftsman from the Upper Rhine region in search of new sources for drapery motifs. The importance of such drawn copies and their influence on the Strasbourg workshops specializing in both stained-glass production and panel painting is evident from the numerous extant drawings of draperies (including the Museum's), which also provided the nickname for the Master of the Drapery Studies.

GM

1. For the Hof retable, see Gisela Goldberg in *Alte Pinakothek* 1986, pp. 394–95; Suckale 2009, vol. 1, pp. 159–65, figs. 241–50, vol. 2, no. 33, figs. 826–37, 839–42.

2. For the Master of the Drapery Studies (also known as the Master of the Coburg Roundels), see Roth 1988; Roth 2009.

3. Equally unconvincing as proof for a journey to Franconia by the Master of the Drapery Studies is a drawing attributed to him by John Rowlands, which is preserved in the British Museum, London, inv. 1873-11-1-53 (Rowlands 1993, vol. 1, no. 7, vol. 2, pl. 7); on the recto is a copy (with some variations) of the Annunciation from the Hof altarpiece. Recently, Anna Moraht-Fromm has favored an Upper Rhine origin for the London drawing (in Bruges 2010–11, p. 211, ill. [as possibly by an artist from the circle of the Master of the Drapery Studies]), while Stefan Roller had attributed it to a Franconian artist from the circle of Pleydenwurff (Roller 2008, p. 101, n. 14).

4. Christiane Andersson in *Detroit, Ottawa, and Coburg* 1981–82, p. 390, fig. 23; Michael Roth in *Ulm* 1995, p. 223, fig. 74.1.

5. *Ulm* 1995, p. 56; Scholz 2001, p. 297.

6. For the reception of the Annunciation in the Hof retable, see also Guido Messling in *Buck and Messling* 2009, p. 122.

*Provenance:* Sale, Commissaires Priseurs de Montpellier, May 16, 1998, lot 32; [Kunsthandel Katrin Bellinger, Munich]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 1998

*Literature:* Montpellier 1998, lot 32, ill. (as by the Master of the Drapery Studies); Messling 2010, p. 101

## MARTIN SCHONGAUER

Colmar, ca. 1430–1491, Breisach

Martin Schongauer was renowned in his own lifetime as a painter and an engraver; the beauty of his works inspired the nickname “Martin Hübsch” (beautiful Martin). Nothing is known of Schongauer's early training, but it is assumed that he was born in Colmar to the goldsmith Caspar Schongauer. In 1489 Martin was granted citizenship in neighboring Breisach, presumably so that he could paint frescoes of the Last Judgment for the cathedral there. It appears that Schongauer spent at least a year as a journeyman in the circle of Rogier van der Weyden, where he received training in the circle of Rogier van der Weyden. This early Netherlandish influence is evident throughout his oeuvre. He was the first artist to consistently sign his prints, and he is cited by Giorgio Vasari as having inspired the young Michelangelo with his engraving of the *Temptation of Saint Anthony*. Schongauer's dexterity as an artist also attracted Dürer, who traveled to Colmar in 1492 to meet the master—a year after Schongauer's death.

*General literature:* Rosenberg 1923; Fedja Anzelewsky et al. in *Colmar* 1991; Koreny 1996; Kemperdick 2004; Lehrs 2005

### 5 | Martin Schongauer

*Bust of a Man in a Hat Gazing Upward*, ca. 1480–90

Pen and carbon black ink, over pen and brown ink, on paper prepared with sanguine wash, 5<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 3<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (13 × 9.8 cm)  
Robert Lehman Collection, 1975 (1975.1.872)

At lower right, unidentified collector's mark (letters in a circle, stamped in black ink). Verso, at lower left, inscribed *M+S* in pen and brown ink

*Watermark:* none

Since Max Lehrs first published this naturalistic character study of an old man as being by Schongauer, in 1914, it has been almost universally accepted as a work by the master.<sup>1</sup> Franz Winzinger notes its correspondence with a grizzled man wearing a turban who stares upward at the foot of the cross in a fragment of the Master of Flémalle's depiction of the Bad Thief in Frankfurt.<sup>2</sup> The man in Schongauer's drawing does not wear a turban, but rather a broad-brimmed hat that scholars have been unable to identify more precisely.<sup>3</sup> Although the features and details are not identical, they



CAT. 5

are close enough to suggest that this drawing most likely represents a figure type rather than a portrait.<sup>4</sup>

Long debated in the literature, however, are the questions of when Schongauer executed this drawing and how it fits in stylistically with his other known (but also undated) drawings and prints. Jakob Rosenberg first assigned the drawing to the artist's middle period (about 1480) because of its similarity to his *Passion* engravings.<sup>5</sup> Winzinger cites Rosenberg and compares it to the *Head of a Man with a Fur Cap* in Berlin.<sup>6</sup> In his entry for the drawing in the catalogue of the Colmar exhibition, Emmanuel Starcky also relies on Rosenberg's comparison of the drawing to the *Passion* engravings, although in the exhibition they were interpreted as late works.<sup>7</sup> Starcky compares the work stylistically to the *Bust of a Monk Assisting at Communion* in the National

Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., which he considers an early work (fig. 1).<sup>8</sup> Most recently, Fritz Koreny argues against the early dating and follows Rosenberg in his assessment of a stylistic development based on comparisons made between Schongauer's drawings and engravings. Citing such stylistic similarities as the rich contour lines that define the figure and the fine, closely spaced hatching that molds the facial features, among other elements, Koreny places the Museum's drawing with such late engravings as *A Foolish Virgin* and *Saint Lawrence*.<sup>9</sup>

Although Koreny rejects Starcky's dating, the latter's comparison of *Bust of a Man in a Hat Gazing Upward* with Washington's *Bust of a Monk* remains noteworthy. Drawn in the same medium and roughly the same size, both works employ short vertical hooks



Fig. 1. Martin Schongauer, *Bust of a Monk Assisting at Communion*, ca. 1480–90 (?). Pen and brown ink,  $4\frac{1}{16} \times 4\frac{1}{16}$  in. (12.5 × 10.3 cm). National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Rosenwald Collection (1952.8.295)

over parallel hatching in the eyebrows and sloping parallels along the bridge of the nose. In both the eyes are skewed and unfocused, with crescent-shaped lines accentuating the lower eyelids, and the mouths are slightly ajar. Furthermore, the right cheeks are defined through curving calligraphic lines, while the left are shaded with close parallels. These two drawings also share the same early provenance: in 1831, J. G. A. Frenzel, then director of the Kupferstich-Kabinett, Dresden, and advisor (from 1814 to 1854) to Friedrich August II, king of Saxony, discussed both works when they were still part of the Sternberg-Manderscheid collection.<sup>10</sup> He attributed *Bust of a Man Gazing Upward* to Hans Holbein the Elder, but assigned *Bust of a Monk* to an unknown early German master. Friedrich August acquired both drawings at the 1845 auction of the Sternberg-Manderscheid collection. FS

1. Mikael Bøgh Rasmussen recently contended that the Lehman drawing—like the *Bearded Man with Pointed Oriental Headgear* in the Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen, inv. GB 2973—is by a follower of Schongauer (Bøgh Rasmussen 2000, p. 28). Long considered an autograph work, the Copenhagen drawing was attributed to a follower of Schongauer by Fritz Koreny in his reassessment of the artist's drawings (Koreny 1996, p. 132). Koreny does, however, maintain the attribution of the Lehman drawing to Schongauer both in his 1996 article and in Haverkamp-Begemann et al. 1999, no. 5.
2. Winzinger 1962, p. 49. The Master of Flémalle's painting is in the Städel Museum, Frankfurt, inv. 886 (Kemperdick 1997, pp. 29–42, pl. 3; Jochen Sander in Frankfurt and Berlin 2008–9, no. 8, ill.).
3. Koreny in Haverkamp-Begemann et al. 1999, pp. 23–24.
4. Ibid.
5. Rosenberg 1923, p. 22. For the *Passion* engravings, see Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 49 (1999), nos. 19–30, ill.
6. Winzinger 1962, p. 49. The drawing is in the Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. KdZ 4917 (Winzinger 1962, no. 27, ill.).
7. Starcky in Colmar 1991, no. D 10.
8. Winzinger 1962, no. 13, ill.
9. Koreny in Haverkamp-Begemann et al. 1999, pp. 22–23. For the engravings, see Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 49 (1999), p. 190, no. 86, ill., p. 144, no. 61, ill.; Lehrs 2005, nos. 86, 61, ill.
10. Frenzel 1831, p. 61.

*Provenance:* Franz von Sternberg-Manderscheid (1763–1830), Prague; sale, J. G. A. Frenzel, Dresden, November 10, 1845, vol. 5, lot 330; Friedrich August II of Saxony (1797–1854), Dresden; his heirs, until 1945; private collection, Switzerland; [E. Verchère, Geneva; A. and R. Ball, New York]; Robert Lehman (1891–1969), New York, 1952; given by the Robert Lehman Foundation to the Museum in accordance with the collector's wishes, 1975

*Literature:* Frenzel 1831, p. 60 (as by Hans Holbein the Elder); Frenzel 1845, lot 330 (as by Holbein the Elder); Lehrs 1914, pl. 2; Rosenberg 1923, pp. 22–23, 40, fig. 16; Baum 1948, p. 45, fig. 122; Winzinger 1950, p. 46, fig. 5; Flechsig 1951, pp. 332, 334; New York 1956, no. 158; Paris 1957, no. 126, pl. LVII; Cincinnati 1959, no. 247, ill.; Winzinger 1962, no. 14, ill.; George Szabo in New York 1978–79, no. 21, ill.; Châtelet 1979, p. 120; Bernhard 1980, p. 415, ill. p. 154; Emmanuel Starcky in Colmar 1991, no. D 10; Koreny 1996, p. 139, fig. 31; Fritz Koreny in Haverkamp-Begemann et al. 1999, no. 5, ill.; Bøgh Rasmussen 2000, p. 28, fig. 4a (as by a follower of Schongauer)

# Albrecht Dürer and Artists Active in Nuremberg in the Early Sixteenth Century

## ALBRECHT DÜRER

Nuremberg, 1471–1528, Nuremberg

The most celebrated artist of Renaissance Germany, Albrecht Dürer first trained with his father, Albrecht the Elder, in his goldsmith's workshop in Nuremberg. He was then apprenticed to the painter and printmaker Michael Wolgemut. During Dürer's *Wanderjahre* (1490–94), he traveled in the Upper Rhineland, probably visiting Frankfurt, Mainz, and Cologne. In 1492 he was in Colmar, hoping to study with Martin Schongauer, who had died the year before. That August he went to Basel, where he executed woodcuts for book illustrations, including Sebastian Brant's canonical *Ship of Fools* (1494). In late 1494 he was in Italy, likely visiting Venice, Mantua, and Padua. Dürer returned to Nuremberg and became a master in 1495, producing paintings for patrons including Elector Frederick the Wise of Saxony as well as myriad prints, particularly his series the Apocalypse (1498); the Small and Large Passions (ca. 1511); and the Life of the Virgin (ca. 1511). His friendship with the Nuremberg humanist Willibald Pirckheimer is reflected in letters penned on his second trip to Italy (1506–7), during which Dürer delighted in the Italian artists' use of color and their system of representing human proportions. His association with Emperor Maximilian I began in 1512 and resulted in the extraordinary paper monuments the *Triumphal Arch* (1512–17/18) and *Triumphal Chariot* (1522). In 1520–21 he journeyed to the Netherlands, where he kept a diary recording his artistic activities and the artists he encountered. In his last years Dürer worked on theoretical writings, including his *Vier Bücher von menschlicher Proportion* (Four books on human proportion, printed posthumously, 1528).

*Selected general literature:* Flechsig 1928–31; F. Winkler 1936–39; Panofsky 1948; F. Winkler 1957; Washington 1971; Strauss 1974; Anzelewsky 1991; Schoch, Mende, and Scherbaum 2001–4; Vienna 2003

## 6 | Albrecht Dürer

*Sheet with a Self-Portrait and Studies of the Artist's Left Hand and a Pillow*; verso: *Six Studies of a Pillow*, 1493

Pen and iron gall ink, 10<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 7<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (27.8 × 20.2 cm)  
Robert Lehman Collection, 1975 (1975.1.862)

At upper center, inscribed *Ad* in pen and brown ink, by a later hand. Verso, at upper center, dated 1493 in pen and brown ink, by the artist; at lower left, stamp of the Muzeum imienia Lubomirskich (*MUZ / IM / LUBOM* in a circle, stamped in red; not in Lugt)

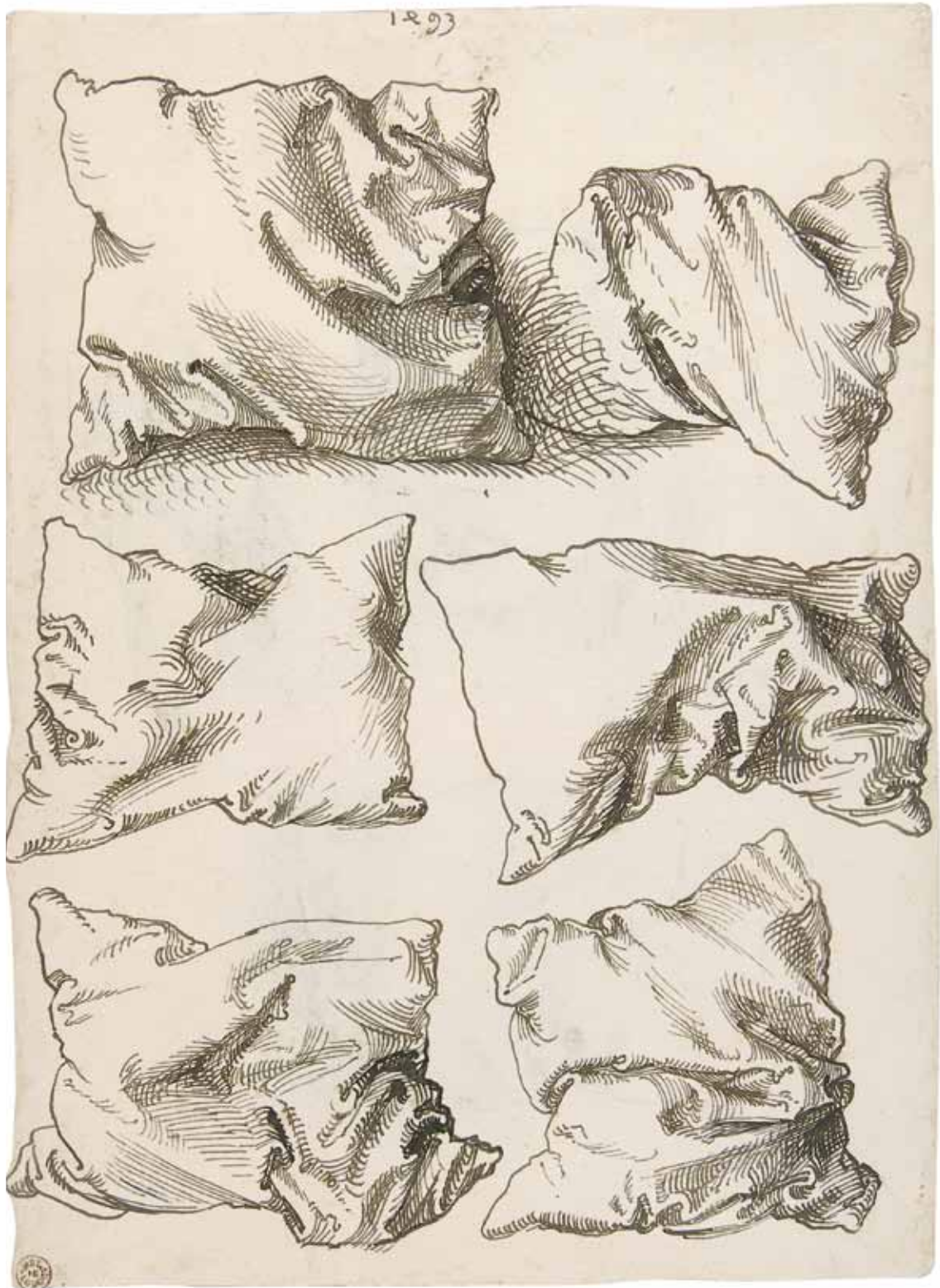
*Watermark:* three French lilies in crowned shield, flower above<sup>1</sup>

Arguably one of the best drawings in the Museum, and one of the greatest from the artist's early years, this sheet has a commanding presence that makes it easy to forget that, in essence, it is a series of exercises by a young artist. Dürer seems to have started the drawing with his self-portrait, placed just a little higher than the center of the sheet. The face is slightly distorted, "its magnified nose registering the convexity of the mirror employed."<sup>2</sup> In contrast, he studied his left hand directly, with the same piercing, self-confident eyes that stare at us from the drawing. The hand is seen at closer range than the face. The pillow below the sketches of the face and the hand appears to be viewed from above, casting its shadow on the ground. This spatial ambiguity does not at all detract from the drawing but rather brings to life a composition that could easily have looked like three isolated studies.

Dürer probably then turned the sheet over and continued to study the pillow, which, kneaded into subtly varying forms, served as a patient model for six distinct views. Only in the study at upper left does hatching outside the pillow's outlines indicate its relationship to the surrounding space; in the five other studies the pillow almost appears to be a floating, abstract form. Because the shadow cast by the first pillow is drawn over the study to its right, the artist probably added it after completion of all six sketches. Using merely outlines and hatching for modeling, and almost without varying the thickness of the pen lines, Dürer depicted

Ad





*Six Studies of a Pillow* (verso of cat. 6)



Fig. 1. Albrecht Dürer, *Self-Portrait*, 1493. Oil on vellum, laid down on canvas, 22 $\frac{1}{16}$  × 17 $\frac{5}{16}$  in. (56 × 44 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (RF 2382)

the pillow before him in the same way that he and many artists before him would convey the endlessly diverse features of drapery.<sup>3</sup> But whereas such drapery studies, at least in Northern Europe, were most often based on the artist's imagination or on models by other artists (see cat. 4), Dürer's pillows betray only here and there—for instance, in the small curl at the left edge of the pillow at center left—that he had been trained to depict form according to artistic tradition rather than direct observation.

The autograph date at the top of the verso places the drawing in the last of the artist's wandering years, the year in which he also made what has been called the "first autonomous painted self-portrait in Western art," now in Paris (fig. 1).<sup>4</sup> Probably intended as an engagement portrait to be sent to his soon-to-be wife, Agnes, in Nuremberg, the painting shows the artist with the same long locks and faint dusting of facial hair on his chin and upper lip, with facial features nearly identical to those in the Museum's self-portrait. Indeed, comparing the drawing to the painting, one wonders whether the study of the hand could have been made in preparation for the one holding the sprig of eryngo



Fig. 2. Albrecht Dürer, *Three Studies of a Left Hand*, ca. 1493–95. Pen and brown ink, 10 $\frac{5}{8}$  × 7 $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (27 × 18 cm). Albertina, Vienna (26327)

in the painting. The study of a left hand on a sheet in Vienna (upper left in fig. 2) may also have been made in this context.<sup>5</sup> It can be dated to about the same time as the work under discussion, although it appears somewhat less confident. The same can be said of a drawing in London;<sup>6</sup> it must be noted, however, that in this drawing the artist set himself slightly more difficult challenges than in the Lehman sheet, involving the depiction of an arm and a leg in foreshortening.

While it is the directness of the self-portrait that raises the Museum's drawing to the level of masterwork, this directness—so unexpected from an artist of his time—is by no means unique in Dürer's oeuvre. Dürer's first self-portrait, age thirteen, was still rather conventional, but a drawing in Erlangen, which must have preceded the Museum's by only a year or two, is equally startling as self-observation—in this case, of genuine melancholy (fig. 3).<sup>7</sup> Dürer's two remaining painted self-portraits are less personal in the traits they reveal: that of a man who had come to realize during his





Fig. 3. Albrecht Dürer, *Self-Portrait*, ca. 1491–92. Pen and brown ink, 8 $\frac{1}{16}$  × 8 $\frac{3}{16}$  in. (20.4 × 20.8 cm). Graphische Sammlung, Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg, Erlangen (Bock 155)

stays in Venice that he was “a gentleman,” in a painting dated 1498 in Madrid;<sup>8</sup> and the less easily explained identification with Christ, in a painting of 1500 in Munich (see cat. 8, fig. 2). A high point in the artist’s exploration of his own appearance is a startling drawing in Weimar, dated about 1500–1505, that shows the artist nude from the knees up.<sup>9</sup> That drawing’s unrepentant self-scrutiny would remain almost unparalleled until the era of Egon Schiele and other soul-searching artists of the twentieth century, but Dürer’s sovereign, piercing, and even cold gaze is already fully present in the Lehman portrait of his younger self. SA

1. The watermark is similar to one found in paper used in Sitten in 1494 (Piccard-Online, no. 128593; accessed November 20, 2011); reproduced in Haverkamp-Begemann et al. 1999, p. 32.

2. Koerner 2006, p. 37.

3. See, for example, a double-sided drawing by Dürer with studies of the Virgin and Child, of drapery, and of his hand in the British Museum, London, inv. 1983-4-16-2 (F. Winkler 1936–39, vol. 1 [1936], nos. 22, 23, ill.; Strauss 1974, vol. 1, nos. 1491/4, 1491/5, ill.; Rowlands 1993, vol. 1, no. 120, vol. 2, pls. 74, 75).

4. Anzelewsky 1991, vol. 1, no. 10, vol. 2, pl. 14. The quotation is from Strieder 1996, p. 429.

5. F. Winkler 1936–39, vol. 1 (1936), no. 47, ill.; Strauss 1974, vol. 1, no. 1493/8, ill.; Maria Luise Sternath in Vienna 2003, no. 7, ill.

6. Courtauld Gallery, London, inv. D.1978.PG.251 (F. Winkler 1936–39, vol. 1 [1936], nos. 31, 33, ill.; Strauss 1974, vol. 1, nos. 1493/1, 1493/2, ill.; Helen Braham in London 1991–92, no. 31, ill.).

7. Bock 1929, vol. 1, no. 155, vol. 2, ill.; F. Winkler 1936–39, vol. 1 (1936), no. 26, ill.; Strauss 1974, vol. 1, no. 1491/9, ill.; Rainer Schoch in Nuremberg 2008, no. 38, ill. The self-portrait as a

thirteen-year-old is in the Albertina, Vienna, inv. 4839 (F. Winkler 1936–39, vol. 1 [1936], no. 1, ill.; Strauss 1974, vol. 1, no. 1484/1, ill.; Heinz Widauer in Vienna 2003, no. 1, ill.).

8. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, inv. 2179 (Anzelewsky 1991, vol. 1, no. 49, vol. 2, pl. 53). In a letter from Venice to his friend Willibald Pirckheimer on August 18, 1506, Dürer writes that he became a “zentilam” (*gentiluomo*) in Venice (published in Dürer 1956–69 [ed.], vol. 1 [1956], p. 52).

9. Graphische Sammlungen, Klassik Stiftung Weimar, inv. KK 106 (F. Winkler 1936–39, vol. 1 [1936], no. 267, ill.; Strauss 1974, vol. 2, no. 1503/18, ill.; Sieveking 2001, p. 120, fig. 10; Berthold Hinz in Vienna 2003, no. 52, ill.).

*Provenance:* Probably Willibald Imhoff the Elder (1519–1580) and his heirs, or Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586); probably acquired from one of these collections as part of a large group of Dürer drawings by Emperor Rudolf II (1552–1612), Prague, in 1588 or 1589 and then by descent in the Habsburg family collections; Albert of Saxony, Duke of Teschen (1738–1822), Brussels, Dresden, and Vienna; Albertina, Vienna; removed from the Albertina along with other drawings by Dürer, probably by the curator of drawings, François-Joseph Lefebvre (1762–1835), and later sold through the dealer and collector Josef Grünling (1785–1845), Vienna; acquired after 1816 and by 1834 by Henryk Lubomirski (1777–1859), Vienna and Przeworsk; \* Musaeum Lubomirscianum (Muzeum Książat Lubomirskich or Lubomirski Museum), attached to the Ossolineum (Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich or Ossoliński Institute), Lemberg (also Lwów or Lvov; now Lviv); nationalized, along with the collections of the Ossolineum, by the Soviet occupation forces in 1939 and made part of the V. Stefanyk Library of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, Lvov; confiscated by the German occupation forces in 1941; stored in the salt mines at Altaussee; Munich Central Collecting Point, 1945 or later; restituted to Jerzy Rafał Lubomirski (1887–1978), Geneva, in 1950; † sold through Paul Drey, New York, to Robert Lehman (1891–1969), New York, 1952; given by the Robert Lehman Foundation to the Museum in accordance with the collector’s wishes, 1975

*Selected literature:* Reitlinger 1927, pp. 154, 159, pl. 1; F. Winkler 1927a, pp. 15–16; F. Winkler 1927b, p. 354, ill.; Friedrich Winkler in Lippmann and F. Winkler 1883–1929, vol. 6 (1927), nos. 613, 614, ill.; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1928–38, vol. 1 (1928), nos. 32, 33, ill.; Gębarowicz and Tietze 1929, no. 1, pls. 1, 2; Flechsig 1928–31, vol. 2 (1931), pp. 27, 29, 69, 352, 397, 545; Kehrer 1934, pp. 31–32, pl. 9; Waetzoldt 1935, pp. 33, 170, fig. 6; F. Winkler 1936–39, vol. 1 (1936), nos. 27, 32, ill.; Panofsky 1943, vol. 1, pp. 24–25, vol. 2, nos. 998, 1442, pl. 26; Panofsky 1948, vol. 1, pp. 24–25, vol. 2, nos. 998, 1442, pl. 26; F. Winkler 1957, p. 37, pl. 4; Wagenseil 1962, pp. 173, 174; Gaillard F. Ravenel in Washington 1971, no. 1, ill.; Strauss 1974, vol. 1, nos. 1493/6, 1493/7, ill.; Szabo 1979, pp. 1–3, figs. 1, 2; Barbara Drake Boehm in New York and Nuremberg 1986, no. 102, ill.; Koerner 1993, pp. 5–7, 12–14, 27–33, 154, figs. 2, 5; Fritz Koreny in Haverkamp-Begemann et al. 1999, no. 7, ill.; Juzwenko and Mirecki 2004, p. 50, no. 17, ill.; Koerner 2006, pp. 37, 40, figs. 21, 22

\* For the early provenance of the Dürer drawings in the Lubomirski collection, see Koschatzky 1971, pp. 8–82; on p. 82 they are connected with a group of Dürer drawings formerly in the collections of Rudolf II and later of Albert of Saxony.

† For the eventful twentieth-century history of ownership of the Dürer drawings in the Lubomirski collection, see Vause 2002; Juzwenko and Mirecki 2004.

## 7 | Albrecht Dürer

### *Fortuna in a Niche*, 1498

Pen and iron gall ink, 12<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 4<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (32.7 × 12 cm)  
Robert Lehman Collection, 1975 (1975.1.861)

At lower center, dated and monogrammed 1498 / AD (D under A) in pen and brown ink. Verso, at upper center, inscribed J (?) in graphite (19th-century handwriting); at lower left, inscribed G. 342 in graphite (20th-century handwriting)

Watermark: crown with cross and suspended triangle<sup>1</sup>

When Henry Scipio Reitlinger first published *Fortuna in a Niche*, in 1927, as part of a group of Dürer drawings from the Lubomirski collection in Lemberg (now Lviv, in present-day Ukraine), he commented that it reminded him of the artist's engraving *The Small Fortune*, executed about 1497.<sup>2</sup> The designation of this beautifully crafted nude woman standing confidently atop a sphere as the allegorical figure of Fortune has persisted in the scholarship.<sup>3</sup> When catalogued in 1999 by Fritz Koreny, the drawing was described as an example of Dürer's early interest in the female nude studied from life as well as of his fascination with human proportions. As Jay Levenson aptly puts it, the drawing is "delicately poised between the real and the ideal."<sup>4</sup> Although Koreny acknowledges Dürer's life drawings of nudes, he focuses his discussion on the artist's introduction to ideal proportions by the Italian artist Jacopo de' Barbari during Dürer's first stay in Venice, in 1495. Dürer would have had contact with him again in Nuremberg in 1500, when de' Barbari was appointed court artist to Emperor Maximilian I. Dürer later noted that his interest in proportion began with de' Barbari:

I found no one who has written about a system of human proportion, except Jacobus, a native of Venice and a lovely painter. He showed me how to construct man and woman based on measurements. When he told of this, I would rather have come into possession of his knowledge than of a kingdom. . . . But Jacobus I noticed did not give me a clear explanation; so I went ahead on my own and read Vitruvius, who describes the proportions of the human body to some extent. Thereafter, I continued my search for more information.<sup>5</sup>

Dürer's subsequent and sustained investigation of the proportions of the human figure led him to examine Cennini's *Trattato della pittura*, Leon Battista Alberti's *Della pittura*, and other quattrocento theories of proportion, all stemming from the canonical text *De architectura* by the Roman architect Vitruvius. In Dürer's own writings these theoretical concepts





Fig. 1. Albrecht Dürer, *Study of a Female Nude Seen from the Front with Construction Lines* (verso of fig. 2), 1500. Pen and brown ink, 13 × 17<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (33 × 43.6 cm). British Museum, London (5218-184)

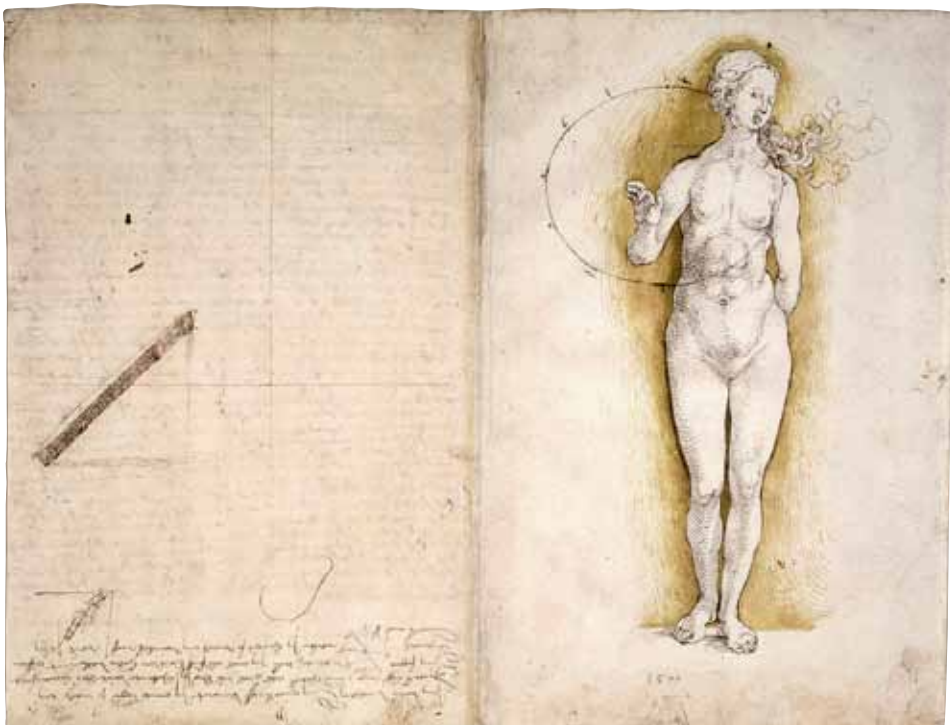


Fig. 2. Albrecht Dürer, *Study of a Female Nude Seen from the Front with a Foreshortened Circle*, 1500. Pen and brown ink, green wash, 13 × 17<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (33 × 43.6 cm). British Museum, London (5218-184)

culminated in the *Vier Bücher von menschlicher Proportion* (Four books on human proportion), published posthumously in 1528.<sup>6</sup> The book represents Dürer's almost thirty-year preoccupation with the ideal of human proportion based on geometric principles, which is embodied in his drawings, prints, and paintings.

The smooth semicircular niche that Fortuna occupies is framed by two rectangular walls topped by barely delineated disks. Mięczyński and Hans Tietze as well as Levenson believed the niche motif could have been copied from Venetian tomb sculpture.<sup>7</sup> Levenson also perceived the motif in Martin Schongauer's engraving *Christ before Pilate*.<sup>8</sup> All of these references are valid; however, the space itself is significant and mirrors the Vitruvian system of measurement of the human form based on the circle and square.<sup>9</sup> The figure may in fact be Fortuna, but the sphere she stands on may also be a reference to its own perfect form. The emphasis on circular forms continues in the figure itself. Walter Strauss points out that the spheres of the woman's breasts are modeled with concentric circles.<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, her winglike shoulder muscles follow the lines of a circle that encloses the upper torso, and the line of her neck follows a curve rising from the corners of the rectangle of the rib cage. This seemingly peculiar construction of the female form is also evident in a group of Dürer's more straightforward drawn proportion studies that have been dated to about 1500.<sup>11</sup> On the verso of a drawing in London, the outline of a woman's body is divided into proportions measured against an axis drawn through the body, from the crown of the head to a point just below the toes (fig. 1).<sup>12</sup> On the recto of this sheet, the geometrically precise female form is worked up with hatched lines and wash to create a greater sense of depth (fig. 2). She is shown standing behind a measured circle, emphasizing its importance in mathematical proportions for the human form. The drawing is accompanied by Dürer's notations indicating that he constructed the figure with the help of a compass and according to the system outlined by Vitruvius.

Although the function of the Lehman drawing is not certain, it is interesting to note that Dürer's first proportionally constructed preparatory study for a print, *Nemesis* (or *The Large Fortune*), is a drawing from about 1500 that shows a nude woman designed according to the Vitruvian canon standing on a sphere.<sup>13</sup> FS

1. The watermark is similar to one found in paper used in Nuremberg in 1493 (Piccard-Online, no. 51601; accessed August 1, 2011).

2. Reitlinger 1927, p. 154. For the print, see Hollstein, *German*, 1954-, vol. 7 (1962), p. 65, no. 71.

3. For a complete bibliography up to 1999, see Fritz Koreny in Haverkamp-Begemann et al. 1999, p. 39. Scholars have struggled to identify the subject of the drawing. Jay A. Levenson remarked on the unusual rendition of the scene but could not determine another explanation for the imagery (in Washington 1971, pp. 36–39).
4. Levenson in Washington 1971, p. 36; also cited by Koreny in Haverkamp-Begemann et al. 1999, p. 40.
5. “Jdoch so ich keinen find, der do etwas beschriben hett van menschlicher mas zw manchen, dan einen man Jacobus genent, van Venedig geporn, ein liblicher moler. Der wies mir man vnd weib, dj er awser mas gemacht het, vnd das och awff djese tzeit liber sehen wolt, was sein mainung wer gewest da nein new kunigraich. . . . Dan mir wolt diser formelt Jacobus seinen grunt nit klerich an tzeigen, das merkett ich woll an jm.” Dürer 1956–69 (ed.), vol. 1 (1956), p. 102; the translation is adapted from that given in Strauss 1974, vol. 2, p. 503. The text is found in the artist’s manuscript draft for the introduction to his *Vier Bücher von menschlicher Proportion*, preserved in the Department of Manuscripts, British Library, London, MS 5230, fol. 44.
6. It was published by Dürer’s wife, Agnes, and Willibald Pirckheimer, to whom the artist had dedicated the work.
7. Gębarowicz and Tietze 1929, p. 16; Levenson in Washington 1971, p. 38.
8. Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 49 (1999), p. 64, no. 24, ill.
9. The so-called Vitruvian Man can be found in book three of *De architectura*.
10. See Strauss 1974, vol. 1, p. 274.
11. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, nos. 1500/13–1500/36, ill. The related drawings can be found in Berlin, Dresden, Hamburg, London, and elsewhere.
12. F. Winkler 1936–39, vol. 2 (1937), nos. 411, 412, ill.; Strauss 1974, vol. 2, nos. 1500/29, 1500/30, ill.; Rowlands 1993, vol. 1, no. 149, vol. 2, pls. 97, 96.
13. British Museum, London, inv. 5218-114 (F. Winkler 1936–39, vol. 1 [1936], no. 266, ill.; Strauss 1974, vol. 2, no. 1502/25, ill.; Rowlands 1993, vol. 1, no. 150, vol. 2, pl. 95). For *Nemesis*, see Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 7 (1962), p. 66, no. 72; Rainer Schoch in Schoch, Mende, and Scherbaum 2001–4, vol. 1 (2001), no. 33, ill.

*Provenance:* See cat. 6

*Selected literature:* Reitlinger 1927, pp. 154, 159, pl. 11a; F. Winkler 1927a, p. 16; F. Winkler 1927b, p. 354; Friedrich Winkler in Lippmann and F. Winkler 1883–1929, vol. 6 (1927), no. 669, ill; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1928–38, vol. 1 (1928), no. 143, ill; Gębarowicz and Tietze 1929, no. 4, pl. IV; Flechsig 1928–31, vol. 2 (1931), p. 420; F. Winkler 1936–39, vol. 1 (1936), no. 154, ill.; Panofsky 1943, vol. 2, no. 911; Panofsky 1948, vol. 2, no. 911; Jay A. Levenson in Washington 1971, no. VI, ill.; Strauss 1974, vol. 1, no. 1495/7, ill.; Barbara Drake Boehm in New York and Nuremberg 1986, no. 110, ill.; Fritz Koreny in Haverkamp-Begemann et al. 1999, no. 8, ill.; Sieveking 2001, p. 120, fig. 8; Juzwenko and Mirecki 2004, p. 52, no. 19, ill.; Freyda Spira in Sacramento and Poughkeepsie 2010–11, p. 130

## 8 | Albrecht Dürer

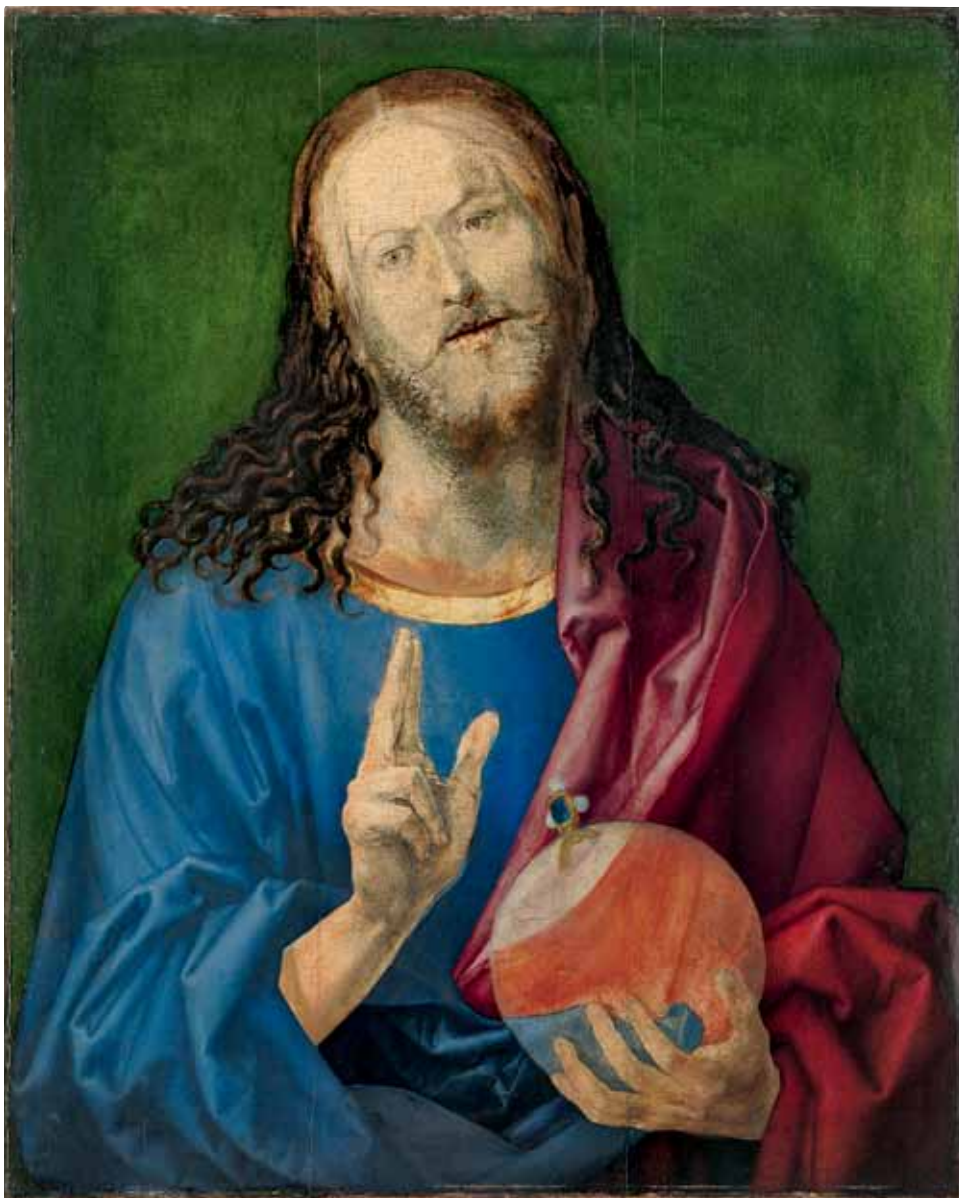
*Salvator Mundi*, ca. 1504–5

Oil on panel, 22<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 18<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in. (58.1 × 47 cm)

The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931 (32.100.64)

This painting was already recorded as an unfinished work in the sixteenth century: the 1573 inventory of the Imhoff collection lists “The Salvator not quite finished by Albrecht Dürer.”<sup>1</sup> In 1861 Professor Alois Hauser in Bamberg cleaned the picture and described its state: the finished portions, he noted, comprised the draperies, hair, and the green background; the face and hands had been sketched in and highlights had been applied to the forehead and nose.<sup>2</sup> A subsequent owner had the painting completed by a restorer in Augsburg named Deschler.<sup>3</sup> Finally, cleanings before 1906 and in 1939–40 (after the acquisition of the painting by the Museum in 1932) removed the overpainting, again exposing the unfinished portions.<sup>4</sup> Despite the somewhat checkered history and compromised condition of the *Salvator Mundi*, its authorship has rarely been questioned, and because of its unfinished state, it can be appreciated today equally as a drawing and as a painting.<sup>5</sup> Infrared reflectography has further revealed the extent of the underdrawing, which is so precise and meticulously rendered that it looks like an independent drawing (fig. 1).<sup>6</sup>

Dürer’s Christ was influenced both by examples by his German predecessors and by contemporary Italian art. An engraving by the Master E. S., later reworked by Israhel van Meckenem about 1467, shows the pose of Christ adopted by Dürer: a half-length figure, the right hand raised in blessing and the left holding an orb, with the head slightly tilted toward the left.<sup>7</sup> The tightly curled beard and ringlets of hair falling to the shoulders also bear close comparison. Dürer’s work, however, is imbued with a Renaissance spirit that owes its inspiration to Jacopo de’ Barbari, whom Dürer met when the Italian came to Germany to work for Emperor Maximilian I in Nuremberg in 1500 and later for Elector Frederick the Wise of Saxony in Wittenberg.<sup>8</sup> Dating from this period (about 1503) are two paintings of Christ by de’ Barbari—one now in Weimar, the other in Dresden.<sup>9</sup> Both show a frontal Christ, who addresses the viewer with mouth slightly opened, as if about to speak; his hair falls in loose ringlets to the shoulders, and his beard is a mass of tight curls. The richly saturated red and blue in Christ’s robe and cloak in the



CAT. 8

Weimar example mark an Italian palette that Dürer readily assimilated. In addition to these features, it is especially the poignant, human expression of de' Barbari's Christ that Dürer adopted.

The composition and style of the painting, with influences from early printmaking as well as from de' Barbari, suggest a relatively early date—that is, about 1504–5. This would be just before Dürer fled an outbreak of the plague in Nuremberg, departing for Venice in late fall of 1505 and perhaps leaving the *Salvator Mundi* unfinished in his studio.<sup>10</sup> A close look at the underdrawing reveals details of handling and execution

that are comparable in complexity to the underdrawing found in Dürer's *Self-Portrait* of 1500 in Munich (fig. 2).<sup>11</sup> In these paintings, as well as in his drawings on paper, Dürer had taken over the exacting technique he had developed for engraving. The remarkably dense passages of parallel hatching and cross-hatching in pen in the shadow areas of the head in the *Salvator Mundi* are even further reworked with another layer of curved strokes in brush that indicate the cavity of the neck. For his preparatory drawings, Dürer employed pen work in darker and lighter inks and white heightening on blue paper. His studies for the *Feast of the Rose Garlands* (now in Prague),<sup>12</sup> Dürer's first major commission after arriving in Venice, show striking parallels to the underdrawing in the *Salvator Mundi*. Compare, for example, several of Dürer's studies of hands in Vienna and Nuremberg with the underdrawing of the hand of Christ raised in blessing, where the obliquely angled cross-hatching for the deepest areas of shadow, the short commalike strokes indicating the edges of forms, and the bold, even parallel strokes across the fingers appear so similar.<sup>13</sup> The extensive underdrawing in the robe and mantle of Christ resembles the drapery studies that Dürer was making at the time, which likewise express convincing volumetric forms deftly modeled by light and shade.<sup>14</sup>

In contrast to the abundance of comparative studies on paper, few other paintings by Dürer are worked up in so detailed and meticulous a way as the Museum's *Salvator Mundi*. The Munich *Self-Portrait* is an exception. The full-face, frontal figure of the self-portrait was a form usually reserved in Northern Europe at this time for icons of Christ. In addition, the idealized formal portrayal of the sitter, who directly addresses the viewer with a hypnotic gaze, his handsome face, and his shoulder-length brown hair—Dürer was blond in other portraits—all call to mind the description of Christ in the famous Lentulus letter, a document first published in 1474 and only later found to be a forgery.<sup>15</sup> The Christ-like nature of the self-portrait in Munich has been ascribed to Dürer's desire to convey a representation both of man created in the image of God (*imago Dei*) and of the artist himself as creator.<sup>16</sup> The Latin inscription on the painting stresses Dürer's humanist identity, suggesting the concept of the Christian Humanist so strongly advocated by Erasmus.<sup>17</sup> The Munich painting was probably meant as a showpiece to demonstrate Dürer's extraordinary abilities to prospective clients and his pupils alike, and it was most likely kept in his house during his lifetime. Could the *Salvator Mundi*, which has so much in common with the Munich *Self-Portrait*, have served a similar purpose in Dürer's

workshop—to inspire and to instruct? We cannot know the reason that it was left unfinished, but perhaps the *Salvator Mundi* was a painting that Dürer kept close at hand, to work on slowly in a further development of the concepts and aims of the Munich *Self-Portrait*. MWA

1. As quoted in H. Budde 1996, p. 142: “Der Salvator, so Albrecht Dürer nit gar ausgemacht hat.” The connection to the entry in the Imhoff inventory was already made in Heller 1827, pt. 1, p. 79; Sighart 1862, p. 626; von Eye 1869, p. 455, and app., p. 532.

2. As recorded in London 1906, p. 96; Flechsig 1928–31, vol. 1, p. 401.

3. See previous note.

4. London 1906, p. 96. Ricketts 1906 notes the removal of the restorations of the *Salvator Mundi*, lent from the Fairfax Murray collection to the exhibition “Early German Art” at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, London, in 1906. Information about the 1939–40 cleaning comes from treatment files in the Museum’s Department of Paintings Conservation. During these cleanings, some of the underdrawing was scraped off and retouched, the highlights on the nose and forehead that Hauser described disappeared, and the hair was damaged.

5. Only Robert Vischer (1886, p. 221) thought it was by Hans Suess von Kulmbach, but this assessment was based on a woodcut reproduction of the painting. Two additional unfinished paintings by Dürer, *Saint Onuphrius* and *Saint John the Baptist* (Kunsthalle Bremen, inv. 33-1851) were proposed by Eduard Flechsig as the left and right wings of the *Salvator Mundi* (Flechsig 1928–31, vol. 1, pp. 400–403; for these paintings, see Höper 1990, pp. 124–26, ill.; Anzelewsky 1991, vol. 1, nos. 84, 85, vol. 2, pls. 99, 100, 102; Anne Röver-Kann in Bremen 2004, figs. 1, 2). This proposal was supported in C. L. Kuhn 1936, p. 54; Musper 1965, p. 86; Höper 1990, pp. 124–25; Anzelewsky 1991, vol. 1, p. 189; and rejected in Wehle 1942; Strieder 1981, p. 297. Erwin Panofsky (1948, vol. 2, p. 9, no. 18) mentions the proposed connection of the wings to the *Salvator Mundi* without expressing any definitive point of view. A technical examination of all three paintings at The Metropolitan Museum of Art on January 4, 2005, helped determine that the Bremen wings most likely did not belong to the *Salvator Mundi*. The results of this investigation were presented in exhibitions at the Museum (January 11–March 27, 2005) and at the Kunsthalle Bremen (April 19–July 17, 2005).

6. The infrared reflectography was carried out on November 25, 2004, by Charlotte Hale in the Museum’s Department of Paintings Conservation. The equipment used was an Indigo Merlin NIR camera with no filter, a Nikon Micro-Nikkor 55 mm lens, a National Instruments 1MAQ (NI 14222) digitizing board, and IR Vista 2.5 capture software. The mosaicing program was Adobe Photoshop 8.0 cs.

7. Lehrs 1908–34, vol. 2 (1910), no. 57, plate vol. 2, pl. 91; Alan Shestack in Philadelphia 1967, no. 79, ill.; Alan Shestack in Washington 1967–68, no. 16, ill.; Holm Bevers in Munich and Berlin 1986–87, no. 23, fig. 24. The connection with the Museum’s painting was already suggested in Wehle 1942, p. 157; and by Kurt Löcher in New York and Nuremberg 1986, p. 290.

8. Moritz Thausing (1884, pp. 304–5) was the first to observe this; see also Hevesy 1928, pp. 34–35.

9. Schlossmuseum im Stadtschloss, Klassik Stiftung Weimar, inv. G2 (Ferrari 2006, pp. 93–94, no. 8, pl. VIII); Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, inv. 928 B (Ferrari 2006, pp. 95–96, no. 9, pl. IX).

10. Jill Dunkerton (1999, p. 101) stated that this painting must have been made in Venice, based on an understanding that the panel is poplar. However, a technical investigation of the wood support

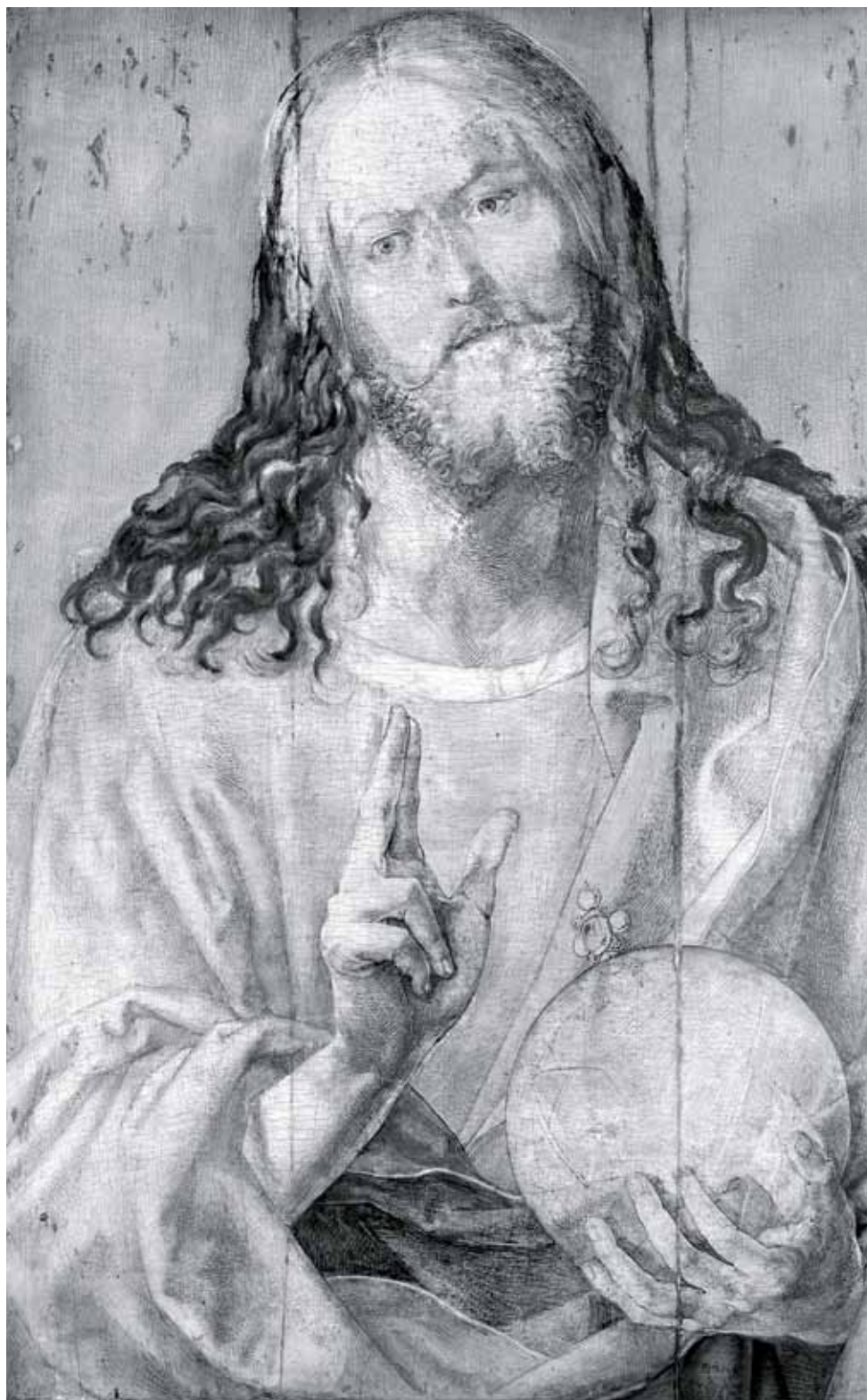


Fig. 1. Infrared reflectogram of cat. 8 (detail)



Fig. 2. Albrecht Dürer, *Self-Portrait*, 1500. Oil on panel, 26<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 19<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (67.1 × 48.9 cm). Alte Pinakothek, Munich (537)

by George Bisacca and Marijn Manuels on March 26–27, 2003, indicated that it is linden. Furthermore, the ground preparation is calcium carbonate, also a likely indication of production in the North (kindly tested by Silvia Centano, report of March 27, 2003, preserved in the files of the Museum's Department of Paintings Conservation). Both linden wood and calcium carbonate were available in Venice, and there are some examples of Italian artists using these materials (information provided by Cecilia Frosinini of the Istituto Centrale per il Restauro at the Fortezza di Basso, Florence), but other evidence points more conclusively to production in Germany. The earliest provenance of the *Salvator Mundi* is the collection of Willibald Imhoff, which was the eventual repository of the works left in Dürer's workshop in Nuremberg upon his death (H. Budde 1996, pp. 142–44). Furthermore, the closest parallels for Dürer's work are de' Barbari's paintings of Christ made about 1503, while he was working in Germany.

11. Anzelewsky 1991, vol. 1, no. 66, vol. 2, pls. 72–74; Goldberg, Heimberg, and Schawe 1998, pp. 314–53, ill. For photos of the equally comparable underdrawing of the Adam at the Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (inv. P 2177), see Madrid 2006, figs. 15, 16, 71, 72, 76, 77.

12. Národní Galerie v Praze, Prague, inv. OP 2148 (Anzelewsky 1991, vol. 1, no. 93, vol. 2, pls. 104–9).

13. Albertina, Vienna, inv. 3103, 3104, 26328, 26329 (F. Winkler 1936–39, vol. 2 [1937], nos. 392, 406, 389, 390, ill.; Strauss 1974, vol. 2, nos. 1506/36, 1506/15, 1506/13, 1506/14, ill.; Heinz Widauer in Vienna 2003, nos. 103, 102, 100, 101, ill.); Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, inv. Hz 5481, Hz 5482 (F. Winkler 1936–39, vol. 2 [1937], nos. 407, 405; ill.; Strauss 1974, vol. 2, nos. 1506/35, 1506/37, ill.; Widauer in Vienna 2003, nos. 108, 107, ill.).

14. Studies including drapery from the same period are at the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, acc. 1,257c (F. Winkler 1936–39, vol. 2 [1937], no. 384, ill.; Strauss 1974, vol. 2, no. 1506/18, ill.; Widauer in Vienna 2003, no. 99, ill.); and at the Albertina, Vienna, inv. 3105, 3107 (F. Winkler 1936–39, vol. 2 [1937], nos. 383, 409, ill.; Strauss 1974, vol. 2, nos. 1506/17, 1506/33, ill.; Widauer in Vienna 2003, no. 110, ill.).

15. For the Lentulus letter, see Maas 1910. Dürer depicted himself as blond in his painted self-portrait in Paris (see cat. 6, fig. 1); and in the Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, inv. P 2179 (Anzelewsky 1991, vol. 1, no. 49, vol. 2, pls. 53, 55; Matthias Mende in Vienna 2003, no. 51, ill.).

16. Koerner 1993, chaps. 2 and 4, esp. pp. 77–78.

17. The inscription reads: *Albertus Durerus Noricus / ipsum me proprijs sic effin / gebam coloribus aetatis / anno xxviii* (I, Albrecht Dürer of Nuremberg, painted myself with indelible colors at the age of twenty-eight years).

*Provenance:* Estate of the artist (?) (sold by Ursula Dürer to Imhoff); Willibald Imhoff (1519–1580), Nuremberg, by 1573; by descent in the Imhoff family, Nuremberg, 1580, until 1750; Christoph Joachim Haller von Hallerstein (1723–1792), Nuremberg; his son, Hans Christoph Joachim Haller von Hallerstein (d. 1814), Nuremberg; his brother, Johann Sigmund Christoph Joachim Haller von Hallerstein (d. 1838), Nuremberg; his estate, 1838–61 (sold to Geuder); [Georg Friedrich Geuder, Nuremberg, 1861 (sold to Finke)]; [Gustav Finke, Bamberg, 1861]; Franz Reichardt (1825–1887), Munich, 1861–69; Alexander Posonyi (1838–1899), Vienna, 1869, until at least 1873; Eugen Ferdinand Felix (d. 1888), Leipzig, by 1880; his son, Hans E. C. Felix, Leipzig, 1888, until ca. 1904; Charles Fairfax Murray (ca. 1849–1919), London, 1904; his sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, June 15, 1914, lot 8; [Kleinberger, Paris and New York, 1914–21 (sold to Friedsam)]; Michael Friedsam (1858–1931), New York, 1921–31; bequeathed by him to the Department of Paintings, 1931

*Selected literature:*\* Heller 1827, pt. 1, p. 27; Sighart 1862, p. 626; von Eye 1869, p. 455; von Eye and Börner 1880, p. 140; Thausing 1884, pp. 304–5; Vischer 1886, p. 221; Justi 1898, p. 354; London 1906, no. 38, pl. xxiii; Ricketts 1906, p. 267; Flechsig 1928–31, vol. 1 (1928), pp. 400–403; Hevesy 1928, pp. 34–35, ill.; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1928–38, vol. 1 (1928), no. 244, ill.; F. Winkler 1928, p. 411; Burroughs and Wehle 1932, pp. 29–30, no. 44; Tietze 1932–33, p. 92; Tietze 1933, p. 263, fig. 20; C. L. Kuhn 1936, no. 200, pl. xxxvii; Wehle 1942, ill.; Panofsky 1948, vol. 1, p. 94, vol. 2, no. 18; F. Winkler 1957, p. 138; Musper 1965, p. 86; Zampa 1968, no. 100, ill.; Anzelewsky 1971, no. 83, figs. 91, 93; Nuremberg 1971, no. 192; Strieder 1981, p. 297, ill. p. 299; Kurt Löcher in New York and Nuremberg 1986, no. 118, ill.; Höper 1990, pp. 124–25; Anzelewsky 1991, vol. 1, no. 83, vol. 2, pls. 101, 102; H. Budde 1996, pp. 142–44; Dunkerton 1999, p. 101; Maryan W. Ainsworth in Vienna 2003, no. 84, ill.; Anne Röver-Kann in Bremen 2004, pp. 6–7, 22–23, 25, 26, fig. 33

\* Additional literature may be found in the Museum's collection database, available online at [www.metmuseum.org](http://www.metmuseum.org).

## 9 | Albrecht Dürer

### *The Holy Family in an Enclosed Garden*, 1512

Pen and iron gall ink, 10<sup>9</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 7<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (26.9 × 20 cm)  
Robert Lehman Collection, 1975 (1975.1.860)

At upper center, dated and monogrammed 1512 / AD (D under A) in pen and brown ink. Framing line in black chalk, by a later hand. Verso, at upper center, inscribed L (?) in graphite (19th-century handwriting); at lower left, inscribed G. 357 Dürer in graphite (20th-century handwriting)

*Watermark:* none

This fluently composed arrangement shows the Virgin and Child with Joseph casually seated within a trellised garden. The imagery has been consistently linked in the literature to the popular theme of Mary's virginity symbolized as a *hortus conclusus* (enclosed garden).<sup>1</sup>

This specific theme never became commonplace for Dürer, but he did experiment throughout his career with varying arrangements of the Holy Family out of doors.<sup>2</sup>

Scholars have linked the iconography of the Lehman drawing to other drawings of the Holy Family by Dürer. In a Nuremberg example from 1511, Joseph is shown at a lectern;<sup>3</sup> *The Holy Family with Elizabeth and Zachariah* in Paris (1519) shows Joseph, clutching a book, asleep to the left of the Virgin;<sup>4</sup> and in Chantilly's *Holy Family with Saints and Music-Making Angels* (1521), Joseph, in profile, appears reading a book at Mary's left.<sup>5</sup> It has also been compared to several of Dürer's engravings: *The Holy Family with a Butterfly* (ca. 1495), *The Virgin and Child on a Grassy Bench* (1503), and *The Virgin and Child Seated Next to a Tree* (1513), as well as the drypoint *The Six-Figured Holy Family* (ca. 1512–13), among others.<sup>6</sup>



Fig. 1. Albrecht Dürer, *The Virgin and Child with Two Angels*, 1511. Pen and brown and black ink, 8 × 5<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (20.3 × 15 cm). Galleria dell'Accademia, Venice (470)

The buoyancy of Dürer's line is evident throughout the Lehman drawing, which Fritz Koreny describes as a "simple sketch."<sup>7</sup> The composition is shaped by Dürer's expressive parallel lines, from the barely noted climbing vines to the graceful sweep of Joseph's back to the deep folds of the Virgin's voluminous drapery. This combination of seemingly spontaneous strokes with areas of dense parallels used to create tone was typical for the artist in the years after his second trip to Venice. Erwin

Panofsky saw this use of "widely spaced, protracted parallels" as achieving much the same effect as a graphic middle tone in woodcuts and engravings.<sup>8</sup> In a similar composition from 1511, now in Venice, Dürer again showed the grouping beside a lightly sketched trellis and modeled the figures, their garments, and the ground they occupy with parallel lines (fig. 1).<sup>9</sup>

Panofsky also discusses the Museum's drawing in terms of the decorative style used by Dürer in his



commissions for Emperor Maximilian I, stating that “these drawings had definite ‘decorative’ potentialities. . . . And, more important, their very ‘linearity’ facilitated a shift of emphasis from the function of lines as symbols of volume, space and tonality to their function as elements of an ornamental pattern.”<sup>10</sup> Although in the Lehman drawing the artist’s focus remained on the narrative, some of Dürer’s other drawings from this period, such as another Holy Family, also from the Lubomirski collection, almost completely abandon the readability of the subject, delighting instead in the purely decorative line.<sup>11</sup> FS

1. Washington 1971, p. 64; Barbara Drake Boehm in New York and Nuremberg 1986, p. 307; Fritz Koreny in Haverkamp-Begemann et al. 1999, pp. 44–45. In Washington 1971 (p. 64, n. 5) several examples by Stefan Lochner, Martin Schongauer, and Hans Burgkmair are pointed out that would have been known to Dürer. Koreny (in Haverkamp-Begemann et al. 1999, p. 46, fig. 9.1) associates the drawing with a painting of the Holy Family that was then attributed to Jan Gossaert in the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon, inv. 1479 (Gibson 1987; Lars Hendrikman in Antwerp and Maastricht 2005–6, no. 14, ill.).

2. Washington 1971, p. 64.

3. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, inv. Hz 5484 (F. Winkler 1936–39, vol. 3 [1938], no. 514, ill.; Strauss 1974, vol. 3, no. 1511/8, ill.).

4. Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. 18582 (F. Winkler 1936–39, vol. 3 [1938], no. 535, ill.; Strauss 1974, vol. 3, no. 1519/4, ill.).

5. Musée Condé, Chantilly, inv. 889 (311) (F. Winkler 1936–39, vol. 4 [1939], no. 837, ill.; Strauss 1974, vol. 4, no. 1521/81, ill.; David Mandrella in Chantilly 1999–2000, no. 11, pl. viii).

6. Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 7 (1962), p. 36, no. 42; p. 27, no. 31; p. 30, no. 34, p. 38, no. 44, respectively.

7. Koreny in Haverkamp-Begemann et al. 1999, p. 47.

8. Panofsky 1948, vol. 1, p. 191.

9. F. Winkler 1936–39, vol. 3 (1938), no. 517, ill.; Strauss 1974, vol. 3, no. 1511/9, ill.; Annalisa Perissa Torriani in Venice 1999, no. 51, ill.

10. Panofsky 1948, vol. 1, p. 191.

11. Formerly in the collection of L. V. Randall, Montreal (F. Winkler 1936–39, vol. 3 [1938], no. 525, ill.; Strauss 1974, vol. 3, no. 1511/7, ill.; Washington 1971, no. xviii, ill.; Juzwenko and Mirecki 2004, p. 34, no. 1, ill.)

*Provenance:* See cat. 6

*Selected literature:* Reitlinger 1927, p. 159, pl. 11e; Gębarowicz and Tietze 1929, no. 17, pl. xix; Friedrich Winkler in Lippmann and F. Winkler 1883–1929, vol. 7 (1929), no. 787, ill.; Schilling 1929, no. 19, pl. 19; Flechsig 1928–31, vol. 2 (1931), p. 458; Tietze ad Tietze-Conrat 1928–38, vol. 2, pt. 1 (1937), no. 518, ill.; F. Winkler 1936–39, vol. 3 (1938), no. 521, ill.; Panofsky 1943, vol. 1, p. 191, vol. 2, no. 730, fig. 224; Panofsky 1948, vol. 1, p. 191, vol. 2, no. 730, fig. 224; Washington 1971, no. xvii, ill.; Strauss 1974, vol. 3, no. 1512/5, ill.; Barbara Drake Boehm in New York and Nuremberg 1986, no. 129, ill.; Fritz Koreny in Haverkamp-Begemann et al. 1999, no. 9, ill.; Juzwenko and Mirecki 2004, p. 51, no. 18, ill.

## 10 | Albrecht Dürer

*Music-Making Angels*, 1521

Pen and two shades of iron gall ink (laid down), 6<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 8<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (16.9 × 22.4 cm)

Gift of Mrs. William H. Osborn, 1961 (61.257)

At lower center, dated and monogrammed 1521 / AD in pen and brown ink; at lower left, collector’s mark of Thomas Lawrence (Lugt 2445); at lower right, collector’s mark of Peter Lely (Lugt 2092). Framing line in pen and brown ink, by a later hand.

Verso, at lower center, inscribed N<sup>o</sup> 3; in pen and blue (?) ink (barely visible through the secondary support; 19th- or 20th-century handwriting). Verso of the secondary support, at upper right, inscribed N<sup>o</sup> 6. f. (?) in graphite (19th- or 20th-century handwriting); at left, a partial tracing in black chalk (?) of the third angel to the right. On a fragment of an old mount, collector’s mark of John Postle Heseltine (Lugt 1507)

*Watermark:* unidentified fragment

## 11 | Albrecht Dürer

*Head of a Young Woman, Facing Left*, 1522

Black chalk, lead white heightening, on paper prepared with a mixture of malachite and azurite, 7<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 5<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (20 × 15.1 cm)  
Robert Lehman Collection, 1975 (1975.1.859)

At lower right, collector’s mark of William Coningham (Lugt 476). Verso, tracing of the watermark, in black chalk; at lower left, inscribed G. 229 [?] Dürer in graphite (19th- or 20th-century handwriting)

*Watermark:* high crown with cross<sup>1</sup>

In 1521, perhaps while he was still in the Netherlands, Dürer started working on a project that reveals the persistent influence of Venice, which he had visited for the last time some fifteen years earlier.<sup>2</sup> A group of about twenty drawings has been related to the project, which is otherwise undocumented. Dürer seems to have had in mind a large painting modeled on Netherlandish as well as Venetian altarpieces of the *sacra conversazione* type, by such artists as Hans Memling, Giovanni Bellini, Cima da Conegliano, and Alvise Vivarini (fig. 1).<sup>3</sup> This type of composition—in which a seated Virgin is surrounded by a group of saints—had already inspired Dürer’s painting known as *The Feast of the Rose Garlands*, painted in 1506 in Venice and now in Prague, and in 1511, a drawing in Vienna that includes an angel playing a fiddle.<sup>4</sup>

A succession of composition sketches in pen dated 1521 and 1522 provides a good idea of the evolution of Dürer’s composition. The earliest seems to be a relatively detailed drawing in Chantilly, in which the Virgin



CAT. 10

and Child are flanked on one side by three saints and on the other by Saint Joseph; at lower left and right, two seated angels play music.<sup>5</sup> This sheet was followed by a sketch in Bayonne (fig. 2), as well as by two others (one of them known only through a copy), in which the composition becomes both more crowded and more balanced; in two of these, the figure of a kneeling female patron is introduced at the Virgin's left hand.<sup>6</sup> These drawings show Dürer experimenting with the idea of enlivening the foreground with musical angels. The Museum's *Music-Making Angels* (cat. 10) must have been made at this point, to work out a pleasing grouping of these youthful musicians. The one at far left reads music and presumably sings, as the third angel from the right may be doing as well; the others play a variety of instruments—shepherd's pipe, lute, tambourine, and fiddle. The standing angel playing the pipe seems inspired by a similar figure in Vivarini's altarpiece reproduced in fig. 1<sup>7</sup> and is found again in Dürer's Bayonne drawing

reproduced in fig. 2. The rather detailed drawing style, characterized by regular hatching but also by nervous outlines (especially in the drapery), resembles that of the drawing in Chantilly. The Museum's drawing may have been preceded by looser, more searching sketches. Its high quality is especially evident when compared to a very faithful old copy in Paris.<sup>8</sup>

In two additional drawings in Bayonne, one of which is dated 1522, Dürer changed the horizontal format of the preceding sketches to a vertical one, leading to a more circular arrangement of the saints and angels around the Virgin.<sup>9</sup> Related to these compositions is a monogrammed sheet in Paris dated 1522, possibly done for life, in which he studied the head and hands for two of the figures in the composition.<sup>10</sup> A drawing in the Robert Lehman Collection using the same technique (cat. 11) seems to be done from the same model, or at least depicts a head very similar to the one in the Paris study, with its straight nose, strong chin, and bare neck.



Fig. 1. Alvise Vivarini, *The Enthroned Virgin and Child with Saints and Music-Making Angels* ("Pala di Belluno"), ca. 1490. Oil on panel, 151<sup>9</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 90<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (385 × 231 cm). Formerly Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (38), destroyed in 1945



Fig. 2. Albrecht Dürer, *The Enthroned Virgin and Child with Saints, a Kneeling Female Patron, and Music-Making Angels*, 1521–22. Pen and brown ink, 12<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 17<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in. (31.5 × 44.4 cm). Musée Bonnat, Bayonne (1277/1505)



CAT. II

The Lehman sheet is recorded as having been slightly larger and also as having included a “study of a cap,” which is presumed to have been trimmed off and lost.<sup>11</sup> Comparison with the Paris sheet not only confirms the drawing’s attribution to Dürer and its dating to 1522, but also makes it likely that it relates to the *sacra conversazione* project, even if the head cannot be connected with any of the figures in the compositional sketches in

Bayonne.<sup>12</sup> Dürer also made similar studies in chalk or metalpoint on green prepared paper related to the three earlier versions of the compositions discussed above: in addition to five drapery studies in German collections, there are three studies of female saints and one of Saint Joseph.<sup>13</sup>

Given this substantial number of drawings of different finish and type, which indicates how seriously Dürer worked on his project, it is remarkable not only that it seems never to have come to fruition but also that so little is known about the commission.<sup>14</sup> That two of these drawings ended up in the Metropolitan Museum is no less remarkable: after leaving Dürer’s estate, they seem to have initially been separated then reunited in the collection of the painter Thomas Lawrence. Separated again after the sale of his drawing collection, they found their way to America in the early twentieth century in different ways, eventually entering the Museum thanks to the generosity of two different New York collectors.<sup>15</sup>

SA

1. The watermark is similar to one found in paper used in Innsbruck in 1521 (Piccard-Online, no. 53186; accessed November 20, 2011); reproduced in Haverkamp-Begemann et al. 1999, p. 48.

2. For this project, see Lorenz 1904, pp. 63–69; Heidrich 1906, pp. 139–52; Flechsig 1928–31, vol. 2, pp. 245–54; F. Winkler 1936–39, vol. 4 (1939), pp. 46–56; Panofsky 1948, vol. 1, pp. 223, 225–29; F. Winkler 1957, pp. 319–23; and the literature cited in this entry for the drawings related to the project.

3. Palluchini 1962, pp. 63–65, no. 259, ill.; Steer 1982, pp. 47–56, no. 8, fig. 29; Grosshans 1996, p. 581.

4. Národní Galerie v Praze, Prague, inv. o p 2148 (Anzelewsky 1991, vol. 1, no. 93, vol. 2, pls. 104–9); Albertina, Vienna, inv. 3127 (F. Winkler 1936–39, vol. 2 [1937], no. 509, ill.; Strauss 1974, vol. 3, no. 1511/1, ill.).

5. Musée Condé, Chantilly, inv. 889 (311) (F. Winkler 1936–39, vol. 4 [1939], no. 837, ill.; Strauss 1974, vol. 4, no. 1521/81, ill.; David Mandrella in Chantilly 1999–2000, no. 11, pl. viii).

6. F. Winkler 1936–39, vol. 4 (1939), no. 839, ill.; Strauss 1974, vol. 4, no. 1521/91, ill. The two other drawings, one original and one copy, are both at the Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. RF 1079 and 18604, respectively (Demonts 1937–38, vol. 1, nos. 104, 105, pls. xxxvii, xxxviii; F. Winkler 1936–39, vol. 4 [1939], no. 838, ill.; Strauss 1974, vol. 4, nos. 1521/82, 1521/83, ill.; Emmanuel Starcky in Paris 1991–92, nos. 74, 88, ill.).

7. This connection was already pointed out by Jay A. Levenson in Washington 1971, p. 98, n. 4.

8. Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. 18633 (Demonts 1937–38, vol. 1, no. 165; F. Winkler 1936–39, vol. 4 [1939], no. vi, pl. vi; Strauss 1974, vol. 4, no. 1521/82, ill.).

9. Musée Bonnat, Bayonne, inv. 1275/1504, 1277/1506 (F. Winkler 1936–39, vol. 4 [1939], nos. 855, 856, ill.; Strauss 1974, vol. 4, nos. 1522/1, 1522/2, ill.).

10. Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. RF 1080 (Demonts 1937–38, vol. 1, no. 130, pl. xlvi); F. Winkler 1936–39, vol. 4 [1939], no. 857, ill.; Strauss 1974, vol. 4, no. 1522/3, ill.; Emmanuel Starcky in

Paris 1991–92, no. 75, ill.). The head study relates to the figure of Saint Catherine, at lower left in the two Bayonne drawings mentioned in the previous note, whereas the hands are those of Saint James, seen at upper right in these same compositions.

11. Compare the description in Woodburn 1836, p. 16, no. 46: “A female head—a most highly finished study from nature. A study of a cap on the same sheet, drawn with a metal point, and heightened with white, on a prepared green ground. Size, 8¾ inches by 8 inches [a little more than 22 × 20 cm]. From the Collection of Count Andreossi.” Fritz Koreny (in Haverkamp-Begemann et al. 1999, p. 48) notices traces of a trimmed chalk sketch in the upper left corner, which “could certainly have been part of a cap.” An alternative, and perhaps the most convincing, explanation for the presumed disappearance of the cap is that Woodburn 1836 mistook the tracing in black chalk of the watermark on the verso of the sheet for a study of a cap.

12. The sheet’s rediscovery was published in Dodgson 1935, where the author thanks Erwin Rosenthal for first making the attribution. It was also Campbell Dodgson who first connected the drawing to the *sacra conversazione* project.

13. The five drapery studies are the following: one lost during World War II, formerly at the Kunsthalle Bremen (F. Winkler 1936–39, vol. 4 [1939], no. 840, ill.; Strauss 1974, vol. 4, no. 1521/85, ill.); one at the Hamburger Kunsthalle, inv. 23004 (F. Winkler 1936–39, vol. 4 [1939], no. 841, ill.; Strauss 1974, vol. 4, no. 1521/86, ill.; Prange 2007, vol. 1, no. 297, vol. 2, ill.); one at the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, inv. Hz 5489 (F. Winkler 1936–39, vol. 4 [1939], no. 842, ill.; Strauss 1974, vol. 4, no. 1521/87, ill.); and two at the Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. KdZ 39, KdZ 41 (F. Winkler 1936–39, vol. 4 [1939], nos. 843, 844, ill.; Strauss 1974, vol. 4, nos. 1521/88, 1521/89, ill.; Hans Mielke in Anzelewsky and Mielke 1984, nos. 109, 110, ill.). A study of Saint Barbara is in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. 18590 (Demonts 1937–38, vol. 1, no. 129, pl. 11; F. Winkler 1936–39, vol. 4 [1939], no. 845, ill.; Strauss 1974, vol. 4, no. 1521/92, ill.; Starcky in Paris 1991–92, no. 69, ill.). One for Saint Apollonia is in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, inv. KdZ 1527 (F. Winkler 1936–39, vol. 4 [1939], no. 846, ill.; Strauss 1974, vol. 4, no. 1521/93, ill.; Mielke in Anzelewsky and Mielke 1984, no. 112, ill.). One of Saint Catherine is in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan, album F 264 inf., no. 27 (F. Winkler 1936–39, vol. 4 [1939], no. 847, ill.; Strauss 1974, vol. 4, no. 1521/96, ill.). A study of Saint Joseph is in the British Museum, London, inv. 5218-42 (F. Winkler 1936–39, vol. 4 [1939], no. 848, ill.; Strauss 1974, vol. 4, no. 1521/95, ill.; Rowlands 1993, vol. 1, no. 232, vol. 2, pl. 154). For the medium used in at least the study in Hamburg, see Georg Dietz quoted in Prange 2007, vol. 1, p. 153, under no. 297.

14. Because of the female donor included in two of the drawings (the original one in Paris mentioned in note 6 above [inv. RF 1079] and the one reproduced in fig. 2), it has been assumed that the painting was commissioned by a woman, who Friedrich Winkler (1957, p. 320) suggests was Portuguese but living in Flanders. If Dürer indeed started working on the commission while still in the Netherlands (as also deemed possible in Heidrich 1906, p. 142), and given the importance of the composition and Dürer’s perseverance in his search for a satisfying composition, she was likely of great prominence and distinguished by an unusual love for the arts—perhaps Margaret of Austria?

15. At least two other drawings related to the *sacra conversazione* project of 1521–22 were in the Lawrence collection: the Paris sheet referred to in note 10 and the one in Berlin (inv. KdZ 39) cited in note 13 above.

#### CAT. 10

*Provenance*: Peter Lely (1618–1680), London; possibly his sale, London, April 11, 1688, and following days; Hans Sloane (1660–1753),

London;\* Johannes Baptista Josephus Achtienhoven (1756–1801), Amsterdam; his sale, Amsterdam, September 6, 1802, and following days, album B, no. 18; Thomas Lawrence (1769–1839), London; [Samuel Woodburn (1786–1853), London]; Francis Turner Palgrave (1824–1897), London; John Postle Heseltine (1843–1929), London; [M. Knoedler & Co., New York, by 1913, until 1916 (sold to Redmond)]; Johnston Livingston Redmond (1888–1933), New York; his wife, Katharine S. Raven Redmond; William Henry Osborn, by 1939; Mrs. William H. Osborn; given by her to the Department of Drawings, 1961

*Literature*: Woodburn 1836, no. 15; London 1879, no. 320; Ephrussi 1882, pp. 348, 400; Friedrich Lippmann in Lippmann and F. Winkler 1883–1929, vol. 2 (1888), no. 170, ill.; Hoff 1898, p. 66; Lorenz 1904, p. 66; Conway 1905, pp. 147, 148; Heidrich 1906, p. 207; Conway 1910, no. 836; Heseltine 1912, no. 9, ill.; Knoedler 1913, no. 2; Flechsig 1928–31, vol. 2, pp. 248, 310; Tietze 1932–33, p. 88; Tietze 1933, p. 259, fig. 9; Demonts 1937–38, vol. 1, p. 34, under no. 165; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1928–38, vol. 2, pt. 2 (1938), no. 845, ill.; New York 1939, no. 92; F. Winkler 1936–39, vol. 4 (1939), no. 836, ill.; Panofsky 1943, vol. 2, no. 771; Panofsky 1948, vol. 2, no. 771; Popham 1953, pp. 13–14; Felice Stampfle in New York 1955, p. 12; F. Winkler 1957, p. 321; Jay A. Levenson in Washington 1971, no. xxxi, ill.; Strauss 1974, vol. 4, p. 2128, under no. 1521/73, no. 1521/84, ill.; Barbara Drake Boehm in New York and Nuremberg 1986, no. 145, ill.; Fritz Koreny in Haverkamp-Begemann et al. 1999, p. 51, n. 3

#### CAT. 11

*Provenance*: Probably Antoine-François Andréossy (1761–1828), Paris; Thomas Lawrence (1769–1830), London; [Samuel Woodburn (1786–1853), London, until 1836]; William Coningham (1815–1884), Brighton; [art market, Paris, in 1934]; Philip Hofer (1898–1984), Cambridge, Massachusetts; acquired from him by Robert Lehman (1891–1969), New York, 1948; given by the Robert Lehman Foundation to the Museum in accordance with the collector’s wishes, 1975

*Literature*: Woodburn 1836, no. 46; Dodgson 1935, pl. 47; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1928–38, vol. 2, pt. 2 (1938), no. 855, ill.; F. Winkler 1936–39, vol. 4 (1939), no. 850, ill.; Panofsky 1943, vol. 2, no. 1166; Tietze 1947, no. 32, ill.; Panofsky 1948, vol. 2, no. 1166; Felice Stampfle in New York 1955, p. 12; New York 1956, no. 171; Cincinnati 1959, no. 248, ill.; New Haven 1960, no. 153, ill.; Gaillard F. Ravenel in Washington 1971, no. xxxii, ill.; Strauss 1974, vol. 4, no. 1522/4, ill.; George Szabo in New York 1978–79, no. 25, ill.; Fritz Koreny in Haverkamp-Begemann et al. 1999, no. 10, ill.

\* See Popham 1953, pp. 13–14.

## HANS SUESS VON KULMBACH

Kulmbach (?), Upper Franconia, ca. 1476/80–1522, Nuremberg

Presumably from the Upper Franconian town of Kulmbach, Hans may have received his early training from the itinerant Italian artist Jacopo de’ Barbari when the latter was working as court artist to Frederick the Wise in Wittenberg. Kulmbach’s style also shows affinities with that of Lucas Cranach the Elder, who took over as court artist in 1504. Kulmbach entered Dürer’s workshop about 1507. After becoming a citizen of Nuremberg in 1511, he established his own workshop there,

creating painted altarpieces and designs for stained glass, including the monumental designs for the *Emperor's Window* (1514) and the *Margrave's Window* (1514–15) for the church of Saint Sebald.

*General literature:* F. Winkler 1942, pp. 7–110; S. Walther 1981; Barbara Butts in Los Angeles and Saint Louis 2000–2001, pp. 134–73; Butts 2006

## 12 | Hans Suess von Kulmbach

*Saint John the Baptist in the Wilderness*, ca. 1510–15

Pen and brown ink, gray ink wash, traces of black chalk underdrawing; color and lead-line indications in red and black chalk (see text), diameter: 10<sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (27.4 cm)  
Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1953 (53.112)

*Watermark:* high crown<sup>1</sup>



Fig. 1. Martin Schongauer, *The Baptism of Christ*, before 1481. Engraving, 6¼ × 6¼ in. (15.9 × 15.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1928 (28.97.107)

According to Heinrich Röttinger, this drawing was first identified as a work by Kulmbach by Friedrich Dörnhöffer, keeper of prints in the Hofbibliothek, Vienna.<sup>2</sup> Friedrich Winkler, Jeffrey Chipps Smith, and Barbara Butts associate the Museum's drawing stylistically with another design by Kulmbach in Dresden, for a stained-glass roundel of Saint Wenceslas, which has similar heavy drapery defining a saintly figure set in a charming but imprecise landscape rendered in delicate calligraphic pen strokes.<sup>3</sup> Surrounded by craggy cliffs, exposed roots, and barren trees, Saint John kneels within a Düreresque landscape and reads from an open book, pointing to a lamb that confronts him.<sup>4</sup> The scene consolidates aspects of John's mission as described in the Gospels of Luke and John, simultaneously showing his recognition of the lamb as Christ and alluding to his role as baptist by including a small spring at right. John's holy activity of baptizing both the multitudes and Christ himself is emphasized by the halo (still incomplete) added in brush and gray ink.

Characteristic of Kulmbach's drawing style are the long threadlike lines defining Saint John's loose curls as well as the way the artist tilted the saint's head and placed his far eye a bit too low, creating what Butts describes as a "tilted *profil perdu*."<sup>5</sup> The saint's rectangular facial type is also evident in the artist's eight *Scenes from the Lives of Saints Peter and Paul* (ca. 1510) in Florence,



Fig. 2. Hans Suess von Kulmbach, *Saint Ambrose with the Attribute of the Evangelist Luke, the Ox*, ca. 1511. Pen and brown ink, brush and gray wash, red and black chalk, diameter: 9 1/8 in. (23.1 cm). Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden (c 2190)

and in the Museum's own *Saint Eustace and Saint George* (cat. 13).<sup>6</sup> Butts attributes this facial type to Jacopo de' Barbari's lasting influence on Kulmbach; however, it can also be seen in another, more directly relevant model for this work, Martin Schongauer's *Baptism of Christ* (fig. 1).<sup>7</sup> Schongauer's saint is baptizing Christ, but both are shown kneeling with their right arms raised, holding books resting on rocky ledges, and with their faces slightly tilted toward the viewer.<sup>8</sup>

*Saint John the Baptist in the Wilderness* is also related in size and subject matter to a group of three drawings by Kulmbach for glass roundels depicting three of the Fathers of the Latin Church.<sup>9</sup> Roughly contemporaneous, the drawings have notations in red and black chalk indicating to the glaziers where to apply certain colors and place the lead lines, as does the Museum's sheet. A certain consistency is evident in Kulmbach's working drawings, which were all presumably made for the eminent Hirschvogel workshop of glaziers in Nuremberg.<sup>10</sup> *Saint Ambrose* (fig. 2) in the series has several color notations in black chalk and lead lines in red chalk—the typical medium for indicating lead lines.<sup>11</sup> One of the notations, seen on Ambrose's dalmatic at his left knee, is a leaf or spade (♠), which denotes an area to be painted green (compare cat. 32). This notation is also found in the middle ground, at left, of the drawing under discussion here. Many of the other notations on

this drawing are indecipherable; the black chalk lines that follow the contours of the figure and parts of the landscape are indications for lead lines. Although there is no extant glass based on this model, there is no reason to doubt that it was translated into stained glass; such panels would have fit into both domestic and public spaces.<sup>12</sup> FS

1. The watermark is similar to one found in paper used in Innsbruck in 1505 (Piccard-Online, no. 53686; accessed August 20, 2011).

2. Röttinger 1927, p. 17.

3. Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, inv. c 2194 (F. Winkler 1942, p. 91; Jeffrey Chipps Smith in Austin, Lawrence, and Santa Barbara 1983–84, p. 132; Butts 2006, no. A25, fig. 65, where both drawings are dated to ca. 1509).

4. The figure and setting are close to Dürer's engraving *Saint Jerome in Penance*, ca. 1496–97 (Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 7 [1962], p. 48, no. 57). Especially noteworthy are the undisciplined parallel lines behind John, which attempt to mimic the sloped lines that Dürer used to define the hills around Jerome.

5. Butts 2006, p. 144. She uses this phrase in referring to the watermark *Head of the Virgin*, ca. 1511, Graphische Sammlung, Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg, Erlangen (Bock 1929, vol. 1, no. 237, vol. 2, ill.; Butts 2006, no. A45, fig. 24; Rainer Schoch in Nuremberg 2008, no. 47, ill.).

6. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. 1020, 1030, 1034, 1044, 1047, 1058, 1060, and 1072 (Strieder 1993, no. 125). This facial type is also found in Kulmbach's *Mary and John before the Man of Sorrows*, ca. 1514, in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., acc. 1998.175 (Butts 2006, no. A91, fig. 105).

7. Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 49 (1999), p. 31, no. 8, ill.; Lehrs 2005, no. 8, ill.

8. The kneeling figure of John the Baptist reappears in Kulmbach's *Last Judgment*, ca. 1518, British Museum, London, inv. 5-2-18-195 (Butts 2006, no. A114, fig. 122). A standing variant on this figure is also found in a presumed copy after Kulmbach in the Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. 381 (Stadler 1936, no. 112; Butts 2006, no. B48).

9. Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, inv. c 2190, c 2189, and c 2192, respectively (Butts 2006, no. A42, fig. 76; A41, fig. 75; no. A43, fig. 77). The four stained-glass windows after the designs are preserved in the Stiftung Fürst Pückler-Museum, Cottbus, inv. VII 1787K–1790K. For more on this cycle, see Fitz 1995; Barbara Butts in Los Angeles and Saint Louis 2000–2001, pp. 142–45.

10. The Hirschvogels, beginning with Heinz (died before 1485) and his son Veit the Elder (1461–1525), had the leading workshop for stained-glass painting in Nuremberg from about 1485 until well into the mid-sixteenth century. For more on the Hirschvogels, see Los Angeles and Saint Louis 2000–2001, pp. 79–80.

11. This use of chalk is also seen in Sebald Beham's *Presentation of Christ in the Temple* (cat. 32). For the Dresden drawing, see note 9.

12. For more on the function of stained glass, see Giesicke and Ruoss 2000.

*Provenance:* Princes of Liechtenstein, Vaduz and Vienna; Otto Wertheimer (1878–1972), Paris; [Charles E. Slatkin Galleries, New York]; purchased by the Department of Prints, 1953

*Literature:* Röttinger 1927, p. 17, fig. 3; F. Winkler 1929, pp. 33, 44; Stadler 1936, no. 57, pl. 22; F. Winkler 1942, p. 91, no. 110, ill.; “Additions to the Collections” 1954, p. 23; Jeffrey Chipps Smith in Austin, Lawrence, and Santa Barbara 1983–84, no. 36, ill.; Butts 1985, p. 106; Timothy Husband in New York and Nuremberg 1986, no. 161, ill.; Butts 2006, no. A23, fig. 63; Alsteens 2008, p. 382

### 13 | Hans Suess von Kulmbach

*Saint Eustace and Saint George*, ca. 1511

Pen and brown ink, gray ink washes, traces of black chalk underdrawing (laid down), 8<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 7<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (21.3 × 18.4 cm)

Louis V. Bell, Harris Brisbane Dick, Fletcher, and Rogers Funds and Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 2007 (2007.405)

At lower right, monogrammed *L* (for Lucas van Leyden) in brush and gray ink, by a later hand. Verso, at lower right of the secondary support, inscribed *N 12. (?)* in pen and brown ink (19th-century handwriting); at upper center, a partially erased inscription in graphite (18th- or 19th-century handwriting)

*Watermark:* bull's head, snake on cross above<sup>1</sup>

At some point in its history, this delicate pen and wash drawing was attributed to the renowned Netherlandish artist Lucas van Leyden. Nonetheless, it is wholly characteristic of Kulmbach's draftsmanship and an example of his best work. Barbara Butts gives it to the artist and dates it to about 1511, immediately after he became a citizen of Nuremberg and could have opened his own workshop.<sup>2</sup> Butts describes Kulmbach's extensive and precise use of wash as a technique the artist may have learned from Lucas Cranach the Elder, whereas Konrad Oberhuber describes Kulmbach's use of brush and wash, his languid figures, and his fine, threadlike pen strokes as reminiscent of his first known master, Jacopo de' Barbari, with whom he presumably worked in Wittenberg, along with Cranach.<sup>3</sup>

For the combination of Saints Eustace and George, Kulmbach may have relied on the wings of Dürer's *Paumgartner Altarpiece*, from about 1498, now in Munich, which also pairs the saints.<sup>4</sup> Based on an examination of Dürer's saints, Stijn Alsteens has convincingly proposed a change in the identity of the saint holding the stag's head from Hubert to Eustace. This drawing fits perfectly into Kulmbach's oeuvre of about 1511, at the time he was fast becoming the most sought-after altarpiece painter in Nuremberg. Several designs for his painted altarpieces are still extant, including a detailed drawing with movable wings now in the British Museum.<sup>5</sup> Alsteens links the figure of Saint George in the drawing under discussion with the same saint in the



Fig. 1. Anonymous, after Hans Suess von Kulmbach, inside wings of the altarpiece, ca. 1510. Sculpted wood, polychromed. Church of Saints Peter and Paul, Erlangen

right wing of the London altarpiece design, where he is shown with Saint Giles.<sup>6</sup>

Butts and Alexander Löhr maintain that Kulmbach also conceived of the sculpture for his altarpieces, in addition to designing their elaborate painted programs.<sup>7</sup> Butts mentions two examples dated 1510: *The Three Magi* in the church of Saint George Wendelstein, near Nuremberg, and *Saint Anne* in the church of Saint Lorenz, Nuremberg.<sup>8</sup> An argument can also be made for attributing to Kulmbach the high altarpiece (ca. 1510) for the church of Saints Peter and Paul, Erlangen, in which the innermost wings are carved with pairs of standing saints.<sup>9</sup> On the right wing alongside Saint Sebald is Saint George (fig. 1), and although he is turned to the left rather than the right, the animated dragon casually pinned between George's legs is very similar to the figure in the Museum's drawing, as is the style of the saint's armor.<sup>10</sup> The Museum's sheet may not be a preparatory sketch for Kulmbach's Erlangen altarpiece, but its composition and the use of a similar figure on a Kulmbach altarpiece from the same period help secure its attribution and dating.

Showing two standing saints (either sculpted or painted) on altarpiece wings was common practice in



Fig. 2. Attributed to Hans Süss von Kulmbach, *Saint Catherine and Saint Barbara*, ca. 1513. Charcoal, 11 $\frac{1}{8}$  × 7 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (28.2 × 19.7 cm). British Museum, London (1895-9-15-955)

Nuremberg during this period.<sup>11</sup> A similar arrangement can be seen in Kulmbach's monumental *Memorial to Provost Lorenz Tucher* (1513) in the church of Saint Sebald in Nuremberg, which has paired male saints in the wings.<sup>12</sup> A charcoal preparatory drawing, variously thought to be by Dürer or Kulmbach, of Saints Catherine and Barbara, who flank the Virgin and Child in the center portion of the picture plane with their attributes (fig. 2).<sup>13</sup> Although the facial types appear to be closer to Dürer, the design for the altarpiece is very close to the composition of the Museum's drawing, which Kulmbach executed during the same period.<sup>14</sup> Both sheets

reveal how an artist creating a complex altarpiece worked through ideas for various figures in terms of their relationship to each other and to their attributes.

FS

1. The watermark is similar to one found in paper used in Innsbruck in 1514 (Piccard-Online, no. 56109; accessed November 18, 2011).

2. Butts as quoted in Christie's 2007, p. 62, lot 48. This drawing surfaced only months after the publication in 2006 of Butts's complete catalogue of the artist's drawings. After it was acquired by the Museum, it was published as an appendix to Butts's catalogue in Alsteens 2008. With the exception of ten drawings assembled by Lazarus Holzschuher (1473–1523) and still owned by a descendant, and a drawing formerly in the collection of Friedrich Winkler but now lost, *Saint Eustace and Saint George* was the only drawing by Kulmbach still in private hands (Alsteens 2008, p. 382).



3. Oberhuber 1962; cited and translated in Butts 2006, p. 129, n. 16.
4. The connection was suggested in Alsteens 2008, p. 384. The painting is in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich, inv. 706 (Anzelewsky 1991, vol. 1, nos. 50–54, vol. 2, pls. 57, 58).
5. British Museum, London, inv. 5218-124 to 5218-127 (Butts 2006, no. A31, fig. 18). Other altarpiece designs include one dated ca. 1514 in the Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. KdZ 63 (Butts 2006, no. A95, fig. 109). Winkler attributed two other altarpiece designs to Kulmbach, both in the Albertina, Vienna, inv. 3121 D 180 and 181 (F. Winkler 1942, pp. 80–83, nos. 83, 84, ill.). Butts has reattributed these two related drawings to Dürer (Butts 2006, nos. B26, B27).
6. Alsteens 2008, p. 384.
7. Butts 1985, p. 49; Löhr 1995; Butts 2006, p. 137.
8. Butts 2006, p. 137. For more on Kulmbach's role as a possible designer of the sculpted elements of altarpieces, see Rasmussen 1974, pp. 45–51; Löhr 1995.
9. May 1989, vol. 1, pp. 147–95, vol. 2, figs. 106–36; Löhr 1995, pp. 28–29, figs. 9–11.
10. Another instance of a dragon shown between the legs of Saint George can be found in Hans Schäufolein's panel of Saints George and Christopher of ca. 1509 in the Sammlung Georg Schäfer, Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg, inv. 4117(a) (Metzger 2002, no. 13a, fig. 180).
11. Alsteens 2008, p. 385.
12. Strieder 1993, no. 131, figs. 157–59.
13. Rowlands 1993, vol. 1, no. 409, vol. 2, pl. 262 (as by Kulmbach). Butts suggests that a possible attribution to Dürer needs to be more fully explored (Butts 2006, no. B28). Winkler also discusses the drawing in terms of its closeness to Dürer (F. Winkler 1936–39, vol. 2 [1937], pp. 155–56).
14. Another drawing with the same composition is *Two Standing Female Allegorical Figures* (British Museum, London, inv. 5218-113), the function of which remains unknown (Rowlands 1993, vol. 1, no. 407, vol. 2, pl. 261 [as by Kulmbach]).

*Provenance:* Sale, Christie's, New York, January 25, 2007, lot 48; [Kunsthändler Katrin Bellinger, Munich]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 2007

*Literature:* Christie's 2007, lot 48; Alsteens 2008, fig. 1

## HANS SCHÄUFELEIN

Nördlingen or Augsburg, ca. 1485–ca. 1539, Nördlingen

Nothing is known about Hans Schäufolein's birth or early training. Active in Dürer's workshop in Nuremberg beginning about 1503 or 1504, he painted the Ober Sankt Veit altarpiece, commissioned by Elector Frederick the Wise and his brother John the Steadfast (ca. 1507), partly from Dürer's designs. After Nuremberg, Schäufolein spent time in the workshop of Hans Holbein the Elder in Augsburg, then finally settled in Nördlingen in 1515. Between 1516 and 1518 he worked in collaboration with Dürer, Albrecht Altdorfer, Hans Burgkmair, Wolfgang Huber, and others on several

woodcut projects for Emperor Maximilian I. Throughout his prolific career, Schäufolein worked as a painter, designer of stained glass, printmaker, and draftsman.

*General literature:* F. Winkler 1942, pp. 111–70; Weih-Krüger 1986; Löcher 1990; Metzger 2002

### 14 | Hans Schäufolein

*Portrait of a Man Wearing a Hat*, ca. 1510–15

Red chalk, 7<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 7 in. (19.6 × 17.8 cm)  
Purchase, 2001 Benefit Fund, Anne and Jean Bonna, Jessie and Charles Price, and Sally and Howard Lepow Gifts, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, and Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 2002 (2002.123)

At upper left, signed with the artist's emblem, a shovel, in red chalk;<sup>1</sup> at lower left, inscribed *AD 1515* in a darker red chalk (16th- or 17th-century handwriting). Verso of the secondary support, at upper center, inscribed *no. 4* in pen and brown ink (19th- or 20th-century handwriting); at lower right, inscribed 35 + 36<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> [35 changed from 25] × 36<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> / SR in graphite (20th-century handwriting)

*Watermark:* none visible because of the secondary support

Although not a typical work by the artist, this drawing was first recognized as being by Hans Schäufolein by Noël Annesley, and the attribution was confirmed by Tilman Falk, Fritz Koreny, and Christoph Metzger based on the style and the presence of the artist's emblem.<sup>2</sup> Falk noted as the drawing's most striking feature the divergence between the subtle realism of the face, largely rendered with rubbed chalk, and the calligraphic, almost ornamental quality of the man's hair.<sup>3</sup> Such contrast between naturalism and abstraction can also be found in the artist's *Landsknecht* (cat. 15). As Falk indicates, it is also evident in Schäufolein's small allegorical paintings of the Four Temperaments (1511), in which he framed the meticulously individualized visages with fanciful loose curls that appear to result more from artistic whimsy than accurate observation.<sup>4</sup>

Schäufolein's tendency to combine modes has also been described by Kurt Löcher in his examination of the artist's early Nuremberg portraits,<sup>5</sup> among which is his *Portrait of a Young Man*, now in Warsaw, from about 1505–6 (fig. 1).<sup>6</sup> In both, the sitters are shown bust length in three-quarter view. Staring out the left side of the picture frame, with pursed lips and heavy eyelids, the sitters wear simple berets, and each strand of their curling locks appears to have been drawn with a



Fig. 1. Hans Schäufelein, *Portrait of a Young Man*, ca. 1505–6. Oil on panel, 16 × 12<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (40.7 × 31.4 cm). Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie, Warsaw (M.Ob. 297)



Fig. 2. Hans Burgkmair, *Portrait of Hans Paumgartner*, 1512. Chiaroscuro woodcut in three blocks, 11<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 9<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in. (29.5 × 24.2 cm). British Museum, London (1895-1-22-378)

fine brush. Although Löcher rightly links Schäufelein's portrait style back to Dürer, it must also be considered in the context of work by Hans Holbein the Elder and Hans Burgkmair. The latter's chiaroscuro woodcut portrait of Hans Paumgartner from 1512 (fig. 2) and his portrait of Hans Schellenberger in Cologne from about 1505 share the demeanor, accoutrements, and

pose of these two portraits, as well as the contrast between the intensity of the facial features and the curling lines of the hair.<sup>7</sup> Although Falk finds this contrast to be wholly uncharacteristic of Burgkmair, he does concede that Schäufelein's *Portrait of a Man* reveals the artistic influences of both Nuremberg and Augsburg.<sup>8</sup>

The exact function of this red chalk drawing remains a question, but it seems likely that it was preparatory for a print or a painting.<sup>9</sup> The medium is atypical for Schäufelein, who more commonly used black chalk or charcoal in his later portrait drawings.<sup>10</sup> Although red chalk is rarer than black in German drawings from this period, there are examples of its use by Sebald Beham, Hans Baldung, Hans Holbein the Younger, and Ambrosius Holbein, among others.<sup>11</sup> FS

1. *Schaufel* in German means “shovel.” *Schäufelein* is the diminutive, and the artist used an image of one as his emblem. He usually also included his monogram, which in this case may have been trimmed off.

2. For Annesley’s attribution, see Christie’s 2002a, p. 172, lot 131. Falk’s attribution is recorded in a letter to Liliane Joseph, Christie’s, Paris, dated November 28, 2001, and Metzger’s is in an email of May 27, 2010, to the present author, both in the Museum’s departmental files. Koreny’s opinion is recorded in the Museum’s acquisition report.

3. Falk to Joseph, November 28, 2001 (see previous note).

4. *Choleric* and *Phlegmatic* are in the collection of Heinz Kisters, Kreuzlingen; *Sanguine* and *Melancholy* are in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, inv. 829, 1960 (*Hans Schäufelein* 1990, figs. 96–99; Metzger 2002, nos. 20a–d, ill.).

5. Löcher 1990, p. 120.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 97–98; Steinborn and Ziemba 2000, no. 45, ill.; Metzger 2002, no. 7, fig. 160; Metzger in Vienna and Munich 2011–12, no. 44, ill.

7. For the woodcut, see Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 5 (1957), p. 101, no. 307. The painting and its pendant are in the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum und Fondation Corboud, Cologne, inv. WRM 851, WRM 850 (Frank Gunter Zehnder in R. Budde et al. 1986, pp. 106–7, ill.).

8. Falk to Joseph, November 28, 2001 (see note 2 above).

9. Christie’s 2002a (p. 172, lot 131) mentions that a magus wears a similar hat in Schäufelein’s Stuttgart *Adoration* (ca. 1508–9), but that is the extent of the similarities; the painting is at the Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, inv. 3213 (Metzger 2002, no. 17b, fig. 194). Metzger mentions that Sonja Weih-Krüger identified the standing magus with the beret as a portrait of Dürer (Metzger 2002, p. 288; see also Weih-Krüger 1986, p. 123).

10. Christie’s 2002a (p. 172, lot 131) compares the drawing to one now in the British Museum (inv. 1949-4-11-406), which shows two heads in red chalk; it was published as by Schäufelein in F. Winkler 1942 (p. 160, no. 75, ill.) but is now rightly attributed to Baldung (Rowlands 1993, vol. 1, no. 61, vol. 2, pl. 39). Christie’s 2002a also compares the work to the *Head of Christ* in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. 18853, which Winkler wrongly states is in red chalk (F. Winkler 1942, p. 161, no. 78, ill.); it is executed in charcoal. Also in black chalk or charcoal are *Portrait of a Young Man* (F. Winkler 1942, p. 158, no. 69, ill.); *Portrait of a Bearded Man* (F. Winkler 1942, pp. 158–59, no. 70, ill.); and *Portrait of a Man* (F. Winkler 1942, p. 161, no. 76, ill.).

11. To name just a few examples: Beham, *Portrait of a Man*, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, acc. EVT 6; Baldung, *Head of a Young Woman*, Kunstmuseum Basel, inv. U.VI.49 (Koch 1941, no. 43, ill.); James H. Marrow and Alan Shestack in Washington and New Haven 1981, no. 43, ill.), and the London sheet mentioned in note 10 above; Hans Holbein the Younger, *Jeanne de Boulogne* and *Jean de France*, Kunstmuseum Basel, inv. 1662.125, 1662.126 (C. Müller 1996, nos. 150, 151, pls. 11, 12); and Ambrosius Holbein, *Portrait of a Young Man*, Kunstmuseum Basel, inv. 1662.207a (C. Müller 1996, no. 4, pl. 1).

*Provenance*: Rabeau collection, France; sale, Christie’s, New York, January 23, 2002, lot 131; [Kunsthandel Katrin Bellinger, Munich]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 2002

*Literature*: Christie’s 2002a, lot 131, ill.; Christoph Metzger in Vienna and Munich 2011–12, p. 95, ill.

## 15 | Hans Schäufelein

*A Landsknecht*, ca. 1510–15

Pen and iron gall ink, traces of black chalk underdrawing, 10 × 6<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (25.4 × 17.6 cm)

Purchase, Anna-Maria and Stephen Kellen Foundation Gift, 2003 (2003.424)

Verso, at lower left, inscribed *o/* in graphite (19th- or 20th-century handwriting); at lower center, inscribed *HS* (inter-twined) in black chalk, by a later hand; below, inscribed *Stoff* in pen and black ink (16th-century handwriting). On the secondary support, at lower right, inscribed *aus der Hauslab-S. 25-5 × (?)* in graphite (20th-century handwriting); at lower center, inscribed *Hans Schäufelein* in graphite (20th-century handwriting)

*Watermark*: bull’s head, snake on cross above<sup>1</sup>

Composed of bold and expressive tapering lines, this figure of a landsknecht (or mercenary) is—as Friedrich Winkler notes—an exemplar of Schäufelein’s mature drawing style, perfectly balancing naturalistic observation with highly charged, almost abstract linear movement.<sup>2</sup> Loose parallels create a light and nuanced shadow across the mercenary’s legs and chest; close parallels and areas of cross-hatching contained within broad outlines produce deep shadows along his right side. Schäufelein varied the width of his pen lines from broad strokes, as on the figure’s right, to light ones that reveal the artistic process. These barely perceptible lines are evident in the legs and sword, where Schäufelein seems to have been continually rethinking the form, as well as on top of the figure’s hat, where the beginnings of another feather hover above the two that already adorn the figure.

The soldier stands confidently, holding the hilt of his sword and halberd; their contrasting vertical and horizontal axes serve to stabilize the composition, which was unfortunately cropped at an unknown point in the drawing’s history. This imposing figure type can also be found in an earlier drawing of a landsknecht, now in London (fig. 1).<sup>3</sup> Both show a similar contrast between the stockiness of the body and the delicacy of the facial features. Schäufelein employed calligraphic strokes in the Museum’s drawing to delineate the aged face framed by a bushy beard and further ornamented by the hat and its feathers.



Fig. 1. Hans Schäufelein, *A Landsknecht*, ca. 1507–8. Pen and black ink, 8 $\frac{1}{8}$  × 6 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (20.6 × 15.9 cm). British Museum, London (1856-7-12-998)

Images of mercenary soldiers were common during this period, especially in works on paper, such as Urs Graf's *Bearer of the Banner of the Canton Glarus* (cat. 26). Schäufelein's drawing, like Graf's, was most likely intended as preparatory for a work in another medium, although there is no extant work that relates to it. FS

1. The watermark is similar to one found in paper used in Höxter, Germany, in 1523 (Piccard-Online, no. 77855; accessed August 20, 2011).
2. F. Winkler 1942, p. 126.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 153, no. 52, ill.; Rowlands 1993, vol. 1, no. 453, vol. 2, pl. 285.

*Provenance:* Hauslab collection, Vienna; princes of Liechtenstein, Vaduz and Vienna; Somaré collection, Zurich; [August Laube, Zurich]; [Kunsthändler Katrin Bellinger, Munich]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 2003

*Literature:* Wallach 1927, p. 65; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1928–38, vol. 1 (1928), pp. 357–58, ill.; F. Winkler 1942, p. 146, no. 22, ill.

## HANS BALDUNG

Schwäbisch Gmünd, 1484/85–1545 Strasbourg



Fig. 1. Hans Baldung, "Ecce Homo," 1511. Woodcut, 5 $\frac{1}{16}$  × 3 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (12.8 × 8.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1926 (26.106.1)

Hans Baldung enjoyed a long, successful career. After an early apprenticeship in Nuremberg with Dürer (1503–7), in whose studio he enjoyed great responsibility, he acquired citizenship in Strasbourg in 1510 and, with the exception of a four-year sojourn in Freiburg, worked there until his death. Baldung was given the nickname "Grien" while working in Dürer's workshop. Some say it was because of his preference for the color green in his paintings or his attire, but it is more likely that the presence of Hans Schäufelein, Hans Süss von Kulmbach, and Dürer's brother Hans in the workshop all during the same period led to a need for inventive ways to distinguish them. Unlike many other artists of the time who were trained in their fathers' workshops, Baldung came from a highly educated and esteemed family of lawyers and doctors. Baldung himself was a juror in the Zur Steltz guild of painters, printers, glaziers, and goldsmiths, and in 1545 he became a delegate to the city council. His greatest painted masterpiece, the high altarpiece of Freiburg cathedral, was executed in 1512. A prolific and highly expressive artist, he also produced a large and varied graphic oeuvre. Baldung's appeal lies in his unorthodox interpretation of traditional subjects, such as his prolonged fascination with the Fall of Man, and in his creation of new subjects, such as his witches and wild horses.

*General literature:* Mende 1978; Washington and New Haven 1981; Koerner 1993, pp. 249–449; Frankfurt 2007

## 16 | Hans Baldung

*Ecstatic Christ*, 1510–11

Pen and two shades of carbon black ink, traces of black chalk underdrawing, 6 $\frac{1}{16}$  × 9 $\frac{7}{16}$  in. (17 × 24 cm)  
Robert Lehman Collection, 1975 (1975.1.855)

At lower center, monogrammed *HGB* (interwined) in pen and brown ink; at lower right, inscribed *Giovani Bresanich* in pen and brown ink (18th-century handwriting); to the right, inscribed 26 in pen and brown ink (18th-century handwriting). Framing line in pen and brown ink, not by the artist

*Watermark:* high crown with cross<sup>1</sup>

In this dramatic drawing of Christ, quick but precise lines of pen and black ink describe the body and its simple surroundings. First published by Ernst Buchner as *Der Leichnam Christi* (The corpse of Christ), and immediately accepted into Baldung's oeuvre, this drawing has been extensively discussed in the literature.<sup>2</sup> Buchner dates it to about 1507, at the end of Baldung's apprenticeship in Dürer's workshop, considering the use of light and line and the hatching in the shadows to be characteristic of Baldung during this period and also considering the choice of subject to be closely related to Dürer.<sup>3</sup> Buchner likens the sorrowful mood of the drawing to Baldung's woodcuts from 1511 that also demonstrate the suffering of Christ, such as the "Ecce Homo" (fig. 1).<sup>4</sup> Fritz Koreny, who adopts the title *Man of Sorrows*, also cites the "Ecce Homo" as comparable in style, but he interprets the artist's use of line and shadow in the Museum's drawing as more characteristic of Baldung's work of 1510–11.<sup>5</sup> In both works Christ's head is tilted back, his eyes are rolled heavenward, and his mouth is open. One side of his face lies in shadows created by parallel lines, while the calligraphic curls of his long locks and beard frame his face. Although Koreny's dating of the artist's more expressive use of line to the later period seems correct, Buchner's



Fig. 2. Hans Baldung, *Resting Naked Lovers*, 1527. Pen and brown ink, 6 $\frac{3}{8}$  × 12 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (16.2 × 31.4 cm). Graphische Sammlung, Staatsgalerie Stuttgart (c 8)



assertion that this so-called *Man of Sorrows* relates directly to Dürer is also accurate. Closely associated are Dürer's charcoal drawings *Head of a Dead Christ* and *Head of a Suffering Man*, both from 1503 and now in the British Museum.<sup>6</sup> In these expressive charcoal studies the features of the men are distorted in pain and both seem to groan through their open mouths.

Questions of subject matter become even more complicated when two additional drawings associated with Baldung are taken into consideration. The artist's Karlsruhe sketchbook (ca. 1522) contains a delicate figure study of a reclining man similar to the *Ecstatic Christ* in the fall of his legs and the turn of his torso, but this figure lacks any defining characteristics or setting.<sup>7</sup>

Equally interesting is Baldung's *Resting Naked Lovers* (1527), which shows a postcoital couple; he throws his head back in rapture while her body twists seductively toward the viewer (fig. 2).<sup>8</sup> Although the drawings are distinctly different in style and subject matter, the gesture of self-touch as the woman reaches suggestively toward her genitals is consistent with Baldung's *Ecstatic Christ* (clearly not a traditional *Man of Sorrows*). As Leo Steinberg has made clear, demonstrations of Christ's sexuality are surprisingly frequent in medieval and Renaissance imagery.<sup>9</sup> Baldung, whose art was inventive and often sexually suggestive, shows Christ's left hand reaching for his genitals—a gesture noted by Steinberg as common in fifteenth- and sixteenth-

century life-size sculptural groups, known as Holy Graves, in France, Germany, and northern Italy.<sup>10</sup> Whether Christ moans in ecstasy at his own salvation or in agony at humanity's moral corruption, one will never know, yet Baldung's Christ—even in the aftermath of the Passion—exposes Man's fallen nature and the need for salvation, a leitmotif in the artist's oeuvre.

FS

1. The watermark is similar to one found in paper used in Freiburg in 1511 (Piccard-Online, no. 52618; accessed August 5, 2011); reproduced in Haverkamp-Begemann et al. 1999, p. 53. See also Piccard-Online, nos. 52617–52799 (accessed August 5, 2011).
2. Buchner 1950. Karlsruhe 1959, p. 67, follows Buchner, as does Oettinger and Knappe 1963, p. 86. They, however, describe Christ as alive. James H. Marrow and Alan Shestack (in Washington and New Haven 1981, p. 101) title it *The Dead Christ*, as does Barbara Drake Boehm (in New York and Nuremberg 1986, p. 370).
3. Buchner 1950, p. 448. The drawing may once have been dated: to the right of the monogram an area has been removed and replaced.
4. Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 2 (1954), p. 89, no. 54, ill.; Mende 1978, no. 27, ill.; see also Buchner 1950, pp. 448–49.
5. Koreny in Haverkamp-Begemann et al. 1999, p. 53. Johann Eckart von Borries shifts the dating of this drawing from 1507 to ca. 1512, when Baldung moved from Strasbourg to Freiburg (1512–16). Von Borries cites the freer and more flexible use of line and relates it to Baldung's *Witch* (Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. KdZ 4416), which Koreny also mentions (von Borries 1982, pp. 54–55).
6. British Museum, London, inv. 5218-29, 5218-30 (F. Winkler 1936–39, vol. 2 [1937], nos. 271, 272, ill.; Strauss 1974, vol. 2, nos. 1503/16, 1503/17, ill.; Rowlands 1993, vol. 1, nos. 153, 154, vol. 2, pls. 100, 101). According to the inscription on *Head of a Dead Christ*, the drawings were conceived as a pair: “Die 2 [or, much less likely, *Disz*] *angischt hab ich uch erl[?] / aus erfurcht [?] gemacht in meiner Kranckheit,*” which can be translated as, “I produced these two countenances when I was ill.”
7. K. Martin 1950, fol. 17r, fig. r28. Kurt Martin suggests that this drawing relies on Dürer's 1498 engraving *The Sea Monster* (Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 7 [1962], p. 59, no. 66, ill.). The sketch, visible only under ultraviolet light, was considered by Carl Koch as a later addition (Koch 1941, p. 42, n. 7), and it has been omitted from his corpus of Baldung's drawings.
8. Kaulbach 2007, no. 87, ill. Kaulbach considers the *Ecstatic Christ* and *Resting Naked Lovers* to be related, but only because both depict reclining nude figures (p. 17). He dismisses Koreny and retains the earlier dating of the work to Baldung's apprenticeship in Dürer's workshop. Both drawings have a high crown watermark, but it was so common during this period that it is not particularly useful in determining a specific date.
9. Steinberg 1996.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 100–101. Shestack discusses Baldung's genius in inventing new, even preposterous, interpretations of traditional subjects and suggests that he created each work of art with special delectation, as if discovering the theme for the first time and making it his own (Shestack 1981, p. 4).

*Provenance:* Private collection, Munich; Max Hartmann (1884–1952), Basel; Stella Hartmann, Geneva; [Galerie Les Tourettes, Basel (sold to Lehman)]; Robert Lehman (1891–1969), New York, 1959; given by the Robert Lehman Foundation to the Museum in accordance with the collector's wishes, 1975

*Literature:* Buchner 1950, ill.; Koch 1953, p. 299; Karlsruhe 1959, no. 112, fig. 39; Oettinger and Knappe 1963, no. 37 and pp. 18, 26, 86, 97, 127, fig. 87; George Szabo in New York 1978–79, no. 26, ill.; James H. Marrow and Alan Shestack in Washington and New Haven 1981, no. 14, ill.; von Borries 1982, pp. 54–55; Barbara Drake Boehm in New York and Nuremberg 1986, no. 176, ill.; Grewenig 1987, p. 72, fig. 45; Fritz Koreny in Haverkamp-Begemann et al. 1999, no. 11, ill.; Kaulbach 2007, p. 68, under no. 87

## MONOGRAMMIST G. Z.

Upper Rhine, active ca. 1514–22

A group of single-leaf woodcuts and book illustrations published between 1514 and 1522 in Basel, Hagenau, Strasbourg, and Mainz is attributed to the Monogrammist G. Z. The prints, most notably two scenes of the Crucifixion set within lush Germanic landscapes, and the drawings that have been associated with this artist demonstrate a close connection with Hans Baldung and Lucas Cranach the Elder. He has been tentatively identified as the Basel painter Gabriel Zehender, whose activities are recorded in the city archives between 1527 and 1535, but that connection remains extremely tenuous.

*General literature:* Koegler 1917; Parker 1924; Röttinger 1926, pp. 174–75; Stange 1957; Frank Hieronymus in Basel 1984a, pp. xviii, liii, 293–302; Lübbecke 1991, pp. 396–401, 417; Falk 1998, pp. 163–67; Otte 1998; Paisey 2008

### 17 | Monogrammist G. Z.

*Standing Virgin in Mourning*, 1520

Pen and carbon black ink, traces of black chalk underdrawing, 6<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 4<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (17.6 × 10.4 cm)  
Rogers Fund, 2004 (2004.162)

At lower center, dated 1520 in pen and carbon black ink, by the artist. Verso, at upper left, vertically inscribed with a sum in pen and brown ink (16th- or 17th-century handwriting)

*Watermark:* none

In this somber drawing an ethereal Virgin stands engulfed in her mantle, alone on a tuft of earth. Using both fine and broad quill lines, the Monogrammist G. Z. reduces the internal modeling to geometricized, almost abstract zones of light and dark, in which detail is neglected and the structure of the figure is left unclear. Short, angled, parallel strokes create a rhythm of planar surfaces, while densely cross-hatched areas suggest a sense of richness and depth in the garment. Also characteristic of the Monogrammist G. Z., although less frequently seen, is the use of short, undu-



lating hatchings that appear to radiate from one central point. This graphic style is also evident in his woodcut series *Christ and the Twelve Apostles*.<sup>1</sup> In *Saint Thomas and Saint Bartholomew* (dated 1518) from that series, the heavily outlined figures and their copious angular robes are modeled with short parallels and dense areas of

cross-hatching that appear randomly placed throughout (fig. 1).<sup>2</sup> Also evident in both the Museum's drawing and the woodcut are "hook and line" notations in the drapery. This schematic style as well as the radiant halos are reminiscent of Hans Baldung's *Large Apostle series*, dated about 1516–19.<sup>3</sup>



Fig. 1. Monogrammist G. Z., *Saint Thomas and Saint Bartholomew*, 1518. Woodcut, 10¼ × 7 in. (26 × 17.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1928 (28.82.6)





Fig. 2. Monogrammist G. Z., *Christ on the Cross with the Virgin and Saint John the Evangelist*, 1521. Woodcut, 11 $\frac{1}{2}$  × 8 $\frac{3}{16}$  in. (29.2 × 20.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1923 (23.80)

The Monogrammist G. Z.'s Madonna is shown independent of any narrative, but she seems to have a sense of purpose and can be understood as an embodiment of a deeply experienced faith. She was surely conceived as a model for a Madonna to accompany a Crucifixion. Except for the Twelve Apostles series, almost all the other works securely assigned to the artist are Crucifixions. Two of his woodcuts—one signed and dated (though the date is indecipherable) and the other dated 1521—show the cross squarely placed in the extreme foreground, with the battered body of Jesus thrust toward the viewer, framed by the Virgin and Saint John, who stand in despair at his feet (fig. 2).<sup>4</sup> This type of composition, which was intended to evoke deep emotion in the viewer, belongs to the late medieval tradition of *Devotio moderna*.<sup>5</sup> In the Monogrammist G. Z.'s chiaroscuro drawing of the subject (fig. 3),<sup>6</sup> the cross is

set off-center at an oblique angle, which draws the viewer into the composition, and the emphasis is on the emotional reactions of the Virgin and Saint John, who face the viewer and Christ, who is now seen from behind. John Rowlands attributes this drawing to the Monogrammist G. Z. based on its similarity to his woodcuts of the same subject and on the similarity of the soft, handsome face of Saint John to that of Saint Philip in the Apostles series.<sup>7</sup>

Although neither the countenance nor the costume of the Virgin in the Museum's drawing is repeated in any of the Monogrammist G. Z.'s other known works, the melancholic mood, radiant religiosity, and distinctive use of line make its attribution to the Monogrammist G. Z. all the more convincing.<sup>8</sup>

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Fig. 3. Monogrammist G. Z., *The Virgin and Saint John the Evangelist Standing before Christ on the Cross*, n.d. Pen and black ink, heightened with white body color, on brown prepared paper, 9 $\frac{3}{16}$  × 6 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (23.4 × 15.8 cm). British Museum, London (1880-2-14-345)

1. Geisberg 1923–30/1974, vol. 2, nos. G792–G797, ill. The attribution of the series is a matter of debate. It comprises six double portraits of the apostles and a single sheet of Christ standing alone with the orb of the world. Hans Koegler was the first to publish the series and indicated that Campbell Dodgson, in an unpublished note, attributed the series to the Monogrammist G. Z. (Koegler 1917, nos. 7–13). Dodgson's findings are contained in a manuscript in the Department of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum called "Notes compiled by Karl Parker during the 1920s for a proposed sequel (unpublished) to Campbell Dodgson's Catalogue of early German woodcuts in the British Museum." Heinrich Röttinger and Max Geisberg assign it to Hans Vischer, an artist of the Dürer school (Röttinger 1926, p. 175, figs. 67, 68; Geisberg 1923–30/1974, vol. 2, nos. G792–G797, ill.). This attribution has proved untenable. The British Museum has five of the seven woodcuts (inv. 1852-7-12-113, 1919-6-16-38, 1926-12-14-18, 1927-6-14-170, 1927-6-14-171); the two with Saints Philip and Matthias and with Saints Jude and Matthew are not in its collection. The British Museum changed the attribution of the woodcuts from Baldung to G. Z. and then to Anton Woensam; for this attribution, see the British Museum website. This attribution is unlikely, as Woensam's works reflect a greater influence by Netherlandish artists than by Cranach and Baldung, whose own series of woodcut apostles had a direct influence on this series. For Woensam, see *Illustrated Bartsch* 1978–, vol. 13 (1981), pp. 189–206; Jakoby 1991.

2. Geisberg 1923–30/1974, vol. 2, no. G794, ill.

3. Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 2 (1954), p. 103, nos. 79–91; Mende 1978, nos. 45–57, ill. For an explanation of the current dating of the Baldungs and the connection to G. Z., see James H. Marrow and Alan Shestack in Washington and New Haven 1981, p. 232, n. 7. Baldung's series is dependent on Cranach the Elder's series Christ, the Apostles, and Saint Paul (Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 6 [1959], p. 30, nos. 31–44).

4. Koegler 1917, no. 5; Röttinger 1926, pp. 159–60, figs. 65, 66. Koegler dates the work ca. 1517 and mentions that it had been dated

as early as 1515. Both of these woodcuts might have been used in missals. Koegler notes a 1518 missal published in Hagenau, among others (p. 192). Baldung's woodcut *The Crucifixion with Mary and Saint John* (1512), which was published by Reinhard Beck, Strasbourg (Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 2 [1954], p. 83, no. 14, ill.; Mende 1978, no. 413, ill.); Dürer's 1516 woodcut (Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 7 [1962], p. 148, no. 183, ill.); and Cranach's Crucifixion woodcuts (Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 6 [1959], pp. 26, 27, nos. 28, 29, ill.) might all have been used in missals as well.

5. This formula is also evident in works by Dürer, Cranach, and Baldung, among others. A few relevant examples (in addition to the missal woodcuts mentioned above) are Dürer's 1508 engraving *Christ on the Cross* (Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 7 [1962], p. 19, no. 23, ill.) and Cranach's Crucifixion painting from 1503 (Friedländer and Rosenberg 1978, no. 5, ill.). For the *Devotio moderna*, see Van Engen 2008.

6. Rowlands 1993, vol. 1, no. 434, vol. 2, pl. 275. This drawing is related to a copy in the same medium on brown prepared paper in the Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. KdZ 291 (Bock 1921, vol. 1, p. 11, vol. 2, pl. 13, as by Hans Baldung [?]); and with another chiaroscuro drawing—this time on blue prepared paper—that shows only Christ on the cross, formerly in the Woodner collection and sold at Christie's, London, July 2, 1991, lot 177, ill.

7. Rowlands in London 1988, p. 147.

8. A heavily cloaked and mourning Madonna appears in Baldung's 1512 woodcut for the missal published in Strasbourg (see note 4 above).

*Provenance:* Leonhard Sladeczek, Westphalia; his son; Murath collection, Bern; [Arnoldi-Livie, Munich]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 2004

*Literature:* unpublished

# Artists Active outside Nuremberg in the Early Sixteenth Century

## ALBRECHT ALTDORFER

Regensburg, ca. 1482/85–1538, Regensburg

Albrecht Altdorfer was probably first trained by his father, the miniaturist Ulrich Altdorfer. In 1505 Albrecht became a citizen of Regensburg and thereafter held a seat on the general city council and later on the inner council. He was appointed city architect in 1526 and received artistic commissions from the city council as well as from Emperor Maximilian I and Duke William IV of Bavaria. The principal figure of the Danube school, Altdorfer made works that not only emphasize the natural world, especially the local landscape, but also render that world in a subjective and emotional rather than objective manner. A versatile and prolific artist, Altdorfer created paintings, woodcuts, engravings, etchings, drawings, and watercolors.

*General literature:* Winzinger 1952; Winzinger 1963; Hans Mielke in Berlin and Regensburg 1988; Wood 1993

### 18 | Albrecht Altdorfer

#### *Samson and Delilah*, 1506

Pen and carbon black ink, lead white heightening, on paper prepared with opaque orange-pink, iron-based earth watercolor, 6¾ × 4<sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (17.1 × 12.2 cm)  
Rogers Fund, 1906 (06.1501.2)

At lower left, dated and monogrammed 1506 / AA (intertwined) in pen and black ink. Framing line in pen and black ink, by the artist. Verso, at upper center, inscribed [. . .] / D'Alberto Duro in pen and black ink (17th- or 18th-century handwriting). At lower center of the old mount (preserved separately), inscribed *Alberto Altorfo* in pen and brown ink (18th- or 19th-century handwriting);<sup>1</sup> at lower right, inscribed *Altdorfer* in graphite (19th- or 20th-century handwriting). Verso of the old mount, at upper center, inscribed C.51 in pen and brown ink (18th- or 19th-century handwriting); at lower right, inscribed 19647 in graphite (20th-century handwriting)

*Watermark:* bull's head, snake on cross above (fragment of upper portion)<sup>2</sup>

This fine, almost miniaturist drawing is among the earliest surviving works by Altdorfer. It is part of a group of four drawings all composed in pen and black ink with



Fig. 1. Lorenzo Maitani, *The Creation of Adam*, 1310–30. Relief sculpture. Facade of the cathedral of Orvieto

white heightening on prepared paper, dated 1506, and framed in black ink by the artist.<sup>3</sup> The Louvre's *Witches' Sabbath* and Berlin's *Allegory of Pax and Minerva* also include a small additional letter—variously interpreted in the literature as an *O* or *D*—within Altdorfer's monogram.<sup>4</sup> Although the reason for its presence is still an open question, adding an *O* at the end of Altdorfer would have Italianized his name.<sup>5</sup> It could point to his dependence on Italian models for the works. Hans Mielke has shown that both *Witches' Sabbath* and *Pax and Minerva* recall prints by and after Andrea Mantegna, though he discounts Mantegna's own painted grisaille *Samson and Delilah* (ca. 1500) as a source for the Museum's drawing.<sup>6</sup> Instead, Mielke connects the figure of Samson to Lorenzo Maitani's Adam in *The Creation of Eve* on the facade of the cathedral of Orvieto.<sup>7</sup> Closer still may be the languidly graceful figure of Adam in the scene of his own creation at Orvieto, which precedes the relief cited by Mielke (fig. 1).<sup>8</sup>

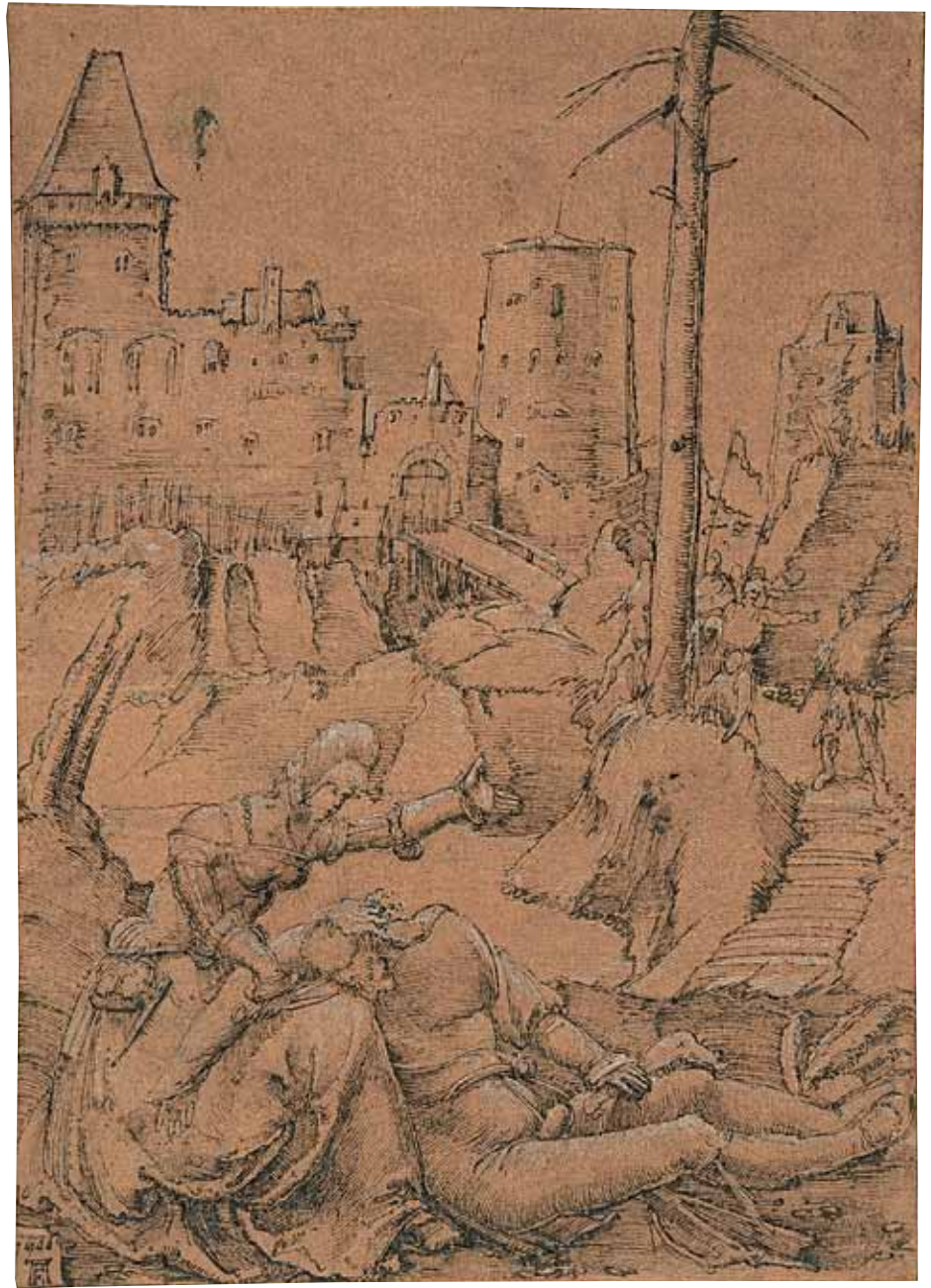
Similar to the Samson in pose, but much more concerned with his female companion, is the male consort in Altdorfer's *Lovers in a Landscape* (1504), who also wears contemporary clothing and is shown within a landscape framed at the back by a large fortified castle (fig. 2).<sup>9</sup> This pen drawing demonstrates Altdorfer's early interest in expansive landscapes as well as his



Fig. 2. Albrecht Altdorfer, *Lovers in a Landscape*, 1504.  
Pen and black and gray ink, 11 $\frac{1}{8}$  × 8 $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (28.3 × 20.5 cm).  
Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (KdZ 2671)

knowledge of works by his contemporary Lucas Cranach the Elder.<sup>10</sup> Cranach also produced colored-ground drawings, such as his *Saint John in the Wilderness* on brown prepared paper, in Lille, in which the saint sits in front of a landscape rendered almost exclusively in white gouache.<sup>11</sup> The tradition of colored-ground drawings in the North dates back to the late fifteenth century and gained prominence in the early sixteenth century as independent drawings became coveted by collectors.<sup>12</sup> In addition to colored-ground drawings, artists such as Mair von Landshut experimented early on with colored prepared papers to create tonal prints. His *Samson and Delilah* (ca. 1499) can be found in several different impressions, including one in the Albertina, Vienna, on brown prepared paper with white and yellow highlights.<sup>13</sup>

Though vastly different in composition and style from Altdorfer's drawing, Mair's scene similarly includes the Philistine soldiers awaiting Delilah's signal so that they can arrest Samson. Altdorfer also incorporated other elements of the story: Samson is shown clutching the jawbone of an ass, which he had used to slaughter thousands of Philistines (Judges 15:15), and behind him flows an ample river that may stem from the water source God created in the hollow of that jawbone



when Samson professed his thirst (Judges 15:19). Altdorfer depicts Samson as recounted in Judges 16:19—asleep on Delilah's knees as she forcefully raises her left arm to alert the soldiers, while holding in her right hand the scissors she will use to trim his locks and deprive him of his superhuman strength. Delilah's triumph over Samson exemplifies the downfall of even the most physically powerful man at the hands of a deceitful

woman—a popular theme in the art and literature of Northern Europe during this period. Two engravings and a later drawing on prepared paper testify to Altdorfer's continued interest in Samson's triumphs and travails.<sup>14</sup>

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1. It was first noted in Oettinger 1959 that this inscription may indicate an Italian provenance for the drawing (p. 33). Hans Mielke also cites the inscription as proof of an Italian provenance (in Berlin and Regensburg 1988, p. 28).
2. This watermark is similar to one found in paper used in Augsburg in 1500 (Piccard-Online, no. 71161; accessed September 2, 2011). This type of mark was frequently used in Germany (and, in some cases, northern Italy) from approximately the late 1470s through 1550 (see Piccard-Online, nos. 71138–77980; accessed September 2, 2011).
3. The other three drawings are *Witches' Sabbath*, Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. 18.867 (Winzinger 1952, no. 2, ill.; Mielke in Berlin and Regensburg 1988, no. 7, ill.); *Allegory of Pax and Minerva*, Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. KdZ 1691 (Winzinger 1952, no. 1, ill.; Mielke in Washington 1999–2000, no. 120, ill.); and *Two Landsknechts and a Couple*, Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen, inv. Tu 90, 1 (Winzinger 1952, no. 7, ill.; Bøgh Rasmussen 2000, no. 36, ill.). Mielke thought the framing line indicated that these were predetermined rather than spontaneously invented. In fact, he believed all of Altdorfer's finished drawings to be *Reinzeichnungen*, or fair copies of his own inventions (Mielke in Berlin and Regensburg 1988, p. 38). Winzinger refers to the border of the Copenhagen drawing as original (Winzinger 1952, p. 67; Winzinger 1963, app. 3, p. 131), and Wood considers them to be spontaneous works, with the black border asserting their finished quality (Wood 1993, p. 78). For a comprehensive list of Altdorfer's drawings with black frames, see Wood 1993, p. 291, n. 49.
4. Oettinger 1957, pp. 47–48; Oettinger 1959, p. 33; Winzinger 1960, p. 8; Mielke in Berlin and Regensburg 1988, pp. 28, 32, 34.
5. Oettinger 1959, p. 33.
6. Mielke in Berlin and Regensburg 1988, p. 28. *Pax and Minerva* depends on Mantegna's *Four Dancing Muses* after the Louvre's *Parnassus* (inv. 370); see Hind 1938–48, pt. 2, vol. 5 (1948), p. 27, no. 21, vol. 6 (1948), pl. 519; *Illustrated Bartsch* 1978–, vol. 25 (1980), p. 160, no. 18, ill. (as by Zoan Andrea); Suzanne Boorsch in London and New York 1992, no. 138, ill. (as by the Premier Engraver); Laura Aldovini in Paris 2008–9a, no. 139, ill. (as by the Workshop of Mantegna). *Witches' Sabbath* uses a portion of Mantegna's engraving *Bacchanal with a Wine Vat*; see Hind 1938–48, pt. 2, vol. 5 (1948), p. 12, no. 3; *Illustrated Bartsch* 1978–, vol. 25 (1980), p. 56, no. 19, ill.; David Landau in London and New York 1992, no. 74, ill.; Andrea Canova in Paris 2008–9a, no. 105, ill. Mantegna's *Samson and Delilah* is in the National Gallery, London, inv. NG1145.
7. Mielke in Berlin and Regensburg 1988, p. 28. The creation of Eve is represented in a pair of scenes on the sculpted facade (Moskowitz 2009, pl. 13). Mielke does not specify which reposing Adam most resembles Altdorfer's Samson.
8. Moskowitz 2009, pl. 5. This type of figure of Adam is found in Italian prints more than one hundred years later. An excellent example is the anonymous Florentine engraving *The Creation of Eve*, ca. 1460 (Hind 1938–48, pt. 1, vol. 1 [1938], p. 61, no. 1, vol. 2 [1938], pl. 86).

9. Mielke in Berlin and Regensburg 1988, no. 1, ill.; Mielke in Washington 1999–2000, no. 119, ill.
10. This drawing used to be attributed to Cranach (Rosenberg 1960, no. 7, ill.). It is similar in style and composition to *Lovers near a Fountain*, 1503, attributed to Cranach in the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig, inv. z 59 (von Heusinger 1992–97, vol. 1, pp. 275–76, vol. 2, pl. 42 [as by an anonymous German artist]); this drawing was attributed to Cranach by Dieter Koeplin and Tilman Falk in Basel 1974, vol. 1, no. 78, fig. 73 (an attribution reiterated by Mielke in Berlin and Regensburg 1988, no. 215, ill.).
11. Palais des Beaux-Arts, Lille, inv. Pl. 914 (Hofbauer 2010, no. 3, ill.). Cranach also made a *Saint Martin* now in the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung München, inv. 36 (Hofbauer 2010, no. 4, ill.).
12. Falk 1978. Christopher Wood claims that the first indisputably independent colored-ground drawing is Bernhard Strigel's *Death and Amor*, 1502, Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. KdZ 4256 (Wood 1993, p. 76). The technique was also taken up with much enthusiasm by other artists including Hans Baldung, Wolfgang Huber, Hans Leu the Younger, and Niklaus Manuel, as well as Holbein the Younger, who executed *Holy Family* on red prepared paper (Kunstmuseum Basel, inv. 1662.139; C. Müller 1996, no. 109, pl. 6), and Urs Graf, who employed the colored paper to great effect in *Christ as the Man of Sorrows* (Kunstmuseum Basel, inv. U.111.76; C. Müller 2001, p. 235, no. 125, ill., pl. 34).
13. Lehrs 1908–34, vol. 8 (1932), p. 296, no. 3; Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 23 (1979), p. 93, no. 3, ill. For more on Mair von Landshut, see Mielke in Berlin and Regensburg 1988, pp. 325–27.
14. For the engravings *Samson Bearing the Gates of Gaza* and *Samson and Delilah*, see Mielke 1997, p. 17, nos. e.2, e.3, ill., respectively. The drawing *Samson and the Lion* is in the Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. KdZ 86. There is also a workshop copy of *Samson and the Lion* (Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, inv. KdZ 8) drawn on a fragment of the same piece of paper as KdZ 86 (Mielke in Berlin and Regensburg 1988, no. 56, ill.).

*Provenance*: Jonathan Richardson Sr. (1665–1745); probably his sale, London, February 9, 1747, part of lot 4; [P. & D. Colnaghi & Co., London]; purchased by the Department of Paintings, 1906

*Literature*: Metropolitan Museum of Art 1943, no. 17, ill.; Clark 1956, p. 122, ill.; New York 1956, no. 161; Oettinger 1957, pp. 16, 43, 47–48, no. 53; New York 1959, no. 26, pl. 19; Oettinger 1959, pp. 23, 24, 25–26, 28, 31, 32, 33, 35, [fig.] 12; \*Winzinger 1960, pp. 7–8, ill. no. 1; Winzinger 1963, app. 2, p. 131; Hans Mielke in Berlin and Regensburg 1988, no. 2, ill.; Butts 1988, p. 280; Goldberg 1988, p. 119; Wood 1993, pp. 77, 109, 291, n. 45; Talbot 1996, p. 714; Talbot 2010, ill.

\*The accompanying plate volume to Oettinger 1959 (announced on p. 7) seems never to have been produced.

## 19 | Albrecht Altdorfer

*The Emperor Maxentius Ordering the Burning of the Fifty Wise Men*, ca. 1515 (?)

Pen and a mixed iron gall and carbon black ink, brush and gray ink wash, traces of white gouache, traces of black chalk underdrawing (laid down), 6<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 6<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (16.9 × 16 cm)

Purchase, Didier Aaron Inc. Gift, 2003 (2003.3)

At lower left, inscribed *Altdorfer* in graphite (19th-century handwriting); at lower center, inscribed 218 in graphite (19th- or 20th-century handwriting); at lower right, inscribed 38 in pen and red ink (19th- or 20th-century handwriting?). Four circular framing lines in pen and brown ink, possibly by the artist; a framing line in pen and lighter brown ink, by a later hand. Verso, at lower right, inscribed *m m* □ in graphite (20th-century handwriting). On old mount, at lower center, in a cartouche, inscribed *Altdorfer* in pen and brown ink (19th- or 20th-century handwriting)

Watermark: none

There are relatively few surviving working drawings by Altdorfer, who is best known as a draftsman of brilliant independent drawings on colored paper (see cat. 18). The present example was almost certainly made in preparation for a stained-glass window, given both its circular format and the broad use of wash. The unusual subject, taken from Jacobus de Voragine's thirteenth-century collection of lives of saints, the *Legenda aurea* (*Golden Legend*), was identified by Paul Taylor; it concerns Saint Catherine, who rendered the Emperor Maxentius speechless with her arguments on behalf of Christianity.<sup>1</sup> When the fifty wise men he ordered to counter her arguments failed to do so convincingly, he had them burned.

Despite a relatively modern inscription on the mount attributing the drawing to Altdorfer, it was auctioned in 2002 as the product of an artist in his circle. However, close examination indicates that it bears many of the hallmarks of Altdorfer's distinctive manner and is unquestionably by his hand. The composition, with a nearly impenetrable series of forms in the foreground and a second plane with small heads of onlookers jotted down with abstract notational strokes, is precisely the format in both his drawings of Christ carrying the cross in Erlangen and Los Angeles (figs. 1, 2).<sup>2</sup> Similar compositions are also found among the panels of his altarpiece for the monastery of Sankt Florian near Linz.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, certain figural types, such as the striding man carrying wood at left and the foreshortened figures on the ground, are almost stock actors in Altdorfer's vocabulary. While other German artists would occasionally employ radically foreshort-



ened figures, Altdorfer used one similar to those here in at least ten other works in his not very large oeuvre (fig. 3).<sup>4</sup> The daring juxtaposition of such figures facing in opposite directions is the kind of radical step that no one but Altdorfer himself would have attempted; it goes far beyond the creative imagination of artists like his brother Erhard, Georg Lemberger, or Hans Leu the Younger.<sup>5</sup>

Finally, the graphic handwriting makes the most conclusive argument in favor of his authorship. The broadly brushed argument in favor of his authorship. The broadly brushed wash to create shadow is applied in the same way as in the Erlangen and Los Angeles sheets referred to above. Furthermore, the insistently and somewhat abstractly animated quality of line, with frequent use of connected segments rather than long continuous outlines, is a characteristic of Altdorfer's draftsmanship not found among any of his followers



Fig. 1. Albrecht Altdorfer, *Christ Carrying the Cross*, ca. 1515 (?). Pen and brown ink, gray wash, heightened with white gouache, on pink prepared paper,  $9\frac{13}{16} \times 7\frac{15}{16}$  in. (25 × 20.2 cm). Graphische Sammlung, Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg, Erlangen (Bock 810)



Fig. 2. Albrecht Altdorfer, *Christ Carrying the Cross*, ca. 1515. Pen and black ink, gray wash, over black chalk, diameter:  $11\frac{15}{16}$  in. (30.4 cm). The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (86.GG.465)



Fig. 3. Albrecht Altdorfer, *Jael and Sisera*, ca. 1518. Woodcut,  $4\frac{15}{16} \times 3\frac{13}{16}$  in. (12.5 × 9.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Felix M. Warburg, 1920 (20.64.26)



Fig. 4. Albrecht Altdorfer, *Abraham's Sacrifice of Isaac*, ca. 1520–25. Woodcut,  $4\frac{7}{8} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$  in. (12.4 × 9.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Felix M. Warburg and his family, 1941 (41.1.101)

or contemporaries. Comparison of individual figures—Maxentius at the extreme left with the onlooker wearing a conical hat in the Getty drawing—clearly demonstrates common authorship. The notational rendering of figures in the background and the elaborate depiction of smoke are again typical of Altdorfer, as is evident from a comparison with a woodcut by his hand (fig. 4).<sup>6</sup> Further close similarity can be noticed in the manner in which the wood is rendered here and in the Erlangen and Los Angeles sheets.

In most respects, the drawing is closest to the Erlangen *Christ Carrying the Cross* and probably dates from the same period as it and the larger sheet at the Getty. GRG

1. Taylor, quoted in Sotheby's 2002, p. 39, lot 105. For the text of the *Legenda aurea*, see Voragine 2007 (ed.), vol. 2, pp. 1350–63; for an English translation, see Voragine 1993 (ed.), vol. 2, pp. 334–41. For Saint Catherine, see Réau 1955–59, vol. 3, pt. 1 (1958), pp. 262–72; Balboni, Bronzini, and Brandi 1963; Assion 1974.

2. For the drawing in Erlangen, see Bock 1929, vol. 1, no. 810, vol. 2, ill.; Winzinger 1952, no. 96, ill.; Hans Mielke in Berlin and Regensburg 1988, no. 96, ill.; Guido Messling in Nuremberg 2008, no. 62, ill. For the drawing in Los Angeles, see Goldner and Hendrix 1987; Mielke in Berlin and Regensburg 1988, no. 97, ill.

3. For the altar in the monastery of Sankt Florian, see Winzinger 1975, pp. 29–31, nos. 9–24, ill.; Seidel 1983; Bushart 2004, pp. 213–27 and passim, pls. XI–XIX.

4. Winzinger 1963, no. 85, ill.; Mielke in Berlin and Regensburg 1988, no. 103, ill.; Mielke 1997, p. 115, no. w.43, ill. For other examples, see Mielke in Berlin and Regensburg 1988, nos. 34, 40, 72, 75, 98–100, 102, 131, ill.

5. For the graphic styles of Erhard Altdorfer, Lemberger, Leu, and other artists of Albrecht Altdorfer's circle, see Winzinger 1952, pp. 53–58, nos. 118–56, ill.; Mielke in Berlin and Regensburg 1988, nos. 176–201, ill.

6. Winzinger 1963, no. 91, ill.; Mielke in Berlin and Regensburg 1988, no. 105, ill.; Mielke 1997, p. 113, no. w.41, ill.

*Provenance:* Sale, Sotheby's, London, July 10, 2002, lot 105; [Kunsthandel Katrin Bellinger, Munich]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 2003

*Literature:* Sotheby's 2002, lot 105, ill. (as by an artist from the circle of Albrecht Altdorfer)

## HANS BURGKMAIR

Augsburg, 1473–1531, Augsburg

First trained by his father, the painter Thoman Burgkmair, Hans spent his *Wanderjahre* studying with the eminent painter and printmaker Martin Schongauer. After returning to Augsburg, Burgkmair began to design woodcuts for the book printer Erhard Ratdolt. He established his own workshop in 1498 and was commissioned to paint three of the six large-scale paintings of Roman basilicas to be hung in the refectory of the preeminent Saint Catherine's convent. It is believed that Burgkmair traveled to Cologne and the Netherlands between 1503 and 1505. He executed paintings and woodcuts throughout his career for patrons including Emperor Maximilian I, Elector Frederick the Wise of Saxony, and Duke William IV of Bavaria. For the emperor, Burgkmair participated in creating a series of luxuriously illustrated books, including an imaginative *Genealogy* (ca. 1510–13) of the Habsburg dynasty, Maximilian's fictionalized autobiography *Teuerdank* (1517), and the more historical *Weisskunig* (White king; ca. 1512–18, first published in 1775). With the assistance of an expert woodcutter, Jost de Negker, Burgkmair experimented with innovative printing techniques, such as printing in gold and silver and using several tinted blocks to produce a tonal effect.

*General literature:* Parker 1928; Rupé 1928; Schilling 1933–34; P. Halm 1962; Falk 1968; West 2006

### 20 | Hans Burgkmair

*The Virgin and Child with a Cleric*, ca. 1503–5

Pen and a mixed iron gall and carbon black ink, traces of black chalk underdrawing, 6 × 6<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (15.2 × 15.7 cm)  
Harry G. Sperling Fund, 2006 (2006.582)

*Watermark:* none



Typical of Burgkmair's early drawings after Netherlandish and Italian examples, this simple but fluent sketch shows a serene Virgin holding a bunch of grapes from below, while a kneeling cleric grasps the stem.<sup>1</sup> The Christ Child, defined with just a few strokes of the pen, is perched on the Virgin's lap and gestures with an open hand toward the fruit. Although a direct prototype has not been located for the composition, its intimacy and iconography reflect Schongauer's influence on the young artist. A painting of the Holy Family by Schongauer, now in Vienna, shows an ethereal Virgin with a book on her lap, holding the Child close to her while she plucks a grape to feed him.<sup>2</sup> In the background, an aged Joseph watches the scene. What Burgkmair presented in his drawing, however, is not a straightforward Holy Family; rather, it is a conflation with scenes of the Adoration of the Magi.<sup>3</sup>

In an engraving of the Adoration by Schongauer (fig. 1),<sup>4</sup> he shows a spindly Christ Child seated on





Fig. 1. Martin Schongauer, *The Adoration of the Magi*, ca. 1470–75. Engraving, 10<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 6<sup>9</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (25.6 × 16.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1932 (32.78.1)



Fig. 2. Hans Burgkmair, *Saint Erasmus*, 1505. Pen and black ink, 4<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> × 2<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (11.5 × 7.5 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (19211)

Mary's lap, his legs extended and her hand bracing him, just as in Burgkmair's drawing. The kneeling magus contemplates the vessel he has just presented, which Mary holds between them; his elaborate hat is placed on the ground before him. In the Museum's drawing, the vessel is replaced by the bunch of grapes, and the magus by what appears to be a cleric. Burgkmair took care to define the man's costume, the rolled piece of paper he grasps in his right hand, and his emaciated face, as well as the hat he has pushed off his head in deference to the holy figures.<sup>5</sup> The layers of short hatching lines that Burgkmair used here to create depth and the long parallels used for shading can also be found in his drawing of Saint Erasmus (fig. 2).<sup>6</sup>

Though primarily interpreted as a symbol of the Eucharist, a cluster of grapes could also be employed in other contexts.<sup>7</sup> The twelfth-century theologian Honorius of Autun added his own exegesis to the voluminous discourse related to the Old Testament Song of Songs, which refers to the breasts of the Bride (often interpreted as the Virgin) as a cluster of grapes.<sup>8</sup> Honorius stated: "[Preachers] are like grapes, because just as grapes are full of wine, they are full of knowledge.

And just as pressed grapes make men drunk, so they, pressed in the world, produce the milk of doctrine."<sup>9</sup> This is an intriguing analogy, given Burgkmair's enigmatic image. He later executed a more Italianate black chalk drawing now incorrectly titled *The Holy Family* (ca. 1507), which includes a beautiful young man (perhaps a cleric) dangling a bunch of grapes over the shoulder of the Virgin toward a large and animated Christ Child.<sup>10</sup> Burgkmair used this composition, without the male interloper, as a model for his painting *The Virgin and Child* (ca. 1509–10) in Nuremberg.<sup>11</sup>

FS

1. Monroe Warsaw was the first to recognize this drawing as by Burgkmair; the attribution was confirmed by Tilman Falk (Falk to Warsaw, letter dated February 20, 2006, in the Museum's departmental files). Peter Halm (1962) speaks extensively of the drawings after Netherlandish examples that Burgkmair executed following his trip to Cologne and possibly the Netherlands sometime between 1503 and 1505. Burgkmair is known to have done drawings after Stefan Lochner and Rogier van der Weyden; see *The Last Judgment*, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, inv. NM 100/1918; and *The Presentation in the Temple*, also Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, inv. NM 85/1918 (Bjurström 1972, nos. 22, 21, ill.).

2. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, inv. 843 (Colmar 1991, ill. p. 72; Ferino-Pagden, Prohaska, and Schütz 1991, p. III, pl. 560).

3. Burgkmair executed an *Adoration of the Magi* (Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, inv. NM 98/1918; Bjurström 1972, no. 28, ill.) in the same simple style, seemingly after the example of Rogier van der Weyden's *Columba Altarpiece*, ca. 1455, Alte Pinakothek, Munich, inv. WAF 1189. The attribution of this *Adoration* to Burgkmair has been the subject of scholarly dispute: Edmund Schilling (1933–34, pp. 264–65, fig. 16) denied its authenticity; Falk believes it is close in date to Burgkmair's Cologne trip and hence coincident with the Museum's drawing (Falk 1968, pp. 37–38).

4. Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 49 (1999), p. 27, no. 6, ill.; Lehms 2005, no. 6, ill.

5. In works of art from this period, all types of hats are removed and either held or placed on the ground. But the kind of casual removal seen in the Museum's drawing could be found in one notable work: the *Holy Kinship Altarpiece*, ca. 1500, by the Master of the Holy Kinship, a Cologne painter active at the end of the fifteenth century. One of the aged male figures in the left middle ground is wearing an ornate tunic, but his textured round hat is simply pushed back off his head, in a manner similar to Burgkmair's cleric. This altarpiece (originally in the Dominican cloister of Saint Achatius and now in the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum und Fondation Corboud, Cologne, inv. WRMT65; Frank Gunter Zehnder in R. Budde et al. 1986, pp. 82–83, ill.) masterfully interweaves narratives such as the Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine with the Holy Kinship and the *Virgo inter Virgines*.

6. P. Halm 1962, p. 110, fig. 37; Falk to Warsaw, letter dated January 8, 2002, in the Museum's departmental files.

7. For a comprehensive discussion of grape symbolism in the sixteenth century, see de Jongh 1974; Mundy 1981–82.

8. Mundy 1981–82, p. 216.

9. Honorius of Autun, quoted by Mundy (ibid., p. 217).

10. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, inv. NM 15/1918 (Bjurström 1972, no. 25, ill.).

11. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, inv. 283 (Germanisches Nationalmuseum 2001, p. 70, ill.). Per Bjurström cites Hans Rupé's observation that this composition relates to Italian Madonnas from the Leonardo school, especially those by Giovanni Antonio Boltraffio (Bjurström 1972, under no. 25). See, for instance, a *Virgin and Child* by a follower of Boltraffio, National Gallery, London, inv. NG2496 (Fiorio 2000, no. D10, ill.).

*Provenance:* [Monroe Warsaw, New York]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 2006

*Literature:* unpublished

## 21 | Hans Burgkmair

*Two Studies of Saint Ulrich of Augsburg*, ca. 1505–7

Pen and a mixed iron gall and carbon black ink, traces of black chalk underdrawing, 7<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 6<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (18.7 × 16.2 cm)  
Purchase, The Guy Wildenstein Gift, 2010 (2010.531)

Verso, at upper center, inscribed *Hans Burckmair* in pen and brown ink (16th-century handwriting); at lower left, collector's mark of Adolf Klein (Lugt 2786<sup>b</sup>); at lower right, unidentified collector's mark (Lugt 622)

*Watermark:* none

The two studies in the Museum's drawing are alternative versions of the figure of Saint Ulrich, a tenth-century bishop who rigidly enforced the laws of the Church and sought to make religion more accessible to the common people.<sup>1</sup> He is recognizable by his crosier and by his attribute, a fish. There are several accounts of the life of Saint Ulrich—his miracles and his missions—most notably, by Gerhard of Augsburg in 993, the year Ulrich was canonized by Pope John XV, and by Berno von Reichenau (1008–1048).<sup>2</sup> Berno's account of the life and works of Saint Ulrich was reprinted by Silvan Otmar in Augsburg in 1516 and is illustrated with woodcuts by Leonhard Beck, whose Ulrich is quite similar to the version seen on the left in Burgkmair's drawing.<sup>3</sup>

As in Burgkmair's effortless outline sketch *Virgin and Child with a Cleric* (cat. 20), very few modeling lines are used to build up a sense of three-dimensionality in these two figures of Saint Ulrich. Economically using parallel shading lines, Burgkmair did elaborate the body and clothing of Augsburg's patron saint seen at the left. This figure of Saint Ulrich is found on the outside of the left wing of a dismembered altarpiece (fig. 1); the inside of the wing, which depicts Saint Ursula, is badly damaged but has been attributed to Burgkmair's workshop.<sup>4</sup> The right wing shows the other patron saint of Augsburg, Saint Afra, along with Mary Magdalen on the outside.<sup>5</sup> Max Friedländer and Edmund Schilling



first recognized the wings as the work of Burgkmair.<sup>6</sup> Tilman Falk dated the painted panels to about 1505, during the period when the artist and his workshop were producing monumental paintings of Roman basilicas for Saint Catherine's, a Dominican convent in Augsburg.<sup>7</sup> The Museum's drawing is one of the few known by the artist that is preparatory to a painting; another is the simple and charming pen drawing for the vignette *Madonna and Child with Fourteen Helper Saints* in his *Saint Peter's Basilica* (1501).<sup>8</sup>

Peter Halm and Schilling also connect the drawing to a *Saint Ulrich* wing from 1518 in the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin; the relationship between the two, however,



Fig. 1. Workshop of Hans Burgkmair, *Saint Ulrich*, ca. 1505. Oil on panel, 49 5/8 x 16 1/8 in. (126 x 41 cm). Sammlung Georg Schäfer, Schweinfurt, on long-term loan to the Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg (4324)



Fig. 2. Hans Burgkmair, *Title Page with Saint Ulrich and Saint Afra*, from Sigmund Meisterlin, *Ein schöne Cronick*, Augsburg, 1522. Woodcut, 8 3/4 x 6 in. (22.3 x 15.2 cm). British Library, London

seems tenuous.<sup>9</sup> The Berlin *Saint Ulrich* (paired with a Saint Barbara) most resembles the figure at the right of the Museum's drawing, whose beard endows him with a sense of gravitas.<sup>10</sup> A closer variant, likely taken from a workshop drawing, can be found in the woodcut title page to Sigmund Meisterlin's 1522 chronicle of Augsburg (fig. 2).<sup>11</sup>

The style of the costume and the posture of Burgkmair's Saint Ulrichs reappear with great frequency in his own work and that of his Augsburg contemporaries. They can be found in his drawings of other saints, such as *Saint Nicolas of Bari*, a pen and wash drawing in the Louvre, and in the slightly earlier gisant tomb sculpture (1486–1500) of Saint Simpertus from the Augsburg church of Saints Ulrich and Afra, now in Munich.<sup>12</sup> According to Christopher Wood, the archaizing style of the tomb of Saint Simpertus imitates the depiction of ancient bishops seen, among other places, in an incised portrait of Saint Ulrich on his twelfth-century

tomb, which may have been visible in the church of Saints Ulrich and Afra during the Renaissance.<sup>13</sup> Burgkmair's versions of Saint Ulrich do not repeat the twelfth-century portrait exactly; they do, however, rely on its prominent and recognizable image and style, which had great cultural currency in Augsburg and was perhaps recognized as a canonical portrait of the saint.

FS

1. For Saint Ulrich, see Schmid 1912; Dörfler 1955.
2. See Gerhard of Augsburg 1993 (ed.); for Berno's account, see Blume 2008.
3. Berno, *Das Leben, verdienen vnd wunderwerk der hailigen Augspurger Bistumbs bischoffen, sant Vlrichs vnd Symprechts, auch der sälligen marterrin sant Aphre, irer muter Hilarie geschlecht vnd gesellschaft, in vnserm daselbst loblichen gotshaus rastend*, Augsburg, 1516. A copy is in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, shelf mark VD16 B 2050.
4. Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg, the reverses of inv. 4324 and 4323 (Isolde Lübbecke in Schweinfurt 1985, p. 68; Falk 1968, p. 41).
5. Lübbecke in Schweinfurt 1985, p. 68.
6. See *ibid.*
7. Falk 1968, p. 41; see also p. 96, n. 217. For more on the basilica series, see Schawe 1999.
8. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, inv. NM 30/1918 (Bjurström 1972, no. 20, ill.).
9. Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. 596 (P. Halm 1962, p. 96; Schilling 1933–34, p. 268).
10. The wing with *Saint Barbara* is in the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, inv. 572.
11. For *Ein schöne Cronick* (A beautiful chronicle), see Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 5 (1957), p. 81, no. 261, ill. Burgkmair's woodcut appears in the first printed edition of Meisterlin's chronicle, from 1522; manuscript versions in Latin and German had been made in 1456–57. Burgkmair's Ulrich closely follows the stance of the saint found on the title page of the German manuscript, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg, 2°S.224, fol. 5\*r (Ott 2001, p. 25, fig. 18).
12. Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. 18538 (David Guillet in Paris 1991–92, no. 14, ill.). The tomb is now in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich, inv. MA944 (Eikelmann 2000, p. 78, ill.). Other examples of the same type being used include a pen and wash drawing by Christoph Amberger (to whom the Museum's drawing was first attributed) in the British Museum, London, inv. 1933-2-11-2 (Rowlands 1993, vol. 1, no. 56, vol. 2, pl. 36).
13. See Wood 2008, p. 136. The portrait, incised on a metal plate, is on the inside of the current tomb. For a discussion of the portrait and its placement, see Dörfler 1955, p. 205.

*Provenance:* Unidentified private collection, possibly Vienna, ca. 1800; Adolf Klein (1880–1951), Frankfurt; his sale, Frederik Muller, Amsterdam, November 21, 1929, lot 41; Zwicky collection, Arlesheim; sale, Galerie Koller, Zurich, September 17, 2010, lot 3327; [Kunsthandel Katrin Bellinger, Munich]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 2010

*Literature:* Schilling 1924, p. xi, pl. 10 (as by Christoph Amberger); Frederik Muller 1929, lot 41, ill. (as by Amberger); Schilling 1933–34, pp. 268, 270, fig. 221; P. Halm 1962, p. 96, fig. 30; Falk 1968, p. 96, n. 217; Isolde Lübbecke in Schweinfurt 1985, p. 68, ill.; Weschenfelder 2003, p. 21; Koller 2010, lot 3327, ill.

## JÖRG BREU THE ELDER

Augsburg, ca. 1475/80–1536/37, Augsburg

Jörg Breu was a versatile artist, whose oeuvre comprises altarpieces, organ shutters, frescoes and facade paintings, possibly portraits, illustrated manuscripts, and designs for independent woodcuts, book illustrations, and glass paintings. During his journeyman years, spent in Austria before he settled back in Augsburg in 1502, Breu's style foreshadowed that of the Danube school. Later on, the influence of Italian art becomes noticeable in his work (as in that of his Augsburg colleagues Hans Burgkmair and Hans Holbein the Elder), although it is still disputed whether Breu actually traveled to the south. As the city chronicle he kept testifies, Breu was an articulate supporter of the Reformation, but this did not stop him from accepting important Catholic commissions. His drawings are of high quality and were often copied by his pupils and followers.

*General literature:* Buchner 1928; Krämer 1981; Däubler 1996; Krämer 1996; Cuneo 1998; Morrall 2001; Löcher 2003; Messling 2007

### 22 | Jörg Breu the Elder

*Emperor Conrad Recognizing the True Identity of His Page at a Banquet*, ca. 1520s

Pen and carbon black ink, transparent gray ink and opaque gray ink washes incorporating lead white (laid down), diameter: 7<sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (19.8 cm)

The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 2009 (2009.446)

At lower left, collector's mark of Eugène Rodrigues (Lugt 897); at lower right, monogrammed *AG* (for Heinrich Aldegrever) in pen and two or three hues of brown ink, by a later hand. Framing line in pen and black ink, by the artist. Verso of the old mount (preserved separately), at upper right, inscribed 9 in a circle in graphite (20th-century handwriting); at center, inscribed 126, later crossed out, in graphite (19th- or 20th-century handwriting); at lower left, inscribed 28 in pen and brown ink (19th-century handwriting); at lower right, inscribed *Charlemagne rendant la Justice* in graphite (19th- or 20th-century handwriting); below, inscribed *Jörg Breu vers 1575 / Ecl d'Augsbourg* in graphite (20th-century handwriting). Verso of the backing board of the old frame, at lower right, inscribed *Hans Klauber* in graphite (20th-century handwriting)

*Watermark:* circle, above cross<sup>1</sup>

In the latter half of his career, Jörg Breu seems to have shifted at least part of his activity from painting to the design of stained-glass roundels.<sup>2</sup> His drawings



for these roundels remain among his most beloved works today, and the numerous extant copies testify to the fact that they found a broad following in their time. The subjects of the documented series, known through the existence of either drawings (autograph or not) or roundels, are diverse: zodiacal, allegorical, religious, mythological, historical, and genre scenes.<sup>3</sup> Breu's graphic style did not change much in the course of his involvement with glass design, but his compositions did, becoming an increasingly successful blend of detailed yet lucid storytelling; functional design, suitable for transfer onto glass; and the fondness for Renaissance ornament typical of the Augsburg school—the work of a gifted “chronicler and decorator.”<sup>4</sup>

Among the most attractive of Breu's designs for stained glass is a series that, on stylistic grounds, can be dated to the 1520s, about the time he also made a series



Fig. 1. Jörg Breu the Elder, *Emperor Conrad Learns That His Daughter Will Marry a Peasant's Son*, ca. 1520s. Pen and black ink, yellowish brown wash, diameter: 9 1/16 in. (23 cm). Städel Museum, Frankfurt (15418)



Fig. 2. Jan Gossaert, *Emperor Conrad Recognizing the True Identity of His Page at a Banquet*, ca. 1520s. Pen, brush and black ink, white gouache, on blue-gray prepared paper, diameter: 10 3/4 in. (27.2 cm). Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam (N 139)

of the Labors of the Months, commissioned by the Augsburg merchant Georg Hoechstetter.<sup>5</sup> The subject of the series was identified in 1933 by Edmund Schilling and the literary historian and folklorist Johannes Bolte, thanks to a drawing in Frankfurt (fig. 1).<sup>6</sup> The original inscription surrounding this drawing unequivocally identifies the scene as taken from the story of Emperor Conrad and the page, included under the title “Of Tribulation and Anguish” in the *Gesta Romanorum* (Deeds of the Romans), a medieval collection of secular tales and anecdotes.<sup>7</sup> The ruler seen in the Museum’s drawing, characterized by his fanciful crown, long beard, and sharp nose, is clearly the same as the mounted emperor in the Frankfurt sheet. Other drawings from the series are in London and Los Angeles; one additional composition is known from a copy in a private collection (a collection that, incidentally, also holds a copy of the Museum’s drawing).<sup>8</sup> Unfortunately, the exact textual source used by Breu has not yet been found, but the sequence and tenor of the scenes can be deduced from the known literary version of the story.

The Museum’s drawing must depict the moment when Emperor Conrad recognizes in a handsome and intelligent page the peasant’s son he had ordered to be killed because a voice from heaven had foretold that the boy would become his son-in-law (the episode depicted in the Frankfurt drawing).<sup>9</sup> The soldiers charged with killing the infant had taken pity and refused to carry out their orders; the boy was found by a disgraced nobleman

(as shown in the London drawing) and grew up to become a page at court. In the drawing under discussion, the emperor seems about to discover the true identity of the page, probably the figure seen from the back in the foreground. Despite further attempts by the emperor to get rid of the young man (involving the letters on the banquet table), the emperor’s daughter, who is seated next to him, is seen in the Los Angeles sheet as she is prepared for her wedding night with the young man, thus fulfilling the prophecy.

Although the *Gesta Romanorum* counted among the most popular works of secular literature from medieval times, few of its stories entered the visual arts. (One exception is represented in cat. 27.) However, the story of Emperor Conrad and the page appears to have been depicted by at least one other artist, the Netherlandish painter Jan Gossaert. The subjects of two of his exquisite roundel designs from the 1520s, now in Cambridge and Rotterdam (fig. 2),<sup>10</sup> seem to correspond to those of Breu’s drawings in Los Angeles and in the Museum. It is not clear whether Gossaert, who was an almost exact contemporary of Breu, was influenced by Breu’s designs, or the other way around, but it seems almost certain—especially given some similarities in motifs—that at least one of them knew of the other’s depictions of the story.

SA

1. The watermark is similar to one found in paper used in the Frankfurt drawing reproduced in fig. 1 (Frankfurt 2003–4, p. 148, no. 50).

2. For Breu’s designs for glass roundels, see Lee Hendrix in Los Angeles and Saint Louis 2000–2001, pp. 203–32.

3. For some of the individual series, see Dörnhöffer 1897; Schinnerer 1908; Wegner 1959; Silver 2003. For an overview of these fragmentarily preserved series, see Morrall 2001, pp. 257–58.

4. Demonts 1912, n.p.: “chroniqueur et décorateur.”

5. For the Hoechstetter Months, see Wegner 1959.

6. Schilling 1933, pl. 33; Schilling 1973, vol. 1, no. 45, vol. 2, pl. 12; Hendrix in Los Angeles and Saint Louis 2000–2001, pp. 220, 221, fig. 72; Stephanie Buck in Frankfurt 2003–4, no. 50, ill.

7. For a Latin version of the story, titled “De miseria et tribulatione,” see *Gesta Romanorum* 1872 (ed.), pp. 315–17; for an English translation by Charles Swan, see *Gesta Romanorum* 1824 (ed.), vol. 1, pp. 100–105. For the *Gesta Romanorum*, see also cat. 27, note 2.

8. British Museum, London, inv. 1997-7-12-20 (Hendrix in Los Angeles and Saint Louis 2000–2001, p. 221, fig. 74); J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, acc. 89.GG.17 (Hendrix in Los Angeles and Saint Louis 2000–2001, no. 95, ill.). A copy of the former drawing is at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, inv. WA1863.410 (Parker 1938, no. 280). For the copies in the private collection, see Bolten and Folmer-von Oven 1989, nos. 20, 21, ill.; Hendrix in Los Angeles and Saint Louis 2000–2001, p. 221, figs. 73, 75. That these copies were once together in the collection of Eugène Rodrigues with the drawing under discussion here (see Provenance) suggests that all of Breu’s autograph drawings for the series and a set of workshop copies were originally kept together.

9. For a reconstruction of the story based on Breu's depiction, see Schilling 1933; Hendrix in Los Angeles and Saint Louis 2000–2001, p. 221.

10. Stijn Alsteens in Ainsworth, Alsteens, and Orenstein 2010, no. 96, ill.; Alsteens forthcoming. The other drawing is at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, inv. no. 356-1963 (Alsteens in Ainsworth, Alsteens, and Orenstein 2010, no. 97, ill.).

*Provenance:* Eugène Rodrigues (1853–1928), Paris; his sale, Frederik Muller, Amsterdam, July 12–13, 1921, lot 9; sale, Sotheby's, New York, January 28, 2009, lot 42; [Kunsthandel Katrin Bellinger, Munich]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 2009

*Literature:* Demonts 1912, n.p., ill.; Frederik Muller 1921, lot 9, pls. v, LXXXV; Schilling 1933, p. 30; Bolten and Folmer-von Oven 1989, p. 42, under no. 21; Rowlands 1993, vol. 1, p. 42; Lee Hendrix in Los Angeles and Saint Louis 2000–2001, p. 221; Morrall 2001, p. 257; Messling 2002, n. 7; Sotheby's 2009, lot 42, ill.; Alsteens forthcoming, ill.

## HANS SCHWARZ

Augsburg, ca. 1492–after 1521, Nuremberg (?)

Trained as a sculptor, Hans Schwarz was first apprenticed to the wood-carver Stephan Schwarz, probably a relative. His earliest known works date from 1512 and consist of small rectangular reliefs and round medallions in wood. Between 1512 and 1518 Schwarz traveled throughout southern Germany, becoming familiar with artists of the Danube school; during this period he worked in larger formats, creating carved altarpiece wings. Schwarz's return to Augsburg in 1518 coincided with Emperor Maximilian I's final Imperial Diet. Schwarz was commissioned to execute portrait medals by several of the most prominent nobles and their delegates; by local patricians and burghers such as Jakob Fugger and Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg; and by fellow artists Hans Burgkmair and Albrecht Dürer. In all, Schwarz created twenty-five medals in 1518, mostly bust-length profile portraits with Latin inscriptions written in Roman majuscules around the perimeter and blank reverses. After the Diet, Imperial Secretary Melchior Pfinzing, for whom Schwarz had created a medal, invited the artist to Nuremberg, where he produced portraits for local aristocrats and merchants. His medals mark the beginning of a vogue for portrait medals in Germany.

*General literature:* Kastenzholz 2006; Hermann Maué and Marjorie Trusted in Washington, New York, and Edinburgh 1994, pp. 211–16, 218, 389.



### 23 | Hans Schwarz

*Portrait of Simon von Liebenstein* (?), 1518–20

Charcoal (cut out along the contours, laid down twice),  
9 × 6<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (22.9 × 17.6 cm)

Robert Lehman Collection, 1975 (1975.I.873)

At upper right, inscribed 151 in red ink<sup>1</sup> and *Maister Arnold*, in pen and black ink (18th-century handwriting); at lower right, the collector's mark of Heinrich Wilhelm Campe (Lugt 1391)

*Watermark:* high crown with cross<sup>2</sup>



Fig. 1. Hans Schwarz, *Medal of Simon von Liebenstein*, 1520. Bronze, diameter: 1<sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (4.6 cm). Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (MK 1819)



Fig. 2. Hans Schwarz, *Portrait of an Unknown Man*, 1518–20. Charcoal, 7<sup>11</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 7<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (19.5 × 18.2 cm). Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (KdZ 17667)

First recognized by Fritz Koreny as a drawing for the portrait medal of the cleric Simon von Liebenstein, this simple but arresting black chalk sketch is part of a group of preparatory drawings for medals by Schwarz, of which 135 are known.<sup>3</sup> The medal's inscription declares the subject Simon von Liebenstein, canon at the cathedral in the imperial city of Speyer, in 1520 (fig. 1).<sup>4</sup> Born in Liebenstein Castle on the Neckar, the sitter attended the university in Freiburg and was installed as a canon at the cathedral in Speyer in 1511. In 1513 he served as interim head of the cathedral chapter and in 1531 was named provost. Liebenstein hosted Emperor Charles V at the Imperial Diet in Speyer in 1544, and when he died two years later, he was remembered as “noble and senior canon to the church of Speyer.”<sup>5</sup> Georg Habich believed that the Lehman drawing was a portrait for a now-lost medal, while Max Bernhart simply grouped it with other unknown sitters toward the end of his inventory.<sup>6</sup> In his monograph on Schwarz, Richard Kastenholz retains Koreny's association but states that it is “probably” for the medal of von Liebenstein.<sup>7</sup>

Habich suggested that a portrait of an unknown man, now in Bamberg, served as a model for the Liebenstein medal.<sup>8</sup> This association was rejected by Bernhart, who considers that drawing to be a sketch for a medal of Bernhard Baumgartner.<sup>9</sup> Kastenholz has refuted both of these hypotheses, and for now the Bamberg drawing remains without a medallic equivalent. Such disputes over the identity of a sitter are easily understood when Schwarz's portrait drawings are seen together. Despite Koreny's attempts to equate the profile in the Lehman drawing with that in the Liebenstein medal, similar physiognomies, berets, and hairstyles can easily be found in other works by the artist; see, for example, a drawing in Berlin (fig. 2).<sup>10</sup> Schwarz developed a unique and consistent style of portraiture that is evident throughout his drawn oeuvre.

Although the sitter can be reasonably identified as Liebenstein, the Museum's drawing is inscribed with the name “Maister Arnold.” This inscription in pen and black ink corresponds with other notations made about 1800 on a group of the drawings, in which an attempt was made to antiquate the style of the script.<sup>11</sup> The names used in this group, which are arbitrarily assigned to each sitter, correspond only to people Dürer mentioned in his Netherlandish diaries in 1520–21.<sup>12</sup> Some scholars believe that a previous owner, the eminent art historian Joseph Heller, deliberately falsified the names of the sitters so that the group would be attributed to Dürer.<sup>13</sup> An entry made by Dürer on February 20, 1520,

notes a “maister Arnolt” who paid for the artist's meal in the town of Pusch.<sup>14</sup> Hans Rupprich suggests that this “Arnolt” could have been the sculptor Arnold van Oerschoot or the painters Arnt van Campen of 's-Hertogenbosch, Arnold van Ort of Nijmegen, or Arnold von Seligenstadt.<sup>15</sup>

FS

1. The red ink has faded and is visible only under ultraviolet light.
2. This watermark is similar to one found in paper used in Frankfurt in 1510 (Piccard-Online, no. 52479; accessed November 18, 2011).
3. Until Koreny, the subject of the drawing had remained unidentified. Koreny concludes that Schwarz made at least 168 preparatory drawings, based on the “obviously consecutive pagination numbers in the upper right corners of the drawings” (Koreny in Haverkamp-Begemann et al. 1999, p. 83, n. 2). The highest number found by Koreny is on *Portrait of an Unknown Man*, Staatsbibliothek, Bamberg, inv. 1A 60. In Richard Kastenholz's more recent catalogue of works by Schwarz, two portraits of unknown women that are mounted together are marked with the numbers 226 and 227 (Kastenholz 2006, nos. 239, 240, ill.).
4. Habich 1929–34, vol. 1, pt. 1 [1929], no. 204, pl. xxvii, no. 8; Kastenholz 2006, no. 91, ill. The inscription reads: SIMON-DE-LIEBENSTEIN-CAN-SPIRE. Kastenholz explains that even though several other examples of the medal have a verso, it was most likely intended by Schwarz to be one-sided. There are several examples of this medal in addition to the one in Berlin, for example in the Historisches Museum der Pfalz, Speyer. For more casts of the medal, see Kastenholz 2006, p. 223.
5. “Nobilis et senior canonicus ecclesiae Spirensis.” Von Busch and Glasschröder 1923, pp. 407–8.
6. Habich 1929–34, vol. 1, pt. 1 (1929), p. 27, fig. 36; Bernhart 1934, pp. 88, 95, no. 126, pl. 13.9.
7. Kastenholz 2006, p. 282.
8. Staatsbibliothek, Bamberg, inv. 1A 25 (Habich 1929–34, vol. 1, pt. 1 [1929], p. 37, under no. 204; Kastenholz 2006, no. 214, ill.).
9. Bernhart 1934, p. 91, no. 42.
10. Kastenholz 2006, no. 234, fig. 265. Another similar profile can be found in Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, inv. KdZ 6045 (Kastenholz 2006, no. 206, fig. 237). This drawing has been associated by Bernhart with a portrait medal of Ludwig Sennfls (Kastenholz 2006, no. 80, fig. 110). In fact, a very similar drawing (Kastenholz 2006, no. 207, fig. 238) has also been linked to the same medal. Kastenholz does not believe that either is of Sennfls.
11. Koreny in Haverkamp-Begemann et al. 1999, p. 82. Koreny explains that the inscriptions on the group of drawings were executed by three different hands. The first set was inscribed in the seventeenth century and accurately identifies the sitter; the second series was done about 1800 and uses arbitrary names that relate to Dürer; and the third set seems to have been added when Karl Friedrich Ferdinand von Nagler restored his collection—these sometimes name the correct sitter.
12. Ibid.
13. Bernhart 1934, p. 65; Koreny in Haverkamp-Begemann et al. 1999, p. 82.
14. “Pusch ist ein hübsche statt, hat ein außbündige schöne kirchen und über fest. Do verzehrt ich 10 stüber, wie wohl maister Arnolt das mahl für mich zahlet.” Dürer 1956–69 (ed.), vol. 1 (1956), p. 161.
15. Ibid., p. 189, n. 352.

*Provenance:* Hans Albrecht von Derschau, Nuremberg (?); Heinrich Wilhelm Campe (1770–1862), Leipzig; Pauline Campe Brockhaus, Leipzig; M. Brockhaus, Leipzig; Campe sale, C. G. Boerner, Leipzig, April 25, 1921, lot 155; Henry Oppenheimer (1859–1932), London; his sale, Christie's, London, July 10, 13–14, 1936, lot 403a; acquired from that sale through John Hunt by Robert Lehman (1891–1969), New York; given by the Robert Lehman Foundation to the Museum in accordance with the collector's wishes, 1975

*Literature:* Habich 1906, p. 46, fig. 22; Bock 1921, vol. 1, p. 81; Boerner 1921, lot 155, ill.; Habich 1929–34, vol. 1, pt. 1 (1929), p. 27, fig. 36; Bernhart 1934, pp. 88, 95, no. 126, pl. x111, 9; Christie's 1936, lot 403a; George Szabo in Tokyo 1977, no. 13, ill.; Szabo in New York 1978–79, no. 32, ill.; Jeffrey Chipps Smith in Austin, Lawrence, and Santa Barbara 1983–84, no. 139, ill.; Fritz Koreny in Haverkamp-Begemann et al. 1999, no. 16, ill.; Kastenholz 2006, no. 182, fig. 213

## WOLFGANG HUBER

Feldkirch or Vorarlberg, ca. 1485/90–1553, Passau

Nothing is known of Wolfgang Huber's early training. His first dated work is a landscape drawing from 1510. Along with Albrecht Altdorfer, Huber was a primary proponent of the Danube school—artists whose primary emphasis was on landscape. Like other artists of the Danube school, he produced landscape drawings throughout his career, ranging from tree studies and generalized Alpine views to topographically precise scenes of his local surroundings. A painter and a draftsman, Huber also served as court artist to the prince-bishops of Passau beginning in 1515, as well as being active as an architect. His works show the influence of Altdorfer, Dürer, and contemporary Italian art.

*General literature:* Rose 1977; Winzinger 1979

### 24 | Wolfgang Huber

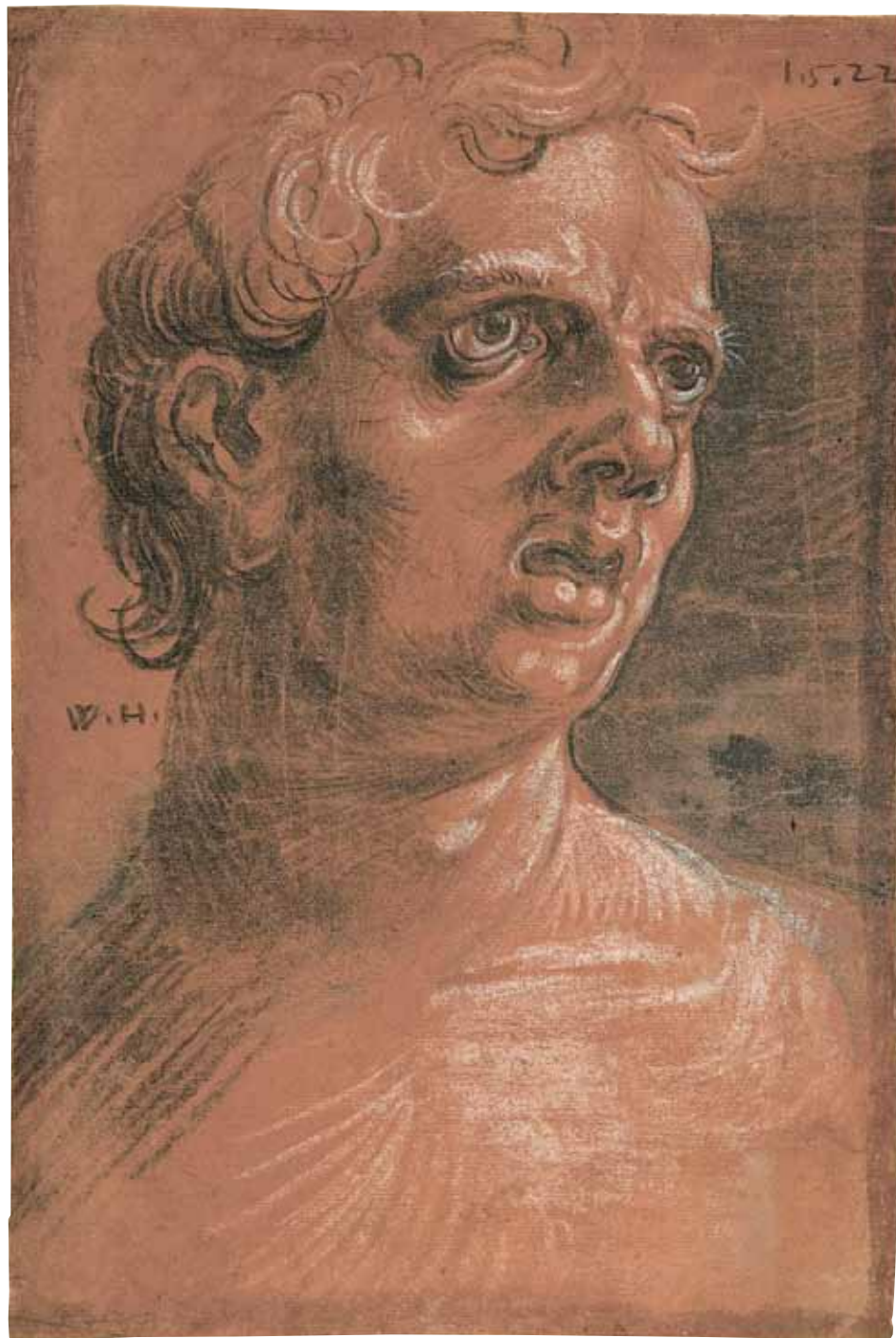
#### *Bust of a Man, 1522*

Black chalk, white chalk (calcite) heightening, on paper prepared with an opaque red iron-based earth watercolor, 11<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 7<sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (29.5 × 19.9 cm)  
Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1950 (50.202)

At left center, monogrammed *W. H.* in black chalk; at upper right, dated *15.22* in black chalk, by the artist

*Watermark:* none

This bold drawing is part of a group of expressive head studies, all in the same medium and technique, all monogrammed, and all dated 1522.<sup>1</sup> Joseph Schönbrunner and Joseph Meder associate the Museum's drawing with *Head of a Man with an Open Mouth* and *Man with a Fur Cap*, in Erlangen, as well as with *Portrait Bust of a*



*Beardless Man* in Berlin (fig. 1).<sup>2</sup> These sheets present a variety of physiognomies, blurring the boundary between observation and imagination. Some, like the Berlin sheet, appear to be portraits; others, including the Museum's drawing, are as exaggerated as caricatures.





Fig. 1. Wolfgang Huber, *Portrait Bust of a Beardless Man*, 1522. Black and white chalk, on red prepared paper, 10<sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 7<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (27.5 × 20 cm). Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (KdZ 2060)

Although they appear to be quite different in conception, both of these examples were used as models for figures in the crowd in Huber's painting *The Raising of the Cross*, believed to have been executed about 1523–25 (fig. 2). The nearly grotesque features of *Bust of a Man* can be seen in the soldier clad in armor and holding a halberd, just to the left of Christ's feet; and the face of the soldier near the right border leading away a naked bound thief is related to the Berlin drawing.<sup>3</sup> Franz Winzinger notes that another drawing from the 1522 group, *An Aged Man with Blowing Beard* in Hamburg, was used for the man on horseback at the right of the densely packed scene, although this has been questioned more recently by Stefan Morét.<sup>4</sup>

*The Raising of the Cross*, commissioned by Duke Ernest of Bavaria, administrator of the Passau bishopric, was a complicated and important painting. These chalk drawings served as a repository of character types that Huber could use to animate the numerous individuals swarming around the foot of the cross. Beautifully rendered in black and white chalk on brick red prepared paper, these drawings have the appearance of being finished works of art in their own right, especially given the signatures and dates. As with many of Huber's

other preparatory sketches, whether in pen and colored washes or in black and white chalk on prepared paper, these heads employ color as a means of creating tone, definition, and—in some cases—even mood. FS

1. Franz Winzinger includes fifteen drawings in this group under the title "The Grotesque Heads" (Winzinger 1979, vol. 1, nos. 125–39, vol. 2, ill.). He puts *Portrait Bust of a Beardless Man* (illustrated here as fig. 1) in a different group—"Portraits and Grotesque Heads" (no. 116). One of the Munich heads and five of the Hamburg drawings are discussed by Eva Michel in Vienna and Munich 2011–12, nos. 10–15.

2. Graphische Sammlung, Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg, Erlangen (Bock 1929, vol. 1, nos. 819, 818, vol. 2, ill.; Winzinger 1979, vol. 1, no. 125, vol. 2, ill.; Guido Messling in Nuremberg 2008, nos. 66, 68, ill.). For the Berlin drawing, see the previous note.

3. Winzinger suggests that the Museum's drawing is also related to the angel at the right of the predella of the altarpiece in the church of Saint Anne, Feldkirch (Winzinger 1979, vol. 1, p. 125).

4. Hamburger Kunsthalle, inv. 1975-22 (Prange 2007, vol. 1, no. 402, vol. 2, ill.). This sheet may have been influenced by Hans Baldung's woodcut *Head of a Bearded Old Man* (Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 2 [1954], p. 158, no. 277, ill.). A similar man can be found in a black chalk drawing in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. 49.116.1, which Hyatt Mayor speculated was a preparatory sketch for the woodcut (Mayor 1950, p. 160). This theory is questioned by James H. Marrow and Alan Shestack in Washington and New Haven 1981, p. 225. Peter Prange believes it may be from the circle of Huber (Prange 2007, vol. 1, p. 192, n. 2). For the relationship of *An Aged Man with Blowing Beard* to the man on horseback in *The Raising of the Cross*, see Winzinger 1979, vol. 1, no. 136, vol. 2, ill.; Stefan Morét in Washington 1999–2000, p. 296; Prange 2007, vol. 1, pp. 191–92.

*Provenance:* Count Harrach, Vienna; [William H. Schab, New York]; purchased by the Department of Paintings, 1950

*Selected literature:* Schönbrunner and Meder 1896–1908, vol. 6 (1901), pl. 716; Riggenbach 1907, pp. 68–69, n. 2; Voss 1907, p. 21, pl. 11, fig. 3; P. M. Halm 1908–9, p. 78, ill.; Weinberger 1930, pp. 124, 136; New York 1956, no. 172; New York 1959, no. 27, pl. xxv; Stange 1971, pp. 100–101, fig. 191; Rose 1977, pp. 63–65, 246, fig. 33; Winzinger 1979, vol. 1, no. 127, vol. 2, ill.; Dieter Kuhrmann in Munich 1983–84, p. 90, n. 1; Eckhard Schaar in Hamburg 1989, p. 38; Stefan Morét in Washington 1999–2000, p. 298, n. 1; Prange 2007, vol. 1, p. 192; Guido Messling in Nuremberg 2008, p. 174; Eva Michel in Vienna and Munich 2011–12, p. 39

## URS GRAF

Solothurn, ca. 1485–1527/28, Basel (?)

Trained as a goldsmith—probably by his father in Solothurn—Urs Graf was among the most inventive graphic artists of early Renaissance Switzerland. He produced woodcuts, engravings, and etchings, as well as designs for book illustrations and stained glass. In Basel he designed book illustrations for Adam Petrie and Johannes Amerbach, among others, and in 1511 he became an assistant to the glass painter Hans Heinrich



Fig. 2. Wolfgang Huber, *The Raising of the Cross*, ca. 1523–25. Oil on panel, 45<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> × 61 in. (115 × 155 cm). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (921)

Wolleb. The following year he joined the guild of goldsmiths and became a citizen of Basel. Approximately 180 drawings survive, which demonstrate not only Graf's highly individualistic style but also his experiences as a mercenary soldier who participated in foreign campaigns in Italy and Burgundy between 1510 and 1521.

General literature: Koegler 1926; Andersson 1978; C. Müller 2001

## 25 | Urs Graf

### *Bust of a Bearded Old Man*, 1521

Pen and two shades of carbon black ink, 5½ × 4⅛ in.  
(14 × 10.4 cm)

Rogers Fund, 1997 (1997.19)

At lower right, dated and signed 1521 / VG (VG intertwined; the left branch of the V is formed by a dagger) in pen and black ink. Verso, at upper right, inscribed N° 11. in pen and brown ink (18th- or 19th-century handwriting); at center, inscribed 22x29 in graphite (20th-century handwriting); at lower center, inscribed 27x55 -50- in graphite (20th-century handwriting); at lower center, inscribed 39 in graphite (20th-century handwriting)

Watermark: none

This exceptional drawing is one of only five character studies of an individual or type in Graf's extensive drawn oeuvre.<sup>1</sup> More common to the artist, himself a brash mercenary, are scenes of landsknechts (foot soldiers for hire), prostitutes, and the cruelties of war during the early sixteenth century. Impulsive in his creative life as well, Graf continually experimented with different media. Extant drawings range from pen and ink to charcoal and silverpoint; he also experimented with prepared paper to create tonal effects.<sup>2</sup> What remains constant throughout his works across these media is an emphasis on gesture and expression.<sup>3</sup>

Just as in Graf's *Bearded Man* (ca. 1513) in Paris and his *Bearded Warrior with a Slotted Cap* (1521) in Dessau, the face in the Museum's drawing is endowed with an air of dignity and emotional intensity through the sitter's downcast gaze and slightly furrowed brow. Rendered in calligraphic strokes, graphic hatching, and long parallels, Graf's character studies explore the expressive potential of the human face. Christian Müller and other scholars have questioned whether these works are individual portraits or instead represent types to be used, much like those in a medieval pattern book. *Bust of a Bearded Old Man* has been alternatively titled *Bust of Saint Paul* and judged to be a study for a series of saints.<sup>4</sup>



Scholars have long noted Graf's dependence on the subjects and the carefully detailed technique of Martin Schongauer.<sup>5</sup> The countenance in the Museum's drawing, however, has more in common with an early engraving of a seated Saint Peter by Master E. S.; his saint's tonsured head is also bowed, but that posture is easily explained by the book held open on his lap (fig. 1).<sup>6</sup> Graf's *Bust of a Bearded Old Man* also has affinities with the style and the intensely wrought features of a Saint Peter that is part of a series of woodcuts of standing saints attributed to fellow Basel artist Master D. S. (fig. 2).<sup>7</sup> As Lilli Fischel demonstrates, the woodcuts by Master D. S. deeply influenced the early work of Graf, who also created designs for book illustrations in Basel. Slight variations on the Museum's drawing



Fig. 1. Master E. S., *Saint Peter*, 1450–55. Engraving, 5<sup>11</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 3<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (14.5 × 10 cm). British Museum, London (1845-8-9-121)



Fig. 2. Master D. S., *Saint Peter*, ca. 1501–11. Woodcut, 12<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 8<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (32 × 20.8 cm). Kupferstichkabinett, Kunstmuseum Basel (x.5)

can also be found in other works by or after Graf. One appears in a crowd of apostles in *Christ's Entry into Jerusalem* from a series of stained-glass windows showing the Passion; another variant can be seen in the woodcut *Christ Sending Out the Disciples to Teach*, first published by Johannes Knoblouch in the 1508 Strasbourg edition of *Das Leben Christi gezogen aus den vier Evangelisten* (The Life of Christ according to the four apostles).<sup>8</sup> FS

1. The other drawings are at the Kunstmuseum Basel, inv. 1978.91 and 1976.284 (C. Müller 2001, pp. 71–74, nos. 1, 2, ill.); the École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris, inv. Mas. 75 (Emmanuelle Brugerolles in Paris 1991–92, no. 137, ill.); and the Anhaltische Gemäldegalerie, Dessau, inv. B IV/17 (Messling 2011, no. 55, ill.).

2. C. Müller 2001, pp. 64–65.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 64.

4. Parker 1921, p. 214 (he notes that it was formerly called *Bust of Saint Paul*); Lüthi 1928, no. 185 (*Bust of the Apostle Paul*). Carolyn Logan notes that the old man was thought to represent Saint Paul, and even as she argues against this by noting the lack of attributes, she concludes that his isolation is similar to Paul's before God, an idea that was particularly important during the Reformation (Logan in "Recent Acquisitions" 1997, p. 29).

5. Parker 1921, p. 214; Brugerolles in Paris 1991–92, p. 151; C. Müller 2001, pp. 62–64. It has also been noted in the literature that Graf was influenced by Israhel van Meckenem, Dürer, Hans Baldung, and the Basel goldsmith Jörg Schwiager, among others.

6. Lehrs 1908–34, vol. 2 (1910), no. 112, plate vol. 2, pl. 54; Höfler 2007, vol. 1, no. 112, vol. 2, ill.; from the Seated Apostles series (Lehrs 1908–34, vol. 2 [1910], nos. 112–23, plate vol. 2, pl. 54; Höfler 2007, vol. 1, nos. 112–23, vol. 2, ill.). For more on this series, see Höfler 2007, vol. 1, pp. 81–85.

7. Lilli Fischel was the first to identify Master D. S. as Daniel Schwegler (active 1503–1515); see Fischel 1954, p. 119. The connection of D. S. to Daniel Schwegler is repeated by Frank Hieronymus in Basel 1984a, p. viii. In C. Müller 2001, pp. 359–60, no. 71, ill., the series of apostles is attributed to Master D. S. It has also been attributed to Graf himself (Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 11 [1977], p. 39, nos. 1–13). For more on the series and questions of attribution, see Fischel 1954; Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe 1988, no. 12, ill. There is a great tradition of apostle series in German prints, beginning with Schongauer.

8. The four windows are located in the Zscheckenbürlin Room of the Charterhouse in Basel. The windows have been variously dated to 1507/8 and ca. 1520. Müller dates them to ca. 1508. For more on the windows, see C. Müller 2001, pp. 370–71, nos. 1–4, ill., pls. 41–44. Müller discusses the influence of Master D. S. on the physiognomies of the apostles. For the woodcut, see Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 11 (1977), p. 74, no. 29.

*Provenance:* [Rudolph Weigel, Leipzig]; Edward Habich (1818–1901), Kassel; his sale, H. G. Gutekunst, Stuttgart, April 27–29, 1899, lot 320; Eugène Rodrigues (1853–1928), Paris; François Thiébault-Sisson (1856–1936), Paris; Alfred Strölin (1871–1954), Paris and Lausanne; private collection, Switzerland; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 1997

*Literature:* Gutekunst 1899, lot 320; Parker 1921, no. 30; Lüthi 1928, no. 185, fig. 76; Carolyn Logan in "Recent Acquisitions" 1997, p. 29, ill.

## 26 | Urs Graf

### *Bearer of the Banner of the Canton Glarus*, 1521

Pen and carbon black ink, traces of black chalk underdrawing, 11<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 7<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in. (28.8 × 19 cm)  
Promised Gift of Leon D. and Debra R. Black, and Purchase, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 2003 (2003.323)

At lower center, monogrammed and dated *VG / 1521* (*VG* intertwined; the left branch of the *V* is formed by a dagger) in pen and black ink

*Watermark:* none

Along with two other surviving sheets by Graf dated 1521, this superb drawing was most likely conceived as part of a series of standard-bearers for the Swiss Confederacy's thirteen cantons.<sup>1</sup> *The Bearer of the Canton Unterwalden* (fig. 1) and *The Bearer of the Canton Zug* (fig. 2)<sup>2</sup> are also rendered with calligraphic strokes in the artist's preferred medium, pen and ink. The Museum's drawing depicts a mercenary soldier holding the banner of Glarus, identifiable as such by the presence of the sixth-century Irish monk Saint Fridolin, who





Fig. 1. Urs Graf, *Bearer of the Canton Unterwalden*, 1521. Pen and black ink, 11<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 7<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (29.5 × 18.9 cm). Gottfried Keller-Stiftung, on loan to the Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule Zürich (121)

converted this eastern canton to Christianity.<sup>3</sup> Each of Graf's banners includes a scene from the Passion of Christ in the upper left corner; the Glarus banner presents a scene of the Resurrection. The inclusion of these holy images demonstrates the relatively new rights conferred on the cantons in 1512 by Pope Julius II, who rewarded the Swiss for their assistance in liberating the Holy See from French invaders, especially during the siege of Pavia;<sup>4</sup> these papal banners were called "Julius" banners.

In the same year that Graf executed these drawings, he produced a series of extraordinary white-line woodcuts of the same subject.<sup>5</sup> Although the two series share the same theme, the drawings are not preparatory for the prints. A group in Basel of Graf's silverpoint drawings of standard-bearers, produced about 1520–21, are also thought to be independent works not directly related to the woodcuts.<sup>6</sup> Each series is independently conceived, but together they demonstrate Graf's intimate knowledge of mercenaries—their costumes, customs, and demeanors. Mercenaries were a relatively new phenomenon in Northern European imagery in the first half of the sixteenth century, and their depictions quickly became popular, especially in works on paper.<sup>7</sup> Having served as a mercenary himself, Graf captured better than any other sixteenth-century artist the vitality as well as the brutality of the soldiers from this period.<sup>8</sup>

FS

1. These drawings are discussed by John Rowlands in London 1988, pp. 218–19.
2. Rowlands 1993, vol. 1, no. 290, vol. 2, pl. 191.
3. For Saint Fridolin, see Benziger 1913.
4. Dodgson 1912–13, no. 30; see also Rowlands in London 1988, p. 219.
5. Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 11 (1977), p. 55, nos. 29–44, ill.
6. C. Müller 2001, pp. 190–99, nos. 93–98, ill.
7. For images of sixteenth-century Northern European mercenaries and soldiers, see Moxey 1989; Cuneo 2002.
8. For another example in this volume, see Hans Schäufolein's *Landsknecht* (cat. 15).

*Provenance:* Princes of Liechtenstein, Vaduz and Vienna; Max Hartmann (1884–1952), Basel; his heirs, Geneva; [Kunsthändler Katrin Bellinger, Munich]; promised gift of Leon D. and Debra R. Black and purchase by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 2003

*Literature:* Schönbrunner and Meder 1896–1908, vol. 8 (1903), pl. 898; Dodgson 1912–13, n.p. (under no. 30); Parker 1921, no. 38; Koegler 1926, p. 61; Hugelshofer 1928, p. 32; John Rowlands in London 1988, p. 218; Michiel C. Plomp in "Recent Acquisitions" 2004, p. 15, ill.



Fig. 2. Urs Graf, *Bearer of the Canton Zug*, 1521. Pen and black ink, 10<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 7<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (27 × 18 cm). British Museum, London (1912-7-9-1)

## ANONYMOUS

Swabian or Bavarian (?), active ca. 1529

### 27 | Anonymous

*The King's Sons Shooting at Their Father's Corpse*, 1529

Pen and two shades of carbon black ink, traces of black chalk underdrawing, 8<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 13<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (21.5 × 33.5 cm)  
Harry G. Sperling Fund, 1996 (1996.31)

At upper right, dated 1529 in pen and black ink, by the artist  
*Watermark:* bull's head, snake on cross above<sup>1</sup>

The gruesome but moralizing story depicted here is recounted in the *Gesta Romanorum* (Deeds of the Romans), a collection of secular tales that was popular in the Middle Ages and beyond (see also cat. 22).<sup>2</sup> The book, which was gleaned from several sources, exists in multiple versions, but the general outlines of this story remain the same. Following the death of a king, his sons (all in fact fathered by other men, except the youngest) contest the right to succeed him—"the three first presuming upon their priority in birth, and the last upon his legitimacy."<sup>3</sup> An honorable member of the late king's court, sometimes identified as Solomon (here depicted at far right in hat and gown), decides that the old king's corpse should be exhumed and bound to a tree and that the son whose arrow comes closest to his heart would be proclaimed his successor. In the drawing, two sons draw their bows, preparing to shoot; another one has apparently already taken his shot,



Fig. 1. Master MZ (Matthäus Zasinger?), *The King's Sons Shooting at Their Father's Corpse*, ca. 1500. Engraving, 7 × 9<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (17.8 × 24.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Charles Z. Offin Fund; The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund; and A. Hyatt Mayor Purchase Fund, Marjorie Phelps Starr Bequest, 2003 (2003.225)



because one arrow is lodged in the corpse's groin. But the youngest son—kneeling at right before the judge—refuses to desecrate the dead man's body, thereby proving that he is the real son. The three others will be banished, and the youngest becomes the new king. The story enjoyed some popularity with sixteenth-century Northern European artists; for instance, the Master MZ—Matthäus Zasinger?—depicted it in an engraving dated about 1500 (fig. 1), and Hans Baldung in a drawing dated 1517.<sup>4</sup>

A proposed connection of the Museum's drawing to a little-known master of the Danube school, the Master of the Miracles of Mariazell, is unconvincing,<sup>5</sup> but both the drawing style and the watermark certainly point to southern Germany, more specifically to Swabia or Bavaria. If the artist was indeed active in that region, it is quite possible that he was exposed to Swiss drawings;

some of those by Urs Graf, in particular, show similarities in style with the Museum's sheet. This is the case with a drawing by Graf dated 1519 (fig. 2),<sup>6</sup> in which the pose of the man tied to the tree even resembles that of the father in the Museum's sheet.<sup>7</sup> Like Graf, the anonymous draftsman used long strips of parallel hatching to model the figures. This technique is also evident in another, particularly vivid sheet by Graf in Basel representing a battlefield.<sup>8</sup> Other similarities to Graf can be seen in the somewhat expressionless profiles of the figures and in the exceptional impetuosity of the line used to draw the foliage.<sup>9</sup> In these freely, hastily drawn trees, the anonymous artist is seen at probably his most idiosyncratic. The relatively large size of the paper and the fact that the sheet seems hardly to have been cropped add to the appeal of the drawing, despite a certain crudeness in both subject and style. SA



Fig. 2. Urs Graf, *A Bearded Man Bound to a Tree, Pierced with Arrows*, 1519. Pen and black and brown ink, 12½ × 8⅞ in. (31.8 × 21.5 cm). Kupferstichkabinett, Kunstmuseum Basel (u.x.85)

1. The watermark is similar to one found in paper used in Württemberg in 1525 (Piccard-Online, no. 77636; accessed November 20, 2011).

2. For the *Gesta Romanorum* and the iconography of the story depicted in the drawing under discussion, see Stechow 1942; Weiske 1992, vol. 1, pp. 79–80.

3. For a Latin version of the story, titled “Quod solum boni intrabunt regnum celorum,” see *Gesta Romanorum* 1872 (ed.), pp. 342–44; for the English version by Charles Swan, see *Gesta Romanorum* 1824 (ed.), vol. 1, p. 158.

4. Bartsch 1803–21, vol. 6 (1808), p. 373, no. 4; Lehrs 1908–34, vol. 8 (1932), pp. 374–76, no. 21; Alan Shestack in Washington 1967–68, no. 147, ill.; Jane C. Hutchison in *Illustrated Bartsch* 1978–, vol. 9, *Commentary*, pt. 2 (1991), pp. 323–25, no. 21, ill. For the drawing by Baldung, which is in the Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. KdZ 571, see Koch 1941, no. 84, ill.; Holm Bevers in Washington 1999–2000, no. 111, ill.

5. The connection is proposed in Boerner 1996, under no. 7. For this master, see Meder 1936; Stange 1964, pp. 44, 45, 117–21, 150–51, figs. 227–37.

6. Christian Müller in Washington 1999–2000, no. 144, ill.; C. Müller 2001, pp. 185–86, no. 90, ill., pl. 21.

7. It is not likely that Graf’s man can be identified as the dead king of the story from the *Gesta Romanorum*, because more arrows have been shot at him than he had sons.

8. Kunstmuseum Basel, inv. u.x.91 (Christian Müller in Washington 1999–2000, no. 146, ill.; C. Müller 2001, pp. 215–16, no. 112, ill., pl. 30).

9. For the profiles, compare a drawing by Graf also in the Kunstmuseum Basel, inv. u.1x.17 (Christian Müller in Washington 1999–2000, no. 147, ill.; C. Müller 2001, pp. 217–18, no. 113, ill., pl. 31); and, for the way the foliage is handled, inv. u.1.58 (C. Müller 2001, p. 142, no. 57, ill., pl. 13).

*Provenance:* [C. G. Boerner, Düsseldorf and New York]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 1996

*Literature:* Boerner 1996, no. 7, ill. (as by an artist from the Danube school)

## LUCAS CRANACH THE ELDER

Kronach, 1472–1553, Weimar

Nothing is known of Lucas Cranach’s early training or the works he made before arriving in Vienna about 1501, where he became part of the circle of humanists at the university. His works from this period demonstrate a Viennese manner of painting, with luminous colors and a mastery of landscape, which was an early flowering of the Danube school. In 1504 he was called to the electoral capital of Wittenberg by Frederick the Wise and became court painter, a position he maintained for life under three successive electors. Cranach, who led an elaborate workshop, is known for the speed and efficiency of his working process. Adept at painting, he also created woodcuts and engravings, playing a key role in the development of chiaroscuro woodcuts. Cranach

executed innumerable paintings and prints in the service of the Protestant Reformation.

*General literature:* Basel 1974; Frankfurt and London 2007–8; Heydenreich 2007; Noble 2009; Brussels and Paris 2010–11

## 28 | Lucas Cranach the Elder and workshop

*Saint Catherine*, ca. 1530

Brush and brown ink, leadpoint and black chalk underdrawing, pricked for transfer, indigo wash of a later date, on vellum prepared with calcite, 6⅞ × 5⅞ in. (16.7 × 12.8 cm)  
Purchase, David L. Klein Jr. Memorial Foundation Inc. Gift, Van Day Truex Fund, Malcolm H. Wiener, Susan H. Seidel, Mr. and Mrs. David M. Tobey, Stephen A. Geiger Gifts, and Karen B. Cohen Fund, 1995 (1995.269)

Verso, fragment of a 15th-century Latin text in Gothic bookhand<sup>1</sup>

Sitting demurely with her hands crossed on her lap, Saint Catherine confronts the viewer with a penetrating gaze. She is shown before a wheel and a two-handed sword, symbols of her martyrdom. Even though she is clearly a saint, her appearance is almost identical to that of the many courtly women depicted by Cranach: she wears a latticed bodice, a diaphanous veil that falls from her right shoulder, and several cords around her neck, with her hair tied with a tight ribbon above her high forehead. Cranach’s workshop turned out so many portraits of both saints and courtly women that individual characteristics were in danger of being lost to a generic ideal; sometimes the only variations are in the style of the garment or the number and type of accoutrements.<sup>2</sup> As Max Friedländer and Jakob Rosenberg have noted: “There are paintings of richly adorned beauties which make us wonder whether they are portraits at all. The high-born ladies of the court do not look very different from Judith or Lucretia.”<sup>3</sup>

Within Cranach’s large workshop a highly efficient system was in place, based on a complex division of labor. As Gunnar Heydenreich argues, there must have been a multitude of model drawings to work from, yet very few remain and those that do are on paper.<sup>4</sup> The Museum’s drawing, which is on vellum,<sup>5</sup> was composed in a series of campaigns. A summary and lightly rendered sketch was executed in leadpoint; the ground is slightly incised, which is typical of works made with a metal stylus. At a later time, perhaps to enhance the pale gray strokes, the drawing was closely reworked by a less adept hand with a transparent reddish brown paint applied by brush. Shortly thereafter, a more viscous



Fig. 1. Infrared reflectogram of cat. 28

and opaque concentration of this paint was applied across the lower part of the sheet in a horizontal band, which intersects the saint's dress to produce a margin comparable to that at the top and sides. Subsequent to the reworking of the leadpoint design, the background was overpainted in indigo, which appears black because of its multiple layers. Perhaps the overpainting was intended to obscure the text penetrating from the verso, but it also overlapped much of the sitter's hair, parts of her contour, and the framing lines. As revealed by infrared reflectography (fig. 1), the indigo wash also covered the leadpoint niche in which Saint Catherine sits. It comprises a vaulted arch, viewed in perspective, which is supported by columns to the left and right, each of which rests on a base and has a simple rounded cornice.

The drawing was pricked for transfer, though not along the fine metalpoint lines; rather, the pricks follow

the more clumsy applications of various concentrations of reddish brown paint along the contours as well as the later indigo framing. Close analysis has shown that the pricks into the vellum were created in a series of campaigns, with various tools producing round, triangular, and elongated slits. Heydenreich notes that there is no conclusive evidence that Cranach pricked his drawings for transfer onto panel with the technique known as pouncing, which involves laying a pricked drawing on a prepared ground and dusting it with charcoal or another pigment, which would pass through the holes to the surface below.<sup>6</sup> However, there is evidence of pouncing in the Cranach workshop's small mass-produced *Portrait of John the Steadfast* dating to about 1532, now at Gottorf Castle.<sup>7</sup> No charcoal or pigment particles have been found in the holes of *Saint Catherine*, and even though this drawing was clearly made by Cranach for his





Fig. 2. Follower of Lucas Cranach the Elder, *Portrait of a Lady*, ca. 1520–30. Oil on panel, 19<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 14<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (50.5 × 37.8 cm). Die Fränkische Galerie, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich (R38)

workshop to use for transfer, there are no known equivalent paintings of the same size. There are, however, two extant paintings based on the composition of the Museum's drawing, but since both are double the size of the drawing, they were not directly copied from it. In one of the paintings, Catherine is again shown with her wheel and sword.<sup>8</sup> Remarkably, in the other one (in which the composition is the reverse of the drawing), she is not a saint but a noblewoman seated before her family's coat of arms (fig. 2).<sup>9</sup> The orientation of the drawing, with Catherine facing to the right, is atypical in terms of Cranach's other paintings of women. It makes sense, however, if the image was intended to be a pendant to another painted female saint—perhaps Saint Barbara, who was often paired with Catherine—or if it was conceived as preparatory for a print.<sup>10</sup>

Although very little analysis has been done, Cranach did create simple underdrawings for some of his painted works,<sup>11</sup> possibly made in metalpoint or black chalk.<sup>12</sup> The threadlike outlines and short, impulsive curving strokes of the modeling lines in these underdrawings are also visible in the Museum's drawing—with the help of infrared reflectography—and demonstrate

Cranach's desire, as master of the workshop, to set the composition in his own hand. FS & MS

1. We would like to thank Melanie Holcomb and Barbara Drake Boehm, Department of Medieval Art and The Cloisters at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, for the identification and dating of the bookhand.
2. Friedländer and Rosenberg 1978, p. 27.
3. Ibid.
4. Heydenreich 2007, p. 255. Cranach created several studies of dead game in watercolor on paper as models for paintings (Johannes Erichsen and Claus Grimm in Kronach and Leipzig 1994, no. 184, ill.; Erichsen in Kronach and Leipzig 1994, nos. 185–88, ill.). He also executed several portrait studies in oil on paper for paintings (Erichsen in Kronach and Leipzig 1994, nos. 162–65, ill.).
5. Although vellum was not often used by Cranach and his workshop, there are a few other surviving examples: *Portrait of a Man, Perhaps a Mayor of Weissenfels*, 1515, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin; *Gerhard Volk*, 1518, Museum der Bildenden Künste, Leipzig, inv. 727; *Portrait of Martin Luther as an Augustinian Monk*, ca. 1523–24, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, inv. G.M 1570; *Heads of Christ and the Virgin*, ca. 1515–20, Schlossmuseum, Gotha, inv. 54/14; *Head of Mary*, ca. 1540, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich, inv. 12475. For full references, see Heydenreich 2007, pp. 255, 357, nn. 1–5.
6. Heydenreich 2007, pp. 302–3. Although there is no evidence regarding the technique used in the workshop, Heydenreich argues that pouncing cannot be completely discounted as a means of transfer.
7. Schloss Gottorf, Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte, on loan from a private collection (Bünsche 1998).
8. Formerly in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich, inv. 1400 from the inventory of 1822. It was then in the Somzée collection, Brussels, and later with the dealer Charles Sedelmeyer in Paris (Sedelmeyer 1906, no. 6, ill.).
9. Schädler 1983, no. 86, ill.
10. To name just two examples of Cranach's pairing of Catherine and Barbara: *Resurrection Altarpiece*, ca. 1508, Gemäldegalerie, Kassel, inv. 1170 (Friedländer and Rosenberg 1978, no. 17, ill.); and *Saints Catherine and Barbara*, a pair of altarpiece shutters, ca. 1516, Gemäldegalerie, Dresden, inv. 1906 E–F (Friedländer and Rosenberg 1978, no. 84, ill.). Cranach painted several paired portraits in a small format that matches the dimensions of the Museum's drawing. In May 1533 he was paid for sixty small portraits of Frederick the Wise and his brother John the Steadfast. Although documents show that the Cranach workshop produced large numbers of small portrait pairs beginning in 1532 and 1533, no studies have been found that were used directly as models for them (see Friedländer and Rosenberg 1978, p. 435, notation no. 276). Cranach also produced dual portraits of Martin Luther and Philipp Melanchthon (1532), which are known in two different formats, 13<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> × 9<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. and 7<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> × 5<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (35 × 23 cm and 19 × 15 cm), with the smaller format being the more common (and known in thirteen variants); see Friedländer and Rosenberg 1978, nos. 314, 315, ill.
11. Heydenreich 2007, p. 105.
12. Schade 1980, p. 49.

*Provenance:* Private collection, Germany; Hinrich Sieveking, Munich; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 1995

*Literature:* Hinrich Sieveking in Kronach and Leipzig 1994, no. 194, ill. (as by the workshop of Lucas Cranach the Elder); Kunz 1994, fig. 76; Heydenreich 2007, pp. 255, 259, 303 (as by the workshop); Hofbauer 2010, p. 531, ill. (as by a follower)

## HANS HOLBEIN THE YOUNGER

Augsburg, 1497/98–1543, London

Although he spent a considerable part of his career in England, Hans Holbein the Younger was born in Augsburg, the son of the prominent artist Hans Holbein the Elder, and his art is firmly rooted in German and Swiss tradition. His earliest known works were made in Basel, even before he became a master painter there in 1519. They show that he was already an accomplished artist, confident in the use of Renaissance ornament as well as perspective, and highly gifted as a portraitist. In 1526 Holbein traveled via Antwerp to England, where (thanks to Erasmus) he was introduced to Thomas More. He quickly established himself as a leading portrait painter in the humanist circle of Erasmus and More, as well as among Germans residing in London. After settling again in Basel in 1528, he returned to England four years later, eventually becoming painter to King Henry VIII while continuing to work mainly for private patrons. One of the greatest Central European painters of all time, Holbein also applied his talent to designs for woodcut illustrations and goldsmith's work.

*General literature:* Ganz 1937; Ganz 1956; C. Müller 1988; C. Müller 1997; Foister 2004; Sander 2005; Basel 2006; Petter-Wahnschaffe 2010

### 29 | Hans Holbein the Younger

*Saint Thomas*, ca. 1527

Pen and carbon black ink, gray ink wash, lead white heightening, on paper prepared with opaque brown iron-based earth watercolor, 8 × 4<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (20.3 × 10.4 cm)

Purchase, Pat and John Rosenwald Gift, Rogers Fund, and Gift of Dr. Mortimer D. Sackler, Theresa Sackler and family, 2001 (2001.188)

Broad framing line in black ink, possibly by the artist. Verso, at upper center, inscribed *vom niclasen der zuo / vorm[ . . . ] bach [?]* gestorben ist / bekhommen in pen and brown ink (16th-century handwriting)

*Watermark:* none

This drawing and eight others, first attributed to Hans Holbein by Walter Hugelshofer in 1928, belong to a series depicting the Twelve Apostles; three other sheets—representing the apostles Judas, Simon, and Thaddeus—are no longer extant.<sup>1</sup> Over the course of several years, the renowned twentieth-century collector of drawings Franz Koenigs acquired seven, including





Fig. 1. Marcantonio Raimondi, after Raphael, *Saint Thomas*, before 1527. Engraving,  $8\frac{1}{8} \times 5\frac{3}{8}$  in. (20.7 × 13.7 cm). British Museum, London (1857-7-II-9)



Fig. 2. Hans Holbein the Younger, *Saint Simon*, 1518. Pen and black ink, dark gray wash, heightened with white gouache, on gray-brown prepared paper,  $7\frac{15}{16} \times 3\frac{7}{8}$  in. (18.5 × 9.9 cm). Palais des Beaux-Arts, Lille (Pl. 930)

the present sheet; the six others from his collection are now in Rotterdam.<sup>2</sup> From the Philipps-Fenwick collection, the British Museum acquired the drawing of Saint Andrew.<sup>3</sup> An additional sheet representing Saint Paul surfaced within months after the Museum's acquisition of *Saint Thomas*.<sup>4</sup> Paul called himself "apostle of the Gentiles" (Romans 11:13), but he was not one of the original twelve, so the total number of drawings in the series may have been thirteen; there could also have been an additional sheet representing Christ.<sup>5</sup> Several of the drawings in the series are dated 1527, which can be taken as the date of the entire series. Many similar

series of apostles exist, especially in prints, including one by Israhel van Meckenem after designs attributed to Holbein's father.<sup>6</sup> But the Museum's drawing may also have been inspired by an Italian series engraved by Marcantonio Raimondi after Raphael.<sup>7</sup> That series must date from before 1527, since Marco Dente, who died that year, copied it.<sup>8</sup> In the gesture of his hands crossed over his chest in a skeptical stance, Holbein's Thomas is similar to that of Marcantonio's print (fig. 1).<sup>9</sup> As in the print, the apostle is given the attribute of a builder's rule, referring to his profession as a carpenter.<sup>10</sup>

Holbein the Younger had made an earlier set of drawings of the apostles, eight of which survive in Lille (fig. 2).<sup>11</sup> Unlike the series of 1527, some are monogrammed; several are dated 1518. More freely drawn than the later series, they are nonetheless generally comparable in their chiaroscuro technique, which Holbein had used more often about 1520.<sup>12</sup> Whereas the authorship of the 1518 series, with its monogrammed sheets, has not been questioned, perceived weaknesses—notably "a lack of freshness and life in the contouring lines, an absence of expression in the faces . . . , and errors in the representation of the bodies of the apostles," as well as an unconvincing definition of space and volume—recently led Christian Müller to reject the 1527 series as autograph works; Thomas Muchall-Viebrook had earlier come to the same conclusion (although based only on reproductions).<sup>13</sup> Müller also found problematic that the drawings appear to be made by a right-handed artist, whereas it is known that Holbein was left-handed.<sup>14</sup> He concluded that they must have been made by an artist active in Holbein's immediate circle in Basel, apparently continuing to work in the vein of his earlier chiaroscuro drawings on religious themes while the master was on his first trip to England. The relevance of Müller's observation about Holbein's left-handedness is limited, however, as some securely attributed sheets by the artist also display the characteristic hatching running from upper right to lower left generally connected with right-handed artists.<sup>15</sup> Some of the series' weaknesses and differences from securely attributed works by Holbein may be explained, as another scholar proposed, by assuming that "an assistant . . . must have been responsible for at least part of the series."<sup>16</sup> However this may be, the sophistication of the designs, which could easily have looked like a monotonous row of cloaked men, leaves little doubt that they originated with the master. In light of the wonderfully supple line and refined execution of

the Museum's drawing, I must agree with John Rowlands, who found the "striking quality and character" of the drawing at the British Museum sufficient to warrant an attribution to Holbein himself.<sup>17</sup> SA

1. Hugelshofer 1929. For the series, see also Rowlands 1993, vol. 1, p. 146; Christian Müller in Basel 2006, pp. 364–69, ill.; Susan Foister in London 2006–7, p. 128.

2. Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam, inv. D.I. 50, D.I. 51, D.I. 216–D.I. 218 (Rotterdam 2004, nos. 48–53, ill.). Koenigs first acquired the sheets depicting John and Peter; later he was able to add Bartholomew, James the Greater, James the Less, and Matthew, all from the collection of Julius Böhler. It is not recorded when and how Koenigs acquired the Museum's drawing.

3. British Museum, London, inv. 1946-7-13-128 (Popham 1935, p. 231, no. 1, pl. xcvi11; Rowlands 1993, vol. 1, no. 318, vol. 2, pl. 207).

4. Formerly at the sale Sotheby's, London, July 11, 2001, lot 31 (illustrated in the catalogue); C. Müller in Basel 2006, p. 364, ill. (as by an artist from the circle, or working in the manner, of Holbein).

5. The scope of apostle series, including the exact cast of figures, was not set; for instance, the one consisting of thirteen prints formerly attributed to Urs Graf mentioned in note 6 below includes both Christ and Paul and eleven of the original apostles, omitting Judas; whereas in a series by Lucas Cranach the Elder (also cited in note 6) and a print of 1523 after a design by Hans Holbein the Younger (Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 14a [1988], p. 89, no. 53a; C. Müller 1997, no. 54, ill.), the same eleven plus Paul are included, as well as Matthias, who replaced Judas after the Betrayal. Other series, such as Schongauer's (see note 6), leave out both Christ and Matthias. For the iconography of the apostles, see Katzenellenbogen 1937; Réau 1955–59, vol. 3, pt. 1 (1958), pp. 130–38.

6. Fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Northern examples predating the series under discussion include three complete series by the Master E. S. (Lehrs 1908–34, vol. 2 [1910], nos. 94–99, 112–36, plate vol. 2, pls. 88, 63; Holm Bevers in Munich and Berlin 1986–87, nos. 43–60, figs. 40–43, 46–60); one by Martin Schongauer (Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 49 [1999], pp. 110–27, nos. 41–52, ill.; Lehrs 2005, nos. 41–52, ill.); two by the Master F. V. B. (Lehrs 1908–34, vol. 7 [1930], pp. 130–44, nos. 12–37, plate vol. 7, pl. 189; Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish*, 1949–2007, vol. 12 [1955], pp. 150–54, nos. 12–37, ill.); the series by van Meckenem after designs attributed to Holbein the Elder (Lehrs 1908–34, vol. 9 [1934], nos. 280–93, plate vol. 9, pl. 266; Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 24 [1986], nos. 280–93, vol. 24A [1986], ill. pp. 113–16); one by Lucas van Leyden (Filedt Kok 1996, nos. 86–99, ill.); one by Lucas Cranach the Elder (Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 6 [1959], pp. 30–33, nos. 31–44); an incomplete series

by Albrecht Dürer dated between 1514 and 1526 (Bartsch 1803–21, vol. 7 [1808], pp. 64–68, nos. 46–50; Matthias Mende in Schoch, Mende, and Scherbaum 2001–4, vol. 1 [2001], pp. 189–90, nos. 74, 75, 94, 95, 100, ill.); two by Hans Baldung (Bartsch 1803–21, vol. 7 [1808], pp. 307–11, nos. 6–30; Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 2 [1954], pp. 101–3, nos. 67–91, ill.; Mende 1978, nos. 45–57, 58–68, ill.); and one formerly attributed to Urs Graf (see cat. 25, note 7).

7. Bartsch 1803–21, vol. 14 (1813), nos. 64–76. The possible influence of Marcantonio's engravings on the 1527 series was already noted by Christian Müller in Basel 2006, p. 366.

8. For the copies by Marco Dente, see Bartsch 1803–21, vol. 14 (1813), nos. 79–91.

9. *Ibid.*, no. 72.

10. For Saint Thomas, see Réau 1955–59, vol. 3, pt. 3 (1959), pp. 1266–72; Spadafora and Raggi 1969; Lechner 1976.

11. Muchall-Viebrook 1931, p. 161, fig. 7; C. Müller in Basel 2006, p. 186, ill. p. 187. For the other extant drawings in Lille (inv. Pl. 924–Pl. 929), see Muchall-Viebrook 1931; C. Müller in Basel 2006, pp. 186–91, ill.

12. See C. Müller in Basel 2006, pp. 200–219, ill.

13. Muchall-Viebrook 1931, pp. 170–71; C. Müller in Basel 2006, p. 365, from which the quotation is taken. Early doubts about the attribution are also recorded in Popham 1935, p. 231.

14. C. Müller in Basel 2006, p. 365.

15. Examples of "right-handed" works by the left-handed Holbein are two chiaroscuro drawings of 1519 and ca. 1520: one, signed, in the Museum der Bildenden Künste, Leipzig, inv. N1.25 (C. Müller in Basel 2006, no. 43, ill.); and one in the Kunstmuseum Basel, inv. 1662.130 (C. Müller 1988, no. 25, ill.; C. Müller in Basel 2006, no. 45, ill.). For a discussion of the possibilities, limitations, and problems in judging attributions based on the left-handedness of an artist, see Bambach 2003.

16. Foister in London 2006–7, p. 128.

17. Rowlands 1993, vol. 1, p. 146.

*Provenance:* Leo Blumenreich (1884–?1933), Berlin; Franz Koenigs (1881–1941), Cologne and Haarlem; his heirs; their sale, Sotheby's, New York, January 23, 2001, lot 12; [Kunsthändler Katrin Bellinger, Munich]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 2001

*Literature:* Hugelshofer 1928, p. 40, under no. 60; Hugelshofer 1929, p. 1, pl. 3; Popham 1935, p. 231; John Rowlands in London 1988, p. 229; Rowlands 1993, vol. 1, p. 146; Sotheby's 2001a, lot 12, ill.; Sotheby's 2001b, p. 46, under lot 31; Christian Müller in Basel 2006, p. 364, ill. p. 365 (as by an artist from the workshop or circle of Holbein); Susan Foister in London 2006–7, no. 137, ill.

## Artists Active in the Mid-Sixteenth Century

### PETER FLÖTNER

Birthplace unknown, ca. 1485/90–1546, Nuremberg

Before settling in Nuremberg in 1522, Peter Flötner was active in Augsburg. Notwithstanding his role in introducing an Italianate ornamental style in German art, it is far from certain that he actually traveled to Italy. Although primarily a sculptor (little evidence of that work remains), he was also prolific as a printmaker, and his woodcuts were as influential as his work as a sculptor and designer for public and private patrons. His oeuvre is remarkably varied and at times quirky.

*General literature:* Lange 1897; Bange 1936; Martin Angerer, Hermann Maué, and William D. Wixom in New York and Nuremberg 1986, pp. 435–54; Dienst 2002

#### 30a | Peter Flötner

*Perspectival Study of a Cradle, 1528*

Pen and carbon black ink, gray ink and sanguine washes, incised construction lines (laid down, on the same secondary support as cat. 30e), 2<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 2<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (7.4 × 6.6 cm)

Purchase, Jean A. Bonna Gift, 2007 (2007.223.1)

At center, dated ·15· ·28· in pen and black ink, by the artist

*Watermark:* none

#### 30b |

*Perspectival Study of a Cube on a Decorated Socle, 1528*

Pen and carbon black ink, gray ink wash (laid down), 4<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 3<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (10.7 × 9.4 cm)

Purchase, Jean A. Bonna Gift, 2007 (2007.223.3)

At upper left, dated 1528 in pen and black ink, by the artist; at center, inscribed *PF* in pen and brown ink, by a later hand

*Watermark:* none

#### 30c |

*Perspectival Study of a Multifaceted Solid on a Pedestal, 1528*

Pen and carbon black ink, gray ink, indigo, and sanguine washes, red chalk, incised construction lines (laid down), 4<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 2<sup>9</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (10.6 × 6.5 cm)

Purchase, Jean A. Bonna Gift, 2007 (2007.223.5)

At lower center, dated ·1528· in pen and black ink, by the artist; at lower right (on base of pedestal), inscribed *PF* in pen and brown ink, probably by a later hand

*Watermark:* none

#### 30d |

*Perspectival Study of Two Cubes and a Slab in a Landscape, 1528*

Pen and carbon black ink, gray ink wash, traces of black chalk underdrawing, incised construction lines (laid down), 2<sup>9</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 4<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (6.5 × 10.6 cm)

Purchase, Jean A. Bonna Gift, 2007 (2007.223.6)

At upper center, dated ·15· ·28· in pen and black ink, by the artist; at lower center (between the cubes), inscribed *PF* in pen and brown ink, by a later hand

*Watermark:* none

#### 30e |

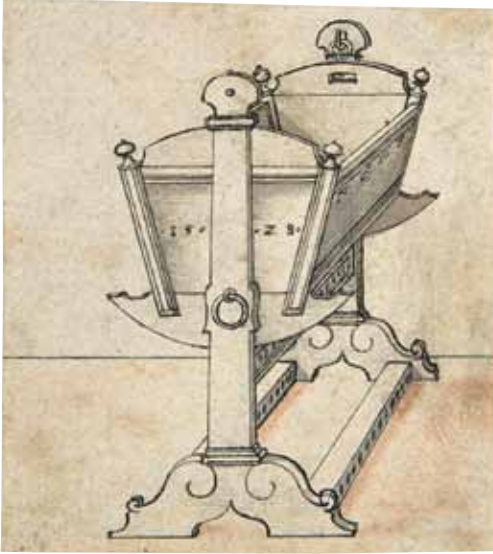
*Perspectival Study of a Chair, ca. 1528*

Pen and carbon black ink, gray ink and indigo washes (laid down, on the same secondary support as cat. 30a), 2<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 1<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (6.2 × 4.4 cm)

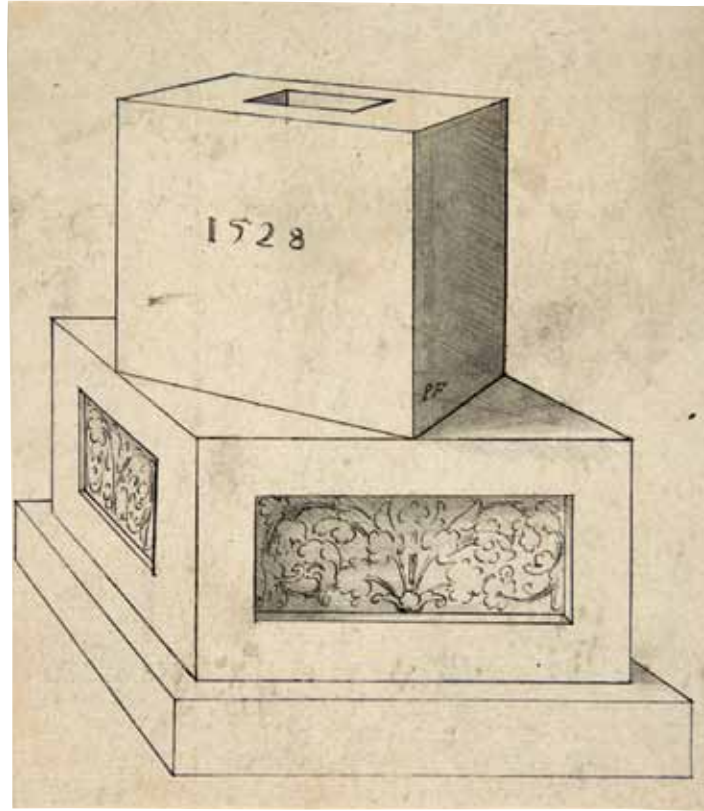
Purchase, Jean A. Bonna Gift, 2007 (2007.223.2)

*Watermark:* none

It must have been Peter Flötner's interest in antique and Renaissance ornament and architecture that led him to the study of perspective. The five drawings presented here, purchased by the Museum in 2007 as part of the album formed by the eighteenth-century Swiss collector Hans Wilpert Zoller (see pp. xi–xii of the introduction), are modest but delightful examples of his witty mastery of that art. Zoller had undoubtedly acquired Flötner's drawings together, and they may have belonged to a larger group of similar studies from the artist's estate. Zoller or a previous owner must have inscribed three of the sheets with the artist's initials (cats. 30b–d).<sup>1</sup> The dates with which all but one sheet are inscribed are autograph; the undated one, the study of a simple chair (cat. 30e), presumably was made at the same time, as there is no noticeable difference in its quality, style, or technique. One year earlier,



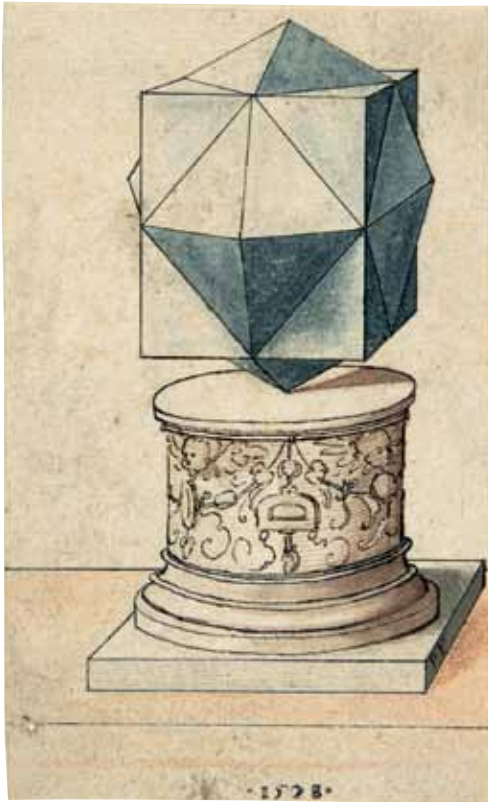
CAT. 30a



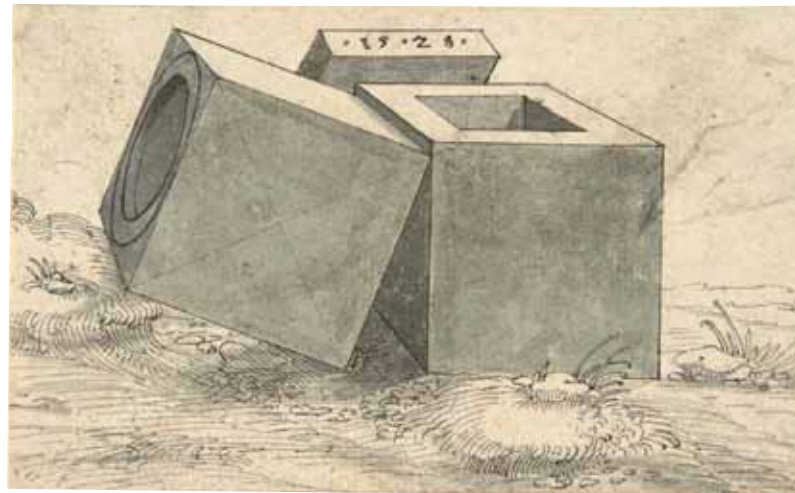
CAT. 30b



CAT. 30e



CAT. 30c



CAT. 30d



Fig. 1. Peter Flötner, *Perspectival Study of a Cradle*, ca. 1528. Woodcut, 4 $\frac{1}{16}$  × 2 $\frac{13}{16}$  in. (10.3 × 7.1 cm). Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford (WAI863.6075)



Fig. 2. Jost Amman, *Wenzel Jamnitzer in His Studio*, ca. 1572–75. Etching, 6 $\frac{7}{8}$  × 10 $\frac{3}{16}$  in. (17.5 × 25.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1956 (56.510.2)

Flötner had made two signed designs for a portable organ, both now in Berlin, which similarly attest to his preoccupation with perspective.<sup>2</sup> The lightly sketched arabesques on the larger of the two can be compared to those on cats. 30b and 30c as well as on the undated study of a chair, strengthening its attribution beyond much doubt. All drawings were carefully prepared by the artist with incised construction lines.

The most interesting drawing of the group is arguably the study of a cradle (cat. 30a). Flötner, who married three times and had at least seven children,<sup>3</sup> seems to have had a particular interest in beds. Five woodcuts of bedsteads, one dated 1533, record his elaborate designs for this type of furniture.<sup>4</sup> Another woodcut records a design for a cradle very close in construction, if not in decoration, to the one in the Museum's example (fig. 1).<sup>5</sup> Although Flötner may well have been commissioned to design actual beds,<sup>6</sup> and the woodcuts may have served as models, or more probably as inspiration, to cabinet-makers, the cradles in the Museum's drawing and the woodcut have more the character of perspectival studies. This is even more evident in a drawing in Dessau of a cradle and a distaff attributed to Flötner and in one of a watermill formerly in that same collection.<sup>7</sup> The fact that the Museum's drawing of the cradle belongs to a group of perspectival studies adds more strength to the conclusion that it is probably not a design for an actual piece of furniture.<sup>8</sup>

As pure exercises in perspective, the four other drawings in the Museum stand apart in Flötner's oeuvre. Two similar drawings, again in Dessau, that were previously thought to be his have now been reattributed to an artist active in the circle of Lorenz

Stör, a Nuremberg artist of the second half of the sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries who made a career specializing in perspective.<sup>9</sup> Even with his small output, Flötner may have helped set the fashion for the study of perspective as an intellectual pursuit for later artists like Stör, also evident from an etching by Jost Amman depicting his Nuremberg colleague Wenzel Jamnitzer (see cat. 42) as a mathematician in his study, using a measuring instrument (fig. 2).<sup>10</sup> Flötner's drawings in the Museum, which have the finished look of independent works of art, must have appealed to a select group of fellow artists and amateurs who shared his interest in perspectival renderings.

SA

1. Initials by what seems to be the same hand appear on a portrait of Flötner, now attributed to a follower of his, in the *Graphische Sammlung, Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg*, Erlangen (Bock 1929, vol. 1, no. 381, vol. 2, ill.; Dienst 2002, p. 35, fig. 4).
2. *Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin*, inv. KdZ 391, KdZ 392 (Bock 1921, vol. 1, p. 42, vol. 2, pl. 53; Bange 1936, nos. 177, 190, figs. 16, 17; Dienst 2002, pp. 509–10, figs. 243, 244).
3. Dienst 2002, p. 34.
4. Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 8 (1968), pp. 149–53, nos. 67–71, ill. For a discussion of these designs, see Dienst 2002, pp. 565–69, figs. 279–83.
5. Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 8 (1968), p. 153, no. 72, ill.; Dienst 2002, pp. 568–69.
6. Dienst 2002, p. 567.
7. *Anhaltische Gemäldegalerie, Dessau*, inv. B 111/12 (Friedländer 1914, no. 15, ill.; Messling 2011, no. 31, ill.); and the drawing formerly in that collection, lost during World War II (Friedländer 1914, no. 14, ill.; Messling 2011, app. 2, no. 7, ill.).
8. Joseph Meder already proposed this in 1923 (Meder 1923, p. 621); see also Dienst 2002, p. 565; Messling 2011, p. 87.
9. *Anhaltische Gemäldegalerie, Dessau*, inv. B 111/16a, B 111/16b (Messling 2011, nos. 82, 83, ill. [as by an artist from the circle of Lorenz Stör]). For Stör, see Wood 2003.
10. Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 2 (1954), p. 11, no. 6, ill.; Jeffrey Chipps Smith in Austin, Lawrence, and Santa Barbara 1983–84, no. 191, ill.; Seelig 2001, vol. 1, no. 137, ill.

#### CATS. 30a–e

*Provenance:* Hans Wilpert Zoller (1673–1757), Zurich; Wilhelm von Muralt-von Planta (1845–1937), Zurich, from ca. 1860;\* [Hans Rohr Buchhandlung und Antiquariat zum Obderdorf, Zurich, from ca. 1970];<sup>†</sup> sale, Auktionshaus Stuker Bern, November 28, 2006, part of lot 9060; [Arnoldi-Livie, Munich]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 2007

#### CAT. 30a

*Literature:* Ganz 1925–27, p. 269; Bange 1936, pp. 177–78, 191, no. 8, fig. 20; Dienst 2002, p. 92, n. 48, pp. 568–69, fig. 285; Paul Ganz in Stuker 2006, p. 23, fig. 3; Messling 2011, p. 83, n. 5, p. 87, fig. 31.1

#### CAT. 30b

*Literature:* Ganz 1925–27, pp. 269–70; Bange 1936, pp. 177–78 (as by a follower of Flötner); Dienst 2002, p. 77, n. 216; Paul Ganz in Stuker 2006, p. 23, fig. 5; Messling 2011, p. 83, n. 5

CAT. 30c

*Literature:* Ganz 1925–27, pp. 269–70; Bange 1936, pp. 177–78 (as by a follower of Flötner); Dienst 2002, p. 77, n. 216; Paul Ganz in Stuker 2006, p. 23, fig. 6; Messling 2011, p. 83, n. 5

CAT. 30d

*Literature:* Ganz 1925–27, pp. 269–70; Bange 1936, pp. 177–78, 191, no. 7, fig. 19; Dienst 2002, p. 77, n. 216; Paul Ganz in Stuker 2006, p. 23, fig. 7; Messling 2011, p. 83, n. 5

CAT. 30e

*Literature:* Ganz 1925–27, p. 269; Bange 1936, pp. 177–78 (as by a follower of Flötner); Paul Ganz in Stuker 2006, p. 23, fig. 4

\* According to Christian Müller, as noted by Christian Herren in an email to Erhard Linse, October 24, 2006 (copy in the Museum's departmental files).

† Inventory card by Hans Rohr dated 1983 (copy in the Museum's departmental files).

### 31 | Peter Flötner

*A Little Boy and Girl Playing Skittles*, ca. 1530–40

Pen and carbon black ink, gray ink and sanguine washes, lead white heightening, on paper prepared with sanguine wash (laid down), 3<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 5<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (9.8 × 12.9 cm)

Purchase, Jean A. Bonna Gift, 2007 (2007.223.4)

At lower center (on the plank of wood), monogrammed *P-F* in pen and black ink; at lower left, inscribed *Pet. Fleitner* in pen and black ink (17th-century handwriting?). Verso of the secondary support, at upper center, a partially erased inscription in graphite; at lower left, inscribed *P. floetner* in pen and brown ink (19th-century handwriting)

*Watermark:* none visible because of the secondary support

The Renaissance interest in all aspects of human life, including the erotic and the scatological, is perhaps nowhere more evident than in the arts of Central Europe—for instance, in the “strange phantasies” of Hans Baldung.<sup>1</sup> Among Peter Flötner’s works in this vein is a group of drawings, some dated 1537, in which nude women or children are depicted with sausagelike objects—one sausage peeping from a cloud, another offered by a putto to an unabashedly naked woman, or several piled up on a platter.<sup>2</sup> At least one of his woodcuts includes a winged sausage carrying a flag with the artist’s monogram.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, Max Friedländer remarked that “it appears to be a kind of signature of Flötner,”<sup>4</sup> and although that may not be quite true, it is clear that Flötner was fond of the motif. A sausage was also used (perhaps following Flötner’s example) by Virgil Solis in a print dated about 1540.<sup>5</sup> Given the diverse contexts in which it appears, it seems to be a highly suggestive image.

Sausages also appear in a pair of Flötner’s drawings of children at play—one the drawing discussed here,



the other a companion piece in Dessau (fig. 1).<sup>6</sup> They may originally have been closer in size, effectively forming a pair. At first, these may look like depictions of innocent toddlers, unaware of their nudity, as in works by such fifteenth-century artists as the Master of the Housebook.<sup>7</sup> But the combination of the boy showing his buttocks in the Dessau drawing with the limp and stiff sausages held by two of his companions signals the more risqué nature of the scene. The same must be said of the Museum’s drawing, in which a pair of sausages lie entwined on the ground between a girl and a boy. The form of the three skittles, the connotation of the German word for playing skittles, and the ball all underscore the scene’s erotic overtones.<sup>8</sup> Even at her young age, the girl is clearly identified as female, making it likely that the two sausage-wielding children seen from the back in the Dessau drawing should be identified as boys, suggesting that the real subject of the pair of drawings may be heterosexual and homosexual play.

Unlike the sheet in Dessau, the Museum’s bears an autograph monogram by Flötner. Both drawings are clearly by the same hand, and they relate stylistically to other works by the artist. Flötner’s “tremendous control of line,” as described by Edmund Schilling and evident in the figures, is a hallmark of his graphic style—see, for





Fig. 1. Peter Flötner, *Five Little Boys Playing*, ca. 1530–40. Pen and black ink, gray wash, heightened with white gouache, on pink prepared paper,  $3\frac{1}{8} \times 6\frac{15}{16}$  in. (7.9 × 17.6 cm). Graphische Sammlung, Anhaltische Gemäldegalerie, Dessau (B III/15)

instance, his design for goldsmith's work in Braunschweig of putti enacting a Triumph of Venus.<sup>9</sup> In the Museum's drawing, the artist used a slightly darker ink for the striking pink of the ground and for the children, who stand out against the sky; grasslike brushstrokes enliven the foreground. In contrast to the careful drawing of the figures, the pen lines that indicate the ground and vegetation in both sheets seem almost out of control, as in another of the Museum's drawings by Flötner, dated 1528 (cat. 30d). The turf in the sheet under discussion has been given anthropomorphic forms, especially the one at right,<sup>10</sup> adding another touch of playfulness—both comical and slightly disturbing. The chronology of Flötner's works remains to be fully established, so it is risky to date the drawings in Dessau and the Museum more precisely than between approximately 1530 and 1540.<sup>11</sup> The drawings were probably made as finished works of art for collectors who valued Flötner's unorthodox subjects presumably no less than his distinctive style. SA

1. For Baldung, see Frankfurt 2007. For Italian examples, see Wolk-Simon 2008; Linda Wolk-Simon in New York and Fort Worth 2008–9, nos. 90–97, ill.

2. Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. KdZ 836, KdZ 8488 (Bock 1921, vol. 1, p. 42); and the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum und Fondation Corboud, Cologne, inv. Z 2423, Z 2424, Z 2425. For a discussion of the meaning of these "Venus pieces," see Dienst 2002, pp. 99–108.

3. Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 8 (1968), p. 133, no. 41, ill.; Dienst 2002, pp. 68–84; for the sausage with monogram, see especially Dienst 2002, pp. 77, 82.

4. Friedländer 1914, under no. 16: "Das wurstartige Ding . . . scheint eine Art Signatur F.s zu sein." See also Bock 1921, vol. 1, p. 42, under inv. KdZ 836.

5. O'Dell 1977, no. f 78, pl. 47; Dienst 2002, pp. 96–97, fig. 32; Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 63 (2004), no. 212, ill. Another example is a print by Hanns Sebald Lautensack dated 1552

(Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 21 [1978], p. 87, no. 46, ill.; Dienst 2002, pp. 96–97, n. 257, fig. 33).

6. Friedländer 1914, no. 16, ill.; Dienst 2002, p. 569, fig. 286 (as attributed to Flötner); Messling 2011, no. 29, ill.

7. Jan Piet Filedt Kok in Amsterdam and Frankfurt 1985, nos. 59–61, ill., where other examples by Master bxg and Israhel van Meckenem are discussed and reproduced.

8. For a discussion of the drawings' connotations and the meaning of words like *Kegelschieben*, see Dienst 2002, pp. 89–99.

9. Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig, inv. z 33 (Bange 1936, no. 13, ill.; Martin Angerer in New York and Nuremberg 1986, no. 251, ill.; von Heusinger 1992–97, vol. 1, no. 286, vol. 2, pl. 67). The quotation is from Schilling 1929, p. 19: "die unerhörte Beherrschung der Linie."

10. I am grateful to Marjorie Shelley for pointing this out to me.

11. Drawings such as the one in Braunschweig (see note 9 above) have been dated about 1540.

*Provenance:* Hans Wilpert Zoller (1673–1757), Zurich; Wilhelm von Muralt-von Planta (1845–1937), Zurich, from ca. 1860; \* [Hans Rohr Buchhandlung und Antiquariat zum Obderdorf, Zurich, from ca. 1970]; † sale, Auktionshaus Stuker Bern, November 28, 2006, part of lot 9060; [Arnoldi-Livie, Munich]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 2007

*Literature:* Ganz 1925–27, p. 269, pl. 29; Schilling 1929, p. 19, no. 44, pl. 44; Bange 1936, pp. 177, 182, 191, no. 10, fig. 23; Dienst 2002, pp. 92–94, fig. 31; Paul Ganz in Stuker 2006, p. 23, fig. 2; Messling 2011, p. 82, fig. 29.1

\* According to Christian Müller, as noted by Christian Herren in an email to Erhard Linse, October 24, 2006 (copy in the Museum's departmental files).

† Inventory card by Hans Rohr dated 1983 (copy in the Museum's departmental files).

## SEBALD BEHAM

Nuremberg, ca. 1500–1550, Frankfurt am Main

Documented as a painter and best known as a prolific printmaker and draftsman, Sebald Beham may have been a pupil of Albrecht Dürer, who influenced his early style. Beham was already active as a gifted designer of stained glass before he became a master in 1525. Together with two other artists, his brother Barthel and Georg Pencz, he was briefly expelled from his native Nuremberg in 1525 because of his beliefs in support of the Reformation. He had to flee the city again in 1528 and eventually settled in Frankfurt. The diminutive size and exquisite technique of the engravings by Sebald and Barthel Beham and by Pencz earned them the nickname "Little Masters" (*Kleinmeister*).

*General literature:* Zschelletschky 1975; Jeffrey Chipps Smith in Austin, Lawrence, and Santa Barbara 1983–84, pp. 176–96; Kalden and Rosenfeld 1994; Barbara Butts in Los Angeles and Saint Louis 2000–2001, pp. 174–83; Stewart 2008



### 32 | Sebald Beham

*The Presentation of Christ in the Temple, ca. 1522 (?)*

Pen and brown ink, gray ink wash mixed with lead white, sanguine wash, red chalk, diameter: 8<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (22.7 cm)  
Rogers Fund, 1962 (62.124.3)

Color and lead line indications in red chalk, all by the artist (see text). Framing line in pen and brown ink, probably by a later hand

*Watermark:* bull's head, snake on cross above<sup>1</sup>

Sebald Beham's activity as a designer of stained-glass roundels is best known from an extensive group of

scenes depicting the Life of Christ.<sup>2</sup> At least twenty-eight drawings documenting compositions from the series have survived, all of them with a diameter of about 9 inches (23 centimeters).<sup>3</sup> They were not all done by the same hand. Rather, the group contains fragments of sets executed at different times and by different hands: drawings of a quality worthy of Beham himself; workshop copies, which closely reflect his style without quite attaining the quality of the best drawings in the group; and copies that are stylistically further removed from Beham's style and thus may be said to have originated outside his immediate circle. Some of



Fig. 1. Workshop of Veit Hirschvogel the Elder, after Sebald Beham, *Roundel with Christ Healing the Blind Man*, 1522 or later. Stained glass, diameter: 12 $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (30.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Cloisters Collection, 2009 (2009.281)



Fig. 2. Albrecht Dürer, *The Presentation of Christ in the Temple*, ca. 1505. Woodcut, 11 $\frac{5}{8}$  × 8 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (29.6 × 20.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Junius S. Morgan, 1919 (19.73.252, fol. 13)

the compositions are recorded in two different drawings,<sup>4</sup> but no episode from the Gospels is depicted in two different compositions, making it highly probable that all drawings go back to the same original series. That it was replicated several times is proof of its widespread popularity. However, only three of the glass roundels based on Beham's designs appear to have survived, all of them now in the Museum's collection (see fig. 1).<sup>5</sup>

Beham himself seems to have dated at least one of them 1522,<sup>6</sup> which may be the approximate date of the entire original series. Several of the sheets also bear old attributions to Dürer,<sup>7</sup> and the style of the drawings indeed fits well with others by Beham from about this time, when he had not yet exchanged the great master's influence for the smoother manner of his later years (compare cats. 33, 34). As John Rowlands notes, "The finest designs in the series . . . are the most worked up, to which washes, and frequently colour notes and indications of the lead lines are added."<sup>8</sup> The drawing under discussion clearly belongs to this group.<sup>9</sup> Gray and pink washes were used to model the figures. As often seen in drawings for stained glass, the leading is indicated in red chalk. Also added in red chalk are the color indications, which give a sense of the ultimate appearance of the roundels that must have been based on the Museum's drawing: in Joseph's and the high priest's clothes,

an *r* for *rot* (red); in the dress of the kneeling woman, *gl* for *gelb* (yellow); and in the altar cloth, a *w* for *weiß* (white). In the background at right a spade or leaf (♠) indicates the color green.<sup>10</sup>

The drawing represents an episode from the early Life of Christ. To conclude the purification of the Virgin after she gave birth to Christ, she and Joseph "brought him to Jerusalem, to present him to the Lord. . . . And to offer a sacrifice according to that which is said in the Law of the Lord, a pair of turtledoves, or two young pigeons" (Luke 2:22–24).<sup>11</sup> The sacrifice is shown being made here by the kneeling young woman. The Christ Child is held by the devout Simeon, who is often depicted as a high priest. Blessing the Child, he calls him "a light to lighten the Gentiles, and the glory of thy people Israel" (Luke 2:32). Left out of Beham's composition is the old prophetess Anna (mentioned in verses 36–38), who is included between Maria and Simeon in Dürer's woodcut from his *Life of the Virgin* (fig. 2).<sup>12</sup> Although Beham's composition lacks the impressive architectural setting and the multitude of onlookers, he does seem to have been inspired by Dürer's example, as he was in other compositions of his series.<sup>13</sup> The group with the Virgin, Joseph holding a staff and hat, and the kneeling woman is similar, as are the square altar and Simeon's position at right. Beham gave a more prominent place to the man holding a tall candle (the Feast of the Purification is also known as Candlemas). Rather than being judged a poor simplification of Dürer's print, Beham's design should be understood as a clever adaptation to a medium in which compositional clarity and the bold use of color, further enhanced by the play of light, are essential. SA

1. The watermark is similar to one found in paper used in Innsbruck in 1522 (Piccard-Online, no. 71144; accessed November 20, 2011).

2. For some of the other designs for stained-glass roundels by Beham, see von Heusinger 1992–97, vol. 1, pp. 287–88, vol. 2, pls. 72–77; Barbara Butts in Los Angeles and Saint Louis 2000–2001, no. 62, ill.; Stephanie Buck in Frankfurt 2003–4, nos. 46, 47, ill.

3. In addition to the drawing under discussion, the following versions of scenes from the series can be added to the list given in Los Angeles and Saint Louis 2000–2001, p. 181, n. 25: *Christ at Supper with Simon the Pharisee*, known from a coarse copy formerly in the Woodner collection (Christie's 1992, lot 97, ill.); *Christ and the Adulterous Woman*, known from a drawing formerly on the Paris art market (Prouté 1968, no. 2, ill.); and the *Flagellation*, known from a copy at the Fogg Museum, Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge, acc. 1918.21 (Mongan and Sachs 1940, vol. 1, no. 370). For literature and reproductions of most of the drawings related to the series, see also Bock 1921, vol. 1, p. 12, inv. 4417, 4418, vol. 2, pl. 15; Christie's 1936, lot 358; Parker 1938, nos. 274, 275, pl. XLIX; Mongan and Sachs 1940, vol. 1, nos. 368–73, vol. 3, figs. 186, 187; Houthakker 1962, nos. 4–7, ill.; Fedja Anzelewsky in Washington and other cities 1965–66, no. 78, ill.; Prouté 1968, nos. 1–3, ill.; Bjurström 1972, nos. 11–16, ill.; Schil-

ling 1973, vol. 1, no. 40, vol. 2, pl. 11; Jeffrey Chipps Smith in Austin, Lawrence, and Santa Barbara 1983–84, no. 76, ill.; John Rowlands in London 1988, no. 92, ill.; Bolten and Folmer-von Oven 1989, no. 19, ill.; Rowlands 1993, vol. 1, nos. 75, 76, vol. 2, pl. 46; Buck in Frankfurt 2003–4, no. 45, ill. Not belonging to the series is a somewhat smaller sheet of doubtful attribution representing Christ driving the money changers from the Temple, at the Statens Museum for Kunst in Copenhagen, inv. 6614 (Bøgh Rasmussen 2000, no. 66, ill. [as a copy after Beham]).

4. An example is the composition for the *Circumcision*, the original of which seems to be a drawing in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, acc. 89.GG.7 (Butts in Los Angeles and Saint Louis 2000–2001, no. 65, ill.); a replica is in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. 1995.470 (Butts in Los Angeles and Saint Louis 2000–2001, p. 181, fig. 50).

5. The two others are in the Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts, acc. 11.93.10 and 11.93.11 (Butts in Los Angeles and Saint Louis 2000–2001, no. 67, ill., and p. 183, fig. 51).

6. British Museum, London, inv. 1920-4-20-3 (Rowlands 1993, vol. 1, no. 75, vol. 2, pl. 46); compare the handwriting on a drawing dated 1521 in the British Museum, inv. 5218-55 (Rowlands 1993, vol. 1, no. 73, vol. 2, pl. 47).

7. Among the drawings with an old attribution to Dürer is one of the drawings in London mentioned in the previous note (inv. 1920-4-20-3), as well as two others in the same collection, inv. 1920-4-20-2 (Rowlands 1993, vol. 1, no. 76, vol. 2, pl. 46) and 1997-7-12-10 (Butts in Los Angeles and Saint Louis 2000–2001, no. 66, ill.).

8. Rowlands in London 1988, p. 123; see also Rowlands 1993, vol. 1, p. 38. Other drawings with red chalk are at the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, inv. NM 507/1971 and NM 508/1971 (Bjurström 1972, nos. 11, 12, ill.); and formerly on the Paris art market (Prouté 1968, nos. 1–3, ill.); the first of these sheets is now at the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, acc. 1969.17.

9. It should be noted that there are drawings with no indication in red chalk of the colors or the leading but that are nonetheless of equal quality. Perhaps this is a sign that there was more than one autograph series. Examples are the drawing in Los Angeles mentioned in note 4 above and a drawing of the Temptation of Christ at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, inv. WA1863.406 (Parker 1938, no. 275; Christopher White in Rome and Oxford 1991–92, no. 73, ill.).

10. Butts in Los Angeles and Saint Louis 2000–2001, p. 8; compare also cat. 12, pp. 28–29, in the present catalogue.

11. For the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, see Réau 1955–59, vol. 2, pt. 2 (1957), pp. 261–66; Lucchesi Palli and Hoffscholte 1968.

12. Bartsch 1803–21, vol. 7 (1808), p. 132, no. 88; Anna Scherbaum in Schoch, Mende, and Scherbaum 2001–4, vol. 2 (2002), no. 178, ill.

13. For other examples of Dürer's influence on Beham's series, see also Bolten and Folmer-von Oven 1989, p. 38; Buck in Frankfurt 2003–4, p. 138.

*Provenance:* [Galerie de Bayser & Strolin, Paris]; purchased by the Department of Drawings, 1962

*Literature:* Kaufmann 1985, p. 79



### 33 | Sebald Beham

#### *The Return of the Prodigal Son*, 1540

Pen and carbon black ink, gray ink wash, 2<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 3<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.

(5.9 × 9.8 cm)

Rogers Fund, 1919 (19.151.3)

At upper left, signed 1540 / HSB (*HSB* intertwined) in pen and black ink. Framing line in pen and black ink, by the artist. On the old mount, collector's mark of Thomas Banks (Lugt 2423)

*Watermark:* none

In the 1530s Sebald Beham seems to have taken an interest in the parable of the Prodigal Son (Luke 15:10–32).<sup>1</sup> In a small engraving dated 1538 he depicted the scene of the Prodigal among the swine, inspired by Dürer's engraving of 1496.<sup>2</sup> It is the pivotal episode in the story, when the impoverished spendthrift realizes that, while he is suffering from hunger, his father's servants "have bread enough and to spare" (Luke 15:17). Very similar in its refined technique and only slightly smaller, a series of four engravings treats the entire story, culminating in the son's return (fig. 1).<sup>3</sup> This last print reproduces, in reverse, the Museum's drawing of the same size. The print is not dated, but the drawing and the second engraving of the series are, establishing 1540 as the year of its production. Beham incorporated all elements of the biblical text in his composition: the repentant son, the forgiving father, the preparation of the fatted calf, and the elder brother working in the field, who greets the celebration of the prodigal's return with incomprehension, until he is told by their father: "It was meet that we should make merry, and be glad: for this thy brother was dead, and is alive again; and was lost, and is found" (Luke 15:32). The father had previously greeted



Fig. 1. Sebald Beham, *The Return of the Prodigal Son*, 1540. Engraving, 2 $\frac{3}{8}$  × 3 $\frac{7}{8}$  in. (6 × 9.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1950 (50.6073)

his younger son with nearly identical words (Luke 15:24), and it is these that are inscribed along the top of the print in the Latin of the Vulgate. Although the print is richer in detail, Beham followed his drawing precisely. One of the few differences is the father's hand covering the son's in the print; in the drawing, the son's hands are shown clasped together.

Beham's third rendering of the story is an exceptionally large woodcut, printed from eight blocks, which combines all the episodes, with strong emphasis on the scene of the son squandering his fortune in a brothel.<sup>4</sup> The print is undated, and most often it is assumed to be somewhat earlier than the engravings, in accord with the approximate date of several other large-scale woodcuts by Beham.<sup>5</sup> However, it should be noted that two of the background scenes in the woodcut come very close to the compositions in the engravings: in the scene of the son among the swine, his pose and some of the animals are identical to those in the 1538 engraving,<sup>6</sup> and the scene of his return is likewise close to that of the 1540 print. It seems more probable that the larger composition would quote from previously developed independent compositions rather than the other way around, so the woodcut may postdate the 1540 series.

The Museum's drawing—which may be the only model for a print by Beham to have survived—is entirely characteristic of his mature style, in which the figures and compositions comply more with an Italianate ideal than with Dürer's example and the modeling is achieved

with washes rather than with hatching. The graceful style and flawless technique of Beham's late works undoubtedly increased their popularity with collectors of fine prints—and with other printmakers, who published numerous copies after the originals.<sup>7</sup> But the prints also found use as models for the decorative arts.<sup>8</sup> Examples range from rather clumsy paraphrases to the more accomplished casts on a table clock attributed to the Nuremberg goldsmith Leonhard Danner in Berlin, dated to the 1550s.<sup>9</sup> SA

1. For the iconography of the Prodigal Son, see Vetter 1955; Renger 1970; Ellen G. D'Oench in New Haven, Middletown, and Williamstown 1995–96.

2. Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 3 (1954), p. 32, no. 37; Vetter 1955, p. xxvii, fig. 14; Diana Schulze in Paderborn, Emden, and Göttingen 2001, no. 15, ill. For Dürer's print, see Bartsch 1803–21, vol. 3 (1808), pp. 49–50, no. 28; Rainer Schoch in Schoch, Mende, and Scherbaum 2001–4, vol. 1 (2001), no. 9, ill.

3. Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 3 (1954), pp. 30–31, no. 36, ill.; Jeffrey Chipps Smith in Austin, Lawrence, and Santa Barbara 1983–84, no. 88, ill. For the series, see Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 3 (1954), pp. 30–31, nos. 33–36, ill.; Vetter 1955, p. xxxi, figs. 19–22; Zschelletschky 1975, pp. 212–14; Stephen H. Goddard in Lawrence and other cities 1988–89, pp. 141–42; D'Oench in New Haven, Middletown, and Williamstown 1995–96, pp. 6–8, figs. 3a–3d.

4. Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 3 (1954), p. 187, no. 831.

5. Notably, the *Feast of Herod* (ibid., p. 188, no. 832), the *Fountain of Youth* (ibid., p. 234, no. 1120), and the *Great Village Fair* (ibid., p. 255, no. 1245, ill.); the latter is dated 1539. The *Story of the Prodigal Son* is dated about 1535 in Geisberg 1923–30/1974, vol. 1, p. 201.

6. As already remarked in Pauli 1901, p. 352.

7. Five copies of *The Return of the Prodigal Son* are listed in Pauli 1901, p. 50.

8. For the appreciation of engravings by the *Kleinmeister* as both independent works of art and as models for decorative art, see J. Nagler and O. Nagler 2010.

9. Kunstgewerbemuseum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. K 452 (Pechstein 1968, no. 188, ill.). For the numerous casts of plaquettes by Danner after the prints, as well as for other versions of the compositions in metal, see Weber 1975, vol. 1, pp. 103–4, under no. 98, p. 279, under nos. 615 and 616, vol. 2, pls. 34, 168, 169.

*Provenance:* Thomas Banks (1735–1805), London; his daughter, Lavinia Forster (1774–1858), London; her son-in-law Ambrose Poynter (1796–1886); his son, Edward John Poynter (1836–1919), London; his sale, Sotheby's, London, April 24–25, 1918, lot 238; [Robert Langton Douglas, London]; purchased by the Department of Paintings, 1919

*Literature:* Sotheby's 1918, lot 238; Metropolitan Museum of Art 1943, no. 18, ill.; Christie's 1978, p. 25, under lot 26; Jeffrey Chipps Smith in Austin, Lawrence, and Santa Barbara 1983–84, no. 87, ill.; Kaufmann 1985, p. 79; J. C. Smith 1987, p. 207, fig. 6; Silver 1989, p. 214; Ellen G. D'Oench in New Haven, Middletown, and Williamstown 1995–96, p. 30, n. 19

*Head of a Man Wearing a Hat, Sticking Out His Tongue and Facing Right, 1549*

Pen and iron gall ink (laid down), 6 × 4<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (15.2 × 10.6 cm)  
Robert Lehman Collection, 1975 (1975.1.857)

At upper right, dated and monogrammed 1549 / HSB (HSB intertwined); at lower right, collector's mark of Carl Rolas du Rosey (Lugt 2237). Verso of the secondary support, at lower left, inscribed G.199 BEHAM in graphite (20th-century handwriting)

Watermark: none

This drawing is one of four related sheets. The example in Berlin (fig. 1)<sup>1</sup> is particularly close to the one in the Museum: both show a man sticking out his tongue and looking to the right; their features are very similar, but the man in Berlin has a bare head and an open shirt. The man in a drawing in Vienna also sticks out his tongue, but he is somewhat less of a caricature; seen in three-quarter view, he wears a more fashionable hat with a long fringe.<sup>2</sup> The fourth drawing, formerly in Dresden, also shows a man in profile facing right, wearing a hat similar to the one in the Vienna drawing; the shorter fringe partly covers his forehead.<sup>3</sup> For a change, he keeps his tongue inside his mouth. The Lehman drawing, which is clearly trimmed at the top, is approximately the same size as the sheets in Berlin and Vienna, which are also dated 1549. There is no reason to doubt that the smaller Dresden drawing was originally of the same size and should be dated to the same year. That the drawings belong to a series is strongly suggested by these similarities and by the shared provenance of at least the Berlin and New York sheets, which were together in the collection of Carl Rolas du Rosey in the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>4</sup>

The drawings have been related to physiognomical studies by Leonardo da Vinci and Dürer and to some of the proportion studies illustrated in Beham's own *Kunst- und Lehbüchlein* (Art and practice book), an artist's manual first published in Frankfurt in 1546.<sup>5</sup> However, the profile heads in the book never veer as close to social satire as these drawings, which also lack the scientific aspirations of the studies by Leonardo and Dürer. Rather, Beham's drawings should be considered in the context of depictions of peasants and of peasant life, to which Beham himself made an important and early contribution with several large-scale woodcuts.<sup>6</sup> Although the drawings obviously do not have the scope or the richness of folkloristic detail evident in his depictions of festivals, the attention to the ridiculous and the



ugly evident in the woodcuts is similar to such details as the unclassical noses of the men portrayed in the drawings—an allusion to their sensual natures.<sup>7</sup> The effect is also double: while the artist—like the viewer—makes fun of these men, they make fun of us in return by sticking out their tongues.

Other artists from Dürer's circle made similar drawings—for instance, a head of an older man in Vienna.<sup>8</sup> However, Beham's drawings are executed in a style that is almost completely free from Dürer's influence, and they could be assigned to the end of his career on the basis of visual evidence alone, even if they were not dated. Unlike the figures in others of his drawings from the 1540s (for instance, cat. 33), these heads are not modeled with washes, but the spare, almost mechanical hatching is strongly reminiscent of the artist's woodcuts, and it is encountered in others of Beham's drawings from this period as well, such as his *Ceres* in Vienna, also dated 1549.<sup>9</sup>



Fig. 1. Sebald Beham, *Head of a Man, Sticking Out His Tongue and Facing Right*, 1549. Pen and brown ink, 6 × 4<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (15.2 × 10.7 cm). Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (KdZ 2022)

1. Bock 1921, vol. 1, p. 14, vol. 2, pl. 17.

2. Albertina, Vienna, inv. 3260 (Tietze et al. 1933, vol. 1, no. 191, vol. 2, pl. 61). The drawing has often been considered a self-portrait

SA

(most recently in Stewart 2008, p. 26, fig. 1.8), although without any proof.

3. Singer 1921, pl. 6; Fritz Koreny in Haverkamp-Begemann et al. 1999, pp. 88, 90, fig. 18.3.

4. The drawing in Berlin was sold in his 1864 sale as lot 5069.

5. Koreny in Haverkamp-Begemann et al. 1999, p. 90. For the *Kunst- und Lehbüchlein*, see Jeffrey Chipps Smith in Austin, Lawrence, and Santa Barbara 1983–84, no. 95, ill. The book is fully reproduced after the 1565 edition in *Illustrated Bartsch* 1978–, vol. 15 (1978), pp. 219–72.

6. For these woodcuts, see Stewart 2008.

7. See *ibid.*, pp. 169–71.

8. Albertina, Vienna, inv. 3172 (Tietze et al. 1933, vol. 1, no. 172, vol. 2, pl. 61).

9. Albertina, Vienna, inv. 190 (*ibid.*, vol. 1, no. 190, vol. 2, pl. 61).

*Provenance:* Hugh Reveley (1737–1798), Bryn y Gwin (?); Joseph Grünling (1785–1845), Vienna; Carl Rolas du Rosey (1784–1862), Dresden; his sale, Rudolph Weigel, Leipzig, September 5, 1864, lot 5068; Henry Oppenheimer (1859–1932), London; his sale, Christie's, London, July 10, 13–14, 1936, lot 357; acquired from that sale through John Hunt by Robert Lehman (1891–1969), New York; given by the Robert Lehman Foundation to the Museum in accordance with the collector's wishes, 1975

*Literature:* Weigel 1864, lot 5068; Christie's 1936, lot 357; George Szabo in New York 1978–79, no. 34, ill.; Fritz Koreny in Haverkamp-Begemann et al. 1999, no. 18, ill.

## HEINRICH ALDEGREVER

Paderborn, ca. 1502–1555/61, Soest

Nothing is known about Heinrich Aldegrever's early life and training, but his approximate date of birth is calculated from two self-portrait engravings executed in 1530 and 1537, which record his age as twenty-eight and thirty-five, respectively. He was active primarily in Soest, in Westphalia, after 1527 or 1528. A prolific draftsman and printmaker, Aldegrever produced prints in two major periods: 1527–41 and 1549–55. The works reflect various influences, most notably Dürer's. An active proponent of the Reformation, Aldegrever engraved portraits of Jan van Leiden, who was king of the Anabaptists at Münster, and his duke, Bernt Knipperdolling (both 1536).

*General literature:* Plassmann 1994; Mielke 1998; Münster 2002

## 35 | Heinrich Aldegrever

*Joseph and Potiphar's Wife*, 1531/32

Pen and carbon black ink, incised for transfer, 4<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 3 in. (11.7 × 7.6 cm)

The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1950 (50.605.2)

Framing line in pen and black ink, by the artist. Verso, at center, inscribed *Aldegrever, H* in graphite (20th-century handwriting)

*Watermark:* none

## 36 | Heinrich Aldegrever

*Amnon and Jonadab*, 1539

Pen and carbon black ink, incised for transfer, 4<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 3 in. (11.7 × 7.6 cm)

The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1950 (50.605.1)

At lower left, dated and monogrammed 1539 / AG (G under A) in pen and brown ink (mirrored). Framing line in pen and black ink, by the artist. Verso, at center, inscribed *Aldegrever, H* in graphite (20th-century handwriting)

*Watermark:* none

Aldegrever's preparatory drawings for prints survive in large numbers and range from meticulous early pen studies to more diffuse pen and wash drawings completed during his later period of activity.<sup>1</sup> The largest repository of Aldegrever drawings, numbering thirty, is in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.<sup>2</sup>

The two detailed pen and ink studies seen here, acquired together by the Department of Prints in 1950, exemplify Aldegrever's early method of creating nearly complete line-for-line preliminary studies. Regarding this type of "slavishly detailed preparatory studies," A. Hyatt Mayor remarks that Aldegrever made them "as though he intended to have them copied by some other engraver."<sup>3</sup> Aldegrever created nearly three hundred prints, and it has been suggested that he employed a professional engraver to work through his designs; however, because of the improvisations evident in the prints, most scholars believe that he engraved his own plates.<sup>4</sup> About one-third of Aldegrever's prints are ornament designs for metalwork. Many of the others are series, often depicting Old Testament narratives—a common subject among Protestant artists such as Aldegrever, who embraced the religious reform sweeping through Germany during this period.<sup>5</sup> Since most of his prints are dated, the preparatory drawings have been arranged in chronological order,



most recently by Otmar Plassmann in his exhaustive catalogue of the artist's drawings.<sup>6</sup>

The undated drawing *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife* corresponds to a 1532 engraving that is part of a series of four telling the story of Joseph (fig. 1).<sup>7</sup> Because of the dating of the print, the drawing can be presumed to have been made in either 1531 or 1532; it is the earliest extant drawing by the artist. Illustrating the story of Joseph found in Genesis 39, Aldegrever showed the Hebrew slave resisting seduction by his master Potiphar's wife, whose false accusations led to his eventual imprisonment. In a closed bedchamber with no one to witness her advances, Potiphar's wife grabs Joseph; he escapes, leaving her holding his mantle, which she then uses, in revenge, as proof of his supposed wrongdoing (Genesis 39:12–16). The drawing, which is incised for transfer, is approximately the same size as the print. However, comparing the drawing to the print reveals substantial improvisation. For example, at upper right in the print a heavy curtain has been added to the bed—indicated in the drawing with only a diagonal



line—along with decorative tassels at Joseph's shoulder, just below Potiphar's wife's lustful grasp.

Variations between preparatory drawing and print are also evident in the later example of *Amnon and Jonadab* (fig. 2).<sup>8</sup> This drawing shows evidence of having been transferred to the plate: the main outlines were gone over with a blunt instrument. This scene is the first in a series of seven illustrating the Old Testament story of Amnon, eldest son of King David, and his half sister Tamar. The tablet at upper left, which is left blank in the drawing, is inscribed in the print with the chapter and verse from the second book of Kings, as well as with the catastrophic advice (in Latin) given to Amnon by his confidant Jonadab: "Lay thee down on thy bed, and make thyself sick."<sup>9</sup> Amnon subsequently tricked Tamar into entering his bedchamber, where he raped her. The date has been changed from 1539 in the drawing to 1540 in the print. Aldegrever also enhanced the decorative character of the work from drawing to print: there are slight variations in the plumage of Amnon's hat; a ring now appears on his index finger; and highly ornamented





Fig. 1. Heinrich Aldegrever, *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife*, 1532. Engraving,  $4\frac{3}{4} \times 3$  in. ( $12 \times 7.6$  cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Edwin De T. Bechtel, 1949 (49.132.82)



Fig. 2. Heinrich Aldegrever, *Amnon and Jonadab*, 1540. Engraving,  $4\frac{11}{16} \times 3$  in. ( $11.9 \times 7.6$  cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1966 (66.529.17)

chapes (the metal mounting protecting the point of the sword) have been added to the two sword sheaths. In both *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife* and *Amnon and Jonadab*, the elegantly costumed courtly figures with small heads and elongated bodies demonstrate Aldegrever's interest in Antwerp Mannerism and its flair for the decorative.<sup>10</sup>

FS

1. Fifty-eight preliminary drawings for prints by Aldegrever survive. For a comprehensive discussion of the drawings, see Plassmann 1994.

2. Twenty-four of the drawings in the Rijksmuseum are preparatory studies in reverse for prints. For a discussion of these drawings, see Shestack 1970, p. 147, n. 10.

3. Peter Parshall in Landau and Parshall 1994, p. 321; Mayor 1954, p. 176.

4. Shestack 1970, p. 143; Plassmann 1994.

5. For Aldegrever's prints, see especially Mielke 1998; see also Zschelietzschky 1933.

6. Plassmann 1994, pp. 29–31.

7. Mielke 1998, nos. 18–20, ill. For a discussion of this drawing and its corresponding print, see Plassmann 1994, pp. 32–33, no. 1, figs. 1, 2. *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife* is the only extant preliminary drawing for this printed series.

8. Plassmann 1994, pp. 42–43, no. 4, figs. 9, 10; Mielke 1998, no. 22, ill.

9. The Latin text is excerpted from the Vulgate: *II. REG. XIII. / IONADAB. AIT. AD. AMNO[N] / CVBA. SVPER. LECTV[M]. TVV[M]. / .C. LA[N]GVORE[M]. SIMVLA.* However, as in the entire series, the words do not match up exactly with the Vulgate. For more on Aldegrever's inscriptions in prints, see Fink 1971.

10. For more discussion about Aldegrever and Mannerism, see Shestack 1970, p. 141.

CATS. 35, 36

*Provenance:* Janos Scholz (1904–1993), New York; purchased by the Department of Prints, 1950

CAT. 35

*Literature:* Mayor 1954, p. 176, fig. 2; Shestack 1970, p. 143, pl. 30; Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann in Princeton, Washington, and Pittsburgh 1982–83, p. 50, n. 1; Kaufmann 1985, p. 75; Plassmann 1994, no. 1, ill.; Suzanne Boorsch in Boorsch and Orenstein 1997, p. 54

CAT. 36

*Literature:* Mayor 1954, p. 176, fig. 1; Shestack 1970, pp. 143–44, pl. 31; Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann in Princeton, Washington, and Pittsburgh 1982–83, p. 50, n. 1; Kaufmann 1985, p. 75; Plassmann 1994, no. 4, ill.; Suzanne Boorsch in Boorsch and Orenstein 1997, p. 54, ill.; New York 1997, p. 30

## VIRGIL SOLIS

Birthplace unknown, 1514–1562, Nuremberg

Although his birthplace is unknown, it is presumed that Virgil was the son of painter Hans Sollis, who acquired Nuremberg citizenship in 1525. Based on a portrait engraving of Solis executed by Balthasar Jenichen in 1562, which records his age as forty-eight, the year of his birth is assumed to be 1514. One of the most prolific printmakers and book illustrators in sixteenth-century Nuremberg, Solis ran a large workshop that produced more than two thousand engravings and woodcuts after his own designs as well as those by other artists. Many of his single-leaf prints served as models for objects such as goblets, pitchers, bowls, swords, and jewelry. His largest book project, *Biblische Figuren* (Bible figures; Frankfurt, 1562), comprises more than two hundred woodcuts of Old and New Testament scenes as well as two title pages and numerous ornamental borders. Solis also worked closely with Wenzel Jamnitzer, Nuremberg's most famous goldsmith, probably often engraving directly after Jamnitzer's own drawings. Solis's drawings, like his prints, reveal that he often borrowed motifs from an array of contemporary artists.

*General literature:* O'Dell 1967; O'Dell 1977; Heinrich Geissler in Stuttgart 1979–80, vol. 1, pp. 42–45; Dieter Beaujean in Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vols. 63–70 (2004–6)

### 37 | Virgil Solis

*A Greyhound in Profile Facing Left*, 1549

Pen and brown ink, traces of black chalk underdrawing (laid down),  $3\frac{7}{8} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$  in. ( $9.8 \times 14.6$  cm)

The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 2001 (2001.497)

At lower center, dated 1549 and monogrammed (?) with a flourish in pen and brown ink. Framing lines in graphite, by a later hand. On the secondary support, at upper left, collector's mark of Peter Vischer (Lugt 2115); at lower right, inscribed *just Amann* in graphite (19th- or 20th-century handwriting); below, collector's mark of Peter Vischer (Lugt 2116); at lower center, inscribed *Dessin N<sup>o</sup>. 5* in pen and brown ink, and below, inscribed *fol.*, by Peter Vischer; at both lower left and right, inscribed 5 in graphite (20th-century handwriting); at lower right, inscribed *Josse Amman 1539–1591* in graphite (19th- or 20th-century handwriting); to the right, inscribed [. . .] *C. F. L. Pancoucke* in graphite (erased; 19th-century handwriting); below, inscribed *No. 1604* in pen and brown ink (19th-century handwriting); to the right, collector's mark of Jean-Marc Du Pan (Lugt 1440). Verso of the secondary support, at both upper and lower left, inscribed N<sup>o</sup> 15 in graphite (19th- or 20th-century handwriting); at lower left,

inscribed *Jost Amman d'après Bartsch né en 1539* in graphite (19th-century handwriting); at both upper and lower right, inscribed 1889 in brown and red crayon (19th-century handwriting); at lower left, on two small boards pasted on the verso, inscribed *[u]ne contradiction entre la date de ce dessin (1549) et celle de la naissance de J. A. / [. . .] avoir fait ce dessin à 10 ans, sans être plus precoce que Lucas de Leyde, etc. / [. . .] ssance peut être aussi fautive. Du reste il existe une estampe sur bois d'a[près added below in graphite, by another hand] / [. . .] date de 1550 (Bartsch 1x.p. 80.22.). and Collections: / Crozat, / Jules Dupan. / Pierre Wischer. / C. L. F. Panckoucke. in graphite (20th-century handwriting)*

*Watermark:* none visible because of the secondary support

Long associated with hunting, greyhounds are recorded in ancient Egyptian carvings (ca. 2900 B.C.) that capture the dog's long narrow head and tapering muzzle, slightly arched neck, and wide muscular chest.<sup>1</sup> In the fourteenth century, Gaston de Foix described different varieties of hunting dogs in his *Livre de chasse* (Book of hunting).<sup>2</sup> He noted that the French word for "greyhound," *lévrier*, was derived from the fact that the dog runs so fast it could be used to hunt hares (*lièvres*); it was also tasked to hunt stags and wild boar.<sup>3</sup> By placing a costly wide collar around its neck, Solis underscored the dog's special status with his master, whose possession of such a highly valued and elegant dog demonstrated his own power and prestige.

This fluid yet exacting pen drawing of a greyhound is a quotation from an engraving by Dürer, Solis's greatest influence. The extraordinary assortment of animals and plant life in Dürer's engraving *Saint Eustace* served as a sort of model book for artists for the next century.<sup>4</sup> Using Dürer in this fashion, Solis produced an etching of six dogs in a tightly compressed composition; five of the dogs copy Dürer's in reverse (fig. 1).<sup>5</sup> The hound in the Museum's drawing is most similar to the one that stands to the right of Saint Eustace in Dürer's engraving, mimicking that dog's alert pose. In addition to the engraving, Solis may also have had access to Dürer's only extant preparatory drawing for this subject, a careful study of a greyhound in profile seen from the left (fig. 2).<sup>6</sup> Unlike Dürer's preparatory drawing, which isolates the muscular dog from any surroundings, Solis embellished the study by including a patch of ground and some vegetation.

Solis ran a large and industrious workshop, whose productions varied widely in terms of quality. Ilse O'Dell astutely noted that the VS monogram in Solis's prints represents only a "*Fabrikmarke*," or trademark of the workshop, and not the master's own signature; his drawings show a range of quality as well as variations



in the monogram.<sup>7</sup> This lively and charming drawing, created through tightly controlled graphic pen strokes, is quite similar in execution to another autograph drawing of a landsknecht in the British Museum.<sup>8</sup> Both drawings remove the subject from a larger narrative but include a bit of lush ground as its stage. Solis reused these close studies in larger compositions—for example, the greyhound appears in many of his printed hunting scenes, a genre for which he is renowned.<sup>9</sup> A wild boar hunt in which the prey is being chased by greyhounds was also incorporated into a design for a double goblet that could have been made by goldsmiths.<sup>10</sup> FS



Fig. 1. Virgil Solis, *Six Dogs*, n.d. Etching, 3<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 5<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (8.1 × 13.2 cm). British Museum, London (1934-2-17-4)



Fig. 2. Albrecht Dürer, *A Greyhound in Profile Facing Left*, ca. 1500. Brush and black ink, 5<sup>11</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 7<sup>11</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (14.5 × 19.6 cm). The Royal Collection, Windsor Castle (12177)



Fig. 1. Parmigianino, *Head of a Dog*, ca. 1523. Red chalk, 3<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> × 2<sup>9</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (9.6 × 6.5 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (7851)

1. American Kennel Club website, [www.akc.org](http://www.akc.org); see also Eisler 1991, pp. 165–66.
2. There is a manuscript copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, MS français 616; see also Gaston de Foix 2002 (ed.), p. 6. The *Livre de chasse* is divided into parts, the second of which deals with the nature of dogs and their training.
3. For more on the greyhound and hunting, see Eisler 1991, pp. 164–65; Gaston de Foix 2002 (ed.).
4. Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 7 (1962), p. 53, no. 60. For an extensive list of works after Dürer's *Saint Eustace*, see D. A. Brown 1981, pp. 48–50, nn. 30–33. From the list it is obvious that this engraving influenced artists north and south of the Alps.
5. For more on *Six Dogs*, see Dieter Beaujean in Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 64 (2004), pt. 2, p. 247, no. 577. Jost Amman created a series of eight etchings of animals that could have been used as pattern sheets for other media. His fifth plate contains a mirror image of Solis's dog, although with the collar ring at the back (Seelig 2001, vol. 1, nos. 153–60, ill.).
6. For more on this drawing, see Edmund Schilling in Schilling and Blunt 1971, p. 23, no. 20; Kate Heard in Edinburgh and London 2011–12, no. 37, ill.
7. For a full discussion of the various forms of Solis's signature, see O'Dell 1977, pp. 27–32.
8. British Museum, London, inv. 1874-8-8-2276 (Rowlands 1993, vol. 1, no. 465, vol. 2, pl. 290).
9. Beaujean in Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 64 (2004), pt. 2; see section on animals, pp. 153–249.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 285, no. 651. The boar hunt appears to be an adaptation rather than a direct copy of one of Solis's own prints.

*Provenance:* Probably Pierre Crozat (1665–1740), Paris; Peter Vischer (1751–1823), Basel; Jean-Marc Du Pan (1785–1838), Geneva; his sale, Bonnefons, Paris, March 26–28, 1840, lot 1889; Charles-Louis-Fleury Panckoucke (1780–1844), Paris; sale, Christie's, London, July 10, 2001, lot 149; [Kunsthandel Katrin Bellinger, Munich]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 2001

*Literature:* Bonnefons 1840, lot 1889 (as by an anonymous artist); Christie's 2001, lot 149, ill.

## TOBIAS STIMMER

Schaffhausen, 1539–1584, Strasbourg

Tobias Stimmer probably received early training from his father, Christoph Stimmer I, who worked as a painter and calligrapher in Schaffhausen. After 1565 Tobias ran his own workshop there and executed various kinds of work, including a large painted facade in the style of Hans Holbein the Younger. After moving to Strasbourg in 1570, Stimmer began to paint portraits and design woodcut illustrations for printed books. He was given the prestigious commission to design an astronomical clock for the Strasbourg cathedral and also was summoned by Philip II, the margrave of Baden-Baden, to decorate the prince's newly built castle with frescoes. A painter on panel and stained glass, a printmaker, a

draftsman, and a mathematician, Stimmer made his talent abundantly clear even in his earliest works.

*General literature:* Thöne 1936; Basel 1984b; Bucher 1992

## 38 | Tobias Stimmer

### *A Saluki in Profile Facing Right*, 1564

Brush and a mixed iron gall ink and carbon black ink with an admixture of vermilion, traces of black chalk underdrawing, 5<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 6<sup>11</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (13 × 17 cm)  
Purchase, Jean A. Bonna Gift, 2007 (2007.223.7)

At upper center, signed and dated *TStimmer. / 1564*. (*TS* intertwined) in pen and brown ink.<sup>1</sup> Verso, at lower right, *IFT 30x (?)* in pen and brown ink (18th- or 19th-century handwriting)

*Watermark:* none

Executed during the early part of Stimmer's career, while he was still in Schaffhausen, this fine brush drawing demonstrates a studied realism. The soft fur of the dog's face and neck is rendered with small flicks of the brush, while the animal's imposing musculature and frame are modeled in long, sinuous strokes of gray and black wash. Although it was not his preferred medium, Stimmer created a small group of brush drawings during this period that includes two portrayals of nude men seen from various angles.<sup>2</sup> All of these works appear to be studies from nature; however, they are also part of traditional imagery both north and south of the Alps. A hunting dog similar to Stimmer's can be found in Dürer's oft-mined engraving of *Saint Eustace*.<sup>3</sup> (Virgil Solis exploited this engraving in his 1549 drawing *A Greyhound in Profile Facing Left*; see cat. 37.)<sup>4</sup> The pack of dogs in the foreground of Dürer's *Saint Eustace* was also the source for Parmigianino's intimate red chalk drawing of about 1523, which focuses on the long face and supple neck of a hound (fig. 1).<sup>5</sup> Stimmer's powerful dog appears to be the same breed as Parmigianino's; however, Stimmer adopted a more classic pose, showing the animal standing in profile with all four paws on a grassy ground. This pose can also be found in Benvenuto Cellini's bronze relief of a favorite Saluki (a coursing hound that pursues game by sight) owned by Cosimo I de' Medici, grand duke of Tuscany (fig. 2).<sup>6</sup>

The passion for dogs as prized companions and hunters reached a peak in the mid-sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Cosimo's commission demonstrates that dogs could be subjects of works of art in their own right, not just accoutrements of their noble owners.<sup>7</sup> Stimmer's hound also appears to be a Saluki



and, like Cellini's sculpture, is a careful study of the animal and its anatomy. Although there is no documentation to indicate that this was a commissioned drawing, it was most likely executed to celebrate a patron's cherished companion.

FS

1. The authenticity of this signature has come under scrutiny by Max Bendel (1940, p. 270, no. 23). The form of Stimmer's signature varied widely throughout his career and is extensively discussed by Friedrich Thöne (1936, pp. 52–55); in some cases, it seems to have been added retrospectively by the artist or early collectors. The double lines used in his monogram can also be found on several other drawings by Stimmer, including *Various Head Studies*, 1569, Hessisches Landesmuseum Darmstadt, inv. AE. 351 (Monica Stucky in Basel 1984b, no. 206, fig. 224); and *Pandora*, ca. 1574, Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. Bi. 375.12 (Stucky in Basel 1984b, no. 244, fig. 242).

2. Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. KdZ 902 (see cat. 92, fig. 2 and note 7); and École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris, inv. Mas. 195 (Thöne 1936, no. 79, fig. 43, ill.; Stucky in Basel 1984b, no. 197). There is also the *Squirrel* (Kunsthau Zürich, inv. 1938/42), which Fritz Koreny suggests is an eighteenth-century copy of a Stimmer original (Koreny in Vienna 1985, no. 29, ill.; see also Thöne 1936, no. 21, fig. 45; Stucky in Basel 1984b, no. 193, fig. 16).

3. Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 7 (1962), p. 53, no. 60, ill. In addition to this engraving, Stimmer may have been influenced by Dürer's meticulously rendered *Hare*, 1502, Albertina, Vienna, inv. 3073 (Koreny in Vienna 1985, no. 43, ill.); Lucas Cranach's delicate watercolor *Four Partridges*, Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, inv. c 1193 (Koreny in Vienna 1985, no. 8, ill.; Hofbauer 2010, no. 130, ill.); or Hans Hoffmann's *Red Squirrel*, 1578, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., acc. 1991.182.5 (Koreny in Vienna 1985, no. 27, ill.). These examples reflect a new interest in the natural world.

4. For the importance of Dürer's engraving to his contemporaries as well as to later generations of artists, see cat. 37. Dürer also created sensitive portrayals of individual dogs, including two silverpoint drawings from a sketchbook used during his travels, 1520–21: *A Dog Resting* (1520), drawn in Aachen, is in the British Museum, London, inv. 1848-11-25-3 (F. Winkler 1936–39, vol. 4 [1939], no. 767, ill.; Strauss 1974, vol. 4, no. 1520/23, ill.); the second, from his trip to the Netherlands (1521), is in the Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. KdZ 34 (F. Winkler 1936–39, vol. 4 [1939], no. 777, ill.; Strauss 1974, vol. 4, no. 1521/11, ill.).

5. D. A. Brown 1981; Gnann 2007, vol. 1, no. 137, vol. 2, ill.

6. Bowron 2006, p. 13. For more on this relief, see Pope-Hennessy 1985, pp. 225–26. This pose was also used by Guercino in his portrayal of Count Filippo Aldrovandi's prized dog (ca. 1625), now in the Norton Simon Foundation, Pasadena, acc. F.1984.2.P.



Fig. 2. Benvenuto Cellini, *A Saluki*, ca. 1544–45. Bronze relief, 7 × 10¼ in. (17.8 × 26 cm). Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence (19B)

7. Bowron 2006, p. 13. There are examples of bronze depictions of individual dogs from ca. 1600 and later (Berger and Krahn 1994, nos. 177, 178, 200, 201, 222, ill.).

*Provenance:* Hans Wilpert Zoller (1673–1757), Zurich; Wilhelm von Muralt-von Planta (1845–1937), Zurich, from ca. 1860;\* [Hans Rohr Buchhandlung und Antiquariat zum Obderdorf, Zurich, from ca. 1970];<sup>†</sup> sale, Auktionshaus Stuker Bern, November 28, 2006, part of lot 9060; [Arnoldi-Livie, Munich]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 2007

*Literature:* Thöne 1936, no. 107 and p. 66, pl. 15, fig. 46; Ganz 1925–27, p. 270, pl. 29; Bendel 1940, p. 270, no. 23; Paul Ganz in Stuker 2006, p. 23, fig. 8

\* According to Christian Müller, as noted by Christian Herren in an email to Erhard Linse, October 24, 2006 (copy in the Museum's departmental files).

<sup>†</sup> Inventory card by Hans Rohr dated 1983 (copy in the Museum's departmental files).

## MONOGRAMMIST AW

Active Augsburg (?), ca. 1564–67

Little, if anything, is known about this artist that is not contained in the two monogrammed drawings discussed below, which are apparently his only extant works. A proposed identification with the Munich painter Andreas Winhart, active about 1500, is contradicted by a correct reading of the date on these drawings. On the basis of the Museum's sheet, it can be assumed that the artist was active in Augsburg in the 1560s.

*General literature:* G. K. Nagler 1858–79, vol. 1 (1858), p. 666, under no. 1491; Boerner 1987, p. 14

### 39 | Monogrammist AW

*A Man Resting on a Table, Seen in Foreshortening, 1567*

Watercolors, incised contours, squared for transfer in black chalk, on light brown paper, 13½ × 10⅝ in. (34.3 × 27 cm)  
Purchase, Charles and Jessie Price Gift, 2007 (2007.267)

At upper center, dated and monogrammed ·15·AW·67· (AW intertwined; 67 changed to 07) in pen and black ink. Framing line in black ink, possibly by the artist. Verso, at lower left, collector's mark of August Artaria (Lugt 33)

*Watermark:* none

The comical effect of this “coarsely naturalistic” drawing and its slightly uneasy color combination should not detract from the fact that its author set himself what Giorgio Vasari called “a more formidable task than any other in painting”—the depiction of the foreshortened human body.<sup>1</sup> The man reclining on a table immediately brings to mind Andrea Mantegna's famous painting,

now in Milan, of the dead Christ seen from the same vantage point, dated tentatively to the 1470s.<sup>2</sup> Albrecht Dürer seems to have been among the first in Central Europe to make extremely foreshortened depictions of bodies—notably, a drawing in Cleveland dated 1505.<sup>3</sup> Hans Baldung followed him with a woodcut *Lamentation* of about 1515–17 and Hans Leu the Younger with a chiaroscuro drawing of 1519.<sup>4</sup> Other examples include works by Albrecht Altdorfer and a woodcut by Wolfgang Huber, made about 1513–15.<sup>5</sup> Probably also by Huber, but dated about 1550, is a drawing of a severed head—undoubtedly Saint John the Baptist's—offering, as does the Museum's drawing, an unobstructed view inside the nostrils.<sup>6</sup> An amateur artist, Martin Pfinzing, made two sketches of a reclining man in 1537 in his sketchbook in Nuremberg, apparently working after a live model.<sup>7</sup> Exceeding the coarse naturalism of the foreshortened man in the Museum's drawing is a foreshortened woman lying on her right side on a bed, engraved by Virgil Solis in the 1540s.<sup>8</sup>

It is clear that the present drawing is not an original composition, even though its exact source is no longer known. An earlier copy after the same model, dated 1549, is in Erlangen (fig. 1); another one, signed with the monogram *HK* and dated 1564, is in Munich; an undated



Fig. 1. Anonymous (Nuremberg?), *A Man Resting, Seen in Foreshortening*, 1549. Brush and black ink, heightened with white gouache, on blue prepared paper, 10½/16 × 8¼/16 in. (27.8 × 20.5 cm). Graphische Sammlung, Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg, Erlangen (Bock 456)



Fig. 2. Ludwig Ringler, *Design for an Allegorical Stained-Glass Window with the Coat of Arms of the Winter (?) Family*, ca. 1558–59. Pen and gray ink, gray wash, watercolor, 15½ × 11¼ in. (38.4 × 28.2 cm). Wyss collection, on loan to the Bernisches Historisches Museum, Bern (20036.495)



fourth version was formerly in Wolfegg.<sup>9</sup> The draftsman of the fourth sheet seems to have tried to enhance the perspectival effect by cutting the figure along its contours and pasting it onto another sheet of paper, on which the pillow was drawn. Finally, the same figure was used to a more dramatic effect—as a corpse—by the Swiss artist Ludwig Ringer in a design for a stained-glass panel, dated about 1558–59 (fig. 2).<sup>10</sup> A hint regarding the common source underlying all these versions is provided by an inscription on the back of the Erlangen drawing:

“This reclining man is painted in Augsburg on the house of citizen Eisele next to the dwelling of Herborott.”<sup>11</sup> Neither of these houses can be identified, but the taste for illusionistic painted facades in Germany, and more specifically in Augsburg, is well documented.<sup>12</sup>

The Museum’s drawing seems to have been known to the early German art historian Joseph Heller, who recorded a Monogrammist AW active about 1507 in his *Monogrammen-Lexikon* (Bamberg, 1831).<sup>13</sup> The date must be based on a misreading of the year on the Museum’s



Fig. 3. Monogrammist AW, after Hans Holbein the Younger, *Saint Peter*, 1564. Pen and brown ink, violet wash,  $9\frac{7}{16} \times 5\frac{1}{16}$  in. (24 × 12.8 cm). Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest (1915-78)

drawing, which was clearly changed from 1567 to 1507. To this minuscule oeuvre can now be added a little-known sheet in Budapest depicting Saint Peter, monogrammed and dated 1564 in the same way as the Museum's example (fig. 3).<sup>14</sup> A copy after a detail from a title-page design by Hans Holbein the Younger dated 1522,<sup>15</sup> it shows little similarity in style to the Museum's drawing, apart from the strong outlines. The sheet under discussion was likely once owned by Harald Elsner von Gronow, a chemist who wrote about optics and peep boxes, notably in his book *Guckkästen und Guckkastenbilder* (Peep boxes and peep-box images; Weimar, 1932).<sup>16</sup>

SA

1. Vasari 1568, vol. 1, p. 48; Vasari 1550 and 1568/1966–87, vol. 1 (1966), pp. 122–23: “la più forte [difficultà], a farla bene, che nessuna che sia nella pittura”; the translation is by Louisa S. Maclehorse, quoted from Vasari 1568/1907, p. 216. For foreshortening in art, see Rathe 1938; R. Smith 1974. The characterization of the drawing is taken from Artaria 1896, p. 98, lot 1132: “interessante altdeutsche, derbnaturalistische Zeichnung” (interesting early German, coarsely naturalistic drawing).

2. Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan, inv. Reg. Cron. 352 (Mauro Lucco in Zeri 1990, no. 166, ill.).

3. Cleveland Museum of Art, acc. 1952.531 (F. Winkler 1936–39, vol. 2 [1937], no. 378, ill.; Strauss 1974, vol. 2, no. 1505/30, ill.; Jay A. Levenson in Washington 1971, no. x111, ill.).

4. For Baldung's *Lamentation*, see Bartsch 1803–21, vol. 7 (1808), p. 307, no. 5; Mende 1978, no. 40, ill.; Gregory Clark in Washington and New Haven 1981, no. 49, ill. Other works by Baldung with foreshortened figures include a painting of Pyramus and Thisbe at the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, inv. 1875 (von der Osten 1983, no. 70b, ill.); the famous woodcut of the “Bewitched Groom” (Bartsch 1803–21, vol. 8 [1808], p. 470, no. 15 [as by Hans Brosamer]; Mende 1978, no. 76, ill.; Jay A. Levenson in Washington and New Haven 1981, no. 87, ill.); and what is generally considered to be a preparatory drawing, dated 1544, for that print in the Kunstmuseum Basel, inv. U.VII.135 (Koch 1941, no. 143, ill.; Christian Müller in Washington 1999–2000, no. 115, ill.). The drawing by Leu is in the Fogg Museum, Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge, acc. 1936.125 (Mongan and Sachs 1940, vol. 1, no. 390, vol. 3, fig. 201).

5. For the works by Altdorfer, see cat. 19, note 4. For the woodcut by Huber, see Winzinger 1979, vol. 1, no. 266, vol. 2, ill.

6. Albertina, Vienna, inv. 25503 (Tietze et al. 1933, vol. 1, no. 185, vol. 2, pl. 58 [as by a pupil of Dürer]; Winzinger 1979, vol. 1, no. 110, vol. 2, ill. [as by Wolfgang Huber]).

7. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, inv. Hz 5298, fol. 10 verso (Zink 1968, part of no. 175, ill.).

8. O'Dell 1977, p. 62, no. f 61, ill.; Holstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 63 (2004), no. 206, ill.

9. Stiassny 1887, cols. 505–6; Bock 1929, vol. 1, no. 456, vol. 2, ill.; Staatliche Graphische Sammlung München, inv. 39722 z. Formerly in the collection of the princes of Waldburg-Wolfegg and Waldsee in Wolfegg, the third drawing was a joint acquisition in 2011 by the Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, and the Kunstsammlungen und Museen Augsburg, as part of an album containing about 120 sheets (Zeit 2011).

10. Ganz 1966, p. 28, fig. 12; Hasler 1996–97, vol. 1, no. 99, pl. 111. I am grateful to Guido Messling for bringing this drawing to my attention. Paul Ganz also mentions a stained-glass panel dated 1568 at the

University of Basel, in which the figure appears again, apparently borrowed from Ringler (Ganz 1966, p. 28, n. 14).

11. The original inscription, which has been dated to the seventeenth century and attributed to “Sandrart the Younger,” reads as follows: “Dieser ligette bos ist zu augspurg andes / purgers eiseles haus gemalt neben des / herborotts behausung.”

12. For facade painting in Augsburg, see Pfau 1976, especially pp. 110–13; Hascher 1996.

13. Heller 1831, p. 44; followed in G. K. Nagler 1858–79, vol. 1 (1858), p. 666, under no. 1491.

14. Hoffmann 1927–28, p. 143. I am grateful to Szilvia Bodnár for bringing this drawing to my attention.

15. Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 14A (1988), pp. 68–69, no. 48a, ill.; C. Müller 1997, no. 40, ill. p. 59.

16. The drawing is mentioned as coming from the “Elsner v. Gronow'sches Kupferstichkabinett” in Boerner 1987, p. 14; in Reiss & Sohn 2005 (p. 34, lot 6659), the drawing is mentioned as coming from a Berlin and Hessian private collection.

*Provenance:* August Artaria (1807–1893), Vienna; his sale, Vienna, Artaria, May 6–13, 1896, lot 1132; probably Harald Elsner von Gronow (d. after ?1961); [C. G. Boerner, Düsseldorf and New York, by 1987]; sale, Reiss & Sohn, Königstein im Taunus, October 29, 2005, lot 6659; [Kunsthandel Katrin Bellinger, Munich]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 2007

*Literature:* G. K. Nagler 1858–79, vol. 1 (1858), p. 666, under no. 1491; Artaria 1896, no. 1132; Boerner 1987, no. 8, ill.; Reiss & Sohn 2005, lot 6659, pl. 1

## MELCHIOR LORCK

Flensburg, 1526/27–after 1588, Silesia (?)

In an inscription on a 1548 etched portrait of Martin Luther, the exceptionally itinerant artist Melchior Lorck states that he is twenty-one and that he comes from the city of Flensburg, which together with Holstein constituted the border region between Denmark and the Holy Roman Empire during that period. Lorck took full advantage of living between two such powerful nations: he was employed, at different times, by the leaders of both. His artistic production ranged from paintings to drawings to woodcuts, created in places as diverse as Constantinople and Neuberg. Many of the facts about Lorck's life and career come from documents, inscribed works of art, and letters, including an autobiographical letter dated January 1, 1563, to King Frederick II of Denmark.

*General literature:* Heinrich Geissler in Stuttgart 1979–80, vol. 2, pp. 173–76; E. Fischer 2009–

## 40 | Melchior Lorck

### *A Woman of Altmark*, 1570

Pen and iron gall ink, traces of black chalk underdrawing,  
9 $\frac{1}{4}$  × 5 $\frac{9}{16}$  in. (23.5 × 14.1 cm)  
Harry G. Sperling Fund, 1995 (1995.299)

At upper right, inscribed *Alte Marcke* in pen and lighter brown ink, by the artist; below, monogrammed and dated *F/ML/.1570.* (*ML* intertwined) in pen and brown ink. Framing line in pen and lighter brown ink, probably by the artist. Verso, at lower right, inscribed 2 in graphite (20th-century handwriting)

Watermark: none

With its emphatic pen strokes and hatching, along with more delicate touches, Lorck's *Woman of Altmark* has the immediacy of a character study even though seen from behind. The demurely dressed woman represents an ideal type hailing from Altmark, the rural region of Germany just to the south and west of Hamburg. The woman is concealed by a plain floor-length dress and oversize bonnet, but her hands are more animated and sensitively drawn with close parallel lines. With her right hand she gestures into the background, while her left fingers a large collection of keys that hang from her waist above a purse trimmed with fringe and tassels.<sup>1</sup> Her placement in the foreground on the merest suggestion of a terrain gives the figure a sense of monumentality.

This drawing belongs to a group of fifteen costume studies, ranging in date from 1567 to 1573, that illustrate figures mostly from the northern German cities and regions around Hamburg, where the peripatetic Lorck resided from 1567 until approximately 1574.<sup>2</sup> The studies remained together into the mid-twentieth century in the collection of the seventeenth-century English diarist John Evelyn and were first published in 1955 by Peter Ward-Jackson.<sup>3</sup> All drawn in the same style in pen and brown ink, these almost schematized compositions contain explanatory inscriptions and appear to be preparatory studies for an intended woodcut publication of a *Trachtenbuch* (costume book). The notion of an illustrated costume book is underscored by Lorck's representation of figures both in contemporary clothes, as in *A Woman of Altmark* and *Study of Four Women of Hamburg* (fig. 1), and in historical dress, as in *Eight Ladies in Ancient Costumes*, now in Washington, D.C.<sup>4</sup> Lorck's historical and ethnographic interests went well beyond his German costume studies, encompassing *Woman of Bayonne* (1573), several studies of women from Africa, and scenes of contemporary Turkish life.<sup>5</sup>



Beginning with Ward-Jackson, scholars have linked Lorck's costume studies with other near-contemporary prints and illustrated books of pan-European, Eastern, and African costume studies, such as Enea Vico's engravings and Cesare Vecellio's *Habiti antichi et moderni* (Ancient and modern costume; Venice, 1590).<sup>6</sup> Most recently, Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann has connected these works to Jost Amman's *Gynaeceum* (Women's quarters), which is a reconfiguring of his vernacular





Fig. 1. Melchior Lorck, *Study of Four Women of Hamburg*, ca. 1571–73. Pen and black ink on laid paper, 8<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 7 in. (22.1 × 17.8 cm). Dian Woodner Collection, New York (WD-614)



Fig. 2. Hans Weigel, *The Clothes of a Midwife*, from *Habitus praecipuorum populorum tam virorum quam foeminarum singulari arte depicti*. Ulm, 1639, plate 17. Woodcut, 8<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 6<sup>9</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (20.4 × 16.7 cm). British Museum, London (1871-12-9-3231)

*Frauenzimmer* (Frankfurt, 1586).<sup>7</sup> A more relevant example, created at the same time as many of Lorck's own costume studies, is Hans Weigel's *Habitus praecipuorum populorum tam virorum quam foeminarum singulari arte depicti* (Costumes of the most important nations, both men and women, excellently depicted; Nuremberg, 1577), which illustrates a variety of figures from various classes, ethnicities, and professions, all identified by their distinctive clothing. As was typical of many costume books, it includes a small descriptive title for each image and shows the figures, sometimes from behind, on small tufts of earth along the foreground plane, in a manner very similar to Lorck's compositions (fig. 2).

The impetus to create costume books that represent various regions and nations paralleled cartographers' efforts to publish an atlas of the whole world.<sup>8</sup> Kaufmann links both to an overall humanist interest in ethnographic concerns and historical origins, and he points out that Abraham Ortelius, the famous Netherlandish cartographer and a friend of Lorck's, wrote a text on the customs of ancient Germans, *Aurei saeculi imago, sive Germanorum veterum vita* (Image of the Golden Age, or the life of ancient Germans; Antwerp, 1596).<sup>9</sup> However, Lorck's exposure to topography was not limited to Ortelius. While working in Nuremberg in 1550, Lorck came into contact with Hanns Sebald Lautensack, whose panoramic view of the city of Nuremberg and its surrounding landscape notably includes figures in the foreground.<sup>10</sup> This multiplate etching may have initiated Lorck's interest in topographical views, leading to his execution of the *Constantinople Prospect* (1560–65), in pen and ink with watercolor, which measures over 41 feet (12.5 meters) wide and illustrates the city from several points of view.<sup>11</sup> Lorck's involvement in topographical studies coincided with his work on the German costume drawings. While in Hamburg he was employed by the city council to create a map of a section of the Elbe River downstream from the city but still part of its domain.<sup>12</sup> Both Lorck's bird's-eye view of the Elbe and *A Woman of Altmark* demonstrate the artist's continued commitment to the humanist enterprise of representing the world around him.

1. A similar sixteenth-century German ornamented velvet pouch is in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. 41.190.522.

2. There are several documents from 1567 that link Lorck with Hamburg (E. Fischer 2009–, vol. 1, doc. no. 1567-September 9–26; doc. no. 1567-November 23). After Hamburg, Lorck is next documented in Antwerp in 1574 (E. Fischer 2009–, vol. 1, doc. no. 1574-January 16).

3. Ward-Jackson 1955; Copenhagen 1962. The Evelyn collection of Lorck drawings was sold by Sotheby's, London, on March 15, 1966. In the same lot as the autograph *Woman of Altmark* (lot 3) is listed a copy of the drawing in pen and ink, with the inscription *Alte Marke / MLF / 1641*, which (according to the catalogue) clearly imitates Lorck's handwriting. Ward-Jackson suggested that Evelyn acquired the drawings on a trip to the Netherlands in 1641 or on another journey to the Continent (Kaufmann in Princeton, Washington, and Pittsburgh 1982–83, p. 64). The drawings are now scattered in private and public collections, including the Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen. For the most up-to-date collection information and images, see E. Fischer 2009–, vol. 1, nos. 1567, 1; 1569, 4; 1569, 5; 1570, 2; 1570, 3; 1571, 3; 1571, 4; 1571, 5; 1571–73, 1; 1571–73, 2; 1571–73, 3; 1571–73, 4; 1572, 1; 1573, 1; 1573, 2; 1576, 2; 1583, 1; 1583, 2. For information about works related to Lorck that were owned by Evelyn, see E. Fischer 2009–, vol. 1, pp. 56–61.

4. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., acc. 1971.66.7. Another example of a costume group is *Young Men in Archaic German Costumes*, 1570, Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, acc. 1996.119.3 (E. Fischer 2009–, vol. 1, no. 1570, 3, ill.).

5. *Ibid.*, no. 1573, 2, ill. According to Erik Fischer, *Woman of Bayonne* is in the Lorck-Schierning collection, Flensburg, on deposit in the Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte at Schloss Gottorf, Schleswig. There are also the 1583 drawings *Woman of Gambia* and *Woman of Nigeria* (*ibid.*, nos. 1583, 1, 1583, 2, ill.). Fischer notes that *Woman of Gambia* is also in the Lorck-Schierning collection; *Woman of Nigeria* was most recently offered in the July 8, 2009, sale at Christie's, London (lot 101, ill.). For more on Lorck and his prints and drawings of Turkish life, see Copenhagen 1990–91.

6. Ward-Jackson 1955, p. 89. For more on Vecellio, see Vecellio 1590/2008. For near-complete listings of the costume books from the sixteenth century, see Olian 1977; Grimes 2001; Ilg 2004; the latter two have useful discussions of the significance of such publications.

7. Kaufmann in Princeton, Washington, and Pittsburgh 1982–83, p. 64. For Amman's *Gynaecium*, see Seelig 2002–3, vol. 9 (2003), nos. 228, 229, ill. *Frauenzimmer* is a book of 124 illustrations from 121 blocks; 119 of these blocks are used in the *Gynaecium*'s 124 illustrations.

8. Ilg 2004, p. 37. The first maps and topographical views to include costume studies consistently are in Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg's monumental *Civitates orbis terrarum* (Cities of the world), published in Cologne between 1572 and 1617.

9. His close relationship with Ortelius already in 1574 is demonstrated by an entry in the cartographer's *album amicorum* (friendship album). The album is located in the library of Pembroke College, University of Cambridge, MS L.C.11.113 (for a facsimile edition, see Puraye 1969). For the page by Lorck, see Puraye 1969, pp. 26–27, ill.; E. Fischer 2009–, vol. 1, no. 1574, 5, ill. Lorck may have been in Antwerp as early as 1573 (E. Fischer 2009–, vol. 1, pp. 122–23).

10. Lorck's association with Lautensack is discussed in Copenhagen 1962, p. 14; Kaufmann in Princeton, Washington, and Pittsburgh 1982–83, p. 62; E. Fischer 2009–, vol. 1, pp. 75–76. For more on Lautensack's city view, see Peter Parshall in Landau and Parshall 1994, p. 346. In terms of the connection between Lautensack and Lorck, Fischer mentions a landscape etching that is monogrammed by both artists, although Lorck's *ML* intertwined is missing the *F* that designates his native city, Flensburg (Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 21 [1978], p. 54, no. 9, ill.). Kaufmann also points out that Lorck's earliest dated drawing, *Landscape with City*, 1549, shows the influence of Lautensack and the Danube school (Kaufmann in Princeton, Washington, and Pittsburgh 1982–83, p. 62). For this drawing, which is in the Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen, inv. KKKSGb5457, see E. Fischer 2009–, vol. 1, no. 1549, 2, ill.

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11. See E. Fischer 2009–, vol. 4; E. Fischer 2009–, vol. 1, no. 1560–64, I, ill. The *Prospect* is now in the Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden, inv. BPL 1758. Interestingly, the *Prospect*, like Lautensack's etching, includes a self-portrait of the artist in the foreground with accompanying figures.

12. In September 1567 Lorck was referred to as a *conterfeijer* (counterfeiter—i.e., skilled in mimetic renderings) in a document (see E. Fischer 2009–, vol. 1, p. 233, doc. no. 1567-September 9–26). He used his skills as a draftsman to make topographical renderings in Ritzbüttel, down the Elbe from Hamburg (E. Fischer 2009–, vol. 1, pp. 117, 232–35).

*Provenance:* John Evelyn (1620–1706), Wotton, Surrey; by descent, C. J. A. Evelyn (1904–1976);\* sale, Sotheby's, London, March 15, 1966, lot 3; private collection, London; [Hill-Stone, New York]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 1995

*Literature:* Ward-Jackson 1955, no. 53; Copenhagen 1962, no. 67, ill. p. 115; Sotheby's 1966, lot 3, ill.; E. Fischer 2009–, vol. 1, no. 1570, 2, ill.

\* Evelyn's collection was stored with Hon. Sherman Stonor (1913–1976), in Stonor Park, Oxfordshire. C. J. A. Evelyn was a Tenant for Life to the Family Estates and Heirlooms from 1925 to 1965.

## HANS MIELICH

Munich, 1516–1573, Munich

A pupil of his father, a Munich *Stadtmaler* (a decorator rather than an artist), and probably also of Albrecht Altdorfer, Hans Mielich surpassed the former without ever attaining the originality or technical mastery of the latter. He became the leading painter in Munich during the third quarter of the sixteenth century, receiving a large number of important commissions for religious works from both private and public patrons and holding prominent positions in the painters' guild. Today he is best known for his painted portraits, some of the most beautiful of which are in American museums. Only a few of Mielich's drawings seem to have been preserved. A particularly appealing part of his oeuvre consists of illuminated manuscripts.

*General literature:* Röttger 1925; Rapp 1987; Löcher 2002

### 41 | Hans Mielich

*The Circumcision of Christ*, ca. 1570

Brush and brown and gray ink washes, yellow gouache, lead white heightening, traces of black chalk underdrawing, squared for transfer in red chalk, on paper prepared with a yellow iron-based earth pigment (laid down), 6<sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 4<sup>9</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (17.7 × 11.6 cm) Purchase, Guy Wildenstein Gift, 2007 (2007.436)

At lower left, collector's mark of Herbert List (HL, dry stamped; not in Lugt); at lower left and right, mark of an unidentified collector, sometimes thought to be Johann Friedrich Frauenholz



(Lugt 1009). Verso of the secondary support, at lower center, inscribed 44 in graphite (20th-century handwriting?); at lower left, inscribed *Andrea Schiavone* in graphite (20th-century handwriting); at lower right, inscribed *No. 4015 ZJSSS + E (?)* in graphite (20th-century handwriting)

*Watermark:* none visible because of the secondary support

Few drawings have been convincingly associated with Hans Mielich, apart from a group of preparatory sketches for the most important commission of his



Fig. 1. Hans Wisreuter, Hans Werner, and Hans Mielich and workshop, front view of the high altar (second holiday opening), ca. 1569–72. Cathedral Zur Schönen Unserer Lieben Frau, Ingolstadt

career as a religious painter: the altarpiece, still in situ, for Zur Schönen Unserer Lieben Frau (Cathedral of Our Lady) in Ingolstadt, halfway between Munich and Nuremberg (fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> A *Wandelaltar* (changing altar), the polyptych—at its largest 11 meters high and 4.5 meters wide—has two pairs of wings, allowing three different openings, depending on the liturgical calendar. The altarpiece consists of no fewer than ninety-one paintings, most illustrating scenes from the lives of the Virgin and of Christ. All were designed by Mielich and set into a sumptuous frame by the carpenter extraordinaire Hans Wisreuter, with sculptures by Hans Werner.<sup>2</sup> Inscriptions on the altarpiece credit Mielich and Wisreuter as its makers and Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria as its patron. Although not originally commissioned for the event, the altarpiece was consecrated on the occasion of the one hundredth anniversary of Ingolstadt's university, in 1572.<sup>3</sup>

The innermost view of the altarpiece—the second opening, which is revealed only on major religious holidays, when both wings on both sides of the center panel are opened (as seen in fig. 1)—shows the glorification of the Virgin at center, surrounded by a multitude of saints and angels and with the Bavarian ducal family below. To the left and the right of the central panel and on the side wings are depicted twelve scenes from the Life of the Virgin; immediately to the upper right of the center panel is *The Circumcision of Christ*, as told in Luke 2:21 (fig. 2).<sup>4</sup> If the altarpiece paintings do not seem to be of the same quality as other works by Mielich, this is because he left their execution to his workshop; the *Circumcision* may have been painted by Thomas Zechetmayr the Elder.<sup>5</sup> However, Mielich's role as principal designer did require him to make fairly precise drawings for his assistants. A relatively large number of these have been preserved, among them the one under discussion here. It belongs with a group of six other drawings on prepared paper.<sup>6</sup> There



Fig. 2. Hans Mielich and workshop (Thomas Zechetmayr the Elder?), *The Circumcision of Christ*, ca. 1570. Approximately 37 × 23<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (approximately 94 × 60 cm). Cathedral Zur Schönen Unserer Lieben Frau, Ingolstadt

is a second group of fourteen slightly smaller pen sketches, done on unprepared paper over black chalk or graphite.<sup>7</sup>

The group on colored ground is reminiscent in style of northern Italian sixteenth-century oil sketches and may have been inspired by works seen during the artist's stay in Venice.<sup>8</sup> In fact, the Museum's drawing had been attributed to Andrea Meldolla, called Schiavone, and to Battista Angolo before Heinrich Geissler recognized the relationship between this and the other drawings for the altarpiece.<sup>9</sup> Only for two of the scenes, the Last Supper and the Circumcision, have drawings from both the colored group and the group of sketches been preserved; the pen sketch for the latter scene is in Göttingen (fig. 3).<sup>10</sup> Geissler assumed that the sketches were made after the drawings on colored ground, probably as *ricordi*, but this view has since been opposed.<sup>11</sup> In any case, a comparison with the panels of the altarpiece makes clear that there must have been at least one more stage between the drawings and the paintings, as it is unlikely that Mielich's assistants would have introduced the evident changes in composition and details. Nonetheless, the fact that the drawings on colored ground are squared for transfer shows that they must have marked an important step in Mielich's preparation of the paintings. Why he chose to work in an exceptionally painterly technique so unrelated to the style of the final paintings is unclear, but in their virtuosic combination of media and their successful summary of often complex multifigural compositions, they do, in the words of Geissler, "establish the late Mielich as one of the best German draftsmen of his time."<sup>12</sup>

SA

1. For the Ingolstadt altarpiece, see Hofmann 1972; Geissler 1974; Hofmann 1978; Laun 1982, pp. 37–46; Wimböck 1998. Heinrich Geissler mentions three other drawings by Mielich (1974, p. 177, n. 20; see also Geissler in Stuttgart 1979–80, vol. 1, no. A 29, ill.).

2. For Wisreuter and Werner, see Wimböck 1998, pp. 58–59.

3. For the commission, see Hofmann 1978, pp. 1–2; Wimböck 1998, pp. 61, 67–69.

4. Bernhard Hermann Röttger (1925, p. 127) characterized several of Mielich's compositions, including the *Circumcision*, as "gefällige, teilweise sogar originelle Darstellungen, denen eine gewisse Größe innewohnt" (attractive, in part even original depictions, possessing a certain grandeur).

5. For the suggested attribution to Zechetmayr, see Geissler 1974, p. 172; see also Wimböck 1998, p. 128, n. 86. Far superior in quality are two panels also given to Mielich's workshop, depicting the Crucifixion and Christ in Limbo, at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., acc. 1952.5.84, 1952.5.85 (Hand 1993, pp. 152–59, ill. [as by an artist from the workshop of Mielich]); in fact, these works have perhaps been judged too critically and could be fully autograph (as also proposed in Rapp 1990; Löcher 1995, p. 19).

6. In addition to the drawing in New York, these are: the *Birth of Christ*, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, inv. 41847 (Mitchell B. Frank in Frank and Dolphin 2007, no. 9, ill.); the *Betrothal of the Virgin*, Graphische Sammlung, Stadtarchiv, Ingolstadt, inv. v/1122 (Wimböck 1998, p. 127, n. 84, fig. 57; Jacoby 2008, p. 76, fig. 58); the *Annunciation*, private collection, Stuttgart (Werner Sumowski in Stuttgart 1999, no. 137, fig. 4); the *Last Supper* and the *Mocking of Christ*, Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, inv. c 3804, c 3803 (Geissler in Stuttgart 1979–80, vol. 1, nos. A 30, A 30a, ill.; Wimböck 1998, p. 61, figs. 25, 26; Kaulbach 2007, nos. 409, 410, ill.); and the *Resurrection* and *Christ in Limbo* recorded in the collection of the princes of Oettingen-Wallerstein at Harburg Castle (Rapp 1990, p. 82, fig. 33; Wimböck 1998, p. 61, figs. 23, 24). Both the Museum's drawing and the *Betrothal of the Virgin* once belonged to the noted photographer Herbert List (Sotheby's 1989, p. 32, under lot 29).

7. Eight of these sketches are part of the Uffenbach collection at the Kunstsammlung der Universität Göttingen, inv. H 594–H 601 (Wimböck 1998, p. 61, figs. 9–16; for inv. H 598, depicting the Crowning with Thorns, see also Gerd Unverfehrt in Koblenz and other cities 2000–2001, no. 16, ill.). The other six sketches are in the Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, inv. c 2279, c 1961–256 to c 1961–260 (Wimböck 1998, p. 61, figs. 17–22). The Göttingen and Dresden groups differ slightly from each other in technique, and it is possible that they were part of two distinct series.

8. For Mielich's trip to Venice about 1553 (which included a visit to Titian's studio), see Hope 1997; Löcher 2002, p. 22. The use of gouache in these drawings is not unlike that in some of the secondary scenes in Mielich's miniatures (compare, for instance, Löcher 2002, figs. 67, 70, 71, 73). Heinrich Geissler (1974, p. 165) saw the influence of Albrecht Altdorfer and other artists of the Danube school in Mielich's use of colored grounds.

9. See Geissler 1974. For the attribution to Schiavone, see the inscription on the drawing (and compare, in connection with the Annunciation mentioned in note 6 above, Hermann Voss as quoted in K. Meissner 1984, p. 27); for the attribution to Battista Angolo, see Konrad Oberhuber as quoted by Terence Mullaly in Venice 1971, p. 36, no. 23.

10. Geissler 1974, pp. 164, 167–68, fig. 17; Wimböck 1998, p. 61, fig. 15. The pen sketch of the Last Supper is also in Göttingen (inv. H 601; see note 7 above); for the corresponding drawing on colored ground, see note 6 above.

11. Geissler 1974, pp. 167–71. For the opposite view, see Wimböck 1998, p. 61.

12. Geissler 1974, p. 164: "Die Entwurfszeichnungen weisen den späten Mielich als einen der besten deutschen Zeichner seiner Zeit aus."

*Provenance:* Probably Felix Halm (1758–1810), Munich; private collection, Zurich; Herbert List (1903–1975), Munich; Kurt Meissner (b. 1909), Zurich; [Kunsthändler Katrin Bellinger, Munich]; Wolfgang Ratjen (1943–1997), Munich and Vaduz; Stiftung Wolfgang Ratjen, Vaduz, inv. R 127; [Kunsthändler Katrin Bellinger, Munich]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 2007

*Literature:* Terence Mullaly in Venice 1971, no. 23, ill. (as by Battista Angolo); Geissler 1974, pp. 164, 167, fig. 16; Heinrich Geissler in Stuttgart 1979–80, vol. 1, p. 32, under no. A 30; K. Meissner 1984, p. 27, n. 5; Sotheby's 1989, p. 32, under lot 29; Wimböck 1998, pp. 61, 117, 127–28, n. 84, fig. 27; Werner Sumowski in Stuttgart 1999, p. 254, under no. 137



Fig. 3. Hans Mielich, *The Circumcision of Christ*, ca. 1570. Pen and brown ink, red wash, over black chalk or graphite, 5<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 3<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (13.6 × 9.3 cm). Kunstsammlung der Universität Göttingen (H 595)



**WENZEL JAMNITZER**  
Vienna, 1507/8–1585, Nuremberg

Wenzel Jamnitzer, the son of a goldsmith, ran a large and successful goldsmith's shop in Nuremberg. He was active in city government as a member of the Great Council in 1556 and the Small Council in 1573. Jamnitzer created a wide variety of work for the electors of Saxony, the dukes of Bavaria, and the archdukes of Austria, as well as four Holy Roman Emperors: Charles V, Ferdinand I, Maximilian II, and Rudolf II. Jamnitzer and his workshop produced lavishly ornamented silver caskets, fountains, goblets, jewelry, mathematical and scientific instruments (some of which he invented), drawings, and designs for prints and illustrated books, including *Perspectiva corporum regularium* (The perspective of regular solids; Nuremberg, 1568). His style of ornament

reflects that of Peter Flötner as well as Netherlandish motifs brought to Nuremberg by the Antwerp artist Erasmus Hornick.

*General literature:* Nuremberg 1985; Nuremberg 1992b; Hauschke 2009

#### 42 | Wenzel Jamnitzer

*Urania*, ca. 1570–80

Black chalk, incised vertical construction line, 5 × 3<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (12.7 × 9.2 cm)

Edward Pearce Casey Fund and The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 2001 (2001.111)

At lower center, dated and monogrammed 15 WI 37 in black chalk. Verso, at center, inscribed 55 in graphite (20th-century handwriting); below, inscribed *Wenzel* / [ . . . ] / [ . . . ] N [ . . . ] in graphite (19th-century handwriting); at lower left, inscribed 376 / VL in graphite (20th-century handwriting); at lower right, inscribed *H E F* in graphite (upside down; 19th-century handwriting)

*Watermark:* none

Jamnitzer depicts Urania, the Muse of astronomy, as a lone figure standing in contrapposto on a grassy ground littered with her attributes: a globe and compasses. In her right hand she holds an armillary sphere and points with her left at the globe on the ground beside her.<sup>1</sup> Her breast-baring drapery is notable for the multiple curvilinear folds that cling to her form. Her curling hair is gathered atop her head by a crown ornamented with stars that seem to float free. A few calligraphic strands curl along her neck. Urania's proportions—her small head and torso, her long legs—along with her costume and hairstyle derive from a series of brass plaquettes of Muses (fig. 1), Deadly Sins, and Virtues by Peter Flötner.<sup>2</sup> The figure type seen in Flötner's plaquettes can also be related to work by the peripatetic Italian artist Jacopo de' Barbari, who was active in Nuremberg during the early sixteenth century (fig. 2).<sup>3</sup> The composition of Flötner's plaquettes is reflected in Urania's placement at the center of the scene on a strip of ground scattered with her attributes.<sup>4</sup> This economy of description is also evident in the highly influential series of engraved cards by the Masters of Tarocchi (also known as the Tarocchi Cards of Mantegna). Produced in Ferrara about 1465–70, the series includes a figure of Urania in its grouping of Apollo and the Muses.<sup>5</sup>

Atypical for Jamnitzer in its use of black chalk, this sensitive drawing reveals the artist's process: he redrew

the lighter smudged areas, using chalk with a finer point to create areas of shadow—most effectively in Urania’s complicated drapery. This kind of layering of strokes, which betrays Jamnitzer’s deliberations about form and detail in the composition, is also evident in his pen and ink drawings, such as those in his Berlin sketchbook (1545–46).<sup>6</sup>

Although this figure of Urania does not reappear in metalwork by Jamnitzer, similar figures can be found on silver caskets and cabinets by the artist. A splendid reliquary casket (1570), made for Emperor Maximilian II, in the monastery of Las Descalzas Reales in Madrid depicts allegorical figures standing within niches that punctuate the surface ornamentation.<sup>7</sup> Jamnitzer also created mounts with allegorical figures that could be used to decorate wood caskets. A pair of mounts in the Victoria and Albert Museum depicting Mercury and Urania are the only surviving fragments of a cabinet made by the Jamnitzer workshop about 1570–80.<sup>8</sup> This later figure of Urania—shown seated holding a compass and book, with her right foot on a globe—is quite different in conception from the Museum’s drawn Muse, whose function remains unclear. FS

1. As a goldsmith, Jamnitzer invented and manufactured scientific and technical instruments, including celestial globes and globes of landmasses as well as quadrants and astrolabes (J. Willers in Nuremberg 1985, nos. 759–62, ill.). For more on Jamnitzer as a scientist, see Hauschke 2009.

2. See Dienst 2002, pp. 383–87, fig. 196.

3. Ferrari 2006, pp. 117–18, no. 7, ill. For de’ Barbari, see also Levenson 1978.

4. Jamnitzer included replicas of Flötner’s allegorical plaquettes in his own metalwork, such as a mortar (ca. 1550–60) in the Cleveland Museum of Art, acc. 51.444 (William D. Wixom in Cleveland 1975, no. 183, ill.; Wixom in New York and Nuremberg 1986, p. 450).

5. Hind 1938–48, vol. 1 (1938), p. 235, no. E.1.12a, vol. 4 (1938), pl. 331. On the Tarocchi as a group, see Jay A. Levenson in Washington 1973, chap. 6.

6. Kunstbibliothek, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. 97/94 (Pechstein 1966, pp. 241–63, ill.; Klaus Pechstein in Nuremberg 1985, no. 298, ill., figs. 30, 73, 101). The largest portion of the book, including p. 1 (the portion below the center line) and pp. 2–20, was executed in 1545–46. The last pages (pp. 30–34) are attributed to Christoph Jamnitzer, Wenzel’s grandson.



Fig. 1. Peter Flötner, *Urania*, ca. 1540–46. Gilded bronze plaquette, 3<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 2<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (10 × 5.5 cm). Victoria and Albert Museum, London (A.26-1954)



Fig. 2. Jacopo de’ Barbari, *Judith Holding the Head of Holofernes*, ca. 1501–3. Engraving, 7<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 3<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (18.5 × 9.5 cm). British Museum, London (1845-8-9-1021)

7. Pechstein 1966, pp. 263–77; Pechstein 1985, pp. 60–62.

8. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, inv. 8995-1863 and 8996-1863 (Pechstein 1985, pp. 62–63, fig. 36). The casket was destroyed in World War II.

*Provenance:* Henry Oppenheimer (1859–1932), London; his sale, Christie’s, London, July 10, 13–14, 1936, lot 388; Franz Koenigs (1881–1941), Cologne and Haarlem; his heirs; their sale, Sotheby’s, New York, January 23, 2001, lot 8; [Kunsthandel Katrin Bellinger, Munich]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 2001

*Literature:* Kris 1932, fig. 1; Christie’s 1936, lot 388; William D. Wixom in Cleveland 1975, p. 140; Sotheby’s 2001a, lot 8, ill.

# Swiss Designers of Stained Glass Active in the Later Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries

## JOST AMMAN

Zurich, 1539–1591, Nuremberg

Painter, printmaker, and designer of stained-glass windows, jewelry, and goldsmith's works, Jost Amman received a humanist education from the Collegium Carolinum in Zurich, where his father was a professor, but his early artistic training is still undocumented. He is known to have been in Schaffhausen in 1559, and he may have worked there with Tobias Stimmer and the glass painter Hieronymus Lang. Amman settled in Nuremberg sometime before 1561, and he is believed to have studied with Virgil Solis, chief illustrator for the Frankfurt publisher Sigmund Feyerabend. He quickly became the most prolific and inventive designer of book illustrations in the second half of the sixteenth century, collaborating with other Nuremberg artists.

*General literature:* Pilz 1933; Pilz 1940; O'Dell 1986; O'Dell 1993

### 43 | Jost Amman

After Lucas Cranach the Elder (1472–1553)

*The Penitent Saint Jerome*, ca. 1559

Pen and two shades of carbon black ink, traces of black chalk underdrawing (laid down), 13<sup>9</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 9<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (34.4 × 23.3 cm)  
The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 2008 (2008.505)

On the saint's open book, inscribed and signed *SANT / IERO / NIMVS* and *LAZ* in pen and black ink. Double framing line in pen and black ink, probably by the artist

*Watermark:* none visible because of the secondary support

This recently discovered copy of Lucas Cranach the Elder's 1509 woodcut *The Penitent Saint Jerome* (fig. 1) counts among the earliest known works by Jost Amman.<sup>1</sup> Although undated, it compares well to two other signed copies from the very beginning of the artist's activity, both made when he was presumably still in training in Zurich: a sheet from 1556 in Los Angeles after a near-contemporary engraving by Virgil Solis and one from 1557 in Berlin after a woodcut by Albrecht

Dürer (fig. 2).<sup>2</sup> The stiff hatching and heavy contour lines shared by all three drawings are characteristic of Amman's youthful style in general but were also amplified by the halting process of copying. The form of the monogram in the Museum's drawing suggests a slightly later date, at the end of the 1550s. Whereas the Los Angeles and Berlin sheets are signed simply with the artist's initials, *LA*, Amman here appended a *Z*, for Zurich. This reference to the artist's hometown first appears in dated works in 1560, when he seems to have been working as a journeyman in Basel.<sup>3</sup> The *Z* would seem to indicate that, having traveled, Amman now realized that his career and patrons would extend beyond his place of origin. The first year that Amman is documented outside Zurich is 1559, when he sketched a complex of monastic ruins on the banks of the Rhine near Schaffhausen. In that drawing, now in Würzburg,<sup>4</sup> the execution of foliage and stonework is closely comparable to the corresponding elements in *The Penitent Saint Jerome*. This, together with the monogram, supports a date of about 1559 for the Museum's sheet.

Amman's drawing is the same size as the Cranach woodcut and reproduces the composition with remarkable accuracy. To achieve such close conformity to the prototype, Amman surely relied on tracing as a first step, probably using the *carta lucida* method of making an intermediate model to be either pricked for pouncing or darkened on the back and transferred with a stylus.<sup>5</sup> After this stage of tracing and transfer, which would have set the main contours in place in a faint dry medium (microscopic traces of which remain), Amman could then have completed the copy with the print next to it for reference. He worked up the whole composition in gray ink, followed by black to reinforce contours and deepen the hatching.

In addition to adding his monogram and Jerome's name to the open book, Amman introduced one other modification. At the upper left, instead of reproducing the two-part coat of arms of electoral Saxony, he substituted his own family's armorial bearings, a tau cross with three stars along the top.<sup>6</sup> The blank tablet at lower left, however—where Cranach's monogram, emblem, and the date of the print should be—must originally



Fig. 1. Lucas Cranach the Elder, *The Penitent Saint Jerome*, 1509. Woodcut, 13 $\frac{1}{8}$  × 8 $\frac{7}{8}$  in. (33.4 × 22.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Felix M. Warburg and his family, 1941 (41.1.160)

have been complete, much in the same way that the Berlin copy after Dürer repeats the woodcut's monogram and date. The tablet is now abraded, which suggests that its contents were erased at some time by an overly scrupulous owner who saw the references to Cranach's authorship as somehow misleading.

On a basic level, Amman's youthful copies after prints are exercises in artistic training. They belong to

the tradition of imitating the graphic vocabularies of established masters in order to learn different modes of handling, ultimately to arrive at one's own style.<sup>7</sup> In addition to their instructional function, the complete, same-size copies in New York and Berlin (the Los Angeles copy is partial and enlarged) might also have served as reproductions to be acquired by early collectors who lacked their own impressions of the treasured prints by





Fig. 2. Jost Amman, after Albrecht Dürer, *The Assumption of the Virgin*, 1557. Pen and black ink, 11<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 8<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (29 × 20.6 cm). Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (KdZ 200)

Cranach and Dürer.<sup>8</sup> Through his father—Johann Jakob Amman, a well-connected professor at Zurich's Collegium Carolinum and canon at the Grossmünster church—Jost had access to a large circle of humanists and potential collectors. It is therefore possible that the young Amman could have found opportunities to repurpose his learning exercises as finished works of art worthy of being admired and collected. JPW

1. For the woodcut, see Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 6 (1959), p. 61, no. 84; Dieter Koeplin in Basel 1974, vol. 2, no. 405; Guido Messling in Brussels and Paris 2010–11, no. 54, ill. The following is based on the broader discussion in Waterman 2011, pp. 52–57.

2. Bock 1921, vol. 1, p. 6; Pilz 1933, p. 206, no. 2; Waterman 2011, pp. 54, 56–57, fig. 4. For the engraving by Solis, see Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 63 (2004), no. 144, ill. For Dürer's woodcut, see Bartsch 1803–21, vol. 7 (1808), pp. 132–33, no. 94; Anna Scherbaum in Schoch, Mende, and Scherbaum 2001–4, vol. 2 (2002), no. 184, ill. The drawing in Los Angeles is at the J. Paul Getty Museum, acc. 89.GA.15 (Pilz 1933, pp. 205–6, no. 1; Lee Hendrix in Goldner and Hendrix 1992, no. 114, ill.; Waterman 2011, p. 54, fig. 3).

3. O'Dell 1993, p. 13.

4. Library of the Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg, inv. Delin. VII,D,4 oben (Pilz 1933, p. 207, no. 5, fig. 1; Waterman

2011, pp. 55–56, fig. 5). The Würzburg sheet is monogrammed LAG, the last letter standing for *Glasmaler* (glass painter), as in cat. 44 in this volume.

5. On this process, described by Cennino Cennini, see Meder 1923, pp. 535–37.

6. Neubecker 1985, p. 82, ill.

7. See Meder 1923, pp. 251–56. A contemporary copy by an anonymous German artist of the landscape in Cranach's print is at the Städel Museum, Frankfurt, inv. 651 (Schilling 1973, vol. 1, no. 80, vol. 3, pl. 234; Stephanie Buck in Frankfurt 2003–4, no. 74, ill.).

8. A phenomenon discussed in Cooper 1998, p. 215.

*Provenance:* Don Joint (b. 1956), New York; purchased from him, through Francis M. Naumann Fine Art, New York, by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 2008

*Literature:* Guido Messling in Brussels and Paris 2010–11, p. 136; Waterman 2011, pp. 52–58, no. 1, fig. 1

#### 44 | Jost Amman

*Design for a Stained-Glass Window with Three Scenes from the Life of the Prophet Daniel*, 1564

Pen and carbon black ink, 12<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 8<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (30.9 × 21.5 cm)  
Edward Pearce Casey and Ian Woodner Family Collection  
Funds, 2009 (2009.335)

At lower right, on the base of a pilaster, monogrammed and dated LAG 1564 (intertwined) in pen and black ink.<sup>1</sup> Framing line in pen and black ink, by the artist. Verso, at lower right, inscribed *Gilbug* in graphite (19th-century handwriting)

*Watermark:* none

Following standard practice for designers of stained glass, Amman completed only half of the ornamental frame in this drawing, leaving it to the glazier to reproduce a mirror image of the design when making the window.<sup>2</sup> A similar frame—which includes a pilaster covered with masks, animal heads, scrolls, strapwork, and vegetation—can be found in Amman's *The Festive Meal* (fig. 1), another pen and ink design for stained glass dated 1564.<sup>3</sup> In addition to sharing the same type of ornament and shape of the frame, both drawings show a putto in the cornice holding a scroll with one hand and using the other to dangle a leafy branch over the scene below. The figures in the central scene of the Leipzig drawing are dressed in contemporary clothing, which makes it unclear exactly what meal is being depicted,<sup>4</sup> but the two scenes in the spandrels are episodes from the Old Testament story of Abraham (Genesis 22), in which Isaac and Abraham carry wood for a burnt offering (seen on the right), in preparation for the climactic scene of the sacrifice of Isaac (on the left).



Fig. 1. Jost Amman, *Design for a Stained-Glass Window with a Festive Meal*, 1564. Pen and black ink, 17¼ × 16⅛ in. (43.8 × 41 cm). Museum der Bildenden Künste, Leipzig (I. 347)

The Museum's drawing, also based on the Old Testament, shows three scenes from the life of the prophet Daniel. In the central image, the prophet and King Cyrus stand with their backs to the viewer in front of the idol Bel, which the king has set up for worship (Daniel 14:2–24). The king was convinced that the idol came to life each evening to partake of the food and wine left as offerings for him, but Daniel warned that they were being stolen by the priests who attended the false idol. Shown scattering ashes on the floor, Daniel proves his point when the footprints of the priests and their families are visible the next morning. In the companion scene at upper left, Daniel feeds a dragon revered by the Babylonians (Daniel 14:25–26). He gives it a cake of pitch mixed with fat and hair, which kills the dragon and debunks belief in its divine powers. In the upper right, a more traditional scene from the story of Daniel shows him at peace in a den of lean and hungry lions, demonstrating the protection offered by the god of the Israelites (Daniel 6:16–24).

The narrative of the lions' den is told in both Daniel 6:16–24 and 14:28–42, and the other episodes shown in this drawing also occur in the fourteenth chapter. Though included in the Greek Septuagint and in Jerome's Latin Vulgate, chapters thirteen and fourteen of Daniel are considered noncanonical and



hence omitted from many sixteenth-century Protestant translations of the Bible. A 1566 edition of the Vulgate published in Frankfurt and illustrated by Amman includes the final chapters of Daniel.<sup>5</sup> He created three woodcuts to accompany that book, but they are not the same scenes as his stained-glass design. His woodcut



Fig. 2. Jost Amman, *Elisha and the Poor Widow*, from *Biblia*, Frankfurt, 1566, fol. 167r. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, transferred from the Library, 1921 (21.36.14)

*Elisha and the Poor Widow* (based on 2 Kings 4) from this volume shows a temple littered with the same vessels that surround Bel in the Museum's stained-glass design (fig. 2).<sup>6</sup> In this composition, as in the Daniel design, Amman successfully integrates figures within a complex perspectival space. Kurt Pilz recognized early on that unlike Amman's earlier drawings for stained glass, the Daniel design, which was executed during the artist's first years in Nuremberg, is extremely adept and vividly describes both a unified space and a detailed narrative.<sup>7</sup>

FS

1. This form of Amman's monogram combines a *G* for *Glasmaler* (painter of glass) with *LA* (Jost Amman). *LAG* can also be found in combination with *Z* or *VZ*, meaning "von Zürich," in reference to his place of origin (see the discussion under cat. 43).

2. This practice is routine for designs for stained glass; see also Daniel Lindtmayer the Younger and Hans Jakob Plepp (cats. 45, 46).

3. See Pilz 1933, p. 293, no. 47; Gleisberg 1990, no. 23, ill.

4. It could be the festive meal that was shared by Abraham and Melchizedek (Genesis 14:18) or the meal prepared by Abraham for the three men who prophesy the birth of Isaac (Genesis 18:2–10).

5. For this book, see Seelig 2002–3, vol. 1 (2002), pp. 258–65, no. 24, ill.

6. Seelig 2002–3, vol. 1 (2002), no. 24.62, ill.

7. Pilz 1933, pp. 94, 293.

*Provenance:* Wilhelm Adam Thierry (1761–1823); his heirs; [art market, Coburg, ca. 1910]; Ernst Redslob (b. 1851), Weimar; sale, Hollstein & Puppel, Berlin, February 27–28, 1933, lot 574; sale, H. Gilhofer & H. Ranschburg, Lucerne, June 28, 1934, lot 5; private collection, Berlin, in 1940; Hugo von Ziegler (1890–1966); sale, Sotheby's, New York, January 28, 2009, lot 9; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 2009

*Literature:* Hollstein & Puppel 1933, lot 574; Pilz 1933, pp. 94, 293, no. 46, pl. vi; Gilhofer & Ranschburg 1934, lot 5; Pilz 1940, p. 212; Ariane Mensger in Karlsruhe 2009, p. 137, n. 4; Sotheby's 2009, lot 9, ill.

## DANIEL LINDTMAYER THE YOUNGER Schaffhausen, 1552–1606/7, Schaffhausen

Daniel Lindtmayer the Younger was the most accomplished in a family of artists specializing in the design and painting of stained-glass windows. Having trained with his father, Felix the Younger, he was also influenced by the more sophisticated works of Tobias Stimmer. In 1574 he appears to have temporarily moved to Basel, but he remained based in Schaffhausen until 1596, when he left the city for good (leaving behind his wife and children as well), after attempting to murder a goldsmith in Constance. He eventually settled in Lucerne, where he converted to Catholicism and continued to work in stained glass.

*General literature:* Thöne 1975; Chieffo Raguin 1996

### 45 | Daniel Lindtmayer the Younger

*Design for a Stained-Glass Window with Three Scenes from the Life of Joseph*, 1574

Pen and iron gall ink (laid down), 13<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 10<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.  
(35.2 × 25.7 cm)

Purchase, Harry G. Sperling Fund, Edward Pearce Casey Fund, Van Day Truex Fund, Anne K. & E. Powis Jones Gift, and Anne and Jean Bonna Gift, 1996 (1996.415)

At lower right, dated and monogrammed 1574 DLM (DLM intertwined) in pen and black ink; at lower center, monogrammed HIW (intertwined) in pen and brown ink, by Hans Jörg Wannewecz; at lower right, on the coat of arms and the plumes on the helmet, inscribed *b* six times in pen and black ink, by the artist. Framing line in pen and brown ink, probably by the artist. On the first secondary support, at lower right, inscribed *Tobias Stimmer* in pen and gray ink (19th-century handwriting). On the second secondary support, of the Oettingen-Wallerstein collection, at lower left, inscribed 235 in pen and brown ink (19th-century handwriting); at lower center, inscribed *Daniel Lindtmayer. 1574. signiert!* in graphite (20th-century handwriting); at lower right, inscribed *H. No. 1078 / Photo Negativ No. 2037* in graphite (20th-century handwriting)

*Watermark:* none (?)

This design for a stained-glass panel depicts three sequential scenes from the story of Joseph, beloved son of the Old Testament patriarch Jacob (Genesis 37:15–33). At upper left, the young Joseph, wearing his checkered "coat of many colors," is seen approaching his brothers (one playing the bagpipe) and their herd of sheep. Jealous because Joseph was Jacob's favorite, they "conspired against him to slay him" (37:18). At upper right, the

brothers are shown either lowering him into or pulling him out of an empty pit: after initially planning to abandon Joseph there, they instead decided to sell him to traveling merchants and then showed the boy's coat, which they had stained with goat's blood, to their father, who concluded that "an evil beast hath devoured him" (37:33). The transaction with the merchants is depicted in the central scene: Joseph is pushed forward by one of his brothers, while another, carrying the checkered coat, receives twenty pieces of silver from the merchant.

Lindtmayer enhanced the colorful details of this attractive, if crowded, narrative with rich ornamental framework. The central scene is flanked by an atlas and a caryatid and topped by fruit garlands, as well as personifications of Faith and Love (or Charity). The lower zone is reserved for a bejeweled cartouche and two wreath-encircled coats of arms—at left, Lindtmayer's own<sup>1</sup> and at right, an unidentified one on which the artist specified with the letter *b* that the alternating bands and the plumes of the helmet should be colored blue (*blau*). The drawing exemplifies the efficient working method of Swiss designers of stained-glass windows. It is painstakingly finished in most areas, but others—most often the right half of the composition—are indicated in a much sparser manner that focuses on the outlines.<sup>2</sup> This is especially the case with the ornamental frameworks, which would be symmetrical and thus did not require the full design to be detailed on both sides. Their outlines were drawn by folding the sheet vertically and tracing them, which explains the somewhat lifeless line of the contours at right. The painter charged with the execution on the glass panel would have known to simply copy the design of the left half in the appropriate fields at right.

The general composition of the three biblical scenes goes back to a drawing by Lindtmayer dated two years earlier (fig. 1).<sup>3</sup> In place of the atlas and caryatid flanking the central scene in the Museum's drawing, the earlier drawing incorporates four additional vignettes from the story of Joseph. Both drawings, as well as another one in the Museum's collection depicting the story of the Prodigal Son and dated nearly ten years later,<sup>4</sup> are characteristic of Lindtmayer's style, with the modeling often achieved through regular, rather fine hatching. This style was undoubtedly inspired by the drawings and woodcuts of Tobias Stimmer (fig. 2).<sup>5</sup> Lindtmayer put his monogram and dated the drawing at the foot of the caryatid.<sup>6</sup> The Museum's drawing also bears a mark of ownership: that of Hans Jörg Wannewecz,



a seventeenth-century glass painter in Basel. Many Swiss designs were passed from artist to artist or from workshop to workshop; Wannewecz is known to have also owned several other drawings by Lindtmayer.<sup>7</sup> SA

1. Neubecker 1985, ill. p. 155. Friedrich Thöne catalogues three other drawings by Lindtmayer, as well as one by his father, with the family's arms (Thöne 1975, nos. 55, 136, 186, c II, figs. 73, 173, 238, 461; see also no. II, p. 290, fig. 492).

2. Thöne 1975, pp. 113–14; Hasler 1996–97, vol. 1, pp. 13–14.



Fig. 1. Daniel Lindtmayer the Younger, *Design for a Stained-Glass Window with Scenes from the Life of Joseph*, 1572. Pen and black ink, 17 × 12<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (43.2 × 31.6 cm). Graphische Sammlungen, Klassik Stiftung Weimar (KK 142)



Fig. 2. Tobias Stimmer, *Joseph Lowered into the Pit by His Brothers*, from Johann Fischart, *Neue künstliche Figuren biblischer Historien*, Basel, 1576, fol. D iii recto. Woodcut, 6<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 5<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (16 × 13.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1945 (45.42.2)

3. Thöne 1975, no. 23, fig. 37.
4. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1921, acc. 21.71.1 (ibid., no. 115, fig. 149).
5. For the book in which the woodcut appears, see Paul Tanner in Basel 1984b, no. 66; Tanner 1984.
6. For the use of monograms on glass designs in Schaffhausen, see Ariane Mensger in Karlsruhe 2009, p. 35.
7. Thöne 1975, p. 42. More than twenty drawings by Lindtmayer with Wannengewez's mark are known (Thöne 1975, nos. 44, 46–51, 54, 65, 83, 101, 410, 414, 440, 446, 448, 450, 456, 457, 502, 506, 553, 558, figs. 52, 66, 68, 69, 71, 87, 90, 93, 96, 107, 135, 431). For Wannengewez, see Ganz 1966, pp. 127–30, 131–33.

*Provenance:* Hans Jörg Wannengewez (1611–1682), Basel; princes of Oettingen-Wallerstein, Harburg Castle, inv. 1078; [Trinity Fine Art, London]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 1996

*Literature:* Thöne 1975, no. 49, fig. 71

## HANS JAKOB PLEPP

Biel, ca. 1557/60–ca. 1597/98, Bern

Hans Jakob Plepp was one of the most inventive and productive Swiss designers of stained glass. Little is known about him, however, especially about his formative years, although extant works make clear that his style had matured by 1578. He moved about this time from his native town to Basel, where he spent the main part of his career. In 1595 he became a citizen in Bern, where he died two or three years later.

*General literature:* Ganz 1966, pp. 63–84; Elisabeth Landolt in Basel 1984b, pp. 492–93; Hasler 1996–97, vol. 1, pp. 101–24

### 46 | Hans Jakob Plepp

*Design for a Stained-Glass Window with a Man Holding a Pike and a Coat of Arms*, ca. 1585–90

Pen and carbon black ink, gray ink washes mixed with lead white, traces of black chalk underdrawing, 12<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 8<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (30.9 × 21.3 cm)

Edward Pearce Casey Fund, 2000 (2000.579)

Verso, at lower left, collector's mark of Carl Robert Rudolf (Lugt 2811<sup>b</sup>); below, inscribed 37830 in graphite (20th-century handwriting); at lower right, inscribed K 2 (?) in graphite (20th-century handwriting)

*Watermark:* Basel crosier<sup>1</sup>

Although numerous Swiss designs for stained glass are dominated by narrative scenes, often from the Bible (see cats. 44, 45), many others focus on a coat of arms and heraldic helmet surrounded by an ornamental frame. The Museum owns two examples—one by Hans Jakob Plepp, the other by Christoph Murer—showing an entirely symmetrical design, with the coat of arms occupying most of its center.<sup>2</sup> In others, the coat of arms is accompanied by a figure or two, like the handsomely dressed man holding a pike in the Museum's second drawing by Plepp, discussed here. Even though these figures cannot really be considered portraits, they should nevertheless be seen as representatives of the person who commissioned the panel.<sup>3</sup> This individual would be identified more exactly by his coat of arms and often also by an inscription in a cartouche at the bottom of the design.

If the Museum's drawing could be called unfinished, it is not because the right half is not completed (a rule more than an exception in Swiss drawings of this type,

as discussed under cat. 45) but because the coat of arms within the shield and the crest on top of the helmet are both missing. Since a design like this could satisfy many of the mainstream commissions received by Plepp and other Swiss draftsmen, it seems likely that drawings such as the Museum's were made before a commission was received, to be eventually customized with a patron's own coat of arms. In fact, examples of designs for *Waffenscheibe* (glass paintings of coats of arms) awaiting completion abound in the oeuvres of many Swiss draftsmen.<sup>4</sup> Drawings to which a coat of arms has been added at a later stage are rarer, perhaps because the unfinished designs were usually left untouched, to be kept as models for future commissions; they would be reproduced—by tracing, for example—onto another sheet before the coat of arms was added. Still, a few examples do survive, including a design by Plepp dated 1589, to which one coat of arms and one of the crests seem to have been added at a later stage (fig. 1).<sup>5</sup> This working method should not surprise in an artistic environment where, in the name of efficiency, the use of tracing, the reuse of previous designs, and the copying of others' models seem to have been more readily accepted than in many other schools and periods.<sup>6</sup>

Although this drawing was once catalogued as by an artist from the circle of Plepp, its quality leaves little doubt as to the work's autograph status.<sup>7</sup> Typical are the decisive line and the lively use of wash, which are effectively balanced by areas of paper left blank. The ornament, specifically in the strapwork surrounding the cartouche below (with the sharp form jutting out), is similar to that seen in designs by a slightly older Basel draftsman, Hans Brand, who may have been an inspiration.<sup>8</sup> Closest in style to Plepp's works from the late 1580s (including the sheet reproduced here as fig. 1), the Museum's drawing is likely to date from that period as well.<sup>9</sup>

SA



1. The watermark is similar to one in a drawing by Plepp dated ca. 1578 in the Wyss collection, on loan to the Historisches Museum Bern, inv. 20036.458 (Hasler 1996–97, vol. 1, no. 107, ill.; the watermark is reproduced in vol. 2, p. 318).

2. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. 1994.24 (formerly at the sale Sotheby's, New York, January 12, 1994, lot 37, ill.) and acc. 1998.53 (Schneider 1952, pp. 57–58, pl. 11; Ganz 1966, pp. 78, 139; Drey 1993, no. 2, ill.).

3. Compare Ganz 1966, p. 70.

4. Among numerous other examples is a drawing by Plepp in the Wyss collection, on loan to the Historisches Museum Bern, inv. 20036.299 (Hasler 1996–97, vol. 1, no. 111, ill.).

5. Ganz 1966, pp. 72, 148, fig. 74. A similarly “completed unfinished” drawing by Christoph Murer is also in the Staatliche Graphische

Sammlung München, inv. 33115 z (Ganz 1966, pp. 86–87, 148, fig. 107).

6. For a discussion of this efficiency, see Ariane Mensger in Karlsruhe 2009, pp. 14, 16.

7. For examples of monogrammed drawings by Plepp, see Hasler 1996–97, vol. 1, nos. 103, 104, 106, 109, 113, 118, 124, ill.



Fig. 1. Hans Jakob Plepp, *Design for a Stained-Glass Window with the Coat of Arms of the Walther and von Muralt (?) Families*, 1589. Pen and black and brown ink, gray wash, 14<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 11<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (37.1 × 28.2 cm). Staatliche Graphische Sammlung München (33142 Z)

8. See, notably, a drawing in the Wyss collection, on loan to the Historisches Museum Bern, inv. 20036.243 (*ibid.*, no. 102, ill.).  
9. This is also in accord with the drawing's watermark. For other examples, see *ibid.*, nos. 111–13, ill.

*Provenance:* Carl Robert Rudolf (1884–1974), London; his sale, Sotheby's, Amsterdam, June 6, 1977, lot 2; [August Laube, Zurich]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 2000

*Literature:* Sotheby's 1977, lot 2, ill. (as by an artist from the circle of Plepp); Laube 2000, no. 2, ill.

## CHRISTOPH MURER

Zurich, 1558–1614, Winterthur

With Daniel Lindtmayer the Younger and Hans Jakob Plepp, Christoph Murer counts among the most prolific and appealing Swiss designers of stained-glass windows. Starting his career in his hometown, he moved to Basel in 1579 and worked on important commissions there. In the early 1580s he was active in Strasbourg, where he collaborated with Tobias Stimmer, who had already been an influence on him. Back in Zurich in 1586, Murer was active both as an artist and in city government. Official duties took him to Winterthur in 1611. Like his father, Jos, and younger brother, Josias, Christoph Murer worked mainly in stained glass, but he was also a gifted printmaker as well as a painter and writer.

*General literature:* H. Meyer 1884, pp. 215–19; Boerlin 1976, pp. 31–136; Vignau-Wilberg 1979–80; Vignau-Wilberg 1982; Dressen 1996

### 47 | Christoph Murer

*Hercules at the Crossroads*, ca. 1600–1605

Pen and carbon black ink, gray ink washes, 7<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 5<sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (18.5 × 14.7 cm)

Purchase, Anne and Jean Bonna Gift, 1995 (1995.298)

Double (?) framing line (partially cropped) in pen and brown ink, probably by the artist. Verso, partial tracing of the drawing on the recto in pen and brown ink, by a later hand. On an old mount (preserved separately), inscribed *Joh. Rottenhammer* in pen and brown ink (19th-century handwriting)

*Watermark:* none

A familiar subject in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Hercules at the Crossroads—the young Hercules having to choose between Virtue and Vice—seems to have been particularly dear to Christoph

Murer, or to his patrons.<sup>1</sup> In 1622 an emblem book was published that paired forty etchings by Murer with verses by the glass painter (and Murer's nephew by marriage) Hans Heinrich Rordorf.<sup>2</sup> The penultimate print depicts (as the text puts it) the choice between “the road to life or to death” (fig. 1).<sup>3</sup> The book was published eight years after Murer died, using etchings he had made for a never-realized edition of a play he seems to have been working on until the end of his life.<sup>4</sup>

Murer had already made a design, in 1595, for a stained-glass window of the same subject (fig. 2).<sup>5</sup> The Museum's drawing, which is undated, is identical in its general composition, though differing in most details. At lower left, it bears the coat of arms of the artist's own family, depicting a wall (*Mauer* in German).<sup>6</sup> In addition, at least two stained-glass windows after designs by Murer on the subject have been preserved, both dated 1595; one, now in Wörlitz, is signed by the Zurich glass painter Hans Jakob Sprüngli and bears his coat of arms.<sup>7</sup> These two glass paintings were made from the same design, which differs from both the Museum's and the one in fig. 2. This means that, in addition to the

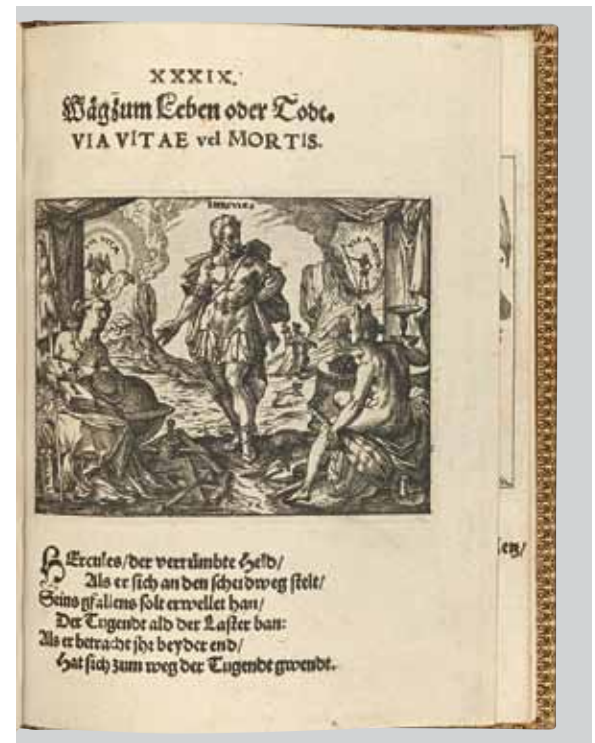


Fig. 1. Christoph Murer, *Hercules at the Crossroads*, from Hans Heinrich Rordorf, *XL. Emblemata miscella nova*, Zurich, 1622, emblem xxxix. Etching, 3<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> × 4<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (8.9 × 11.7 cm). The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, Purchased on the Clark Stillman and Gordon Rav Funds, 2009 (PML 195327)

lost model for his etching, Murer must have made at least one more drawing on the subject than the two known today. Murer's designs also inspired other draftsmen: a round composition by the Winterthur artist Hans Jegli the Younger, based on the one in figure 2, is in Zurich; and an adaptation to the round format of the Museum's sheet by the Strasbourg master Lorenz Lingg is in Karlsruhe (fig. 3).<sup>8</sup>

All these designs show the Greek hero standing between Virtue and Pleasure—or “Virtus” and “Voluptas,” as the two seated women are identified in the bande-roles in the 1595 drawing and the etching. The former reads the Bible, holds a distaff, and is surrounded by instruments of industry and study—a beehive, a globe, and a compass. The latter entices Hercules with wine and holds a lute; other musical instruments lie scattered at her feet. In the etching and in the Museum's drawing, the “road to life” behind Virtue is represented by heavily laden men climbing steep rocks toward a shining angel; the “road to death” behind Pleasure, by



Fig. 2. Christoph Murer, *Hercules at the Crossroads*, 1595. Pen and black ink, gray wash, 11<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 8 in. (30.4 × 20.3 cm). Kunsthau Zürich (folder N 1)



elegant couples merrily approaching a burning skeleton. There can be no doubt which road Hercules—and the viewer—is being advised to take. Naturally, the hero's story ends well: according to the *subscriptio* accompanying the etching, “When he had observed each one's ends, he turned to the road of Virtue.”<sup>9</sup> In the print, Hercules points out to Pleasure with an eloquent gesture which choice he has made. The cartouches along the upper edge of the Museum's drawing may have been intended to include words to that effect, or quotations from the Bible, as in the Zurich sheet.





Fig. 3. Lorenz Lingg, after Christoph Murer, *Hercules at the Crossroads*, 1606. Pen and black ink, brown wash, 12<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 8<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (32.8 × 21.4 cm). Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe (XI 1046)

Whereas the latter sheet is relatively loosely drawn, the one under discussion is more neatly finished and counts among Murer's most refined works.<sup>10</sup> There are some pentimenti—notably, in Hercules's right elbow but also in Virtue's right foot. Virtue's pose is similar to that in the 1595 drawing, while Hercules's pose, with his left arm held behind his back, is close to that seen in the etching. This suggests that the Museum's drawing was made between 1595 and the creation of the etching in the last decade or so of the artist's life;<sup>11</sup> certainly, the drawing must predate Lingg's variant of 1606. More than in any of the other depictions by Murer, the figure's contrapposto in the drawing under discussion, his well-groomed full mustache, noble features, and long hair—in short, the “cavalier-like stylization of Hercules”<sup>12</sup>—give him an unusually dandified appearance, appropriate to a man evidently having a hard time choosing between pleasure and duty. It may have been this elegance that prompted a former owner to attribute the drawing to Hans Rottenhammer;<sup>13</sup> however, that artist's Venetian-inspired mythologies and narrative scenes (compare cats. 55, 56) could not have differed more from the much less frivolous world of Murer and other Swiss contemporaries. SA

1. The classic account of the iconography of Hercules at the Crossroads remains Panofsky 1930; see also Pigler 1974, vol. 2, pp. 125–27; J. D. Reid 1993, vol. 1, pp. 527–30.
2. For a thorough study of the book, see Vignau-Wilberg 1982, especially pp. 53–61, 82–133; for Rordorf, see pp. 11, 36.
3. Panofsky 1930, pp. 101–2, fig. 46; Vignau-Wilberg 1982, pp. 107–9, 272, fig. 125; Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 29 (1990), pp. 178–82, part of no. 84.
4. For a dating of Murer's play, titled *Edessa*, and of his etchings, see Vignau-Wilberg 1982, pp. 38, 55, 70; more generally about the play, see pp. 70–81.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 28, 108, 272, fig. 127.
6. Brunner 1929.
7. Kulturstiftung Dessau Wörlitz, Museum Gotisches Haus, Wörlitz, inv. GH 1 453 (Vignau-Wilberg 1982, pp. 109, 273; Barbara Giesicke and Mylène Ruoss in Munich and Zurich 1999–2000, no. 10, ill.). The second glass painting is in the Historisches und Völkerkundemuseum, Sankt Gallen, inv. 13.425 (Vignau-Wilberg 1982, pp. 28, 109, 273, fig. 129). A third one is only recorded (Vignau-Wilberg 1982, pp. 108–9).
8. Vignau-Wilberg 1982, pp. 109, 273; Mensger 2012, no. 373, ill. For similar drawings by Lingg after Murer, see Bucher 1992, p. 36, figs. 40–48. The drawing in Zurich based on the one reproduced in fig. 2 is at the Kunsthaus Zürich, inv. 1938/118 (Vignau-Wilberg 1982, pp. 109, 273). A drawing of the same subject attributed to

Gotthard Ringgeli and acquired by Lorenz Lingg in 1607 is in the Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe, inv. XI 257 (Ariane Mensger in Karlsruhe 2009, no. 44, ill.). It has been convincingly suggested that Murer's compositions are based on a woodcut illustration by Tobias Stimmer in Johann Fischart, *Philosophisch Ehzuchtbüchlin*, Strasbourg, 1578, fol. c 5 recto (Vignau-Wilberg 1982, p. 109, fig. 126). For two drawings and an etching by Ringgeli closely related to Murer's composition, see Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 34 (1993), p. 156, no. 9, ill.; Achim Riether in Munich and Zurich 1999–2000, p. 37, figs. 14, 15. For works influenced by Murer's etching, see Vignau-Wilberg 1982, pp. 109, 273, figs. 130, 131.

9. “Als er betracht ihr beyder end / Hat sich zum weg der Tugendt gwendt.”

10. The drawing can be compared with, but surpasses in quality, two fine additional drawings by the artist in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, signed and dated 1598 (acc. 2007.177; formerly at the sale Auktionshaus Stuker Bern, November 28, 2006, lot 9058) and 1608 (acc. 1994.24; formerly at the sale Sotheby's, New York, January 12, 1994, lot 37).

11. As suggested in Vignau-Wilberg 1982, p. 109.

12. Panofsky 1930, p. 102: “[die] kavaliermäßige . . . Stilisierung des Hercules.”

13. As recorded in Fischer 1967 (p. 60, lot 798) and in the inscription on the old mount.

*Provenance:* Sale, Galerie Fischer, Lucerne, June 19–20, 1967, lot 798; sale, Galerie Fischer, Lucerne, June 20, 1995, lot 119; [Kunsthandel Katrin Bellinger, Munich]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 1995

*Literature:* Fischer 1967, lot 798, pl. VII (as by Hans Rottenhammer); Vignau-Wilberg 1982, pp. 109, 273, fig. 128; Fischer 1995, lot 119, ill.; Barbara Giesicke and Mylène Ruoss in Munich and Zurich 1999–2000, p. 154, fig. 68

## HANS JAKOB NÜSCHELER THE ELDER Zurich, 1583–1654, Zurich

Hans Jakob Nüscherler the Elder studied the art of stained glass with his father, Heinrich Nüscherler, and became a master in 1612. The Nüscherlers were, along with the Murer workshop, the most prominent glass painters in Zurich. From 1636 to 1644 all of the stained-glass windows with the city council's coats of arms were designed and painted exclusively by Hans Jakob, who oversaw a large workshop that included his sons as well as others. Even though his output of stained glass was quite large, Nüscherler's drawings are rare.

*General literature:* Gerszi 1957a; Vignau-Wilberg 1975

48 | Hans Jakob Nüscherer the Elder

*Allegory of the Salvation of Mankind*, ca. 1620–30

Pen and carbon black ink, gray ink washes, traces of black chalk and graphite underdrawing, incised construction lines, 14¼ × 10<sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (36.2 × 27.5 cm)  
The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 2003 (2003.428)

Broad framing line in brush and black ink, by the artist. Verso, at lower right, illegible inscription in German in pen and black ink (17th-century handwriting)

Watermark: two towers with archway<sup>1</sup>

In front of a vaulted corridor that recedes deep into the distance, Christ stands triumphant over Death and a serpent representing Original Sin. He gestures toward a woman in the foreground, who is clothed merely in a twisted drapery that frames her ample breasts and barely covers her genitalia. She is surrounded by the allegorical figures of Faith, Hope, and Charity, who implore her to turn toward Christ. The woman is Eve, and hampering her salvation are the tablets of the Law of Moses, to which she is chained, and the apple that represents her fatal choice. Although not unique, the liberation of Eve by the Virtues is an atypical subject. A near-contemporary engraving by Hieronymus Wierix after the Antwerp painter Jacob de Backer shows Eve, now accompanied by Adam, liberated from the weight of Moses's tablets by these same Virtues; occupying the background are episodes from the Life of Christ, including his Crucifixion and Resurrection (fig. 1).<sup>2</sup> Nüscherer, like Wierix, juxtaposes Adam and Eve—whose sin exposed the world to death and the devil—with Christ, whose death and resurrection marked the salvation of



Fig. 1. Hieronymus Wierix, after Jacob de Backer, *Allegory of the Salvation of Mankind*, before ca. 1586. Engraving, 8<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 13<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (22.6 × 33.4 cm). British Museum, London (1880-5-8-57)

mankind. This kind of dialectical image, commonly called The Law versus the Gospel, was especially popular during the Reformation in Germany and Switzerland.<sup>3</sup> In addition to this expansive printed model, there are several examples of works with similar imagery by Zurich artists active at the same time as Nüscherer. A small glass painting by Hans Jakob Sprüngli from about 1620 does not include the Virtues, but it does show the Christ Child standing triumphant on a globe, Adam's



Fig. 2. Hans Jakob Nüscheler the Elder, *Allegory of Hope*, ca. 1640. Brush and gray and black ink, 6 $\frac{5}{8}$  × 6 in. (16.8 × 15.2 cm). Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest (464)

skull, and the serpent as he frees Eve from the chains of the tablets.<sup>4</sup> A variant of this scene is also found in a 1628 etching by Gotthard Ringgli.<sup>5</sup>

While the grouping of Eve with the Virtues and the presence of a triumphant Christ are close to Wierix's image in conception, Nüscheler's drawing conflates The Law versus the Gospel with another traditional subject not specifically from the Bible, Christ Harrowing the Gates of Hell. In such imagery, Christ is presented as the second Adam (Adam and Eve are often shown standing in close proximity to Christ), who descended into Hell in order to redeem the just and open the gates of Heaven to them. In some representations, such as the one in Dürer's *Engraved Passion* (1512), Christ is shown lifting up the damned in front of an archway or some other architectural element.<sup>6</sup> In Nüscheler's image, the architectural setting is central to the composition, with incised diagonal lines mapping out the grid of the pavement and the archways in a precise recession.

Although unsigned, this exceptional drawing corresponds closely in style and technique to Nüscheler's other known drawings. Evident both here and in his drawing *Allegory of Hope* (fig. 2) are the same dense applications of wash, the rounded faces and high hairlines of the women, and the rapid yet tremulous pen strokes.<sup>7</sup>

These characteristics are also found in his *Design for a Stained-Glass Window with an Allegory of Fortune* (1627) and *The Parting of the Red Sea* in Budapest (ca. 1640).<sup>8</sup> Although the exact function of the Museum's drawing is unknown—it has been proposed by Daniela Laube as preparatory for a *Hinterglasmalerei* (reverse glass painting)—its large scale and complex perspectival space set it apart from Nüscheler's designs for stained glass.<sup>9</sup>

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1. The watermark is similar to one found in paper used in Münster in 1609 (Piccard-Online, no. 103160; accessed September 11, 2011).
2. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish*, 1949–2007, vol. 66 (2004), no. 1807, ill.
3. Koerner 1993, chap. 16.
4. Landesmuseum Zürich, inv. LM 15016 (Yves Jolidon in Munich and Zurich 1999–2000, no. 5, ill.).
5. Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 34 (1993), p. 148, no. 2, ill.
6. *Ibid.*, vol. 7 (1962), no. 16.
7. Gerszi 1957a, pp. 42–43, fig. 21.
8. Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. 463 (*ibid.*, p. 43, fig. 19). The *Allegory of Fortune* was sold by Galerie Fischer, Lucerne, in association with August Laube, Zurich, June 20, 1995, lot 127, ill.
9. See letter in the Museum's departmental files, dated April 3, 2003. For a discussion of reverse glass painting, see Munich and Zurich 1999–2000.

*Provenance:* [August Laube, Zurich]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 2003

*Literature:* Laube 2001, no. 41, ill.

## HANS HEINRICH WÄGMANN

Zurich, 1557–1628 or before, Lucerne

A designer and painter of stained glass as well as a panel painter, miniaturist, print designer, and cartographer, Hans Heinrich Wägmann became a master in the painters' guild of his native Zurich in 1580. He moved to Lucerne in 1582, where he married and eventually converted to Catholicism. He received major religious and civic commissions, most famously for a large series of paintings decorating the Kapellbrücke (see below). His oeuvre is more varied than that of many other Swiss artists; some forty drawings are known, plus a number of paintings and a handful of prints. His son Ulrich Wägmann also became an artist.

*General literature:* Thöne 1967, pp. 110–28, 133–50; Horat and Klöti 1986



#### 49 | Hans Heinrich Wägmann

*The Death of Ebroin on the Battlefield*, ca. 1615–20

Pen and carbon black ink, brown washes (laid down),  
9<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 16<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (23.9 × 41 cm)  
Purchase, Jean A. Bonna Gift, 2006 (2006.III)

At lower center, collector's mark of Karl Eduard von Liphart (Lugt 1687); at lower right, collector's mark of Reinhold von Liphart (Lugt 1758); overlapping it, 1298 in pen and ink (19th-century handwriting). Framing line in pen and brown ink, by the artist; at top, framing line in pen and lighter brown ink, by a later hand. Verso of the secondary support, at lower left, inscribed 2529 in graphite (erased; 20th-century handwriting); below, an unidentified collector's mark of Kurt Meissner (*MM* in a circle, stamped in black; not in Lugt); to the left, inscribed *col. Löwensprung* in graphite (20th-century handwriting); at lower center, inscribed *Burgunderschlacht aus Samml. Liphardt* in graphite (20th-century handwriting); at lower right, an unidentified collector's mark (Lugt 2059)

*Watermark*: none visible because of the secondary support

Executed in a style close to that of Swiss designs for stained glass (compare cats. 46–48), this drawing is in fact a sketch for a painting on panel. The attribution to Hans Heinrich Wägmann is due to Friedrich Thöne; previously, the drawing had been given to an artist from the circle of Tobias Stimmer and Christoph Murer.<sup>1</sup> The drawing can, indeed, be persuasively linked to signed drawings by Wägmann, such as one in Lucerne dated about 1600 (fig. 1);<sup>2</sup> Thöne also associated the Museum's sheet with another one, now in Sion.<sup>3</sup> In addition, he recognized that the originally triangular form of the Museum's and Sion's drawings connect them to "gable paintings" (*Giebelbilder*) for one of Lucerne's famous roofed wood bridges (compare fig. 2).<sup>4</sup>

These bridges served both to join parts of the city located on opposite sides of the Reuss River and to defend against incursions across Lake Lucerne. Although Thöne was unable to identify exactly which painting was based on the Museum's drawing, he could



Fig. 1. Hans Heinrich Wägmann, *A Battle on Horseback*, ca. 1600 (?). Pen and black ink, brown wash, heightened with white gouache, on green prepared paper, 10 $\frac{7}{16}$  × 16 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (26.5 × 41.9 cm). Stiftung Joseph Willmann-Haus, Lucerne



Fig. 2. Johann Jakob Meyer, *View of Lucerne from within the Hofbrücke*, 1823 or before. Aquatint, hand colored, 9 $\frac{11}{16}$  × 12 $\frac{9}{16}$  in. (24.6 × 31.9 cm). British Museum, London (1958-7-12-2137)

rule out, on iconographic grounds, those from the Hofbrücke (Court Bridge, demolished in 1852) and from the Spreuerbrücke (Chaff or Mill Bridge), narrowing the search to the 158 paintings on the Kapellbrücke (Chapel Bridge)—Europe’s oldest surviving covered bridge and the city’s most famous one.<sup>5</sup> On August 18, 1993, a fire severely damaged the bridge, including most of its paintings. The bridge was restored and rebuilt, and replicas were made of the paintings (which, however, have not been installed on the bridge).<sup>6</sup> Fortunately, the original panels had been photographed the year preceding the fire, which made it possible to identify the one related to the Museum’s drawing (fig. 3).<sup>7</sup> Although the paintings were damaged (notably in a flood in 1741) and restored several times over the course of the centuries, it is clear that this painting closely followed the drawn design.

Wägmann must have received the commission for the paintings in or shortly after 1611, when the city council decided to decorate the bridge.<sup>8</sup> Given the enormous scale of the commission, he was assisted by a workshop, and the work continued well after his death, probably directed by his son Ulrich. The iconography had been determined by the town clerk Renward Cysat and council member Hans Rudolf Sonnenberg, who wrote the verses inscribed on the dark wood frames.<sup>9</sup> The cost of each painting was underwritten by a council member or some other prominent citizen.

The paintings from the Kapellbrücke depict scenes from Swiss history as well as from legends of the city’s two patron saints, Maurice and Leodegar (or Leger, or Ledger), the seventh-century bishop of Autun. The Museum’s drawing depicts the death of Leodegar’s archenemy—Ebroin, the powerful Merovingian *Hofmeier* (mayor of the palace).<sup>10</sup> The only other known drawing related to one of the gable paintings (the one in Sion mentioned above) depicts pilgrims visiting the site where Saint Maurice died, in the southwest of Switzerland.<sup>11</sup> The corners of both drawings have been cut, probably to conceal the damage caused by their removal from a collector’s album.<sup>12</sup> This loss makes somewhat less evident how successfully the artist adapted the compositions to the odd-shaped panel. The banner with French lilies that tops the Museum’s scene—a triangle within a triangle—refers to the Frankish army led into battle by Ebroin. Wägmann used the same motif in the drawing reproduced in fig. 1, which has been dated about 1600.<sup>13</sup> However, the lack of securely dated works by the artist makes it hard to bring chronological order to his oeuvre. The two drawings related to the Kapellbrücke can at least be dated after 1611, in the artist’s maturity. Along with the battle scene on prepared paper (fig. 1), the Museum’s sheet counts among the artist’s most accomplished.

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Fig. 3. Hans Heinrich Wägmann and workshop, *The Death of Ebroin on the Battlefield*, after 1611. Oil on panel, ca. 35<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 63 in. (ca. 90 × 160 cm). Stadtarchiv, Lucerne (F2a/Brücken/24.12, Kdm no. 117)

1. According to Thöne 1967, p. 149. In Boerner 1898 (p. 31, under lot 375), the drawing was catalogued with others described as designs for stained glass and with a suggestion that the drawing could be by a “Master L. K.”

2. Thöne 1967, no. 22, fig. 128. Another comparable signed drawing, dated ca. 1610–20, is in the Kunsthaus Zürich, inv. N/2 Wägmann (Thöne 1967, no. 35, fig. 132).

3. Musée d’Histoire du Valais, Sion, inv. mv 10981 (ibid., no. 40, fig. 129; and the other literature cited in this note). The drawings were not together at the 1898 sale in which the Museum’s sheet appeared (see Provenance), but by 1966 they were reunited in the collection of Kurt Meissner (see Werner Sumowski in Bremen and Zurich 1967, no. 205, ill.). The two drawings were separated again after they were offered for sale in 2001 (see Boerner 2001, no. 4, ill.).

4. Kumschick 2002–3, vol. 1, p. 16, fig. 4. For the bridges of Lucerne, see Reinle 1953, pp. 74–103; and the publications cited in the following note.

5. For the Hofbrücke specifically, see also Kumschick 2002–3; for the Spreuerbrücke, see also Glauser et al. 1996; for the Kapellbrücke, see also Wegmüller 2007. Images of the paintings on the three bridges can be found at [www.stadt Luzern.ch/de/dokumente/fotoalbum](http://www.stadt Luzern.ch/de/dokumente/fotoalbum) (accessed November 15, 2011).

6. See [www.kapellbrueckenbilder.ch/de/home/index.html](http://www.kapellbrueckenbilder.ch/de/home/index.html) (accessed November 15, 2011).

7. Reinle 1953, p. 92, no. 117.

8. For the commission, see ibid., p. 85; Thöne 1967, pp. 120–21.

9. Between 1609 and 1613 Wägmann collaborated with Renward Cysat on a large drawn map of the canton of Lucerne, preserved at the Universitätsbibliothek Bern, shelf mark ZH B Kart. 1x/3 (Horat and Klöti 1986). The verses currently on the frame read: *Ebroin*

*sein nit lasset / Gottes Reich darum ihm fasset // Als er zieht zu Feld und schlägt, / Wird er auss der Welt gejagt.*

10. For the legend of Leodegar and Ebroin, see Réau 1955–59, vol. 3, pt. 2 (1958), pp. 796–97; Viard 1966; Stintzi 1974. For Ebroin specifically, see Friedrich 1887. For the iconography of the Leodegar cycle of the Kapellbrücke paintings, see Wegmüller 2007, pp. 39–63.

11. Reinle 1953, p. 93, no. 143.

12. As suggested in Thöne 1967, p. 150.

13. Ibid., p. 143.

*Provenance*:\* Karl Eduard von Liphart (1808–1891), Dorpat, Bonn, and Florence; Reinhold von Liphart (1864–1940), Dorpat; his sale, C. G. Boerner, Leipzig, April 26, 1898, and following days, lot 375; Löwensprung collection (?); Kurt Meissner (b. 1909), Zurich; [C. G. Boerner, by 2001]; sale, Sotheby’s, London, July 6, 2005, lot 10; [Kunsthandel Katrin Bellinger, Munich]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 2006

*Literature*: Boerner 1898, lot 375 (as by an anonymous Swiss artist); Werner Sumowski in Bremen and Zurich 1967, p. 92, no. 206 and under no. 205, ill.; Thöne 1967, p. 131, no. 39, pp. 149–50, fig. 127; Françoise Forster-Hahn in Stanford, Detroit, and New York 1969–70, no. 82, ill.; K. Meissner 1984, no. 88, ill.; Boerner 2001, no. 5, ill.; Sotheby’s 2005a, lot 10, ill.

\* Friedrich Thöne (quoted in Bremen and Zurich 1967, p. 92) suggests that the drawing could be identical with one exhibited in 1869 from the collection of the artist and collector Jost Meyer. However, in his publication of 1967 Thöne identifies the exhibited drawing with the one reproduced here as fig. 1. I have not been able to consult a catalogue of the 1869 show.

## Artists Active Mainly in Munich about 1600

### FRIEDRICH SUSTRIS

Padua (?), ca. 1540–1599 (?), Munich

Although often considered a Netherlandish artist, Friedrich Sustris appears never to have even visited the Low Countries—the birthplace of his father, Lambert Sustris, who had left for Italy at an early age to become a valued member of Titian's studio in Venice. The younger Sustris's activity at the Medici court in Florence in the 1560s is relatively well documented but difficult to grasp, as most of his commissions seem to have been ephemeral in nature. In 1568 he moved to Germany and later that year was called to Augsburg by the banker and art collector Hans Fugger. He subsequently entered the service of William of Bavaria, first in Landshut and then, from 1580, in Munich, after his patron became Duke William V. Sustris soon became the central artist at the Munich court, overseeing a remarkable flowering of artistic patronage. He worked mainly as a designer, creating the drawings that served as models but leaving the execution to assistants or specialized artists and craftsmen. These drawings alone prove him to be among the very best Northern artists of his generation.

*General literature:* Geissler 1978; Meijer 1994; Geissler 1996a; Thea Vignau-Wilberg in Munich 2005–6, passim; Maxwell 2011

### 50 | Friedrich Sustris

*The Victory of the Romans over the Goths at Fiesole*, 1563/64

Pen and brown ink, brown wash, a composite of black chalk and graphite underdrawing, squared for transfer in graphite, 10¼ × 15 in. (26 × 38.1 cm)

Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 2004 (2004.54)

At lower center, inscribed *61* in black chalk, possibly by the artist. Framing line in pen and black ink, probably by a later hand. Verso, at lower left, vertically inscribed *Baldassare Peruzzi* in graphite (19th- or 20th-century handwriting); at upper center, inscribed *agler* (?) in graphite (19th- or 20th-century handwriting)

*Watermark:* none

One of the great deeds of artistic patronage by Duke Cosimo I de' Medici was the creation in 1545 of the

Arazzeria Medicea, the Medici tapestry workshop, which brought the know-how of Flemish weavers to Florence and made it possible for Florentine artists to see their designs immortalized in one of the era's most prestigious media.<sup>1</sup> Not surprisingly, some of the artists designing tapestries for Cosimo's ambitious program (supervised by Giorgio Vasari) to extend and embellish Florence's Palazzo Vecchio and to reinvigorate his family's illustrious past as art patrons were—or, as in the case of Sustris, were considered—*fiamminghi* (Flemings). Notable among them were Jan van der Straet, known in Italy as Giovanni Stradano or Stradanus, and “Federigo the Fleming, son of Lamberto of Amsterdam.”<sup>2</sup> The latter, better known now as Friedrich Sustris, arrived in Florence as a young man in 1563, possibly from Rome.<sup>3</sup> He became a member of the Accademia dell'Arte del Disegno shortly after its creation in 1563, took part in the decoration of the catafalque for Michelangelo after that artist's death in 1564, and helped decorate the triumphal arches erected the next year for the entry of Cosimo's future daughter-in-law Joanna of Austria.<sup>4</sup>

The only substantial works designed by the artist to have survived from this period are three tapestries commissioned by Cosimo in 1563 for the private room of his wife, Eleanor of Toledo; known as the



Fig. 1. Benedetto di Michele Squilli, after Friedrich Sustris, *The Victory of the Romans over the Goths at Fiesole*, 1563/64. Tapestry, 14 ft. 3¼ in. × 15 ft. 7 in. (4.35 × 4.75 m). Palazzo Pitti, Florence (Arazzi 106)



Sala di Gualdrada, its ceiling was painted by Stradanus.<sup>5</sup> The tapestries, all still preserved in Florence, were delivered in 1564; a year later Sustris, who is mentioned in a document as author of the cartoons, received a final payment from the weaver Benedetto di Michele Squilli, with whose monogram one of the panels is signed.<sup>6</sup> A contemporary document describes the subjects of the three panels as “the consecration of Saint John,” “the moment when the Goths laid siege to Fiesole,” and “the union between Fiesole and Florence.”<sup>7</sup>

The drawing under discussion, a relatively recent addition to Sustris’s oeuvre, relates to the second of these tapestries (fig. 1).<sup>8</sup> The episode depicted dates from about 405, well into the final century of the Western Roman Empire, and is chronicled in Leonardo Bruni’s *Historiarum Florentinarum libri XII* (History of the Florentine people in twelve books; finished in or before 1442) as follows: “Stilico, a general of Emperor Honorius . . . having driven the enemy into the mountains of Fiesole overlooking Florence, . . . starved them of supplies and wiped them out so completely that of the two hundred thousand Goths (no fewer, they say,

were in Radagaisus’s army) not one escaped unscathed. The majority were killed, the rest captured and sold.”<sup>9</sup> The picturesque hill town just north of Florence is depicted—without much attempt at historical or topographical accuracy—at upper left in the drawing. Sustris depicted the Roman army carrying banners with the Florentine lily, whereas the captured Goths are identified by their trousers, derived from the costume of sixteenth-century German and Swiss mercenaries (compare cats. 15, 26). The heroic figure wearing the formidable feathered helmet can be identified as Honorius on the authority of Vasari, who treated this subject in a painting for the Salone dei Cinquecento in the Palazzo Vecchio.<sup>10</sup>

Another painting by Vasari there shows the same subject as the third scene in Sustris’s tapestries, the union of Florence and Fiesole, which is less clearly related to an actual historical event.<sup>11</sup> In addition to the tapestry itself, the composition is known from a second drawing by Sustris, now in the Pierpont Morgan Library (fig. 2).<sup>12</sup> No drawing is known for the first panel of the set, which depicts the consecration of the





Fig. 2. Friedrich Sustris, *The Union of Florence and Fiesole*, 1563/64. Pen and brown ink, brownish gray wash, over black chalk, 10<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 10<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (25.9 × 26.2 cm). The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, Purchased as a gift of the Markus Family, in memory of Frits Markus (1982.8)

Baptistry of Florence by Pope Nicholas II (formerly a bishop in the city) in 1059.<sup>13</sup> Some of the marble used in constructing the baptistry is said to have come from Fiesole, suggesting that the historical relations between Florence and its smaller neighbor might be the link connecting the subjects of Sustris's seemingly rather heterogeneous cycle.<sup>14</sup>

The two sheets in New York offer insight into Sustris's careful preparation of the tapestries. Only the Metropolitan Museum's drawing, entirely squared for transfer, mirrors the composition of the tapestry, anticipating the reversal owing to the weaving process. Since the Museum's drawing corresponds more closely to the tapestry than the Morgan's, it can be assumed that it represents a later stage in the development of the design. However, the Morgan's drawing does include the richly ornamental border (the only part of the sheet to be squared), a variation of which was used in the tapestry after the Museum's sheet.<sup>15</sup> The drawings, which have little in common with Northern art of the time, show how thoroughly versed Sustris was in the Florentine Mannerist style. They brilliantly demonstrate how accomplished he was even before reaching his thirtieth year, as had already been recognized in 1568 by Vasari, who lauded his "dexterity and great sweetness of manner" and predicted that "if he has merited praise up to the present, he will merit even

more in the future."<sup>16</sup> When Vasari's words were published, Sustris had just left Florence, only five years after his arrival there. Having served a Medici, he went on to work for a Fugger and ultimately for a Wittelsbach, taking up a central role at the Munich court very similar to Vasari's own in Florence. SA

1. For the Arazzeria Medicea, see, among recent publications, Meoni 1998; Thomas P. Campbell and Lucia Meoni in New York 2002, pp. 493–505, 514–29.

2. Vasari 1568, vol. 3, p. 870; Vasari 1550 and 1568/1966–87, vol. 6 (1987), p. 241: "Federigo di Lamberto d'Amsterdam fiammingo." For Stradanus, see Baroni Vannucci 1997; Bruges 2008–9.

3. For a discussion of Sustris's Italian years, see Meijer 1994.

4. Three drawings have been shown to be related to the decoration for Joanna's entry: two in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. 2792 (*ibid.*, pp. 142–43, fig. 5) and inv. 10675 (Monbeig Goguel 1997, p. 70, fig. 13; Monbeig Goguel 1998, p. 113, fig. 35); and one in the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. 592 F (Petrioli Tofani 1991, pp. 249–50, ill. [as by Federico Zuccaro]; Annamaria Petrioli Tofani in New York 2008, no. 50, ill.). See also Maxwell 2011, pp. 20–24. A fourth drawing has been related to this commission and attributed rather convincingly to Friedrich Sustris (most recently seen at the sale Subastas Segre, Madrid, December 18, 2007, lot 2; published by Mercedes Serrano Marqués in Bologna and other cities 2000, no. 5, ill.).

5. For the Sala di Gualdrada and the paintings by Stradanus, see Allegri and Cecchi 1980, pp. 208–12; Baroni Vannucci 1997, no. 6, ill.; van Veen 2006, pp. 39–48.

6. For the three tapestries, see fig. 2 and notes 12 and 13 below; Meoni 1998, p. 204; van Veen 2006, pp. 44–48. The documents concerning the commission, preserved at the Archivio di Stato in Florence, are quoted by Giovanna Gaeta Bertelà in Florence 1980, p. 85, under no. 147. Sustris was paid on other occasions, too, for making (unspecified) cartoons (Meoni 1998, pp. 204, 492, 493). Puzzlingly, Vasari states that the cartoons for the tapestries in the Sala di Gualdrada were made by Stradanus (Vasari 1568, vol. 3, p. 871; Vasari 1550 and 1568/1966–87, vol. 6 [1987], p. 243).

7. Document of November 1564, quoted from Florence 1980, p. 85, under no. 147: "quando si consacrò S. Giovanni," "quando Goti assediorno Fiesole," "dell'accordo fra fiesolani e fiorentini."

8. Gaeta Bertelà in Florence 1980, no. 147, ill.; Meoni 1998, no. 43, ill. The correct attribution of the drawing, which surfaced at the 2003 sale (see Provenance), was first made by Martin Royalton-Kisch prior to that auction.

9. Bruni ca. 1442/2001–7, vol. 1 (2001), pp. 60, 62: "Stilico Honorii dux . . . in Faesulanis montibus qui Florentiae imminent redactus hostes et omnium rerum inopia maceratos ita delevit, ut ex ducentis Gothorum millibus (non enim pauciora in Radagasi exercitu fuisse traduntur), nemo incolumis evaderet. Magna pars caesa, reliqui capti atque venundati"; for the translation by James Hankins, see p. 63. For a more recent account of the historical background, see also Wolfram 1979, pp. 178–84.

10. For Vasari's painting, see Allegri and Cecchi 1980, p. 244, no. 20; Muccini 1990, p. 109, ill.

11. For this painting, see Allegri and Cecchi 1980, p. 244, no. 26, ill.; Muccini 1990, p. 111, ill.

12. Stampfle 1991, no. 100, ill.; Meijer 1994, pp. 139–40, fig. 4. For the tapestry (inv. Arazzi 119), see Gaeta Bertelà in Florence 1980, no. 148, ill.; Meoni 1998, no. 44, ill.

13. For the tapestry (inv. Arazzi 402), see Gaeta Bertelà in Florence 1980, p. 85, under no. 147, fig. 147 *bis*; Meoni 1998, no. 42, ill. For the Florence baptistery, see Paolucci 1994.

14. The set's subject was also described as "la storia di Fiesole" (document quoted in Allegri and Cecchi 1980, p. 212); see also van Veen 2006, p. 44.

15. These borders are rather close to those designed by Francesco Salviati for a series of the Seasons and the Ages commissioned by Cosimo de' Medici in the 1540s (Meoni 1998, pp. 52, 54, figs. 21–28; Candace J. Adelson in Rome and Paris 1998, nos. 121–24, ill.; Petrioli Tofani in New York 2008, no. 21, ill.).

16. Vasari 1568, vol. 3, pp. 788, 870; Vasari 1550 and 1568/1966–87, vol. 6 (1987), pp. 130, 241: "destrezza e dolcissima maniera," "se ha meritato lode insin qui, più ne meriterà per l'avenire"; the English translation by Gaston du C. de Vere is quoted from Vasari 1568/1996, vol. 2, pp. 756, 880.

*Provenance:* Francis Abbott (1800–1893), Edinburgh; private collection, in 1908; the heirs; sale, Christie's, London, July 8, 2003, lot 25; [Artemis Fine Arts, Luxembourg]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 2004

*Literature:* Christie's 2003, lot 25, ill.; François Borne in Borne and Wintermute 2004, no. 2, ill.; Lucia Meoni in Florence 2008, p. 72, under no. 9, ill.; Annamaria Petrioli Tofani in New York 2008, p. 109, under no. 50; Maxwell 2011, pp. 19–20, fig. 1.2

## 51 | Friedrich Sustris

*The Virgin and Child Surrounded by Angels in the Clouds*,  
ca. 1590–1600

Pen and carbon black ink, gray ink wash, lead white heightening,  
4¾ × 3¾ in. (12 × 8.6 cm)  
Purchase, Sally and Howard Lepow Gift, 2001 (2001.283)

Framing line in pen and black ink, by the artist. Verso, at lower right, inscribed *TDP* in graphite (19th-century handwriting). On a discarded secondary support (a fragment of which is preserved in the Museum's departmental files), inscribed *Jesus worshipped by Cherubs* in pen and black ink, probably by Isabella Dennistoun

*Watermark:* none

Modest in size, this previously unpublished sheet is a prime example of Friedrich Sustris's highly refined mature draftsmanship. It was previously given to the Antwerp artist Maerten de Vos, but the attribution to Sustris is confirmed by comparison with such securely attributed drawings as a design in Göttingen for a print reversing its composition, used in a publication of 1601, which must have been among the last drawings the artist worked on before his death.<sup>1</sup> Both sheets are executed with the fine pen favored by Sustris in many of his drawings. Elongated, extraordinarily graceful forms—as in the Virgin's face, neck, and hands—betray the influence of Florentine Mannerists, but Sustris's figures are generally less weighty and even



more elegant than those in the Italian examples that inspired him. Small patches and larger areas of wash in two hues of gray are used for modeling the figures, enhanced by highlights and hatching in white gouache. The facial type of the angels, along with their capricious shocks of hair, was adopted by younger Munich artists such as Sustris's son-in-law Hans Krumpper and Hans Werl (compare cat. 54);<sup>2</sup> but with Sustris, they are imbued with a delightful sensitivity and vividness. Sustris seems to have refined this manner about the time of his arrival at the Munich court in 1580; although questions remain regarding the chronology of his drawings, stylistically comparable sheets are generally dated in the 1580s or later.<sup>3</sup> Because the drawing in Göttingen provides the closest comparison, the Museum's drawing should probably be dated in the last decade of the artist's life.

The scene depicted is a particularly endearing version of one that enjoyed great popularity with sixteenth-century and later artists, including Sustris's



Fig. 1. Hieronymus Wierix, *The Virgin and Child Crowned by Angels in the Clouds*, ca. 1610s. Engraving, 3<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 2<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (9.3 × 6 cm). British Museum, London (1859-7-9-3001)

Netherlandish contemporary Hieronymus Wierix (fig. 1).<sup>4</sup> Seated on clouds, with her hands folded in prayer, the Virgin watches over her sleeping son, whom she has lovingly wrapped in her mantle. The Child is surrounded by what looks like a little army of slightly older brothers. Two angels at upper right play music on pipes while one at lower left motions for silence; his companion approaches with a palm frond, presumably to fan the sleeping Child. At right, an angel kneels and kisses the Child's hand, almost as if acting out the Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine. Another very thoughtfully holds up a piece of cloth attached to a short stick to protect the Child's face from the light that is, perhaps, radiating about the Virgin's halo. The same angel also bears a bouquet of lilies, commonly understood as a symbol of the Virgin's purity.<sup>5</sup>

The original purpose of this sophisticated drawing is unknown. The technical similarity with the Göttingen drawing suggests it could have been made as a model for a preciously small devotional print such as Wierix's, but no such print is known. Moreover, the composition would have been much less successful when reversed. It is therefore more likely, perhaps, that the drawing was a design for a small devotional plaquette; several comparable plaquettes of southern German origin survive.<sup>6</sup> Whatever its function may have been, the drawing was clearly intended to charm and to inspire the viewer to a very tender form of devotion. SA

1. Kunstsammlungen der Universität Göttingen, inv. H 661 (Geissler 1978, pp. 81–82, fig. 19; Heinrich Geissler in Augsburg 1980, vol. 2, no. 666, ill.). The print was used in *Imagines sanctorum Augustanorum Vincelicorum aereis tabellis expressae* (Augsburg, 1601); for the engraved title, see Geissler 1978, fig. 18. The book's title print mentions Sustris and the minor artist Thomas Maurer as inventors of all twenty-four prints in the volume. The prints were later reused in *Der weltberühmten Kayserlichen freyen . . . Statt Augspurg . . . kurtze Kirchen Chronick* (Augsburg, 1620). The attribution to Sustris of the Museum's drawing was first confirmed by Tilman Falk in a letter to Monroe Warshaw, March 14, 2001, preserved in the Museum's departmental files. Also preserved there is a fragment of a label of the MacKinley Helm collection, attached to the drawing's old frame, recording the previous attribution to de Vos.

2. For an example of Krumpper's drawings, see a sheet in the Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, inv. C 1977/2705 (Kaulbach 2007, no. 344, ill.); and its pendant, now in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. 2003.513 (formerly at the sale Ketterer Kunst, Munich, May 5–6, 2003, lot 207).

3. See, for instance, the examples discussed by Thea Vignau-Wilberg in Munich 2005–6, passim; as well as a drawing tentatively dated about 1580 in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., acc. 2007.III.167 (Peter Prange in Washington 2010–11, no. 1,

ill.); one dated between 1579 and 1589, destroyed in World War II, formerly at the Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, inv. C 175 (Kaulbach 2007, no. 677, ill.); and one that I hope to publish in due course. See also some of the prints after designs by Sustris—for instance, one engraved by Jan Sadeler I that should be dated after Sustris's arrival in Munich at the end of the 1580s (Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish*, 1949–2007, vol. 21 [1980], p. 107, no. 174, vol. 22 [1980], ill.), for which the drawn model is at the Martin von Wagner Museum, Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg, inv. 2319 (Kieser 1931–32, no. 19, ill.).

4. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish*, 1949–2007, vol. 63 (2004), no. 1034, ill. Other sixteenth-century examples include a number of engravings by members of the Wierix family (Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish*, 1949–2007, vol. 63 [2004], nos. 1029–33, 1035, 1036, ill.); and one by Marcantonio after Raphael dated in the first half of the 1510s (Bartsch 1803–21, vol. 14 [1813], pp. 53–54, no. 47).

5. Réau 1955–59, vol. 2, pt. 2 (1957), pp. 183–84.

6. Weber 1975, vol. 1, nos. 407, 407A, 453, 454, 454A, pls. 114, 132, 133.

*Provenance:* Probably Isabella Dennistoun, in 1842; MacKinley Helm (1896–1963) and Frances H. Helm (1894–1973), Santa Barbara; their daughter; private collection, Scottsdale, Arizona; [Monroe Warshaw, New York]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 2001

*Literature:* unpublished

## PETER CANDID

Bruges, ca. 1548–1628, Munich

Born in Flanders as Pieter de Witte, “Peter the White” moved with his family to Florence in 1558, where they were called “Candido.” By 1576 Peter was documented as a member of the Accademia dell'Arte del Disegno. Like Friedrich Sustris before him (see cat. 50), he worked with Giorgio Vasari on public commissions, in Florence as well as in Rome. The paintings preserved from his Italian years reveal an artist who was already highly accomplished. In 1586 he was called to Munich by Duke William V of Bavaria and—by now called Candid—appointed court painter, working with Sustris, among others. After the death of the latter and of the duke, Candid became the leading artist at the court of William's successor, Maximilian I. He excelled not only in painting but also in the design of tapestries and prints.

*General literature:* Volk-Knüttel 1976; Volk-Knüttel 2010

## 52 | Peter Candid

*Design for an Altar with a Painting Representing a Pietà*,  
ca. 1590–1600

Pen and carbon black ink, gray ink washes, black chalk under-drawing, squared for transfer in black chalk, 9<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 5<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (25.3 × 13.8 cm)

Edward Pearce Casey Fund, 2003 (2003.509)

At lower center, inscribed *A*, *B*, and *A* in pen and brown ink, probably by the artist; at lower right, probably inscribed (largely cropped) *A*, and below *B* in pen and brown ink, probably by the artist; below, inscribed *pietà* and 6 in pen and gray ink, probably by the artist; to the right, inscribed *R2: (?)* in pen and brown ink (19th-century handwriting?). Verso, at upper right, inscribed *p ora nulji / s[. . .] (?)* in pen and brown ink (17th-century handwriting)

Watermark: shield with salt barrel<sup>1</sup>

This little-known drawing is a somewhat atypical addition to Peter Candid's drawn oeuvre. Its sketchiest parts—notably the angels in the upper half of the painting at the center of this design and the lightly drawn ornament in the frieze immediately above—can be linked to only a handful of his drawings that are similarly free, in particular one in Erlangen.<sup>2</sup> Because this



Fig. 1. Peter Candid, *Studies for a Pietà*, ca. 1585–86. Pen and brown ink, gray wash, over black chalk, 6<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 4<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (16.1 × 12.1 cm). Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (KdZ 12250)

sheet is preparatory for a print signed with Candid's name, its authorship is beyond much doubt.<sup>3</sup> The Pietà in the Museum's drawing has been compared, both stylistically and compositionally, to a study sheet by Candid in Berlin (fig. 1).<sup>4</sup> The position of Christ's body in the left-hand sketch is indeed very close to that in the Museum's sheet. The two drawings are both characterized by the jagged lines that make up the contours of



Fig. 2. Anonymous (Munich, active ca. 1590–1600), *Design for an Altar or Tomb*, ca. 1590–1600. Pen and brown ink, brown-gray wash,  $10\frac{3}{16} \times 4\frac{13}{16}$  in. (25.8 × 12.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Edward Pearce Casey Fund, 2003 (2003.510)



Fig. 3. Anonymous (South German, ca. 1580), *Pietà*, ca. 1580. Bronze,  $7\frac{5}{16} \times 5\frac{1}{16}$  in. (18.5 × 12.8 cm). National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (1989.57.1)

the figures, by the use of short pen strokes and patches of wash to model the bodies, and by the fine parallel hatching used to indicate shadows on the sides of the bodies. The Berlin drawing has been connected with a more finished drawing in Madrid that is preparatory to a painting in Wrocław, dated to late in the artist's Italian sojourn.<sup>5</sup> In contrast, the Museum's drawing must be from his subsequent years in Munich, as evident from the ornament on the elegant frame (the inscription specifies it would measure six *piedi*) surrounding the altarpiece, similar to that used by Sustris and other artists at the Bavarian court. The drawing style is remarkably close in style to that of another in the Museum by an unidentified artist active at the Munich court (fig. 2).<sup>6</sup> Both drawings could well have been made about the same time, Candid's first decade in the Bavarian capital, when the airy, elegant style of Friedrich Sustris had its greatest influence on him.<sup>7</sup>

The Museum's drawing is unique in being the artist's only known architectural or sculptural design. Whereas Sustris, his predecessor in Munich, was very much involved in the design of sculpture and architecture, Candid seems to have focused mainly on painting, as well as on designs for prints and tapestries. No altar or altarpiece related to the Museum's design is known or documented; it may have been destroyed or lost, or possibly was never executed. For the frame, Candid proposed two options: one with straight corners and one rounded at the top. As usual in a *modello*, the drawing is at the same time carefully finished and economically executed: only one part has been drawn wherever the overall symmetry of the design (as in the broken pediment) or the repetition of ornament (as in the moldings) makes such abbreviation practical. Using washes, Candid indicated the shadows that would be cast on the church wall by the slightly protruding altar, which is topped by a dramatic flame in an urn (it is not clear how this could have been translated into stone or wood). The letters on the base of the altar must refer to the patrons' coats of arms, to be sculpted in the shields at lower left and right (A), and a dedicatory inscription at lower center (B); it seems that they referred to an explanation to the right of the drawing, now cropped. The way the sheet was once folded suggests that Candid mailed the sheet to the patrons of the altarpiece; the cropped inscription on the back may have been part of their address.

The composition of the altarpiece itself—especially the position of Christ, with the long straight line formed by his arms and continued by his lowered

head—seems to have been inspired by Michelangelo's marble Florentine Pietà (*Pietà Bandini*).<sup>8</sup> It is nearly identical to a Pietà known in many incarnations, including an undated print by one of the Collaerts and a bronze relief in Washington (fig. 3).<sup>9</sup> That design has never been convincingly attributed to any artist. Its earliest dated appearance is from 1585, about the time Candid was in Florence and is thought to have made the drawing now in Berlin. Could Michelangelo's sculpture have inspired Candid to design his own Pietà while he was still in Italy and, after moving to Munich, did he continue developing the idea, eventually inspiring other artists with his own poignant depiction of the Virgin cradling her dead son? SA

1. The watermark is similar to one found in paper used in Munich in 1592 (Piccard-Online, no. 152886; accessed November 26, 2011).
2. Graphische Sammlung, Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg, Erlangen (Bock 1929, vol. 1, no. 891, vol. 2, ill.; Yasmin Doosry in Nuremberg 2008, no. 90, ill.; Volk-Knüttel 2010, no. z 12, fig. 138).
3. The print was engraved by Jan Sadeler I (Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish*, 1949–2007, vol. 21 [1980], p. 101, no. 127; Volk-Knüttel 2010, no. D 8, fig. 285). The preparatory drawing for the print is preserved in the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. 2354 F (Henk Th. van Veen in Kloek and Meijer 2008, no. 38, ill.; Volk-Knüttel 2010, no. D 8, fig. 285).
4. Bock and Rosenberg 1930, vol. 1, p. 60, vol. 2, pl. 49; Volk-Knüttel 2010, no. z 6, fig. 129.
5. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, inv. D-2285 (FD 636) (N. Turner 2008, no. 46, ill.; Volk-Knüttel 2010, no. z 5, fig. 128); Muzeum Archidiecezjalne we Wrocławiu, Wrocław, inv. 3854 (Volk-Knüttel 2010, no. G 13, fig. 84). Notwithstanding the probable connection between these works and the Berlin drawing, it should be noted that on the back of the latter is a draft of a letter by Candid dated 1591, which could mean the drawing should be dated about that time.
6. The anonymous sheet was offered at the same sale in 2003 as Candid's drawing discussed here (lot 202).
7. A highly elaborate design for a sculpted altar by Sustris is now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., acc. 2007.111.167 (Peter Prange in Washington 2010–11, no. 1, ill.).
8. Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Florence (Poeschke 1992, pp. 119–20, figs. 100–103; Acidini Luchinat 2005, pp. 264–77, ill., no. 44).
9. Douglas Lewis in Washington 1991, pp. 42–43, ill.; compare Weber 1975, vol. 1, no. 452, vol. 2, pl. 132. For the print, see Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish*, 1949–2007, vol. 8 (1953), p. 150, no. 2 (as after Jan Gossaert); Diels and Leesberg 2005–6, vol. 3 (2005), no. 504, ill. (as by Jan II or III Collaert); Volk-Knüttel 2010, p. 232, fig. 159. The preparatory drawing for the print, now apparently lost, is said to have been in "silver point heightened with white on dark-grey paper" and was sold as by Jan Gossaert at the sale of the collection of Robert Prioleau Roupell (Christie's, London, July 12–14, 1887, lot 898).

*Provenance:* Ingeborg Tremmel (1925–2002); her sale, Ketterer Kunst, Munich, May 5–6, 2003, lot 200; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 2003

*Literature:* Ketterer 2003, lot 200, ill.; Volk-Knüttel 2010, no. z 31, fig. 158



### 53 | Peter Candid

*Otto von Wittelsbach Liberates the Army of Frederick Barbarossa in a Mountain Pass near Verona*, 1604 or slightly later

Pen and carbon black ink, gray ink wash mixed with lead white, traces of black chalk underdrawing (laid down), 5<sup>11</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 10<sup>9</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (14.4 × 26.9 cm)

The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 2005 (2005.119)

Remnants of a framing line in red chalk, possibly by the artist. Verso, at upper right, an illegible inscription in graphite (20th-century handwriting)

Watermark: none

When the Bruges weaver Pieter de Witte and his family moved to Florence in 1558, he did so in order to work at the tapestry workshop that had been established by the Medici a few years earlier; he remained active there until at least 1568.<sup>1</sup> His profession may have helped Pieter's son, the great painter Peter Candid, become

one of the most accomplished tapestry designers in the seventeenth century.<sup>2</sup> His earliest commission while serving at the court of Duke Maximilian I in Munich goes back to 1604 and was for a series devoted to one of Maximilian's forebears—the twelfth-century count palatine Otto von Wittelsbach, the first of his family to rule over the duchy of Bavaria.<sup>3</sup> In ten large panels, most of them still on view at the Munich Residenz, Candid depicted scenes from Otto's life, especially his role in the first Italian campaign (1154–55) led by Holy Roman Emperor Frederick I, known as Barbarossa.

The fifth tapestry represents an event that took place soon after Barbarossa was crowned by the pope in 1155: he ordered Otto to liberate the imperial army, caught in an ambush by robbers near Verona (fig. 1).<sup>4</sup> In the drawing, Otto (carrying the emperor's standard with its two-headed eagle) stands at left, next to Barbarossa, who points to the rocky fortress in the background, which Otto's men have already started assailing. The sketch under discussion is probably the earliest known design related to the tapestry, and as Brigitte Volk-Knüttel



Fig. 1. Hans van der Biest, after Peter Candid, *Otto von Wittelsbach Liberates the Army of Frederick Barbarossa in a Mountain Pass near Verona*, 1609. Tapestry, 13 ft. 3½ in. × 21 ft. 6 in. (4.05 × 6.58 m). Bayerische Verwaltung der Staatlichen Schlösser, Gärten und Seen, Residenz, Munich (BSV.WA0001)

notes, “an especially beautiful example of Candid’s powerful penmanship.”<sup>5</sup> Although well balanced and striking, the composition must not have completely satisfied the artist or his patron, as Candid eventually settled on a quite different design. The tapestry shows Otto at center, bearing the imperial standard over his shoulder and walking toward the mountain pass. In this more dynamic composition, the duke looks over his shoulder at the viewer while he walks away, dividing the tapestry between the imperial camp at left and the fortress at right. The emperor takes a less prominent role, perhaps at the request of the duke, who had commissioned the series to glorify his ancestor.

Generally similar to the Museum’s sheet is one in Paris.<sup>6</sup> However, the background scene is closer to the final version. It should thus be dated about 1605, though probably still in the first year or so after Candid received the commission. These two drawings, together with others related to the composition and to other tapestries in the series, reveal Candid’s approach to preparing his designs. The drawings in the Museum and in Paris must be seen as preliminary sketches, although the absence of any pentimenti may indicate that they were preceded by earlier ones drawn even more freely.

The Museum’s sheet served to try out not only a composition but also the distribution of light and shadow by way of washes. The development of the final composition is recorded in two more drawings, one depicting only the isolated figures of the striding Otto and his companion; the other, which is squared for transfer, shows the complete composition in reverse.<sup>7</sup> Clearly, this last sheet must have directly preceded the creation of a now-lost full-scale cartoon, which had to be in reverse, given the low-warp method used by the Munich weavers. Similar finished drawings by Candid in reverse of the tapestries in the Wittelsbach series are preserved, some with touches of watercolor.<sup>8</sup> In addition to the wealth of detail and complex compositions, they predict the astonishing richness of color in the actual tapestries.

SA

1. For Pieter de Witte the Elder, see Volk-Knüttel 2010, pp. 13–15.
2. For the tapestries designed by Candid, see Volk-Knüttel 1976; Thomas P. Campbell and Elizabeth Cleland in New York and Madrid 2007–8, pp. 62–64, 81–86.
3. For the Wittelsbach series, see Volk-Knüttel 1976, pp. 38–40, 55–64, 132–37, 147–70; Volk-Knüttel 2010, pp. 79–81, 320–25, nos. Tap 1–Tap 23, pls. 47–50.
4. Volk-Knüttel 1976, no. 7, pl. 1, figs. 89, 90; Volk-Knüttel 2010, p. 389, no. Tap z 11.
5. Volk-Knüttel 2010, p. 321: “ein besonders schönes Beispiel für Candid’s kraftvollen Federduktus.”
6. Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. 19857 (Lugt 1968, no. 678, pl. 192; Volk-Knüttel 1976, no. 77, fig. 28; Volk-Knüttel 2010, pp. 320–21, 389, no. Tap z 11). A drawing by Candid with a commander in a pose very similar to that of Barbarossa and pointing to a besieged city is in the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung München, inv. 148 z (Volk-Knüttel 1976, no. 80, fig. 31; Volk-Knüttel 2010, p. 389, no. Tap z 14). As suggested in Volk-Knüttel 1976 (p. 153), it most likely represents another scene from the life of Otto. In fact, the drawing’s size and style connect it with a group of twenty designs by Candid that never progressed beyond the sketch stage, almost all of them also in Munich (Volk-Knüttel 1976, nos. 86–105, figs. 38, 39, 41, 42, 44–56—compare especially no. 86, fig. 39, and no. 87, fig. 38; Volk-Knüttel 2010, p. 389, nos. Tap z 20–Tap z 39). Perhaps the Munich drawing preceded the Museum’s, in which Candid might have reused elements of his rejected compositions.
7. Staatliche Graphische Sammlung München, inv. 132 z and 133 z (Volk-Knüttel 1976, nos. 78, 79, figs. 29, 30; Volk-Knüttel 2010, p. 389, nos. Tap z 12, Tap z 13).
8. See notably a drawing in the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung München, inv. 129 z (Volk-Knüttel 1976, no. 83, fig. 34; Volk-Knüttel 2010, p. 389, no. Tap z 17); and one in the Kasper collection, New York (Volk-Knüttel 2010, no. Tap z 60, fig. 263; Elizabeth Nogrady in New York 2011, no. 41, ill.).

*Provenance:* [Lutz Riester, Freiburg]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 2005

*Literature:* Volk-Knüttel 2010, no. Tap z 59, fig. 262

## HANS WERL

Munich, ca. 1570–1608, Munich

Although his work did not achieve the same high quality as that by his most talented colleagues, Hans Werl is a worthy exemplar of the Munich style, and he was held in great esteem at the Bavarian ducal courts of William V and Maximilian I. His paintings and drawings are closest in style to those by Friedrich Sustris but represent a slightly stockier version of that artist's graceful style. The author of mainly religious and mythological compositions, Werl was also active as a portraitist and a miniaturist. Few of his works are known today, but it is likely that a number have remained unrecognized.

*General literature:* Heinrich Geissler in Stuttgart 1979–80, vol. 1, pp. 150–51; Geissler 1996b

### 54 | Hans Werl

*Venus and Cupid in the Clouds*, ca. 1600

Pen and carbon black ink, gray ink washes, graphite underdrawing, squared for transfer in red chalk (laid down), 8<sup>9</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 5<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (21.7 × 13.3 cm)

Purchase, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1961 (61.241)

At upper center, the symbol ♀ in pen and black ink and gray wash, by the artist

*Watermark:* none visible because of the secondary support

This hitherto unpublished drawing entered the Museum's collection in 1961 as the work of Peter Candid (see cats. 52, 53). However, even though the drawing's style clearly belongs to an artist active in Munich, a comparison with Candid's more tightly drawn works excludes him as the author, as has already been recognized by Brigitte Volk-Knüttel.<sup>1</sup> The drawing is here attributed to Hans Werl, a younger—and short-lived—colleague of Candid's, who was likewise active at the Residenz, the ducal palace in Munich. Werl's best-known and best-documented drawing, the model for his 1601 altarpiece for the court chapel, shows many similarities in style to this one, as does a religious drawing by him in the Museum's collection.<sup>2</sup> Especially comparable are the putti and female saints with protruding dark eyes, chubby cheeks, high foreheads, and flamelike shocks of hair. The manner of drawing is even closer to that of three models for paintings commissioned to decorate the Hercules Room at the Residenz, which have been



convincingly attributed to Werl (see fig. 1).<sup>3</sup> Although those drawings depict only men, their features are comparable to those of this Venus, and the technique, characterized by subtle washes and soft lines somewhat lacking in energy, is nearly identical.

The drawing under discussion represents Venus, identified by her astrological sign and seen in the company of her son Cupid, holding an arrow and with his quiver nearby. The flaming heart held by the goddess of





Fig. 1. Hans Werl, *Albrecht III Refuses the Crown of Bohemia*, 1601 or later. Pen and gray ink, gray wash, squared for transfer in red chalk, 8 $\frac{1}{16}$  × 12 $\frac{5}{8}$  in. (20.5 × 32 cm). Frits Lugt Collection, Paris (4545)



Fig. 2. Jan Saenredam, after Hendrick Goltzius, *Venus and Cupid*, ca. 1595. Engraving, 9 $\frac{13}{16}$  × 7 $\frac{3}{16}$  in. (25 × 18.2 cm). British Museum, London (1854-5-13-159)

love may be better known from religious (Augustinian) iconography, but in the second half of the sixteenth century it was often used as an attribute of Venus. It appears in a number of Netherlandish prints representing Venus and Cupid, including two from series of the planetary gods and others engraved after Hendrick Goltzius and dated in or about the years 1595–97 (fig. 2).<sup>4</sup> Some of these prints also feature other elements of Werl's composition, such as the belt strapped underneath the goddess's breasts, the jewel in her hair, and the Venus symbol overhead.<sup>5</sup> The crowns at Venus's feet—one looking very similar to the imperial Habsburg crown of Rudolf II made in 1602,<sup>6</sup> the other a westernized turban—may represent Venus's dominance over land, whereas the trident at left must indicate her power over the seas as well.

The drawing, which is squared for transfer, was evidently made for a ceiling painting; the unidentified commission would presumably have included paintings representing the other planets.<sup>7</sup> Very similar in composition and in form—rounded at top and bottom—are a series of allegorical paintings designed about 1615 by Peter Candid for the so-called Theatiner gang (Theatine hallway), also in the Munich Residenz.<sup>8</sup> It seems safe to date the Museum's drawing to about 1600, the approximate time of Werl's work on the Hercules Room. SA

1. Email to Michiel Plomp, August 6, 2003 (copy in the Museum's departmental files), rejecting the former attribution to Candid. A drawing rather convincingly attributed to Werl, which is somewhat closer to Candid's graphic style, is at the École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris, inv. M 1655 (Emmanuelle Brugerolles in Paris and Hamburg 1985–86, no. 34, ill.).
2. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. 1998.41.10 (Bassenge 1997, lot 5500, ill.). The drawing related to the altarpiece is in the Kunsthalle Bremen, inv. 62/231 (Heinrich Geissler in Stuttgart 1979–80, vol. 1, no. D 19, ill.; Anne Röver-Kann in Bremen 1998, p. 80, ill.).
3. Boon 1992, vol. 1, no. 290, vol. 3, pl. 316. The two other drawings are in the Albertina, Vienna, inv. 8007, 8008 (Benesch 1928, nos. 180, 181, pls. 49, 48 [as by Peter Candid]; Volk-Knüttel 1967, pp. 189–93, fig. 5). For the Hercules Room and the related paintings, see Volk-Knüttel 1967, pp. 187–94.
4. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish*, 1949–2007, vol. 23 (1980), p. 51, no. 67, ill. For other prints of Venus with a burning heart after Goltzius by Jan Saenredam and Jacob Matham, see Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish*, 1949–2007, vol. 23 (1980), pp. 43, 47, 48, 54, nos. 54, 61, 64, 70, ill.; Widerkehr 2007–8, vol. 2 (2007), no. 208, ill. The iconography was followed in some slightly later prints by Crispijn van de Passe the Elder (Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish*, 1949–2007, vol. 15 [1964], pp. 174, 175, 176, nos. 381, 385, 388, ill.). Among earlier examples is a print by Hieronymus Wierix after Jan van der Straet, called Stradanus, dated 1575 (Leesberg 2008, vol. 2, no. 287, ill.).
5. For the symbol, see Ripa 1603, p. 206. The similar symbol of Mercury (see Ripa 1603, p. 206) has sometimes been confused with Venus's (see the prints of Venus and Mercury in Jacob Matham's series of engravings after Goltzius of Mercury mentioned in note 7, below).
6. Rudolf's crown, designed by Hans Vermeyen, is now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, inv. X1a1 (Bukovinská 1982; Distelberger 1988, pp. 449–50; Rudolf Distelberger in Essen and Vienna 1988–89, vol. 1, p. 467, ill., pl. 65).
7. Two print series of the planetary gods by Jan Saenredam and Jacob Matham after Hendrick Goltzius include, in addition to Venus and Cupid, the planets Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the sun or Apollo, Mercury, and the moon or Diana (Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish*, 1949–2007, vol. 23 [1980], pp. 41–44, nos. 50–56, ill.; Widerkehr 2007–8, vol. 2 [2007], nos. 204–10, ill.).
8. For the Theatiner gang, see Anna Bauer-Wild and Brigitte Volk-Knüttel in H. Bauer and Rupprecht 1976–2008, vol. 3, pt. 2 (1989), pp. 197–210, ill.; Volk-Knüttel 2010, p. 90, nos. z 70–z 86, Re 90–Re 142, figs. 66, 213–30.

*Provenance:* Lucien Goldschmidt (1912–1992), New York; purchased from him by the Department of Drawings, 1961

*Literature:* unpublished



## HANS ROTTENHAMMER

Munich, 1564–1625, Augsburg

After training in his native Munich, Hans Rottenhammer went to Italy in 1588 or 1589 and spent more than fifteen years there. Although also recorded in Rome, from at least 1595 or 1596 (and possibly earlier), he worked mainly in Venice. There he came under the influence of the city's great painters—most notably, Jacopo Palma il Giovane, Jacopo Tintoretto, and Paolo Veronese—and ran a successful and prolific workshop. In 1606 he returned to Germany and established himself in Augsburg. His attractive, beautifully executed, somewhat repetitive work was highly popular with his contemporaries; some of its appeal seems to have been lost—not quite deservedly—to modern eyes.

*General literature:* Peltzer 1916; Schlichtenmaier 1988; Borggrefe et al. 2007; Brake and Prague 2008–9

## 55 | Hans Rottenhammer

*The Rape of the Sabine Women*, 1597 or before (?)

Pen and iron gall ink, iron gall ink washes, graphite underdrawing, red chalk, 8¼ × 12¼ in. (21 × 31.1 cm)

Bequest of Harry G. Sperling, 1971 (1971.131.236)

At lower left, inscribed *Rot. 1600 Aug.* in pen and brown ink (18th-century handwriting?). Framing line in pen and brown ink, by a later hand. Verso, at upper center, inscribed *Tintoreto F (?)* in pen and brown ink (17th- or 18th-century handwriting?); at center, inscribed *F. A Mayliss [?] 1902* in pen and black ink (20th-century handwriting); at lower right, inscribed *Tintoret* in pen and brown ink (17th- or 18th-century handwriting?)

*Watermark:* lion<sup>1</sup>

Like the myth of Diana and Actaeon (see cat. 56), the Rape of the Sabine Women was a story that continually inspired Rottenhammer, resulting in at least three finished works. The earliest of these is a large canvas dated 1597 (fig. 1).<sup>2</sup> A smaller version on copper (1604) in Chatsworth can be called an autograph repetition.<sup>3</sup> The Museum's drawing is clearly related to both works. The Augsburg goldsmith Hans Jakob Bayr the



Fig. 2. Egidius Sadeler II, after Jacopo Tintoretto, *The Massacre of the Innocents*, ca. 1600. Engraving, 15 $\frac{7}{16}$  × 19 $\frac{7}{16}$  in. (39.2 × 49.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1949 (49.95.2295)



Fig. 1. Hans Rottenhammer, *The Rape of the Sabine Women*, 1597. Oil on canvas, 59 $\frac{13}{16}$  × 83 $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (152 × 211 cm). Private collection

Elder made a medal after a design by Rottenhammer, now in Florence, that is quite different from the two earlier compositions and probably dates from no earlier than 1610 (compare cat. 56).<sup>4</sup> Some additional versions of the theme are attributed to Rottenhammer as well.<sup>5</sup>

Recounted by Plutarch in his life of Romulus, Rome's legendary founder (chapters XIV–XV), and by Livy (book I, chapter 9), the story of the Sabine women offered artists, especially in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the appealing opportunity to depict a complex battle fought by virile soldiers and barely clothed women.<sup>6</sup> In search of ways to encourage the population growth of Rome in its early days, when it was still inhabited mainly by men, Romulus announced the discovery of the statue of a god and proclaimed a festival in its honor. During the celebration, the Romans captured some of the visiting Sabine women—neighbors who had previously declined Romulus's invitation to mate with his men. In Rottenhammer's painting, the festooned arch in the middle ground refers to the festival.

The former attribution of the drawing to Jacopo Tintoretto makes some sense, as Rottenhammer was clearly inspired by one of that artist's paintings of the 1580s in the *sala terrena* of the Scuola Grande di San Rocco in Venice.<sup>7</sup> Its subject, the Massacre of the Innocents (Matthew 2:16)—shown here in Egidius Sadeler II's engraving after the composition (fig. 2)<sup>8</sup>—was often depicted as a biblical parallel to the Rape of the Sabines.<sup>9</sup> The biographer Carlo Ridolfi reported in 1648 that while in Venice, Rottenhammer “took to drawing the famous paintings, and particularly those by Tintoretto in the Scuola di San Rocco, and this is how

he acquired the good style and how he became a skilled inventor.”<sup>10</sup> Without quoting directly from the great Venetian's work, Rottenhammer followed the general scheme of his composition and captured the drama conveyed by his contorted figures.

The drawing is somewhat closer to Tintoretto's canvas than to Rottenhammer's own painted versions: even the monumental staircase in the Venetian's composition has found a modest role in the lower left corner of the drawing. Although it has always been assumed that the drawing was signed and dated by the artist in August 1600, there is little reason to accept as autograph the inscription at lower left: the ink seems to differ from that used for the drawing itself, and the handwriting is quite unlike that of undisputed signatures on other drawings by Rottenhammer.<sup>11</sup> This leaves open the possibility that the drawing is a slightly earlier exploratory sketch for the 1597 painting. In fact, this seems quite likely, especially since that work and the Chatsworth version from 1604 are so similar, which suggests that Rottenhammer did not rework his composition in those years.<sup>12</sup> The drawing is an excellent example of Rottenhammer's loose pen sketches from his Venetian period, which he typically finished with lively wash. This style was apparently inspired by the Venetian artist Jacopo Palma il Giovane, with whom Rottenhammer is said (again by Ridolfi) to have been friends.<sup>13</sup> The Museum owns two more drawings of this type.<sup>14</sup>

SA

1. The watermark is similar to one found in paper used in Mantua in 1589 (Piccard-Online, no. 85288, accessed November 20, 2011).

2. Formerly in the collection of the District Bank, Manchester, England; and more recently at the sale Christie's, London, December 16, 1998, lot 38 (Schlichtenmaier 1988, p. 116, no. G 1 28; A. J. Martin 2007a, figs. 1, 3, 9; Heiner Borggreffe in Brake and Prague 2008–9, no. 24, ill.).

3. The Duke of Devonshire and the Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement, Chatsworth, inv. 581 (Arts Council of Great Britain 1955–56, no. 31; A. J. Martin 2007a, pp. 55–56, fig. 5). A weak copy on vellum after this painting was previously at the sale Hôtel Drouot, Paris, December 10, 2003, lot 7 (illustrated in the catalogue).

4. For the medal, which is preserved in several casts, see Weber 1975, vol. 1, no. 781, vol. 2, pl. 218; Schlichtenmaier 1988, p. 429; Michael Bischoff in Brake and Prague 2008–9, no. 78, ill. The drawing is at the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. 8925 s (Jost 1963, pp. 74–76, fig. 5; Weber 1969; Andrews 1988, no. 54, fig. 51; Schlichtenmaier 1988, no. Z 1 31; Bischoff in Brake and Prague 2008–9, p. 171, fig. 54).

5. A “Raptus Sabinarum” by Rottenhammer is mentioned in the 1621 inventory of the collection of Rudolf II in Prague (published in Granberg 1902, p. XIX, no. 782); the painting was later in the collection of Christina of Sweden (Granberg 1902, p. 117, no. 246). Two other paintings are recorded in Hoet 1752, vol. 1, p. 132, no. 4, vol. 2, p. 265, no. 15. See also A. J. Martin 2007a, p. 63, n. 6.

6. For the Greek and Latin texts, as well as an English translation, see Plutarch 1914–26 (ed.), vol. 1, pp. 126–35; Livy 1919–59 (ed.), vol. 1, pp. 32–39. For other treatments of the subject in the visual arts, see Pigler 1974, vol. 2, pp. 418–23.
7. Pallucchini and Rossi 1982, vol. 1, p. 100, no. 438, pl. xxxii, vol. 2, figs. 559–61; Willmes 1985, pp. 12, 16, 152, 309, 312, 313, fig. 45; Romanelli 1994, pp. 39, 42, 321, ill. pp. 362–85. The connection was already proposed in Jost 1963, p. 75, n. 41. Less compelling is a comparison with a painting by Bonifazio Veronese in a private collection, suggested in A. J. Martin 2007a, pp. 57–58, figs. 7, 8.
8. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish*, 1949–2007, vol. 21 (1980), p. 14, no. 37; Maria Agnese Chiari Moretto Wiel in Venice 1994, no. 9, ill.
9. Rottenhammer also depicted the Massacre of the Innocents in a painting dated 1603 in the Deutsche Barockgalerie, Schaezlerpalais, Kunstsammlungen und Museen Augsburg, inv. L 854 (Borggrefe in Brake and Prague 2008–9, no. 62, ill.); a related drawing is in the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung München, inv. 1963:214 Z (Schlichtenmaier 1988, no. Z 161; Borggrefe in Brake and Prague 2008–9, no. 63, ill.).
10. Ridolfi 1648, vol. 2, p. 76: “si pose à disegnare le pitture celebri, & quelle in particolare del Tintoretto della Scuola di S. Rocco, onde apprese la buona maniera, e si fece pratico inuentore.”
11. Compare, for instance, a drawing dated August 1595 in the British Museum, London, inv. A-17-52 (Schlichtenmaier 1988, no. Z 111; Borggrefe in Brake and Prague 2008–9, p. 104, fig. 153); for other examples, see Borggrefe in Brake and Prague 2008–9, nos. 3, 22, ill.
12. A drawing at the National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh (inv. D 1746), is a copy in reverse of the painting reproduced here as fig. 1 (Andrews 1991, p. 16, fig. 67). Another drawing, now probably lost, is described in the catalogue of the sale Hôtel Drouot, Paris, March 23–25, 1874, lot 58 (“L’Enlèvement des Sabines. Dessin de forme ronde à la plume et l’encre de Chine; rehaussé de blanc”).
13. Ridolfi 1648, vol. 2, p. 77.
14. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. 2003.500 (Borggrefe in Brake and Prague 2008–9, p. 119, fig. 169); and an unpublished sheet, acc. 2005.418.15.

*Provenance:* F. A. Mayliss (?), 1902; Harry G. Sperling (1906–1971), New York; bequeathed by him to the Department of Drawings, 1971

*Literature:* Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann in Princeton, Washington, and Pittsburgh 1982–83, no. 31, ill.; Kaufmann 1985, p. 100; Christie’s 1998a, p. 61, under lot 38; A. J. Martin 2007a, p. 56; Heiner Borggrefe in Brake and Prague 2008–9, p. 118, under no. 24, fig. 50

## 56 | Hans Rottenhammer

*Diana and Actaeon*, after ca. 1610 (?)

Pen and iron gall ink, red chalk, iron gall and sanguine washes, graphite and red chalk underdrawing, on paper prepared with sanguine wash, diameter: 7<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (18 cm)

Ian Woodner Family Collection Fund, 2011 (2011.387)

On a discarded secondary support, at lower left, inscribed [...] Rott[en]hamer in graphite (18th- or 19th-century handwriting)

*Watermark:* circle with standing man with sword (?)

Hans Rottenhammer could make even a subdued religious subject look like a lush forest scene peopled by

attractive nudes, so it is little surprise that he had a particular fondness for Diana and Actaeon.<sup>2</sup> As recounted by Ovid in the *Metamorphoses* (book III, verses 138–252), the myth tells of a shepherd’s son who, after inadvertently spying on Diana and her bathing nymphs, is turned into a deer by the goddess and fatally pursued by his own hunting dogs. It is the subject of some of Rottenhammer’s best works, including two paintings on copper, one in Stuttgart—a collaboration with Jan Brueghel the Elder—and the other in Munich.<sup>3</sup> Drawings related to these compositions are in Weimar and Chatsworth, respectively.<sup>4</sup> The Weimar sheet is dated 1597 and the Munich painting 1602, which firmly situates all four works during the artist’s years in Venice. Before, in Rome, he had already made two drawings of the subject, one of which is dated 1595.<sup>5</sup> He later also inspired several followers to explore the artistic possibilities of the story, either in compositions probably after now-lost works by him or in original works in his style.<sup>6</sup> All of these depict the moment when Actaeon has just been discovered by Diana and her nymphs; the goddess then sprinkles “the avenging drops” on his hair that make him grow antlers—a tragic metamorphosis ultimately resulting in the young man’s death.<sup>7</sup>

Among the other works that attest to Rottenhammer’s continuing interest in the subject should be mentioned a—signed?—drawing formerly in Dessau, but lost in World War II (fig. 1).<sup>8</sup> Another version of the composition, in square format, is in London (fig. 2).<sup>9</sup> Inscribed *Rottenhamer In. Venetia* and dated 1597 in pen and brown ink, the latter has been considered to be an autograph replica, but certain weaknesses suggest that it is instead a work from the artist’s circle. This becomes even more evident when the London sheet is compared to the third, newly surfaced version of the subject—identical in composition and size, and very close in style to the Dessau version—that was acquired for the Museum’s collection. The penmanship in the Museum’s drawing is perhaps slightly livelier than in the Dessau version; this is also seen in the brushwork in the trees at upper left and the sketchily indicated grotto at right. On the other hand, the light but firm underdrawing in graphite of the Museum’s sheet suggests that the draftsman had already worked out the composition previously; this is also evident in the lower right corner, where the drawing stops within the edge of the paper as if following an invisible model. Although comparing the Museum’s drawing to the one in Dessau is made difficult by the fact that the latter can no longer be studied in the original, it seems likely that it preceded



CAT. 56

the one in the Museum. The consistency in quality of the two drawings, compared to the slightly weaker version in London, leaves little doubt that both are autograph.

Why Rottenhammer would have made two nearly identical drawings is not clear. In many details—the sharp features of the figures, the high cheekbones and hollow eyes of the faces—the drawings are comparable to a round one in Göttingen representing Noah, his family, and the animals entering the ark, which served

as the model for a medal by the Augsburg goldsmith Hans Jakob Bayr the Elder.<sup>10</sup> Given their round shape, it is plausible that the Dessau and New York drawings were also made in connection with a medal; perhaps Rottenhammer made one version as a *modello* for the goldsmith charged with the execution of the object, and another as a *ricordo* for himself. Although the Dessau drawing has been dated to Rottenhammer's Venetian period—about 1597 (probably based on the date on the London sheet<sup>11</sup>)—this date can no longer be defended



Fig. 1. Hans Rottenhammer, *Diana and Actaeon*, after ca. 1610 (?). Pen and brush and gray ink, on red prepared paper (?), diameter: ca. 6<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (17.5 cm). Formerly Graphische Sammlung, Anhaltische Gemäldegalerie, Dessau, lost in World War II

if the connection with Rottenhammer's activity as a designer for the decorative arts is accepted: the two drawings should then be dated to about the same time as the one in Göttingen, after Rottenhammer's arrival in Augsburg in 1606 and probably even after 1610, when his collaboration with Bayr and other goldsmiths seems to have started.<sup>12</sup> A further argument for this date can be found in the stylistic comparison with another sheet in Göttingen, dated 1612,<sup>13</sup> which, although it is executed in black chalk, depicts a nude woman in very much the same manner as Diana's nymphs in the two round pen drawings.

SA

1. I have not been able to find a similar watermark.

2. For Rottenhammer's depictions of Diana and Actaeon, see Bischoff 2007; Michael Bischoff and Martina Jandlová in Brake and Prague 2008–9, pp. 130–36. The religious compositions referred to, depicting the Baptism of Christ, consist of a painting in the Bayerische Staatsgemälde-sammlungen, Munich, inv. L 760 (Jandlová in Brake and Prague 2008–9, no. 29, ill.), and a preparatory drawing in the Národní Galerie v Praze, Prague, inv. K 1274 (Volrábová 2007, no. 20, ill. [as possibly a copy after Rottenhammer]; Jandlová in Brake and Prague 2008–9, p. 125, fig. 174 [as by Rottenhammer]).

3. Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, inv. 3457 (Höper 1996a, pp. 86–87, ill.; Bischoff in Brake and Prague 2008–9, no. 36, ill.); Alte Pinakothek, Munich, inv. 1588 (Rüdiger an der Heide in Alte Pinakothek 1986, pp. 434–35, ill.; Bischoff in Brake and Prague 2008–9, no. 38, ill.).

4. Graphische Sammlungen, Klassik Stiftung Weimar, inv. KK 169 (Bischoff in Brake and Prague 2008–9, no. 37, ill.); The Duke of Devonshire and the Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement,

Chatsworth, inv. 691 (Schlichtenmaier 1988, no. Z 177; Jaffé 2002, vol. 4, no. 1575, ill.; Bischoff in Brake and Prague 2008–9, p. 134, fig. 85). Another drawing related to the Stuttgart painting, possibly a copy, is in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. 22004 (Demonts 1937–38, vol. 2, no. 665, pl. 165 [as by Rottenhammer]; Schlichtenmaier 1988, no. Z 125 [as by Rottenhammer]).

5. The dated drawing, which is also signed, is in a private collection (Schlichtenmaier 1988, no. Z 118 [as attributed to Rottenhammer]; Heiner Borggreffe in Brake and Prague 2008–9, no. 3, ill.); the other drawing is in the collection of the princes of Waldburg-Wolfegg and Waldsee in Wolfegg (Kaufmann 2008, p. 54; Borggreffe in Brake and Prague 2008–9, p. 97, fig. 88). An even earlier treatment, dated to the artist's supposed first Venetian period (1591–94), is a drawing in the Louvre, inv. RF 1192 (Demonts 1937–38, vol. 2, no. 664, pl. 165; Borggreffe in Brake and Prague 2008–9, p. 97, fig. 4); another early drawing is at the Nasjonalmuseet for Kunst, Arkitektur og Design, Oslo, inv. B 15124.

6. Among these is an anonymous drawing in the Stiftung Museum Kunstpalast, Düsseldorf, inv. KA (FF) 5489 (Düsseldorf 2008–9, p. 309, ill. p. 61); one in the Louvre, inv. 20929 (Demonts 1937–38, vol. 2, no. 668; Schlichtenmaier 1988, no. Z 1111); a drawing based on Rottenhammer's sheet in a private collection (see note 5 above) and purportedly signed by Augustin Braun in the collection of the princes of Waldburg-Wolfegg and Waldsee in Wolfegg (Bernd M. Mayer in Ravensburg 2003, no. 19, ill.); a drawing signed by Hendrick van Balen I, dated 1605, formerly in a private collection (Schilling 1924, no. 26, ill.); a painting in part after Rottenhammer's Munich painting (see note 3 above) by Andreas Göding in the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam, inv. 1243 (Giltaij 2000, p. 69, ill.); and an apparently original painting in Rottenhammer's style by Friedrich Christoph Steinhammer, dated 1615, in the Národní Galerie v Praze, Prague, inv. DO 4138 (Pijl 2007, p. 184, no. 2, fig. 21; Vlnas 2007, p. 181, fig. 2; Jandlová in Brake and Prague 2008–9, no. 39, ill.).

7. Ovid 1976–77 (ed.), vol. 1, p. 136: "perfudit spargensque comas ultricibus undis"; for the translation by Frank Justus Miller, see p. 137.

8. Friedländer 1914, no. 77, ill.; Schlichtenmaier 1988, no. Z 127; Bischoff 2007, p. 78, fig. 9. The drawing reproduced here as fig. 1 is from Friedländer 1914. A signed painting is in the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, acc. 56–19 (Pani 1940, no. 1, ill.).

9. George William Reid in G. W. Reid et al. 1874, no. 369 (as by Rottenhammer); Schlichtenmaier 1988, no. Z 128 (as by Rottenhammer); Bischoff 2007, p. 87, n. 17 (as by Rottenhammer).

10. Kunstsammlung der Universität Göttingen, inv. H 82 (Bischoff 2008, p. 66, fig. 106). For Bayr, see G. Meissner 1994; Bischoff 2008, p. 66. For Bayr's medal after Rottenhammer's drawing, see Weber 1975, vol. 1, no. 782, vol. 2, pl. 218; Bischoff 2008, p. 66, fig. 107.

11. The handwriting of this inscription differs quite clearly from that of the autograph inscription on the sheet in Weimar (see note 4 above; see also cat. 55, note 11).

12. For a discussion of this aspect of Rottenhammer's career, see Bischoff 2008.

13. Kunstsammlung der Universität Göttingen, inv. H 608 (Schlichtenmaier 1988, no. Z 196). The drawing, a sheet from an *album amicorum*, was dated a second time by Rottenhammer in 1614.

*Provenance:* Sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, June 10, 1988, lot 187; sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, December 1, 2010, lot 1; [Kunsthändler Katrin Bellingier, Munich]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 2011

*Literature:* Drouot 1988, lot 187, ill.; Drouot 2010, lot 1, ill. (as attributed to Rottenhammer)



Fig. 2. Anonymous, after Hans Rottenhammer, *Diana and Actaeon*, after ca. 1610 (?). Pen and brown ink, brown wash, heightened with white gouache, 7<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> × 7<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in. (18.9 × 19.1 cm). Victoria and Albert Museum, London (Dyce 369)

## CASPAR FRAISINGER

Ochsenhausen, ca. 1550/60–1599, Ingolstadt

Caspar Fraisinger, who became a master in Ingolstadt in 1583, was the foremost Bavarian painter outside Munich in the last decade of the sixteenth century. Many of his (mostly religious) paintings are lost, so today he is best appreciated as a draftsman. He also executed some etchings of a more modest quality. His style was informed by Italian, mainly Venetian, influences as well as those of the earlier artists of the Danube school, active in the region east of Ingolstadt.

*General literature:* Thöne 1940; Heinrich Geissler in Stuttgart 1979–80, vol. 2, pp. 163–65; Hofmann 1988; Hofmann 1992; Sabine Tröger in Munich, Landshut, and Rosenheim 1999–2001, pp. 88–89; G. Meissner 2004; Bodnár 2007; Kaulbach 2007, pp. 109–15

### 57 | Caspar Fraisinger

*Christ Presented to the People, 1590 (?)*

Pen and gray ink, gray ink washes, lead white heightening, traces of black chalk underdrawing, on paper prepared with gray wash, 11 × 7½ in. (27.9 × 18 cm)

Purchase, Sally and Howard Lepow Gift, 1999 (1999.310)

At lower center, signed *CF* (intertwined) in pen and gray ink; at lower right, inscribed *Casp[. . .]* in pen and gray ink (17th-century handwriting). On the secondary support, at lower center, inscribed *313* in graphite (upside down; 20th-century handwriting)

*Watermark:* arrow<sup>1</sup>

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Caspar Fraisinger was still considered “one of the numerous artists without much character of their own, who had joined the ‘romanistic’ movement that spread all over Europe at the end of the sixteenth century.”<sup>2</sup> In more recent decades, critics have pointed out that Fraisinger’s idiosyncratic style is not a pedestrian derivation of Roman Mannerism but a highly individual blend of many influences. Today, the waning of past prejudices allows an appreciation, rather than a dismissal, of what one author calls Fraisinger’s “complex, accomplished compositions, the elegance and graceful lines of the figures, the lavishly laid out architecture and the fusion of all parts thanks to the softly shimmering, painterly modelling over a fine, free pen sketch.”<sup>3</sup> Fraisinger seems to have worked at times in a decidedly finer, less monumental, more finicky manner,<sup>4</sup> but the above characterization seems particularly apt in terms of his best works, including the example discussed here.



Fig. 1. Caspar Fraisinger, *The Supper in the House of Simon the Pharisee*, ca. 1590 (?). Pen and black ink, brush and gray ink, 10<sup>9</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 7<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (26.9 × 18.6 cm). Broelmuseum, Kortrijk (MSK 1047)

The Museum’s drawing depicts the moment when Pontius Pilate presents Christ to the people of Judaea (John 19:5). According to a Passover tradition, the populace was allowed to release one prisoner—in this case, they chose Barabbas rather than Christ, thereby condemning the latter to death. Despite the crucial role of the crowd, Fraisinger focused on the prefect, seen here as a youth in Roman military dress, along with Christ and a member of the Sanhedrin, or supreme council, identified by his orientalizing headpiece and beard. In typical Mannerist fashion, the artist truncated the group of gesticulating onlookers in the left foreground.<sup>5</sup> The palatial building adorned with semicircular gables in the right background betrays the influence of Venetian architecture, such as the late fifteenth-century Scuola Grande di San Marco by Mauro Codussi.<sup>6</sup>

It has been suggested that Fraisinger’s depictions of New Testament scenes, which form the largest part of his drawn oeuvre, can be grouped into series,<sup>7</sup> but this is, in fact, hard to do. Most of his finished drawings are signed and often also dated, which implies that they



Fig. 2. Gregor Reiffenstuel, after Caspar Fraisinger, *Christ Presented to the People*, 1606 (or 1616?). Pen and brown ink, gray wash, heightened with white gouache, 11<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 7<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in. (28.8 × 19.1 cm). Staatliche Graphische Sammlung München (29970 Z)



were made as autonomous works of art, collected probably as much for their subjects as for their peculiar style. Mannerisms in the Museum's drawing—the areas of scratchy hatching, the patches of gray brushwork, and the delicate heightening with white gouache (in the high priest's beard, for example)—all have parallels in some of Fraisinger's other works.<sup>8</sup> The elegant yet robust figures and the painterly technique are also common to sheets depicting the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, in Grenoble, and Christ Taking Leave of His Mother, in Bremen, both dated 1592; and the Supper in the House of Simon the Pharisee in Kortrijk, here newly attributed (or reattributed?) to the artist (fig. 1).<sup>9</sup> With their deep-set eyes, high cheekbones, and downward glances, the faces of Christ in all of these works, as well as that of Mary's mother in the Grenoble sheet, are nearly identical. Pilate's face resembles that of Adonis in a drawing by Fraisinger in Budapest as well as that of another mythological lover in a sheet in London, both dated 1589.<sup>10</sup>

These comparisons alone are enough to suggest a date in the same period for the Museum's drawing. Further confirmation can be found in a drawn copy after it in Munich by a little-known draftsman, Gregor Reiffenstuel (fig. 2).<sup>11</sup> This drawing was dated twice, with one date—probably 1616—undoubtedly indicating the year in which the copy was made; whereas the other—1590—may record the year of the original, that is, the Museum's drawing. Reiffenstuel's copy also attests to the early popularity of and esteem for drawings by Fraisinger. By the later seventeenth century, however, when Joachim von Sandrart the Elder worked on his *Teutsche Academie* (see cat. 97), he seems to have been all but forgotten.<sup>12</sup>

SA

1. The watermark is similar to one found in paper used in Bechhofen in 1599 (Piccard-Online, no. 123330; accessed November 20, 2011).

2. Von Baldass 1916, p. 279: "einer von den vielen wenig individuellen Mitläufern der zu Ende des 16. Jahrh. über ganz Europa verbreiteten romanistischen Strömung."

3. Anne Röver-Kann in Bremen 1998, p. 78: "der kompliziert-gekonnte Bildaufbau, die Eleganz und Schönlinigkeit der Figuren, die aufwendig gestalteten Architekturen und die Verschmelzung aller Teile durch die weichflirrende, malerische Modellierung über dünnliniger, lockerer Federvorzeichnung."

4. A good example is a drawing dated about 1595–96 in the Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, inv. C 1966/1436 (Kaulbach 2007, no. 173, ill.).

5. For another example by Fraisinger, see a drawing dated 1592 in the Musée de Grenoble, inv. MG D 614 (Bodnár 2007, pp. 96, 98, 101, fig. 6).

6. As remarked by Heinrich Geissler in Stuttgart 1979–80, vol. 1, p. 164, under no. D 31. For the Scuola Grande di San Marco, see Goy 2006, pp. 190–215.

7. For proposed reconstructions of these series, see Hofmann 1992, pp. 139–42, 47–149, figs. 2–9, 12–14, 22–32; Röver-Kann in Bremen 1998, p. 78, n. 3; Kaulbach 2007, p. 112, under no. 173, p. 113, under nos. 174–76.

8. Compare, for instance, a signed drawing in the Albertina, Vienna, inv. 25379 (Tietze et al. 1933, vol. 1, no. 419, vol. 2, pl. 142; Thöne 1940, no. 68).

9. The Kortrijk drawing was previously given to Fraisinger's Netherlandish contemporary Karel van Mander (see the advertisement in *Apollo* 159 [January 2004], p. 9). It is possibly identical to a drawing of the same subject given to Fraisinger in the collection of Antoine-François Andréossy and in his sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, April 13–16, 1864, lot 90 (Thöne 1940, no. 66). For the drawing in Grenoble, see note 5 above; the Bremen sheet mentioned is in the Kunsthalle Bremen, inv. 60/195 (Röver-Kann in Bremen 1998, p. 78, ill.; Bodnár 2007, pp. 101, 103, 254–55, fig. 8).

10. Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. 1915-1193 (Thöne 1940, p. 43, no. 14, fig. 3; Bodnár 2007, pp. 94–95, 252, fig. 2); British Museum, London, inv. 1862-7-12-190 (Thöne 1940, p. 43, no. 37, fig. 4; Bodnár 2007, p. 95).

11. Geissler in Stuttgart 1979–80, vol. 1, p. 164, under no. D 31. Another copy by Reiffenstuel after a drawing in The Metropolitan Museum of Art is known: one after an Annunciation by Gabriel Hornstain (acc. 2006.303; formerly at the sale Sotheby's, Amsterdam, November 16, 2005, lot 106; illustrated in the catalogue) in the Albertina, Vienna, inv. 26338 (Tietze et al. 1933, vol. 1, no. 435, vol. 2, pl. 146).

12. As remarked in Thöne 1940, pp. 41, 57–58.

*Provenance:* Anton Schmid (1904–1991), Vienna; \* private collection, Vienna; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 1999

*Literature:* Heinrich Geissler in Stuttgart 1979–80, vol. 1, no. D 31, ill.; Hofmann 1992, p. 140, no. 4; Bodnár 2007, pp. 95, 252; Kaulbach 2007, p. 113, n. 1, under no. 175, p. 114, n. 1, under no. 178

\* As recorded at the time of the acquisition by the Museum.

## GEORG BEHAM

Munich, ca. 1568–1604, Munich

Like the renowned Christoph Schwarz, George Beham (or Pecham, or Peham) studied with Johann Melchior Bocksberger in Munich before establishing himself as a master painter in that city in 1593. The influence of Venetian art evident in his work suggests that he visited Italy; he certainly traveled widely and was also active in Salzburg and Augsburg, among other places. Because only one of his paintings appears to survive, he is known today from his drawings and designs for prints. However, a certain lack of stylistic coherence, as well as a lack of scholarly interest in this artist, makes it hard to assess his work properly.

*General literature:* Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann in Princeton, Washington, and Pittsburgh 1982–83, pp. 126–27; Braunfels 1996

*The Vision of Ezekiel in the Valley of the Dry Bones, 1600*

Pen and brown ink, brown earth, azurite, vermilion and (unidentified) yellow watercolor, black chalk underdrawing, diameter: 7<sup>11</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (19.7 cm)

Van Day Truex Fund and The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 2005 (2005.26)

At upper left, inscribed *Gotthard Ringgli. f* in pen and brown ink (18th- or 19th-century handwriting); at lower center, dated *den [Mar]ti 1600* in pen and black ink, by the artist; to the right, collector's mark of Boguslaw Jolles (Lugt 381). Circular framing line in pen and black ink, possibly by the artist. Verso, at lower center, inscribed *Gotthard Ringgli fec* in graphite (19th-century handwriting); at lower right, inscribed *12 (?)* in pen and brown ink (17th- or 18th-century handwriting?); to the right, inscribed *56* in graphite (19th- or 20th-century handwriting); below, inscribed *385* in blue crayon (19th- or 20th-century handwriting); at lower center, inscribed *No 181* in graphite (19th-century handwriting)

Watermark: shield with salt barrel<sup>1</sup>

Because of the later inscription at upper left, this drawing has previously been published as by the Swiss artist Gotthard Ringgli, even though his style differs considerably.<sup>2</sup> The drawing is, in fact, an outstanding example of work by Georg Beham and can be compared to other of his drawings, such as a signed sheet in Vienna dated 1596.<sup>3</sup> Beham had the habit of dating his drawings very precisely, as he did in the present example. Moreover, an attribution to Beham has already been accepted for most of the seven other known versions of this composition. The relatively high quality of one in Nuremberg (fig. 1) comes closest to that of the Museum's drawing;<sup>4</sup> however, most if not all of these versions must be termed copies—at best, contemporary workshop replicas. A sheet with an alternative study of just the central figure is in Augsburg.<sup>5</sup>

The drawing illustrates in a most literal way a haunting story from the Old Testament book of Ezekiel, in which the prophet found himself in a valley full of bones. He prophesied that they would come to life, and as he was doing so, “the bones came together, bone to his bone,” and “the sinews and the flesh came up upon them, and the skin covered them above” (Ezekiel 37:7–8). Thanks to the four winds, “breath came into them, and they lived, and stood upon their feet, an exceeding great army” (37:10). Beham's composition can be compared to other depictions of the subject, such as an engraving of about 1600 after Maerten de Vos,<sup>6</sup> but he may have been more directly inspired by contemporary German examples. A drawing in Berlin is close enough in

composition and style to suggest a relationship between it and Beham's design; even closer to his style is a preparatory drawing for the Berlin sheet in Braunschweig.<sup>7</sup> Although both sheets have been attributed to a fellow Munich artist, Christoph Schwarz, perhaps this should be reconsidered, as his graphic style is usually more refined. Indeed, the style of the drawings in Berlin and Braunschweig seems closer to that of Beham.

Beham's composition has also been compared to that of an epitaph dated 1597, formerly in the church of Saint Mary in Lübeck, by the North German painter Johann Willinges.<sup>8</sup> A drawing in London, dated 1594, that served as a model for the epitaph has understandably also been attributed to Willinges, but again it is very close in style to certain works by Beham.<sup>9</sup> Could the latter have provided the design for his Lübeck colleague, who may have spent time in Munich in the 1580s?<sup>10</sup> If, on the contrary, the drawing is indeed by Willinges, and if the year on the Museum's drawing can be taken as the date of the invention of Beham's composition, Beham must have been influenced by Willinges, although it is not clear how he could have been aware of a work made several hundred miles north of Munich.

Whoever may have inspired Beham, his composition as recorded by the Museum's drawing inspired others in turn. This is evident not only from the copies or replicas



Fig. 1. Georg Beham or workshop, *The Vision of Ezekiel in the Valley of the Dry Bones*, 1600 or later. Pen and brown ink, gray and brown washes, watercolor, 7<sup>11</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 7<sup>11</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (19.7 × 19.7 cm). Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg (Hz 4147)



CAT. 58

mentioned above but also from an etching by Matthäus Merian the Elder, included in the third volume of his highly successful *Icones biblicae* (Biblical images), first published in Frankfurt in 1627 (fig. 2).<sup>11</sup> Merian's illustration is a direct copy after Beham, but the print turned the dynamic round composition of his model into a rather staid one. As the text in Merian's publication makes clear, the Vision of Ezekiel was seen as a prefiguration of the Last Judgment. This may explain the widespread popularity of the subject about 1600 for epitaphs and other works of art commemorating the

dead.<sup>12</sup> Beham's design may have been intended for a stained-glass roundel, which could easily have been replicated. Its success may be related to the millennial fear about 1600 and to the concise vividness with which it portrays the resurrection of the flesh. SA

1. The watermark is similar to one found in paper used in Munich in 1602 (Piccard-Online, no. 152882; accessed November 26, 2011).

2. Compare, for instance, a small monogrammed sheet in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. 2007.223.11 (Ganz 1925–27, p. 272; Paul Ganz in Stuker 2006, p. 32, fig. 31).



Fig. 2. Matthäus Merian the Elder, *The Vision of Ezekiel in the Valley of the Dry Bones*, from *Icones biblicae*, vol. 3, Strasbourg, 1630, p. 33. Etching, 4½ × 5½/16 in. (11.5 × 15.1 cm). The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, Bequest of E. Clark Stillman (PML 126186)

3. Albertina, Vienna, inv. 3339 (Tietze et al. 1933, vol. 1, no. 433, vol. 2, pl. 146).

4. The drawing in Nuremberg was previously attributed to Jacob de Gheyn II. The six other versions are in the Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, inv. c 37-1030; library of Stams Monastery, Stams, Austria, inv. c 8 (both mentioned in Kaulbach 2007, p. 217, n. 3, under no. 428); Nordico-Museum der Stadt Linz, inv. s 111/188 (Erwin Pokorny in Linz 1998, no. 13, ill.; Pokorny in Linz 2000, no. 67, ill.); Nasjonalmuseet for Kunst, Arkitektur og Design, Oslo, inv. B. 15741 (Sidsel Helliesen in Oslo 1976, no. 3, ill. [as by Hendrick van Balen I]); Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, inv. c 2000/4617 (Kaulbach 2007, no. 428, ill.); and one previously in the sale Sotheby's, London, November 22, 1974, lot 120 (Ingrid S. Brons in The Hague 2001, p. 94, fig. 48.2). All drawings except the one in Linz also feature the light color washes seen in the Museum's sheet. The drawing in Stams shows the composition in reverse and may be a counterproof of a now-lost drawing dated 1601. The version in Linz bears an apparently autograph monogram and is dated 1602 on the back.

5. Grafische Sammlung, Schaezlerpalais, Kunstsammlungen und Museen Augsburg, inv. G 5582 (Pokorny in Linz 1998, p. 40, fig. 13a [detail]).

6. The engraving was made by Jan Collaert the Younger; see Diels and Leesberg 2005-6, vol. 3 (2005), no. 735, ill.

7. Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. KdZ 2114 (Bock 1921, vol. 1, p. 79, vol. 2, pl. 112 [as by Christoph Schwarz]; Geissler 1960, pp. 77-78, no. z 1,1 [as by Schwarz]); Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig, inv. z 1582 (Geissler 1960, p. 88, no. z 1,5 [as by Schwarz]; von Heusinger 1992-97, vol. 1, p. 296, vol. 2, pl. 107 [as by Schwarz]). Beham's composition was already compared to these works in Kaulbach 2007, p. 217, under no. 428. For a painting and four drawings after this composition, see Geissler 1960, pp. 77-78, nos. G 111,2, z 111,1a-z 111,1d. An anonymous German painting dated about 1600 that has been connected with Schwarz's compositions but is equally close to Beham's is at the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, inv. 2688 (Ferino-Pagden, Prohaska, and Schütz 1991, p. 49, pl. 619).

8. For the epitaph, see Riewerts 1936, pp. 292-93, fig. 14.

9. The drawing is at the British Museum, London, inv. 1968-10-12-9 (Heinrich Geissler in Stuttgart 1979-80, vol. 2, no. N 10, ill. [as by Willinges]).

10. As suggested by Geissler in Stuttgart 1979-80, vol. 2, p. 126.

11. Wüthrich 1966-96, vol. 3 (1993), p. 38, no. 29. For the *Icones biblicae*, see Wüthrich 1966-96, vol. 3 (1993), pp. 1-59; Mariantonia Reinhard-Felice and Ulrike Fuss in Frankfurt and Basel 1993-94, pp. 135-47, 256-66. The connection between the print and Beham's composition was already suggested by Pokorny in Linz 1998, p. 154.

12. In addition to Willinges's painting mentioned above, there is an altarpiece with the same subject convincingly attributed to Matthäus Gundelach, dated ca. 1613-14, in the cemetery chapel in the Bohemian town of Žebrák (Bender 1981, no. GE 1 [as probably not by Gundelach]; Kaufmann 1988, no. 8.8, ill. [as by Gundelach]; Jürgen Zimmer in Essen and Vienna 1988-89, vol. 1, no. 125, pl. 28 [as by Gundelach]). A drawing of the same subject signed by Gundelach is at the Grafische Sammlung, Schaezlerpalais, Kunstsammlungen und Museen Augsburg, inv. 1995/32 (Gode Krämer in Augsburg 2001, no. 78, ill.). For epitaphs depicting Ezekiel's vision, see also Steinborn 1967, pp. 17-18, nos. 28, 72, pls. 19, 49. An oval drawing of the subject by Johann Rieger is at the Hessisches Landesmuseum Darmstadt, inv. AE 1535 (Rolf Biedermann in Augsburg 1968, no. 309).

*Provenance:* Dr. Hille; Boguslaw Jolles (d. 1912), Dresden and Vienna; his sale, Hugo Helbing, Munich, October 28-31, 1895, lot 497 (as Gotthard Ringgli); Unicorn Collection, private collection of Saam Nijstad and Lily Nijstad-Einhorn, The Hague, inv. N 155; their sale, Sotheby's, Amsterdam, May 19, 2004, lot 5; [Kunsthandel Katrin Bellinger, Munich]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 2005

*Literature:* Charles Dumas and Robert-Jan te Rijdt in Amsterdam and Dordrecht 1994-95, pp. 14, 17, fig. 12 (as by Gotthard Ringgli); Ingrid S. Brons in The Hague 2001, no. 48, ill. (as by Ringgli); Sotheby's 2004a, lot 5, ill. (as by Ringgli); Kaulbach 2007, p. 217, under no. 428

## Artists Active Mainly in Nuremberg, Prague, and Augsburg about 1600

### HANS HOFFMANN

Nuremberg, ca. 1545/50–1591/92, Prague

Hans Hoffmann was the preeminent master of the so-called Dürer Renaissance, which emerged in Germany and the Netherlands during the last third of the sixteenth century. Hoffmann worked first in Nuremberg, where he would have seen works by Dürer in the collection of Willibald Imhoff, and later at the courts in Munich and Prague. His works based on Dürer were greatly admired and avidly collected by Nuremberg patricians as well as by the Holy Roman Emperor, Rudolf II, for whom Hoffmann worked after 1585.

*General literature:* Pilz 1962; Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann in Princeton, Washington, and Pittsburgh 1982–83, no. 26, ill.; Fritz Koreny in Vienna 1985, passim; Bodnár 1986

### 59 | Hans Hoffmann

*A Small Piece of Turf, 1584*

Watercolor comprising iron-based earth pigments, azurite, copper green, lead tin yellow, lead white and calcite, traces of black chalk underdrawing, on paper prepared with calcite, 87/16 × 12<sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (21.5 × 32.6 cm)

Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1997 (1997.20)

At lower center, dated and monogrammed 1584 / Hh (Hh intertwined) in pen and brown ink. Verso, at lower left, collector's stamp of Johann Andreas Boerner, with date (J.A. Boerner / 1808. R.; Lugt 269); below, inscribed 745 in graphite (19th-century handwriting). On the old mount (preserved separately), at lower left, inscribed *Hans Hoffmann del'* in pen and brown ink (19th-century handwriting); to the right, inscribed +1600 in graphite (19th- or 20th-century handwriting); at lower right, inscribed 745 (corrected from 743) in graphite (19th-century handwriting); below, inscribed 250 in graphite (19th- or 20th-century handwriting)

*Watermark:* none

### 60 | Hans Hoffmann

*A Hedgehog, before 1584*

Watercolor, pen and iron gall and carbon inks, traces of black chalk underdrawing, on vellum prepared with calcite, 77/8 × 11<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (20 × 29.8 cm)

Purchase, Annette de la Renta Gift, 2005 (2005.347)

*Watermark:* none

Hoffmann's finely executed studies of plants and animals belong to a tradition pioneered by Leonardo da Vinci in Italy and Dürer north of the Alps in which aspects of nature, often rendered in watercolor, are closely observed in the smallest detail yet also made to appear monumental. Hoffmann's exacting drawing of a small piece of turf emulates but does not copy Dürer's extraordinary watercolor study known as the *Large Piece of Turf* (fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> An excellent example of



Fig. 1. Albrecht Dürer, *The "Large Piece of Turf,"* 1503. Watercolor and gouache, 157/8 × 12<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (40.3 × 31.1 cm). Albertina, Vienna (3075)





Fig. 2. Hans Hoffmann, *Study of a Meadow Fly*, ca. 1584. Watercolor,  $1\frac{5}{16} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$  in. (4.9 × 5.7 cm). Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest (179)

Hoffmann's "Dürerstil" so highly coveted by contemporary collectors, it is the only known plant study by Hoffmann inspired by Dürer, his other such studies being animals.<sup>2</sup>

Hoffmann portrayed recognizable species of plants—yarrow, goutweed, and mouse-ear hawkweed, among others—with the same scientifically accurate detail as in Dürer's watercolor.<sup>3</sup> He also included a meadow fly perched on an isolated blade of grass off to the right; he portrayed a similar insect in a small drawing in Budapest (fig. 2).<sup>4</sup> In addition to the flora and fauna that are defined in the foreground with saturated colors, sharp outlines, and lively flecks of white for highlights, Hoffmann blurred the forms and muted the hues in the background to create a sense of fantastical light and space. Along with two other drawings in Nuremberg,<sup>5</sup> both executed about 1585, *A Small Piece of Turf* served as a preparatory study for one of Hoffmann's most important paintings, *A Hare among Grasses and Wildflowers in a Glade*, also from 1585, now in Los Angeles.<sup>6</sup> Crowded with plants, trees, grasses, weeds, and a wide variety of animals large and small, this exemplary painting was probably commissioned by Emperor Rudolf II. In addition to serving as a model for the painting, *A Small Piece of Turf* was certainly collected and appreciated as an independent work of art.

The delicacy and precision of detail in a second drawing by Hoffmann in the Museum's collection (cat. 60) indicate that it, too, was produced as a collector's piece, most likely for one of Hoffmann's Nuremberg patrons, Willibald Imhoff or Paulus Praun, to be kept in a *Wunderkammer*. The Imhoff collection included two studies of a hare by Dürer and a copy by Hoffmann after one of the versions that is recorded as originally "in an ebony frame, decorated with silver."<sup>7</sup> According to Fritz Koreny, the Museum's study of the hedgehog (*Erinaceus roumanicus*) is comparable in palette and style to Hoffmann's 1577 studies of a lion and a lioness.<sup>8</sup> This date has been recently confirmed by equating the marvelous rendering of the fur and quills in *A Hedgehog* with that in Hoffmann's exquisite *Red Squirrel* in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., and in his *Wild Boar Piglet* in the collection of Jean Bonna (fig. 3), both dated 1578.<sup>9</sup> FS

1. F. Winkler 1936–39, vol. 2 (1937), no. 346, ill.; Strauss 1974, vol. 2, no. 1503/29, ill.; Fritz Koreny in Vienna 1985, no. 61, ill.; Heinz Widauer in Vienna 2003, no. 71, ill.

2. For the Dürer Renaissance, see Mende 1996; Giulia Bartrum in London 2002–3, pp. 266–67. For Hoffmann's role in it, see Fučíková 1972.



Fig. 3. Hans Hoffmann, *A Wild Boar Piglet*, 1578. Watercolor and gouache,  $11\frac{3}{16} \times 17\frac{5}{16}$  in. (30 × 45.5 cm). Collection of Jean Bonna, Geneva

3. Koreny in Vienna 1985, p. 186, n. 1. Koreny quotes the designations made to him by F. Ehrendorfer. In the left foreground, yarrow (*Achillea millefolium* L.); to the right, goutweed (*Aegopodium podagraria* L.); rising up behind, mouse-ear hawkweed (*Hieracium pilosella* L.). The grasses behind are, at left, matgrass (*Nardus stricta* L.) and, at right, a meadow grass (*Poa pratensis* L.).

4. Bodnár 1986, p. 101, no. 22, ill.; for related works in Budapest, see Szilvia Bodnár in Gerszi 1988a, no. 52, ill.

5. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, inv. Nbg. 9640/1532 and Hz 233/1532, respectively (Koreny in Vienna 1985, nos. 50, 51, ill.).

6. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, acc. 2001.12 (ibid., no. 49, ill.; Bergström 1988).

7. One of the hare drawings is still extant in the Albertina, Vienna, inv. 3073 (Koreny in Vienna 1985, no. 43, ill.). Document quoted by Koreny in Vienna 1985, p. 264: "in Ebenholtz mitt silber geziehrt eingefast."

8. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, inv. Norica 407/1534c and Norica 408/1534c, respectively (Koreny in Vienna 1985, nos. 59, 60, ill.). Koreny relates this information in a February 2005 note in the Museum's departmental files.

9. Stijn Alsteens in New York and Edinburgh 2009, no. 43, ill. For the *Red Squirrel*, see Koreny in Vienna 1985, no. 27, ill. For the dating of both works, see Alsteens in New York and Edinburgh 2009, p. 92.

#### CAT. 59

*Provenance:* Johann Andreas Boerner (1785–1862), Nuremberg; G. M. D. Arnold; private collection, Switzerland; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 1997

*Literature:* Pilz 1962, no. 29; Fritz Koreny in Vienna 1985, no. 65, ill.; Carolyn Logan in "Recent Acquisitions" 1997, p. 34, ill.

#### CAT. 60

*Provenance:* [Kunsthandel Katrin Bellinger, Munich]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 2005

*Literature:* Stijn Alsteens in New York and Edinburgh 2009, p. 92, fig. 34

## WENDEL DIETTERLIN THE ELDER

Pfullendorf, 1550/51–place of death unknown, ca. 1599

Wendel Dietterlin moved as a youth to Strasbourg, where he was married and became a citizen in 1571. Trained as a painter, he became sought after for his frescoes and facade decorations, receiving commissions in Hagenau (1583), Overkirch (1589), and Stuttgart (1590). While in Stuttgart working on his famed (now destroyed) ceiling for the upper room of the Lusthaus, Dietterlin made the acquaintance of the architects Heinrich Schickhardt and Daniel Schlossberger, whose influence can be seen in his 1598 landmark publication on architecture, *Architectura*, which he designed after returning to Strasbourg in 1593 (see below).

*General literature:* Pauli 1898–99; K. Martin 1954; Heinrich Geissler in Stuttgart 1979–80, vol. 2, pp. 32–34; Forssman 2007

### 61 | Wendel Dietterlin the Elder

*Design for an Elaborate Fountain Surmounted by a Statue of Saint Christopher; verso: Sketch of a Tabernacle (?) with Studies of Architectural Details, 1598*

Pen and carbon black ink, gray ink washes, traces of black chalk underdrawing, 9<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 7<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (24.4 × 18 cm)  
Edward Pearce Casey Fund, 2006 (2006.89)

Verso, at upper left, inscribed 51 in graphite (20th-century handwriting); at lower left, stamp of the Moravské Zemské Muzeum, Brno (MZM in a circle, stamped in black; not in Lugt); below, inscribed with its inventory number 3264 in pen and black ink (20th-century handwriting); below, inscribed EK 2621 in graphite (20th-century handwriting); at upper left, inscribed 19 in graphite (20th-century handwriting)

*Watermark:* coat of arms, snake on cross above<sup>1</sup>

Magdalena Adamska first recognized this drawing as preparatory for plate 82 of Dietterlin's treatise *Architectura: Von Ausstheilung, Symmetria und Proportion der fünf Seulen* (Architecture: On the distribution, symmetry and proportion of the five columns; Nuremberg, 1598) (fig. 1).<sup>2</sup> As Gustav Pauli pointed out, there is a large collection of preparatory drawings for *Architectura* in Dresden.<sup>3</sup> Some of these drawings were sketched in graphite, with only half of the design penciled in, and then a counterproof was made. The graphite was then gone over in pen and black ink. This technique would be viable only for pure ornament drawings that are symmetrical—hence not for the fountain drawings. The technique is seen on the verso of the Museum's sheet, where a large ornamental sketch (perhaps for a



tabernacle) in graphite appears on the right. It is not incised, as are the drawings that became models for the printed plates, but rather appears to be a design that Dietterlin found unsatisfactory.

Instead of providing a classical reading of the forms of architecture akin to those by Vitruvius and Sebastiano Serlio, Dietterlin's text and images are imaginative interpretations more useful to artists and craftsmen interested in ornament than to architects.<sup>4</sup> Each section





Sketch of a Tabernacle (?) with Studies of Architectural Details (verso of cat. 61)



Fig. 1. Wendel Dietterlin the Elder, *A Fountain with Saint Christopher*, from *Architectura*, Nuremberg, 1598, plate 82. Etching, 9<sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 7<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (25 × 18.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1919 (19.4)

is devoted to one type of column order; from these strict categories Dietterlin developed themes for a wealth of decorative and symbolic forms to be used on windows, doorways, portals, fireplaces, and fountains. He associated the Doric order with bold masculine heroes, and in this drawing he shows Saint Christopher carrying the Christ Child, who holds out his hand in blessing.<sup>5</sup> Their graceful serpentine poses are mirrored by the monstrous basilisk crushed at Christopher's feet—symbolic of Christ's triumph over Satan in the form of the serpent from Eden.

Other worldly temptations are symbolized by the secondary sculptures radiating from the central figures on the fountain. In the drawing, Dietterlin included only two mythic figures: a half-female half-serpent playing a lute and a comparable male hybrid holding wine jugs. In the etching for the book, he replaced the lute with more sexually suggestive bagpipes and included two additional figures that hover above and are labeled *A* and *B*. These figures were meant to be placed on the pedestals *A* and *B*, the second of which cannot be seen as it projects into the background. One, an allegorical figure of Vanity (labeled *A*), wears a peacock feather in her hair and holds up a mirror, while the other greedily clutches luxurious jewels and vessels.

Meaning is never stable in Dietterlin's images, for he freely and often humorously mixed Christian symbolism with mythology and animal and human forms, as well as the organic with the inorganic.

This transformation of a book on the strictly defined orders of architecture into a new symbolic and purely decorative system was adopted by another proponent of ornament, Hans Vredeman de Vries. This Dutch artist transformed his own slightly earlier and more traditional version, also titled *Architectura* (Antwerp, 1577), into fanciful tableaux in his *Architectur oder Bauweisterschaft* (Architecture or the mastery of building; The Hague, 1606–7).<sup>6</sup> On the terrace of a building with a colonnade near a fountain, a man plays the lute to the object of his affection (fig. 2). The inscription below—*DORICA .2. AVDITVS*—announces that this scene is both about the classical Doric form and an allegorical representation of the sense of hearing. While Vredeman de Vries used text to make explicit the meanings of his setting and characters, Dietterlin preferred to raise questions and pique interest with his fantastic combinations, determined not to provide definitive answers, even in the context of a so-called architectural manual.

FS

1. The watermark is similar to one found in paper used in Stuttgart in 1594 (Piccard-Online, no. 160493; accessed August 20, 2011).

2. Adamska identified this drawing when it came up for sale at Sotheby's in London in 2005 (sale room notices dated July 6, 2005). There are also two drawn copies after the etching in *Architectura*: one in the Lyman Allyn Museum, New London, Connecticut, acc. 19398; and one in the Museum der Bildenden Künste, Leipzig, inv. NJ 7435.



Fig. 2. Hendrick Hondius, after Hans Vredeman de Vries, *The Doric Order, or Allegory of Hearing*, from *Architectur oder Bauweisterschaft*, Amsterdam, 1628, plate G.G. Etching and engraving, 9<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> × 13<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (23.5 × 34.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1931 (31.67.9)

3. Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, inv. Ca 2002-1, Ca 2002-2 (Pauli 1898–99, p. 284).

4. For an overview of architectural theory and treatises, see Krufft 1994; for north of the Alps specifically, see National Gallery of Art 1998.

5. Krufft 1994, p. 169. In Hans Vredeman de Vries's print series the *Life of Man* (1577), he equates the Doric order with a mature man (Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish*, 1949–2007, vol. 48 [1997], no. 439, ill.).

6. Vredeman de Vries's *Architectura* was etched by the van Doetecum brothers; see Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish*, 1949–2007, vol. 48 (1997), nos. 408–31, ill. *Architectur oder Bauweisterschaft* is in Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish*, 1949–2007, vol. 48 (1997), nos. 593–623, ill. The image reproduced here as fig. 2 is from a later edition, identified in Hollstein as 9a, German edition, first issue, Amsterdam, 1628 (p. 231).

Vredeman de Vries's and Dietherlin's architectural interpretations provided rich source material for Baroque tapestries. A tapestry from a set of five entitled *Garden Scenes with Mythological Fountains* (ca. 1604), with designs attributed to Karel van Mander, uses the base design for a fountain found in Dietherlin's Doric section of *Architectura*. For a full description of the *Diana Fountain* tapestry from this set, though with no reference to Dietherlin, see Elizabeth Cleland's entry in *New York and Madrid 2007–8*, no. 4, ill. I would like to thank Monroe Warsaw for pointing out this use of Dietherlin's design.

*Provenance:* Arthur Feldmann (1877–1941), Brno; confiscated by the German occupation forces in 1939;\* purchased by the Moravské Zemské Muzeum, Brno; transferred to Moravská Galerie, Brno, 1961; returned to the heirs of Feldmann, 2003; sale, Sotheby's, London, July 6, 2005, lot 19; [Kunsthandel Katrin Bellinger, Munich]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 2006

*Literature:* Sotheby's 2005a, lot 19, ill.

\* For the fate of the Feldmann collection, see Sotheby's 2005a, pp. 20–21. See also the detailed information regarding the collector available online in the British Museum's Collection Database ([www.britishmuseum.org](http://www.britishmuseum.org)).

## HANS VON AACHEN

Cologne, 1552–1615, Prague

After becoming a master painter in Cologne, Hans von Aachen left for Italy, settling in Rome in 1575. He joined a group of Northern artists there, which also included the younger Swiss artist Joseph Heintz (see cat. 64). Von Aachen was active in Florence and Venice as well until he moved back to Germany, finally settling in Munich in 1589. Even after being appointed court painter to Rudolf II in 1592, he kept working from the Bavarian capital, not moving to the emperor's court in Prague until two years later, where he worked alongside Heintz and the Fleming Bartholomeus Spranger as one of the great Northern artists of his age.

*General literature:* Peltzer 1911–12; Jacoby 2000; Aachen, Prague, and Vienna 2010–11

## 62 | Hans von Aachen

*The Departure of Tobias with the Archangel Raphael*,  
ca. 1580–85

Pen and iron gall ink, iron gall ink and gray washes, black chalk underdrawing (laid down), 9 × 8<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (22.9 × 20.5 cm)  
Anonymous Gift, 2005 (2005.418.17)

At lower right, collector's mark of Johann Friedrich Lahmann (Lugt 1656<sup>c</sup>). Verso of the secondary support, at lower right, inscribed *Bellange* in graphite (19th- or 20th-century handwriting); at lower right, vertically inscribed *132486* in graphite (20th-century handwriting)

*Watermark:* none visible because of the secondary support

Before being recognized by Eliška Fučíková as a work by Hans von Aachen, the present drawing was attributed to Hans Speckaert.<sup>1</sup> Its style indeed recalls that of





Fig. 2. Raffaellino da Reggino, *Tobias and the Angel*, ca. 1575. Oil on panel, 42 1/8 × 27 3/16 in. (107 × 69 cm). Villa Borghese, Rome (298)



Fig. 1. Hans von Aachen, *Christ on the Road to Emmaus*, ca. 1585. Pen and brown ink, brown wash, 67/8 × 9 1/16 in. (17.5 × 23 cm). British Museum, London (1946-7-13-558)

works given to the enigmatic Netherlandish artist Speckaert, such as a scene from Roman history in Stuttgart,<sup>2</sup> but comparison with drawings securely attributed to von Aachen is ultimately more convincing. The build and features of the figures, the details of their hands and fingers, the curled tail of the dog running before them are all characteristic of von Aachen's style during the early years of his stay in Italy, as seen in two examples in Paris.<sup>3</sup> For the drawing's exceptional sketchiness, and the manner in which pen accents rather than lines indicate forms such as the hands and the faces, the best comparison is a drawing by von Aachen in Cambridge representing the Baptism of Christ.<sup>4</sup> Found in all four of these drawings is the same combination of forceful washes with areas of parallel hatching used to model the figures. Speckaert favored a similar technique, but for all his verve and nervousness, his style was smoother and more mature. Von Aachen, who was relatively young when he made these drawings, was still developing his style, and in the later decades of his career he would use line with greater economy (compare cat. 63). Despite the abrasion and discoloration suffered by this drawing, its exploratory nature is still evident in the vigorous underlying chalk sketch, which shifts from the broad indication of forms and areas of shadow to the more precise delineation of the angel's curls.

No finished work by von Aachen has been connected with the Museum's drawing, but it is related to another pen sketch in London, depicting Christ on the road to Emmaus (fig. 1).<sup>5</sup> Though attributed until now to Speckaert, it can be more persuasively compared with drawings by von Aachen such as a Flight into Egypt in Dresden and a Temptation of Christ in Houston.<sup>6</sup>

Probably all from about 1585,<sup>7</sup> these three drawings seem stylistically somewhat more accomplished than the Museum's sheet. Von Aachen was apparently so satisfied with the position of the angel's legs and staff in the Museum's drawing that he reused it in the one in London. In fact, this scene from the deuterocanonical book of Tobit is considered the typological prefiguration of the well-known story from the Gospel (Luke 24:13–31) depicted in the London sheet.<sup>8</sup> The story of Tobias, who was assisted by the Archangel Raphael in catching a fish that would cure the blindness of his father, Tobit, had been popular with Italian artists from the quattrocento on. The moment depicted here is when Tobias and Raphael “went forth both, and the young man's dog with them” (Tobit 5:16). The dog, the staff, and the gentle gesture with which Raphael leads young Tobias are common to many depictions, among them a painting by Raffaellino da Reggino dated about 1575 (fig. 2).<sup>9</sup> With their bulky yet androgynous body types and ample drapery, works by Italian Mannerists such as Raffaellino provided an attractive example, alongside Speckaert's, for Northern artists trying to master the *maniera moderna*.

SA

1. See Sotheby's 1984, p. 20, lot 42, where Fučíková's opinion is quoted (but not followed).

2. Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, inv. c 83/3332 (Šíroková 1995, no. A 40, fig. 11; Šíroková 1997, pp. 134–35, fig. 1).

3. Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. 21071 and 21079 (Demonts 1937–38, vol. 2, nos. 444, 445, pl. CXXXII; Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann and Alice Taatgen in Aachen, Prague, and Vienna 2010–11, nos. 7, 8, ill.).

4. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, inv. 2856 (Fučíková in Aachen, Prague, and Vienna 2010–11, no. 14, ill.).

5. Popham 1935, p. 72, no. 8 (as by Jacopo Palma il Giovane). The former attribution to Speckaert (or to an artist from his circle) was suggested by Konrad Oberhuber in an undated inscription on the drawing's mount. I am grateful to Joachim Jacoby for discussing the drawing with me.

6. Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, inv. c 1971-32 (Bernard Aikema in Aachen, Prague, and Vienna 2010–11, no. 11, ill.); Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, acc. 69-16 (Caroline Warfield in Poughkeepsie 1970, no. 83, pl. 7 [as by Speckaert]; Kaufmann in Princeton, Washington, and Pittsburgh 1982–83, no. 51, ill.).

7. Compare two drawings by von Aachen dated 1585, one in the Städel Museum, Frankfurt, inv. 14268 (Aikema in Aachen, Prague, and Vienna 2010–11, no. 9, ill.); the other in the Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, inv. c 1962-1950 (Jacoby and Aikema in Aachen, Prague, and Vienna 2010–11, p. 122, fig. 15.1).

8. For the iconography of Tobias, and more specifically for the story of his departure as a prefiguration of Christ on the road to Emmaus, see Réau 1955–59, vol. 2, pt. 1 (1956), pp. 318–27, especially p. 323; Weskott 1972, especially col. 321; Pigler 1974, vol. 1, pp. 187–88.

9. Della Pergola 1955–59, vol. 1, no. 109, ill.

*Provenance:* Johann Friedrich Lahmann (1858–1937), Dresden; sale, Sotheby's, Amsterdam, November 26, 1984, lot 42; John Steiner (1903–1983) and Alice Steiner (1912–2003), Larchmont, New York, and Lenox, Massachusetts; their heirs; given by an anonymous donor to the Department of Drawings and Prints, 2005

*Literature:* Sotheby's 1984, lot 42, ill. p. 79 (as by Hans Speckaert); Gerszi 1988b, p. 308, fig. 6

## 63 | Hans von Aachen

*Allegory of the Battle at Şelimbăr*, ca. 1603–4

Pen and brown ink, red chalk, gray and sanguine washes, red chalk and a composite of black chalk and graphite underdrawing (laid down), 97/16 × 10 in. (24 × 25.4 cm)  
Purchase, C. G. Boerner and Jean A. Bonna Gifts, 2008 (2008.206)

At lower right, inscribed *franceschini de Bologna* in graphite (19th- or 20th-century handwriting); to the right, inscribed 3 in graphite (19th- or 20th-century handwriting). Framing line in pen and brown ink, by a later hand. On the secondary support, at upper left, inscribed 2310 (or 7310?) in pen and brown ink (18th- or 19th-century handwriting); at lower right, collector's stamp of Paul-Frantz Marcou (Lugt 1911<sup>b</sup>); below, inscribed *Franceschini da Bologna* in graphite (19th-century handwriting). Verso of the secondary support, along the upper edge, inscribed *Henri II de France—reçoit [?] la couronne de Pologne / di Franceschini da Bologna Scolaro di Cignani* in graphite (19th- or 20th-century handwriting); at upper left, inscribed 12 in graphite (20th-century handwriting); at lower left, inscribed *Franceschini (Marc-Antoine) / 1648–1729. Bologna* in graphite (20th-century handwriting); below, inscribed *Franceschini de Bologna* in graphite (20th-century handwriting); below, inscribed 93 in graphite (20th-century handwriting); below, inscribed n. 6 in pen and brown ink (19th-century handwriting); below, inscribed 186 and 4/6 in graphite (20th-century handwriting); along the lower edge, a sketch of a mount and inscribed *ouverture pour le soir [?] (dans terre [. . .] Bristol grec [?]* in graphite (19th- or 20th-century handwriting)

*Watermark:* none visible because of the secondary support

Rudolf II and his Prague court focused more on mythological and allegorical paintings than on commissions for altarpieces and other religious works.<sup>1</sup> Among the allegories is a series by Hans von Aachen lauding Rudolf's conquests of the Ottoman army in battles fought between 1593 and 1606.<sup>2</sup> The cycle, which von Aachen worked on from about 1603 until 1605, took the form not of a series of cabinet paintings but of "His Imperial Majesty's book of emblems, painted by H.V.A. in oil on parchment, bound in red leather."<sup>3</sup> Although the book was later dismembered, seven of these "emblems" survive—five in Vienna, two in Budapest.<sup>4</sup>



Fig. 1. Circle of Hans von Aachen, *Allegory of the Battle at Şelimbăr*, 1610 or before. Pen and brown ink, watercolor, 15<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 18<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (39 × 46.5 cm). Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden (Ca 172, fol. 9)

The exact extent of the series is known from fourteen drawn copies in Dresden, which must have originated in von Aachen's immediate circle.<sup>5</sup> Copies of part of the series, both drawn and painted, also exist.<sup>6</sup> Preparatory drawings for the cycle are rarer; until the sheet under discussion surfaced in 2007, only four were known: two drawings for one composition in Düsseldorf and Moscow, and one each in Basel and Berlin.<sup>7</sup> In the case of the Museum's composition, for which no version on parchment survives, the related copy in Dresden differs in several details—for example, in the objects trampled by the nude at right as well as the standards behind this figure and her captor (fig. 1).<sup>8</sup> The Dresden copy was thus certainly not made after the Museum's drawing and is more likely a faithful record of the now-lost original painting. The drawing under discussion, much more sketchily drawn than any of the other autograph sheets related to the cycle and unique in being delicately touched with watercolor, must represent one of the earliest stages of development for a composition in the series.<sup>9</sup>

The drawing allegorizes the battle of Şelimbăr (or Schellenberg, in German), in present-day Romania, on October 28, 1599. Fighting on the side of the emperor was the Wallachian army of Michael the Brave, against an ally of the Ottomans, the Transylvanian-Hungarian prince Sigismund Bátori (or Bathory).<sup>10</sup> As in the other drawings in the series, the battle itself is depicted in the background. In the foreground, von Aachen presented Transylvania in the guise of a chained nude woman, wearing a mask as a symbol of foreign domination.



CAT. 63

The man in Hungarian dress behind her, who may represent Bátori himself, leans on a small thorny tree on which a cardinal's hat is impaled, a reference to his cousin Cardinal András Bátori, who succeeded Sigismund as prince of Transylvania in 1599 but was not recognized by Rudolf. The latter, dressed as a Roman emperor, is preparing to crown Transylvania as a result of the battle taking place in the background, in which Rudolf triumphed over Bátori's army. Von Aachen managed to translate this complex iconography into a convincing composition that must have satisfied the love both of self-glorification and of art by the emperor and his court.

SA

1. Compare Vácha 2010, p. 178.
2. For this series, see Ludwig 1978; Kaufmann 1988, pp. 148–54; Jacoby 2000, pp. 182–203; Michalski 2004; Karl Schütz and Thomas Fussenig in Aachen, Prague, and Vienna 2010–11, pp. 237–47.
3. Inventory of the collection of Rudolf II, 1607–11, published in R. Bauer and Haupt 1976, p. 135, no. 2700: “Ihr kay: Mt: *impresa*-buch, so H.V.A. gemalt, von olfarben auff pergamen, in rot leder gebunden.”
4. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, inv. 5841, 1591, 5842, 1961, 1989 (Jacoby 2000, nos. 60,2, 60,3, 60,8, 60,10, 60,11, figs. 76, 77, 82, 84, 85; Schütz in Aachen, Prague, and Vienna 2010–11, nos. 94, 95, 98–100, ill.); Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. 6784, 6710 (Jacoby 2000, nos. 60,4, 60,6, figs. 78, 80, pl. 20; Schütz in Aachen, Prague, and Vienna 2010–11, nos. 96, 97, ill.).
5. Kupferstich-Kabinet, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, inv. Ca 172 (Jacoby 2000, pp. 182, 186, 187, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 197, 198, 200, 203, figs. 75, 79, 81, 83).

6. Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, inv. c 5040–c 5043 (Eliška Fučíková in Essen and Vienna 1988–89, vol. 1, nos. 182a–d, ill.; Jacoby 2000, pp. 182, 188, 190, 193); formerly Großherzogliche Gemäldesammlung, Oldenburg (Peltzer 1911–12, p. 170; Jacoby 2000, pp. 182, 185, 190, 194, 197, 198, 200).

7. Museum Kunstpalast, Düsseldorf, inv. KA (FP) 5471 (I. Budde 1930, no. 941, pl. 216; Jacoby 2000, pp. 188–89); Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow, inv. 7456 (Fučíková in Essen and Vienna 1988–89, vol. 1, no. 183, ill.; Kislykh 2009, no. 1, ill.); Kunstmuseum Basel, inv. Bi. 376.104 (Kaufmann 1988, p. 150, under no. 1.48, ill.; Fučíková in Prague 1997, no. 1.157, ill.; Jacoby 2000, p. 185); Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. KdZ 4722 (Bock 1921, vol. 1, p. 107, vol. 2, pl. 138; Jacoby 2000, p. 193; Schütz in Aachen, Prague, and Vienna 2010–11, no. 101, ill.).

8. Jacoby 2000, p. 198, fig. 182.

9. Compare Kaufmann 2010, pp. 38–39.

10. The historical background and reading of the iconography of the composition are based on that given in Jacoby 2000, pp. 198–200.

*Provenance:* Paul-Frantz Marcou (1860–1932), Paris; his daughter, Mme Henry Dumas (née Catherine Marcou); her sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, May 23, 2007, lot 142; [Kunsthandel Katrin Bellingier, Munich]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 2008

*Literature:* Drouot 2007, lot 142 (as attributed to Hans von Aachen); Kaufmann 2010, p. 38, fig. 42; Thomas Fusenig in Aachen, Prague, and Vienna 2010–11, p. 247

## JOSEPH HEINTZ THE ELDER

Basel, 1564–1609, Prague

Of the three leading artists working at the Prague court of Rudolf II, Joseph Heintz may be the least known, but as a draftsman, at least, he is arguably also the most sophisticated, both stylistically and technically. Trained as a painter in the Swiss tradition, he was deeply affected by his stay in Rome, and later in Florence and Venice, between about 1584 and 1591. The experience transformed his style and made him, along with Bartholomeus Spranger and Hans von Aachen, a major practitioner of an Italian-inspired Northern Mannerism, perfectly suited to the emperor's taste. Heintz also spent the early 1590s copying antiquities for Rudolf in Rome, after which he returned to Prague. Following his marriage to the daughter of an Augsburg goldsmith in 1598, he permanently moved to that city, where he also became active as an architect. His son, also called Joseph, was a pupil of Heintz's most important follower, Matthäus Gundelach (see cat. 67).

*General literature:* Zimmer 1971; Kaufmann 1988, pp. 184–201; Zimmer 1988; Jürgen Zimmer in Essen and Vienna 1988–89, vol. 1, pp. 234–53, 347–55; Zimmer 2007

## 64 | Joseph Heintz the Elder

after Hans Speckaert (ca. 1540 [?]-ca. 1577)

*The Resurrection of Christ, 1585/86 (?)*

Pen and iron gall ink, brown ink washes, lead white heightening, traces of graphite or black chalk underdrawing, on paper with a transparent brown wash preparation (partially laid down), 16<sup>13/16</sup> × 11<sup>1/8</sup> in. (42.7 × 28.2 cm)

Purchase, Anne and Jean Bonna Gift, 1996 (1996.52)

At lower left, signed and dated *Jos[ep]h Heintz noch Speccaert / Rom 85 (86?)* in pen and brown ink (partially cropped)

*Watermark:* circle with eagle, crown above<sup>1</sup>

Even though he remains a rather enigmatic figure, the short-lived Fleming Hans Speckaert is often credited with influencing the triumvirate of artists who, later all working for Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf II, forged a distinctive style known as Rudolphine Mannerism.<sup>2</sup> Before moving to Rudolf's court in Prague, Speckaert's countryman Bartholomeus Spranger, the German Hans von Aachen, and the Swiss Joseph Heintz the Elder all passed through Rome,<sup>3</sup> where Speckaert himself had taken up residence by the early 1570s and where he seems to have died about 1577. In the case of Spranger, who cannot have been much younger than Speckaert and who had arrived in Rome about 1566, it should be asked whether he might not have influenced Speckaert rather than the other way around.<sup>4</sup> But at least in the case of von Aachen and Heintz it seems clear that, even though they must have gone to Rome to study the work of *Italian* artists, it was Speckaert who had the biggest impact on their style. Some of the drawings made by von Aachen between 1575 and 1582 (just after his year-long stay in Rome), such as a signed sheet in Frankfurt dated 1585, are clearly imbued with Speckaert's manner (see also cat. 62).<sup>5</sup> For Heintz, who arrived in Rome years after Speckaert died, the Museum's drawing offers indisputable proof of a "virtual" apprenticeship with Speckaert. According to Karel van Mander, both Heintz and von Aachen lived in the house of another elusive Netherlandish painter in Rome, Anthonie Santvoort, who had been a friend of Speckaert's as well as heir to the engraver Cornelis Cort, who at his death in 1578 owned several drawings by Speckaert.<sup>6</sup>

In his characteristic minuscule handwriting,<sup>7</sup> Heintz noted that the Museum's drawing was made after a work (probably also a drawing) by "Speccaert" and dated it about a year after arriving in Rome and almost ten years after Speckaert's death. The latter's original drawing is no longer known, but it can be assumed to



Fig. 1. Hans Speckaert, *The Assumption of the Virgin*, ca. 1570–75. Pen and brown ink, brown wash, heightened with white gouache, over black chalk, 12<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 11<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (32.3 × 28.4 cm). The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, Purchased as a gift of the Markus Family, in memory of Frits Markus (2002.1)



Fig. 2. Lucas Kilian, after Joseph Heintz the Elder, *The Resurrection of Christ*, 1606. Engraving, 17<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> × 11<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (43.8 × 29 cm). British Museum, London (1987-12-12-55)

have looked like his drawing of the Crucifixion in the Museum's collection, or like a similar unpublished one of the Assumption of the Virgin, also in New York (fig. 1).<sup>8</sup> A comparison between the former's drawing and those by Speckaert is revealing in connection with Heintz's style during this period (and in more general terms, the style of other, anonymous copyists working after Speckaert). Heintz may have captured Speckaert's composition, the monumentality of the figures, and presumably the technique of the original. The drawing also imitates some of the stylistic features of Speckaert's works, for instance, the shadows indicated by areas of parallel hatching, but, as Wouter Kloek explains, most contemporary copies after Speckaert (including the one under discussion) emphasize the outlines of the forms "in a firm and disciplined hand that corresponds not at all to Speckaert's experimental draftsmanship."<sup>9</sup>

The Museum's sheet—a relatively recent discovery—is the only known drawing by Heintz after Speckaert, and it may be identical to one recorded in the catalogue of the remarkable collection of drawings formed by the Napoleonic general and diplomat Antoine-François Andréossy, which describes a group of "drawings [by Heintz] made after Paolo Veronese, Polidoro

da Caravaggio and Speckaert."<sup>10</sup> Several copies by Heintz after these Italian artists, as well as after Michelangelo, Raffaellino da Reggio, Raphael, Sebastiano del Piombo, Antonio Tempesta, Jacopo Tintoretto, and Taddeo Zuccaro, are still known today.<sup>11</sup> He also copied sculptures by Giambologna and, even before his arrival in Rome, prints after Federico Zuccaro and Raphael.<sup>12</sup> Undoubtedly, these copies and style exercises were a way for Heintz, who was barely twenty when he arrived in Rome, to train himself as a young artist.

In the second half of the 1580s, when Heintz entered his artistic maturity, there are several drawings, including the one under discussion, that demonstrate Speckaert's continued influence on his style.<sup>13</sup> Much later, in 1606, Heintz seems to have returned to Speckaert's example when he was commissioned to make an altarpiece for a church (which he also designed) in Haunsheim, northwest of Augsburg; the painting has since been lost but is recorded in an engraving by Lucas Kilian (fig. 2).<sup>14</sup> Although most elements of both this and Speckaert's composition can be found in many Italian and Northern representations of the Resurrection from the second half of the sixteenth century,<sup>15</sup> the existence of the Museum's drawing proves that Heintz studied Speckaert's striking work, making it all the more likely that he turned once again to Speckaert while working on his altarpiece toward the end of his life. SA

1. The watermark is similar to one found in paper used in Rome in 1582 and 1590 (Woodward 1996, no. 58, ill.).

2. Speckaert's influence on Rudolphine Mannerism is assumed, for instance, in Gerszi 1996. For Speckaert, see also Široká 1995; Široká 1997; and the literature referred to in note 8 below.

3. For Hans von Aachen, see cats. 62, 63; for Spranger, see Höper 1996b.

4. As also suggested in Metzler 1997, p. 29, n. 39.

5. Städel Museum, Frankfurt, inv. 14268 (Schilling 1973, vol. 1, no. 1, vol. 2, pl. 1; Bernard Aikema in Aachen, Prague, and Vienna 2010–11, no. 9, ill.). For other drawings by von Aachen in which Speckaert's influence is noticeable, see Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann and Alice Taatgen in Aachen, Prague, and Vienna 2010–11, nos. 7, 8, 10, ill.

6. Van Mander 1604, fol. 291 recto; see also Hessel Miedema in van Mander 1604/1994–99, vol. 5 (1998), p. 26. For the drawings listed in Cort's inventory, which mentions Santvoort as heir, see Bertolotti 1884, p. 89 (also in Bierens de Haan 1948, p. 277). One of the drawings mentioned—a sheet among "sex carte continentes vitam B. Marie Virginis facte per manum quond. Jo. Perckart" (six drawings of the life of the Holy Virgin Mary made by the late Jan Speckaert)—must be the one reproduced here as fig. 1. Three other drawings from the series are known: the one of the Annunciation is at the *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique/Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België*, Brussels, inv. 10991 (Široká 1995, no. A 9, fig. 91; Široká 1997, p. 135, fig. 2); that of the Visitation at the Mu-

sée Bonnat, Bayonne, inv. RF 50868 (Jacques Foucart in Brussels and Rome 1995, no. 189, ill.; Emmanuelle Brugerolles in Paris 1997–98, no. 328, ill.). A fragment of another, depicting the Circumcision of Christ, is at the British Museum, London, inv.

Pp-5-124 (Popham 1932, p. 178, no. 1, pl. 69; Široká 1995, no. A 27, fig. 99); a copy of this drawing is at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. 19.76.19. One of Speckaert's rare paintings is a portrait of Cort, now at the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, inv. 1163 (Foucart in Brussels and Rome 1995, no. 186, ill.; Široká 1995, no. P 5, fig. 134).

7. See numerous examples discussed and reproduced in Zimmer 1988, and the Museum's drawing referred to in the following note.

8. The Morgan drawing, which is incised for transfer, was used as a model for an engraving by Egidius Sadeler II (Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish*, 1949–2007, vol. 21 [1980], p. 26, no. 86, vol. 22 [1980], ill.; Foucart in Brussels and Rome 1995, no. 194, ill.; Široká 1995, no. E 6, fig. 101), which specifies that it was made after an invention by “Joan Speccard”; the print is part of a series of six scenes from the Life of the Virgin (Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish*, 1949–2007, vol. 21 [1980], pp. 25–26, nos. 80–86, vol. 22 [1980], ill.; Široká 1995, nos. E 1–E 6, figs. 92–94, 96, 100, 101; see also note 5 above). A copy after the composition is in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. 21106 (Lugt 1968, no. 687, pl. 196 [as by Speckaert]; Široká 1995, no. C 26, fig. 102). The drawing in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (acc. 1999.85) was formerly in the sale Butterfield and Butterfield, San Francisco, November 12, 1998, lot 6523 (reproduced in the catalogue). In size and atmosphere, it is somewhat closer to Heintz's copy. The drawing may have been part of a series on the life or the Passion of Christ, which may also have included an image of Christ being crowned with thorns in the Louvre, inv. 19082 (Lugt 1968, no. 686, pl. 195; Foucart in Brussels and Rome 1995, no. 188, ill.; Široká 1995, no. A 37, fig. 83). A drawing by Speckaert of the Resurrection in the Teylers Museum, Haarlem, inv. A 48 (Meijer 1995, pp. 44, 46, ill.; Široká 1995, no. A 26, fig. 127) is related to a project for a sculpted tomb in Santa Maria dell'Anima and differs from the composition of Heintz's drawing.

9. Kloek 1974, p. 108; see also Kloek 1997. Kloek opposes the attributions to Speckaert proposed by Teréz Gerszi (Gerszi 1968; Gerszi 1971, vol. 1, nos. 225–36, vol. 2, ill.; Gerszi in Paris 2008–9b, nos. 22, 23, ill.).

10. Drouot 1864, p. 22, part of lot 112: “Dessins exécutés d'après Paul Véronèse, Polydore de Caravage et Speccard.”

11. Zimmer 1988, nos. A 23–A 36, A 39–A 45, figs. 58–66, 68–71, 73–83; Zimmer 2007, nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 7–9, ill. The Metropolitan Museum of Art owns one of the copies after Polidoro (acc. 1995.297; Zimmer 2007, no. 2, ill.).

12. Zimmer 1988, nos. A 6, A 7, A 21, A 22, figs. 38, 39, 52, 57.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 76, nos. A 10, A 12, A 13, figs. 43–45. The importance of Speckaert's influence on Heintz is played down somewhat in Zimmer 1988 (pp. 51, 53–55, 62); but I believe that the improved understanding of Speckaert's style (thanks to the publications of Kloek and Široká mentioned in notes 2 and 9 above) and the discovery of the drawing under discussion now permit a more generous reassessment of the role played by Speckaert's style in Heintz's artistic development.

14. Zimmer 1971, no. B 2, fig. 92; Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 17 (1976), p. 15, no. 29; Kaufmann 1988, p. 198, under no. 7.52, ill. See also the following note. Another, smaller painting by Heintz on copper of the Resurrection was documented in the eighteenth century in the collection at Prague Castle (Zimmer 1971, no. D 29). There seems to be little reason to doubt that a drawing in the Kunstsammlung der Universität Göttingen (inv. H 550) is connected with the altarpiece and not with this painting formerly in Prague (the connection is suggested in Zimmer 1971, p. 129, no. D 29); for this drawing, see Zimmer 1971, fig. 91; Zimmer 1988, no. A 85, fig. 128.



CAT. 64

15. As rightly pointed out in Zimmer 1971, p. 128, in connection with the composition here reproduced as fig. 2. Among Rudolphine artists, the theme was treated by Spranger in a painting in the Národní Galerie v Praze, Prague, inv. O 7259 (Kaufmann 1988, no. 20.1, ill.; Eliška Fučíková in Essen and Vienna 1988–89, vol. 1, no. 152, ill., pl. 42); and by von Aachen in a drawing in the Moravská Galerie v Brně, Brno, inv. B 9702 (Kaufmann 1988, p. 141, under



no. 1.18, ill.; Fučíková in Essen and Vienna 1988–89, vol. 1, no. 180, pl. 53; Fučíková in Aachen, Prague, and Vienna 2010–11, no. 63, ill.). A drawing of the Resurrection formerly attributed to Speckaert has been correctly attributed to Hendrick de Clerck by Eva Široká (Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig, inv. z 867; see von Heusinger 1992–97, vol. 1, p. 342, vol. 2, pl. 237 [as by Speckaert]; Široká 1995, no. F 12, fig. 159).

*Provenance:* Possibly Antoine-François Andréossy (1761–1828), Paris, and his sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, April 13–16, 1864, part of lot 112; sale, Sotheby's, New York, January 9, 1996, lot 148; [Kunsthandel Katrin Bellinger, Munich]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 1996

*Literature:* Sotheby's 1996, lot 148, ill.; Široká 1997, p. 138, fig. 8; Zimmer 2007, no. 3, ill.

## 65 | Joseph Heintz the Elder

*The Virgin and Child with Mary Magdalen (or Saint Barbara?)*, ca. 1595–1600

Black and red chalk (laid down), 10 × 7<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (25.4 × 18.3 cm)  
The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 2000 (2000.343)

At lower center, inscribed *Correggio* in pen and brown ink (18th- or 19th-century handwriting); at lower right, collector's mark of Émile Calando (Lugt 837). Verso of the secondary support, at center, inscribed 3029 / *Allegri—Correggio* in graphite (19th- or 20th-century handwriting); at center right, inscribed *photo* in graphite (20th-century handwriting); at lower right, inscribed P020013 in graphite (20th-century handwriting)

*Watermark:* none

This recently discovered drawing appears to relate to one of the artist's religious paintings still in situ, the altarpiece of the Chapel of Saint Barbara in the Augustine church of Saint Thomas in the Malá Strana district of Prague (fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> The painting has been dated to the latter half of the 1590s, when Rudolf II initiated a program to renovate and redecorate the church.<sup>2</sup> As one would expect in a chapel devoted to Saint Barbara, she occupies a prominent place in the painting, at the feet of the Virgin. She holds one of her attributes, a ciborium surmounted by a host, which refers to the special veneration she enjoys as the saint invoked for protection against death without the rite of extreme unction.<sup>3</sup> To the Virgin's left stands Saint Catherine, recognizable by the sword and the broken wheel representing the trials she suffered before her martyrdom. By having her stand and Barbara kneel, Heintz seems to have played on the iconographic tradition of the Mystic Marriage, in which Catherine is seen kneeling before the Virgin and Child to accept a wedding ring from her heavenly groom.<sup>4</sup>



Fig. 1. Joseph Heintz the Elder, *The Holy Family with Saint Barbara and Saint Catherine*, ca. 1595–1600. Oil on canvas, 76<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> × 55<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in. (195 × 141 cm). Chapel of Saint Barbara, Church of Saint Thomas, Prague



Fig. 2. Joseph Heintz the Elder, *The Holy Family with Saint Barbara and Saint Catherine*, ca. 1595–1600. Pen and brown ink, gray wash, heightened with white gouache, 8<sup>9</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 6<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (21.8 × 17.7 cm). Princes of Liechtenstein, Vaduz and Vienna (GR932)



A preparatory drawing by Heintz for the painting (fig. 2) suggests that his initial inspiration for the composition was an altarpiece by Agostino Carracci, dated 1586, in Parma (fig. 3).<sup>5</sup> In this drawing, Heintz introduced quite a few changes to Carracci's composition—in particular, the imposing stance of Catherine and the yearning pose of Barbara. The figure of the latter may go back to the kneeling Mary Magdalen in Correggio's celebrated "Madonna of Saint Jerome" (also known as "Il Giorno") of 1526–28, also in Parma (fig. 4).<sup>6</sup> In addition, Heintz made a separate red chalk sketch for Barbara, now in Budapest,<sup>7</sup> which must be dated somewhat later than the compositional drawing reproduced in fig. 2, as it is closer to the altarpiece—notably, in the tilted position of the saint's head, her right hand emerging from her drapery, and the faintly indicated ciborium, which is missing in the compositional drawing.

It may have been the resemblance to the painting by Correggio and the softly graded use of black and red

chalk that prompted a previous owner of the Museum's drawing to attribute it to him; the pose of the saint's head and her left hand caressing the Child's right foot are indeed very similar to the Italian's work in Parma. This possible connection raises the question of the identity of the saint in the Museum's drawing. Is she Mary Magdalen (as in Correggio's altarpiece), resting her hand on the vessel of ointment that is one of her attributes?<sup>8</sup> Although Barbara is also sometimes depicted with a pyx, rather than with a ciborium, the identification with Mary Magdalen does seem the most convincing.<sup>9</sup> And if that is the case, one wonders if the Museum's drawing is connected with the Prague altarpiece at all: in the chapel for which Heintz's painting was destined, a Barbara would surely have been a more logical choice.<sup>10</sup> In any event, the drawing can still be dated to the time that Heintz was working on the altarpiece.<sup>11</sup>

Also inspired by Italian models is the drawing's combination of red and black chalk, which echoes works by contemporary Italian draftsmen such as the Cavaliere d'Arpino (Giuseppe Cesari), whom Heintz knew in Rome.<sup>12</sup> Indeed, his earliest known drawings in this technique date from the late 1580s, during his Italian years.<sup>13</sup> However, those are all more tightly drawn. In its stirring freedom, the Museum's sheet compares more clearly to a later group of the artist's chalk drawings, of which one from 1594 (now in Los Angeles) seems to be the earliest known dated example.<sup>14</sup> SA

1. Zimmer 1971, no. A 9, no. 20; Kaufmann 1988, no. 7.27, ill.; Jürgen Zimmer in Essen and Vienna 1988–89, vol. 1, no. 137, pl. 35; Vácha 2010, pp. 179–81, figs. 1, 2. Above the altarpiece within the same altar is a painting of the Magdalen, also by Heintz (Vácha 2010, pp. 181–85, 191–92, fig. 3). The appearance of its original frame and altar are unrecorded; the present sculpted altar dates from 1713.

2. For the history of the Chapel of Saint Barbara, see Vácha 2010, pp. 185–87.

3. For the iconography of Saint Barbara, and specifically for the attribute of the ciborium, see Réau 1955–59, vol. 3, pt. 1 (1958), pp. 169–77, especially p. 173, no. 4; Gordini and Aprile 1962, especially col. 765; Petzoldt 1973, especially cols. 305–6.

4. For the iconography of Saint Catherine, and specifically for her Mystic Marriage, see Réau 1955–59, vol. 3, pt. 1 (1958), pp. 262–72, especially pp. 268–69; Balboni, Bronzini, and Brandi 1963, especially col. 968; Assion 1974, especially cols. 295, 296–97.

5. For the drawing, see Zimmer 1971, p. 85, fig. 21; Heinrich Geissler in Stuttgart 1979–80, vol. 1, no. B 24, ill.; Zimmer 1988, no. A 72, fig. 111. For Carracci's altarpiece, painted for the church of Saint Paul in Parma, where Heintz could have seen it, see Daniela Ferriani in Fornari Schianchi 1998, no. 323, ill. A connection between these works was already proposed by Zimmer in Essen and Vienna 1988–89, vol. 1, p. 252.

6. Ekserdjian 1997, pp. 193–204, fig. 207; Luisa Viola in Fornari Schianchi 1998, no. 149, ill.; Nicoletta Moretti in Parma 2008–9, no. 111.23, ill. p. 283. The connection between the paintings by Correggio and Heintz was already made in Sotheby's 2000, p. 10, lot 4.

7. Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. K 68.438 (Zimmer 1971, p. 85, fig. 22; Zimmer 1988, no. A 71, fig. 110; Zimmer in Essen and Vienna 1988–89, vol. 1, no. 205, ill.).

8. For the iconography of Mary Magdalen, and specifically for her attributes, see Réau 1955–59, vol. 3, pt. 2 (1958), pp. 846–59, especially pp. 850–51; Saxer and Celletti 1966, especially cols. 1105–6; Anstett-Janssen 1974, especially cols. 521–22.

9. The identification of the saint as the Magdalen was proposed, without discussion, in Sotheby's 2000, p. 10, lot 4; Zimmer 2007, pp. 83, 245. The vessel in the drawing is similar to the one held up by her in Ludovico Carracci's Bargellini altarpiece in the Pinacoteca Nazionale di Bologna, inv. 578 (Brogi 2001, vol. 1, no. 25, pls. xv, xvi, vol. 2, figs. 52, 63; Anna Stanzani in Bentini et al. 2006, no. 164, ill.).

10. As mentioned in note 1 above, Mary Magdalen was included in the altar but in a small painting above the altarpiece.

11. Jürgen Zimmer (quoted in Sotheby's 2000, p. 10, lot 4) initially dated the drawing earlier than the preparation of the altarpiece but seems to have later altered his view (Zimmer 2007, pp. 65, 237).

12. Compare, among many other possible examples, a drawing by the Cavaliere d'Arpino in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. 1986.318 (William M. Griswold in New York 1994, no. 89, ill.). See also Zimmer 1988, pp. 56–57, 62, 63.

13. See Zimmer 1988, nos. A 16, A 18, A 19, A 24, A 31, A 32, A 51, pl. 1, figs. 50, 53, 54, 59, 65, 66, 89.

14. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, acc. 91.GB.66 (ibid., no. A 48, fig. 85; Lee Hendrix in N. Turner, Hendrix, and Plazzotta 1997, no. 67, ill.). For other similar drawings, see Zimmer 1988, nos. A 60–A 67, figs. 100–102, 105–9.

*Provenance:* Émile Calando (1850–1899), Paris; [art market, London, 1999]; \* sale, Sotheby's, New York, January 26, 2000, lot 4; [Kunsthandel Katrin Bellinger, Munich]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 2000

*Literature:* Sotheby's 2000, lot 4, ill.; Zimmer 2007, pp. 64–66, 236–37, no. 13, ill.

\* According to Zimmer 2007, pp. 83, 245.

## 66 | Joseph Heintz the Elder

### *Nymphs and Satyrs in a Landscape*, 1599 or before

Brush and black ink, red chalk, gray and sanguine washes, lead white heightening, a composite of black chalk and graphite underdrawing, incised for transfer, on paper prepared with an opaque yellow iron-based earth wash (laid down on a partial counterproof of a drawing in black and red chalk), 9<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 12<sup>11</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (23.8 × 32.2 cm)

Purchase, 2006 Benefit Fund, 2007 (2007.174)

Verso of the original secondary support, at lower left, inscribed *Fiamingo* in graphite (19th- or 20th-century handwriting); to the right, inscribed 127 in blue crayon, 7 changed to 8 in purple crayon (both 20th-century handwriting); below, collector's mark of Adalbert von Lanna (Lugt 2773); at lower center, inscribed 199 in graphite (20th-century handwriting); below, inscribed *Auct. Kuppitsch / W. 16/11 71. / N<sup>o</sup> 471. / f. 3.10.* in graphite (19th-century handwriting); at lower right, collector's mark of A. Schubert (*Dr. A. S.* in a rectangle, stamped in blue; not in Lugt); below, inscribed *Dr. A. Schubert / 1929* in graphite (20th-century handwriting)

*Watermark:* none visible because of the secondary support



Fig. 3. Agostino Carracci, *The Virgin and Child with Saints Margaret, Benedict (?), Cecilia, and the Young John the Baptist*, 1586. Oil on canvas, 59<sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 50 in. (152 × 127 cm). Galleria Nazionale di Parma (188)



Fig. 4. Antonio Allegri, called Correggio, *The Virgin and Child with Saint Jerome and Mary Magdalen*, 1526–28. Oil on canvas, 80<sup>11</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 55<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in. (205 × 141 cm). Galleria Nazionale di Parma (351)

Joseph Heintz's drawings attest to both the pleasure he must have taken in making them and the care with which he prepared his painted works, as evident from the drawings discussed under cat. 65. A second example comprises those connected with another of the artist's mature masterpieces—a small painting on copper dated 1599, now in Munich (fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> The painting may have come from Rudolf II's collection, and its erotic subject would have suited the emperor's taste; when first mentioned in print, it was described as a "Bacchanal."<sup>2</sup> Without illustrating a particular myth, it conveys the spirit of certain passages from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, notably verses 192–93 of the first book, in which the poet tells of "demigods, rustic divinities, nymphs, fauns and satyrs, and sylvan deities upon the mountain-slopes."<sup>3</sup>

A recent addition to the artist's oeuvre, the Museum's drawing has dimensions identical to those of the painting. It has been incised, perhaps by Heintz, to transfer the outlines of the composition either onto the copper plate or, more likely, onto another sheet of paper (although the drawing differs very little from the painting). This hypothetical tracing may be another newly surfaced drawing related to the composition, which is identical in size and technique (except for the use of red chalk). Its slightly disappointing quality characterizes it as a copy, which likely originated from Heintz's circle.<sup>4</sup> A pen drawing—another recent discovery—documents an earlier stage in the development of the composition (fig. 2).<sup>5</sup>

Heintz's mastery is evident in the way the crowded composition seems to fit effortlessly into the oval format.<sup>6</sup> But the drawing under discussion is especially remarkable for its unique combination of media, which cannot be entirely explained in terms of the drawing's function. In its boldness, the color of the prepared paper can be compared to that of a drawing by Heintz of nymphs killing a stag in Braunschweig, done on an equally unusual blue-green ground.<sup>7</sup> The latter drawing is heightened with white gouache in a similarly careful way, but the pen lines are more controlled, and the Braunschweig sheet should probably be considered an independent work of art. The Museum's drawing, on the other hand, retains in many places the appearance of a true sketch—see, for example, the pentimenti in the contours of the arm of the nymph at center. In places, the gouache has been used in a painterly rather than graphic way, to conjure the hazy background and skies or the diaphanous veil of the main nymph. The eccentric contours of the bodies, described in sinuous, swelling pen lines, are characteristic for Heintz. Comparable penmanship can be found in the drawing



Fig. 1. Joseph Heintz the Elder, *Nymphs and Satyrs in a Landscape*, 1599. Oil on copper, 9<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 12<sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (24 × 32.5 cm). Alte Pinakothek, Munich (1579)

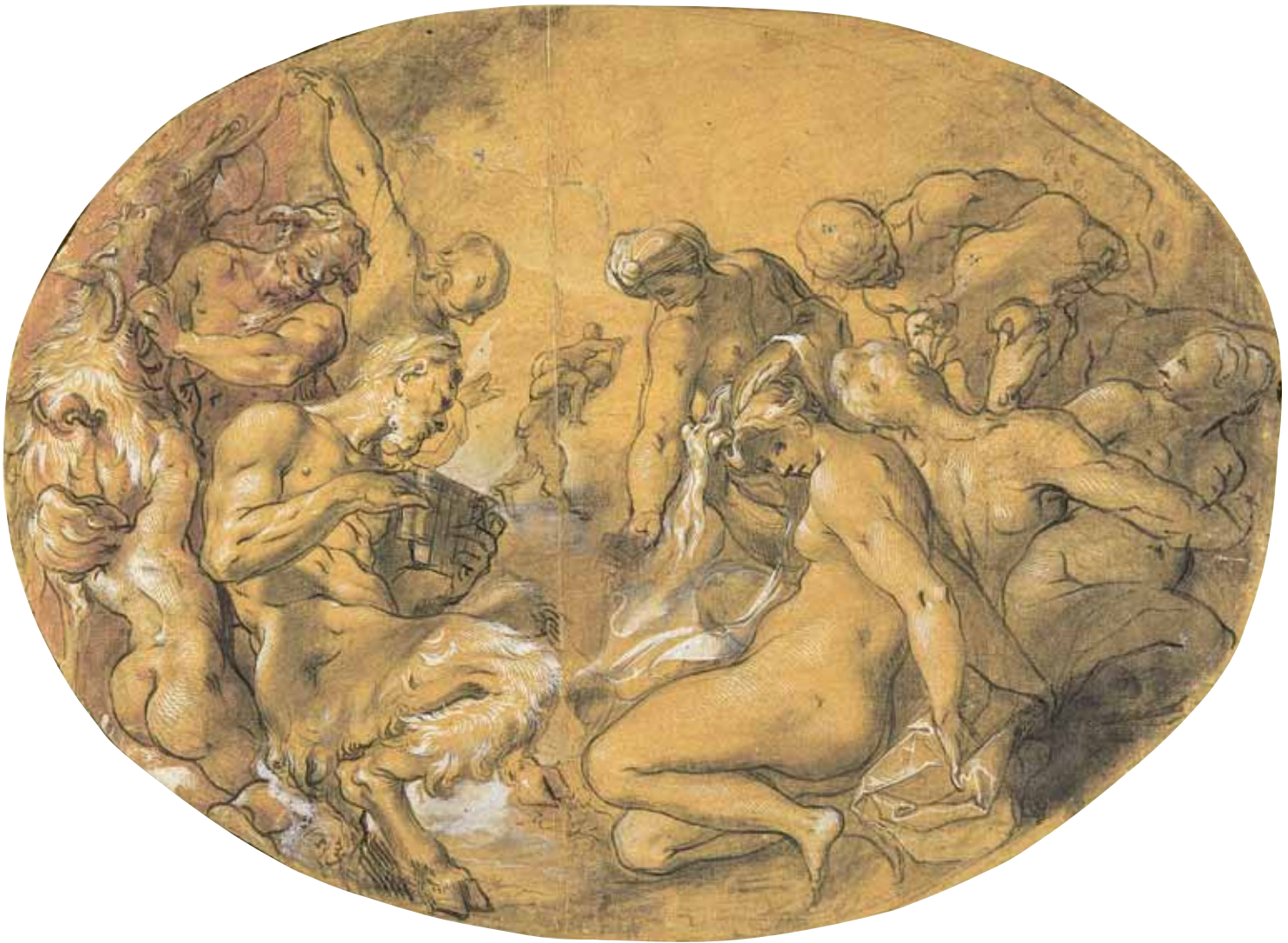
reproduced here as fig. 2 and in one of a crouching female nude in Budapest, which has also been dated to the late 1590s.<sup>8</sup> The rather formless area of brown wash at lower right in the Museum's drawing corresponds to a dark piece of drapery in the painting. The use of red chalk, seen only in the far left arc of the oval, is harder to explain, but it adds to the drawing a tone akin to the "magnificent warm gold-brown hue" of the painting, balanced by the cooler tones of the foliage and sky.<sup>9</sup> Overall, the drawing is one of the most complex and accomplished in Heintz's drawn oeuvre.

The drawing must have been laid down in the artist's studio, because on the verso of the backing paper is an offset of another drawing by Heintz. Two sketches of a head of a woman in red and black chalk and one of a naked child in black chalk belong to the *Virgin and Child* in a marvelous study in London for a *Flight into Egypt*.<sup>10</sup> That drawing, which is unrelated to any known work by Heintz, was likely made about the same time as the Museum's sheet. Somehow, the former must have been pressed against the back of the latter, thereby creating a faint impression in reverse of the greasy chalks. SA

1. Zimmer 1971, p. 53, no. A 22, pl. iv, fig. 59; Kaufmann 1988, no. 7.19, ill.; Jürgen Zimmer in Essen and Vienna 1988–89, vol. 1, no. 132, ill.

2. Kuppitsch 1871, p. 23, lot 471. For the provenance, see Zimmer 1971, pp. 106–7.

3. Ovid 1976–77 (ed.), vol. 1, p. 14: "sunt mihi semidei, sunt, rustica numina, nymphae / faunisque satyrique et monticolae silvani"; for the English translation by Frank Justus Miller, see p. 15. The passage from Ovid was evoked in Zimmer 1967, p. 256; see also Zimmer in Essen and Vienna 1988–89, vol. 1, p. 240.



4. Previously at the sale Hôtel Drouot, Paris, December 10, 2003, lot 18 (as attributed to Joseph Heintz the Elder; illustrated in the catalogue); accepted as by Heintz in Zimmer 2007, no. 15, ill.

5. Formerly in a French private collection and subsequently at the sale Hampel, Munich, June 22, 2007, lot 1579 (as by Joseph Heintz the Younger; bought in); see Zimmer 2007, no. 14, ill. The drawing bears an inscription on the back that Jürgen Zimmer read as “mich. Ringschuh [?] / delineavit”; there seems to be no doubt, however, that the drawing is indeed by Heintz.

6. A similarly successful oval composition of a bucolic subject is recorded in a drawing by Heintz, formerly in the collection of the princes of Oettingen-Wallerstein at Harburg Castle; and subsequently at the sale Christie’s, Amsterdam, November 9, 1998, lot 296 (Zimmer 1988, no. A 69, fig. 104). The drawing has been considered an early preparatory sketch for the rectangular painting of vertical format mentioned under cat. 77, note 6.

7. Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig, inv. z 794 (Zimmer 1988, p. 77, no. A 58, pl. v, fig. 96).

8. Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. 58.458 (ibid., no. A 70, fig. 112; Zimmer in Essen and Vienna 1988–89, vol. 1, no. 214, ill.).

9. Zimmer 1971, p. 106: “ein prächtiges warmes Goldbraun.”

10. Courtauld Gallery, London, inv. D.1952.RW.2374 (Julian Brooks in Oxford, London, and Nottingham 2003–4, no. 59, ill. [as by Giovanni da San Giovanni]); Zimmer 2007, no. 11, ill.).

*Provenance:* Sale, M. Kuppitsch, Vienna, November 16, 1871, and following days, lot 471; Adalbert von Lanna (1836–1909), Prague; his sale, H. G. Gutekunst, Stuttgart, May 11–22, 1909, part of lot 100; sale, Rudolph Lepke’s Kunst-Auctions-Haus, Berlin, May 22, 1911, part of lot 199; A. Schubert, probably 1929; sale, van Ham, Cologne, November 16–18, 2006, lot 1087; [Arnoldi-Livie, Munich]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 2007

*Literature:* Kuppitsch 1871, lot 471 (as by an anonymous artist); Gutekunst 1909, part of lot 100; Lepke 1911, part of lot 199 (as by “Fiamingo,” probably Pauwels Franck [Paolo Fiammingo]); van Ham 2006, lot 1087, ill.; Zimmer 2007, no. 16, ill.



Fig. 2. Joseph Heintz the Elder, *Nymphs and Satyrs in a Landscape*, 1599 or before. Pen and brown ink, brown wash, 6 × 7<sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (15.2 × 19.8 cm). Location unknown

## MATTHÄUS GUNDELACH

Großalmerode (?), ca. 1566–1654, Augsburg

The earliest preserved work by Matthäus Gundelach, a drawing, establishes his presence in Prague in 1593, where he seems to have worked under the influence of Bartholomeus Spranger. Eventually, he reoriented his style toward that of Joseph Heintz the Elder, whom he succeeded as Rudolf II's court painter and whose widow he married. Gundelach later worked in Stuttgart and Augsburg, where he continued his successful career until the last years of his life in a style rooted in what had been fashionable at the Rudolphine court about 1600, but he was also responsive to new developments in Northern art.

*General literature:* Möhle 1959; Bruno Bushart, Eckhard von Knorre, and Heinrich Geissler in Augsburg 1968, pp. 107–11, 191–95; Geissler in Stuttgart 1979–80, vol. 1, pp. 244–47; Bender 1981; Netzer 1981; Jürgen Zimmer in Essen and Vienna 1988–89, vol. 1, pp. 230–34, 342–47; Zimmer 2009

### 67 | Matthäus Gundelach

*The Flagellation of Christ*, 1632

Pen and iron gall ink, brown ink washes, white gouache heightening, traces of black chalk underdrawing, incised lines, on green paper (originally blue) (laid down), 16 $\frac{1}{16}$  × 10 $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (40.8 × 27.1 cm)

Purchase, Guy Wildenstein, Katherine Mondadori and Jill Newhouse Gifts, and Van Day Truex Fund, 2003 (2003.183)

At lower left, signed and dated *M. / Gundelach / ·F· / 1632* in pen and brown ink. Framing line in pen and brown ink, by the artist. Verso, at upper center, inscribed *GONDELACH / naït [?] à Augsbourg* in graphite (20th-century handwriting); at lower center, an illegible inscription in red crayon (abraded or erased)

*Watermark:* none

Fully signed and dated, in a way seen on several of his other drawings as well,<sup>1</sup> this magnificent, and previously unpublished, sheet is an important addition to the oeuvre of Matthäus Gundelach. With its arched top and sinuous, gracefully drawn figures, the format and style are very close to a drawing in Stuttgart, dated 1630, and to an unlocated sheet here attributed to the artist (fig. 1).<sup>2</sup> Also comparable is a drawing in Augsburg dated 1635.<sup>3</sup> All of these works, including the Museum's, were probably *modelli* for altarpieces, although no painting based on the composition of any of them is known today. The artist's style may not have evolved very much after about 1605,<sup>4</sup> but in the works cited he

imbued the Mannerist sensuality of line inspired by Joseph Heintz with a solemn monumentality typical of Gundelach's later work.

The drawing's composition echoes one—perhaps for a lost altarpiece?—by Jacopo Palma il Giovane.<sup>5</sup> Gundelach probably never traveled to Italy, but he is likely to have known the design through an engraving dated 1594, which was made in Munich by the printmaker Egidius Sadeler II (fig. 2).<sup>6</sup> Similarities between Palma's and Gundelach's designs—the asymmetrical compositions, anchored in each by the column to which Christ is tied; his somewhat acrobatic pose; the athletic exertion of the men surrounding him; the attackers wielding bundles of sticks; and the dramatic artificial lighting of the scene, crowned by dark smoke casting its shadow on the column—make it seem as though Gundelach wanted to emulate his Venetian predecessor. The use of colored paper seems to be almost unique in Gundelach's oeuvre known today; it was likely prompted by the unusual setting of the scene at night, also eloquently evoked by the restrained use of white heightening.

SA

1. See, for instance, the signature and date on the drawings in Stuttgart and Budapest mentioned in notes 2 and 4 below.

2. Formerly on the New York art market (Shickman 1968, no. 56, ill. [as by Hans Rottenhammer]; Jürgen Zimmer in Essen and Vienna 1988–89, vol. 1, p. 234 [as attributed to Gundelach]). The other drawing is in the Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, inv. c 217 (Bender 1981, no. ZA 10; Kaulbach 2007, no. 245, ill.); a preparatory sketch for this composition is in the Grafische Sammlung, Schaezlerpalais, Kunstsammlungen und Museen Augsburg, inv. G 4685–70 (Heinrich Geissler in Stuttgart 1979–80, vol. 1, no. F 16, ill.; Bender 1981, no. ZA 11; Rolf Biedermann in Augsburg 1987, no. 18, ill.).

3. Grafische Sammlung, Schaezlerpalais, Kunstsammlungen und Museen Augsburg, inv. G 5358 (Bender 1981, no. ZA 10a; Biedermann in Augsburg 1987, no. 19, ill.). It has been suggested that this drawing is a design for a painting crowning the altar for which the drawing in Stuttgart mentioned in the previous note is a design (Geissler in Stuttgart 1979–80, vol. 1, p. 246, under no. F 16).

4. Compare, for instance, the drawing under discussion with one dated 1613 in the Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. 81 (Bender 1981, no. ZA 17; Teréz Gerszi in Gerszi 1988a, p. 123, ill.). For a characterization of Gundelach's evolution about 1605, see Möhle 1959, p. 270. A later drawing, dated 1637, is part of the so-called Kitto Bible at the Huntington Library, Art Collections and Botanical Gardens, San Marino (Marcel Roethlisberger in San Marino 1969–70, no. 42, ill.).

5. For paintings by Palma with related compositions, see Mason Rinaldi 1984, nos. 135, 193, 368, 447, 487, 527, figs. 132, 135, 294, 365; most of them postdate the print.

6. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish*, 1949–2007, vol. 21 (1980), p. 16, no. 45.

*Provenance:* A. Ward Jackson; private collection, England; [Thomas Williams Fine Art, London]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 2003

*Literature:* unpublished



Fig. 1. Matthäus Gundelach, *The Virgin and Child Rescuing Souls from Hell*, ca. 1630s (?). Pen and ink, wash, heightened with white gouache (?), 11 $\frac{15}{16}$  × 7 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (30.4 × 18.4 cm). Location unknown



Fig. 2. Egidius Sadeler II, after Jacopo Palma il Giovane, *The Flagellation of Christ*, 1594. Engraving, 17<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 11<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (44 × 29.8 cm). British Museum, London (1868-6-12-531)

## JOHANN MATHIAS KAGER

Munich, 1575–1634, Augsburg

One of the most appealing Bavarian draftsmen of his time, Johann Mathias Kager was trained in Munich and initially worked there. His fluent, gracious style was strongly influenced by artists such as Friedrich Sustris and Hans Rottenhammer. Kager became a citizen of Augsburg in 1603 and remained there the rest of his life. He received many important public and private commissions, most of them for religious works, especially after he was appointed town painter in 1615. His main project in Augsburg was the decoration of the city hall, lost during World War II. Kager also held prominent administrative positions in Augsburg.

*General literature:* Josef Bellot, Bruno Bushart, Heinrich Geissler, and Eckhard von Knorre in Augsburg 1968, pp. 52–55, 119–23, 200–205, 440, 441, 449–50; Geissler in Stuttgart 1979–80, vol. 1, pp. 256–59; Netzer 1980; Falk 2008



Fig. 2. Philipp Groß, after Johann Mathias Kager, *Allegory of Astronomy*, ca. 1610–15. Silver relief, height approximately 6<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (16.3 cm). Formerly Kunstgewerbemuseum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, destroyed in World War II



Fig. 3. Philipp Groß, after Johann Mathias Kager, *Allegory of Geometry*, ca. 1610–15. Silver relief, height approximately 6<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (16.3 cm). Formerly Kunstgewerbemuseum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, destroyed in World War II

### 68 | Johann Mathias Kager

*Design for a Relief Representing Astronomy*, ca. 1611

Pen and carbon black ink, gray ink and sanguine washes, 8<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 6<sup>9</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (21.2 × 16.5 cm)  
Purchase, Bequest of Helen Hay Whitney, by exchange, Mr. and Mrs. E. Powis Jones Gift, and Harry G. Sperling Fund, 1996 (1996.37)

At lower right, an illegible inscription in black chalk (erased). Double framing line in pen and black ink, by the artist. Verso, at center, inscribed 4 in graphite (20th-century handwriting?)

*Watermark:* none

Previously attributed to Lucas Kilian, this drawing was recently recognized by Tilman Falk as a work by Johann Mathias Kager.<sup>1</sup> The thin lines and flowing pen work, the light, subtle washes, and the “soft and supple forms” and overall gracefulness reminiscent of Friedrich Sustris (compare cat. 51) are entirely characteristic of Kager.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, the design can be connected with a masterpiece of the decorative arts in seventeenth-century Augsburg, the so-called Pomeranian Cabinet (*Pommersche Kunstschränk*).<sup>3</sup> Formerly in the Kunstgewerbemuseum in Berlin, the cabinet—with its sumptuous decoration of rare woods, silver, and gemstones—was destroyed by fire during the last days of World War II. The wealth of precious objects, scientific instruments, and small-scale works of art that constituted its contents were, however, largely saved. The commission, appearance, and contents



Fig. 1. Anton Mozart, *The Presentation of the “Pomeranian Cabinet” by Philipp Hainhofer to Duke Philipp II of Pomerania*, ca. 1614–15. Oil on panel, 15<sup>9</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 17<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (39.5 × 45.4 cm). Kunstgewerbemuseum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (P 183a)

of the cabinet are, thankfully, well documented. A collaborative work if ever there were one, it was originated by Philipp Hainhofer, an art entrepreneur from Augsburg. In addition to the cabinet itself, he commissioned a painting commemorating those who worked on it, from one of the artists involved in the project—the Augsburg painter Anton Mozart (fig. 1).<sup>4</sup> The cabinet was acquired by Philipp II, duke of Pomerania, who appears seated at left in Mozart’s painting, with Hainhofer showing him one of the cabinet’s drawers filled with extraordinary objects. A gloomy-looking dark-haired man in the middle foreground is Kager, who was responsible for the overall design of the cabinet.<sup>5</sup> He is also recorded as the designer of six silver reliefs of the Liberal Arts, two each of which decorated the front and back of the cabinet, with one each on its short sides. On top of the cabinet were seated figures of the nine Muses, also in silver, and the whole was crowned by a silver sculpture of Mount Parnassus with a rearing Pegasus—designed by Hans Rottenhammer, Lucas Kilian, and Christoph Lencker, and executed in silver by Matthias Wallbaum and his workshop.

Many drawings by Kager for the cabinet must once have existed, but the Museum’s sheet seems to be the only one preserved. Although it does not correspond exactly to any one silver mount on the cabinet, it is clearly related to both the reliefs representing Astronomy and Geometry (figs. 2, 3).<sup>6</sup> The pose of the woman in the drawing and the shell on which she stands



Fig. 4. *Short Side of the Pomeranian Cabinet, with a Silver Relief Representing Architecture*, from Julius Lessing and Adolf Brüning, *Der Pommersche Kunstschränk*, Berlin, 1905, plate v. Color lithograph, 9<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 11<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (23.3 × 29.5 cm). Thomas J. Watson Library, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

compare most closely to Geometry, but her main attribute, an armillary sphere, identifies her as Astronomy (compare cat. 42), who in the relief is also nude from the waist up. The drawing probably reflects a relatively early stage in Kager's design of the reliefs. In the final designs, he also considerably modified the ornament surrounding them. Despite the differences, there is no reason to doubt that the drawing is related to the cabinet rather than to another project. A color lithograph made about 1900 of one of the short sides of the cabinet, showing the relief of Architecture (fig. 4),<sup>7</sup> records four oval-cut carnelians surrounding the mount, set in shieldlike forms, as anticipated in the Museum's

drawing. Kager's designs appear to have become even more elaborate and graceful in the masterfully executed reliefs, testimony to the exceptional accomplishments of Hainhofer and his team of master craftsmen. SA

1. Falk 2008, p. 135. The attribution to Kilian may have been based on such decorative designs as four drawings by that artist representing the Seasons in the Hessisches Landesmuseum Darmstadt, inv. AE 910–AE 913 (Heinrich Geissler in Augsburg 1968, nos. 256, 257, figs. 126, 127). A drawing attributed to Kilian in the Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, inv. c 344 (Kaulbach 2007, no. 302, ill.), may also be closer to Kager in style.

2. Compare a monogrammed drawing in the Grafische Sammlung, Schaezlerpalais, Kunstsammlungen und Museen Augsburg, inv. 1993/23 (Gode Krämer in Augsburg 2001, no. 83, ill.); and a



possibly signed drawing in the Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, inv. c 1922/12 (Netzer 1980, no. z 58; Kaulbach 2007, no. 285, ill.). The quotation is from Lessing and Brüning 1905, p. 21: “weiche und geschmeidige Formen.”

3. The cabinet was recently the subject of an extensive study in Mundt 2009 and is discussed and well illustrated in Lessing and Brüning 1905.

4. Mundt 2009, pp. 159–61, no. P 183a, fig. 24.

5. Netzer 1980, pp. 24–27, 53–54, 138, no. 1 EI; Mundt 2009, pp. 137–38.

6. Mundt 2009, pp. 147, 148–49, fig. 12, pp. 172–73, fig. 2. Our figs. 2 and 3 are reproduced after Lessing and Brüning 1905, pls. x11 and x1, respectively. Burned fragments of the silver decoration, including fragments of the figure of Astronomy, are still preserved at the Kunstgewerbemuseum, Berlin (Mundt 2009, pp. 12, 13, fig. 5, p. 148).

7. Mundt 2009, pp. 153–54, fig. 17.

*Provenance:* [Artemis/C. G. Boerner, New York]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 1996

*Literature:* Falk 2008, p. 135, fig. 72

## ISAAK MAJOR

Frankfurt am Main, ca. 1576–1630/36, Vienna

Although little information exists about Isaak Major, and no paintings are known by him, his career can be traced through a series of dated drawings and prints. The son of a Netherlandish family of itinerant goldsmiths, Major also traveled throughout his life. In the first decade of the seventeenth century he was in Prague, where he is believed to have trained with the Netherlandish artist Roelant Savery and the printmaker Egidius Sadeler II. A signed group of twenty-three pen and ink landscape drawings in the Albertina, Vienna, demonstrates the profound influence of their landscapes on Major’s artistic productions. In the next decade Major traveled extensively. In 1614 he was in Vienna, back in Prague in 1615, and in Poznań in 1618. A series of topographically detailed etchings recording the war between Austria and the Ottoman Turks (1592–1606) reflects his journeys throughout Hungary. In the early 1620s Major presumably settled in Vienna, but he is known to have returned briefly to Frankfurt in 1633.

*General literature:* Tietze et al. 1933, vol. 1, nos. 476–501, vol. 2, pls. 158, 159; Spicer 1979, pp. 78, 289–90, nn. 42b, 751a; Heinrich Geissler in Stuttgart 1979–80, vol. 1, pp. 100–103; Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann in Princeton, Washington, and Pittsburgh 1982–83, pp. 178–79

## 69 | Isaak Major

*Landscape with a Wooden House Built into a Rock,*  
ca. 1620–30

Brush and indigo wash, traces of black chalk underdrawing,  
5<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 8<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (13.5 × 21 cm)  
Rogers Fund, 1966 (66.93.5)

Framing line in graphite, possibly by the artist; framing line in pen and black ink, possibly by a later hand. Verso, at lower left, stamp of the Ferdinandeum Museum (*FERDINANDEUM / MUSEUM / Innsbruck* in circle, stamped in purple; not in Lugt); below, inscribed *N116* in graphite (20th-century handwriting); at lower right, inscribed *D28720* in graphite (19th- or 20th-century handwriting); below, inscribed *Rol. Savary geb. in Courtrai / 1576. gest. 1639. / Nr 315. f. 8.30.* in graphite (19th-century handwriting); at bottom left, inscribed *N116* in graphite (20th-century handwriting)

*Watermark:* none

This charming drawing was on the market in the 1960s with attributions to Paul Bril, Roelant Savery, and Savery’s brother Jacob.<sup>1</sup> In her study of the drawings of Roelant Savery, Isaak Major’s probable teacher in Prague, Joaneath Spicer suggested reattributing a group of landscape drawings executed in brush and indigo ink—of which this is one—to Major, based on connections between the drawings and his known landscape prints.<sup>2</sup> The group of blue wash drawings includes, among others, works in museums in Paris, New Haven, Brunswick, Berlin, and Los Angeles, as well as various



Fig. 1. Paulus van Vianen, *Study of the Side of a Rocky Cliff*, ca. 1600–1610. Pen and brown ink, blue-gray and brown washes; verso: pen and black ink, gray wash, 5<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 7 in. (13.7 × 17.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Frits and Rita Markus Fund, 2001 (2001.444)

others sold privately and at auction in the past two decades.<sup>3</sup>

The earlier attribution of this landscape to the Netherlandish artist Savery, who was working at the court of Rudolf II in Prague, is certainly understandable. Using layers of saturated blue wash to form the shadowy woods and rustic cottage on the isolated rocky outcropping, Major then added fine tapered strokes to describe the sun-drenched expanse with its isolated church structure on the undulating plain at right. Roelant and Jacob Savery, Pieter Stevens, and Paulus van Vianen (fig. 1) also used this technique to enhance their depictions of the Tyrolean landscape.<sup>4</sup> Rarely, however, did any other artist use it as his primary medium.

As Spicer suggests, Major also created landscape etchings that were very similar in style to his indigo ink drawings.<sup>5</sup> Yale's *Landscape with a Fisherman and a Duck Hunter* as well as the Getty's *River Landscape with a House on a Rocky Island* (both ca. 1620–30) are both squared in black chalk, presumably for transfer, although there are no known works after these designs. Curiously, his drawing *Landscape with a Natural Arch* in Paris is not squared for transfer, but there is an etching after its design.<sup>6</sup> Although the Museum's drawing does not have as close an equivalent in print as the Paris drawing, Major's etched *View of a Small House Built into a Rock* (fig. 2)<sup>7</sup> is also dominated by an isolated rocky outcropping surrounded by layers of leafy trees, set off by repoussoir elements in the extreme foreground, and balanced by an undulating plain in the background at right, which opens into a broad background containing architecture—all of which relate to elements in his drawing. FS

1. According to the inscription on the verso, this drawing was once attributed to Roelant Savery. In 1965 the Colnaghi gallery advertised it in *Burlington Magazine* as by Paul Bril but sold it the next year as by Jacob Savery, following Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann's attribution based on similar drawings attributed to the artist (Haverkamp-Begemann and Logan 1970, vol. 1, no. 415, vol. 2, pl. 195). Nos. 415 and 416 of the Yale University Art Gallery catalogue both are landscapes rendered in brush and blue wash; some question remains in the catalogue regarding whether they are by the same hand.

2. Spicer 1979, p. 78; see also pp. 289–90, n. 42b. Spicer compares the group to a drawing in the École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris, inv. F 355 (Emmanuelle Brugerolles in Paris and Hamburg 1985–86, no. 125, ill.). In Princeton, Washington, and Pittsburgh 1982–83, Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann affirms Spicer's attribution to Major (nos. 66, 67, ill.).

3. *Landscape with a Fisherman and a Duck Hunter* and *Rocky Landscape with a Waterfall and Hunters*, Yale University Art Gallery, acc. 1961.62.63 and 1961.62.62, respectively (Haverkamp-Begemann and Logan 1970, vol. 1, nos. 415, 416, vol. 2, pl. 195); *Landscape with a Stream* and



*Landscape with a River*, Bowdoin College Museum of Art, Brunswick, Maine, acc. 1811.87 and 1811.128, respectively (David P. Becker in Brunswick and other cities 1985–86, nos. 108, 109, ill.); *River Landscape*, Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. KdZ 13502; *River Landscape with a House on a Rocky Island*, J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, acc. 88.GA.25 (Lee Hendrix in Goldner and Hendrix 1992, no. 132, ill.); *Mountainous Landscape with Two Figures in the Foreground*, Kunsthalle Bremen, inv. 97/121 (Anne Röver-Kann in Bremen 1998, pp. 40–41, ill.); *Rocky Landscape with a Mountain Fir and a Large Stump* (Boerner 1982a, no. 12); *Mountainous Coastal Landscape with Ruins on a Cliff* (Sotheby's 1985, lot 15, ill.). A related gouache, *Mountainous River Landscape*, was sold at Sotheby's, New York, January 13, 1993, lot 129 (illustrated in the catalogue).

4. Eric M. Zafran in Washington and other cities 1985–87, no. 30, ill. For more on van Vianen's landscape drawings, see Gerszi 1982. Many other Dutch landscape artists also used indigo ink—for example, Jan Brueghel the Elder, Tobias Verhaecht, and Gillis van Valckenborch I.

5. Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 23 (1979), pp. 166–79, nos. 8–24, ill.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 170, no. 14, ill.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 167, no. 9, ill.

*Provenance*: Probably Ludwig von Wieser (1808–1888), Innsbruck, and bequeathed with his collection to the Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum, Innsbruck, 1888; deaccessioned by the Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum, before 1964; [P. & D. Colnaghi & Co., London]; purchased by the Department of Drawings, 1966

*Literature*: Colnaghi 1965 (as by Paul Bril); Colnaghi 1966, no. 35 (as by Jacob Savery); Haverkamp-Begemann and Logan 1970, vol. 1, p. 228 (as by Roelant Savery or Jacob Savery [?]); Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann in Princeton, Washington, and Pittsburgh 1982–83, p. 178; Emmanuelle Brugerolles in Paris and Hamburg 1985–86, p. 244; Sotheby's 1985, p. 10, under lot 15; Sotheby's 1991, p. 19, under lot 21



Fig. 2. Isaak Major, *View of a Small House Built into a Rock*, ca. 1620–30. Engraving, 9<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 14<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in. (23.9 × 36.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1949 (49.95.2241)

# Two Central European Traditions: The *Stammbuch* and the *Turnierbuch*

ADAM GUTMANN

Constance, 1567–1637, Salzburg

Adam Gutmann was a *Fassmaler*, or polychromer and gilder of decorative objects such as freestanding sculpture and figures for altarpieces. He worked in the court of the prince-archbishop of Salzburg, Wolf Dietrich von Raitenau, whose portraits he painted; he also painted an Entombment and a Crucifixion (both 1618) for the monastery of Nonnberg. The drawing discussed below is the only known work on paper by Gutmann, who appears to have been influenced by Rudolphine art as well as by Venetian painting.

*General literature:* Thieme and Becker 1922; Geissler 1987, p. 242

## 70 | Adam Gutmann

*Allegory of Wealth*; verso: *Seated Adonis with a Dog*, 1598

Pen and carbon black ink, brownish green, gray, and organic pink washes; verso: pen and carbon black ink, gray ink washes (laid down on a fragment of a larger drawing), 8 × 6 in. (20.3 × 15.2 cm)

Harry G. Sperling Fund, 2007 (2007.413)

At upper left, inscribed in pen and black ink, by the artist: *Nichts ist so steiff auff disser Erd. / das nicht duruchs [?] gelt gewonnen wert. / auch gelt demmensch offen mals / bethrueglich bringt umb seinen halls. / Adi 20 Jullij hab ich Adam guottman. / Mahler von Costanz diß dem guotten / geselhen zuor guotten gedächtnus gemacht / geschechen zuo Satzbuorg in [?] A° 1598* (Nothing in this world is so fixed that it cannot be bought for money. Also, be aware that money can often be deceitful to men and cost you your life. On 20 July I, Adam Gutmann, painter from Constance, gave this to my good pupil in fine remembrance made in Salzburg, 1598)

*Watermark:* none

Adam Gutmann's allegorical image is typical of those made for a *Stammbuch*, or *album amicorum* (friendship album). Highly popular in Germany and the Netherlands by the early seventeenth century, these albums contained a collection of drawings, often dedicated to the owner, created by friends and prominent individuals.<sup>1</sup> An unpublished example of a still-intact album is that of the Swiss sculptor Johannes Carl Zay, who compiled the album while traveling through southern



Fig. 1. Hans Georg Bauhof, *Self-Portrait as a Goldsmith*, 1679, from the *Zay album amicorum*, 1678–83, p. 143. Pen and black ink, gray wash, 5<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> × 3<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (14.5 × 9.5 cm). The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (2003.43)

Germany and Switzerland as a journeyman between 1678 and 1683. Sculptors, painters, and medalists, among others, contributed to it, including Hans Georg Bauhof's *Self-Portrait as a Goldsmith* (fig. 1).<sup>2</sup> These albums are of great interest to scholars because the works not only register various styles of draftsmanship in an intimate setting but also often contain extensive inscriptions that reveal biographical information about lesser-known artists of the period.

As with Christian Richter's *Allegory of the Transience of Life* (cat. 73), Gutmann's drawing is not only a warning against the trappings of this world but also an object intended to help foster remembrance of both the producer and its recipient through its imagery and inscription. Gutmann's elegant inscription inveighs against money and its tendency to turn men against one another. As Venus contemplates a small statue of Mercury held aloft in her right hand, a trunk spilling over with jewels sits at her feet. Does this statuette relate to the type of laudatory imagery, popular at the Prague court of Rudolf II, that associated the emperor with Mercury's inventiveness and intellect?<sup>3</sup> Or does it make reference to Mercury's role as god of commerce and hence reinforce the warning expressed in Gutmann's inscription? Unlike the straightforward inscription, the allegorical image is full of contradictions, or perhaps a playful sense of artistic license meant to amuse a fellow artist.



Venus sits at the center of the image, her back sensuously exposed to the viewer. With her left arm, she reaches toward the chest of her lover, who could be either Mars (note the elaborate helmet) or the mortal Adonis, an avid hunter commonly shown with canine companions, such as those seen here. Another Adonis, accompanied by a dog but without his larger context, appears in the drawing pasted onto the verso of *An Allegory of Wealth*. Entangled in the figural grouping on the recto is a cheerful cupid standing triumphant (for the moment) over the specter of death, a skeleton. Venus's pose and her relationship with Mars or Adonis are described by Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann as a topos of Rudolphine art, derived from the so-called *Bed of Polyclitus*.<sup>4</sup> A version of this ancient sculptural relief of Psyche discovering Cupid was included in Rudolf's vast collection of art.<sup>5</sup> A similar pose appears in numerous Italian Renaissance paintings, most

notably Titian's oft-repeated *Venus and Adonis* (fig. 2).<sup>6</sup> Titian's *poesie* may have been familiar to Gutmann through Friedrich Sustris's fresco cycle in the so-called Italian wing of the Trausnitz Castle in Landshut, which is also heavily dependent on the Venetian master.<sup>7</sup> Although Sustris showed Venus facing the viewer, the draping of her arm across Adonis's chest and her insistent grip on his sash to stave off his departure for the hunt recall Titian's interwoven figures.

Little is known of Gutmann's art, but Heinrich Geissler rightly notes that his style of draftsmanship has much in common with that of Kaspar Menberger, a contemporary at the court of Salzburg, whose few extant drawings are in pen with brown and gray washes.<sup>8</sup> Primarily a painter, Menberger was also heavily influenced by the style and subject matter of Venetian art.<sup>9</sup>

FS



Seated Adonis with a Dog (verso of cat. 70, detail)



Fig. 2. Titian, *Venus and Adonis*, ca. 1566–76. Oil on canvas, 42 × 52½ in. (106.7 × 133.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Jules Bache Collection, 1949 (49.7.16)

1. For *alba amicorum*, see Amelung 1980.
2. For Bauhof, see Wortmann 1993.
3. Examples of this type of imagery are common during the late sixteenth century in both sculpture and prints related to Rudolf's court. For an engraved example by Jacob Matham after Hendrick Goltzius, see *Widerkehr* 2007–8, vol. 2 (2007), no. 209, ill.; for sculpture, two examples in bronze are Adriaen de Vries, *Mercury Fountain*, Augsburg, 1599, and the same artist's *Mercury*, 1613–15, Archives, Library and Museum of Lambach Abbey (Frits Scholten in Amsterdam, Stockholm, and Los Angeles 1998–2000, nos. 6, 31, ill.); and for a small-scale statuette, one example is an anonymous Netherlandish boxwood *Standing Mercury*, ca. 1600, in the British Museum, London, inv. Misc. 1171 (Warren 2004, p. 36 and fig. 15).
4. Although Bartholomeus Spranger did not use the same languid pose for Venus in his enigmatic painting *Venus and Mars Warned by Mercury*, its pendant shows Circe from behind with her lover, Odysseus, gesturing toward something in the distance—just as Gutmann's Mars/Adonis points to the statue of Mercury. Both paintings are in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, inv. 1097 (*Venus*) and 1049 (*Circe*); Kaufmann dates them to 1586–87 (Kaufmann 1988, p. 262, under nos. 20.40, 20.42).
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 261–62.
6. Wethey 1969–75, vol. 5 (1975), no. 43, pl. 97; Bayer 2005, pp. 12–15, fig. 11. Titian's composition was repeated many times by himself, by his workshop, and by later copyists (Wethey 1969–75, vol. 5 [1975], pp. 188–94). His first version was sent to Philip II, king of Spain, in 1554 and is now in the Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, inv. P 422 (Wethey 1969–75, vol. 5 [1975], no. 40, pls. 84–89, 91, 92). A second version, made by Titian for the Farnese family (ca. 1545–46), is lost. The Museum's example is related to the second version. For Titian and his use of the *Bed of Polyclitus*, see Rosand 1975.
7. Kaufmann discusses this cycle in the context of a drawing of Venus and Adonis (in Princeton, Washington, and Pittsburgh 1982–83, pp. 120–21). For a more in-depth discussion of the cycle, see Maxwell 2011, pp. 41–99; for the composition's reliance on Titian, see p. 76.
8. Geissler 1987, p. 242. Kaspar Menberger lived in Constance and was active in Salzburg.

9. Geissler (*ibid.*) notes four drawings that contain his monogram. See also Geissler in Stuttgart 1979–80, vol. 1, p. 115.

*Provenance:* Given by the artist to an unidentified pupil; Ernst Heinrich Ehlers (1835–1925); his sale, C. G. Boerner, Leipzig, May 25, 1938, lot 18; \* sale, Christie's, London, July 4, 2006, lot 50; [Kunsthandel Katrin Bellinger, Munich]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 2007

*Literature:* Boerner 1938, lot 18 (as by Hans Guttman); Geissler 1987, p. 242, ill.; Christie's 2006, lot 50, ill.; Trier 2010, p. 274

\* An annotated catalogue from C. G. Boerner's 1938 sale in Boerner's Düsseldorf library notes that the drawing was sold to the Rosgartenmuseum in Constance. However, according to Dr. Tobias Engelsing, director of the Städtische Museen, Constance, there is no evidence that the drawing was ever part of the collection of the Rosgartenmuseum.

## JOCHIM LÜCHTEKE

Ingolstadt, active ca. 1595

According to the inscription on the Museum's drawing, the only known work by this artist, Jochim Luchteke came from Wismar, a small port and Hanseatic League town in northern Germany on the Baltic Sea, but he was working far to the south, in the city of Ingolstadt.

### 71 | Jochim Luchteke

*Allegory of Art*, 1595

Pen and carbon black ink, gray ink wash, lead white heightening, brown iron-based earth pigments, azurite, copper green, and organic pink washes, red chalk, traces of black chalk underdrawing, 8½ × 6 in. (20.5 × 15.2 cm)

The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund and Susan H. Seidel Gift, 2006 (2006.88)

At upper right, signed and dated *Jochim Luchteke von / Der Wißmer / Ingelstadt · 1·5·95* in pen and black ink. Verso, in upper half, inscribed [...] *für das* [...] / *Johannes von* [...] / *von Bamberg* [...] / *geschrieben den ·13· Oktober Anno* [...] [truncated] / ·89· in pen and brown ink (17th- or 18th-century handwriting); at center, inscribed with four lines of writing exercises (?) in brush and black ink (19th-century handwriting); at lower left, stamp of the Moravské Zemské Muzeum (MZZ in a circle, stamped in black; not in Lugt); below, inscribed with its inventory number 3267 in pen and black ink (20th-century handwriting); to the right, inscribed *EK 2624* in graphite (20th-century handwriting); below, *Free* (?) in graphite (20th-century handwriting); below, unidentified collector's mark (*F. We* [...] stamped in purple; not in Lugt)

*Watermark:* none



CAT. 71

## PETER SCHMIDT

Lichtenberg, ca. 1585–after 1620, Wrocław

Peter Schmidt, the son of a bailiff, was born in Lichtenberg, in Upper Franconia. His drawings display an affinity with Rudolphine art, and it is possible that he traveled through Prague. Schmidt's knowledge of the Mannerist style prevalent at court could also have come from his brother-in-law, Bartholomäus Strobel the Younger, who was active there about 1610. In 1609 or 1610 Schmidt was active in Gdańsk. By 1613 he was in Wrocław, becoming the city painter there in 1619. He painted several paintings for the choir of the Bernardine church there, as well as two recently attributed epitaph monuments for local noblemen.

*General literature:* Heinrich Geissler in Stuttgart 1979–80, vol. 2, pp. 155–56, ill.; Tylicki 2000, vol. 1, pp. 16, 21–23, 43, 143, 252, 257, 260, 273

### 72 | Peter Schmidt

*Allegory of Art*, 1609

Pen and a mixed iron gall and carbon black ink, mixed lead and calcium white heightening, yellow iron-based earth wash, a composite of black chalk and graphite underdrawing, on paper prepared with an opaque yellow, iron-based earth wash, 7½ × 5¼ in. (19 × 14.5 cm)

Sarah and Werner H. Kramarsky Gift, 1998 (1998.197)

At upper center, inscribed and signed by the artist: *zu guther gedechtnuß gemacht in Dantzic den 27 / Januari. Petter Schmid von*

*Lichtenberch / M.V.S.I.C.A.* (In good memory made in Danzig [Gdańsk] on 27 January, Peter Schmid from Lichtenberg M.V.S.I.C.A.), and dated 1609. in pen and black ink. Verso, at lower center, collector's mark of Max Ziegert (Lugt 2676). On the secondary support, at lower center, inscribed *Dessein N.º 48. fait l'ann 1609 par Pierre Schmid de Lichtenberg* in pen and brown ink, possibly by Peter Vischer; at lower left, collector's mark of Peter Vischer (Lugt 2115); at lower center, inscribed *fol. 64.* in pen and red ink (19th-century handwriting); at lower right, inscribed *Nº 1732* in pen and brown ink (19th-century handwriting); to the right, collector's mark of Jean-Marc Du Pan, Geneva (Lugt 1440). Verso of the secondary support, at upper left, inscribed *Nº 12* in graphite (19th-century handwriting); at upper right, inscribed *Schmidt* in graphite (19th- or 20th-century handwriting); below, inscribed *1204* in red chalk (18th- or 19th-century handwriting); at lower center, inscribed *Nº [ . . ] 6* in graphite (erased; 19th-century handwriting)

*Watermark:* none

Like many other *Stammbuch* drawings (compare cat. 70), these two sheets use allegory to address ideas related to art making. They also function as memento mori, subtly presenting ideas about the fragility of life and the inevitability of death. Created by little-known or previously unrecorded artists working outside the dominant artistic centers, these drawings demonstrate the prevailing influence of Italian and Rudolphine subjects and styles on Central European artists during this period.

Jochim Lüchteke's mannered drawing presents Painting as a beautiful nude woman in an exaggerated contrapposto stance, holding a palette, mahlstick, brushes, and the coat of arms of the Guild of Saint Luke with its three blank escutcheons. The devil breathing fire on her leg may be intended to suggest that works of art, like her own exposed body, are temptations that lead away from virtue. Painting herself seems well aware of this and acknowledges her own devilry by making the sign of the horns with her left hand.

Lüchteke's representation of Painting—with her broad shoulders squared to the foreground plane, high forehead, straight nose, ample stomach, and long arms—is reminiscent of the figural type coming out of the court of Rudolf II in Prague. Women depicted by the renowned court artist Bartholomeus Spranger are very close to those by Lüchteke and also often serve allegorical purposes. Peter Schmidt's nudes, whose draperies expose more than they veil, appear to come from the same Rudolphine sources. Schmidt's standing figure recalls Spranger's lost painting *Venus and Cupid*: Venus and Schmidt's nude strike a similar stance, with their right knees slightly raised and their profiles

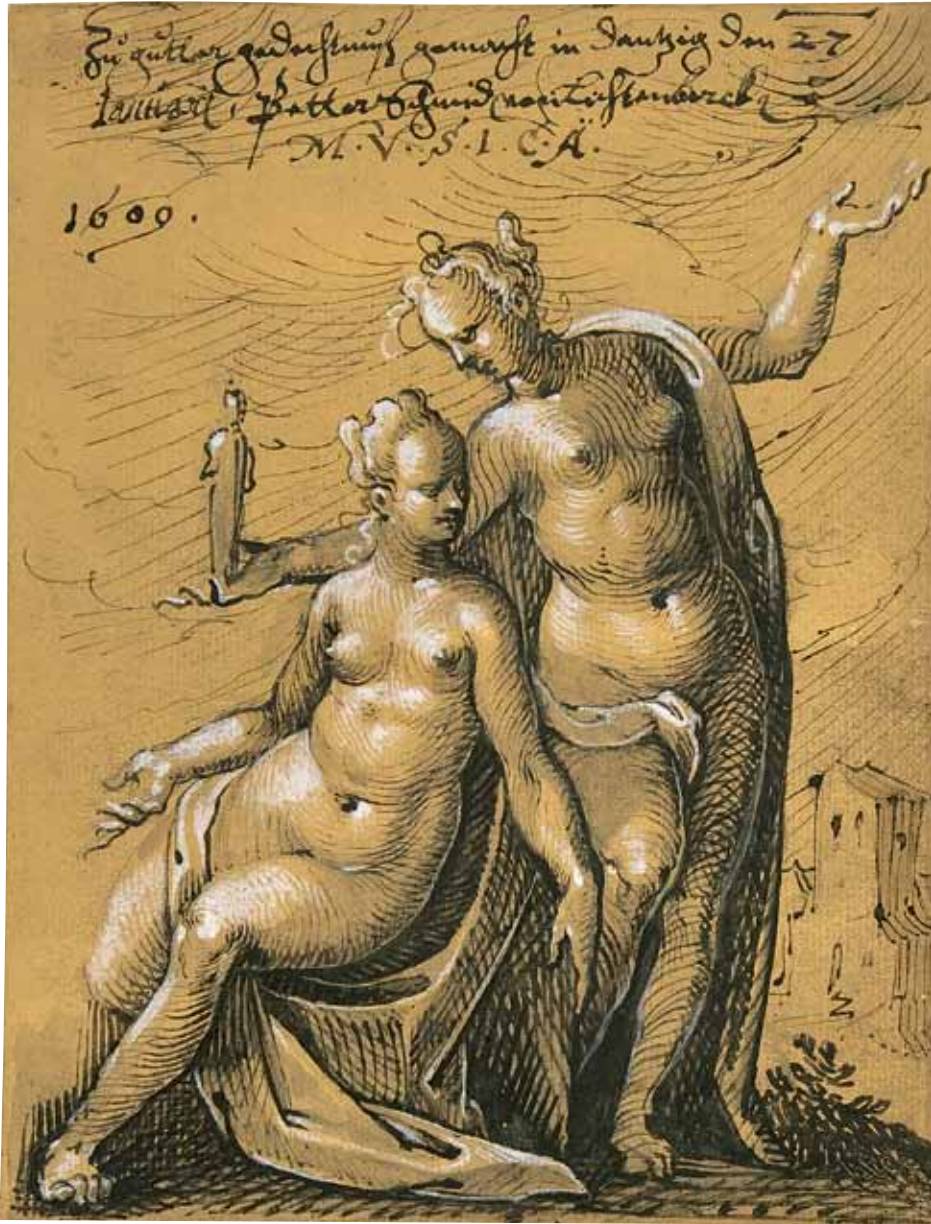
turned slightly to the left, toward their companions.<sup>1</sup> Schmidt's seated figure adheres to the same figural type; it reappears in the foreground of his *Moses and the Brazen Serpent* (1610).<sup>2</sup>

Schmidt was active mainly in Wrocław, but this rare drawing documents his presence in Gdańsk in 1609, one year earlier than heretofore established. Executed in tapering lines with dense areas of broad cross-hatching, the allegory appears to be about the art of sculpture—as evidenced by the small statuette held by the standing woman. A similar motif can be found in an etching by the Venetian printmaker Jacopo Palma il Giovane, in which an allegorical figure of Sculpture is surrounded by the fruits of his art.<sup>3</sup> Another *Stammbuch* sheet by Schmidt's Northern contemporary Hans Reichle has a similar conception.<sup>4</sup>

Although Schmidt's image can persuasively be read as an allegory of sculpture, the inclusion of the “word” *M.V.S.I.C.A.* in the inscription has confused interpretations of the subject matter. Rather than alluding to the art of music, however, the letters are an acrostic and can be found in other early seventeenth-century *Stammbuch* contributions. Jacek Tylicki has interpreted the letters found in a drawing by the Polish artist Hans Krieg, *Allegory of Art and Mars* (1618), as “Meo Unico Sincero Intimo Caro Amico” (To my most sincere intimate and dear friend) (fig. 1).<sup>5</sup> Krieg, also closely tied with Bartholomäus Strobel the Younger, created an allegory of art making in the Rudolphine style.<sup>6</sup> Along with the acrostic and its personal sentiment, the drawing also contains the inscription *zu guther gedechtnuß* (in good memory) and was clearly destined for a friendship album. This sheet, as with all *Stammbuch* imagery, was meant to serve as lasting evidence of the lives of both the artist and its recipient.

Tylicki acknowledges that the acrostic has been alternatively interpreted as “Mein Vertrauen Steht in Christo Allein” (My trust is in Christ alone).<sup>7</sup> A similar explanation of the acrostic is found in a mid-seventeenth-century *Stammbuch* owned by Lucas Lyser of Leipzig.<sup>8</sup> In it there is a sheet, dated 1638, with music notations and the acrostic written out as [*M*]ea, [*V*]nica, [*S*]pes, [*J*]esus. [*C*]hristus, [*A*]men (My only hope in Jesus Christ, Amen).<sup>9</sup> This interpretation of the acrostic focuses on eternal spiritual well-being. Perhaps the double meaning of the acrostic was known to the artist and its recipient, who would have delighted both in the personal notation and in its greater spiritual message.

FS



CAT. 72



Fig. 1. Hans Krieg, *Allegory of Art and Mars*, 1618. Pen and gray and brown inks, gray, yellow, celadon, pink, and red washes, 7½ × 6 in. (19.1 × 15.2 cm). Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (KdZ 17322)

1. For Spranger's work, see Kaufmann 1988, no. 20.10. Konrad Oberhuber suggested that a drawing in the Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (inv. KdZ 13644; Bock and Rosenberg 1930, vol. 1, p. 49), is a copy after the lost painting (Kaufmann 1988, p. 252, under no. 20.10, ill.).

2. Muzeum Narodowe w Gdańsku, inv. Kbr. 8161.

3. *Illustrated Bartsch* 1978–, vol. 33 (1979), p. 140, no. 17, ill.

4. Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen, inv. KKSgb9873 (Heinrich Geissler in Stuttgart 1979–80, vol. 1, no. F 17, ill.). Reichle worked in the circle of Matthäus Gundelach and Hans Rottenhammer.

5. Tylicki 2005, pp. 60, 165, no. VI s 6, ill. I would like to thank Jacek Tylicki for pointing me to this drawing and his interpretation of the acrostic text.

6. Strobel worked at the court of Rudolf II and created several drawings for *Stammbücher* that contain “words” or connected letters that have yet to be fully explained: for example, *Allegory of the Arts in the Thirty Years' War*, formerly at the Schlesisches Museum für Kunstgewerbe und Altertümer, Breslau (present-day Wrocław) (Geissler in Stuttgart 1979–80, vol. 2, no. O 13; Tylicki 2000, vol. 2, no. II.2.3, ill.).

7. Tylicki 2005, p. 124, n. 249. For an alternative reading of the acrostic, see Ragotzky 1899, pp. 418–19, nos. 50, 73.



8. This *Stammbuch* is in the Department of Rare Books and Manuscripts, Sheridan Libraries, Johns Hopkins University. Owned by Lucas Lyser (or Leyser) of Leipzig, the volume has entries from 1637 to 1650, mainly from Leipzig and Strasbourg. Lyser is thought to have been a cleric or minister, since most of the annotations are written by clergy of the Lutheran church. I would like to thank Stephen Campbell, Earle Havens, and Paul Espinosa for their help in uncovering this volume and the various meanings of the acrostic.
9. This reading is also found in Ragotzky 1899, p. 418, no. 51.

CAT. 71

*Provenance:* Arthur Feldmann (1877–1941), Brno; confiscated by the German occupation forces in 1939; \* purchased by the Moravské Zemské Muzeum, Brno; transferred to Moravská Galerie, Brno, 1961; returned to the heirs of Feldmann, 2003; sale, Sotheby's, London, July 6, 2005, lot 16; [Kunsthandel Katrin Bellinger, Munich]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 2006

*Literature:* Sotheby's 2005a, lot 16, ill.

CAT. 72

*Provenance:* Peter Vischer (1751–1823), Basel; Jean-Marc Du Pan (1785–1838), Geneva; Max Ziegert (1852–1930), Frankfurt; A. N. West; sale, Bonhams, London, October 19, 1995, lot 8; [David Jones, Paris and London]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 1998

*Literature:* Bonhams 1995, lot 8, ill. (as by a German artist active ca. 1609)

\* For the fate of the Feldmann collection, see Sotheby's 2005a, pp. 20–21. See also the detailed information regarding the collector available online in the British Museum's Collection Database ([www.britishmuseum.org](http://www.britishmuseum.org)).

## CHRISTIAN RICHTER

Altenburg, ca. 1585/90–1667, Weimar

Little is known of Christian Richter's origins or early training, although it is believed that his father was a painter in Altenburg. Richter may have traveled in the Netherlands between 1610 and 1612, before becoming court painter to the Ernestine dukes in Weimar in 1613. From early on, his paintings, drawings, and prints demonstrate the influence of contemporary Netherlandish examples—most notably in the genre of landscape. Richter's works also show an interest in allegory, which often infused his portraiture and religious subjects. Under the auspices of the ducal Bible, Richter created a series of drawings for the ducal Bible, which was engraved by Peter Paul Troschel, among others, and published after 1641. Richter's artistic legacy is enhanced by his having been the progenitor of a long line of artists active in Weimar.

*General literature:* Heinrich Geissler in Stuttgart 1979–80, vol. 2, p. 115; Jeutter 1999; Richter 1999; Jacoby 2002

## 73 | Christian Richter

*Allegory of the Transience of Life*, 1618

Pen and iron gall ink, brown ink and green (azurite and malachite) washes, lead white heightening, traces of black chalk underdrawing, 5 × 5<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (12.7 × 15.1 cm)  
Guy Wildenstein Gift, 2007 (2007.123)

At upper left, inscribed *Hier Zeidlich / Dordt Ewig / Danach Richt dich* (Here we are bound by time, there it is eternal, knowing this, act accordingly), and at upper center, inscribed *Hodie Mihi Cras Tibi* (It is my lot today, yours tomorrow) in pen and brown ink, by the artist; along the lower edge, inscribed, dated, and signed *Mein leiben Bruther Abrah. Richter—In Brutherlicher Leibe. / undt getechmus geschreiben zu Weimmar den 28 Juli A 1618, C. Christian Richter, Mabler* (My dear brother Abraham Richter—in brotherly love, and everlasting memory I write from Weimar 28 July 1618, Christian Richter, painter) in pen and black ink. Verso, at lower center, inscribed 8254 / [ . . . ] in graphite (20th-century handwriting)

*Watermark:* none

This early drawing by Christian Richter reveals his fluent use of closely placed horizontal hatches to create a sense of volume and tonality. It is an intimate work dedicated to the artist's brother, Abraham, a portrait painter also active in Weimar until his death in 1642. The other inscriptions as well as the allegorical subject and small scale identify this sheet as part of a *Stammbuch* (friendship album). The Latin *Hodie mihi cras tibi* was often invoked at the time, for instance on near-contemporary printed memento mori such as Dominicus Custos's engraving showing a single child flanked by an hourglass and skull in front of a field of wheat and a wall topped by a fuming vessel (fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> The hourglass and pitcher, also used by Richter, symbolize the fleeting nature of life, as does the beautiful vase of blossoming flowers seen to the left of the child, a motif often used since the fifteenth century as a *vanitas* symbol.<sup>2</sup> Richter transformed this conventional motif into a bush with abundant leaves that give way to an anemic root wrapped around a ruined obelisk.

Richter's German inscription *Hier Zeidlich / Dordt Ewig / Danach Richt dich* also serves as a warning to the living about the dangers of worldly pleasures and the inevitability of death. Richter deftly combined text and image; the standing child with the walking stick also alludes to the perilous quest for eternal bliss, which was a widespread theme in medieval and Renaissance images.<sup>3</sup> A traveler on a similar pilgrimage wanders out of the large panoramic landscape in an engraving by Jacob Matham after Karel van Mander (1599).<sup>4</sup>

Although most of the activity in Richter's *Allegory* takes place in the foreground, the diminutive landscape



Fig. 1. Dominicus Custos, *Memento Mori*, ca. 1585–1615 (?). Engraving, 6<sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 4<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (17.3 × 12.5 cm). British Museum, London (1877-8-11-686)

seen to the left of the traveler plays an important role. Delicately sketched and lightly shaded with parallel lines, Richter's landscape is filled with military, domestic, and religious buildings. The presence of an obelisk suggests that he is referring to the ruin of Rome, an appropriate allusion by a Protestant court painter at the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War (1618–48).<sup>5</sup> Similar architecture appears in the artist's earliest dated painting, *The Washing of Naamen in the River Jordan* (1616).<sup>6</sup> That painting, a copy after a large engraving by Nicolaes de Bruyn, shows a vast and highly developed landscape that provides more than just a backdrop to the Old Testament narrative.<sup>7</sup> Richter, who was tied to the court in Weimar and the production of its propaganda, was immensely interested in the genre of landscape. His continued interest is demonstrated by a series of landscape engravings and etchings that he executed about 1630.<sup>8</sup> A cluster of buildings similar to those found in the *Allegory* reappears in Richter's *Landscape with a Ruinous Square Tower at Right* (fig. 2),<sup>9</sup> in which he repeated the church building with a square tower, the round fortress, and the peak-roofed houses in the left background—all shaded with close hatching. Also reminiscent of his *Allegory* are the ruins in the right foreground from which the two peasants now venture.

FS

1. This print, which is not described in Hollstein, is part of a larger tradition of *vanitas* imagery produced by Netherlandish printmakers during this period; see also Hieronymus Cock, *Memento Mori* (Riggs 1971, no. 257); Jacob Matham, after Karel van Mander, *Allegory of the Transience of Life* (1599; Leesberg 1999, no. 93, ill.; *Widerkehr* 2007–8, vol. 2 [2007], no. 164, ill.); and Jakob de Weert, *Allegory of Vanitas* (Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish*, 1949–2007, vol. 51 [1998], p. 265, no. 85, ill.). Richter is also associated with a series of prints by Hans Ulrich Frank; for a full discussion of these memento mori images, see Knauer 1997.

2. Richter returned to this symbolic language in the painted *Portrait of Duke William of Saxe-Weimar and His Family*, ca. 1638, *Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg*, inv. M 247 (Jeutter 1999, pp. 19–22, fig. 11). The fleshy children hold a skull and hourglass to commemorate the early death of the couple's firstborn son, Wilhelm, who is shown crowned at the top.

3. For more on this, in relation to Matham's engraving after van Mander (see note 1 above), see Bruyn 1987, p. 87. For a discussion of the theme of pilgrimage through life and its relationship to landscape painting, see Falkenburg 1988.

4. See note 1 above. Wouter Kloek notes that van Mander's landscape in this memento mori has prompted significant reconsideration of the meaning and use of landscape in the seventeenth century (Kloek 1993, pp. 95–96; see also Bruyn 1987, pp. 86–89).

5. Richter often made allusions to the devastation caused by the religious war. For example, his allegorical portrait drawing of Duke William of Saxe-Weimar and Eleonara Dorothea shows them as Mars and Venus—he is being crowned by a small child with a military helmet, while she implores him to find peace (*Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg*, inv. Z 412; Heinrich Geissler in Stuttgart



Fig. 2. Christian Richter, *Landscape with a Ruinous Square Tower at Right*, ca. 1629–30. Engraving, 4<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 6<sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (11.3 × 17.7 cm). Staatliche Graphische Sammlung München (109665 D)

1979–80, vol. 2, no. M 24; Jeutter 1999, pp. 37–43). He also created a series of prints called *The Effects of War* (Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 34 [1993], nos. 37–60, ill.). On the presence of Egyptian obelisks in Rome, see Sorek 2010. Though generally rare in Northern imagery, obelisks do appear frequently in engraved views of Rome, especially in the collections of prints that came to be known as the *Speculum Romanae magnificentiae* (Mirror of Roman magnificence). Starting in the 1540s, Antonio Lafreri published maps and other printed images of the major monuments in Rome, and by the 1570s their popularity became widespread (Witcombe 2008).

6. Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg, inv. M 042 (Richter 1999).
7. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish*, 1949–2007, vol. 4 (1957), p. 14, no. 46. For a full discussion of the relationship between this print and Richter's painting, see Wiebel 1999, pp. 63–69.
8. This dating is based on Wiebel 1999, pp. 60–61. For the entire series, see Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 34 (1993), nos. 3–14, ill.
9. Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 34 (1993), no. 13, ill.

*Provenance:* Given by the artist to his brother Abraham Richter (d. 1642), Weimar; sale, Galerie Gerda Bassenge, Berlin, May 25–26, 2006, lot 5611; [Kunsthandel Katrin Bellinger, Munich]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 2007

*Literature:* Bassenge 2006, lot 5611, ill.

## ANONYMOUS

Nuremberg, active late 16th century–ca. 1640

### 74 | Anonymous

*Album of Tournaments and Parades from Nuremberg*

Opaque and transparent watercolors (lead-tin yellow, orpiment, vermilion, copper green, organic reds and pinks, red lead, ultramarine blue, organic purple), shell gold and unalloyed silver paint, heightened and mixed with lead white, pen and brown ink, black chalk underdrawing, stylus-incised contours; 112 sheets of paper bound in gold-tooled leather, cover 10<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 14<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (26.3 × 36 cm); pages approximately 9<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 13<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (25 × 34.5 cm)  
Rogers Fund, 1922 (22.229)

For the inscriptions, see Nickel 2010.

*Watermarks:* arms of Nuremberg<sup>1</sup>

Although often referred to as a tournament book (*Turnierbuch*), this volume does not actually show or describe specific individual encounters (called “courses”) in detail, as most tournament books do, nor does it record the scores.<sup>2</sup> Instead, it is a compilation of five sections, which depict, respectively: figures equipped with armor and lances required for different types of tournaments (pp. 3–35); a costume parade preceding a tournament (pp. 44–63); the participants in jousts held in Nuremberg between 1446 and 1561 (pp. 64–102); designs for pageant sleighs (pp. 105–57); and participants in a sleigh parade that took place in Nuremberg during the winter of 1640–41 (pp. 158–219). The entire manuscript consists of 220 pages; of these, 126 show full-page illustrations with only a few additional pages of text.<sup>3</sup> Executed in pen and brown ink and watercolor, which is heightened with silver and gold, the painted

illustrations appear to be by one principal artist and the text by two scribes. The texts and images were probably compiled over the course of several decades, from the late sixteenth century until after the last recorded event in the winter of 1640–41. The gold-tooled leather binding, although more typical of Italian examples of the period, may be original to the manuscript.

The first section comprises seventeen illustrations (including a title page), which are based on a much larger series of early sixteenth-century woodcuts, the Triumph of Maximilian I, which were intended to celebrate the achievements of Emperor Maximilian I.<sup>4</sup> Of about two hundred original designs in that series, sketched by the court artist Jörg Kölderer, only 137 were executed—by several of the empire's most eminent artists, including Albrecht Dürer and Hans Burgkmair. The part of the Triumph that is relevant here shows the participants of over a dozen tournament variations, including group tournaments (tourneys), foot combat, jousts of war (*Rennen*), and jousts of peace (*Gestech*)—each in groups of five figures. In the Museum's manuscript, these variations are represented by pairs of figures (rather than the original rows of five), and occasionally there are small errors in the depiction of the equipment.<sup>5</sup>

The second section shows, in twenty illustrations, a parade of several tournament participants accompanied by men, women, and various musicians, some of them costumed. The group is en route to a carousel (*Ringstechen*), an equestrian game of skill during which contestants tried to spear a small ring suspended at eye level between two poles. Carousels were often accompanied by lavish festivities, usually beginning with a parade. Although in these illustrations certain clothing and accoutrements are intriguingly specific—depicting Bohemian and English fashions, the crown jewels of the Holy Roman Empire, and musicians dressed in costumes from the commedia dell'arte—it has so far been impossible to identify whether these illustrations represent a specific event from Nuremberg history.

The manuscript's third section comprises thirty-seven illustrations dedicated to four particular tournaments, known as bachelors' jousts (*Gesellenstechen*), held in Nuremberg in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>6</sup> After two initial pages of text and four illustrations of attendants—all of which introduce the first joust—the pages each show a pair of men in tournament armor, each astride a richly adorned horse, with small identifying captions above. The first twenty-five pairs represent a joust of 1446; the following three pairs are dated 1539,



Berthold Volckamer and Lamprecht Groß. Armed for the Hohenzeuggestech (from the Gesellenstechen of 1446), plate 43 of cat. 74

the next five bear the year 1546, and the last four, the year 1561. The importance of this section lies not only in the textual account of the 1446 joust (certainly copied from an earlier source) but especially in the trove of heraldry on the shields, helmets, and caparisons (plate 43). All of the important Nuremberg families are represented and identified by their coats of arms—among them, such famous names as Behaim, Haller, Holzschuher, Tucher, Volckamer, Paumgartner, Imhoff, Kress, and Löffelholz.<sup>7</sup>

Another title page introduces the fourth section, which is dedicated to “sundry pageant displays that can be used for sleigh parades.”<sup>8</sup> Each of the twenty-five illustrations shows an individual sleigh in profile, with a single horse and driver. These “displays” betray an educated and humorous mind, for they include numerous designs based on classical mythology (for example, the Ship of Odysseus, Aristotle and Phyllis, Hercules and a Female Centaur [plate 80], and Bacchus). Others play on contemporary political and social issues, such

as the Four Continents, the commedia dell’arte, hybrids (figures that combine two opposite halves, such as half-priest and half-drunkard), or Three Men in a Tub (plate 88).

The fifth and last section is introduced by a short text noting that the event shown was the first after a long hiatus and that it took place in the presence of recently arrived refugees (“exulants”); the date, originally given at the beginning of the text, has been lost to damage.<sup>9</sup> The opposite page is filled with a street scene depicting, from a slightly elevated angle, a crowd of warmly dressed gentlemen in front of closed-up storefronts who watch (or perhaps approve for participation) a sleigh being paraded in their midst (plate 98). The remaining twenty-eight illustrations also show individual sleighs (as well as one coach) that supposedly took part in this amusement. Though somewhat more realistic in appearance, they are just as visually engaging as the designs of the previous section, again including numerous classical motifs such as Fame, the Realm of



*Hercules and a Female Centaur*, plate 80 of cat. 74



*Three Men in a Tub*, plate 88 of cat. 74



*Winter Street Scene with a Crowd of Gentlemen Watching a Sleigh*, plate 98 of cat. 74



*Memento Mori*, plate 126 of cat. 74

Neptune, and Athena, as well as social and political satire in the form of a peasant sleigh, several vehicles playing on the theme of love, more hybrids, and ending with a memento mori, a sleigh of Death (plate 126)—particularly apt during the Thirty Years' War (1618–48).

Unfortunately, nothing is known about the manuscript's early history: exactly when, for what purpose, and by whom it was commissioned, or who painted the illustrations. Variations of the same watermark indicate

that the paper dates from the second half of the sixteenth century.<sup>10</sup> The introduction to the last section, specifically the mention of the long hiatus for similar events and the recent arrival of refugees, provides a relatively certain date for the book's compilation to after 1640–41 (although the costumes in the street scene seem rather old-fashioned for such a late date). Large secular festivities—tournaments, shooting competitions, parades—provided not only spectacular

entertainment but also a prominent stage on which organizers and participants could demonstrate their status, strengthen existing associations or make new connections, and flaunt social and political ambitions. The 1446 joust retained a prominent position in Nuremberg's public memory through repeated visual representations well into the seventeenth century, while the *Gesellenstechen* of 1561, the last of its kind to be held in Nuremberg, was also commemorated in a painting by Jost Amman.<sup>11</sup>

The illustrations in the Museum's manuscript are of modest quality compared to earlier tournament books—for example, those made for Duke William IV of Bavaria, one of which was painted in 1541 by his court artist Hans Ostendorfer the Elder—or to officially commissioned public art in Nuremberg.<sup>12</sup> Perhaps this manuscript was commissioned from one of Nuremberg's *Briefmaler*: painters and calligraphers who wrote, copied, and embellished official documents, made playing cards, and are also recorded as having painted coats of arms in Nuremberg heraldry books.<sup>13</sup> The historical information must have been obtained from official sources, and it is probably noteworthy that in 1623 Johannes Müllner, Nuremberg's official chronicler (*Stadtschreiber*), recounted the 1446 joust in the city's annals, naming the winners of the first three prizes and giving their biographical information in exactly the same format as in the present work ("person x, son of y, and his wife z").<sup>14</sup> Since Berthold Volckamer—who won second prize—is the only participant of the 1446 joust to be singled out in the Museum's album, it is tempting to speculate that the volume was commissioned for a member of the Volckamer family (the monogram *AV* or *VA*, accompanied by the year 1597, on one of the sleighs in the last section possibly supports this assumption).<sup>15</sup> Whatever the case may be, such visual records were an important part of a memorial culture by which the nobility held on to traditional privileges while patricians and the *nouveau riche* attempted to establish and affirm an identity and traditions of their own.

DHB

1. For the watermarks, see Nickel 2010, pp. 178, 184, n. 4.
2. The present album is extensively discussed in Nickel 2010. Only individual examples of *Turnierbücher* have so far received scholarly attention; see G. Winkler 1980 and Kurras 1984, for example. The genre as a whole is still awaiting comprehensive study.
3. The manuscript consists of a total of 112 double-sided leaves (not folios), which make up a body of 220 pages plus two leaves (four pages) serving as frontispiece and endpaper. The remaining pages are empty; see Nickel 2010, p. 178, n. 3.
4. Shestak 1883; Appelbaum 1964.
5. Nickel 2010, p. 131, pl. 3, p. 132, pl. 5.
6. Pilz 1932–34; Endres 2001.
7. The first five families belonged to Nuremberg's highest level of society, the "old families," while the last four names came from the "new families" (Paumgartner is sometimes also spelled Baumgartner); see Nickel 2010, p. 144.
8. Page 105: "etliche auffzug die zu Schlitten fahren können gebraucht werden."
9. The date can be deduced with reasonable certainty from the statements about the long hiatus in sleigh parades (since 1597/98) and the "recent arrival" of refugees (in the winter of 1640/41); see Nickel 2010, pp. 172, 185, n. 73.
10. Nickel 2010, pp. 125, 178, and 184, n. 4.
11. Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich, inv. 49/43 (Lorenz Seeling in Munich 2000, pp. 38, 114).
12. The 1541 manuscript is preserved in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, MS CGM 2800 (Leidinger 1912, for a facsimile; Claudia Schwaab in Rosenheim 2008, no. 1.46, with references to other copies). Impressive examples of art commissioned by Nuremberg's city council include various projects for the exterior and interior of Nuremberg's city hall, with murals by Dürer; see the relevant chapters in Mende 1979.
13. For Nuremberg's *Briefmaler*, see Dackermann 2002, especially pp. 19–26.
14. Zotz 2000, p. 146.
15. No biography of Berthold Volckamer, recorded from at least 1437 into the 1450s, exists. However, as a member of one of Nuremberg's most eminent families, a captain (*Hauptmann*) of the city's military forces, and a city councillor who met with King Frederick IV (later Emperor Frederick III) on several occasions, he was apparently an important figure in early fifteenth-century Nuremberg; see, for example, *Chroniken* 1862, especially p. 401, and pp. 461–69.

*Provenance:* Frédéric Spitzer (1815–1890), Paris; his sale, Paris, April 17–June 16, 1893, lot 3036; [Édouard Rouveyre, Paris]; acquired by the Department of Arms and Armor, 1922

*Literature:* Paris 1874, p. 58; Spitzer 1891–93, vol. 2, p. 360, no. 4; Spitzer sale 1893, lot 3036; Dean 1922, ill. p. 125; Nickel 1995, pp. 34, 50, n. 27, fig. 15; Kammel 2008, pp. 113–15; Nickel 2010

# Artists Active in the Early Seventeenth Century

## AUGUSTIN BRAUN

Active Cologne, ca. 1570–after 1641

Although relatively little is known about Augustin Braun's life, his extant drawings make clear that he was one of the best and most productive of German seventeenth-century draftsmen. He seems to have spent his entire career in Cologne and may have been apprenticed to one of the many Netherlandish painters and engravers active in that city at the end of the sixteenth century. This would help explain certain stylistic features of his flexible and always appealing manner, which has sometimes been mistaken for that of Dutch or Flemish artists. He was active as a painter, but few of his pictures can be identified now, and it is primarily as a draftsman and designer—mainly of prints, but also of works in other media—that he is remembered today.

*General literature:* Vey 1964, pp. 86, 91–122; Vey 1965; Vey 1970, pp. 273–77; Vey 1990, pp. 165–84; Vey 1995



Fig. 1. Abraham Hogenberg, after Augustin Braun, *A Merry Company at a Brothel*, ca. 1614. Engraving, 10 $\frac{1}{16}$  × 7 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (25.6 × 18.7 cm). British Museum, London (1885-6-13-120)



Fig. 2. Augustin Braun, *A Merry Company on a Balcony*, 1610. Pen and brown ink, gray and pink-brown washes, over black chalk, 9 $\frac{3}{16}$  × 7 $\frac{3}{16}$  in. (23.6 × 19.8 cm). British Museum, London (1895-9-15-1124)

## 75 | Augustin Braun

*A Merry Company at a Brothel*, ca. 1610–14

Pen and carbon black ink, brown ink washes, traces of black chalk underdrawing, incised for transfer, on paper prepared with a brown wash, 8 $\frac{1}{8}$  × 6 $\frac{15}{16}$  in. (20.7 × 17.6 cm)  
Harry G. Sperling Fund, 2003 (2003.515)

Verso, at upper right, inscribed *Sebastiaen Frank* in black chalk (17th- or 18th-century handwriting); at lower left, inscribed [. . .] *bastien Frank*. in graphite (19th- or 20th-century handwriting); below, inscribed 15. in graphite (19th- or 20th-century handwriting)

*Watermark:* none

A group of richly adorned young men enjoy what young men are wont to enjoy—wine, women, and song. They drink, kiss, and gamble (a pack of cards and a handful of coins are laid out on the table), while some musicians accompany their lively party. The fashionably furnished interior where the scene takes place is in a pleasant state of disorder. In the background, some masked revelers have arrived to further entertain the table, while the couple on the bed at right reveals that the venue also serves as a brothel. The old woman in the left foreground getting paid by a confident beau must be the madam who procured the beauties that are keeping him and his friends company.

The author of this rather Flemish-looking scene—according to the inscriptions on the back, it was previously thought to be by the Antwerp painter Sebastiaan Vrancx—can be identified as German painter Augustin Braun on the basis of an engraving that reproduces the drawing in reverse (fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> On the side of the bass viol played by one of the musicians, the print names Augustin Braun as designer of the composition. The first in a series of four, it was engraved by Abraham Hogenberg, who collaborated with Braun on several plates in about 1608.<sup>2</sup> The three remaining prints were cut by another printmaker who worked for Braun, Johann Gelle,<sup>3</sup> although Hogenberg acted as publisher of all four. Gelle is known to have been in Antwerp until at least 1610, and he is not recorded back in Cologne (his presumed birthplace) until 1614, when he engraved a dated print after Braun.<sup>4</sup> Perhaps Hogenberg engraved his plate just before the return of Gelle, who may have started working on his

three prints for the series immediately thereafter, suggesting a date of about 1614 for the prints and the Museum's drawing. This is also made plausible by a drawing in London (fig. 2),<sup>5</sup> very comparable in both style and subject matter, that bears Braun's monogram and is dated 1610.<sup>6</sup>

Earlier Netherlandish prints must have been an important influence on Braun's design. The musicians, the masked jesters, the shadows cast by the sculpture decorating the doorway, the servant boy seen from the back, and even his hairdo all seem inspired by an engraving by Johann Sadeler I after Joos van Winghe, dated 1588, which depicts a similar nocturnal party in a slightly less realistic setting.<sup>7</sup> Braun's original variation on van Winghe's composition is made particularly appealing by the oblique angle at which the space is rendered. Braun's dependence on other, even earlier sixteenth-century examples, notably a set of woodcuts after Pieter Cornelisz. Kunst, is also evident in the rest of the series.<sup>8</sup>

Sometimes erroneously described as depicting the parable of the Prodigal Son (Luke 15:11–32), Braun's series actually tells a story popular in the Netherlands in which redemption has no place: that of *Sorgehloos* or "Mr. Carefree."<sup>9</sup> Apart from the scene at the inn, which contains a painted depiction of the Prodigal Son as a swineherd in the upper part of the first state of the engraving,<sup>10</sup> no compositions that could fit the biblical story appear in the series. That biblical scene is presented as a picture within the picture, hanging above the display of luxurious tableware (it does not appear in the Museum's drawing, which was undoubtedly cropped). The presence of the biblical narrative as a foil to the central scene seems to preclude the possibility that the man paying the innkeeper also represents the Prodigal.<sup>11</sup> Rather, he is a prodigal without an inheritance—a spendthrift whose carefree philosophy is expressed in the inscription below the print: "My belly is full, my body in good form. Why should I worry? If I don't have the money now, I can always rely on credit."<sup>12</sup> The three subsequent prints in Braun's series complete this seventeenth-century *Rake's Progress*: in the second plate, *Sorgehloos* is stricken by poverty; in the third, his former friends refuse to help him. In the final scene, he is on his own, forced to demolish his own house for firewood to keep himself from freezing. SA

1. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish*, 1949–2007, vol. 9 (1953), p. 49, no. 13, p. 97, no. 2 (as by Gelle); Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 4 (1957), p. 145, no. 6; Vey 1995, p. 146, no. 7, ill. The connection with the print—and thus the attribution—was made by Michiel Plomp at the time of the 2003 sale (see Provenance).



2. For Hogenberg, see Stern 1924. For his other prints after Braun, see Vey 1995, nos. 98–105, 106, ill. Abraham's brother Johann Hogenberg also engraved a title page after Braun in 1608 (Vey 1995, no. 134, ill.); in 1605 Braun had become godfather to a child of Johann's (Vey 1995, p. 221).

3. For Gelle, see Mosler 2006. For his other prints after Braun, see Vey 1995, nos. 112, 136, 137, ill.

4. Vey 1995, no. 112, ill.

5. Vey 1964, pp. 96–97, fig. 63; Vey 1990, p. 171; Vey 1995, p. 148, under nos. 7–10.

6. The stylistic (and possibly chronological) connection between the engraved brothel scene and the London drawing was already suggested in Vey 1995, p. 148, under nos. 7–10.

7. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish*, 1949–2007, vol. 21 (1980), p. 175, no. 559, vol. 22 (1980), ill. p. 157, vol. 52 (1998), p. 198; Ger Luijten in Amsterdam 1997, no. 6, ill. The possible connection between Braun's and van Winghe's compositions was already suggested by Luijten in Amsterdam 1997, p. 69. A generally faithful painted copy after Hogenberg's engraving after Braun was offered under an unfounded attribution to van Winghe at the sale Lempertz, Cologne, November





19, 2011, lot 1220 (illustrated in the catalogue). About the same date as Braun's print, in 1613, van Winghe's composition influenced another merry company engraved by Peter Isselburg (who on occasion also worked after Braun) after a design by the Nuremberg artist Gabriel Weyer (Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 15A [1986], p. 130, no. 5; Renger 1972, p. 169, fig. 10. For Isselburg's prints after Braun, see Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 15A [1986], p. 128, no. 3, p. 178, no. 95, p. 180, no. 100, ill.; Vey 1995, nos. 53, 118, 131, ill.).

8. The connection between Braun's and Pieter Cornelisz.'s series was first noted in Renger 1970, pp. 53, 58, 59–60. For this series, see also Armstrong 1990, pp. 19–34, figs. 97a–97f; Filedt Kok 1999, vol. 1, pp. 28–35, nos. 12–17, ill.

9. For the iconography of Sorgehloos, see Renger 1970, pp. 42–65; Husband 1989; Armstrong 1990, pp. 19–34.

10. The picture at left depicts Joseph and Potiphar's Wife. In the second state of the print, published in Amsterdam by Claes Jansz. Visscher, the subjects of the pictures were changed into an allegory of Chastity and a *vanitas* still life, respectively.

11. In sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England, some taverns seem to have been decorated with depictions of the story of the Prodigal Son (Kaiser 1963, pp. 198–99, quoting, among other texts, a line from Shakespeare's *Merry Wives of Windsor*, act 4, scene 4).

12. The German text reads: *Der bauch ist runt der leib gesund. / Warumb solt Ich dan sorgen / hab ich kein gelt bei tag vnd stund / Verlaß ich mich auf borgen.*

*Provenance:* Sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, March 26, 2003, lot 30; [Kunsthandel Katrin Bellinger, Munich]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 2003

*Literature:* Drouot 2003, lot 30, ill. (as by an anonymous Northern artist active about 1600)

## 76 | Augustin Braun

*The Assassination by the Turks and Miraculous Recovery of the Monks at the Mauerbach Charterhouse (?), ca. 1610s (?)*

Pen and brown ink, gray ink washes, lead white corrections, black chalk underdrawing, on two assembled pieces of paper (laid down on four pieces of paper glued together), 7<sup>9</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 21<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (19.2 × 55.5 cm)

Harry G. Sperling Fund, 2003 (2003.374)

On base of second column from left, inscribed *Occasus / an Ortus?* (Is this destruction or birth?) in pen and brown ink, by the artist; on base of second column from right, inscribed *Auget. / Coniuncta / decorem* (?) in pen and brown ink, by the artist; on base of column at right, inscribed *Emblema* in pen and brown



ink, by the artist; at lower right, collector's mark of Heinrich Beckmann (Lugt 2756<sup>a</sup>). Framing line in pen and brown ink, by the artist. Verso of the secondary support, at upper left, inscribed 12 in a circle in graphite (20th-century handwriting); at lower left, inscribed 13995 in graphite (20th-century handwriting); at center, inscribed 46 in graphite (20th-century handwriting); at lower right, inscribed *Süd-Deutsch* in purple crayon (19th- or 20th-century handwriting); at upper right, inscribed 32 in pen and red ink (20th-century handwriting); below, inscribed *D-19* in graphite (20th-century handwriting)

*Watermark:* none visible because of the secondary support

This drawing is given special appeal by its exceptional format, by the architectural framework, and by a subject both gruesome and yet slightly amusing. At left, a group of monks is being mercilessly slaughtered by men with swords; at center, among the beheaded bodies of monks, one is getting back up on his feet; at right, monks line up in choir stalls of the same type as those in the middle section, while two smaller monks—could they be children?—walk by, holding their severed heads.

Although I have not been able to find an exact source for the two latter scenes, the subject is most likely an episode from the history of the Carthusian monastery in Mauerbach, in Lower Austria to the immediate west of Vienna. The monastery of Mauerbach was attacked, pillaged, and largely destroyed during the first Turkish siege of the Austrian capital by the Ottoman emperor Süleyman the Magnificent, in September 1529.<sup>1</sup> At least two of the attackers in the drawing are wearing turbans, identifying them as Turks. Seven monks—Sigismund, Evardus, Johannes, Michael, Sebastian, Anton, and Benedictus—are reported to have been killed in Mauerbach. Braun's central scene may depict a subsequent moment, from a legend inspired by the event, when the slain monks come back to life and revive the monastery, a moment also commemorated in the Latin inscription on the base of the second column: "Is this destruction or birth?" The third scene is more enigmatic but likewise seems to point to a happy ending.

The depiction of the Mauerbach massacre is almost unique in the history of art, one exception being a painting by the Italian artist Vicente Carducho, who was active in Spain. He was commissioned in 1626 to paint a series for the charterhouse of Santa Maria de El Paular in Rascafria, near Segovia. Carducho's fifty-six works, the largest compendium of Carthusian iconography, include a painting of the Mauerbach monks attacked by the Turks (but not the "resurrection" scenes included here).<sup>2</sup> The figures in the Museum's drawing, especially those in the left section, can be compared to those in several monogrammed drawings by Braun, including two designs for title pages dated 1614 and 1617, and they establish the attribution beyond much doubt.<sup>3</sup> Two drawings in Cologne and Göttingen are comparable in the importance accorded to the architectural setting.<sup>4</sup> The latter is dated 1618 by the artist; along with the title pages, this may serve to date the Museum's drawing roughly to the 1610s. It has been suggested that the sheets in Göttingen and Cologne were used as models for decorative paintings in the house of a Cologne burgo-master, possibly Johann Hardenrath.<sup>5</sup> The Museum's drawing, too, could have served as the model for a trompe-l'oeil painted decoration, perhaps for a Carthusian church. Although one would expect such a painting in Austria rather than Cologne, in western Germany, where Braun worked all of his life, a possible connection with Braun's native city is Saint Bruno, the eleventh-century founder of the Carthusian order, who was born in Cologne and started his career as canon of the church of Saint Cunibert there.<sup>6</sup>

SA



Fig. 1. Balthasar Katzenberger, *Diana and Actaeon*, ca. 1610–20 (?). Pen and brown ink, brown and gray washes, over black chalk, 8<sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 7<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (22.4 × 18.7 cm). Stiftung Museum Kunstpalast, Düsseldorf (KA [FP] 5051)

1. For the history and architecture of the charterhouse, see Wiedemann 1873; Hantschk 1972; Knall-Brskovsky 1999. More specifically for the Turkish raid on the monastery in 1529, see Wiedemann 1873, p. 106; Hantschk 1972, pp. 32–33, 145.

2. For this composition specifically, see Volk 1977, no. 70; Beutler 1997, no. 45.

3. The examples mentioned are in the Albertina, Vienna, inv. 3276 (Tietze et al. 1933, vol. 1, no. 623, vol. 2, pl. 176; Vey 1964, pp. 100–101, fig. 69), and in the Frits Lugt collection, Paris, inv. 6745 (Boon 1992, vol. 1, no. 279, vol. 3, pl. 311). The manner in which the figures, drapery, and architecture are rendered; the use of gray wash; and even the handwriting in the inscriptions in the Museum's drawing also correspond quite closely to an allegory dated 1640 and monogrammed by Bernhard Fuckeradt, a little-known pupil of Peter Paul Rubens and follower of Braun, in the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum und Fondation Corboud, Cologne, inv. 253 (Vey 1964, pp. 140–41, fig. 104).

4. Kölnisches Stadtmuseum, Cologne, inv. 1976/345 (Vey 1990, pp. 169–70, fig. 4); Kunstsammlung der Universität Göttingen, inv. H 545 (Matthias Ohm in Koblenz and other cities 2000–2001, no. 88, ill.).

5. Ohm in Koblenz and other cities 2000–2001, p. 226.

6. For Saint Bruno, see Réau 1955–59, vol. 3, pt. 1 (1958), pp. 249–52; Calabrese, Orienti, and Brandi 1963; Myslivec 1973.

*Provenance:* Heinrich Beckmann (1874–1940), Bremen; possibly in his sale, Reinhold Puppel, Berlin, February 27–28, 1941, part of lots 353–57; [Emanuel von Baeyer, London]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 2003

*Literature:* unpublished

## BALTHASAR KATZENBERGER

Würzburg, ca. 1580–after 1627, Würzburg (?)

Balthasar Katzenberger seems to have worked in Würzburg most of his life, although he is documented in 1601 in Landshut and later also in Bamberg, Speyer, and elsewhere in southern Germany. He is best known as a draftsman; more than a dozen sheets by him are recorded, most of which bear his monogram. His only known painted works are a decorated ceiling and an altarpiece made for the castle in Weikersheim, south of Würzburg.

*General literature:* Fleischhauer 1927; Heinrich Geissler in Stuttgart 1979–80, vol. 1, pp. 228–29

### 77 | Balthasar Katzenberger

*Nymphs and a Satyr in a Forest*, ca. 1605 (?)

Pen and carbon black ink, gray-blue ink washes, traces of black chalk underdrawing, 11<sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 7<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (30 × 20 cm)  
Ian Woodner Family Collection Fund, 2006 (2006.304)

At lower left, monogrammed .BKW. (intertwined) in pen and gray ink; above it, a collector's mark, probably of Thomas Dimsdale (compare Lugt 2426, where the mark may be incorrectly reproduced). Double framing line in pen and gray ink, by the artist. Verso, at lower left, inscribed *NB dieser / Monogram. nicht / [ . . . ]* in graphite (19th-century handwriting); below, inscribed *In einer Höhle [ . . . ] / [ . . . ] Diana D[ . . . ] / [ . . . ] Nymphen etc.* in pen and black ink (19th-century handwriting); at lower right, inscribed *April 17 / Köln Auct [?] 1882 App [?] / n° 686 / W. Baur / [ . . . ] / ★* in blue crayon (19th- or 20th-century handwriting)

*Watermark:* shield (?)

Once attributed to the famous seventeenth-century miniaturist and etcher Johann Wilhelm Baur,<sup>1</sup> in more recent times this drawing has been recognized as a work by the little-known Balthasar Katzenberger. Friedrich Thöne was the first to recognize the monogram on this drawing—a small *K* inscribed within a *B*, followed by a *W*—as the same as one seen on several other drawings by Katzenberger.<sup>2</sup> The *W* probably refers to the city of Würzburg, his birthplace.<sup>3</sup> The attribution is reinforced by comparison with other drawings by Katzenberger, including a sheet in Düsseldorf (fig. 1).<sup>4</sup>

Although sketchier in style, the Museum's drawing displays very similar facial features, with sharp noses and heavy eyebrows; a comparable composition made up of large contrasting fields;<sup>5</sup> and an equally liberal use of wash. Because Katzenberger did not use the *W* in his monogram in any drawing known from his later years, Thöne suggests that the Museum's drawing could be a relatively early work.

Although the composition recalls the myth of Diana and Actaeon (with the dog at upper right "spying" on the scene below), the drawing seems to depict no particular story. Rather, Katzenberger chose to represent a slightly eroticized Golden Age, which would have pleased art lovers of the day—much like a work by Joseph Heintz the Elder discussed elsewhere in this catalogue (see cat. 66). Katzenberger's composition is also reminiscent of another painting by Heintz of similar format depicting Diana and Callisto.<sup>6</sup> Certain awkward elements—the child supporting the entire weight of the nymph at center, the repoussoir in the upper half of the drawing that simultaneously evokes the inside and the outside of a grotto—are characteristic of Katzenberger. They betray a minor master but one whom Heinrich Geissler rightly credited with a certain sophistication.<sup>7</sup> SA

1. Heberle 1882, p. 33, lot 686 (as by "W. Baur").

2. Friedrich Thöne, in a document dated March 18, 1966 (probably addressed to the then-owner of the drawing); a photocopy is preserved in the Museum's departmental files. Compare, for instance, the monogram on the drawing reproduced here as fig. 1; the one on a drawing recorded in the collection of the princes of Waldburg-Wolfegg and Waldsee in Wolfegg (Heinrich Geissler in Stuttgart 1979–80, vol. 1, no. E 37, ill.); and one in the Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, inv. c 3754 (Geissler in Stuttgart 1979–80, vol. 1, no. E 38, ill.; Geissler in Kaulbach 2007, no. 297, ill.).

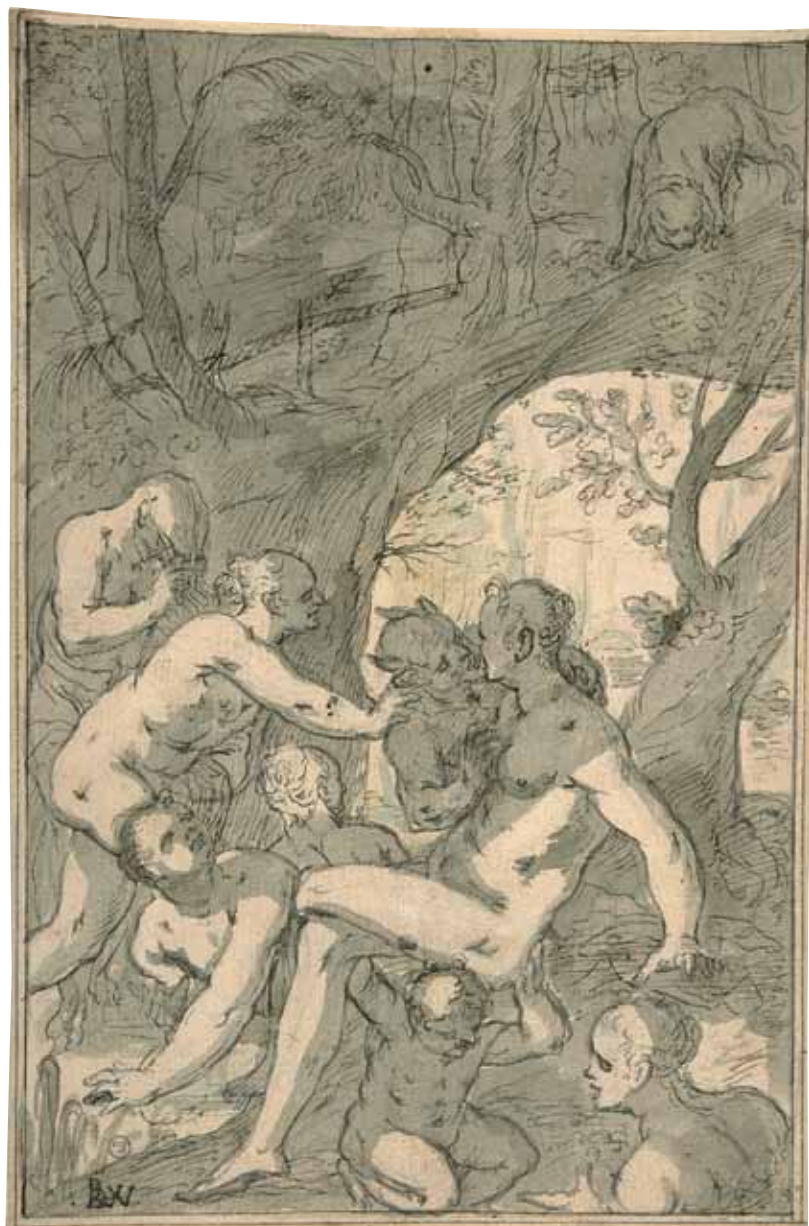
3. Heinrich Geissler (in Stuttgart 1979–80, vol. 1, p. 228) refers to a drawing (location unknown) signed "Balthasar Katzenberger von würzburg geschehen in lantzhut 1601" (Balthasar Katzenberger of Würzburg made in Landshut in 1601). It seems less likely that the letter *W* could refer to Weikersheim, where Katzenberger worked in the castle (see Merten 1985, ill.), although in 1608 he did include "Weikersheim" in the signature of the drawing in Wolfegg, mentioned in note 2 above. Katzenberger's monogram is given as *BKW* in Fleischhauer 1927, perhaps indicating that the author knew either the Museum's drawing or another one, now untraced, with the same monogram.

4. Geissler in Stuttgart 1979–80, vol. 1, p. 228, under no. E 38; Düsseldorf 2008–9, p. 304, ill. p. 63.

5. As remarked in Winterberg 1991, p. 102, lot 792.

6. Location unknown (Zimmer 1971, no. A 17, fig. 46; Kaufmann 1988, no. 7.29, ill.; Zimmer 1988, pp. 137–38, under no. A 59; Jürgen Zimmer in Essen and Vienna 1988–89, vol. 1, p. 349).

7. Geissler in Stuttgart 1979–80, vol. 1, p. 228, under no. E 37: "eine Weltmännische Attitüde."



*Provenance:* Probably Thomas Dimsdale (1758–1923), London; sale, J. M. Heberle, Cologne, April 17–19, 1882, lot 686; sale, Arno Winterberg, Heidelberg, October 11–12, 1991, lot 792 (removed from the sale); sale, Sotheby's, Amsterdam, November 16, 2005, lot 107; [Kunsthandel Katrin Bellinger, Munich]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 2006

*Literature:* Heberle 1882, lot 686 (as by Johann Wilhelm Baur); Winterberg 1991, lot 792, ill. (as attributed to Katzenberger); Sotheby's 2005b, lot 107, ill.

\* The sale included drawings from the collection of the painter Franz Becker, Deutze; the Callin collection in Osnabrück; and the Enne collection in Cologne.



**HANS JAKOB EBELMANN**  
Speyer, active ca. 1570–after 1625, Speyer

After 1590 Hans Jakob Ebelmann worked as a journeyman cabinetmaker in Strasbourg, where he came into contact with the builder and master carpenter Hans Schoch and the artist Wendel Dietterlin the Elder. Ebelmann was also active as a cabinet- and printmaker in Speyer and possibly also in Cologne. Between 1598 and 1609, often in collaboration with Jacob Guckeisen, Ebelmann published several pattern books intended for use by cabinetmakers, including a series of six engravings of cabinets and a group of scrollwork patterns for use in intarsia.

*General literature:* Irmscher 1999, pp. 109–33; Zimmer 2002

78 | **Hans Jakob Ebelmann**

*Allegory of Fortune with Two River Gods*, 1624

Pen and carbon black ink, gray ink washes, azurite, vermilion, and massicot watercolor, white gouache heightening, red chalk, traces of black chalk underdrawing, 4<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 11<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (10.3 × 29 cm)

Harry G. Sperling Fund, 2005 (2005.2)

At upper center, signed and dated *Johannes Ebelmann 1624*. in pen and black ink. Verso, at upper right, inscribed 223 in graphite (20th-century handwriting); at lower right, inscribed 20165458/28 in graphite (20th-century handwriting)

*Watermark:* none

“O goddess, you who reign over your favourite Antium, ready at hand to raise mortal flesh from lowest level or to turn an arrogant triumph into a funeral cortege, your support is sought with anxious prayers by the poor tenant farmer, and, as you are mistress of the deep . . .”<sup>21</sup>

As in Horace’s *Ode to Fortune*, Ebelmann’s figure of Fortune is shown as mistress of the ocean, venturing forth on her precarious sphere, with wings as its rudders.<sup>2</sup> Holding a billowing sail, she navigates the tumultuous sea; the distant city in the background, beautifully highlighted in blue wash, alludes to her famed temple in Antium. Although only faint hints of gray, red, yellow, and blue washes as well as white heightening can now be seen by the naked eye, the original brilliance of the colors is evident under magnification; small pearls of color still cling to the fibrous surface of the paper. Seen from the vantage point of a shaded grotto framed by two river gods, Fortune rises at the center of the composition, indicated with a faint red chalk line down the middle of the page. She represents not only the capriciousness of life, blown by the winds, but also her role as Primigenia, mother goddess and primordial bearer of children, providing sustenance to humanity through her breast milk.<sup>3</sup>

There are only six known drawings by Ebelmann. A notable example is *Hercules with the Globe* in Dresden, which is monogrammed and dated 1625 (fig. 1).<sup>4</sup> Executed in pen and black ink with gray wash, the Dresden drawing is a much simpler composition than the Museum’s drawing. Nonetheless, the application of the gray wash and the use of sloping calligraphic lines to create the contours and muscle tone are identical. Ebelmann also repeated in *Hercules the fall of the head* and the somber face of the river god seen at left in the Museum’s drawing. Even though these late drawings are signed differently, the first digit of each date (a 1 with a dot above it) and the 2 in each are nearly the same. No evidence indicates how these mythological drawings were used, but the high degree of finish and the care devoted to the washes demonstrate their importance in Ebelmann’s oeuvre.

FS



Fig. 1. Hans Jakob Ebelmann, *Hercules with the Globe*, 1625. Pen and black ink, gray wash, 9<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> × 5<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (23.5 × 12.8 cm). Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden (C 7070)

1. "O diva, gratum qua regis Antium, / praesens vel imo tollere de gradu / mortale corpus vel superbos / vertere funeribus triumphos, / te pauper ambit sollicita prece / ruris colonus, te dominam aequoris . . ." Horace, *Ode to Fortune* (*Odes* 1:35; Horace 2004 [ed.], pp. 86, 88; for the English translation by Niall Rudd, see pp. 87, 89).

2. In *Ode to Maecenas*, Horace mentions Fortune's wings (*Odes* 3:29; Horace 2004 [ed.], p. 214; for the English translation by Niall Rudd, see p. 215).

3. A temple complex in Praeneste (modern-day Palestrina) is known as the Temple of Fortuna Primigenia; she is venerated there as a mother and represented suckling two infants, thought to be Jupiter and Juno (much like the Christian allegory of Charity). For a discussion of Fortuna's maternal symbolism, see Anthony J. Boyle and Roger D. Woodard in Ovid 2000 (ed.), p. 235.

4. Along with the Museum's drawing and the one in Dresden, there are three drawings, dated 1619, from the Bishop's Palace in Speyer, with a monogram that can be related to Ebelmann in the Kartensammlung der Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Darmstadt, inv. Mappe 229/6 Blatt 1–3 (Zimmer 2002). Although Ebelmann was not included in his seminal publication on German draftsmen (Stuttgart 1979–80), Heinrich Geissler kept a file on the artist in his papers (now at the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, acc. 2001.M.9), which includes the Museum's and the Dresden drawings. A recent sale at Auktionhouse von Zengen in Bonn included a previously unknown drawing, *Allegory of Plenty*, signed and dated 1614 (March 25–26, 2011, lot 2151, illustrated in the catalogue).

*Provenance:* Sale, Prestel, Frankfurt, November 22–26, 1927, lot 149; Jacques Fryszman, Boulogne-Billancourt; \* sale, Sotheby's, Amsterdam, November 11, 1997, lot 49; Unicorn Collection, private collection of Saam Nijstad and Lily Nijstad-Einhorn, The Hague, inv. N 502; their sale, Sotheby's, Amsterdam, May 19, 2004, lot 4; [Kunsthandel Katrin Bellinger, Munich]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 2005

*Literature:* Prestel 1927, lot 149, pl. 1 (as by Johann Hulsman); Vey 1964, p. 124, fig. 90 (as by Hulsman); Sotheby's 1997, lot 49, ill.; Ingrid S. Brons in The Hague 2001, no. 49, ill.; Sotheby's 2004, lot 4, ill.

\* On the back of a photograph of the Museum's drawing in the Geissler papers (see note 4), it is noted that the drawing belonged to Fryszman.

## HERMANN WEYER

Coburg, 1596–ca. 1621, Coburg

The son of painter Hans Weyer the Elder and brother of Hans the Younger—who was also active as a painter, particularly of portraits—Hermann appears to have specialized in drawings. Spanning his entire career, from early 1607 through 1621, his drawings are mainly historical and biblical scenes that mimic the dramatic tonal contrasts of chiaroscuro woodcuts. Since only a few paintings and no prints by Hermann are known, he may have earned a livelihood by selling his drawings, many of which are double-sided. Little is known of Weyer's life, but he is thought to have traveled to the Netherlands about 1616, where he was influenced not only by the subject matter but also by the style of its artists.

*General literature:* Mayer 1931–32; Heinrich Geissler in Stuttgart 1979–80, vol. 1, pp. 230–32; Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann in Princeton, Washington, and Pittsburgh 1982–83, pp. 80–81; Germann-Bauer 1996; Bodnár 2009

## 79 | Hermann Weyer

*Lot and His Daughters*; verso: *Imaginary Rocky Landscape with a Castle and a Bridge*, ca. 1615–16

Pen and carbon black ink, gray ink washes, white gouache heightening, traces of black chalk underdrawing, on paper prepared with an opaque yellow, iron-based earth wash; verso: pen and carbon black ink, 6¾ × 7⅞/16 in. (17.1 × 19.5 cm)  
The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 2005 (2005.118)

*Watermark:* none

Created in Weyer's characteristic technique, this highly finished drawing illustrates the Old Testament narrative of Lot and his daughters (Genesis 19:30–36). After the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, the widowed Lot and his two daughters settled in a cave in the mountains. In order to preserve their family line,





*Imaginary Rocky Landscape with a Castle and a Bridge* (verso of cat. 79)

Lot's daughters conspired to get their father drunk on wine and then have intercourse with him. Lot's undoing by the feminine wiles of his own daughters was a popular subject in the innumerable sixteenth- and seventeenth-century texts and images that exemplified the power of women by depicting unruly females and their male victims.<sup>1</sup>

Weyer himself executed several versions of this moralistic tale.<sup>2</sup> The closest in composition, though not in technique, is a more loosely conceived drawing in Stuttgart (fig. 1).<sup>3</sup> In both drawings, Lot is shown raising a chalice in one hand and embracing one of his daughters with the other. The other daughter prepares another libation for her father, pouring wine into a large, flat glass. Father and daughter sit at the mouth of a cave, which is draped with a canopy and made comfortable with large pillows. In the background of both can be seen the burning city of Sodom; the Stuttgart version also shows Lot's wife, who was turned into a pillar of salt as punishment for looking back at the sinful city (Genesis 19:26). Hans-Martin Kaulbach

suggests that the Stuttgart drawing depends on Jan Saenredam's engraving after Hendrick Goltzius (1597), which is much more detailed but shares the same general composition.<sup>4</sup> A print by another Netherlandish Mannerist, Jan Harmensz. Muller, inspired another version of the theme by Weyer in Wolfegg (fig. 2).<sup>5</sup> Weyer's use of Netherlandish models is typical of the artist; Heinrich Geissler believes he may have spent time in Antwerp in about 1616.<sup>6</sup> The Museum's drawing shares features of both the Stuttgart and the Wolfegg versions. Weyer retained Saenredam's placement of the figures in the Stuttgart and Museum versions, but he transformed the composition by positioning the second daughter to face the viewer as she pours the wine from a classical pitcher, as in the Muller engraving. Like Muller, Weyer also placed in the foreground an overflowing bowl of fruit and a loaf of bread to emphasize a sense of indulgence.

Weyer would characteristically contrast a narrative on the recto—often taken from the Old Testament—with a landscape executed with loose and energetic pen strokes on the verso.<sup>7</sup> Here, a framing tree in the left foreground sets off a rocky landscape with a fortification isolated on



Fig. 1. Hermann Weyer, *Lot and His Daughters*, ca. 1614–15. Pen and black ink, green-gray wash, over traces of black chalk, 9 $\frac{1}{8}$  × 7 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (23.2 × 18.8 cm). Graphische Sammlung, Staatsgalerie Stuttgart (C 3830)

a tall cliff at the center. Behind the castle is a body of water; the city on its shores is being battered by a storm. This scene in which man and nature coexist relates to work by a group of Netherlandish landscape artists who lived in Frankenthal, Germany, between about 1586 and 1620.<sup>8</sup> Although no direct model is known for Weyer's landscape, it shows the influence of landscapes by Anton Mirou, Roelant Savery, and Paul Bril.<sup>9</sup> FS

1. For more on the topos of the power of women, see S. L. Smith 1995.

2. In addition to the drawings reproduced here as figs. 1 and 2, there is a version of the subject at the Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg, inv. z-0545.

3. Kaulbach 2007, no. 705, ill. Kaulbach believes that the freer use of line and the colored washes indicate an early dating of the work, to ca. 1614–15.

4. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish*, 1949–2007, vol. 23 (1980), p. 11, no. 9.

5. Christine Wolff in Ravensburg 2003, no. 82, ill. For Muller's engraving, see Filedt Kok 1999, vol. 2, no. 64, ill.

6. Geissler in Stuttgart 1979–80, vol. 1, p. 230. Geissler came to this conclusion based on a signed and dated drawing, *The Judgment of Midas* (1616), now in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, acc. 85.GG.293, which Weyer made after a work by Hendrick van Balen I (Goldner 1988, no. 136, ill.).

7. Geissler believed that these double-sided drawings were from the artist's sketchbooks and meant for sale. He links his attributions of double-sided drawings to Weyer by means of a sheet showing the Rest on the Flight into Egypt, signed with his initials and dated 1615 and 1616, in the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig, inv. z 391 (Geissler in Stuttgart 1979–80, vol. 1, no. E 39, ill.). There are many other examples of double-sided drawings attributed to Weyer. Some in United States collections include: *The Entombment of Christ* (recto) and *Landscape with a City on a River* (verso), Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, acc. 2003.33.1 (John Marciari in Sarasota, Austin, and New Haven 2006–8, no. 35, ill.); *The Holy Family with Saints* (recto) and *Tobias and the Angel* (verso); *Desert Landscape with a Hermit* (recto) and *Saint Christopher* (verso), National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., acc. 1991.127.1.a, b and 2006.88.1, respectively; *Hercules Being Shown the Mountainous Road* (recto) and *Resurrection of Christ* (verso), Crocker Art Museum, Sacramento, acc. 1871.601 (Freyda Spira in Sacramento and Poughkeepsie 2010–11, no. 45, ill.).

8. For more on the Frankenthaler school, see Papenbrock 2001; see Diefenbacher 2007 for Anton Mirou's role in that school.

9. For a very similar work, see an engraving by Egidius Sadeler II after Roelant Savery's *Big Tower and Some Houses* (Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish*, 1949–2007, vol. 21 [1980], p. 50, no. 240). For a similar landscape by Paul Bril, for instance, see *Rocky Landscape with House and Trees* (1592), Akademie der Bildenden Künste, Vienna, inv. 4591 (Vienna 1997, no. 17, ill.). For more on Bril, see Ruby 1999.

*Provenance:* Sale, Sotheby's, Amsterdam, November 6, 2001, lot 205; [Nathalie Motte, Paris]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 2005

*Literature:* Sotheby's 2001c, lot 205, ill.; Christine Wolff in Ravensburg 2003, p. 188, n. 2, under no. 82; Kaulbach 2007, p. 339, n. 2, under no. 705; von Baeyer 2010, p. 8, n. 3, under no. 2



Fig. 2. Hermann Weyer, *Lot and His Daughters*, ca. 1617. Pen and gray ink, gray and yellow washes, heightened with white gouache, 7<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 13 in. (20.2 × 33 cm). Princes of Waldburg-Wolfegg and Waldsee, Wolfegg Castle

## BARTHOLOMÄUS REITER

Active in Munich, ca. 1583–1622

Nothing is known of Reiter's origins, but he was an apprentice to the Munich painter Hans Ostendorfer the Younger in 1583 and subsequently to another little-known artist, Andreas Hennenberger. He may be related to Johann or Michael Reiter, both of whom were artists working in the circle of Peter Candid in Munich during this period. It is likely that Bartholomäus traveled from the court of Munich to Venice and worked there with Hans Rottenhammer. An earlier relationship between Reiter and Rottenhammer in Munich can be established through the drawing *Caritas*, taken from a *Stammbuch* in the Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen. It contains a complimentary inscription to Bartholomäus Reiter, penned in 1587 or 1588, before Rottenhammer left for Italy. There are over forty drawings attributed to Reiter, as well as twenty-one etchings dating from 1609–15, and two paintings.

*General literature:* Heinrich Geissler in Stuttgart 1979–80, vol. 1, pp. 118, 264; Andrews 1990; Warshaw 2002, under no. 10



80 | Bartholomäus Reiter

*Allegory of Air and Earth*, 1618

Pen and brown ink, brown ink and organic pink washes, lead white heightening, traces of graphite underdrawing, 12<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> × 7<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (31.1 × 20.1 cm)  
Van Day Truex Fund, 2001 (2001.530)

At lower left, dated [. . .] 618. in pen and dark brown ink, by the artist; at center, inscribed *Jf 180* in pen and brown ink (18th- or 19th-century handwriting).<sup>1</sup> Verso shows extensive evidence of earlier mounting on a sheet with printed numbers; at lower left, inscribed 4) in graphite (20th-century handwriting); at lower right, inscribed 5/1004625 in graphite (20th-century handwriting)

Watermark: triple mount in quatrefoil with letters<sup>2</sup>



Heinrich Geissler first attributed this drawing to Reiter when it was offered for sale in 1987.<sup>3</sup> The attribution to the Munich artist was confirmed by Tilman Falk, who noted that the light gray and violet washes are characteristic for Reiter, as are the loose, undulating outlines that define the figures and landscape.<sup>4</sup> A comparable drawing, *Virgin and Child in Glory* (fig. 1), with its brown, pink, green, and yellow washes lightly highlighting the scene, also demonstrates Reiter's delight in drawing his characteristic spindly yet expressive hands. This flowing style of pen and wash drawing shows affinities with that of the Venetian artist Jacopo Palma il Giovane, which was adopted by Northern artists working in Italy, including Reiter's colleague Hans Rottenhammer.<sup>5</sup> Reiter, too, was intrigued by the Venetian's style and subject matter, and he executed two etchings after Palma.<sup>6</sup>

The attributes of classical deities were often used in seventeenth-century art to symbolize the Four Elements. In another etching by Reiter, this time after the Dutch painter Abraham Bloemaert, he depicted a triumphant Juno, ruler of the heavens, holding a scepter in one hand and gesturing toward the viewer with the other.<sup>7</sup> Like the figure in the clouds in the Museum's drawing, she gazes downward; her oval face is crowned by an irregular diadem rather than the halo of cloudlike hair in the Museum's image. The airborne figure in this drawing can now be understood to be Juno as well. Seen from below, she sits on a throne of clouds with her left knee raised, accompanied by Jupiter in the form of an eagle. Rather than imitating the costume and comportment of the Juno in his etching, Reiter based his drawn version on the figure of Fame from Bloemaert's painting *Wedding of Peleus and Thetis* (ca. 1590–91), itself a version of the figure of Fame seen in Hendrick Goltzius's monumental engraving after Bartholomeus Spranger, *The Wedding of Cupid and Psyche* (1587).<sup>8</sup> Falk has also compared the figure of Juno with her hair of clouds to an engraving of the element Air from a series by Johann Sadeler I after Maerten de Vos.<sup>9</sup>

Sources for Reiter's allegorical figure of Earth with her turreted crown can also be found in contemporary prints, such as Jacob Matham's title page for Karel van Mander's *Schilder-Boeck* (1604) and Johann Sadeler I's engraving *Earth* after Dirck Barendsz. (1587).<sup>10</sup> Both engravings stem from work by Dutch artists greatly influenced by their firsthand experience of Italian imagery. Rottenhammer was equally taken by the representations of the Four Elements as classical deities.<sup>11</sup> While in Venice, he executed paintings with allegorical figures of the Four Elements that were later incorporated

into the ceiling design of the Golden Chamber in Bückeberg Castle.<sup>12</sup> Rottenhammer depicted Earth as both the Roman goddess of agriculture, Ceres, displaying her bounty in her hands and beneath her feet, and the Phrygian goddess Cybele, or Magna Mater, wearing her crown comprising a tower and a wall (fig. 2). Reiter, too, shows Earth's feet firmly placed on gourds and holding a shovel for planting. Although no direct source for Reiter's imagery has been identified, both the style and the subject of this beautifully rendered allegory reveal his close association with Rottenhammer specifically and, more generally, demonstrate the impact of Italian art on Northern artists during this period. FS

1. In correspondence from March 14, 2001, in the Museum's departmental files, Tilman Falk notes that "Jf 180" seems to be a collector's paraph. Falk found a related notation, "Jf 52," on another Reiter sheet, which was in the Galerie Grünwald, Munich, about 1980. According to an October 14, 2010, letter from Falk (departmental files), that drawing is a design for the etching *Satyr and Nymph* (Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 34 [1993], no. 21, ill.).

2. The watermark is similar to one found in paper used in Munich in 1613 (Piccard-Online, no. 154028; accessed August 15, 2011).

3. The dealer Claude Kuhn thanks Geissler for his attribution (C. Kuhn 1987, p. 52), which Sotheby's either was unaware of or ignored at the time of the sale in 1990. The attribution was reestablished by Monroe Warshaw (in Warshaw 2002, no. 10).

4. See the correspondence between Falk and Warshaw, 2001, in the Museum's departmental files. The greatest concentration of Reiter drawings is in the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung München; Falk notes approximately twenty there.

5. Andrews 1990, p. 246.

6. Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 34 (1993), pp. 10–11, nos. 1 (ill.), 2.

7. *Ibid.*, no. 18, ill. Reiter's print is a reverse copy of a Bloemaert etching (Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish*, 1949–2007, vol. 2 [1950], p. 61, no. 4, ill.); there are several drawn variants of this print. For more on the Bloemaert etching and the variants, see Bolten 2007, no. 566, and p. 200, n. 14, vol. 2, ill. p. 259.

8. Bloemaert's painting is in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich, inv. 6526 (Roethlisberger 1993, vol. 1, no. 12, vol. 2, pl. 1, fig. 26). For Goltzius's print, see Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish*, 1949–2007, vol. 8 (1953), p. 111, no. 322, ill. Bloemaert himself created a drawn version of Fame; see Rotterdam, Paris, and Brussels 1976–77, no. 19, pl. 19; Bolten 2007, vol. 1, no. 564, vol. 2, ill. p. 258.

9. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish*, 1949–2007, vol. 21 (1980), p. 170, no. 529, vol. 22 (1980), ill.; Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish*, 1949–2007, vol. 44 (1996), no. 1357, vol. 46 (1995), ill.

10. This crown can also be seen in Hans Friedrich Schorer the Elder's *Triumph of the Earth* (cat. 89). For contemporary prints, see Leesberg 1999, no. 165, ill.; Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish*, 1949–2007, vol. 21 (1980), p. 169, no. 526.

11. Italian examples include: Peruzzi Baldassare (1481–1536) in the Villa Madama, Rome; Giorgio Vasari (1511–1574), cycle for the Palazzo Vecchio, Florence; Paolo Veronese (1528–1588), cycle for the Sale dell'Olimpo, Villa Barbaro-Volpi, Treviso. A fascinating Northern counterpart to these Italian examples is a series of paintings by Jan Brueghel the Elder and Hendrick van Balen I (Sylvia Ferino-Pagden in Essen, Vienna, and Antwerp 1997–98, no. 77, ill.).



Fig. 1. Bartholomäus Reiter, *The Virgin and Child in Glory*, ca. 1610–20. Pen and gray ink, gray, violet, green, and yellow washes, 10<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 9<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (25.8 × 24.7 cm). Staatliche Graphische Sammlung München (41419 z)



Fig. 2. Hans Rottenhammer, *Allegory of Earth*, ca. 1595/96–1606. Oil on canvas. Ceiling of the Golden Chamber, Bückeberg Castle

12. Although there is some speculation about the dating of these paintings, there is evidence that they were painted while Rottenhammer was still in Venice. For the debate over the dating of the paintings, see Dobalová 2007, p. 126.

*Provenance:* [Galerie Claude Kuhn, Basel]; sale, Sotheby's, New York, January 12, 1990, lot 171; private collection, New York; [Monroe Warshaw, New York]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 2001

*Literature:* C. Kuhn 1987, no. 28, ill.; Sotheby's 1990, lot 171, ill. (as South German School, ca. 1600); Warshaw 2002, no. 10, ill.

## MICHAEL HERR

Metzingen, 1591–1661, Nuremberg

Michael Herr was most likely trained in Stuttgart between 1605 and 1609, possibly by the court painter Georg Donauer, before moving to Nuremberg in 1610. He traveled to Rome and Venice in 1614–15 and was fascinated by the work of his Italian contemporaries, including the Carracci, Guido Reni, and Jacopo Palma il Giovane. He returned to Nuremberg in 1618 or 1619, becoming a master there in 1622. Herr established himself as one of the city's leading painters and was elected to represent local artists in the Larger City Council from 1639 onward. He not only produced historical, religious, and mythological paintings but also received numerous commissions for epitaphs and portraits.

Herr also worked with prominent Protestant theologians designing illustrations for emblem books, theological treatises, and Bibles. His collaborations with the printer and publisher Matthäus Merian the Elder are notable.

*General literature:* Heinrich Geissler in Stuttgart 1979–80, vol. 1, pp. 220–21; Metzinger 1991; Gatenbröcker 1995

## 81 | Michael Herr

*The Last Judgment*; verso: *Study of Figures from the Last Judgment*, 1615–20

Pen and carbon black ink, gray ink washes, a composite of black chalk and graphite underdrawing; verso: pen and carbon black ink, 12¾ × 15¾ in. (32.3 × 40 cm)

Gift of Katrin Bellinger, 1998 (1998.41.3)

At bottom center, unidentified collector's mark (Lugt 1539<sup>c</sup>). At bottom right, inscribed 19 in pen and brown ink (19th-century handwriting). Verso, at right, some figures traced in pen and black ink from the recto; at upper right, inscribed 20 t (or f) in graphite (19th- or 20th-century handwriting)

*Watermark:* arms of Nuremberg<sup>1</sup>

This large-scale Last Judgment has been compared stylistically to one by Michael Herr in Braunschweig that is monogrammed and dated 1619 (fig. 1).<sup>2</sup> However, the compositions are quite different, especially the scenes in the foreground. In the Museum's drawing, the masses being either cast down to Hell or raised up to Heaven form a definitive V-shape, leaving the center of the scene strangely quiet; in the Braunschweig drawing, the writhing bodies form a triangular focal point at center. Although differing in other aspects as well, such as Christ's pose and the prominence given to the middle ground, both drawings evince Herr's distinctive use of washes and his scalloped pen lines, which define the prominent musculature of the figures. Also evident in both is his delight in showing the nude bodies from every angle as they fall and twist while engaging in tumultuous battle with angels and demons.

This celebration of the human form within a scene of the Last Judgment demonstrates Herr's awareness of Italian art, most notably Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel, which continued to be at the center of a theological debate about decorum in religious images.<sup>3</sup> Herr's concentration of action along the foreground plane seems more reminiscent of Michelangelo than of another Italian model mentioned by Silke Gatenbröcker as a



Fig. 2. Michael Herr, *The Last Judgment*, ca. 1620. Pen and black ink, over red chalk, 16¼ × 12⅞ in. (41.3 × 32.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 2000 (2000.580)



Fig. 1. Michael Herr, *The Last Judgment*, 1619. Pen and gray ink, brownish gray, reddish brown, and light blue washes, over graphite or charcoal, 11¾ × 15⅜ in. (29.8 × 39 cm). Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Kunstmuseum des Landes Niedersachsen, Braunschweig (z 638)

possible influence on Herr: Jacopo Tintoretto's *Last Judgment* (ca. 1560–62) in the church of the Madonna dell'Orto, Venice.<sup>4</sup> But Herr did, in fact, incorporate features from both masters into his drawing. The bent figure with his head on the ground in the lower right corner of Herr's drawing seems to have tumbled out of Tintoretto's scene.<sup>5</sup> The man with the prominent torso seated next to him in the right foreground, who shields himself with his arms, evokes one of the Elect being held from above by his crossed arms along the left edge of Michelangelo's fresco.<sup>6</sup> Another relevant example, which was in nearby Neuberg during the period Herr created his drawing, is Rubens's *Large Last Judgment* (ca. 1615–17), executed for the Jesuit church there.<sup>7</sup> As David Freedberg explains, the monumental work for the high altarpiece—with its masses of writhing bodies—also depended heavily on the examples of Tintoretto and Michelangelo.<sup>8</sup> As Heinrich Geissler notes, Rubens appears to have had a continued influence on Herr's style.<sup>9</sup>

Herr returned to the theme of the Last Judgment throughout his career. In addition to the versions included in painted epitaph monuments for Mathilde von Leubelfing (1624) for the evangelical parish church of Saint Bartholomäus, Nuremberg, and for Johann Schlitter (ca. 1646; whereabouts unknown), there is a drawing in pen and black ink over red chalk in the Museum's collection that has been dated to about 1620 (fig. 2).<sup>10</sup> In this work, Herr created a much more stratified composition, with four distinct levels



filled with figures. Rather than reflecting a direct Italian influence, it is more reminiscent of Christoph Schwarz's influential painting of the Last Judgment (ca. 1580), which is now known only in a preparatory drawing in Stuttgart and multiple printed versions.<sup>11</sup> Herr created an extensive underdrawing in both of the Museum's drawings, which he then corrected and manipulated in pen, but the underdrawing is less evident in the wash drawing because the black chalk has faded. He also used the same rushed, squiggly lines to denote shadow and his characteristic scalloped lines to create contour, even in the much smaller-scale figures of the red chalk drawing. Herr's depictions of the Last Judgment are varied but demonstrate the consistent style of his draftsmanship as well as the range of influences on this early Baroque artist. FS

1. The watermark is similar to ones found in paper used in Nuremberg in 1620 and 1621 (Piccard-Online, nos. 25123 and 25127, respectively; accessed August 10, 2011).

2. Gatenbröcker 1995, no. z 28. In Bassenge 1997 (p. 22, lot 5458), it is speculated that both drawings are preparatory for the same large-scale painting; however, this does not seem to be the case.

3. For a discussion of the contemporary criticism of the Sistine frescoes, see Barnes 1998. Along with Herr, other artists north of the Alps, such as Hans Mielich, were greatly influenced by Michelangelo's Judgment scene. Mielich's *Last Judgment* panel (1554) was part of an epitaph for Leonhard von Eck, now owned by the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich, on loan to the Diözesanmuseum, Freising (Wimböck 1998, p. 59, fig. 6).

4. Gatenbröcker 1995, p. 314.

5. Ilchman 2007, p. 89, fig. 40. Ilchman (pp. 87–91) demonstrates that Tintoretto's painting is in direct response to the theological criticism of Michelangelo's Judgment scene.

6. Acidini Luchinat 2007, p. 297 (detail of the Ascent of the Elect, there described as Zone F).

7. Alte Pinakothek, Munich, inv. 890 (Freedberg 1984, no. 49, fig. 137; Renger 2002, pp. 320–23, ill.).



Fig. 1. Hinrich Degener, *Allegory of Hope*, ca. 1615. Brush and black wash, heightened with white gouache, 12<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 7<sup>9</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (32.7 × 19.2 cm). Staatliches Museum Schwerin (1475 Hz)

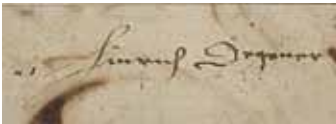


Fig. 2. Detail of signature on verso of cat. 82



Fig. 3. Crispijn van de Passe the Elder, *Allegory of Hope*, 1600. Engraving with etching, 9<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> × 6<sup>9</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (23.5 × 16.6 cm). British Museum, London (1868-6-12-474)

8. Freedberg (1984, pp. 202–3) notes that Rubens owned a painting and an oil sketch of the *Last Judgment* by Tintoretto. He goes on to say, “There may, as suggested by [Michael] Jaffé, be some recollection of that artist’s painting of the subject in the church of the Madonna dell’Orto in Venice” (Freedberg 1984, p. 203; see also Jaffé 1977, p. 36). For the Tintoretto oil sketch owned by Rubens, see J. M. Muller 1975, p. 372.

9. Geissler in Stuttgart 1979–80, vol. 1, p. 220.

10. Keil 2000, no. 8, ill., where it is noted that this drawing is preparatory for a painting. For the epitaphs, see Gatenbröcker 1995, nos. G 4 and G 11, respectively.

11. Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, inv. C 1967/1474 (Kaulbach 2007, no. 629, ill. p. 21). Prints after Schwarz’s composition are known by Matthäus Merian the Elder (Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 25 [1989], p. 98, no. 7, ill.); Johann Sadeler I (Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish*, 1949–2007, vol. 21 [1980], p. 123, no. 260, vol. 22 [1980], p. 129, fig. 260); and Bartholomäus Kilian II (Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 16 [1975], p. 93, no. 31, ill.). For a more comprehensive discussion of Last Judgment imagery during this period, see Harbison 1976.

*Provenance:* Unidentified private collection; sale, Galerie Gerda Bassenge, Berlin, November 28, 1997, lot 5458; Katrin Bellinger, Munich; given by her to the Department of Drawings and Prints, 1998

*Literature:* Bassenge 1997, lot 5458, ill.

## HINRICH DEGENER Hamburg (?), active ca. 1615

Very little is known about the life and art of Hinrich Degener. He belonged to an extended family of painters in Hamburg, but the city archive makes no mention of him, so he may have lived elsewhere. His name and an approximate period of activity are known only through inscriptions on his drawings. The Staatliches Museum Schwerin holds the largest concentration of works by Degener, numbering twenty-one, including *Christ on the Cross*, a drawing in pen and brown ink with gray wash, signed and dated 1615. His style has been compared to that of contemporaneous Venetian painters, specifically Jacopo Tintoretto, and he may have taken a trip to Italy. Degener’s use of pen and brown ink heightened with white on prepared paper became characteristic of Hamburg artists during this period and remained popular into the late seventeenth century. He may have been father-in-law to Johann Joachim Pfeiffer the Elder, whose works demonstrate a great reliance on Degener’s style of draftsmanship.

*General literature:* Heinrich Geissler in Stuttgart 1979–80, vol. 2, p. 137; Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann in Princeton, Washington, and Pittsburgh 1982–83, pp. 68–69; Hela Baudis in Schwerin 2009, pp. 22–25

## 82 | Hinrich Degener

### *Allegory of Hope*, ca. 1615

Pen and iron gall ink, brown and gray washes, lead white heightening, underdrawing in a composite of black chalk and graphite, incised lines, 12<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 7<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (31.7 × 18.9 cm)  
Purchase, Anne and Jean Bonna Gift, 2000 (2000.155)

At lower center, inscribed *SPES* (Hope) in pen and brown ink, by the artist. Verso, at center, signed *Hinrich Degener* in pen and brown ink (see fig. 2). On old mount, at bottom center, inscribed *H. Degener* in graphite and 71156 in graphite and red chalk (19th- or 20th-century handwriting)

*Watermark:* two towers with archway<sup>1</sup>

This striking allegorical drawing of Hope, presumably conceived as part of a series of the Seven Virtues, was created with a quick succession of thick, sweeping strokes of both pen and brush. Hope, Faith, and Love constitute the three theological Virtues, while Justice, Temperance, Fortitude, and Prudence are the four cardinal Virtues. Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann argues that Degener created two series of Virtues: one employed Old and New Testament stories to personify a Virtue, such as *Judith with the Head of Holofernes as Prudence* and *The Temptation of Saint Anthony as Patience*;<sup>2</sup> a second series comprised purely allegorical figures, including the Museum’s *Allegory of Hope*.<sup>3</sup> In addition to the drawing of Justice noted by Kaufmann at the Fogg Museum, there is a Justice in Schwerin, a Fortitude in Avignon, and two curious figures of Patience—another central Christian virtue—also in Schwerin.<sup>4</sup> Most notably, Schwerin also has a personification of Hope (fig. 1)<sup>5</sup> that is signed on the verso by Degener, as is the Museum’s drawing (fig. 2). The Schwerin drawing is similar to the drawing under discussion in technique, but the torsion of the body, the facial features, and the placement of the anchor are completely different.

The inscriptions on Degener’s allegorical figures are written in two distinct ways: in a fluent script (as on the Schwerin *Hope*) and in Roman capitals (as on the Museum’s). Whether he created three or possibly more series of Virtues remains unknown; however, what is evident in all of these works is the wild exuberance of his strokes and his painterly approach to drawing, which depends on intense contrasts between light and dark. Past scholars such as Heinrich Geissler and Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann have attributed this penchant for chiaroscuro effects to the influence of Tintoretto; the impact of Northern artists such as Abraham Bloemaert and Hendrick Goltzius is also evident.<sup>6</sup>

Degener's allegorical personages can also be closely associated with near-contemporary printed series of the Virtues by Netherlandish artists.<sup>7</sup> In a set of engravings by Crispijn van de Passe the Elder representing the theological Virtues, a full-length Hope is shown within a framing oval (fig. 3).<sup>8</sup> Almost identical to Degener's image in pose, van de Passe's Hope gazes toward the heavens, and some of her hair is loosely gathered at the center of her forehead with a small diadem. Degener's Hope wears more diaphanous drapery, which barely covers her body and is blowing around her. In both she is shown with her standard attributes: an anchor demonstrating her steadfastness and strength, and a bird representing her ability to soar toward Christ.<sup>9</sup> Van de Passe included a vast landscape behind Hope, with scenes of the Annunciation and the Nativity. Although Degener did not incorporate landscape into his purely allegorical drawings, he combined symbolic and narrative imagery in a drawing at the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York,<sup>10</sup> for example, by isolating the protagonist from his narrative and transforming him into a lone allegorical figure accompanied by his attributes.

The function of drawings such as *Allegory of Hope* is not known. Perhaps, as Kaufmann suggests, it was made as a presentation piece; it does seem to be a finished work in its own right. Although he is assumed to have been a painter, Degener (like Hermann Weyer; see cat. 79) may also have earned his livelihood by selling his virtuoso drawings.

FS

1. The watermark is similar to one found in paper used in Altdorf in 1604 (Piccard-Online, no. 103182; accessed August 10, 2011).

2. Staatliches Museum Schwerin, inv. 1476 Hz (Möller 1979, p. 67, ill. p. 22); Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, acc. 1981.25 (Kaufmann in Princeton, Washington, and Pittsburgh 1982–83, no. 17, ill.). There are also *John the Baptist as Temperance*, Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. KdZ 11997, and *Judgment of Solomon as Justice*, Princeton University Art Museum, acc. 82-23 (Kaufmann in Princeton, Washington, and Pittsburgh 1982–83, p. 68, n. 4).

3. Kaufmann in Princeton, Washington, and Pittsburgh 1982–83, p. 68.

4. Fogg Museum, Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge, acc. 1985.49; Staatliches Museum Schwerin, inv. 1477 Hz (Hela Baudis in Schwerin 2009, no. 3, ill.); Musée Calvet, Avignon, inv. 996-7-371 (Teréz Gerszi in Béguin, Di Giampaolo, and Malgouyres 1998, no. 145, p. 290, ill.); Staatliches Museum Schwerin, inv. 1479 Hz (Baudis in Schwerin 2009, no. 2, ill.).

5. Möller 1979, p. 68, ill. p. 22. The signatures on the versos are identical to the one on the recto of Degener's 1615 Crucifixion in Schwerin, inv. 1474 Hz (Baudis in Schwerin 2009, no. 1, ill.). This signature also appears on a drawing of the Five Senses with Hill-Stone, New York (May 2011), and on the Morgan's drawing by Degener (see note 2), among others. According to Ingrid Möller, seventeen drawings in Schwerin also have signatures on the verso (Möller 1979, pp. 67–68).



6. Geissler in Stuttgart 1979–80, vol. 2, p. 137; Kaufmann in Princeton, Washington, and Pittsburgh 1982–83, p. 68. Teréz Gerszi mentions Degener's connection to Bloemaert in her description of the *Fortitude* in Avignon (see note 4).

7. For example, those by Jan Saenredam after Goltzius (Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish*, 1949–2007, vol. 23 [1980], p. 36, nos. 41, 43, p. 38, nos. 44–46, p. 39, nos. 47–49); and Jacob Matham (*Widerkehr* 2007–8, vol. 2 [2007], nos. 138–44, ill., and nos. 145–49, ill.).

8. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish*, 1949–2007, vol. 15 (1964), p. 181, no. 434; for the three other series of Virtues by van de Passe, see p. 179, nos. 412–18 and nos. 419–25, p. 180, nos. 426–32.

9. Hebrews 6:19: “which *hope* we have as an anchor of the soul, both sure and steadfast.” Hope is shown with wings of her own by Giotto in the Arena Chapel, Padua.

10. See note 2.

*Provenance:* [Hill-Stone, New York]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 2000

*Literature:* unpublished

## HANS ULRICH FRANK

Kaufbeuren, ca. 1590/95–1675, Augsburg

Although Hans Ulrich Frank worked as a painter—at first in his native town, then in Augsburg, from the mid-1630s—today he is known almost exclusively for a series of etchings depicting the Thirty Years’ War (1618–48). Only in recent decades has it been recognized that Frank was also a highly gifted draftsman and that his works have often been confused with those by his colleague Johann Heinrich Schönfeld, who is generally thought to have influenced him. Frank appears to have been active as a designer of goldsmith work, and he is also documented as an organist.

*General literature:* Bruno Bushart and Rolf Biedermann in Augsburg 1968, pp. 105–6, 181–87; Rolf Biedermann in Augsburg 1987, pp. 34–39; Falk 1994; Kunze 2005

## 83 | Hans Ulrich Frank

*Allegory of Vigilance*, ca. 1620–45 (?)

Pen and carbon black ink, gray ink washes, white gouache heightening, underdrawing in a composite of black chalk and graphite, incised lines, on paper prepared with a gray wash (laid down), diameter: 6¾ in. (17.3 cm)  
Purchase, Guy Wildenstein Gift, 2000 (2000.261)

On the secondary support, at lower left, inscribed 86 in graphite (19th- or 20th-century handwriting). Verso of the secondary support, at lower left, inscribed *N 67* in graphite (19th- or 20th-century handwriting); below, inscribed *3 x* in graphite (20th-century handwriting); below, inscribed *341* in graphite (19th- or 20th-century handwriting); to the right, inscribed *N 16* in graphite (20th-century handwriting); at lower center, inscribed *108* in graphite (20th-century handwriting); at lower right, inscribed *Sadler* in graphite (20th-century handwriting)

*Watermark:* none visible because of the secondary support



Fig. 1. Hans Ulrich Frank, *Allegory of Prudence*, ca. 1620–45 (?). Pen and brown ink, brown wash, heightened with white gouache, over black chalk, diameter: 7¼ in. (17.9 cm). Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (RP-T-1960-15)



Fig. 2. Hans Ulrich Frank, *Allegory of Fidelity*, ca. 1620–45 (?). Pen and brown ink, brown wash, heightened with white gouache, over black chalk, diameter: 7¼ in. (17.9 cm). Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden (C 1944-36)

## 84 | Hans Ulrich Frank

*Neptune and Amphitrite in a Chariot Drawn by Hippocampi*, ca. 1620–40 (?)

Pen and carbon black ink, red chalk, gray ink and sanguine washes, white gouache heightening, traces of black and red chalk underdrawing, on paper made of dark pulp (now discolored brown) (laid down), 12 × 14¾ in. (30.5 × 36 cm)  
Purchase, Ian Woodner Family Collection Fund, 2002 (2002.86)

At lower center, inscribed *Christoph Schwartz fac.* in pen and brown ink (17th-century handwriting); at lower right, collector’s mark of Giuseppe (or Gustavo?) Chiantorre (Lugt 540; see also Lugt 1956, p. 82). Verso of the secondary support, at upper center, inscribed *A Collier Sur Vergé 198 H / 58-48 P* in graphite (20th-century handwriting)

*Watermark:* none visible because of the secondary support

The largest group of securely attributed works by Hans Ulrich Frank are his etchings, most of which are signed.<sup>1</sup> The lanky figures with sharp features seen in these works are closely comparable to those in several of the artist’s drawings, including the surviving model for one of the etchings and a signed drawing of comparable composition with subjects taken from the Bible and classical mythology.<sup>2</sup> The former can be dated 1656 on the basis of the related print; the latter is dated 1669 by the artist. These dates, together with those on the etchings (1643–56), suggest that Frank developed this “sharp” style in the later decades of his career; it is often related to the influence of the German painter Johann Heinrich Schönfeld, for whom Frank acted as a witness at his wedding in 1655.<sup>3</sup> However, a *Stammbuchblatt* (a sheet from an *album amicorum*) by Frank from 1650 in a more rounded, graceful, and decorative manner makes clear that he must have been working in both styles at that point.<sup>4</sup> At the same time, Frank’s prints from the 1640s suggest a connection with Schönfeld’s oeuvre even before the latter returned from Italy to Augsburg in 1652.

The characteristics of Frank’s more rounded manner are well defined thanks to a number of securely attributed drawings (some of which, however, were previously believed to be by Schönfeld).<sup>5</sup> The Museum owns two outstanding examples of Frank’s works in this style. The first of these (cat. 83) was formerly thought to be by an artist in the circle of Lucas Kilian; an attribution to the North German artist Christoph Gertner has also been suggested.<sup>6</sup> However, it clearly is by the same hand and belongs to the same series as a slightly sketchier drawing in Amsterdam, which bears Frank’s monogram and depicts a personification of Prudence (fig. 1).<sup>7</sup>



CAT. 83

A third, unpublished drawing of identical style, subject, and size is in Dresden (fig. 2).<sup>8</sup> The Virtue in the Museum's drawing, though identified at one point as Chastity, in fact represents Vigilance, as indicated by the presence of the stork (a second one is seen guarding its nest on the rooftop).<sup>9</sup> The women in these three images, with their small heads and distinctive dresses, compare well with the daughters of Lot in another round drawing, with Frank's monogram, in Munich.<sup>10</sup> Because these three sheets are more decorative in style than those in the *Stammbuchblatt* of 1650, and certainly more decorative than the etchings and drawings in the sharper style, it is likely that they are relatively early works by Frank.<sup>11</sup>

The second drawing by Frank to be acquired by the Museum, which was first attributed to the artist by Tilman Falk, is also characteristic of his rounded style.<sup>12</sup> The oval form and the features of the horses compare well with a sheet dated 1645 in Dresden.<sup>13</sup> Both of the Museum's drawings share similarly drawn drapery folds heightened by fine lines in white gouache; the women's small heads, pretty feminine hairdos, chins, pronounced noses, heavy eyelids, and elegant hands; the nervous outline of the clouds; the lightly indicated mountains in the background; and the ornamental flow of the ribbons and horses' tails. The figure of Neptune, the hippocampi pulling the sea god's shell boat (which he shares with his spouse, Amphitrite), and Neptune's trident are almost identical to those in a chalk drawing in Vienna, which bears an old attribution to Schönfeld



CAT. 84

but was recently recognized by Tilman Falk as a work by Frank.<sup>14</sup> Closer in technique—and of comparably generous size—is a chalk drawing of Diana and her companions resting from the hunt.<sup>15</sup>

Regarding the purpose of the Museum's drawings, it should be remembered that several of Frank's round drawings, including the one in Amsterdam, have been connected with goldsmith work.<sup>16</sup> The possibility that Frank provided designs to goldsmiths is also evident from a drawing of a friezelike procession that is here attributed to Frank on stylistic grounds (fig. 3).<sup>17</sup> This composition was clearly meant to decorate a cylindrical object, since the ends of the two trumpets held by the man at left appear on the right-hand side of the drawing. Moreover, several of Frank's round drawings bear the monogram—sometimes in addition to his own—of the Augsburg goldsmith Philipp Jakob Drentwett I.<sup>18</sup> Because Drentwett died in 1652, this provides yet another argument for situating these drawings rather early in Frank's career.

This attempt at a chronology of Frank's drawings raises the question whether Schönfeld's influence should be reconsidered. Schönfeld, who spent the years





Fig. 3. Hans Ulrich Frank, *A Procession of Virtues and Vices*, ca. 1620–40 (?). Pen and black ink, gray wash, over black chalk, heightened with white chalk, on gray paper, 87/16 × 16 1/8 in. (21.4 × 41 cm). Location unknown

between 1633 and 1651 in Italy, was in fact Frank's junior by some fifteen years. As noted earlier, connections between the two artists' works can be made even before Schönfeld settled in Augsburg. Another example is true of a painting by him dated to the early 1640s (fig. 4).<sup>19</sup> A comparison of the dynamic span of horses, the background landscape, and the decoratively fluttering drapery in that painting with those in the Museum's *Neptune and Amphitrite* is especially striking. Could it be that Schönfeld knew of Frank's composition before he left for Italy and was inspired by the older artist when working on this painting? However that may be, it is probably wise to bear in mind Falk's remark that "one should be cautious not to judge Frank, on the basis of his rare extant works, as all too indebted to his more famous contemporary Schönfeld."<sup>20</sup>

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1. For Frank's etchings, see Hämmerle 1923; Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 8 (1968), pp. 164–79, nos. 1–29; Rowlands 1968, p. 542, fig. 74; Knauer 1997.

2. The print model is in the Grafische Sammlung, Schaezlerpalais, Kunstsammlungen und Museen Augsburg, inv. G.4959-74 (Rolf Biedermann in Augsburg 1968, no. 214; Biedermann in Augsburg 1987, no. 14, ill.; Falk 1994, p. 112, fig. 1); for the related print, see Biedermann in Augsburg 1968, no. 219, fig. 153; Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 8 (1968), p. 164, no. 1, ill.; Biedermann in Augsburg 1987, p. 38, ill. The signed drawing is recorded in a private collection (Biedermann in Augsburg 1968, no. 215, fig. 150; John Rowlands in London, Washington, and Nuremberg 1984, no. 66, ill.).

3. As suggested, for instance, in Augsburg 1968, p. 105. For Schönfeld, see Friedrichshafen and Stuttgart 2009–10.

4. Grafische Sammlung, Schaezlerpalais, Kunstsammlungen und Museen Augsburg, inv. G.7553 (Biedermann in Augsburg 1968,



Fig. 4. Johann Heinrich Schönfeld, *The Rape of Proserpina*, ca. 1640–42. Oil on canvas, 18 1/2 × 21 1/4 in. (47 × 54 cm). Deutsche Barockgalerie, Schaezlerpalais, Kunstsammlungen und Museen Augsburg (12079)

no. 211, fig. 152; Biedermann in Augsburg 1987, no. 12, ill.). For the difficulty in establishing a chronology of Frank's drawings, see Falk 1994, pp. 120–21.

5. To the chalk drawings discussed in Falk 1994 can be added a sheet in the Hamburger Kunsthalle, inv. 22968 (Prange 2007, vol. 1, no. 323, vol. 2, ill. [as attributed to Frank]).

6. Both former attributions are recorded in Christie's 1999, p. 73, lot 476. A previous attribution to a member of the Sadeler family of Netherlandish artists is recorded in a modern inscription on the verso of the drawing.

7. A. W. F. M. Meij in Rotterdam 1974, no. s 25, ill. The drawings, and the one in Dresden reproduced in fig. 2, must share the same provenance, as they were laid down on identical mounts (as reproduced here). For the monogram, see G. K. Nagler 1858–79, vol. 3 (1863), no. 1640. It appears in the same form on some of Frank's prints (Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 8 [1968], pp. 171, 173, nos. 12, 16, ill.), and on drawings in the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung München, inv. 1963:412 z (Biedermann in Augsburg 1968, no. 213, fig. 151), and in the Kunstmuseum Basel, inv. 1944.90 (Tilman Falk in Basel 1973, no. 3, ill.). The figure closely corresponds to the personification of Prudence in Ripa 1603, p. 416.

8. The figure closely corresponds to the personification of Fidelity in Ripa 1603, p. 153.

9. Compare *ibid.*, p. 502. The figure was correctly identified in Christie's 1999 (p. 73, lot 476) but later considered to represent Chastity (in Brady and T. Williams 2000, no. 16).

10. See note 7 above.

11. Another argument in favor of this early dating can be seen in a comparison between the body type and features of the female figures and those in prints after designs by Hendrick Goltzius of the late 1590s—for instance, a series of divine couples engraved by Jan Saenredam (Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish*, 1949–2007, vol. 23 [1980], pp. 45–46, nos. 57–59, ill.). The breast-baring dresses seen in the Metropolitan and Dresden drawings are also common in Netherlandish prints of the period (see, for instance, Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish*, 1949–2007, vol. 23 [1980], pp. 18, 47, 48, 53, 58, nos. 17, 60, 62, 69, 75).

12. Tilman Falk to George Goldner, March 28, 2002, and May 16, 2002 (letters preserved in the Museum's departmental files). Until at least 1919, it was attributed to the late sixteenth-century Munich artist Christoph Schwarz; when sold in 2001, it went under the name of Matthäus Gundelach (see Provenance).

13. Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, inv. c 2328 (Muchall-Viebrook 1925, pp. 35, 52, ill. p. 33).

14. Albertina, Vienna, inv. 23496 (Tietze et al. 1933, vol. 1, no. 654, vol. 2, pl. 184 [as by Schönfeld]; Rolf Biedermann in Augsburg 1968, no. 342, fig. 167 [as by Schönfeld]; Falk 1994, pp. 118–20, fig. 6).

15. Private collection (Falk 1994, p. 120, fig. 7).

16. For the suggestion that Frank's drawings were made as models for decorative objects, see Biedermann and Hannelore Müller in Augsburg 1968, p. 182, under nos. 213, 214, p. 280; Biedermann and Hannelore Müller in Augsburg 1987, p. 36, no. 13; Falk 1994, pp. 111–12.

17. Formerly in the sale Galerie Gerda Bassenge, Berlin, November 29, 2008, lot 6173 (as by Erasmus Quellinus; illustrated in the catalogue).

18. See the allegories of Autumn and Summer in Basel (mentioned in note 7 above) and in the Grafische Sammlung, Schaezlerpalais, Kunstsammlungen und Museen Augsburg, inv. G.1991-12 (T. Williams and Riestler 1991, no. 15, ill.). For the identification of the monogram as Drentwett's, see Falk in Basel 1973, pp. 8–9, under nos. 3, 4; Falk 1994, p. 112. For Drentwett, see also Däubler 2001, pp. 378–79. A monogram SM, which has also been thought to be that of a goldsmith, is found on two chalk drawings by Frank, one in a private collection and one in the Kunstmuseum Basel, inv. Bi. 381.28 (Falk in Basel 1973, no. 4, ill.; Falk 1994, pp. 114, 116, figs. 2, 3). An Augsburg goldsmith known as the Monogrammist S. M. was active mainly after Frank's death (Hannelore Müller in Augsburg 1968, pp. 342–44) but may have been related to the one working with him.

19. Pée 1971, no. 36, fig. 39; Michaud 2006, no. A 44, fig. 52; Stefanie Müller in Augsburg 2010, no. 4, ill. Similar horses, falling from the sky with Phaeton, can be seen in another painting from Schönfeld's Italian years, now at the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica di Palazzo Barberini, Rome, inv. 4220 (Pée 1971, no. 13, fig. 15; Michaud 2006, no. A 18, pl. 111, fig. 20).

20. Falk 1994, p. 121: "Man sollte sich hüten, Franck—auf Grund der spärlichen Überlieferung seines Werks—dem berühmteren Zeitgenossen Schönfeld gegenüber als allzu untergeordnet zu beurteilen."

#### CAT. 83

*Provenance:* Sale, Christie's, Amsterdam, November 10, 1999, lot 476; [Thomas Williams Fine Art, London]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 2000

*Literature:* Christie's 1999, lot 476, ill. (as by an artist in the circle of Lucas Kilian); Brady and T. Williams 2000, no. 16, ill.

#### CAT. 84

*Provenance:* Giuseppe (or Gustavo?) Chiantorre (b. 1870), Turin; his sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, May 12, 1919, lot 106; sale, Tajan, Paris, November 23, 2001, lot 70; [Kunsthandel Katrin Bellinger, Munich]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 2002

*Literature:* Drouot 1919, lot 106 (as by Christoph Schwarz); Tajan 2001, lot 70, ill. (as by Matthäus Gundelach)

## GEORG VISCHER

Riedlingen, ca. 1595 (?)–ca. 1637, Munich (?)

Nothing is known of Georg Vischer's early training, but a signed and dated drawing after Bartholomeus Spranger in the École des Beaux-Arts, Paris, records that Vischer was working in Munich by 1613. He became a master in Munich in 1621 and shortly thereafter worked as court painter to Elector Maximilian I of Bavaria. Vischer played an important role in the so-called Dürer Renaissance—a movement in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries that sought to both preserve and catalogue the works of the great German master and to create new works that paid homage to his style (see also cats. 59 and 60). His paintings also demonstrate his interest in Italian art, especially in the Baroque style of Caravaggio.

*General literature:* Gisela Goldberg and Barbara Heine in Munich 1971, pp. 14, 15, 18–21; Heinrich Geissler in Stuttgart 1979–80, vol. 1, pp. 160–61; Goldberg 1980

### 85 | Georg Vischer

*Christ Presented to the People*, ca. 1630

Pen and brown ink, brown ink washes, lead white heightening, black chalk underdrawing, squared for transfer in red chalk, on paper prepared with a transparent brown wash, 11<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 8<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (28.1 × 22.2 cm)  
Carl Selden Trust, 1999 (1999.309)

*Watermark:* none

Heinrich Geissler recognized this as a work by Vischer in his fundamental survey of German drawings. He came to this conclusion about the unsigned drawing based on his observation that the work combined a Düreresque composition with the Baroque sensibility found in the works of Rubens and Caravaggio.<sup>1</sup> Under Maximilian I's patronage, Vischer executed paintings for the elector's gallery that combine these two approaches, including three scenes from the Life of Christ now in the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich.<sup>2</sup>

Though an original composition, Vischer's *Christ Presented to the People* also recalls painted and printed sources that may have suited the taste of his patron, using what Gisela Goldberg calls a "mosaic of quotations."<sup>3</sup> The figure of Pilate at the right in *Christ Presented to the People* relies on Dürer's seated monarch in *The Martyrdom of John the Evangelist* (ca. 1496/97), from



Fig. 1. Raphael Sadeler, after Jacopo Ligozzi, *Christ Presented to the People*, 1598. Engraving, 9¾ × 7⅝ in. (24.7 × 19.3 cm). British Museum, London (X-1-109)



Fig. 2. Anonymous (Augsburg), after Georg Vischer, *Christ Presented to the People*, after 1630. Silver relief; rosewood and ebony frame with silver and gilt-silver details, relief: 7½ × 6⅝ in. (19.1 × 16.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Ann and George Blumenthal Fund, 1973 (1973.286)

The Apocalypse.<sup>4</sup> Dürer's ruler presides over the scene wearing ermine-lined robes and a double chain-link necklace with a brooch at the center; he holds a scepter in one hand while gesturing to the saint with the other. The arrangement of Vischer's Pilate and Christ also recalls Dürer's *Ecce Homo* (1512), from the Engraved Passion: Christ wears an almost identical cape that falls from his right shoulder, and he is held up on the left by Pilate, who holds a scepter (simplified from the one in *The Martyrdom of John the Evangelist*) in the same hand.<sup>5</sup> The beautiful face and body of Christ in the Museum's drawing—seemingly untouched by the instruments of the Passion that lie before him—recall Dürer's drawing *Man of Sorrows* (1522), which shows a similarly unmarked Christ holding the scourge and birch whip.<sup>6</sup> In addition to Dürer (Vischer's greatest influence), the composition and figures in *Christ Presented to the People* also relate to Italian painted examples by Correggio, Jacopo Ligozzi, and Ludovico Cigoli, as well as prints after their notable works (fig. 1).<sup>7</sup>

Vischer's *Christ Presented to the People* also inspired a number of its own variants.<sup>8</sup> Squared for transfer in red

chalk, this finished drawing was preparatory for a work in another medium, probably a painting or a plaquette.<sup>9</sup> A very comparable silver and gilt relief of approximately the same size, executed by an anonymous South German (perhaps Augsburg) sculptor, has been in the Museum's collection for almost forty years (fig. 2).<sup>10</sup> The relief differs somewhat in the background and perhaps most noticeably in the gilded elements—Christ's reed "scepter" and crown of thorns—which are completely absent from the drawing and serve to emphasize Christ's suffering.<sup>11</sup> There is a comparable ivory relief in the Louvre (fig. 3),<sup>12</sup> attributed to the late seventeenth-century Ulm artist Johann Christian Braun, with an uncrowned Christ holding a cattail, as well as three known painted copies, one of which is attributed to Hendrick Bloemaert.<sup>13</sup>

FS

1. Geissler in Stuttgart 1979–80, vol. 1, p. 160. The only securely attributed drawing is the signed and dated *Fame* in the École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris, inv. Mas. 151, which is mentioned by Geissler (in Stuttgart 1979–80, vol. 1, p. 160). Other drawings have been noted by Geissler and are available in the Heinrich Geissler Papers, ca. 1927–90, housed in the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, acc. 2001.M.9, but none is securely attributed. These include: *Esther and Ahasuerus*, Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, inv. 15689; two drawings in the Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest; and a drawing in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. I have been unable to identify which drawings Geissler was referring to in these cases. Hans-Martin Kaulbach has recently attributed the drawing *Ecce Homo* (Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, inv. c 166) to Vischer, which Geissler also noted as perhaps by the artist; however, this attribution does not seem correct (Kaulbach 2007, no. 687, ill.).

2. The Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich, houses three paintings by Vischer: *The Capture of Christ* (1633), *Christ and the Adulteress* (1637), and *Christ Carrying the Cross* (inv. 17, 1411, and 635, respectively). The fourth, thought to be a collaborative effort between Jan van Hemessen and Vischer, *The Calling of Saint Matthew*, is in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich, inv. 11. All four of these paintings are included by Gisela Goldberg and Barbara Heine in Munich 1971, nos. 7, 17, 18, 19, ill.; for a more in-depth discussion, see Goldberg 1980.

3. Goldberg 1980, p. 144.

4. Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 7 (1962), no. 164, ill. For dating and further explanation, see Peter Krüger in Schoch, Mende, and Scherbaum 2001–4, vol. 2 (2002), no. 112, ill.

5. Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 7 (1962), no. 10, ill. A simplified version of this arrangement is also seen in Dürer's *Ecce Homo* (ca. 1509) from the Small Passion, which places the figures behind a parapet, just below Christ's groin (Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 7 [1962], no. 144, ill.).

6. Formerly Kunsthalle Bremen, inv. KL. 30, lost in World War II (F. Winkler 1936–39, vol. 4 [1939], no. 886, ill.; Strauss 1974, vol. 4, no. 1522/8, ill.).

7. Sadeler's print (Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish*, 1949–2007, vol. 21 [1980], p. 187, no. 26, ill.) after Ligozzi's *Ecce Homo* is in the collection of Stonyhurst College, England (inv. 48). Although not specific sources for Vischer, these Italian paintings have a similar composition and demonstrate the prevalence of this subject during this period. See also Correggio's *Ecce Homo* (ca. 1525–30) in the National Gallery, London, inv. NG15. There are also several prints



CAT. 85

after Correggio's painting, most notably a 1587 engraved copy in reverse after the painting by Agostino Carracci (*Illustrated Bartsch* 1978-, vol. 39 [1980], p. 69, no. 20, ill.); and one by Cornelis Galle I (seemingly unrecorded; an impression is in the British Museum, London, inv. 1837-4-8-85). Cigoli's painting (1607) is in the Palazzo Pitti, Florence, inv. 1912-90.

8. There is another group of images of Christ Presented to the People that come out of Munich from the same period, which are similar to but not the same as the Vischer composition. For a listing of the references, see Kaulbach 2007, p. 331, under no. 687. There is also a group of paintings on the subject not mentioned by Kaulbach



Fig. 3. Attributed to Johann Christian Braun, after Georg Vischer, *Christ Presented to the People*, after 1630. Ivory relief, 10<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 7<sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (27 × 19.9 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (OA 2303)

that are directly related to the Dürer Renaissance. For more on this group, see Walicki 1963.

9. Philippe Malgouyres (2010, p. 108) notes that the Stuttgart drawing (see note 1) is squared as well; however, this is incorrect. The author does not mention the Museum's drawing.

10. For more on this work, see James David Draper in Metropolitan Museum of Art 1975, p. 246.

11. The frame with angels bearing instruments of the Passion and the arms of Pope Alexander VII (r. 1655–67) at the bottom was added at a later date (probably in Utrecht). Affixed to the back of the frame is a letter written in a seventeenth-century hand, stating that Alexander conferred an indulgence on the relief (Draper in Metropolitan Museum of Art 1975, p. 246).

12. Malgouyres 2010, no. 77, ill. The ivory relief must be considerably later, as Braun's dates are 1654–1738.

13. Notably, all of the painted variants have been attributed to Flemish or Netherlandish artists. The one attributed to Bloemaert dates to the 1630s and is housed in the Archbishop's Palace, Utrecht (Roethlisberger 1993, vol. 1, no. H52, fig. H55). The other painted variant was attributed to the "School of Flanders, ca. 1580" in the sale at Hôtel Drouot, Paris, March 30, 1998, lot 32 (illustrated in the catalogue), but this dating and attribution are untenable. The current location of that work is unknown. A new variant has just surfaced on the art market at the Galerie Mendes, Paris, in 2011. The large-scale painting is attributed to Artus Wolfordt, an Antwerp painter, and is dated ca. 1630 (Ludovic Demathieu in Mendes 2011, pp. 12–14, ill.).

*Provenance:* Sale, Galerie Gerda Bassenge, Berlin, November 1–6, 1976, lot 236; Anton Schmid (1904–1991), Vienna; private collection, Vienna; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 1999

*Literature:* Bassenge 1976, lot 236, ill.; Heinrich Geissler in Stuttgart 1979–80, vol. 1, no. D 28, ill.; Kaulbach 2007, p. 331, n. 6, under no. 687

## JOHANN ISAAK EHE

Nuremberg, 1586–1632, Nuremberg

Johann Isaak represents the first generation of the prestigious Ehe family of trumpet makers, who would be active in Nuremberg for five generations. Johann Isaak may have been apprenticed to Jobst Schnitzer, and he became a master in 1607. Extant instruments by Isaak are rare, but a few exceptional examples still exist. His works were highly prized in their own time. Although there is some dispute about attribution, Ehe is credited with producing twenty trumpets for Holy Roman Emperor Matthias in 1612 and thirty-six silver trumpets for the elector of Brandenburg in 1619.

*General literature:* Wörthmüller 1954, pp. 215–19; Wörthmüller 1955, pp. 405–8; Waterhouse 1993, pp. 101–2

## 86 | Johann Isaak Ehe

*Design for a Chandelier with Sixteen Candles, 1632*

Watercolor, metallic paint and gum, over black chalk, on vellum prepared with calcite, 11<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 10<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (30.1 × 25.6 cm)  
Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1953 (53.600.32)

At lower center, inscribed *Schuh* (foot) in a mixed gummed carbon and iron gall ink; beneath, inscribed *Dieser hangente Leuchter ist von Meister Isaac Ehe Trompettenmacher in Nurnberg / A<sup>o</sup> 1632. also gefertigt worden* (This hanging chandelier was made in this manner by Master Isaac Ehe trumpet maker in Nuremberg in 1632) in pen and black ink, by the artist

This drawing is the only one known by the renowned instrument maker Johann Isaak Ehe, and it casts a new light on his artistic production. As a member of the Handwerk guild (founded 1625), Ehe presumably inscribed this work with his full name, position, and primary profession.<sup>1</sup> A bass trombone dated 1612 in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum (fig. 1) is more simply signed, "I, Isaac Ehe from Nuremberg, made this."<sup>2</sup> Whether Ehe made the Museum's drawing to celebrate his craftsmanship or another draftsman composed it after the remarkable object remains unknown.

The finely wrought chandelier is built up through layers of opaque watercolor over a precise preliminary sketch. The chandelier could have been made in either brass or carved wood with gilt and would have spanned an impressive four feet, based on the Nuremberg *Schuh* (or *Fuß*) marker indicated below the chandelier.<sup>3</sup> The complex and beautiful geometric embellishments on the arms of the chandelier, which would reflect and amplify the light from the candles, stem from ideas about perspective that emerged in Nuremberg during the second half of the sixteenth century (compare cats. 30a–e). In the *Perspectiva corporum regularium* (The perspective of regular solids; Nuremberg, 1568), the goldsmith Wenzel Jamnitzer explores the shape



Fig. 1. Johann Isaak Ehe, *A Trombone*, 1612. Brass. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg (M 168)

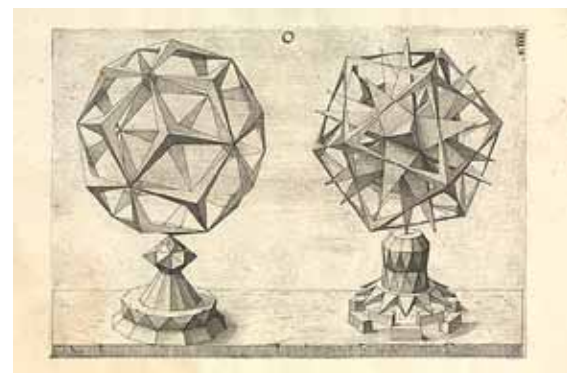
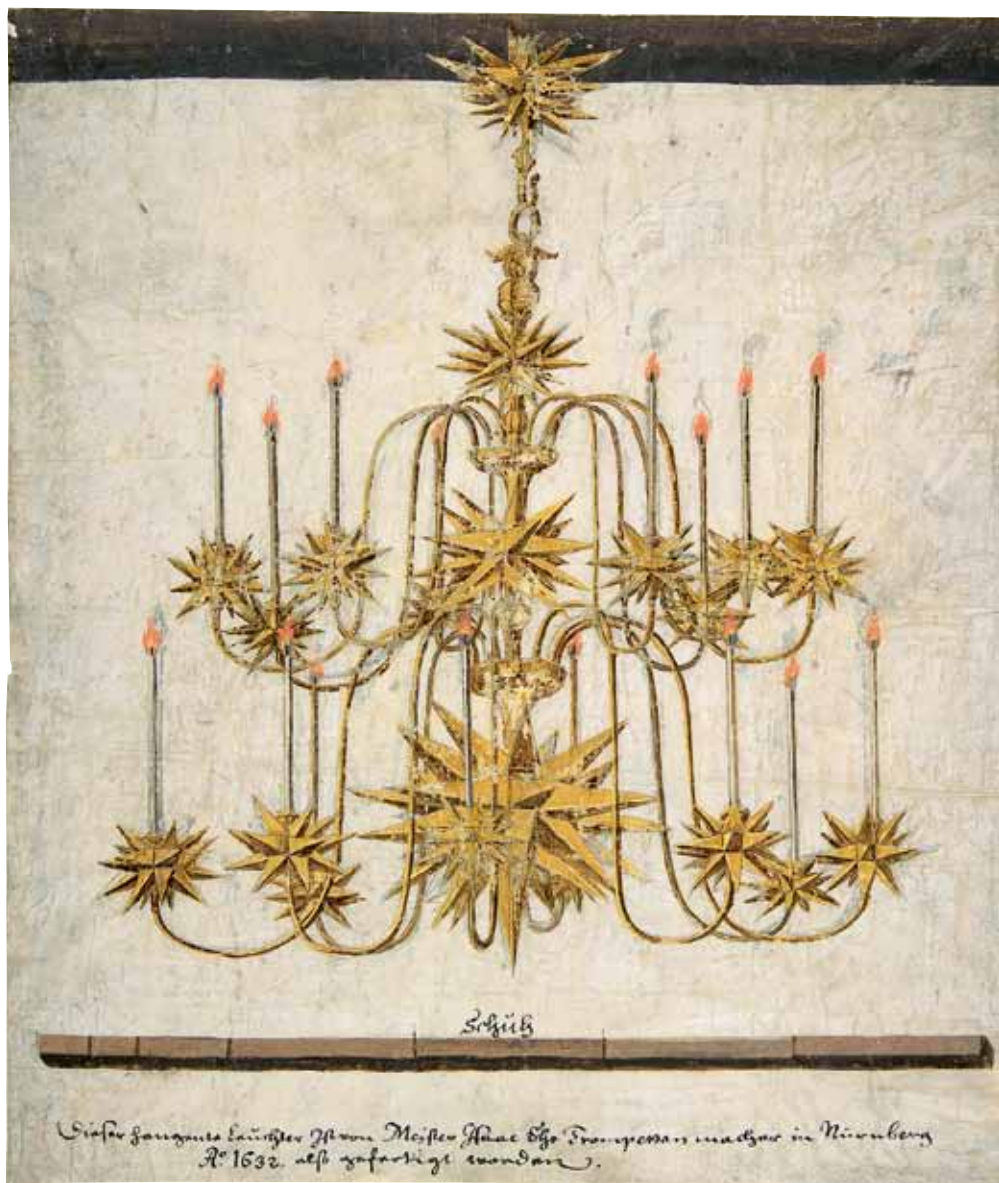


Fig. 2. Jost Amman, after Wenzel Jamnitzer, *Two Complex Polyhedrons*, from *Perspectiva corporum regularium*, Nuremberg, 1568, plate F.II.II. Engraving, 7 $\frac{1}{16}$  × 10 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (17.9 × 26.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1924 (24.45.1)

and variations of five regular solids.<sup>4</sup> The title page of *Perspectiva* states that Jamnitzer based his variations on Plato's *Timaeus* and Euclid's *Elements*, which associated the tetrahedron with fire, the octahedron with air, the hexahedron with earth, the icosahedron with water, and the dodecahedron with heaven. Ehe's geometric elements are most similar to the complex polyhedron that demonstrates a seemingly endless penetration of forms ("ohne Endt," or without end), just as Jamnitzer anticipates in his preface (fig. 2).<sup>5</sup> FS

1. I want to thank Herbert Heyde, associate curator in the Department of Musical Instruments at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, for his assistance with finding information on the Ehe family and for sharing his knowledge of instrument making in Nuremberg during this period.

2. Van der Meer 1979, pp. 93–94; Hauschke 2011. The original signature reads: *MACHT ICH ISAC EHE NURMBE.*

3. A Nuremberg *Schub* (or *Fuß*) was 30.379 cm—almost as long as a modern foot, or 30.48 cm ([www.stadtarchiv.nuernberg.de](http://www.stadtarchiv.nuernberg.de); accessed November 20, 2011).

4. Other near-contemporary publications regarding perspective include the *Perspectiva corporum regularium* (Nuremberg, 1571) by goldsmith Hans Lencker; and *Architectura Kunst Buch* (Strasbourg, 1598) by cabinetmaker Hans Jakob Ebelmann (see cat. 78) and

Jacob Guckeisen (Irmscher 1999, p. 111, no. 1.1). These two works are heavily dependent on Jamnitzer. I would like to thank Wolfram Koeppel, curator in the Museum's Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts, for pointing out carved ivory objects from the late sixteenth century that imitate Jamnitzer's geometric variations (Jutta Kappel in Hamburg, New York, and Rome 2004–5, nos. 87, 88, ill.).

5. Klaus Pechstein in Nuremberg 1985, no. 757, ill.; National Gallery of Art 1998, no. 45, ill.; Seelig 2002–3, vol. 2 (2002), no. 44.35, ill.

*Provenance:* Princes of Liechtenstein, Vaduz and Vienna; [P. & D. Colnaghi & Co., London]; purchased by the Department of Prints, 1953

*Literature:* Kaufmann 1985, p. 81 (as by Isaac Echs)

## FRANCIS CLEYN

Rostock, 1582–1658, London

The son of a goldsmith in northern Germany, Francis Cleyn (born Frantz Klein) left his home country relatively early, pursuing a varied and ultimately successful career in several countries in Europe. He may have been partially trained in the Netherlands and seems to have been in Denmark about 1611. In the middle of the 1610s he was in Rome and Venice, and his experience of sixteenth-century Italian art would influence Cleyn's style throughout his life. He moved to Copenhagen, where he worked for King Christian IV from 1619 until 1623, before being called by King James I to England, where he settled in 1625. Highly regarded, Cleyn became head designer of the tapestry manufactory at Mortlake (then to the southwest of London but now part of the city). In the 1630s he designed several tapestry series and adapted existing ones by Raphael, while continuing to work as a painter as well as a book illustrator and printmaker. He influenced contemporary British art with his Italian-inspired, imaginative designs; his style was perpetuated by his many pupils and students, including three of his children.

*General literature:* Heinrich Geissler in Stuttgart 1979–80, vol. 2, pp. 144–45; D. B. Brown 1996; D. B. Brown 1998; Wendy Hefford in New York and Madrid 2007–8, pp. 172–201; Howarth 2011

## 87 | Francis Cleyn

*Pyrrhus Killing Priam during the Sack of Troy, 1654 or slightly earlier*

Brush and gray ink washes, black chalk, incised for transfer; verso: stumped red chalk, 107/16 × 73/4 in. (26.5 × 19.7 cm)  
Ian Woodner Family Collection Fund, 2002 (2002.484)

Framing line in black chalk, by the artist

*Watermark:* countermark (?)

In the last years of his life, after having worked for nearly two decades as the principal tapestry designer at the Mortlake Manufactory, near London, Francis Cleyn seems to have devoted himself mainly to the illustration of books published by the polymath John Ogilby.<sup>1</sup> In 1649 Ogilby published his first translation, an unillustrated octavo of Virgil's works.<sup>2</sup> Two years later, he published *The Fables of Aesop, Paraphras'd in Verse, and Adorn'd with Sculpture*, the “sculpture” being a generous number of prints, at least some of which were after designs by Cleyn.<sup>3</sup> Cleyn had already illustrated an English translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, which was published in 1632,<sup>4</sup> but Ogilby's *Aesop* was the start of Cleyn's intensified involvement with the illustration of books, which continued until the artist's death in 1658. In 1654 Ogilby published a revised and illustrated edition of his Virgil—a sumptuous folio for which Cleyn provided most of the designs: *The Works of Publius Virgilius Maro, Translated, Adorn'd with Sculpture, and Illustrated with Annotations*. This book was followed in 1658 by a Latin edition of the text, for which the illustrations were reused; it was Ogilby's first collaboration with the London publisher Thomas Roycroft.<sup>5</sup> Ogilby and Roycroft went on to publish two more luxurious folios: Homer's *Iliad* in 1660, and the *Odyssey* in 1665.<sup>6</sup> One illustration designed by Cleyn for the *Iliad* is dated 1656; he was probably prevented from finishing the project only by his death, two years before the book came out.<sup>7</sup>

The Museum's drawing served as the model for an illustration engraved by Pierre Lombard, first used for the 1654 illustrated Virgil (fig. 1).<sup>8</sup> (The other main printmaker involved in the project, as well as in the two Homer editions, was the etcher Wenzel Hollar.)<sup>9</sup> The Latin inscription beneath the print quotes from Virgil's poem and dedicates the print to a John Stone of Stewkley, whose coat of arms is also depicted; in the Latin edition of 1658, this dedication was changed to one to John Egerton, second Earl of Bridgewater. A clever



subscription system, which allowed members of England's prominent families to "buy" an illustration, allowed Ogilby and Roycroft to offset the financial risks involved in such a lavish publication.<sup>10</sup> Although the name of the print's designer does not appear in

Lombard's print, the attribution is confirmed by comparison with other drawings by Cleyn that do relate to signed prints for the same project, including three sheets in London.<sup>11</sup> In Cleyn's technique for these designs, the brushwork dominates the chalk drawing



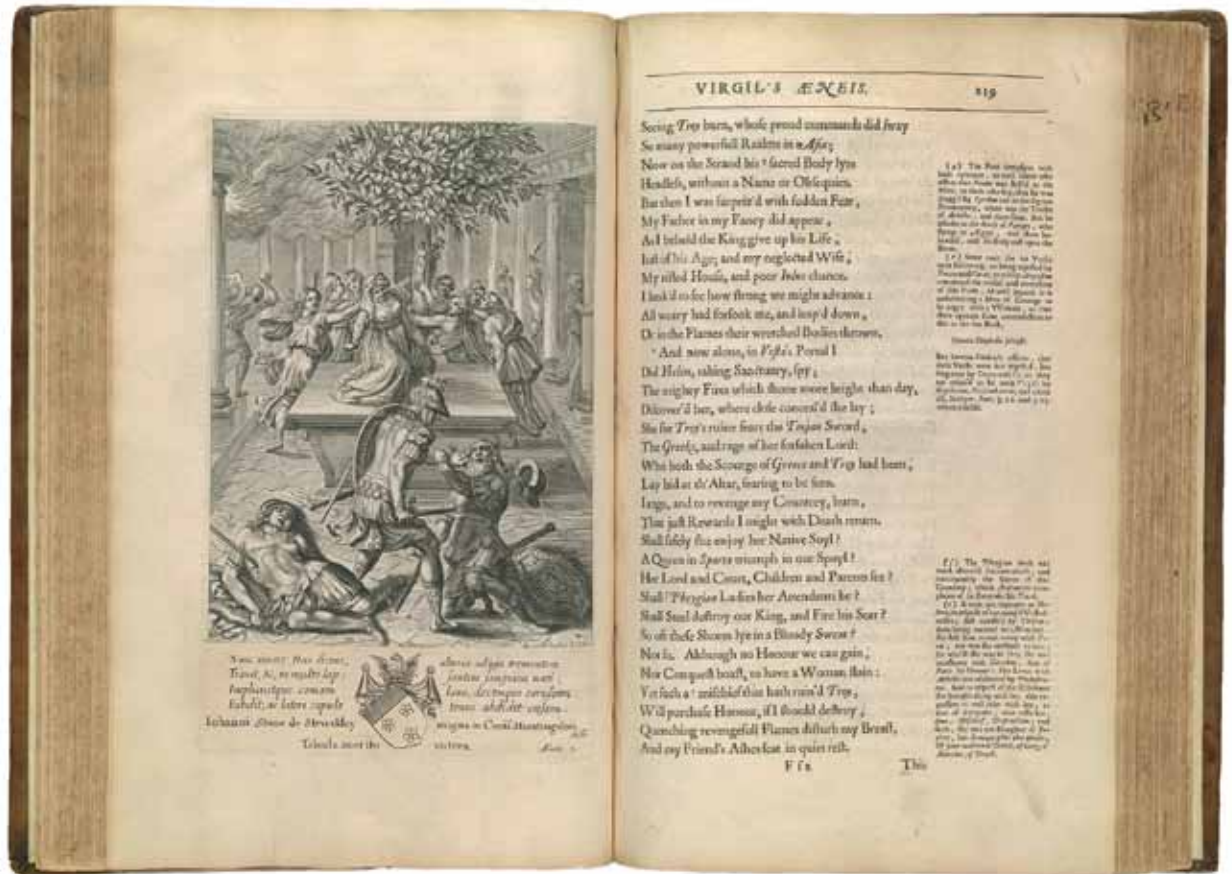


Fig. 1. Pierre Lombard, after Francis Cleyn, *Pyrrhus Killing Priam during the Sack of Troy*, from *The Works of Publius Virgilius Maro*, translated by John Ogilby, London, 1654, opposite p. 219. Engraving, 10<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 7<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (25.8 × 19.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1917 (73.2641[1])

with which he first outlined the composition. This distinguishes them from the drawings from his Danish period, when he appears to have relied mainly on pen.<sup>12</sup> His more painterly English drawings allowed for sophisticated modeling, competently translated into the medium of print by Lombard and Hollar; Cleyn's imaginative compositions make them among the best illustrations produced in England at the time.

The Museum's drawing and the print related to it depict a climactic moment during the Trojan War, described by Virgil in book two of the *Aeneid* (verses 469–558). At the height of the sack of Troy, Pyrrhus (son of the Greek hero Achilles) has entered the palace of his enemy, King Priam. The latter's wife and daughters have sought refuge in a courtyard of the burning palace, where "an ample altar stood, naked under the

skies, an ancient laurel bending over the shrine."<sup>13</sup> Pyrrhus pursues Priam's son Polites and, having arrived in the courtyard, kills him; Polites is the figure seen in somewhat awkward foreshortening in the foreground. Enraged, Priam tries to avenge this death, but in vain: Pyrrhus (in Ogilby's translation):

... dragging him, convey'd  
Trembling to th'Altars; then his Hair he wreaths  
In his Left Hand, his Right his Sword unsheaths  
Which to the Hilts he buries in his side.  
So finish'd Priam's Fates, and thus he dy'd,  
Seeing Troy burn . . .<sup>14</sup>

Despite the complexity of the scene he had to illustrate, and without many visual precedents, Cleyn invented an admirably clear composition that does justice to all the details of Virgil's poem.

SA

1. For the remarkable career, or rather careers, of Ogilby, see Schuchard 1973; Van Eerde 1976; Withers 2004.
2. *The Works of Publius Virgilius Maro*, London, 1649. Later unillustrated editions came out in 1650 and 1665.
3. Although only the title page is signed with Cleyn's name, some of the prints can be attributed to him on the basis of a drawing stylistically comparable with securely attributed drawings by Cleyn at the British Museum, London, inv. 1970-10-31-3; the drawing is the model for the plate opposite p. 11 in Ogilby's book. See also Schuchard 1973, p. 49.
4. *Ovid's Metamorphosis Englished, Mythologiz'd, and Represented in Figures. An Essay to the Translation of Virgil's Aeneis*, translated by George Sandys, Oxford, 1632.
5. *Publii Virgilii Maronis Opera*, London, 1658. A English octavo edition appeared in London in 1675 (*The Works of Publius Virgilius Maro: Translated, Adorned with Sculptures, and Illustrated with Annotations*) with crude engraved copies of some of the engravings (not the one made after the Museum's drawing); these were reused in another London edition published in 1684 (*The Works of Publius Virgilius Maro*).
6. *Homer His Illiads, Translated, Adorn'd with Sculpture, and Illustrated with Annotations*, London, 1660; and *Homer His Odysseys, Translated, Adorn'd with Sculpture, and Illustrated with Annotations*, London, 1665. Second editions of both books came out in 1669.
7. For Hollar's print after Cleyn, dated 1654, see S. Turner 2009–, vol. 6 (2011), no. 1748, ill. After Cleyn's death, Ogilby must have approached a gifted follower of Peter Paul Rubens, the Fleming Abraham van Diepenbeek, who had proven himself to be an exceptional illustrator, having worked on one of the most beautiful illustrated books of the seventeenth century (Michel de Marolles, *Tableaux du temple des Muses tirez du cabinet de feu Mr Favreau . . .*, Paris, 1655; for van Diepenbeek's illustrations for Ogilby, see Steadman 1982, pp. 12–15). For the Odyssey, van Diepenbeek was the main if not the only designer of the illustrations.
8. In the Latin edition of 1658 (see note 5 above), the print appears opposite p. 161.
9. For Hollar's prints for Ogilby's *Virgil* and *Iliad*, see S. Turner 2009–, vol. 5 (2011), nos. 1340–99, vol. 6 (2011), nos. 1744–51, ill.
10. For this subscription system, see Schuchard 1973, pp. 48–49, 63–66.
11. British Museum, London, inv. 1968-10-12-23, 1968-10-12-24, 1968-10-12-25 (Christopher White in London and New Haven 1987, no. 31, ill.); the prints after these drawings, signed with both Cleyn's and the printmaker's name, are those opposite pp. 401, 465, and 481, respectively, in the 1654 Virgil. The same collection owns a fourth drawing by Cleyn for the same book, inv. 1968-10-12-22 (the print is opposite p. 351). Two more are in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, inv. WAI863.1002, WAI863.1003 (D. B. Brown 1982, nos. 105, 106, pls. 63, 64; the prints are opposite pp. 205 and 337). One other is in the Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, inv. B1977.14.5222 (White in London and New Haven 1987, no. 30, ill.; the print is opposite p. 269).
12. Compare the group of drawings at the Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen (see Heinrich Geissler in Stuttgart 1979–80, vol. 2, no. n 30, ill.). For drawings in black chalk only, see an example depicting the sacrifice of Marcus Curtius in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., acc. 1984.45.1; and one of unknown location published in Boerner 1982b, no. 11, ill.
13. Virgil 1934 (ed.), p. 328: “aedibus in mediis nudoque sub aethereis axe / ingens ara fuit iuxtaque veterrima laurus, / incumbens arae atque umbra complexa Penatis”; the translation by Ogilby is quoted from the 1654 edition, pp. 217, 219.
14. Virgil 1934 (ed.), p. 330: “. . . altaria ad ipsa trementem / traxit et in multo lapsantem sanguine nati, / implicuitque comam laeva, / dextraque coruscum / extulit ac lateri capulo tenuis abdidit ensem. / haec finis Priami fatorum; hic exitus illum / sorte tulit, Troiam incensam . . . videntem”; Ogilby's translation is quoted from the 1654 Virgil, pp. 218–19.

*Provenance:* Sale, Christie's, Paris, March 21, 2002, lot 196; [Lutz Riester, Freiburg]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 2002

*Literature:* Christie's 2002b, lot 196, ill.

## Artists Born after 1600

### NICOLAUS KNÜPFER

Leipzig, ca. 1609–1655, Utrecht

More commonly considered a Dutch artist (with his name spelled without the umlaut), Nicolaus Knüpfer was born in eastern Germany and was trained there, by a possibly Netherlandish artist. He left his home country about 1630 to work with Abraham Bloemaert in one of the North's most thriving artistic centers, the Dutch city of Utrecht, southeast of Amsterdam, where he is first documented in 1637. Knüpfer developed such a refined painting style that his work is sometimes confused with that of Holland's most celebrated seventeenth-century painters, such as the considerably younger Gabriel Metsu, who may have been influenced, and even taught, by him. Knüpfer appears to have spent time during the 1640s in The Hague; there he may have met Jan Steen, whose work at times is also reminiscent of Knüpfer's. By 1647 Knüpfer is again recorded in Utrecht. Rediscovered as an exceptional artist only recently, he created work of very high quality that engages both by its technique and by its often original subject matter.

*General literature:* Saxton 2005b; Saxton 2006

#### 88 | Nicolaus Knüpfer

*Interior with Venus Reclining and Cupid Urinating;*  
verso: *Two Studies of the Head of a Woman*, ca. 1630–40

Pen and mixed iron gall ink and carbon black ink, brown ink washes, lead white heightening, traces of black chalk underdrawing, on paper prepared with brown iron gall ink wash; verso: pen and dark brown ink, 15 × 12¼ in. (38.1 × 31.1 cm) Ian Woodner Family Collection Fund, 1999 (1999.151)

Framing line in pen and brown ink, probably by a later hand; framing line in pen and brown ink around the cut out and later reinserted piece at lower left, by a later hand. Verso, on a piece of paper at lower right used to reinforce the paper behind the cut out and reinserted piece, some erased inscriptions in graphite (different 19th- or 20th-century handwriting)

*Watermark:* house, snake on cross above<sup>1</sup>

Nicolaus Knüpfer's taste for uncommon, "cheeky and titillating" subjects is evident in a number of his works, including what is perhaps his most famous painting, a



Fig. 2. Nicolaus Knüpfer, *Interior with Venus and Cupid*, ca. 1630–40. Oil on panel, 11<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 11<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (28.2 × 29.8 cm). Private collection, New York

brothel scene in Amsterdam.<sup>2</sup> It was previously thought to represent the Prodigal Son squandering his inheritance, but recent scholarly debate has centered on the possibility that the artist took this scene of promiscuity from a less obvious source.<sup>3</sup> The Museum's drawing and two paintings related to it are equally likely to raise eyebrows—and not just those of students of iconography.

The luscious nude of the Museum's drawing is nearly identical to the one in a signed painting by Knüpfer in Oldenburg (fig. 1).<sup>4</sup> It has been proposed that Knüpfer based that figure on a composition by Abraham Bloemaert (his teacher in the 1630s), recorded in an engraving dated 1610.<sup>5</sup> The large parasol in the background of both the drawing and the painting, a somewhat incongruous attribute for an indoor scene, is of identical type. And in both works, the woman is accompanied by a winged boy, leaving little doubt that they represent Cupid and his resting mother, Venus. The back of the drawing, when turned forty-five degrees, reveals two studies of a woman with closed eyes. In the lower one, the woman's quickly sketched hand takes approximately the same position as that of the woman in the painting, suggesting that the drawing was made in preparation for, or at least preceded, that painting, which has been dated to the 1630s, within the first decade after the artist's arrival in Holland. The sharp,



Fig. 1. Nicolaus Knüpfer, *Interior with Venus and Cupid*, ca. 1630–40. Oil on panel, 12<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 15<sup>9</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (31.5 × 39.5 cm). Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Oldenburg (LMO 15691)





Two Studies of the Head of a Woman (verso of cat. 88, detail)

vivid drawing style evident on both sides of this sheet is entirely typical for Knüpfer.<sup>6</sup> Bold washes model the scene effectively, but in the figure of Venus—the luminous center of the composition—the artist limited himself to delicate brushstrokes with minimal white heightening to evoke the goddess's soft curves.

Not composition but iconography relates the drawing to another signed painting by Knüpfer (fig. 2).<sup>7</sup> Holding Cupid on her lap, Venus sits on a bed in a graceful pose,<sup>8</sup> reaching toward a chamber pot that she has apparently just knocked over, spilling its contents on the oriental rug. It is this detail that connects the painting to the most eye-catching feature of the Museum's drawing: the laughing Cupid, peeing while missing the chamber pot. A former owner of the drawing must have objected to the little rascal's inclusion, going so far as to cut out the lower left corner of the drawing. Fortunately, the piece was preserved, and it was given its own framing line so the prudish intervention could be reversed at some later point.<sup>9</sup>

Although this motif was not widely used, it does have precedents, including an etching by Joachim von Sandrart the Elder, dated 1640, in which a standing Cupid urinates into a cup held up by an old woman.<sup>10</sup> The most famous example is arguably a painting by Lorenzo Lotto, dated about 1526–30, in the Museum's collection, in which Cupid urinates through a wreath held up by the reclining Venus.<sup>11</sup> As in Lotto's painting, which was likely made as a marriage gift, Cupid's behavior in the Museum's drawing must be understood as a symbol of intercourse and thus of fertility. The object on the stand next to Venus's bed in the painting reproduced in fig. 2 appears to be a censer, in which myrtle is burnt—another symbol of love and fertility, also included by Lotto. The basket of fruit and glass of wine in the drawing may carry similar meanings.<sup>12</sup> In the drawing, the putti emerging from smoke at upper right remind the viewer that what he sees is myth, not reality. But in the paintings, the scene seems to be entirely domestic (apart from Cupid's wings); both works even include a maidservant in the background. It is one of Knüpfer's great charms that he could bring to life mythology—or history, or the Bible—like a director staging a play, with an unerring sense of what would surprise his audience and keep it entertained. SA

1. The watermark is similar to one found in paper used in Culemborg in 1642 (T. Laurentius and F. Laurentius 2007, no. 691, ill.).

2. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. SK-A-4779 (Saxton 2005b, no. 28, pl. VIII; see also the publications cited in the following note). The quotation is from Saxton 2005b, p. 228, under no. D 19. For the originality of Knüpfer's subject matter, see Saxton 2005b, pp. 53–75.

3. See Schoemaker 2004 (where the subject is identified as the marriage of Messalina and Gaius Silius, told by Tacitus); Saxton 2005a.

4. Saxton 2005b, no. 47, fig. 46.

5. For this engraving by Jacob Matham, see Roethlisberger 1993, vol. 1, no. 106, vol. 2, fig. 183; *Widerkehr* 2007–8, vol. 2 (2007), no. 188, ill. The connection was first suggested by Rüdiger Klessmann in Berlin 1966, p. 44. It may be no coincidence that the subject of the print, Jupiter visiting Danaë in the guise of a golden shower, has some connection with the iconography of the drawing and the second painting discussed below.

6. Compare, among many other examples, a signed drawing in the Bogdan and Varvara Khanenko Museum of Arts, Kiev (Saxton 2005b, no. D 17, ill.); and a monogrammed one recorded in a private collection (Saxton 2005b, no. D 23, ill.).

7. Saxton 2005b, no. 46, fig. 46; Kennedy 2010. The painting was previously in the collection of Gustav Rau, Düsseldorf, and subsequently in his sale, Sotheby's, New York, July 9, 2008, lot 25.

8. This pose of Venus has been related to that of a Venus by Lambert Sustris, the sixteenth-century Netherlandish artist active in Venice, now at the Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. 1978 (Foucart 2009, p. 70, ill.).

9. This intervention is already evident in the reproduction in Christie's 1977 (ill. p. 60); it is likely to have occurred in the eighteenth or nineteenth century.

10. Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 40 (1995), p. 16, no. 2, ill.; at least two Dutch copies after the etching exist (nos. 2a, 2b).

11. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. 1986.138 (Christiansen 1986; Everett Fahy in Fahy 2005, no. 2, ill.; Andrea Bayer in New York and Fort Worth 2008–9, no. 148, ill.). For the iconography of Venus in the company of a urinating Cupid, including examples by the Dutch seventeenth-century painters Pieter de Hooch and Eglon van der Neer, see Christiansen 1986; de Jongh 2006–7.

12. The leaves seen in the drawing are not ivy and a symbol of "conjugal fidelity" (as proposed in Saxton 2005b, p. 228), but grape leaves.

*Provenance:* Sale, Christie's, London, November 29, 1977, lot 144; sale, Christie's, London, December 17, 1998, lot 303; [Kunsthändler Katrin Bellinger, Munich]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 1999

*Literature:* Christie's 1977, lot 144, ill.; Christie's 1998b, lot 303, ill.; Saxton 2005b, pp. 91–92, 142, 223, no. D 19, ill.

## HANS FRIEDRICH SCHORER THE ELDER Active Augsburg, ca. 1607–after 1654 (?)

The son of a painter and sculptor, Hans Friedrich Schorer seems to have worked primarily as a draftsman. In 1616 he became a master in Augsburg, but dated sheets by him are known from almost a decade earlier. The number of surviving drawings—most, if not all, copies after other artists—makes clear that he was very prolific and must have worked for collectors of works on paper. Others of his drawings appear to have served as models for goldsmiths. His son, Hans the Younger, became a painter in Augsburg.

*General literature:* Heinrich Geissler in Stuttgart 1979–80, vol. 1, pp. 266–67

89 | Hans Friedrich Schorer the Elder

After Pauwels Franck (1540/46–1596)

*Triumph of the Earth*, 1634

Pen and carbon black ink, gray ink washes, lead white heightening, black chalk underdrawing,  $8\frac{1}{8} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$  in. (20.6 × 29.3 cm)  
Gift of Katrin Bellinger, 1998 (1998.41.8)

At lower left, possibly an unidentified collector's mark (1 ★ z [?], stamped in brown or gray ink; not in Lugt); at upper right, inscribed 3 in black chalk or graphite (18th- or 19th-century handwriting). Verso, at top, inscribed, dated, and monogrammed *nach des paul franceßgo [?]/ · 1634 · / · HFS ·* (*HFS* intertwined) in pen and brown ink (see fig. 1); at lower left, inscribed *Hans Friedrich Schorer* in graphite (20th-century handwriting); to the right, inscribed 419 in graphite (20th-century handwriting); at lower center, inscribed *H. F. Schorer* in graphite (20th-century handwriting)

Watermark: unidentified

Many of Hans Friedrich Schorer's drawings are signed or monogrammed and dated, as is this one. On the back, it bears the artist's characteristic monogram and the date 1634, as well as an indication of the source from which it was copied (fig. 1): Pauwels Franck, also known as Paolo Fiammingo, a Netherlandish artist who became a landscape specialist in Jacopo Tintoretto's studio in Venice during the 1570s.<sup>1</sup> Between 1580 and the early 1590s, Franck received several commissions from the Augsburg banker Hans Fugger for paintings to decorate his castle at Kirchheim.<sup>2</sup> Although Franck's earliest works for Fugger, a series of the Four Elements dated 1580, appear to have been lost, workshop replicas have survived, as does one version considered to be autograph of the *Triumph of the Water* and two of the *Triumph of the Earth* (fig. 2).<sup>3</sup> The latter composition corresponds with Fugger's description of the painting in his collection, in a letter dated 1580, as representing the "*dea della terra* on a triumphal chariot with two lions."<sup>4</sup>

The Museum's drawing goes back to one of the versions of this composition,<sup>5</sup> but rather than copying Franck's entire work, Schorer concentrated on its main motif—the chariot surrounded by rustic figures celebrating the fecundity of the earth—leaving out the satyrs and the fruit still life in the foreground as well as the landscape background. Differences in the grouping of the figures and their clothes suggest that Schorer did not work from one of the extant versions. There is no reason to doubt that the artist made his drawing after the version at Kirchheim Castle, just southwest of his hometown Augsburg, so it must be assumed either that

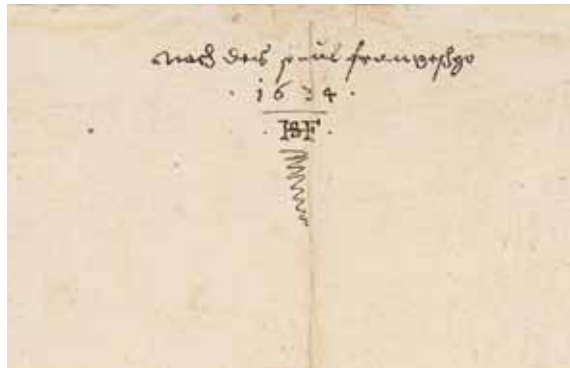


Fig. 1. Detail of signature and inscription on verso of cat. 89

Schorer chose to deviate from the painting he was copying or that Fugger's version of the composition differed slightly from those still known today. Arguably the most important difference is in the figure of the "*dea della terra*," identifiable as the Phrygian goddess Cybele, who in the Museum's drawing wears something that is most likely a Phrygian cap; in the known versions of Franck's paintings, the figure wears a turreted crown, as Cybele has most often been depicted since antiquity.<sup>6</sup> Representations of the goddess accompanied by two lions also go back to ancient times and remained popular as allegories of fertility and prosperity well after Franck's time.



Fig. 2. Pauwels Franck, *Triumph of the Earth*, after 1580. Oil on canvas, 38<sup>9</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 63<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (98 × 162 cm). Obrazárna Pražského Hradu, Prague (96)

Even if the drawing is a copy after the painting, Franck's original is transformed by the nervous yet rounded, curly, and lobate contours and by the use of washes—all entirely typical of Schorer's style. Although often tight and somewhat dull, especially in the artist's later years, here his style is applied in a more vivid way, resulting in one of the more attractive examples of the artist's work.<sup>7</sup> The number 3 on the drawing suggests that it was part of a series, probably copies after each of the paintings of the Four Elements that Franck made for Fugger.

SA

1. For Franck, see Mason Rinaldi 1978; A. J. Martin 2004; and the literature referred to in the following note.

2. For these commissions, see Lill 1908, pp. 138–45; Fučíková and Konečný 1983; A. J. Martin 1999, pp. 618–21; A. J. Martin 2007b; Wölfe 2009, pp. 275–78.

3. Mason Rinaldi 1978, p. 70 (as a copy after Franck); Fučíková and Konečný 1983, p. 69, fig. 3 (as by Franck); Belluno 1994, pp. 80–81, ill. For the other version of the *Triumph of the Earth* considered to be autograph, recorded in a private collection, see Mason Rinaldi 1978, no. 40, fig. 4. For the autograph version of the *Triumph of the Water*, formerly on the London art market, see Mason Rinaldi 1978, no. 16, fig. 5. The replicas of the complete series are at the Museo del Patriarca, Valencia (Benito Domenech 1980, pp. 176, 264–65, nos. 66–69, ill.; Meijer 1983, pp. 26–27, figs. 21–24; Benito Domenech 1991, pp. 31, 33, ill.). Another series surfaced at the sale Sotheby's, Munich, October 9–14, 2000, lot 333 (reproduced in the catalogue); see A. J. Martin 2007b, p. 199 (as by Franck).

4. Lill 1908, p. 139, n. 1: “die dea della terra uff ainem karren triumphalen mit 2 loewen gemalt.”

5. Already noted by Billesberger 1990, no. 6.

6. For the iconography of Cybele, see Steinbrucker and von Erffa 1954. The turreted crown refers to the Phrygian city of Pessinus, the origin of the goddess's cult; I have not been able to find any other depiction of Cybele wearing the Phrygian cap. In the inscription on an etching by Salvator Rosa (Wallace 1979, no. 112, ill.), a figure wearing a turreted crown is identified as the Roman goddess of fertility and agriculture, Ceres; however, Ceres (unlike Cybele) is more often seen wearing a wheat crown (Ettliger 1954, cols. 397, 398, 399, 401).

7. Compare other examples of drawings by Schorer, including those discussed and illustrated in Tietze et al. 1933, vol. 1, nos. 408–11, vol. 2, pls. 139, 140; by Heinrich Geissler in Augsburg 1968, nos. 349–53, figs. 145–48; in Thöne 1972, no. 128, ill.; by Geissler in Stuttgart 1979–80, vol. 1, nos. F 33, F 34, ill.; by Dieter Kuhrmann in Munich 1983–84, no. 123, ill.; in Kaulbach 2007, nos. 610–22, ill.; and in Volrábová 2007, nos. 34–69, ill.

*Provenance*: [Galerie Siegfried Billesberger, Moosinning]; sale, Galerie Gerda Bassenge, Berlin, November 28, 1997, lot 5488; Katrin Bellinger, Munich; given by her to the Department of Drawings and Prints, 1998

*Literature*: Billesberger 1990, no. 6, ill.; Bassenge 1997, lot 5488, ill.

## JACOB MARREL

Frankenthal, 1613/14–1681, Frankfurt am Main

Though often considered a Dutch artist, Jacob Marrel was born in Germany and trained with the distinguished still-life painter Georg Flegel in Frankfurt. None of Marrel's works from this period seem to have survived. By 1632 he had moved to Utrecht, where he came under the influence of some of the best Dutch still-life painters active there, including Ambrosius Bosschaert the Younger and Jan Davidsz. de Heem. Marrel moved back to Frankfurt in 1650 (though occasionally visiting the Netherlands), where he became the teacher of Abraham Mignon and Maria Sibylla Merian, who was also his stepdaughter. His paintings and drawings all depict flowers.

*General literature*: De Kruyff 1892; Bergström 1984; Bott 2001, pp. 127–49, 223–43; van der Willigen and Meijer 2003, pp. 138–39; Ella Reitsma in Amsterdam and Los Angeles 2008, pp. 40–44, 46, and passim

### 90 | Jacob Marrel

*Four Tulips*, ca. 1635–45

Opaque and transparent watercolors, white gouache heightening, black chalk underdrawing, on vellum prepared with calcite, 13<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 17<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (34 × 44.9 cm)  
Rogers Fund, 1968 (68.66)

At upper left and right, inscribed N<sup>o</sup> 23 and N<sup>o</sup> 24 in pen and brown ink (17th-century handwriting); to the left and the right of the flowers, inscribed *Boter man*, *Joncker.*, *Grote geplumaceerde.*, and *Voorwint*. in pen and brown ink, possibly by the artist

It may be more than a coincidence that Jacob Marrel moved to Holland in the early 1630s, arriving there just before the frenzied height of “tulipomania.” (A former owner of the drawing under discussion, the Dutch

horticulturist and businessman Ernst Heinrich Krelage, wrote a classical account of this phenomenon, published in 1942.<sup>1</sup>) During his first years in Utrecht, in addition to painting Marrel also devoted himself to producing drawings of tulips, mostly on vellum—the only drawings known by him. Most of these seem to have been made for “tulip books,” manuscript catalogues of the most valued cultivars.<sup>2</sup> The last such book that he is known to have undertaken is one of ninety-nine sheets depicting tulips, dated 1642 and made “as a reminder of the senseless trade, conducted with them in the years 1635, 1636 and 1637.”<sup>3</sup> Marrel may have had personal experience with that senselessness: he is documented as a dealer in paintings but is thought to have traded in the flower bulbs as well.<sup>4</sup>

Although intact tulip books have been preserved only rarely,<sup>5</sup> four by Marrel are known. One is in the Amsterdam print room, and three are in private collections.<sup>6</sup> Two others by him have been dismembered, with the drawings now scattered among several collections. Both belonged to Krelage and later to Otto Wertheimer.<sup>7</sup> At

least seven folios are known from the second of these, which was given the rather inelegant name Codex kw2: one each in the print rooms in Amsterdam and Haarlem; two in the collection of George Abrams; two for which the present location is unknown, one in another private collection (fig. 1);<sup>8</sup> and the drawing under discussion here. The attribution to Marrel of these drawings—and, indeed, of all others known by him—is secured by comparison with the signed or monogrammed sheets, dated between 1637 and 1645, of the album in Amsterdam, which are equally fine in quality and identical in technique. Comparable are the tulip drawings by Ambrosius Bosschaert the Younger (or his brother Abraham?), by whom an intact tulip book is preserved in Cambridge.<sup>9</sup> It is possible that Marrel was influenced by him—or the other way around.

The inscriptions on the Museum’s sheet identify the tulips by their imaginative Dutch nicknames: from left to right, “Boter man” (Butter man), “Joncker” (Nobleman), “Grote geplumaceerde” (Great plumed one), and “Voorwint” (With the wind).<sup>10</sup> Information





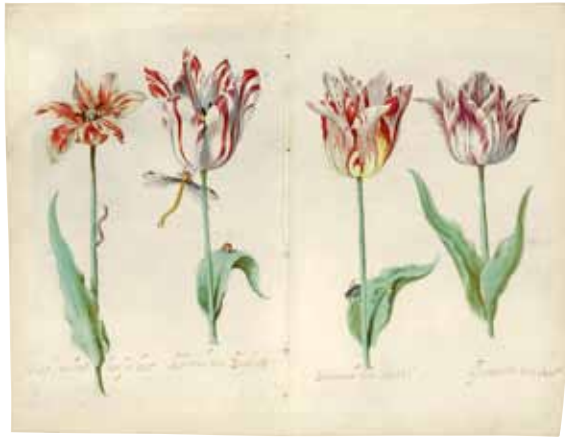


Fig. 1. Jacob Marrel, *Four Tulips*, ca. 1635–45. Watercolor on vellum, 13<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 16<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (34 × 43 cm). Private collection, Amsterdam

about the prices fetched by the bulbs and their weight, which was often included in tulip books (for instance, in the first album from the Krelage and Wertheimer collections), is missing here. The Museum's example stands out from most of Marrel's drawings because of the greater variation in the position of the flowers, with the magnificent petals of the outer two facing left and right, respectively, their stalks gracefully bent, making it arguably the most attractive double sheet from Codex kw2. The stitching holes visible in the central fold are reminders that the sheet was originally bound with others, making it possible that each pair of flowers now seen together on the Museum's sheet in the book was originally paired with a different one.<sup>11</sup> However, the numbers 23 and 24 inscribed in the upper corners of the two pages in a seventeenth-century hand also allow for the possibility that the drawing was the central bifolium of Marrel's now dismembered book. SA

1. For Krelage, see de Jonge 1989. For tulipomania, see also Tongiorgi Tomasi 1997, pp. 267–79; Goldgar 2007.

2. For tulip books, see Krelage 1942, pp. 55–61, 201–2; Bergström 1984, p. 33. Four independent still lifes on vellum by Marrel, all dated 1634, are in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, inv. PD.793-1973 to PD.796-1973 (David Scrase in Washington and other cities 1983–84, nos. 58, 59, ill.; Bergström 1984, pp. 42–43, figs. 33, 34; Scrase 1997, no. 6, ill.; Amsterdam and Los Angeles 2008, figs. 22, 23, 40).

3. Quoted from the first page of the eighteenth-century manuscript index (reproduced in Bergström 1984, fig. 6): “ter gedagtenis van den spoorlozen handel, daar mede gepleegt in den Jare 1635, 1636 en 1637.” The album in the possession of Mrs. Paul Mellon, Upperville, Virginia, is named Codex LUS in Bergström 1984, p. 33, figs. 5–8; see also Tongiorgi Tomasi 1997, pp. 284–88, ill.; Arthur K. Wheelock Jr. in Washington 1999, nos. 36–40, ill.; Bott 2001, pp. 131, fig. 114.

4. I know of no primary source for the assertion that Marrel dealt in bulbs (as repeated, for instance, in Bott 2001, pp. 127, 128). A list

of paintings sold by Marrel, part of the inventory made up after the death of his wife in 1649, is published in de Kruyff 1892, pp. 58–89.

5. See the literature mentioned in note 2 above.

6. Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. RP-T-1950-266, named Codex RP (Bergström 1984, p. 40, figs. 25–28; Bott 2001, pp. 131, 133, 137, figs. 115, 116); one recorded in a Swedish private collection, named Codex EL (Bergström 1984, passim, figs. 1–3, 9, 11, 13, 15–18, 21–24; Bott 2001, pp. 131, 132); and, in the collection of Mrs. Paul Mellon, Upperville, Virginia, Codex LUS (see note 3 above), and a second (Tongiorgi Tomasi 1997, pp. 279–84, ill.). A third album in this collection has been attributed to Marrel (Tongiorgi Tomasi 1997, pp. 288–91).

7. For the first of these, named Codex kw, see Bergström 1984, p. 36, figs. 10, 12, 14, 19. Sheets from this album measure approximately 8<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 6<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in. (22.5 × 16.5 cm) and include the price and weight of the bulbs. Four of them are now in the Erkenbert-Museum, Frankfurt, inv. 2231–2234 (Frankfurt and Haarlem 1997–98, no. 20, ill.). Ingvar Bergström identified a third dismembered album of drawings (the only one with sheets of paper, not vellum), named Codex PAR and measuring about 13 × 8<sup>11</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (33 × 22 cm; Bergström 1984, p. 41, fig. 20). A sheet from this album is in the Teylers Museum, Haarlem, inv. T 83b (Plomp 1997, no. 253, ill.).

8. Formerly in the sale Sotheby's, Amsterdam, May 3, 1976, lot 116 (one-half illustrated in the catalogue); other drawings in this sale (possibly in lots 117 and 133) may have also belonged to the same album. The other drawings mentioned are in the following locations: Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. RP-T-1967-86 (Bergström 1984, p. 40; Bott 2001, fig. 112; Marijn Schapelhouman in Paris 2009–10, no. 12, ill.); Teylers Museum, Haarlem, inv. T 83a (Plomp 1997, no. 252, ill.); and two sheets in the collection of George Abrams, Cambridge, Massachusetts, published respectively by William W. Robinson in Amsterdam and other cities 1991–92, no. 99, ill., and in London, Paris, and Cambridge 2002–3, no. 103. For one of the untraced drawings, see Robinson in London, Paris, and Cambridge 2002–3, p. 232, fig. 2. The second Abrams drawing was sold with the collection of Anne Wertheimer, the wife of a former owner of the Museum's sheet, at the Hôtel Drouot, Paris, on April 21–22, 1982 (lot 36), together with the second drawing (lot 35; present location unknown). Both drawings in the Wertheimer sale are incorrectly described in the auction catalogue as measuring 22.5 × 16 cm.

9. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, inv. PD.123-1973 (Scrase 1997, no. 5, ill.).

10. The handwriting is possibly identical to that of the signed drawings in the Amsterdam album (see note 6) and could be that of Marrel himself. For the names of the tulips, see Krelage 1942, pp. 34–36, 126–47.

11. Among Marrel's tulip books, this format, which groups the tulips together on both pages of an opening (leaving every second opening entirely blank), is found only in Codex kw and Codex kw2 (Bergström 1984, p. 36).

*Provenance:* Ernst Heinrich Krelage (1869–1959), Haarlem; Otto Wertheimer (1878–1972), Paris; purchased by the Department of Drawings, 1968

*Literature:* Bean and McKendry 1969, p. 316, ill.; Butler 1969, p. 62, ill., no. 5; Orsay 1979, n.p. (under lot 13); David Scrase in Washington and other cities 1983–84, p. 42; Bergström 1984, p. 40; Pinault 1990, p. 149, ill. pp. 146, 147; Kisluk-Grosheide 1991, p. 742, ill. p. 741; Pinault 1991, p. 147, ill. pp. 146, 147; William W. Robinson in Amsterdam and other cities 1991–92, p. 216; Plomp 1997, p. 234, under no. 252; Robinson in London, Paris, and Cambridge 2002–3, p. 232



**JOHANN JAKOB WALTHER THE ELDER**  
Strasbourg, 1604–1679 (?), Strasbourg

Johann Jakob Walther seems to have been a man of many talents and interests: a traveler, a collector, and a chronicler of the city of Strasbourg, as well as an outstanding naturalist painter and miniaturist, focusing on flowers, plants, and birds. He worked for several aristocratic patrons, of which the most important was Count Johann von Nassau-Idstein, an enthusiast of the arts as well as of botany who resided in Idstein, between Koblenz and Frankfurt. Two of Walther's sons, Johann Friedrich and Johann Georg, also became painters—the former specializing in portraits.

*General literature:* Rudolf Reuss in J. J. Walther 1879 (ed.); A. Schmidt 1901; Thieme and Becker 1942a; Geus 1982; Beaumont-Maillet 1993, pp. 72–79

91 | **Johann Jakob Walther the Elder**

*A Male Garganey*, ca. 1650–70

Opaque and transparent mixed and layered watercolors selectively glazed with gum, pen and carbon black ink, lead white heightening (laid down), 10<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 16 in. (25.9 × 40.6 cm)

The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 2006 (2006.495)

At upper right, inscribed *Anas Fera vulgo Ein Kernel* in pen and brown ink, probably by the artist. Framing line in pen and black ink, by a later hand. Verso of the secondary support, at upper right, inscribed *De Bry* (?) in graphite (20th-century handwriting); at lower left, inscribed 2. in graphite (20th-century handwriting); at lower center, inscribed 4,45 in graphite (20th-century handwriting); at lower right, inscribed 2 *des*[. . .] *meme exter* (?) in graphite (20th-century handwriting)

*Watermark:* none visible because of the secondary support

The German-speaking countries produced some of the most accomplished artists specializing in the depiction of nature.<sup>1</sup> For the seventeenth-century, Maria Sibylla Merian and her teacher and stepfather Jacob Marrel (see cat. 90) are well known; both hailed from Frankfurt but spent an important part of their careers in the Dutch Republic.<sup>2</sup> Johann Jakob Walther, who also seems to have traveled to the Netherlands (his personal motto was in Dutch),<sup>3</sup> is less well known. This may have to do with the fact that, in the words of Joachim von Sandrart the Elder, he “left fine reminders of his art with many prominent figures,” making them visible only to the very limited audience of the noblemen who



Fig. 1. Johann Jakob Walther the Elder, *A Golden Plover and a Male Garganey*, ca. 1650–70. Watercolor, gouache, 17 $\frac{1}{8}$  × 18 $\frac{7}{16}$  in. (43.5 × 46.8 cm). Albertina, Vienna (15590)

commissioned them.<sup>4</sup> Count Johann von Nassau-Idstein seems to have been Walther's most notable patron.<sup>5</sup> With the exception of a florilegium made for the count, formerly in Darmstadt and now destroyed, several of these commissions survive more or less intact: two other collections of flowers and fruit for Nassau-Idstein in Paris and London; and two collections of drawings of birds, one also in Paris, the other in Vienna.<sup>6</sup>

Count Johann may also have figured in the origins of the Museum's drawing, although I have not been able to find any firm proof of this.<sup>7</sup> A drawing similar to the Museum's sheet—of identical dimensions and with an inscription in the same handwriting (undoubtedly the artist's own)—may have belonged to a now-dismembered album of the type mentioned above.<sup>8</sup> Both it and the Museum's drawing display the same highly refined technique and elegant calligraphic inscriptions as those in the Vienna *Ornithographia* mentioned above, where the ground on which all of the birds are standing is also only summarily indicated in watercolor. An unfinished drawing of a cock in the Vienna collection suggests that Walther started by making a quick sketch in black chalk of the animals he was to draw.<sup>9</sup> Although no underdrawing can be detected in the Museum's sheet, it is likely that he made one, which he later either completely covered or thoroughly erased before completing the gouache.

Not surprisingly, the same bird seen in the Museum's drawing turns up in the section on indigenous German birds in the collection in Vienna, although slight differences suggest that the drawings were based on at least two different life studies. The duck of the drawing seen here is depicted with a golden plover (*Pluvialis apricaria*) in the sheet in Vienna (fig. 1).<sup>10</sup> Called simply an *Anta fera* (wild duck) in the inscription on the Museum's drawing, it can be more precisely identified as an *Anas querquedula*, known in English as a garganey and in modern German as a "Knäkente."<sup>11</sup> The inscription on the sheet in Vienna provides a particularly informative description of the bird: "In addition to many other species of wild ducks, this bird is also caught in our regions, which hunters colloquially call 'Kernel,' and the Italians call 'Cercella.' It is a beautiful bird, which is sometimes entirely domesticated. They dive under water to feed themselves, but eat little fish. They are delicious; in their stomachs, one finds only sand and mud."<sup>12</sup>

SA

- For sixteenth-century examples, see Fritz Koreny in Vienna 1985.
  - For Merian, see Frankfurt and Haarlem 1997–98; Amsterdam and Los Angeles 2008.
  - See Rudolf Reuss in J. J. Walther 1879 (ed.), p. 6, n. 4.
  - Sandrart 1675–79, vol. 2, p. 310: "bey vielen fürnehmen Herren schöne Gedächtnußen seiner Kunst aufgerichtet habe."
  - For Johann von Nassau-Idstein and his garden, see Lentz and Nath-Esser 1990; Lentz 1995; Ella Reitsma in Amsterdam and Los Angeles 2008, pp. 39, 48–50, and passim.
  - Formerly Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Darmstadt, MS 3468, destroyed in World War II (A. Schmidt 1901; Beaumont-Maillet 1993, pp. 80–81; de Gex 1997, pp. 12–13); Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, shelf marks Ja. 25 rés., Jb. 36 rés. (Lugt 1936, nos. 55–109, pls. 24–29, 31; Beaumont-Maillet 1993); Victoria and Albert Museum, London, inv. 9174, 9175 (Beaumont-Maillet 1993, pp. 81–82; *Simulacrum scenographicum* 1995 [ed.]); Albertina, Vienna, inv. 15496–15598 (Tietze et al. 1933, vol. 1, nos. 744–844, vol. 2, pl. 197; Geus 1982). Other watercolors by Walther are in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Strasbourg. Exceptional, both technically and iconographically, among Walther's works are five chalk drawings related to a ceiling painted for Count Johann, now in the Kunstsammlung der Universität, Göttingen, inv. H 675–H 678, H 683 (Matthias Ohm in Koblenz and other cities 2000–2001, no. 90, ill.).
  - A provenance for the sheet going back to the count and his son, as well as to the French naturalist artist Claude Aubriet, was suggested in Christie's 2006, p. 52, lot 51.
  - The drawing, inscribed *Haec avis dicta Gallinago. capta est. 16. Septembris. A° 1648. Eine Wasserschneppf and Fulix Fulica / Ein Wasserhunlein* and depicting a common snipe (*Gallinago gallinago*) and a young common moorhen (*Gallinula chloropus*), measures 10 $\frac{1}{16}$  × 19 $\frac{5}{16}$  in. (25.5 × 49 cm) and was offered by Mireille Mosler, New York, in January 2011.
  - Albertina, Vienna, inv. 15563 (Tietze et al. 1933, vol. 1, no. 810). Compare also A. Schmidt 1901, p. 376.
  - Tietze et al. 1933, vol. 1, no. 836; Geus 1982, p. 74, pl. 33.
  - The inscription relating to the drawing reproduced here as fig. 1 (see the previous and following notes) also calls the garganey a "Kernel" but gives its Latin name as *Anta amarellus*. Elsewhere, Walther calls—incorrectly, at least according to modern practice—a ferruginous duck (modern German *Moorente*, Latin *Aythya nyroca*) a "Tröfse!" or "Querquedula" (on inv. 15582; see Tietze et al. 1933, vol. 1, no. 828; Geus 1982, pl. 27).
  - The inscription is found on the verso of the drawing in Vienna preceding the one reproduced here as fig. 1 (inv. 15589; see Tietze et al. 1933, vol. 1, no. 835; Geus 1982, p. 72, pl. 32): "Neben vielen anderen Wilden Enten geschlechtem, wirt auch dieße bey unß gefangen, so ins gemeyn von Weydleuten ein Kernel genant wird, die Italianer nennen sie Cercella, Ist ein schöner Vogel, wirt zur Zeiten gantz zahm gemacht, sie Tauchen sich auch vnder das Wasser ihre Nahrung zu suchen, freßen doch wenig fisch, seint lieblich zu eßen, vnd wirt in ihrem Magen nichts, als sandt vnd schley m gefunden."
- Provenance:* Possibly Johann von Nassau-Idstein (1603–1677), Idstein, and his son, Georg-August von Nassau-Idstein (1665–1721), Wiesbaden and Idstein; possibly acquired from the latter by Claude Aubriet (1665–1742), Paris; possibly Chrétien-Guillaume de Lamoignon de Malesherbes (1721–1794), Paris; sale, Christie's, London, July 4, 2006, lot 51; [Thomas Williams Fine Arts, London]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 2006
- Literature:* Christie's 2006, lot 51, ill.

## CONRAD MEYER

Zurich, 1618–1689, Zurich

After studying with his father, Dietrich, and brother Rudolf, Conrad Meyer became an apprentice to the Frankfurt printmaker Matthäus Merian the Younger. Merian, too, had studied early on with Dietrich in Zurich. Returning to the city of his birth in 1643, Conrad became the successor to the portrait painter Samuel Hofmann, producing some two hundred paintings of prominent local citizens; he also executed over a hundred portrait prints, including successive mayors of Zurich and many of the city's priests. Meyer's style became increasingly influenced by Dutch artists, including Abraham Bloemaert. In 1655 he and the Dutch artist Jan Hackaert, perhaps along with his student Rudolf Werdmüller, spent several weeks in the Alps drawing the landscape.

*General literature:* Rahn 1880–82; Gustav Solar in Zurich 1979; Solar 1987; Ströle 1999

### 92 | Conrad Meyer

#### *A Standing Wild Man, 1649*

Pen and carbon black ink, gray ink washes, lead white heightening, graphite underdrawing, on paper prepared with an opaque reddish brown iron-based earth wash (laid down), 15<sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 9<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in. (40.1 × 24.1 cm)  
Van Day Truex Fund, 2006 (2006.481)

At bottom right, signed and dated *Con. Meyer fecit . / A° . [1]649.* in pen and black ink. On the secondary support, at lower left, collector's mark of Peter Vischer (Lugt 2115); below, inscribed *K 42 (?)* in graphite (20th-century handwriting); to the right, inscribed *Lugt Nr. 2115.* in graphite (19th- or 20th-century handwriting); at lower center, inscribed *244.* in graphite (19th- or 20th-century handwriting); at lower right, inscribed *H. n.°5* in graphite (20th-century handwriting); below, inscribed *20* [changed from 28] in graphite (20th-century handwriting). Verso of the secondary support, at upper left, inscribed *40* in graphite (20th-century handwriting); at lower left, inscribed *N.° Dessin de Conrad Meyer de Zurich, 1649* in pen and black ink, possibly by Peter Vischer

*Watermark:* none

In this striking drawing, in which each stroke plays an integral part in defining the form, a wild man stands facing front, his torso turned slightly to the right, his right leg thrust forward. He wears a garland of leaves on his head and another one around his waist. In his right hand he holds his weapon—a slender uprooted tree trunk—while his left rests on an unfinished but subtly





Fig. 1. Hans Holbein the Younger, *A Wild Man Brandishing an Uprooted Tree Trunk*, ca. 1528. Pen and black ink, gray, brown, and blue washes, 12¼ × 8⅞ in. (31.1 × 21.5 cm). British Museum, London (1895-9-15-992)



Fig. 2. Tobias Stimmer, *Study of Two Naked Men with Fantastic Headdresses*, ca. 1564–65. Pen and brown ink, heightened with white gouache, on red prepared paper, 15⅜ × 11⅜ in. (39.2 × 29 cm). Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (KdZ 902)



Fig. 3. Conrad Meyer, *Study of a Female Nude*, ca. 1645–55. Two colors of red chalk, 16¼ × 10⅝ in. (41.1 × 27 cm). Collection of Tom Rassieur, Minneapolis

rendered shield or escutcheon. As Timothy Husband notes, the wild man as a symbolic form had a dual nature: he could represent the positive values of archaism, strength, and desire for freedom or the negatives of the corruption of body and soul as well as an uncivilized state.<sup>1</sup>

The subject of the wild man appears frequently in Swiss imagery from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, most conspicuously in stained-glass designs.<sup>2</sup> Conrad Meyer's wild man, who boldly reveals his powerful musculature while maintaining a pose of restraint, is generously bearded but not covered in fur—unlike so many other Swiss images of the subject from this period, including Daniel Lindtmayer the Younger's drawing *Arms of Lucerne* in London.<sup>3</sup> Hans Holbein the Younger's *A Wild Man Brandishing an Uprooted Tree Trunk*, also in London, is a design for a glass painting meant for the meetinghouse of the civic society Zur Hären in Basel; it shows a similar bearded figure (fig. 1).<sup>4</sup> Holbein's wild man, however, wields his weapon with powerful energy, bursting through the classical arch that frames him. More typical stained-glass designs adhere to a heraldic type in which shield-bearers hold the coat of arms of a family, society, or city.

As in Lindtmayer's *Arms of Lucerne*, those shield-bearers are commonly portrayed as wild men, using their superhuman strength to protect those represented.<sup>5</sup> The stance of Meyer's wild man is very close to one in what appears to be an unfinished drawing of about 1590–95 by Hans Heinrich Wägmann.<sup>6</sup> In that drawing, thought to be a design for stained glass, the wild man holds his weapon, this time an oversized club, in his right hand; his left hand hovers in space without a coat of arms to rest on. Another close comparative, this time in technique as well as subject matter, is Tobias Stimmer's *Study of Two Naked Men with Fantastic Headdresses* (fig. 2), which is relatively large in scale and highly finished.<sup>7</sup> Working on red prepared paper, Stimmer employs the same precise technique as Meyer and portrays two muscular men—one wearing a crown of feathers, the other one of leaves—dramatically posed holding a blank piece of canvas between them. Like the escutcheon in Meyer's drawing, the canvas could be filled in later, perhaps personalized with a coat of arms.

Meyer's drawing was most likely a finished drawing meant for sale. It demonstrates his dexterity as a draftsman, evident in the precision he employed in creating a complex system of shading through line and color. A comparable drawing, *Study of a Female Nude*, is composed in the same careful fashion, this time in shades of red chalk (fig. 3).<sup>8</sup> In both, the expressions and poses adopted by the figures seem studied, perhaps inspired by ancient sculpture or by more contemporary models. *The Wild Man* relies on near-contemporary Swiss examples, while *Study of a Female Nude* may relate more to Meyer's interest in the Dutch artist Abraham Bloemaert.<sup>9</sup> In both, Meyer sets a monumental figure with carefully defined forms against a blank ground. The figures gaze beyond the frame, the wild man confronting his viewer with an oblique but challenging stare, the woman demurely tilting her head with a beguiling smile. The refinement of their expressions attests to Meyer's success as a portrait painter. FS

1. For a comprehensive discussion of the wild man, see Husband in New York 1980–81.

2. See Giesicke and Ruoss 2000, p. 46; Lee Hendrix in Los Angeles and Saint Louis 2000–2001, nos. 120, 151, ill.

3. British Museum, London, inv. 1926-4-12-2 (Thöne 1975, p. 231, no. 343, ill.; Rowlands 1993, vol. 1, no. 716, vol. 2, pl. 206).

4. Hendrix in Los Angeles and Saint Louis 2000–2001, nos. 151, 152, ill.

5. Giesicke and Ruoss 2000, p. 46.

6. Kunsthau Zürich, volume 0 1, fol. 35 (Thöne 1967, no. 34, fig. 90). Wägmann was also involved in the decoration of the renowned

Kapellbrücke (Chapel Bridge) in Lucerne (see cat. 49), which has a vignette of the Wild Man of Reiden.

7. Thöne 1936, no. 28, fig. 44; Monica Stucky in Basel 1984b, no. 198. Dieter Koeplin discusses Stimmer's chiaroscuro drawings, their fantastical subjects, and how they could be preparatory for larger allegorical scenes, perhaps facade paintings (Koeplin 1984, p. 295).

8. Formerly at the sale Sotheby's, New York, January 26, 2011, lot 571 (illustrated in the catalogue). Its signature, *C Mejer fecit.*, is similar to that on the Museum's sheet; the drawing is not dated.

9. For Bloemaert, see Roethlisberger 1993; Bolten 2007.

*Provenance:* Peter Vischer (1751–1823), Basel; possibly his sale, Delbergue-Cormont, Paris, April 19, 1852, and following days, lot 105 or 115; sale, Schuler Auktionen, Zurich, December 6–10, 2004, lot 4380; [C. G. Boerner, New York]; sale, Galerie Gerda Bassenge, Berlin, December 1–2, 2005, lot 5612; [Kunsthandel Katrin Bellinger, Munich]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 2006

*Literature:* Schuler 2004, lot 4380, pl. 24; Bassenge 2005, lot 5612, ill.; Sotheby's 2011, p. 86, under lot 571

### 93 | Conrad Meyer

#### *Allegory of the Transience of Life*, 1651

Pen and carbon black ink, on vellum, 4<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 6<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (10.3 × 15.7 cm)

Purchase, Jean Bonna Gift, 2007 (2007.223.26)

In the upper half within the framing lines, inscribed *HERR, Lehr uns, daß wir unsere tag zellind, und weijßlich zu hertzen fassind.* (Lord, teach us to number our days, that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom.), and in the lower half, inscribed *Psalm xc. v. 12.* in pen and black ink, by the artist; at lower right, inscribed, signed, and dated: *Seinem Hochehrenden Hern / Johan Rudolff Werdmüller / macht diß zu günstigem / angedanken in / Zürich den 14. October / A.° 1651. / Conradt Mejer / Maaler.* (To his honorable sir Johan Rudolff Werdmüller make this favorable to your memory of me, Zurich, 14 October 1651. Conrad Meyer, Painter.) in pen and black ink. Verso, at upper right, twice inscribed 6 (?) in graphite (20th-century handwriting)

This charming drawing with framing text echoes the format of small series of emblems or allegories that were extremely popular in the Netherlands in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>1</sup> Meyer himself created an etching, *The Four Times of Day* (1667), that represents almost identical putti, with long wavy curls and large jowls, holding symbols within landscapes encircled by moralizing text (fig. 1).<sup>2</sup> Evident in both the drawing and the print is Meyer's meticulous graphic line, which fluctuates between thick inky lines used in the cross-hatching and fine, lightly inked tapering lines. If not for the vellum support and the personal inscription to Werdmüller, this drawing could be mistaken as preparatory for a print.



Fig. 1. Conrad Meyer, *The Four Times of Day*, 1667. Etching, 11<sup>9</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 7<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (29.4 × 18 cm). Staatliche Graphische Sammlung München (II9396 D)



Fig. 2. Conrad Meyer, *Portrait of Johann Rudolf Werdmüller*, 1654. Etching, 8<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 6<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (21.1 × 17.5 cm). Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (RP-P-1917-1038)

As with other drawings for friendship albums, Meyer's allegory is a memento mori, with both its image and its text reinforcing the message. The putto blows bubbles from a seashell holding soapy water and stands before a bouquet of flowers celebrating the (fleeting) glories of the world—triumphantly spelled out on the stone pedestal—while reminders of the futility of gain and the imminence of death are scattered on the ground and drawn delicately into the background. This message is addressed to Johann Rudolf Werdmüller, a renowned Zurich general and diplomat, for whom Meyer also made a portrait print in 1654 (fig. 2).<sup>3</sup> An inscription on the portrait compares Werdmüller's nobility and strength to Hector and Hercules, respectively. Shortly after the portrait was made, Werdmüller—accused of blasphemy—became the center of a highly public battle over the nature of religious tolerance.<sup>4</sup> FS

1. This kind of moralizing print series can be found in emblem books—for example, in Jacob de Gheyn II's engravings for Daniël Heinsius's *Emblemata amatoria* (Emblems of love; Amsterdam, 1601; see Filedt Kok and Leesberg 2000, vol. 2, no. 307, ill.); and Crispijn van de Passe's *Arcus Cupidinis* (Cupid's arrow, ca. 1611; see Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish*, 1949–2007, vol. 16 [1974], pp. 259–60, no. 228 ad; Veldman 2001, pp. 135–37). In both of these illustrated books, the images show cupids as the protagonists within small circular-format prints that are ringed with text, as in Meyer's *Allegory*.

2. Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 27 (1980), p. 133, no. 222, ill. These putti are characteristic of Meyer and also appear, along with moralizing verses, in the collection of prints known as *Die Kinderspiel* (Children's games); see Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 27 (1980), p. 114, no. 189.

3. Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 27 (1980), p. 82, no. 103, ill. For Meyer's portraits of Werdmüller, see Solar 1987. For more on Werdmüller, see Loetz 2008. Johann Rudolf was the son of Hans Georg Werdmüller (b. 1616), who is regarded as Zurich's first collector of art, and the brother of Meyer's student Rudolf Werdmüller (1639–1668).

4. Loetz 2008.

*Provenance:* Given by the artist to Johann Rudolf Werdmüller (1614–1677), Zurich; Hans Wilpert Zoller (1673–1757), Zurich; Wilhelm von Muralt-von Planta (1845–1937), Zurich, from ca. 1860; \* [Hans Rohr Buchhandlung und Antiquariat zum Obderdorf, Zurich, from ca. 1970]; † sale, Auktionshaus Stuker Bern, November 28, 2006, part of lot 9060; [Arnoldi-Livie, Munich]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 2007

*Literature:* Stuker 2006, fig. 58

\* According to Christian Müller, as noted by Christian Herren in an email to Erhard Linse, October 24, 2006 (copy in the Museum's departmental files).

† Inventory card by Hans Rohr dated 1983 (copy in the Museum's departmental files).

## JACOB WEYER

Birthplace unknown, 1623–1670, Hamburg

Little is known with certainty about the Hamburg artist Jacob Weyer; it has even been debated whether he is identical with a Hamburg painter of battles named Jacob Weyer, who became a master in 1648. However, paintings traditionally attributed to Jacob or Johann Matthias all seem to be by the same hand and can be related to some of the drawings discussed below. The paintings have been compared to those by Philips Wouwerman, the great Dutch painter of horses and battle scenes, who spent some time in Hamburg at the end of the 1630s, apparently in the studio of Evert Decker. The latter, a history painter, may have been related to—or identifiable as—a certain J. A. Decker, known as Weyer's master.

*General literature:* Thieme and Becker 1942b; Levey 1959, pp. 108–9; Holm Bevers in Munich 1983–84, p. 10; Boerner 1986, p. 24; Jacoby 1989, pp. 256–59; Siit 2007, pp. 371–73; Morsbach 2008, pp. 119–23, 375, 381

## 94 | Jacob Weyer

*An Infantryman Drawing His Sword*, ca. 1650–70 (?)

Brush and gray ink, lead white heightening, pararealgar or litharge (yellow) and realgar (orange) compounds, on paper with an opaque green preparation of mixed pigments (including massicot, carbon black, iron earth, and copper green), 7<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> × 5<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in. (18.4 × 13.9 cm)

Harry G. Sperling Fund, 2005 (2005.149)

At lower right, monogrammed *J.W.* (intertwined) in brush and carbon-based gray ink. Framing line in pen and black ink, probably by a later hand. Verso, at upper left, collector's mark of Philipp Hermann (Lugt 1352<sup>a</sup>); at center right, inscribed *Jacob Weyer d. Ä.* in graphite (19th-century handwriting); at lower right, inscribed 2091<sup>a</sup> in graphite (20th-century handwriting); below, inscribed *Uha* in graphite (20th-century handwriting); to the right, inscribed 413 in graphite (20th-century handwriting); at lower center, inscribed *Jacob Weyer / signiert* in graphite (20th-century handwriting); below, inscribed 40014 (?) in graphite (20th-century handwriting); at lower right, inscribed 1=7/6 in graphite (19th- or 20th-century handwriting)

*Watermark:* none

In his drawings as in his paintings, Jacob Weyer favored battle scenes and depictions of soldiers at rest; other subjects include market scenes and beggars. He treated these in a spirited, sometimes angular, sometimes softer manner in numerous red chalk studies—an example is in the Museum's collection (fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> Stylistically rather less coherent is a group of pen drawings by



his hand or attributed to him.<sup>2</sup> At least some of these must have been made in preparation for paintings. In contrast, the chalk drawings were probably meant as finished works of art for collectors of works on paper.

Without doubt the latter is also the case with Weyer's drawings on colored grounds, some of which (including the present example) bear his monogram.<sup>3</sup> Among the most attractive sheets of this type is a round composition with two couples in Munich (fig. 2).<sup>4</sup> Most of Weyer's drawings, however, depict isolated figures—soldiers, elegant gentlemen and ladies, men in oriental

dress, pilgrims; examples can be found in Berlin, Frankfurt, Moscow, Schwerin, and Weimar.<sup>5</sup> Stylistically, they compare closely to figures in some of Weyer's paintings, including a group of four in Braunschweig.<sup>6</sup> These paintings are undated but differ sufficiently from the only known dated works by Weyer—early paintings in Hamburg and London from 1645<sup>7</sup>—to situate them, and thus the Museum's drawing, somewhat later in the artist's career. The popularity of Weyer's drawings of this type is attested by drawings copied after or inspired by them, including a number dated to the 1670s and





Fig. 1. Jacob Weyer, *Italian Comedians Performing in a Public Square*, ca. 1645–55 (?). Red chalk,  $7\frac{3}{8} \times 11\frac{13}{16}$  in. (18.7 × 30 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Mrs. O'Donnell Hoover, 1973 (1973.173)

1680s by (or attributed to) two apprentices inscribed in the Hamburg painters' guild: Johann Joachim Pfeiffer the Elder and Johann Moritz Riesenberger the Younger.<sup>8</sup> A comparison between the drawings by these younger artists and works by Weyer such as the present sheet makes evident the latter's greater subtlety. The entire figure is swiftly conjured in brush and various shades of gray ink; the spiky style is reminiscent of the artist's red chalk drawings. The highlights on the soldier's armor, fancy trousers, gloves, and parts of his body are effectively conveyed in strokes of white gouache. SA

1. Kaufmann 1985, p. 112. For other similar drawings, see Dieter Graf in *London and other cities 1975–76*, no. 111, ill.; Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann in *Princeton, Washington, and Pittsburgh 1982–83*, no. 86, ill.; Holm Bevers in *Munich 1983–84*, no. 131, pl. 85; Boerner 1986, no. 12, ill.; Rainer Schoch in *Nuremberg 1992a*, no. 74, ill.; Prange 2007, vol. 1, nos. 1141–43, vol. 2, ill. The attribution of these drawings is based on a sheet, monogrammed in the same way as the drawing under discussion, in a sketchbook in the Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. 79 B 30 (Bock 1921, vol. 1, p. 360; Rüdiger Klessmann in Berlin 1966, no. 210, fig. 211; Sibylle Gross in Berlin 1996, no. 81, ill.). For paintings by Weyer, see Izergina 1955; Levey 1959, pp. 108–9; Jacoby 1989, pp. 256–59; Sitt 2007, pp. 371–73.

2. For examples, see Möhle 1947, no. 19, ill.; Wolf Stubbe in *Hamburg 1965*, nos. 40, 41, ill.; Klessmann in Berlin 1966, nos. 211, 212, figs. 209, 210; Hasse 1969, no. 43, ill.; von Baeyer 2000, no. 48, ill.; and a sheet formerly in the sale Phillips, London, December 11, 1991, lot 71 (illustrated in the catalogue).

3. For other monogrammed drawings of this type, see the one reproduced here as fig. 2; the one in Moscow mentioned in note 5 below; and one at the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, inv. KdZ 17836 (Gross in Berlin 1996, no. 80, ill.).



Fig. 2. Jacob Weyer, *Two Couples in a Landscape*, ca. 1650–70 (?). Pen and brush and black ink, heightened with white gouache, on blue prepared paper, diameter: 6 in. (15.3 cm). Staatliche Graphische Sammlung München (19477 z)

4. Graf in *London and other cities 1975–76*, no. 112, ill.; Morsbach 2008, no. 1a z 25.2, ill. Comparable in its landscape setting and in the blue preparation of the paper is a composition of two horses, other animals, and some figures in the Albertina, Vienna, inv. 13354 (Tietze et al. 1933, vol. 1, no. 717, vol. 2, pl. 194; Morsbach 2008, no. 1a z 25.1, ill.); and one of three horses and poultry, formerly at the sale Hauswedell & Nolte, Hamburg, June 2, 2007, lot 852 (illustrated in the catalogue). See also a drawing of a black chief with bow and arrow in the sale Christie's, London, July 2, 1991 (illustrated in the catalogue).

5. Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, inv. KdZ 16553 (Klessmann in Berlin 1966, no. 213, fig. 208); Städel Museum, Frankfurt, inv. 5463, 5464, 14394, 14265 (Schilling 1973, vol. 1, nos. 554–57, vol. 2, pl. 104); Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow, inv. 7666 (Kislykh 2009, no. 55, ill.); Staatliches Museum Schwerin, inv. 1543 Hz, 1542 Hz (Kristina Hegner in Schwerin 2009, nos. 9, 10, ill.; another drawing in the same collection [inv. 1265 Hz; Hegner in Schwerin 2009, no. 11, ill.] appears to be the work of a follower); Graphische Sammlungen, Klassik Stiftung Weimar, inv. KK 4231–KK 4235 (Darmstadt 1914, no. 240).

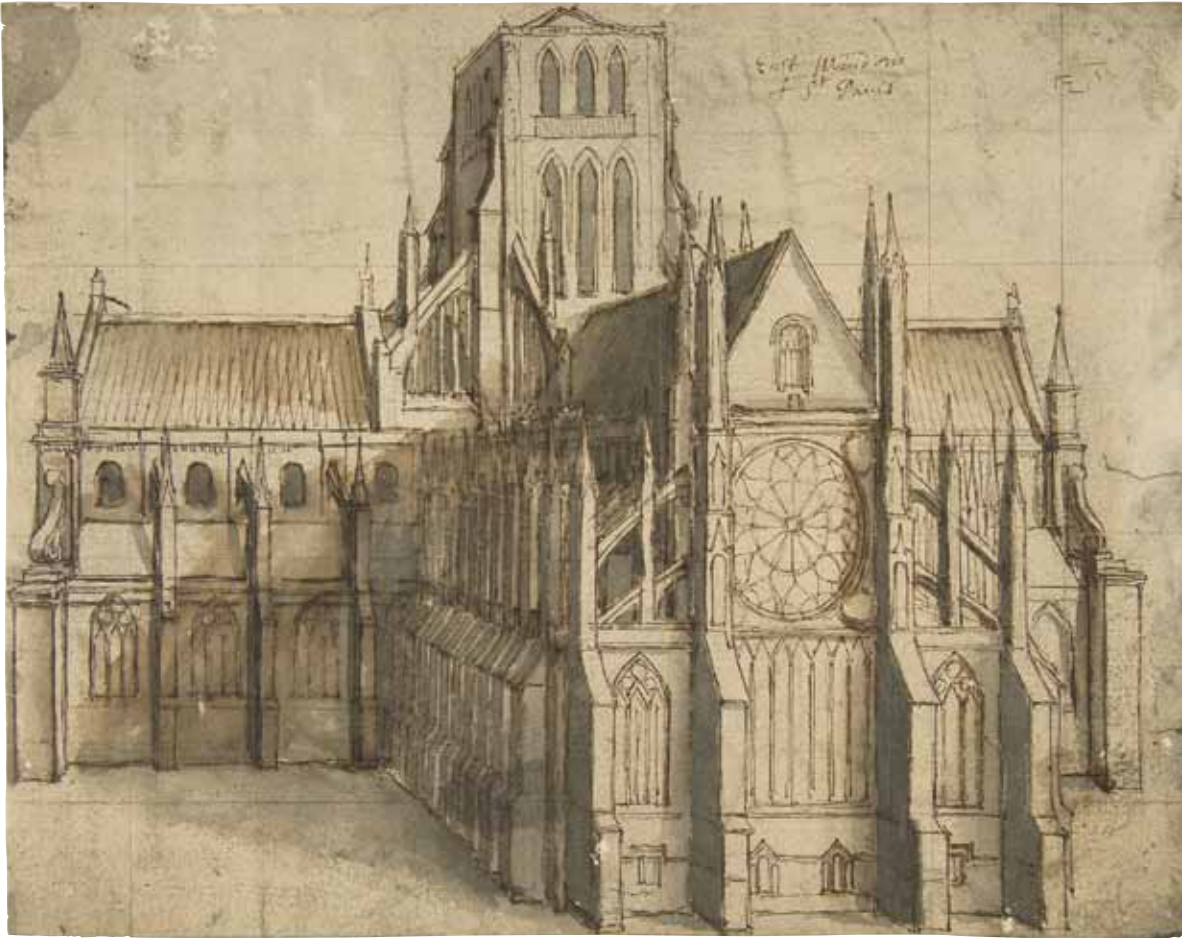
6. Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig, inv. 568–71 (Jacoby 1989, pp. 256–59, ill.; Morsbach 2008, no. 1a 25.3, ill.).

7. Hamburger Kunsthalle, inv. 591 (Sitt 2007, p. 371, ill.); National Gallery, London, inv. NG1470 (Levey 1959, p. 109).

8. Hamburger Kunsthalle (Prange 2007, vol. 1, nos. 660–63, 669–73, 719, 721–29, 732–39, 740.2–740.9, 740.11–740.13, ill. p. 61, vol. 2, ill.); see also some drawings attributed to or by an artist from the circle of Weyer in the same collection (Prange 2007, vol. 1, nos. 1144–47, vol. 2, ill.).

*Provenance:* [Kunsthändler Gustav Nebhay, Vienna]; Philipp Hermann (1899–1958), Karlsruhe; sale, Sotheby's, Amsterdam, November 2, 2004, lot 28; [Kunsthändler Katrin Bellingier, Munich]; acquired by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 2005

*Literature:* Nebhay 1927, no. 31, ill.; Sotheby's 2004b, lot 28, ill.



**WENZEL HOLLAR**  
Prague, 1607–1677, London

The Bohemian etcher, draftsman, and illustrator Wenzel (or Vaclav) Hollar may have received his earliest instruction from the Prague court engraver Egidius Sadeler II. Hollar recorded his extensive travels within Germany, the Netherlands, and England in innumerable drawings and prints, becoming known primarily for his naturalistic landscapes. Having accompanied Thomas Howard, second Earl of Arundel, from Cologne to England in 1636, Hollar settled there for several years, working primarily as an illustrator of books. During a subsequent stay in Antwerp (1644–52), Hollar perfected his etching technique, producing startlingly tactile prints of things such as seashells and muffs that demonstrate not only his dexterity with the etching needle but also the influence of artists such as Joris Hoefnagel.

*General literature:* Parthey 1853; Pennington 1982; Godfrey 1994; Roberts 2002; S. Turner 2009–

95 | **Wenzel Hollar**

*The Eastern Facade of Old Saint Paul's Cathedral in London, ca. 1656–58*

Pen and iron gall ink, mixed iron gall ink and carbon black ink washes, black chalk or graphite underdrawing, incised construction lines, incised squaring lines for transfer, 6<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 8<sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (17.7 × 22.4 cm)

Purchase, Guy Wildenstein Gift, 2010 (2010.529)

At upper right, inscribed *East Window of S. Pauls* in pen and brown ink, by the artist

*Watermark:* none

Construction of the magnificent London cathedral now known as Old Saint Paul's began in 1083. In 1561 a fire destroyed the spire and damaged the roof, which



Fig. 1. Wenzel Hollar, *The Eastern Facade of Old Saint Paul's Cathedral in London*, from William Dugdale, *The History of St. Paul's Cathedral in London from Its Foundation untill These Times*, London, 1658, plate 166. Etching, 7<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 9<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (19.3 × 24.5 cm). Private collection, New York

were rebuilt in 1566. In the early years of the seventeenth century, the architect Inigo Jones was brought in to replace the medieval crossing tower; he was later also commissioned to refurbish and restyle the medieval building as a classical edifice. Shortly after the refurbishment, during the Civil War (1642–51), the building was taken over as a stable for soldiers' horses, and it later became a storeroom for local merchants. In 1656, in an effort to restore the cathedral, William Dugdale, an antiquarian and scholar with a vast knowledge of the building, sought to document it and its history.<sup>1</sup> He commissioned Hollar to illustrate the text with etchings showing how the cathedral originally looked inside and out. Dugdale's study was published in 1658 as *The History of St. Paul's Cathedral in London from Its Foundation untill These Times*, and Hollar's plates provide the most comprehensive visual survey of the cathedral before the Great Fire of 1666, which caused such destruction that it was decided to tear down the ruins of the medieval edifice.

Hollar's preparatory drawing, which he drew using a grid of incised construction lines to help create an accurate perspectival view, presents—in reverse—the eastern end of the cathedral as thoroughly Gothic, with its large rose window, flying buttresses, and ogive-arched windows. These medieval aspects are further elaborated in Hollar's etching (fig. 1),<sup>2</sup> which is similar to the drawing but not identical to it. The print also includes two clerestory windows on the north transept and Jones's revetment of rusticated stone on the walls of the clerestory and on the buttresses flanking the transept facades (but not on the walls of the aisles).<sup>3</sup> According to Marion Roberts, this seemingly precise view of the east end of the church contradicts others made before the Great Fire and should be understood as a reimagining of its medieval splendor rather than an accurate rendering of its makeshift state in 1656.<sup>4</sup>

Hollar not only incised the lines of his perspectival grid and various orthogonals to aid in the construction of this complex image, but he also meticulously incised all of the contour lines. Corrections and additions to the drawing were made with incised lines that are reflected in the print—for example, in the shift and elaboration of the roof line of the northern transept. Apart from a small sketch for one of the choir doors,<sup>5</sup> there is only one other extant preparatory drawing for the book's illustrations: a drawing of the north side of Old Saint Paul's, now in Oxford (fig. 2).<sup>6</sup> Like the Museum's drawing, this sheet shows a simplified exterior, but in the upper right quadrant it also depicts the Gothic ornamentation



Fig. 2. Wenzel Hollar, *The Northern Facade of Old Saint Paul's Cathedral in London*, ca. 1656–58. Pen and brown ink, gray wash, over black chalk, incised and rubbed for transfer, 6<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> × 13<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (15.9 × 35 cm). Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford (C.I.222)

of smaller details that are found in the corresponding print.<sup>7</sup> Both have been incised for transfer; the Ashmolean's has also been rubbed with chalk on the reverse—offering further proof that it was preparatory for the print. In both instances, Hollar created his initial sketch in black chalk, working up the detailing of the building with pen and brown ink and then adding tone with wash. Furthermore, both views set the building against a blank space, creating a sense of depth through shadows made with light touches of wash. FS

1. In London, Dugdale published several important works of English history, including *Monasticon Anglicanum* (1655–73); *The Antiquities of Warwickshire Illustrated* (1656); *History of Imbanking and Drayning* (1662); *Origines juridicales* (1666); and *Baronage of England* (1675–76). As Marion Roberts notes, Dugdale was inspired to work on the Saint Paul's project after finding a cache of documents related to the history of the cathedral in the basement of a London house belonging to John Reading, former commissioner to Parliament in charge of property confiscated from cathedrals throughout Britain. Roberts devotes an entire chapter to the Saint Paul's project in her examination of Dugdale's histories (Roberts 2002, pp. 73–104).

2. Pennington 1982, no. 1022; S. Turner 2009–, vol. 6 (2011), no. 1700, ill. For all of Hollar's illustrations for Dugdale's book, see S. Turner 2009–, vol. 6 (2011), nos. 1669–1705, ill.

3. Roberts 2002, p. 87.

4. Ibid. Roberts states that in plan and views this record contradicts others made before and after the fire of 1666, namely by Christopher Wren and Thomas Wyck.

5. This drawing was last recorded in the collection of Iolo Aneurin Williams (1890–1962) in 1933 (see I. A. Williams 1933). It differs from the Museum's in focusing on a discrete doorway rather than an overall view of a portion of the cathedral; it is in pen and ink only, without any wash. This kind of Gothic doorway flanked the choir screen and appears in Hollar's etching *Saint Paul's Choir-Screen* (Pennington 1982, no. 1024).

6. Oxford 1977, pp. 15–16, under desk case no. VIII B; D. B. Brown 1982, no. 138, pl. VI; S. Turner 2009–, vol. 6 (2011), p. 57, under no. 1697. The Ashmolean drawing is not mentioned in the extensive entry on the Museum's drawing in the Sotheby's catalogue (Sotheby's 2010, p. 16, lot 109).

7. Pennington 1982, no. 1019.

*Provenance:* Alfred Scharf (1900–1965), Königsberg; acquired from him by an unidentified private collector, 1956; given by the previous owner to an unidentified collector, ca. 1985; sale, Sotheby's, London, July 6, 2010, lot 109; [Kunsthandel Katrin Bellinger, Munich]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 2010

*Literature:* Sotheby's 2010, lot 109, ill.; S. Turner 2009–, vol. 6 (2011), p. 58, under no. 1700

## JOHANN CHRISTOPHORUS STORER

Constance, 1611 or 1620–1671, Constance

Having first been a student of his father, Johann Christophorus Storer continued his training with Ercole Procaccini II, pupil and nephew of the better-known Giulio Cesare Procaccini, in Milan. Although it is not clear why, Storer moved there about 1639–40, and he was soon in high demand as an accomplished painter of frescoes. By 1657 he had returned to his native Constance, from where he was active throughout southern Germany, mainly as a church decorator. The Jesuits were arguably his main patrons. His drawn oeuvre, including works from both his Italian and his German periods, is small but distinguished.

*General literature:* Thöne 1938–39; Felder 1961; Bora and Appuhn-Radtke 1991; Appuhn-Radtke 2000

### 96 | Johann Christophorus Storer

*Christ on the Cross between the Virgin and Saint John the Evangelist, 1662*

Pen and carbon black ink, brown ink washes, lead white heightening, graphite underdrawing (laid down), 12<sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 6<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (32.6 × 15.9 cm)

Van Day Truex Fund, 1996 (1996.416)

At lower left, signed and dated *Storer F. 1662*, in pen and black ink. On the secondary support, of the Oettingen-Wallerstein collection, at lower left, inscribed 220 in pen and black ink (19th-century handwriting); below, inscribed *H.z. No. 1080* in graphite (20th-century handwriting)

*Watermark:* none visible because of the secondary support

Signed and dated, this drawing establishes a touchstone for Johannes Christophorus Storer's mature drawing style, after he returned from Milan to Constance; few other dated drawings by him are known.<sup>1</sup> The powerful washes, spirited and nervous fine pen lines, and elongated figures with expressive hands, long faces, restless locks, deep-set eyes, and sharp noses are all characteristic





Fig. 1. Johann Christophorus Storer, *Christ on the Cross between the Virgin and Saint John the Evangelist*, 1662 or slightly later. Oil on canvas, approximately 16 ft. 5 in. × 47 in. (500 × 120 cm). Heilig-Geist-Kirche, Munich

of his style.<sup>2</sup> It was the Museum's drawing that allowed Sibylle Appuhn-Radtke to attribute a painting in the choir of the Heilig-Geist-Kirche (Church of the Holy Ghost) in Munich to the artist (fig. 1).<sup>3</sup>

The signature, date, and relatively high finish—many of Storer's works are even more freely drawn<sup>4</sup>—point to this having been a *modello* made for the patron of the work. Notwithstanding the lively penmanship of his drawings, Storer seems to have prepared his designs for paintings and prints rather deliberately: in the case of two earlier works, the different stages in the development of the composition can be recognized in the drawings related to them. One is a painting from the second half of the 1650s for which two drawings—a preliminary sketch and a *modello*—have been preserved.<sup>5</sup> The other is the decoration of the Milan cathedral on the occasion of the funeral in 1644 for Isabella of Bourbon, wife of Philip IV of Spain: two drawings of varying finish exist for one of the compositions invented by Storer; a third drawing related to the same project is sketchier.<sup>6</sup> It can thus be assumed that the Museum's sheet was preceded by one or more preliminary sketches. Given that it differs from the painting in its proportions as well as in certain details (the position of the angels and that of Christ's head, to mention the most obvious), the Museum's drawing is likely to have been followed by a drawing adapting the composition to the required format. That presumed drawing might have been squared for transfer, as is a similar Crucifixion in Würzburg attributed to one of Storer's followers.<sup>7</sup>

SA

1. Among Storer's few securely dated drawings is one of 1658 in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan, album F 254 inf., no. 1398 (see Appuhn-Radtke 2000, no. z 4, ill.); see also the following note.

2. Compare, for instance, a drawing for an altarpiece dated 1661 in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan, album F 232 inf., no. 418 (Appuhn-Radtke 2000, no. z 7, ill.); for the altarpiece in the church of Saint Augustine, Kreuzlingen in Thurgau, see Appuhn-Radtke 2000, no. G 37, ill. Very similar in style are two probably faithful copies after a lost original drawing related to a painting dated 1660 in the church of Saint John the Baptist and Saint John the Evangelist in Edelstetten (for these copies, see Appuhn-Radtke 2000, nos. z-? 26a, z-? 26b, ill.; for the painting, see no. G 21, ill.). For a discussion of Storer's mature style, see Thöne 1938–39, pp. 222–24; Sibylle Appuhn-Radtke in Bora and Appuhn-Radtke 1991, p. 6; Appuhn-Radtke 2000, pp. 88–89.

3. Appuhn-Radtke 1999, pp. 29–38, fig. 1; Appuhn-Radtke 2000, no. G 27, pl. xv. For other drawings by Storer connected to altarpieces, see Appuhn-Radtke 2000, nos. z 1, z 4, z 5, z 8, z 9, ill.

4. For instance, a drawing in the Grafische Sammlung, Schaezlerpalais, Kunstsammlungen und Museen Augsburg, inv. G 4984-74 (Rolf Biedermann in Augsburg 1987, no. 70, ill.; Appuhn-Radtke 2000, no. z 8, ill.).

5. Both drawings are in private collections (Appuhn-Radtke 2000, nos. z 1a, z 1b, ill.). For the related painting in the Jesuit church of Saint Francis Xavier in Lucerne, see Appuhn-Radtke 2000, no. G 1, pl. 1.

6. What must be a preliminary drawing of a composition of an unidentified subject is in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., acc. 2007.111.165 (Peter Prange in Washington 2010–11, no. 5, ill.); a more finished version is in the collection of the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth, inv. 1077 (Jaffé 2002, vol. 5, no. 1768, ill. [as by an artist of the "Second School of Fontainebleau"]). The third sheet, related to another composition for the same commission but even more freely drawn than the one in Washington, is now in the British Museum, London, inv. 1993-12-11-7.

7. Martin von Wagner Museum, Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg, inv. 9781 (Appuhn-Radtke 2000, no. z-A 42, ill.). Certain details, such as John's wavy hair, make it very plausible that this drawing is a copy of a lost original work by Storer rather than one based on a common source, as suggested in Appuhn-Radtke 2000, p. 290. Friedrich Thöne (1938–39, p. 228) mentions a wooden relief dated 1682 by the Constance sculptor Christoph Daniel Schenck as probably going back to the composition of the Museum's drawing by Storer. Although Schenck was indeed inspired by Storer on occasion (see Appuhn-Radtke 1996), this does not seem to have been the case with the relief referred to by Thöne, now in the Landesmuseum Württemberg, Stuttgart, inv. 1928-81 (Fritz Fischer in Constance, Freiburg, and Stuttgart 1996, no. 21, ill.).

*Provenance:* Princes of Oettingen-Wallerstein, Harburg Castle, inv. 1080; [Trinity Fine Art, London]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 1996

*Literature:* Thöne 1938–39, pp. 223, 225, no. 9, fig. 10; Appuhn-Radtke 1999, pp. 32–33, fig. 2; Appuhn-Radtke 2000, no. z 6, ill.

## JOACHIM VON SANDRART THE ELDER Frankfurt am Main, 1606–1688, Nuremberg

Exceedingly versatile and productive as both an artist and a theorist, Joachim von Sandrart received his first training under Sebastian Stoskopf in Frankfurt and learned to engrave with Egidius Sadeler II in Prague. He then trained with Gerrit van Honthorst in Utrecht, where he met Peter Paul Rubens. From Utrecht, Sandrart traveled to Rome, Amsterdam, Munich, Stochov, Augsburg, and Nuremberg to secure commissions. His patrons included Maximilian I, duke of Bavaria; Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand III; King Charles X Gustav of Sweden; and the marquis Vincenzo Giustiniani in Rome. Sandrart's true fame is dependent on his publication *L'Accademia todesca della architettura, scultura & pittura: oder, Teutsche Academie der edlen Bau-, Bild- und Mahlerey-Künste* (German academy of the noble arts of architecture, sculpture and painting; Nuremberg, 1675–79), an extensive publication that combines biographies of contemporary and older artists, theoretical sections, and records of ancient art and architecture. In the latter part of Sandrart's career, he received numerous commissions to paint altarpieces for, among oth-

ers, the Würzburg cathedral (1646), Bamberg cathedral (1651), and Saint Stephan's cathedral in Vienna (1653).

*General literature:* Klemm 1986; Frankfurt 2006; Ebert-Schifferer and Mazzetti di Pietralata 2009; Mazzetti di Pietralata 2011

## 97 | Joachim von Sandrart the Elder

*Pygmalion and Galatea*, 1662

Black watercolor, gray washes, lead white heightening, black chalk underdrawing, 16 × 11<sup>9</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (40.7 × 29.4 cm)

Karen B. Cohen Gift and Sotheby's Inc. Gift, 1996 (1996.414)

At lower left, signed and dated *J. V. Sandrart / a Stockau Inuenit 1662* in pen and brown ink. Verso, at lower right, inscribed *un Dessein de Sandrart. / acheté de Grootte pour 15.fl.* in pen and brown ink (18th- or 19th-century handwriting)

*Watermark:* M in circle<sup>1</sup>

In a dark, cluttered interior, the sculptor Pygmalion stands before his brightly illuminated masterwork, Galatea, who has just been brought to life by the flames of Cupid's torch (as told in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, book x, verses 251–83). The room is crowded with ancient vases, statues, and fragments of sculpture and sarcophagi, reflecting Sandrart's time in Rome and his use of these ancient works as sources of inspiration. The drawing is composed largely of bold strokes of gray wash and black watercolor, with highlights in white gouache that are limited to the radiant marble figure and those close to her. This chiaroscuro technique—so common in works from this period that were made under the influence of Caravaggio—is used by Sandrart in several of his drawings.<sup>2</sup> In these he often places an artificial light source that heightens the dramatic effects—a strategy similar to that used about 1622 by his teacher the Utrecht Caravaggist Gerrit van Honthorst.<sup>3</sup> In Sandrart's drawing *Death of Seneca*, now in Augsburg, an attendant holds a flaming torch behind the figure at center, who presumably assists Seneca in the severing of his veins (fig. 1).<sup>4</sup> This kneeling figure is cast in deep shadow and serves to set off the scene of anguish behind him. Related to a now-lost painting by Sandrart produced at the end of his Roman period (1635), the drawing is based on a drawing (ca. 1622) and a painting (ca. 1623–27) of the same subject by Honthorst.<sup>5</sup> Although Sandrart's drawing of Seneca is clearly related to his own 1635 painting, *Pygmalion and Galatea* appears to be a finished work in its own right.



Executed some thirty years after his Roman sojourn, *Pygmalion* demonstrates Sandrart's continued fascination with the monuments of the ancients. Employed by the marquis Vincenzo Giustiniani in Rome to help produce a visual record of his vast collection of paintings, ancient statues, and vessels,



Fig. 2. Richard Collin, after Joachim von Sandrart the Elder, *Venus de' Medici*, from *Teutsche Academie*, vol. 1, Nuremberg, 1675, plate P. Engraving, 12½ × 8¾ in. (31.7 × 20.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Susanne Udell, New York, 1981 (1981.1206)



Fig. 1. Joachim von Sandrart the Elder, *The Death of Seneca*, 1635. Black watercolor, gray washes, white gouache, over black chalk, on brown prepared paper, 10<sup>11</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 13<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (27.2 × 35.4 cm). Grafische Sammlung, Schaezlerpalais, Kunstsammlungen und Museen Augsburg (G.4818-71)

Sandrart created a large number of preparatory drawings for prints.<sup>6</sup> A selection of engravings from the two-volume *Galleria Giustiniana* (Rome, ca. 1636–37) appears in Sandrart's *Teutsche Academie* (Nuremberg, 1675–79) as well as in his Latin volume on sculpture, *Sculpturae veteris admiranda* (Admired works of ancient sculpture; Nuremberg, 1680).<sup>7</sup> Sandrart believed that by publishing the *Galleria Giustiniana*, his patron was fostering an interest in the art of antique sculpture well beyond the walls of his palazzo—in fact, to the world at large.<sup>8</sup> Further testimony to the project's aspirations is a painting by Angelo Caroselli showing Pygmalion standing in front of his own Venus, now flesh and bone, and holding an open book.<sup>9</sup> In a 1638 inventory, the book in Caroselli's painting is described as “alluding to the book of the *Galleria Giustiniana*”; furthermore, it states, “Signor Marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani, of fond memory, by sending to the presses his ancient statues, brought them alive.”<sup>10</sup> Sandrart shared this sentiment, and his own works, including the Museum's drawing, reflect his increasing devotion in the mid-1660s to art theory and his role as an educator. Not only did he champion the founding of the art academies in both Nuremberg (1662) and Augsburg (1670), but his extensively illustrated *Teutsche Academie* was also intended as the first encyclopedic history of art in German. In addition, the book includes his own translation of Karel van Mander's exegesis of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.<sup>11</sup>

Galatea is described by Ovid as modest and ashamed to move while posing for fear that she might mimic the

loose women Pygmalion had shunned. Pygmalion's ideal creation stands luminous and full of life at the center of Sandrart's drawing. Her pose recalls the ancient figure type of the Venus Pudica, “the prude Venus,” shielding her breasts and genitals. Made famous by the Greek sculptor Praxiteles, this figure type was found in dozens of copies—including the Medici Venus, which was in Rome until 1677—and appears in reverse in the *Teutsche Academie* (fig. 2).<sup>12</sup> Sandrart shared the same desire as Giustiniani to make ancient and contemporary artworks come alive for future generations of artists.

FS

1. The watermark is similar to one found in paper used in Memmingen in 1621 (Piccard-Online, no. 28809; accessed August 10, 2011).
2. For examples of Sandrart's chiaroscuro drawings that employ an artificial light source for dramatic effect, see the drawing reproduced here as fig. 1; *The Nocturne: Fall from a Window*, 1684, Albertina, Vienna, inv. 3518 (Mazzetti di Pietralata 2011, no. 385, ill.); *The Night*, 1643, Albertina, Vienna, inv. 3519 (Mazzetti di Pietralata 2011, no. 65, ill.); *Cimone and Pero*, ca. 1645, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, MS Cod. Icon. 366, fol. 114, no. 76 (Mazzetti di Pietralata 2011, no. 75, ill.).
3. Judson and Ekkart 1999, p. 336. They discuss Honthorst's use of chiaroscuro effects in the context of their discussion of the sepiation drawing *Death of Seneca*, ca. 1622, in the Centraal Museum, Utrecht, inv. 7395b (Judson and Ekkart 1999, no. D 29, pl. 75).
4. Mazzetti di Pietralata 2011, no. 51, ill.
5. Sandrart's painting *Death of Seneca* was formerly in the Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, but was lost in World War II (Klemm 1986, no. 11, ill.). The location of Honthorst's original painting is unknown, but there are four extant versions that Judson and Ekkart discuss (1999, p. 139). For more on Sandrart's *Death of Seneca* and discussion of his nocturnal scenes, see Ebert-Schifferer 2009.
6. The largest concentration of Sandrart's drawings after the antique is in the Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden (Mazzetti di Pietralata 2011, nos. 14–35, 141–51, ill.). According to Elizabeth Cropper (1992, p. 113), Giustiniani's collection (not all contained in his palazzo) comprised over sixteen hundred pieces.
7. The first volume of the *Galleria* was put together between 1631 and 1635 but not circulated until 1636; the second was under way in 1635 but not released until between 1636 and early 1637. The first edition of the *Teutsche Academie* was published in two volumes in 1675 and 1679 in Nuremberg. Later editions include the same images.
8. Sandrart 1675–79, vol. 1, book 2 (Sculpture), p. 40: “Galeria Justiniana, verfertigt worden / damit der ganzen Welt / eine Lehrschule der Bildhauerey-Kunst / vor den Tag gezeiget würde.”
9. Formerly in a palace in Berlin, but missing since World War II (Voss 1924, no. 109, ill.; Cropper 1992, p. 113, fig. 7, p. 116, n. 45). Cropper believes this figure is based on the Venus drawn and engraved by Claude Mellan for the *Galleria Giustiniana*, vol. 1, pl. 39.
10. Cited by Cropper 1992, p. 116: “alludendo al libro della Galleria Giustiniana, cioè, che la bo. Mem.a del S.r Marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani, con mandar alle stampe le sue statue antiche le habbia vivificate.” Cropper subtitles her essay on the Galleria “The Pygmalion Effect.”
11. Sandrart 1675–79, vol. 2, *Metamorphosis*, pp. 1–174. Van Mander's *Witlegghingh op den Metamorphosis Pub. Ovidij Nasonis* (Explanation of the Metamorphoses of Publius Ovidius Nason) is part of his seminal book of artist's biographies, *Het schilder-boeck* (Haarlem, 1604).

12. The *Venus* was in the Villa Medici in Rome by 1638, taken to Florence in 1677, and finally installed in the Uffizi in 1688 (Haskell and Penny 1981, pp. 325–28, no. 88, fig. 173; Bober and Rubinstein 2010, pp. 65–66). Sandrart’s drawing for the engraving is in the Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, inv. c 7189 (Mazzetti di Pietralata 2011, no. 147, ill.). Sandrart also made an earlier version without the architectural setting, now in the Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, inv. Ca 19, no. 35 (Mazzetti di Pietralata 2011, no. 20, ill.). He also included a *Venus Pudica* in his *Moonscape with Cupid and Venus* (1636), recorded in the collection of Karl Blehle, Seligenstadt (Klemm 1986, no. 14, pl. 48).

*Provenance:* Possibly Johann Nikolaus Grooth (1723–1797), Stuttgart; princes of Oettingen-Wallerstein, Harburg Castle, inv. 1009; [Trinity Fine Art, London]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 1996

*Literature:* Rolf Biedermann in Augsburg 1968, no. 328, fig. 182; Klemm 1986, pp. 344, 353, n. 65; Blühm 1988, p. 70, fig. 26; Mazzetti di Pietralata 2011, no. 119, ill.

## 98 | Joachim von Sandrart the Elder

*The Enthroned Virgin and Child Adored by Saints*, ca. 1665–75

Red chalk, 12<sup>9</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 7<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (31.9 × 20.2 cm)  
Van Day Truex Fund, 2005 (2005.491)

Verso, at center, inscribed with two lines of text in graphite (erased; 19th-century handwriting?)

*Watermark:* horn, snake above, flanked by the initials C and M<sup>1</sup>

In this monumental composition in red chalk, the Madonna and Child are seated in a classical niche. Balanced on his mother’s lap, Christ reaches to embrace the young John the Baptist, while the Virgin benevolently surveys the crowd of apostles standing far below the Baroque canopy that frames the scene. Flanking the Virgin and Child with Saint John are Peter and Paul; at the far left, Joseph holds a branch, perhaps of lilies; and interspersed among them are two female figures—including, perhaps, John’s mother (and Mary’s first cousin), Saint Elizabeth. Sandrart repeated the central group of three in a 1678 altarpiece of the Holy Family for the church of Saint Stephen in Neukirchen (fig 1).<sup>2</sup> Here again Sandrart places the Virgin, Child, and Saint John beneath a canopy and combines the traditional Northern motif of the Holy Kinship (the family of Christ extended through his maternal grandmother, Anne) with an Italian *sacra conversazione*. Titian’s *Pesaro Madonna* in the church of Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari in Venice (1519–26) provides a model not only for Sandrart’s Virgin on her elevated throne surrounded by columns, but also for the complex group of saints that







Fig. 1. Joachim von Sandrart the Elder, *The Holy Family*, 1678. Oil on canvas, 23<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 13<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (59.3 × 35.4 cm). Church of Saint Stephen, Neukirchen



Fig. 2. Peter Paul Rubens, *The Enthroned Virgin and Child Adored by Saints*, 1628. Oil on panel, 18 ft. 6 in. × 13 ft. 1<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (564 × 401 cm). City of Antwerp, on long-term loan to the Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen (1B 1958.1)

line the foreground.<sup>3</sup> This renowned Italian example likely also had a great influence on Peter Paul Rubens's *Virgin and Child Adored by Saints* (fig. 2), painted for the Antwerp church of Saint Augustine and installed in the summer of 1628, during the period when Sandrart was working in Utrecht and encountered Rubens.<sup>4</sup> Christian Klemm points out that, in addition to the overall similarity of Rubens's and Sandrart's compositions, one of the angels in Sandrart's altarpiece recalls the angel of Saint Matthew in Rubens's *Four Evangelists*.<sup>5</sup> Although Sandrart did not replicate this figure in the Museum's drawing, he did follow Rubens by singling out the four Evangelists among the gathering of apostles by depicting their attributes hovering above them—Matthew's angel, Mark's lion, Luke's ox, and John's eagle.

Many of Sandrart's red chalk drawings provided models for prints and paintings.<sup>6</sup> Associated with the Museum's drawing is a smaller, most likely trimmed, sheet in red chalk of a saint gesturing toward an unrolled scroll he is holding.<sup>7</sup> Cecilia Mazzetti di Pietralata points out that the figure is quite similar to a saint in the foreground of the Museum's drawing and may have been used in the workshop to fill in figures for larger painted compositions; she dates the drawing to about 1655–70. The emotive central grouping under the canopy in the Museum's sheet does not reappear in another drawing, but it can be found in a much earlier painting by Sandrart, the so-called *Friedensmadonna* (Madonna of Peace) of 1648, which celebrates the Peace of Westphalia.<sup>8</sup> Very similar in style to his output of painted altarpieces, this drawing may have served as an initial sketch early in the conception of a painting and can be dated to the latter part of the artist's career, when he was exploring the design of complex religious compositions. FS

1. The watermark is similar to one found in paper used in Munich in 1662 (Piccard-Online, no. 160086; accessed August 18, 2011).

2. Klemm 1986, no. 143, ill. There is also an oil sketch of the scene mentioned by Klemm that was formerly in the Benedictine monastery in Lambach and is now missing (Klemm 1986, p. 297, ill.).

3. Wethey 1969–75, vol. 1 (1969), no. 55, figs. 28–31.

4. Rooses 1886–92, vol. 1 (1886), no. 214; Held 1980, vol. 1, pp. 519–22; van Hout 2010, pp. 162–63, ill.

5. Klemm 1986, p. 297. Rubens's *Four Evangelists* is in the palace of Sanssouci, Potsdam, inv. GK 1 7580 (Vlieghe 1972–73, vol. 1, no. 54, fig. 96).

6. For example, a double-sided drawing, *The Virgin and Child with Saint Anne and Saints*, Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. KdZ 8329 (Klemm 1986, pp. 230–31, ill.; Mazzetti di Pietralata 2011, no. 103, ill.); and *The Last Judgment*, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, MS Cod. Icon. 366, fol. 90, no. 44 (Klemm 1986, pp. 278–79, under no. 135, ill.; Mazzetti di Pietralata 2011, no. 123, ill.).

7. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, MS Cod. Icon. 366, fol. 92, no. 48 (Mazzetti di Pietralata 2011, no. 124, ill.).

8. Westfälisches Landesmuseum, Münster, inv. 591 LA 27-88 (Klemm 1986, no. 74, ill.).

*Provenance:* German art market; [Lutz Riemer, Freiburg]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 2005

*Literature:* Mazzetti di Pietralata 2011, no. 392, ill.

## JONAS UMBACH

Augsburg, ca. 1624–1693, Augsburg

Although some of Jonas Umbach's paintings are still extant, he is primarily known as the author of a considerable number of landscape etchings and drawings. In addition to about 250 etchings he made himself and another 350 prints made after his designs, more than 300 drawings by his hand seem to be known. The chronology of his works has not yet been firmly established, but the most characteristic may all be from the second half of his career. Umbach became a master painter in Augsburg in 1654, and he seems to have been based there all his life. Evidence for early trips to the Netherlands and Italy is scarce, but he was profoundly influenced both by seventeenth-century Dutch landscapists and by the style of the Roman Baroque.

*General literature:* Thöne 1939; Rolf Biedermann in Augsburg 1968, pp. 271–75; Pellicer-Acezat 1982; Kosel 1994

### 99 | Jonas Umbach

*The "Bavarian Electoral Fruit Tree,"* 1665 or slightly earlier

Pen and carbon black ink, gray ink washes, black chalk underdrawing, 26<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 18<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (67.7 × 46.5 cm)  
Purchase, Jean A. Bonna Gift, 2005 (2005.75)

Verso, at upper center, inscribed *Arbre généalogique / union Hollande Autriche Bavière / fleuves et paysage de Hollande. fleuves et paysage Bavière (Munich) / arbre d'orange / Vente Wouwerman [?] Anvers 1920 / (Vente Wouwerman [?] Anvers 1920)* in graphite (20th-century handwriting)

*Watermark:* none

Between 1664 and 1676 Jonas Umbach, whose prints and drawings are usually no larger than a postcard, designed more than fifteen ambitious "thesis prints" (*Thesenblätter*), most of them allegorical in nature and the size of a large folio.<sup>1</sup> Such engravings, which were commissioned on the occasion of a dissertation defense, would integrate into a grand composition the

text of the candidate's "theses" and an elaborate dedication—usually to someone of the highest rank.<sup>2</sup> The imagery of the print would allude less to the subject of the dissertation than to the nature of the person to whom it was dedicated. Largely under Jesuit influence, this genre flourished in Europe's Catholic countries during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, providing many outstanding artists with an outlet for Baroque exuberance. In the Holy Roman Empire, the Germans Johann Christophorus Storer, Johann Heiss, and Umbach plus the Bohemian Karel Škréta earned special distinction for their contributions to the genre.<sup>3</sup> Their designs are generally Italianate in style, showing the influence of artists such as Pietro da Cortona, who himself designed thesis prints on occasion.<sup>4</sup>

The Museum's drawing (previously attributed to the French painter Jacques Stella) served as the model for a signed print of equal size by the Augsburg engraver Bartholomäus Kilian I, dated 1665 (fig. 1).<sup>5</sup> A prolific printmaker, Kilian produced more than 125 *Thesenblätter*.<sup>6</sup> He also worked on almost 150 engravings after Umbach, including most of the known thesis prints after the latter's designs.<sup>7</sup> At least two other drawn models by Umbach for thesis prints have survived; one in Vienna is particularly close to the Museum's example in style, technique, and dimensions.<sup>8</sup>

Although these full-scale drawings are admirably detailed, the compositions can be fully understood only in their engraved forms, in which inscriptions and other additions illuminate the decidedly overwrought iconography. The cartouche at lower center in Kilian's engraving based on the Museum's drawing gives it the title *Pomus Electoralis Bavarica*, or "Bavarian Electoral Fruit Tree."<sup>9</sup> It is exceptional in being dedicated to a woman: Henriette Adelaide of Savoy, represented as the Moon and seated in the chariot at upper right. Her husband, as the Sun at upper left, was Ferdinand Maria, the prince-elect of Bavaria. Irrigated by the Danube, Lech, Isar, and Inn rivers, the tree that dominates the composition is a true pomological wonder: on a rootstock decorated with lozenges that refer to the blue-and-white fusils of the Bavarian coat of arms is grafted a scion bearing a small escutcheon with the arms of the house of Savoy. From this successful union sprout four fruits, whose identities are revealed by the putti in the tree. They are the electoral couple's four children, two boys and two girls—two of whom would die during the year the print was made. In the left and right foreground appear the goddesses Ceres and



Diana, probably referring to Bavaria's fertility and to the princess's virtue, respectively. In the background, six virgins hold the arms of the Wittelsbach and Savoy families; behind them, providing some balance for this



Fig. 1. Bartholomäus Kilian I, after Jonas Umbach, *The "Bavarian Electoral Fruit Tree,"* 1665. Engraving, 24 × 16<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (60.9 × 42.7 cm). Albertina, Vienna (album HB 52 [1] 6, fol. 84, no. 124)

quite conceptual design, is a view onto the real world: the city of Munich, easily recognizable by the towers of the Frauenkirche at right.

At lower left, Joseph Covellaet (Covellatus) humbly presents the dedication of his thesis while gazing up at Henriette Adelaide. On the pedestals of the river gods are inscribed his forty *conclusiones philosophicae*. Covellaet is absent from the drawing, which means that the figure in the print must have been based on a separate drawing. Other differences between print and drawing include the emblazoned trunk, the position of the flying putto seen from the back, and the missing oar of the river gods at left; the signs of the zodiac at top are also different. These minor changes may have resulted from discussions between the artist and Kilian or Covellaet, who would have had some say as the client who commissioned the print. The lion at the top could be a reference to the coat of arms of Dillingen, the Bavarian town where Covellaet defended his thesis in August 1665. He was awarded the doctor's title *cum laude*, but if not for Umbach's successful design, his academic accomplishments would no longer be remembered. SA

1. Thöne 1939, pp. 565–66; Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 16 (1975), pp. 175–96, nos. 403, 410, 414, 438, 465, 467, 469, 472, 483, 489, 492, 503, 505, 512, 514, 523–26, vol. 18 (1976), p. 79, no. 469, vol. 20 (1977), p. 98, no. 274; Pellicer-Acezat 1982, catalogue D, nos. 159–73, 180, 190, 201, 202, fig. 321; Appuhn-Radtke 1988, nos. 16, 20, 22, 32, 36, 50, 65, F 6a, F 6b, ill.

2. For thesis prints in general, see Henggeler 1948–49; Henggeler 1961; Baudouin 1975; Göttweig 1985; Appuhn-Radtke 1988; Linz 1994; Rice 1998; Rice 1999; V. Meyer 2002; Rice 2007.

3. For Storer's thesis prints, see Appuhn-Radtke 2000, nos. D 1–D 19, ill.; for Škréta's, see Appuhn-Radtke 1988, nos. 1, 2, 5, 8, 28, 38, 64, ill. For an overview of other Central European designers of thesis prints, see Appuhn-Radtke 2000, pp. 31–37.

4. For Cortona's thesis prints, see Rice 1998. Perhaps because of this shared influence, works by Umbach and Storer are sometimes quite similar in manner; compare, in particular, the drawing under discussion with one dated 1656 by Storer in the Codex Bonola at the Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie, Warsaw (Maria Mrozinska in Venice 1959, no. 58, ill.; Bora 2000, p. 190, fig. 11).

5. Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 16 (1975), p. 190, no. 483; Pellicer-Acezat 1982, catalogue D, nos. 160, 171; Appuhn-Radtke 1988, no. 21, fig. 73. A thesis print by Bartholomäus Kilian I mentioned in Thöne 1939 (p. 566: "Baum, oben Maximilian v. Bayern, Dillingen 1665") and in Pellicer-Acezat 1982 (catalogue D, no. 161) is probably identical to the print reproduced here as fig. 1. As can be expected of an oversize, essentially ephemeral publication, the engraving is very rare; apart from the one reproduced here, Appuhn-Radtke 1988 (p. 138) lists only two other known impressions, in the Universitätsbibliothek Salzburg and the Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg. I have not been able to find out who first connected the drawing with the print; although it was initially offered as by Jacques Stella (see Coatalem 2004), the correct attribution had already been made before the drawing entered the Museum's collection.

6. For Kilian's thesis prints, see Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 16 (1975), pp. 175–97, nos. 402–528.

7. For Kilian's prints after Umbach, see *ibid.*, passim; Pellicer-Acezat 1982, catalogue D, nos. 31–179, 325, figs. 315–22; Appuhn-Radtke 1988, nos. 16, 20–22, 32, 36, 50, 65, ill.

8. Albertina, Vienna, inv. 15467 (Appuhn-Radtke 1988, p. 34, fig. 16). The engraving after this drawing was made by Melchior Küsel and used as a thesis sheet in 1672 in Dillingen (Pellicer-Acezat 1982, catalogue D, no. 202; Appuhn-Radtke 1988, p. 34, n. 200). The other, smaller drawing, which seems never to have been made into a print, is in the Grafische Sammlung, Schaezlerpalais, Kunstsammlungen und Museen Augsburg, inv. G 14061 (Rolf Biedermann in Augsburg 1968, no. 391; Pellicer-Acezat 1982, catalogue A, no. 9, fig. 9).

9. The reading of the iconography and the historical details given here follow Appuhn-Radtke 1988, pp. 138, 140.

*Provenance*:\* [Galerie Éric Coatalem, Paris]; purchased by the Department of Drawings and Prints, 2005

*Literature*: Coatalem 2004, n.p., ill. (as by Jacques Stella)

\* I have not been able to identify the 1920 sale mentioned in the inscription on the verso of the drawing.



## 100 | Jonas Umbach

*The Labors of the Months*, 1690 or slightly earlier

Red chalk, twelve sheets, each between  $2\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{5}{16}$  in. ( $7.2 \times 10.9$  cm) and  $3\frac{3}{8} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$  in. ( $8.6 \times 12.1$  cm)  
Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1917 (17.97.25–17.97.36)

Framing line in red or black chalk, by the artist. Verso, at upper center, inscribed illegibly (most inscriptions cropped, some erased), in red or black chalk, possibly by the artist (best preserved on acc. 17.97.25, 17.97.26, 17.97.34, 19.97.36); at center, each drawing inscribed with number from 1 to 12 in graphite (20th-century handwriting), following the order of the Museum's accession numbers; at lower left, each drawing inscribed 35028 in graphite (20th-century handwriting)

*Watermark*: horn with *M* at right (in acc. 17.97.25)<sup>1</sup>

A large part of Jonas Umbach's drawn oeuvre consists of landscapes in black chalk, mostly heightened with some white, often on buff or even dark brown paper.<sup>2</sup> Their compositions (and dimensions) can be compared to those of the artist's etchings, which also treat religious, mythological, and bucolic subjects, all executed in a quietly refined style and technique. These most common of Umbach's drawings are not represented in the Museum's collection, but in addition to the exceptional design for a thesis print also included here (cat. 99), the Museum does own a series of twelve genre scenes in red chalk, a medium rarely used by the artist.<sup>3</sup> They represent the Labors of the Months, featuring seasonal pleasures and duties: in January, a hearty



Fig. 1. Daniel Steudner, after Jonas Umbach, *The Month of January*, 1690. Etching,  $3\frac{9}{16} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$  in. ( $9.1 \times 12.1$  cm). Graphische Sammlung, Staatsgalerie Stuttgart (A 2007/7454.1 [KK])

supper, with ice skaters in the background; in February, drinking and smoking at fireside, with Carnival revelers passing by; in March, pruning trees; in April, sowing the fields plus making flower garlands; in May, fashionable youngsters enjoying music and food in a park; in June, shearing sheep; in July, haymaking; in August, harvesting grain; in September, bird catchers offering their wares; in October, picking grapes; in November, returning from the hunt; and in December, slaughtering pigs.<sup>4</sup>

None of the drawings shows any sign of having been transferred, but there can be scant doubt that they were



made in preparation for a rare series of twelve etchings by a little-known Augsburg publisher and engraver, Daniel Steudner.<sup>5</sup> The print for January bears Umbach's name as inventor, confirming the traditional attribution of the Museum's drawings (fig. 1).<sup>6</sup> The plate is also inscribed *M.DC.LXXXX*, providing an accurate date not only for the rest of the etchings but also for the drawings, and making the Museum's series an important touchstone for the draftsmanship of the artist's later years.

As is common in such depictions of the Labors of the Months, each print shows the astrological sign corresponding to the month depicted—in the case of January, that of Aquarius.<sup>7</sup> Umbach did not include these signs in his drawings, focusing solely on the simple chores and pastimes of the seasons, often against a backdrop of gently hilly landscapes. He probably did not follow a specific model in settling on the activities depicted, but he was no doubt well aware of the rich tradition of this genre, which flourished especially in Northern Europe, to which his series made a late contribution.<sup>8</sup> Like others before him, he alternated scenes from peasant life with more elegant gatherings. In the bare trees at right in the design for March, one recognizes the bizarrely shaped trees of many of Umbach's finished landscape drawings, probably inspired by Dutch artists active somewhat earlier in the seventeenth century.<sup>9</sup> More surprising is that the towers of the village church seen in May take the form of those of Munich's Frauenkirche (compare cat. 99) and that, in the cityscape for January, the frozen canal has an incongruous Venetian look. Interestingly, these two details were not followed in the etchings.

SA

1. The watermark is similar to one found in paper used in Vienna in 1673 (Piccard-Online, no. 119616; accessed November 29, 2011).

2. For examples, see Rolf Biedermann in Augsburg 1968, nos. 385–88, figs. 175–78; Pellicer-Acezat 1982, catalogue A, nos. 234–91, figs. 19–74; Biedermann in Augsburg 1987, nos. 76, 77, ill.; Kaulbach 2007, nos. 680–83, ill.; Prange 2007, vol. 1, nos. 1059, 1060, vol. 2, ill.

3. For other of his drawings made using red chalk, see Pellicer-Acezat 1982, catalogue A, nos. 3, 5, 9, 228–30, figs. 3, 5, 9, 13–15.

4. The order of the scenes was not correctly identified when the drawings were accessioned. The correct order is: acc. 17.97.36 (January); 17.97.25 (February); 17.97.35 (March); 17.97.28 (April); 17.97.30 (May); 17.97.27 (June); 17.97.31 (July); 17.97.32 (August); 17.97.29 (September); 17.97.33 (October); 17.97.26 (November); 17.97.34 (December).

5. For this series, see Pellicer-Acezat 1982, catalogue D, nos. 213–24, figs. 327, 338; Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 78 (2010), pp. 93–99, nos. 14–25, ill. For Steudner, see Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 78 (2010), p. 81. An inscription on the print for May specifies that Steudner also published the series (“Zu finden bei Daniel Steidner. Kupferstecher in Ausgurg”); see Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 78 (2010), p. 93, ill.

6. Pellicer-Acezat 1982, catalogue D, no. 213, fig. 327; Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 78 (2010), p. 93, no. 14, ill.

7. For the iconography of the Labors of the Months in antique and medieval art, see Calkins 1996.

8. Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Northern examples include print series by Sebald Beham (Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 3 [1954], p. 1239, nos. 1199–1210, ill.; Gerszi 1957b, pp. 53–60, figs. 34–36); Virgil Solis (Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 64 [2004], nos. 377, 388, ill.; O'Dell 1977, nos. e10–e21, ill.); Adriaen and Hans Collaert the Younger after Joos de Momper the Younger (Diels and Leesberg 2005–6, vol. 6 [2005], nos. 1326–49, ill.); Adriaen Collaert after Hans Bol (Diels and Leesberg 2005–6, vol. 6 [2005], nos. 1350–52, ill.); Crispijn van de Passe the Elder after Maerten de Vos (Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish*, 1949–2007, vol. 44 [1996], nos. 1441–52, vol. 46 [1995], ill.); Wolfgang Kilian after Johann Mathias Kager (Hollstein, *German*, 1954–, vol. 18 [1976], p. 191, nos. 416–28); several engravers after Joachim von Sandrart the Elder (Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish*, 1949–2007, vol. 5 [1951], p. 105, no. 22, vol. 6 [1952], p. 212, nos. 81, 82, vol. 8 [1953], p. 198, no. 6, vol. 11 [1954], p. 253, no. 33, vol. 17 [1976], p. 72, nos. 8–10, ill., vol. 28 [1984], pp. 206–7, nos. 10–13, ill.); Pieter Nolpe after Paulus Potter (Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish*, 1949–2007, vol. 14 [1956], p. 178, nos. 255–62, ill.).

9. Compare Kaulbach 2007, p. 328, under no. 681; Robison 2010, p. 15.

*Provenance:* Probably acquired by the Department of Paintings, 1917

*Literature:* Kaufmann 1985, p. 110; Kaulbach 2007, p. 331, n. 2, under no. 685



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INDEX





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# INDEX

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Page numbers in *italics* refer to figures.

- Aachen, Hans von** (cats. 62, 63), xi, xiv, 137–41, 138, 143n15  
Abbott, Francis, 113  
Abrams, George, 199, 200n8  
Achtienhoven, Johannes Baptista Josephus, 27  
Adamska, Magdalena, 135  
Adelaide, Henriette, 217, 218  
Albert of Saxony, duke of Teschen, 16  
Alberti, Leon Battista, 17  
Albrecht, Cardinal of Brandenburg, 53  
Albrecht V, duke of Bavaria, 90  
**Aldegrever, Heinrich** (cats. 35, 36), x, xiii, 51, 78–80, 80  
Alexander, Pope, 188n11  
Alsteens, Stijn, 30  
**Altdorfer, Albrecht** (cats. 18, 19), ix, xii, xiii, 32, 42–47, 43, 46, 55, 84, 89, 91n8  
Altdorfer, Erhard, 45  
Altdorfer, Ulrich, 42  
Altenburg, 160  
Altmark, Germany, 87–88  
Amberger, Christoph, 50n12  
Amerbach, Johannes, 56  
Amman, Johann Jakob, 96  
**Amman, Jost** (cats. 43, 44), x, xi, 70, 70, 80, 81, 82n4, 87, 94–98, 96, 97, 98, 100, 165, 189, 189  
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, 78, 182, 196n2, 199, 200n6, 200n8, 206  
Andréossy, Antoine-François, 27, 128n9, 142, 144  
Angolo, Battista, 91  
Annesley, Noël, 32  
Anonymous (active ca. 1477), 5, 5  
Anonymous (after Hans Rottenhammer), 123, 125, 125  
Anonymous (after Hans Suess von Kulmbach), 30–31, 30  
**Anonymous** (Bohemian, active ca. 1360–65) (cat. 1), x, xii, 2–3  
**Anonymous** (Bohemian, active ca. 1405–10) (cat. 2), x, xii, 3–5, 4  
Anonymous (German, second half of 16th century), x, x  
Anonymous (Middle Rhine, active 1470–90), 6, 6  
**Anonymous** (Middle Rhine, active ca. 1460–70) (cat. 3), x, 5–7  
Anonymous (Munich, active ca. 1590–1600), 116, 116  
Anonymous (Nuremberg?), 84, 84  
**Anonymous** (Nuremberg, active late 16th century–ca. 1640) (cat. 74), x, xii, xiv, 162–65  
Anonymous (Prague, active 1405), 4, 4  
Anonymous (South German, ca. 1580), 116, 116  
Anonymous (South German, perhaps Augsburg), 186, 186  
**Anonymous** (Swabian or Bavarian [?]), active ca. 1529) (cat. 27), 52, 60–62  
**Anonymous** (Upper Rhine, active ca. 1480–90) (cat. 4), 7–9  
Antwerp:  
  church of Saint Augustine, 216  
  Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen, 216  
Appuhn-Radtke, Sibylle, 212  
Arnold, G. M. D., 134  
Arnoldi-Livie, Munich, 3, 41, 70, 72, 84, 147, 206  
Arpino, Cavaliere d' (Giuseppe Cesari), 145  
Artaria, August, 84, 86  
Aubriet, Claude, 202  
Augsburg, xii–xiii, xiv, 33, 47–54  
  art academy, 214  
  city hall, 150  
  Kunstsammlungen und Museen, 86n9, 213, 214  
  Saint Catherine's convent, 47, 49  
  Schaezlerpalais, Kunstsammlungen und Museen, 123n9, 131n5, 131n12, 148n2, 148n3, 151–2n2, 184, 185n18, 212n4, 214, 219n8  
Auktionshaus von Zengen, Bonn, 173n4  
Auktionshaus Stuker Bern, 70, 72, 84, 104n10, 206  
Avignon, Musée Calvet, 180, 181n4  
Backer, Jacob de, 105, 105  
Baeyer, Emmanuel von, 170  
Baldassare, Peruzzi, 177n11  
**Baldung, Hans** (cat. 16), ix, x, xii, 34n10, 36–38, 36, 39, 41n4, 44n12, 56n4, 58n5, 61, 67n6, 71, 84, 86n4  
Balen, Hendrick van I, 175n6, 177n11  
Bamberg:  
  Bamberg cathedral, 170, 213  
  Staatsbibliothek, 54n3  
Banks, Thomas, 75, 76  
Barbari, Jacopo de', 17, 19–20, 27, 29, 30, 92, 93  
Barbieri, Giovanni Francesco, *see* Guercino  
Barendsz., Dirck, 176  
Basel, 60, 65, 66  
  Charterhouse, 58n8  
  Kunstmuseum Basel, xi, xii, 34n10, 58, 62, 67n15, 139, 141n7, 185n18  
Bátori, Cardinal Andras, 140  
Bátori, Sigismund, 139–40  
Bauhof, Hans Georg, 154, 154  
Baumgartner, Bernhard, 54  
Baur, Johann Wilhelm, 170  
Bayonne, Musée Bonnat, 25–26, 25  
Bayr, Hans Jakob the Elder, 121–22, 124, 125  
Bean, Jacob, x  
Beck, Leonhard, 49  
Beck, Reinhard, 41n4  
Becker, Franz, 171  
Beckmann, Heinrich, 169, 170  
Beham, Barthel, 72  
**Beham, Georg** (cat. 58), ix, 128–31, 129  
**Beham, Sebald** (cats. 32–34), ix, x, xiii, 29n11, 34, 72–78, 74, 76, 77, 221n8  
Bellini, Giovanni, 24  
Benesch, Otto, 2  
Berlin:  
  Gemäldegalerie, 49, 64n5  
  Kaiser Friedrich Museum, 25  
  Kunstgewerbemuseum, Staatliche Museen, 150, 150, 152n6  
  Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen, 11n6, 27n13, 32n5, 41n6, 42, 43, 44n3, 44n12, 54, 55, 56, 62n4, 72n2, 76n9, 77, 77, 83n2, 83n4, 86n9, 93n6, 94, 96, 115–16, 115, 131n7, 139, 141n7, 153n3, 159, 181n2, 204, 208n1, 208n5, 216n6  
  Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen, 54  
Bern:  
  Bernisches Historisches Museum, 84, 101n1, 101n4, 102n8  
  Universitätsbibliothek, 109n9  
Bernhart, Max, 54  
Biest, Hans van der, 117–18, 118  
Black, Leon D. and Debra R., 60  
Blehle, Karl, 215n12  
Bloemaert, Abraham, 176, 180, 188n13, 194, 203, 204  
Bloemaert, Hendrick, 186  
Blumenreich, Leo, 67  
Bocksberger, Johann Melchior, 128, 134  
Boerner, C. G., 7, 55, 62, 86, 109, 156, 205  
Boerner, Johann Andreas, 132, 134  
Bogh Rasmussen, Mikael, 11n1  
Böhler, Julius, 67n2  
Böhm, Joseph Daniel, 5, 7  
Bol, Hans, 221n8  
Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale di Bologna, 145n9  
Bolte, Johannes, 52  
Boltraffio, Giovanni Antonio, 49n11  
Bonhams, London, 160  
Bonna, Jean, 134  
Boon, Karel G., 5–6  
Borries, Johann Eckhart von, 38n5  
Bosschaert, Abraham, 199  
Bosschaert, Ambrosius the Younger, 198, 199  
Brand, Hans, 101  
Brandenburg, Christoph, 104  
Brandenburg, elector of, 188  
Brant, Sebastian, 12  
**Braun, Augustin** (cats. 75, 76), xiv, 125n6, 166–70, 166  
Braun, Johann Christian, 186, 186  
Braunschweig, 2  
  Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, 3n4, 44n10, 131n7, 147n7, 175n7, 178, 208n6  
Bremen, Kunsthalle Bremen, 21n5, 27n13, 120n2, 128n9, 153n3  
Bresanch, Giovanni, 36  
**Breu, Jörg the Elder** (cat. 22), xi, xii, 51–53, 52, 60  
Bril, Paul, 152, 175  
Brno:  
  Moravské Galerie, 137, 143n15, 160  
  Moravské Zemské Muzeum, 135, 137, 156, 160  
Brockhaus, M., 55  
Brockhaus, Pauline Campe, 55  
Brueghel, Jan the Elder, 123, 153n4, 177n11  
Bruni, Leonardo, 111  
Brüning, Adolf, 151  
Brunswick, Maine, Bowdoin College Museum of Art, 153n3  
Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique/  
  Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België, 142n6  
Bruyn, Nicolaes de, 161  
Bryn y Gwin, 78  
Buchner, Ernst, 36  
Bückeburg Castle, 177  
Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum, 29n8, 86, 106, 128n10, 134, 139, 140n4, 144, 145n7, 147n8, 148n4, 186n1  
**Burgkmair, Hans** (cats. 20, 21), x, xi, xii, 24n1, 32, 33, 33, 47–50, 48, 50, 51, 53, 162  
Burgkmair, Thoman, 47

- Burroughs, Bryson, ix  
 Butterfield and Butterfield, San Francisco, 143n8  
 Butts, Barbara, 28, 29, 30
- Calando, Émile, 144, 145  
 Callin collection, 171  
 Cambridge:  
   Fitzwilliam Museum, 53n10, 138n4, 200n2, 200n9  
   Pembroke College, 88n9  
 Cambridge, Massachusetts, Fogg Museum, Harvard Art Museums, 4, 4, 74n3, 86n4, 180  
 Campe, Heinrich Wilhelm, 53, 55  
 Campen, Arnt van, 54  
**Candid, Peter** (cats. 52, 53), x, xi, xiv, 114–18, 115, 118, 119, 120, 175  
 Caravaggio, Michelangelo Merisi da, 185, 213  
 Caravaggio, Polidoro da, 142  
 Carducho, Vicente, 170  
 Caroselli, Angelo, 214  
 Carracci, Agostino, 144, 145, 145, 177, 187n7  
 Carracci, Ludovico, 145n9  
 Cellini, Benvenuto, 82, 83  
 Cennini, Cennino, 17, 96n5  
 Cesari, Giuseppi, *see* Arpino, Cavaliere d'  
 Chantilly, Musée Condé, 22, 24–25, 26n5  
 Charles E. Slatkin Galleries, New York, 29  
 Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor, 54, 92  
 Charles X Gustav, king of Sweden, 212  
 Chatsworth, Duke of Devonshire collection, 121, 122n3, 123, 125n4, 125n6, 212n6  
 Chiantorre, Giuseppe (or Gustavo?), 182, 185  
 Christian IV, king of Denmark, 190  
 Christie's, Amsterdam, 147n6, 185  
 Christie's, London, 41n6, 55, 78, 82, 88n5, 93, 113, 122n2, 156, 196, 202, 208n4  
 Christie's, New York, 32, 34  
 Christie's, Paris, 193  
 Christina of Sweden, 122n5  
 Cigoli, Ludovico, 186  
 Cima da Conegliano, 24  
 Cleveland Museum of Art, 4, 84, 86n3, 93n4  
**Cleyn, Francis** (cat. 87), xiv, 190–93, 192  
 Coburg, Kunstmmlungen der Veste Coburg, 32n10, 50, 161n2  
 Codussi, Mauro, 126  
 Collaert, Adriaen, 116, 221n8  
 Collaert, Jan (Hans) the Younger, 116n9, 131n6, 221n8  
 Collin, Richard, 214, 214  
 Cologne:  
   Kölnisches Stadtmuseum, 170n4  
   Wallraf-Richartz-Museum und Fondation Corboud, 34n7, 48n5, 72n2, 166, 170n3  
 Coningham, William, 24, 27  
 Constance:  
   Rosgartenmuseum, 156  
   Städtische Museen, 156  
 Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, 11n1, 44n3, 75n3, 88n3, 88n10, 159n4, 175, 193n12  
 Correggio (Antonio Allegri), 144–45, 145, 186  
 Cort, Cornelis, 141  
 Cottbus, Stiftung Fürst Pückler-Museum, 29n9  
 Covellaet (Covellatus), Joseph, 218  
**Cranach, Lucas the Elder** (cat. 28), xiii, 27, 30, 38, 41n3, 41n5, 43, 44n10, 62–64, 64, 67n5, 67n6, 83n3, 94–96, 95  
 Crozat, Pierre, 82  
 Custos, Dominicus, 160, 160  
 Cysat, Renward, 108  
 Czeczowiczka, Edwin, 7
- Danner, Leonhard, 76  
 Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum, 83n1  
 Decker, Evert, 206  
**Degener, Hinrich** (cat. 82), 180–82, 180  
 Dennistoun, Isabella, 113, 114  
 Dente, Marco, 66  
 Derschau, Hans Albrecht von, 55  
 Deschler, 19  
 Dessau, Anhaltische Gemäldegalerie, 58n1, 70n7, 72, 72, 123, 125  
 Devonshire, Duke of, *see* Chatsworth  
 Diepenbeek, Abraham van, 193n7  
**Dietterlin, Wendel the Elder** (cat. 61), xi, xiv, 135–37, 136, 172  
 Dimsdale, Thomas, 170, 171  
 Dodgson, Campbell, 41n1  
 Doetecum, Jan and Lucas van, 137n6  
 Donauer, Georg, 177  
 Dörnhöffer, Friedrich, 28  
 Douglas, Robert Langton, ix, 76  
 Drentwett, Philipp Jakob I, 183  
 Dresden:  
   Gemäldegalerie, 64n10  
   Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, 11, 19, 21n9, 29, 29n3, 29n9, 83n3, 91n7, 129, 131n4, 138n7, 139, 140n5, 172, 182, 185n13, 214n6, 215n12  
 Drey, Paul, 16  
 Dugdale, William, 210  
 Dumas, Catherine Marcou, 141  
 Du Pan, Jean-Marc, 80, 81, 82, 158, 160  
 Dürer, Agnes, 15, 19n6  
**Dürer, Albrecht** (cats. 6–11), ix, ix, x, xii, xiii, xiv, 8, 9, 12–27, 15, 18, 22, 22n15, 23, 25, 29n4, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34n9, 36–37, 38n8, 41n4, 41n5, 53, 54, 55, 58n5, 67n6, 72, 74, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 81, 82, 82, 83n3, 83n4, 84, 94, 95, 96, 106, 132, 132, 134, 162, 165n12, 185–86  
 Dürer, Albrecht the Elder, 12  
 Dürer, Hans, 36  
 Dürer, Ursula, 22  
 Düsseldorf, Museum Kunstpalast, 139, 141n7, 170
- Ebelmann, Hans Jakob** (cat. 78), 172–73, 172, 189n4  
 Eck, Leonhard von, 179n3  
 Edelstetten:  
   church of Saint John the Baptist, 212n2  
   church of Saint John the Evangelist, 212n2  
 Edinburgh, National Galleries of Scotland, 123n12  
 Eeles, Adrian, 5  
 Egerton, John, second Earl of Bridgewater, 190  
**Ehe, Johann Isaak** (cat. 86), x, xii, 188–90, 188  
 Ehlers, Ernst Heinrich, 156  
 Eleanor of Toledo, 110  
 Eleonara Dorothea, duchess of Saxony-Weimer, 161n5  
 Elsner von Gronow, Harald, 85, 86  
 Engelsing, Tobias, 156  
 Enne collection, 171  
 Erasmus, 20, 65  
 Erlangen:  
   church of Saints Peter and Paul, Erlangen-Bruck, 30, 30  
   Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg, 2, 15, 16, 46, 46, 56n2, 84, 84, 115, 116n2  
 Ernest, duke of Bavaria, 56  
 Evelyn, C. J. A., 89  
 Evelyn, John, 87, 89
- Fairfax Murray, Charles, 22  
 Falk, Friedrich, 5  
 Falk, Tilman, 32, 33, 49, 150, 176, 183  
 Farnese family, 156n6  
 Federigo the Fleming, *see* Sustris, Friedrich
- Feldmann, Arthur, xi, 137, 160  
 Felix, Eugen Ferdinand, 22  
 Felix, Hans E. C., 22  
 Ferdinand I, Holy Roman Emperor, 92  
 Ferdinand III, Holy Roman Emperor, 212  
 Ferdinand Maria, prince-elect of Bavaria, 217  
 Feyerabend, Sigmund, 94  
 Finke, Gustav, 22  
 Fischart, Johann, 100, 104n8  
 Fischel, Lilli, 57  
 Flechsig, Eduard, 21n5  
 Flegel, Georg, 198  
 Flensburg, Lorck-Schierning collection, 88n5  
 Florence, 110–13  
   Arazzeria Medicea, 110, 117  
   Archivio di Stato, 112n6  
   Baptistery, 112  
   Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, 112n4, 116n3, 122n4  
   Galleria degli Uffizi, 29n6  
   Museo Nazionale del Bargello, 83  
   Palazzo Pitti, 110, 187n7  
   Palazzo Vecchio, 110–11, 177n11  
**Flötner, Peter** (cats. 30, 31), x, xi, xiii, xiv, 68–72, 70, 72, 92, 93  
 Forster, Lavinia, 76  
**Fraisinger, Caspar** (cat. 57), 126–28, 126, 127  
 Francis M. Naumann Fine Art, New York, 96  
 Franck, Pauwels (Paolo Fiammingo), 197, 198, 198  
**Frank, Hans Ulrich** (cats. 83, 84), xiv, 161n1, 182–85, 182, 184  
 Frankenthal, 175  
   Erkenbert-Museum, 200n7  
 Frankfurt:  
   Städel Museum, 6, 6, 11n2, 52, 52, 96n7, 138n7, 142n5, 208n5  
   Städelsches Kunstinstitut, 186n1  
 Frauenholz, Johann Friedrich, 89  
 Frederick I, Holy Roman Emperor (called Barbarossa), 117  
 Frederick II, king of Denmark, 86  
 Frederick III, Holy Roman Emperor, 165n15  
 Frederick the Wise, elector of Saxony, 12, 19, 27, 32, 47, 62, 64n10  
 Freedberg, David, 178  
 Freiburg cathedral, 36  
 Freisig, Diözesanmuseum, 179n3  
 Frenzel, J. G. A., 11  
 Friedländer, Max, 49, 62, 71  
 Friedrich August II, king of Saxony, 11  
 Friedsam, Michael, 22  
 Fry, Roger, ix  
 Fryszman, Jacques, 173  
 Fučíková, Eliška, 137  
 Fuckeradt, Bernhard, 170n3  
 Fugger, Hans, 110, 197, 198  
 Fugger, Jakob, 53
- Galerie de Baysr & Strolin, Paris, 75  
 Galerie Claude Kuhn, Basel, 177  
 Galerie Éric Coatalem, Paris, 219  
 Galerie Fischer, Lucerne, 104  
 Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, 22  
 Galerie Gerda Bassenge, Berlin, 162, 180, 185n17, 188, 198, 205  
 Galerie Grünwald, Munich, 177n1  
 Galerie Koller, Zurich, 50  
 Galerie Les Tourettes, Basel, 38  
 Galle, Cornelis I, 187n7  
 Gaston de Foix, 81  
 Gatenbröcker, Silke, 178  
 Gdańsk, 157, 158  
   Muzeum Narodowe w Gdańsku, 159n2  
 Gębarowicz, Mieczysław, 18

- Geissler, Heinrich, 91, 155, 171, 174, 176, 178, 180, 185  
 Gelle, Johann, 166  
 Gerhard of Augsburg, 49  
 German occupation forces, 16, 137, 160  
 Gertner, Christoph, 182  
 Geuder, Georg Friedrich, 22  
 Gheyn, Jacob de II, 131n4, 206n1  
 Giambologna, 142  
 Gilhofer, H., 98  
 Giustiniani, marchis Vincenzo, 212, 213, 214  
 Göding, Andreas, 125n6  
 Goes, Hugo van der, 5  
 Goldberg, Gisela, 185  
 Goldner, George R., x  
 Goldschmidt, Lucien, 120  
 Goltzius, Hendrick, 120, 156n3, 174, 176, 180, 184n11  
 Gossaert, Jan, 24n1, 52, 52, 116n9  
 Gotha, Schlossmuseum, 64n5  
 Gottfried Keller-Stiftung, Zurich, 60  
 Göttingen, Kunstsammlung der Universität Göttingen, 91, 114n1, 143n14, 202n6  
 Gottorf Castle, 63  
**Graf, Urs** (cats. 25, 26), x, xi, xiii, 36, 44n12, 56–60, 59, 60, 61, 62, 67n5, 67n6, 111  
 Graupe, Paul, 7  
 Grenoble, Musée de Grenoble, 128n5  
 Grooth, Johann Nikolaus, 215  
 Groß, Philipp, 150, 150, 163  
 Grünling, Joseph, 16, 78  
 Guckeisen, Jacob, 172, 190n4  
 Guercino (Giovanni Francesco Barbieri), 83n6  
**Gundelach, Matthäus** (cat. 67), xiv, 131n12, 141, 148–50, 148, 159n4, 185n12  
 Gutekunst, H. G., 58, 147  
**Gutmann, Adam** (cat. 70), 154–56, 158
- Haarlem, Teylers Museum, 143n8, 200n7, 200n8  
 Habich, Edward, 58  
 Habich, Georg, 54  
 Habsburg dynasty, 16, 47  
 Hackaert, Jan, 203  
 Hainhofer, Philipp, 150  
 Haller von Hallerstein, Christoph Joachim, 22  
 Haller von Hallerstein, Hans Christoph Joachim, 22  
 Halm, Felix, 91  
 Halm, Peter, 49  
 van Ham, Cologne, 147  
 Hamburg, 87–88, 180  
 Hamburger Kunsthalle, 27n13, 56n4, 184n5, 208n7  
 Hampel, Munich, 147n5  
 Hans Rohr Buchhandlung und Antiquariat zum Obderdorf, Zurich, 70, 72, 84, 206
- Hardenrath, Johann, 170  
 Harrach, Count, 56  
 Hartmann, Max, 38, 60  
 Hartmann, Stella, 38  
 Haunsheim church, 142  
 Hauser, Alois, 19  
 Hauslab collection, 36  
 Heberle, J. M., 171  
 Heem, Jan Davidsz. de, 198  
 Heinsius, Daniel, 206n1  
**Heintz, Joseph the Elder** (cats. 64–66), xi, xiv, 137, 141–47, 142, 144, 146, 147, 148, 171  
 Heintz, Joseph the Younger, 141, 147n5  
 Heiss, Johann, 217  
 Helbing, Hugo, 131  
 Heller, Joseph, 54, 85  
 Helm, Frances H., 114
- Helm, MacKinley, 114  
 Hemessen, Jan van, 186n2  
 Hemmel, Peter, 9  
 Hennenberger, Andreas, 175  
 Henry VII, king of England, 65  
 Hermann, Philipp, 206, 208  
**Herr, Michael** (cat. 81), 177–80, 178  
 Heselstine, John Postle, 24, 27  
 Heydenreich, Gunnar, 62, 63  
 Hille, Dr., 131  
 Hill-Stone, New York, 89, 182  
 Hirsch, Robert von, x  
 Hirschvogel, Heinz, 29n10  
 Hirschvogel, Veit the Elder, 29n10, 74, 74  
 Hoehstetter, Georg, 52  
 Hoefnagel, Joris, xv23, 209  
 Hof, church of Saint Michael, 7, 9  
 Hofer, Philip, 27  
**Hoffmann, Hans** (cats. 59, 60), xiv, 83n3, 132–34, 134  
 Hofmann, Samuel, 203  
 Hogenberg, Abraham, 166, 166  
 Hogenberg, Johann, 167n2  
 Holbein, Ambrosius, 34  
 Holbein, Hans the Elder, 11, 32, 33, 51, 65, 66  
**Holbein, Hans the Younger** (cat. 29), x, xi, *xii*, xiii, 34, 44n12, 65–67, 66, 82, 85, 86, 204, 204  
**Hollar, Wenzel** (cat. 95), xiv, 190, 209–11, 210  
 Hollstein & Puppel, Berlin, 98  
 Holzschuher, Lazarus, 31n2  
 Homer, 190  
 Hondius, Henrick, 136, 136  
 Honorius of Autun, 48  
 Honthorst, Gerrit van, 212, 213  
 Hooch, Pieter de, 196n11  
 Horace, 172  
 Hornick, Erasmus, xv23, 92  
 Hornstain, Gabriel, 128n11  
 Hôtel Drouot, Paris, 122n3, 123n12, 125, 128n9, 141, 144, 147n4, 168, 185, 200n8  
 Houston, Museum of Fine Arts, 125n8, 138n6  
 Howard, Thomas, second Earl of Arundel, 209  
**Huber, Wolfgang** (cat. 24), ix, xiii, 32, 44n12, 55–56, 56, 84  
 Hugelshofer, Walter, 65  
 Hunt, John, 55, 78  
 Husband, Timothy, 204
- Imhoff, Willibald the Elder, 16, 19, 22n10, 132, 134  
 Ingolstadt:  
 Cathedral Zur Schönen Unserer Lieben Frau, 90, 90  
 Stadtarchiv, 91n6  
 Innsbruck, Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum, 152, 153  
 Isabella of Bourbon, 212  
 Isselburg, Peter, 168n7  
 Ivins, William M., ix
- Jackson, A. Ward, 148  
 James I, king of England, 190  
 Jamnitzer, Christoph, 93n6  
**Jamnitzer, Wenzel** (cat. 42), xi, xiv, 70, 70, 80, 92–93, 150, 188–89, 189  
 Jegli, Hans the Younger, 103  
 Jenichen, Balthasar, 80  
 Joanna of Austria, 110  
 John XV, Pope, 49  
 John the Steadfast, 32, 64n10  
 Joint, Don, 96  
 Jolles, Boguslaw, 129, 131  
 Jones, David, 160
- Jones, Inigo, 210  
 Jost de Negker, 47
- Kager, Johann Mathias** (cat. 68), xiv, 150–52, 150, 221n8  
 Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle, 103, 104  
 Karlštejn Castle, 2, 3  
 Kassel, Gemäldegalerie, 64n10  
 Kastenholz, Richard, 54  
**Katzenberger, Balthasar** (cat. 77), 170–71, 170  
 Kaufmann, Thomas DaCosta, xi, 87–88, 155, 180, 181  
 Kaulbach, Hans-Martin, 174  
 Ketterer Kunst, Munich, 116  
 Kieslinger, Franz, 3  
 Kiev, Bogdan and Varvara Khanenko Museum of Arts, 196n6  
 Kilian, Bartholomäus I, 217, 218, 218  
 Kilian, Bartholomäus II, 180n11  
 Kilian, Lucas, 142, 142, 150, 182  
 Kilian, Wolfgang, 221n8  
 Kirchheim Castle, 197  
 Kisters, Heinz, 34n4  
 Klein, Adolf, 49, 50  
 Kleinberger, Paris, 22  
 Klemm, Christian, 216  
 Kloek, Walter, 142  
 Knipperdolling, Bernt, 78  
 Knoblauch, Johannes, 58  
**Knüpfer, Nicolaus** (cat. 88), xiv, 194–96, 194  
 Koegler, Hans, 41n1  
 Koenigs, Franz, xi, 65–66, 67, 93  
 Kölderer, Jörg, 162  
 Koreny, Fritz, 4, 5–6, 10, 11n1, 17, 23, 32, 36, 54, 134  
 Kortrijk, Broelmuseum, 126, 128  
 Krelage, Ernst Heinrich, 199, 200  
 Kreuzlingen, church of Saint Augustine, 212n2  
 Krieg, Hans, 158, 159, 159  
 Krumpper, Hans, 113  
**Kulmbach, Hans Suess von** (cats. 12, 13), ix, x, xi, xii, 21n5, 27–32, 29, 30, 31, 36  
 Kunst, Pieter Cornelisz., *see* Pieter Cornelisz. Kunst  
 Kunsthandel Katrin Bellinger, Munich, 9, 32, 34, 36, 47, 50, 53, 60, 67, 82, 86, 91, 93, 104, 109, 125, 131, 134, 137, 141, 144, 145, 156, 160, 162, 168, 171, 173, 180, 185, 196, 198, 205, 208, 211  
 Kunsthandlung Gustav Nebehay, Vienna, 208  
 Kuppitsch, M., 147
- Lahmann, Johann Friedrich, 137, 139  
 Lamoignon de Malesherbes, Chrétien-Guillaume de, 202  
 Lang, Hieronymus, 94  
 Lanna, Adalbert von, 2, 3, 145, 147  
 Laube, August, 36, 102, 106  
 Laube, Daniela, 106  
 Lautensack, Hanns Sebald, 72n5, 88  
 Lawrence, Thomas, 24, 26, 27  
 Lefebvre, François-Joseph, 16  
 Lehman, Robert, x, xii, 7, 11, 16, 18, 22, 26, 27, 38, 54, 55, 78  
 Lehrs, Max, 9  
 Leiden, Jan van, 78  
 Leipzig, Museum der Bildenden Künste, 64n5, 67n15, 96, 97  
 Lely, Peter, 24, 27  
 Lemberg, *see* Lviv  
 Lemberger, Georg, 45  
 Lempertz, Cologne, 167n7  
 Lencker, Christoph, 150  
 Lencker, Hans, 189n4  
 Leonardo da Vinci, 77, 132  
 Lessing, Julius, 151  
 Leu, Hans the Younger, 44n12, 45, 84  
 Leubelfing, Mathilde von, 178

- Levenson, Jay, 17, 18  
 Leyden, Lucas van, 30, 67n6, 81  
 Licht, Stefan von, 7  
 Liebenstein, Simon von, 53, 54, 54  
 Liechtenstein, Vaduz and Vienna, princes of, xi, 29, 36, 60, 144, 190  
 Ligozzi, Jacopo, 186, 186  
 Lille, Palais des Beaux-Arts, 44n11, 66  
**Lindtmayer, Daniel the Younger** (cat. 45), xi, 98–100, 100, 101, 102, 204  
 Lindtmayer, Felix the Younger, 98  
 Lingg, Lorenz, 103, 104, 104  
 Linz:  
   monastery of Sankt Florian, 45  
   Nordico–Museum der Stadt Linz, 131n4  
 Liphart, Karl Eduard von, 107, 109  
 Liphart, Reinhold von, 107, 109  
 List, Herbert, 91  
 Löcher, Kurt, 32  
 Lochner, Stefan, 24n1, 48n1  
 Löhr, Alexander, 30  
 Lombard, Pierre, 190–91, 192  
 London:  
   British Library, 50  
   British Museum, 16n3, 18, 18, 27n13, 29n8, 30, 31, 32n14, 33, 34n10, 35, 37, 40, 41n1, 50n12, 52n8, 58, 60, 66, 66, 67, 75n6, 81, 83n4, 88, 93, 105, 108, 114, 120, 123n11, 131n9, 138, 142, 143n6, 149, 160, 166, 180, 186, 187n7, 193n11, 204, 212n6  
   Courtauld Gallery, 16n6, 146, 147n10  
   National Gallery, 44n6, 208n7  
   Old Saint Paul's cathedral, 209–10, 210  
   Victoria and Albert Museum, 93, 93, 125, 202n6  
**Lorck, Melchior** (cat. 40), xiv, 86–89, 88  
 Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, 46, 46, 52n8, 75n4, 94, 95, 96n2, 145, 153, 175n6  
 Loth, Johann Carl, ix, xi  
 Lotto, Lorenzo, 196  
 Löwensprung collection, 109  
 Lübeck, church of Saint Mary, 129  
 Lubomirski, Henryk, 16  
 Lubomirski, Jerzy Rafał, 16  
 Lubomirski collection, x, 12, 16, 17, 24  
 Lucerne, 106–8, 108  
   Kapelbrücke, 205n6  
   Stadtarchiv, 109  
   Stiftung Joseph Willmann-Haus, 108  
**Lüchteke, Jochim** (cat. 71), xi, 156, 158–60  
 Luther, Martin, 64n10, 86  
 Luxembourg, Artemis Fine Arts, 113  
 Lviv (Lemberg, also Lvov or Lwów), V. Stefanyk Library of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, 16, 17  
 Lyser, Lucas, 158  
 Madrid:  
   monastery of Las Descalzas Reales, 93  
   Museo Nacional del Prado, 16n8, 116n5, 156n6  
 Mair von Landshut, 43  
 Maitani, Lorenzo, 42, 42  
**Major, Isaak** (cat. 69), x, 152–53, 153  
 Mander, Karel van, 128n9, 137n6, 141, 160, 161n1, 176, 214  
 Mantegna, Andrea, 42, 84  
 Manuel, Niklaus, 44n12  
 Marcou, Paul-Frantz, 139, 141  
 Margaret of Austria, 27n14  
**Marrel, Jacob** (cat. 90), x, xiv, 198–200, 200, 201  
 Master bxx, 72n7  
 Master D. S., 57, 58  
 Master E. S., 19, 57, 58, 67n6  
 Master F. V. B., 67n6  
 Master MZ (Matthäus Zasinger?), 60, 61  
 Master of Flémalle, 9  
 Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet (Master of the Housebook), 6, 71  
 Master of the Drapery Studies (Master of the Coburg Roundels), 8–9, 8, 9n3  
 Master of the Holy Kinship, 48n5  
 Master of the Miracles of Mariazell, 61  
 Master Theodoric, 2, 2, 3  
 Masters of Tarocchi, 92  
 Matham, Jacob, 120n4, 120n5, 156n3, 160, 161n1, 176, 181n7, 196n5  
 Matthias, Holy Roman Emperor, 188  
 Matthias, Jacob or Johann, 206  
 Mathiesen Gallery, London, 7  
 Mauerbach, Carthusian monastery, 168–70  
 Maurer, Thomas, 114n1  
 Maximilian I, duke of Bavaria, 114, 117, 119, 185, 212  
 Maximilian I, Holy Roman Emperor, 12, 17, 19, 24, 32, 42, 47, 53, 162  
 Maximilian II, Holy Roman Emperor, 92, 93  
 Mayliss, F. A., 121, 123  
 Mayor, A. Hyatt, 78  
 Mazzetti di Pietralata, Cecilia, 216  
 Meckenem, Israhel van, 19, 58n5, 66, 72n7  
 Meder, Joseph, 55  
 Medici, Duke Cosimo I de', 110, 113n15  
 Meissner, Kurt, 91, 107, 109  
 Meisterlin, Sigmund, 50  
 Melanchthon, Philipp, 64n10  
 Meldolla, Andrea, *see* Schiavone  
 Mellon, Mrs. Paul, 200n3, 200n6  
 Memling, Hans, 24  
 Menberger, Kaspar, 155  
 Merian, Maria Sibylla, 198, 201  
 Merian, Matthäus the Elder, 130, 131, 131, 178, 180n11, 203  
 Metsu, Gabriel, 194  
 Metzger, Christoph, 32  
**Meyer, Conrad** (cats. 92, 93), xi, 203–6, 204, 205, 206  
 Meyer, Dietrich, 203  
 Meyer, Johann Jakob, 107, 108, 108  
 Meyer, Jost, 109  
 Meyer, Rudolf, 203  
 Michelangelo, x, 9, 110, 116, 142, 178  
**Mielich, Hans** (cat. 41), xiv, 89–91, 90, 91, 179n3  
 Mielke, Hans, 42, 44n3  
 Mignon, Abraham, 198  
 Milan:  
   Biblioteca Ambrosiana, 27n13, 212n1, 212n2  
   Milan cathedral, 212  
 Mirou, Anton, 175  
 M. Knoedler & Co., New York, 27  
 Moeller Fine Art, New York, 5  
 Momper, Joos de, the Younger, 221n8  
**Monogrammist AW** (cat. 39), xii, 84–86, 86  
**Monogrammist G. Z.** (cat. 17), 38–41, 39, 40  
 Monogrammist S. M., 185n18  
 Montebello, Philippe de, x  
 Montpellier, Commissaires Priseurs de, 9  
 Moosinning, Galerie Siegfried Billesberger, 198  
 Moraht-Fromm, Anna, 9n3  
 More, Thomas, 65  
 Moscow, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, 139, 141n7, 208n5  
 Motte, Nathalie, 175  
 Mozart, Anton, xii, *xiii*, 150, 150  
 Muchall-Viebrook, Thomas, 66  
 Müller, Christian, 57, 66  
 Muller, Frederik, 50, 53  
 Muller, Jan Harmensz., 174  
 Müllner, Johannes, 165  
 Munich, xiv, 113, 119  
   Alte Pinakothek, 7, 20–21, 22, 32n4, 146, 177n8, 179n7, 186n2  
   Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 50n3, 165n12, 214n2, 216n7  
   Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, 64n5, 125n2, 185  
   Bayerische Verwaltung der Staatlichen Schlösser, Gärten und Seen, Residenz, 118, 119, 120  
   Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, 50n12, 64, 165n11, 179n3  
   Frauenkirche, 221  
   Heilig-Geist-Kirche (Church of the Holy Ghost), 212, 212  
   Staatliche Graphische Sammlung München, 101n5, 102, 118n6, 123n9, 127, 161, 177, 184n7, 205, 208  
 Muralt-von Planta, Wilhelm von, 70, 72, 84, 206  
 Murath collection, 41  
**Murer, Christoph** (cat. 47), xi, 100, 101n5, 102–4, 102, 103, 104, 107  
 Murer, Jos, 102  
 Murer, Josias, 102  
 Nagler, Karl Friedrich Ferdinand von, 54n11  
 Nassau-Idstein, Georg-August von, 202  
 Nassau-Idstein, Count Johann von, 201, 202  
 Neer, Eglon van de, 196n11  
 Negker, Jost de, *see* Jost de Negker  
 Neuberg, Jesuit Church, 178  
 Neukirchen, church of Saint Stephen, 215, 216  
 New Haven:  
   Yale Center for British Art, 193n11  
   Yale University Art Gallery, 153, 175n7  
 New York:  
   A. and R. Ball, 11  
   Pierpont Morgan Library, 22n14, 34n11, 75n8, 102, 111, 112, 131, 142, 154, 181  
 Nicholas II, Pope, 112  
 Niger, Petrus, 5  
 Nijstad, Saam, and Lily Nijstad-Einhorn, 131, 173  
 Nolpe, Pieter, 221n8  
 Nonnberg, monastery of, 154  
 Nuremberg, xii, *xiii*–xiv, 9, 12–41, 80, 92, 94, 132, 162–65, 177–78, 188–89  
   art academy, 214  
   church of Saint Bartholomäus, 178  
   church of Saint George Wendelstein, 30  
   church of Saint Lorenz, 30  
   church of Saint Sebald, 28, 31  
   Germanisches Nationalmuseum, 22n13, 24n3, 27n13, 49n11, 64n5, 129, 134n8  
**Nüscheler, Hans Jakob the Elder** (cat. 48), 104–6, 106, 107  
 Nüscheler, Heinrich, 104  
 Oberhuber, Konrad, 30  
 O'Dell, Ilse, 81  
 Oerscot, Arnold van, 54  
 Oettingen-Wallerstein, princes of, xi, 91n6, 98, 100, 147n6, 211, 212, 215  
 Ogilby, John, 190, 191, 192  
 Oldenburg, Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte, 194  
 Oppenheimer, Henry, 55, 78, 93  
 Ort, Arnold van, 54  
 Ortelius, Abraham, 88  
 Orvieto cathedral, 42, 42  
 Osborn, Mrs. William H., 27  
 Osborn, William Henry, 27  
 Oslo, Nasjnalnuseet for Kunst, Arkitektur og Design, 125n5, 131n4

- Ostendorfer, Hans the Elder, 165  
 Ostendorfer, Hans the Younger, 175  
 Otmar, Silvan, 49  
 Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada, 91n6  
 Ovid, 123, 146, 190, 213, 214  
 Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 52n8, 70, 75n9, 186n1, 193n11, 210
- P. & D. Colnaghi & Co., London, 44, 153, 190  
 Palgrave, Francis Turner, 27  
 Palma il Giovane, Jacopo, 121, 122, 148, 149, 158, 176, 177  
 Panckoucke, Charles-Louis-Fleury, 80, 81, 82  
 Panofsky, Erwin, 21n5, 23–24  
 Paolo Fiammingo, *see* Franck, Pauwels
- Paris:  
 Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 82n2, 202n6  
 École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, 58n1, 83n2, 120n1, 153n2, 185, 186n1  
 Frits Lugt Collection, 120, 170n3  
 Musée du Louvre, 15, 15, 24n4, 25, 26n6, 26n8, 27n13, 34n10, 42, 44n3, 48, 50, 82, 112n4, 118n6, 125n4, 138n3, 143n8, 186, 196n8
- Parker, Karl, 41n1
- Parma:  
 church of Saint Paul, 145n5  
 Galleria Nazionale di Parma, 144, 145
- Parmigianino, 81, 82, 82  
 Pasadena, Norton Simon Foundation, 83n6  
 Passe, Crispijn van de, the Elder, 120n4, 180, 180, 181, 221n8
- Pauli, Gustav, 135  
 Paumgartner, Hans, 33, 33  
 Pencz, Georg, 72  
 Perrenot de Granvelle, Antoine, 16  
 Petrie, Adam, 56  
 Pfeiffer, Johann Joachim the Elder, 180, 208  
 Pfinzing, Martin, 84  
 Pfinzing, Melchior, 53  
 Philip II, king of Spain, 156n6  
 Philip II, margrave of Baden-Baden, 82  
 Philip IV, king of Spain, 212  
 Philipp II, duke of Pomerania, 150  
 Phillippis-Fenwick collection, 66  
 Phillips, London, 208n2  
 Pieter Cornelisz. Kunst, 167, 168n8  
 Pietro da Cortona, 217  
 Pilz, Kurt, 98  
 Piombi, Sebastiano del, 142  
 Pirckheimer, Willibald, 12, 19n6  
 Plassman, Otmar, 79  
**Plepp, Hans Jakob** (cat. 46), 98n2, 100–102, 102, 107  
 Pleydenwurff, Hans, 7, 7, 9  
 Plomp, Michiel P., 167n1  
 Posonyi, Alexander, 22  
 Posonyi, Vienna, 7  
 Potter, Paulus, 221n8  
 Poynter, Ambrose, 76  
 Poynter, Edward John, ix, 76
- Prague, xiv, 2–4, 139, 141, 152, 154, 158  
 church of Saint Thomas, 144, 144, 145  
 Národní Galerie v Praze, 20, 26n4, 125n2, 143n15  
 Obrazárna Pražského Hradu, 198  
 Prague Castle, 143n14
- Praun, Paulus, 134  
 Prestel, Frankfurt, 173  
 Princeton University Art Museum, 181n2  
 Procaccini, Ercole II, 211  
 Procaccini, Giulio Cesare, 211  
 Puppel, Reinhold, 170
- Rabeau collection, 34  
 Raimondi, Marcantonio, 66, 66, 114n4  
 Raitenau, Wolf Dietrich von, 154  
 Randall, L. V., 24n11  
 Ranschburg, H., 98  
 Raphael, 66, 66, 114n4, 142, 190  
 Rascafia, Spain, charterhouse of Santa Maria de El Paular, 170  
 Rasseur, Tom, 204, 204  
 Ratdolt, Erhard, 47  
 Ratjen, Wolfgang, 91  
 Rau, Gustav, 196n7  
 Redmond, Johnston Livingston, 27  
 Redmond, Katharine S. Raven, 27  
 Redslob, Ernst, 98  
 Reggio, Raffaellino da, 138, 138, 142  
 Reichardt, Franz, 22  
 Reichenau, Berno von, 49  
 Reichle, Hans, 158  
 Reiffenstuel, Gregor, 127, 127, 128  
 Reiss & Sohn, Königstein im Taunus, 86  
**Reiter, Bartolomäus** (cat. 80), xiv, 175–77, 177  
 Reiter, Johann, 175  
 Reiter, Michael, 175  
 Reitlinger, Henry Scipio, 17  
 Reni, Guido, 177  
 Reveley, Hugh, 78  
 Richardson, Jonathan Sr., 44  
 Richter, Abraham, 160, 162  
**Richter, Christian** (cat. 73), 154, 160–62, 161  
 Ridolfi, Carlo, 122  
 Rieger, Johann, 131n12  
 Riesenberger, Johann Moritz the Younger, 208  
 Riestler, Lutz, 118, 193, 216  
 Ringgli, Gotthard, 104n8, 106, 129, 131  
 Ringler, Ludwig, 84, 85  
 Roberts, Marion, 210  
 Robinson, William W., 200n8  
 Rodrigues, Eugène, 51, 52n8, 53, 58  
 Rolas du Rosey, Carl, 77, 78  
 Roller, Stefan, 9n3
- Rome:  
 Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica di Palazzo Barberini, 185n19  
 Sistine Chapel, 178  
 Villa Borghese, 138  
 Villa Madama, 177n11  
 Villa Medici, 215n12
- Rordorf, Hans Heinrich, 102, 102  
 Rosa, Salvator, 198n6  
 Rosenberg, Jakob, 10, 62  
**Rottenhammer, Hans** (cats. 55, 56), x, xi, xiv, 102, 104, 121–25, 122, 125, 150, 159n4, 175, 176, 177, 177  
 Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, 52, 52, 66, 67n2  
 Röttger, Bernhard Hermann, 91n4  
 Röttinger, Heinrich, 28, 41n1  
 Roupell, Robert Prioleau, 116n9  
 Rouveyre, Édouard, 165  
 Rowlands, John, 9n3, 40, 67, 74  
 Roycroft, Thomas, 190, 191  
 Rubens, Peter Paul, 170n3, 178, 185, 193n7, 212, 216, 216  
 Rudolf, Carl Robert, 100, 102  
 Rudolf II, Holy Roman Emperor, x, xiv, 16, 92, 122n5, 132, 134, 137, 139, 140, 141, 144, 146, 148, 153, 154, 155, 156n3, 158, 159n6  
 Rudolph Lepke's Kunst-Auctions-Haus, Berlin, 147  
 Rupprich, Hans, 54
- Sacramento, Crocker Art Museum, 175n7  
 Sadeler, Egidius II, 122, 122, 143n8, 148, 149, 152, 175n9, 209, 212  
 Sadeler, Jan I, 114n3, 116n3  
 Sadeler, Johann I, 167, 176, 180n11  
 Sadeler, Raphael, 186, 186  
 Saenredam, Jan, 120, 120, 174, 181n7, 184n11  
 Salviati, Francesco, 113n15  
**Sandrart, Joachim von, the Elder** (cats. 97, 98), xi, xiv, 128, 196, 201, 212–16, 214, 216, 221n8  
 San Francisco, Fine Arts Museums, 88n4  
 Sankt Gallen, Historisches Museum, 104n7  
 San Marino, Huntington Library, Art Collections and Botanical Gardens, 148n4  
 Santvoort, Anthonie, 141  
 Savery, Jacob, 152, 153  
 Savery, Roelant, xiv, 152, 153, 175  
 Schab, William H., 56  
 Schaeffer Galleries, New York, 7  
 Scharf, Alfred, 211  
**Schäufelein, Hans** (cats. 14, 15), x, xi, xii, 32n10, 32–36, 33, 35, 111  
 Schellenberger, Hans, 33  
 Schenck, Christoph Daniel, 212n7  
 Schiavone (Andrea Meldolla), 89, 91  
 Schickhardt, Heinrich, 135  
 Schiele, Egon, 16  
 Schilling, Edmund, 49, 52, 71  
 Schlitter, Johann, 178  
 Schlossberger, Daniel, 135  
 Schmid, Anton, 3, 128, 188  
**Schmidt, Peter** (cat. 72), 157–60  
 Schnitzer, Jobst, 188  
 Schoch, Hans, 172  
 Schöffler, Peter, 6  
 Scholz, Janos, 80  
 Schönbrunner, Joseph, 55  
 Schönfeld, Johann Heinrich, 182, 183–84, 184  
 Schongauer, Caspar, 9  
**Schongauer, Martin** (cat. 5), x, xii, 9–11, 11, 12, 18, 24n1, 28, 29, 47–48, 48, 57, 67n6  
**Schorer, Hans Friedrich the Elder** (cat. 89), 177n10, 196–98  
 Schorer, Hans Friedrich the Younger, 196  
 Schubert, A., 145, 147  
 Schuler Auktionen, Zurich, 205  
 Schwarz, Christoph, 128, 129, 179, 182, 185n12  
**Schwarz, Hans** (cat. 23), x, 53–55, 54  
 Schwarz, Stephan, 53  
 Schwegler, Daniel, 58n7  
 Schwerin, Staatliches Museum, 180, 180, 208n5  
 Schwieger, Jörg, 58n5  
 Seiter, Daniel, xii  
 Seligenstadt, Arnold von, 54  
 Sennfls, Ludwig, 54n10  
 Serlio, Sebastiano, 135  
 Sieveking, Hinrich, 64  
 Sion, Musée d'Histoire du Valais, 107, 108, 109n3  
 Škréta, Karel, 217  
 Sladeczek, Leonhard, 41  
 Sloane, Hans, 27  
 Smith, Jeffrey Chipps, 28  
**Solis, Virgil** (cat. 37), xiii, 71, 80–82, 81, 84, 94, 221n8  
 Sollis, Hans, 80  
 Somaré collection, 36  
 Sonnenberg, Hans Rudolf, 108  
 Sotheby's, Amsterdam, 102, 128n11, 131, 139, 171, 173, 175, 200n8, 208  
 Sotheby's, London, 47, 76, 88n3, 89, 109, 131n4, 137, 160, 211

- Sotheby's, Munich, 198n3  
 Sotheby's, New York, 53, 67, 93, 98, 101n2, 144, 145, 153n3, 177, 196n7  
 Speckaert, Hans, 137–38, 141–44, 142  
 Sperling, Harry G., 123  
 Speyer, 170  
   Bishop's Palace, 173n4  
   Historisches Museum der Pfalz, 54n4  
 Spicer, Joaneath, 152, 153  
 Spitzer, Frédéric, 165  
 Spranger, Bartholomeus, xiv xv n23, 137, 141, 148, 156n4, 158, 176, 185  
 Sprüngli, Hans Jakob, 102, 105–6  
 Squilli, Benedetto di Michele, 110, 110, 111  
 Stams Monastery, 131n4  
 Starcky, Emmanuel, 10  
 Steen, Jan, 194  
 Steinberg, Leo, 37  
 Steiner, Alice, 139  
 Steiner, John, 139  
 Steinhammer, Friedrich Christoph, 125n6  
 Stella, Jacques, 217  
 Sternberg-Manderscheid, Franz von, 11  
 Steudner, Daniel, 219, 219, 221  
 Stevens, Pieter, 153  
 Stimmer, Christopher, 82  
**Stimmer, Tobias** (cat. 38), xi, xiii–xiv, 82–84, 94, 98, 99, 100, 102, 104n8, 107, 204, 204  
 Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, 48n1, 48n3, 75n8  
 Stone, John, 190  
 Stonor, Hon. Sherman, 89  
 Stonyhurst College, 186n7  
 Stör, Lorenz, 70  
**Storer, Johann Christophorus** (cat. 96), xi, xiv, 211–12, 212, 217  
 Stosskopf, Sebastian, 212  
 Straet, Jan van der (Giovanni Stradano, or Stradanus), 110, 111, 120n4  
 Strasbourg:  
   cathedral, 82  
   Musée des Beaux-Arts, 202n6  
 Strauss, Walter, 18, 41n1  
 Strigel, Bernhard, 44n12  
 Strobel, Bartholomäus the Younger, 157, 158  
 Strölin, Alfred, 58  
 Stuttgart:  
   Landesmuseum Württemberg, 217n7  
   Lusthaus, 135  
   Staatsgalerie, 34n9, 36, 91n6, 125n3, 128n4, 131n4, 138n2, 148n2, 171n2, 174, 219  
 Subastas Segre, Madrid, 112n4  
 Süleyman the Magnificent, Ottoman emperor, 169  
**Sustris, Friedrich** (cats 50, 51), xiv, 110–14, 110, 112, 119, 150, 155  
 Sustris, Lambert, 110, 196n8  
  
 Tajan, Paris, 185  
 Taylor, Paul, 45  
 Tempesta, Antonio, 142  
 Thiébauld-Sisson, François, 58  
 Thierry, Wilhelm Adam, 98  
 Thomas Williams Fine Art, London, 148, 185, 202  
 Thompson, Cephas G., ix  
 Thöne, Friedrich, 107–8, 109, 170  
 Tietze, Hans, 18  
 Tintoretto, Jacopo, 121, 122, 122, 142, 178, 180, 197  
 Titian, 110, 155, 156, 215  
 Trausnitz Castle, 155  
 Tremmel, Ingeborg, xi, 116  
  
 Treviso, Villa Barbaro-Volpi, 177n11  
 Trinity Fine Art, London, 100, 212, 215  
 Troschel, Peter Paul, 160  
 Tylicki, Jacek, 158  
  
**Umbach, Jonas** (cats. 99, 100), xiv, 216–21, 219  
 Unicorn Collection, 131, 173  
 Utrecht, 194, 198–200, 201  
   Archbishop's Palace, 188n13  
  
 Valencia, Museo del Patriarca, 198n3  
 Valkenborch, Gillis van I, 153n4  
 Vanderbilt, Cornelius, ix  
 Vasari, Giorgio, xiv, 9, 84, 110, 111, 112, 114, 177n11  
 Vecellio, Cesare, 87  
 Venice, 121  
   church of Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, 215  
   church of the Madonna dell'Orto, 178  
   Galleria dell'Accademia, 23  
   Scuola Grande di San Marco, 126  
   Scuola Grande di San Rocco, 122  
 Verchère, E., 11  
 Verhaecht, Tobias, 153n4  
 Vermeyen, Hans, 120n6  
 Veronese, Bonifazio, 123n7  
 Veronese, Paolo, 121, 142, 177n11  
 Vianen, Paulus van, xiv, 152, 152, 153  
 Vico, Enea, 87  
 Vienna, 62  
   Albertina, 15, 16, 16n7, 22n13, 26n4, 32n5, 77n2, 83n3, 120n3, 128n8, 128n11, 132, 134n7, 152, 170n3, 185n14, 202, 214n2, 218  
   Hofbibliothek, 28  
   Kunsthistorisches Museum, 3n4, 4n5, 34n4, 48n2, 56, 120n6, 131n7, 139, 140n4, 143n6, 156n4  
   Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 4n3  
   Saint Stephen's cathedral, 213  
 Virgil, 190, 192  
**Vischer, Georg** (cat. 85), 185–88  
 Vischer, Hans, 41n1  
 Vischer, Peter, 80, 82, 158, 160, 203, 205  
 Visscher, Claes Jansz., 168n10  
 Vitruvius, 17, 18, 135  
 Vivarini, Alvise, 24, 25, 25  
 Volckamer, Berthold, 163, 165  
 Volk-Knüttel, Brigitte, 117–18, 119  
 Voragine, Jacobus de, 45  
 Vos, Maerten de, 113, 129, 176, 221n8  
 Vrancx, Sebastiaan, 166  
 Vredeman de Vries, Hans, 136, 136  
 Vries, Adriaen de, 156n3  
  
**Wägmann, Hans Heinrich** (cat. 49), 106–9, 108, 109, 204  
 Wägmann, Ulrich, 106, 108  
 Waldburg-Wolfegg and Waldsee, princes of, 86n9, 125n5, 125n6, 171n2, 175  
 Wallbaum, Matthias, xii, xiii, 150  
 Walther, Johann Friedrich, 201  
 Walther, Johann Georg, 201  
**Walther, Johann Jakob the Elder** (cat. 91), xiv, 201–2, 202  
 Wannewecz, Hans Jörg, 98, 99, 100  
 Ward-Jackson, Peter, 87  
 Warsaw, Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie, 33, 218n4  
 Warshaw, Monroe, 48n1, 49, 114, 177  
 Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, x, xi, 10–11, 11, 29n6, 83n3, 87, 91n5, 116, 134, 175n7, 193n12, 212n6  
 Weert, Jakob de, 161n1  
 Weigel, Hans, 88, 88  
 Weigel, Rudolph, 58, 78  
  
 Weih-Krüger, Sonja, 34n9  
 Weikersheim Castle, 170  
 Weimar:  
   Ernestine dukes, 160, 161  
   Klassik Stiftung Weimar, 16n9, 19–20, 21n9, 100, 125n4, 208n5  
 Wenceslas IV, king of Bohemia, 3  
 Werdmüller, Hans Georg, 206n3  
 Werdmüller, Johann Rudolf, 205–6, 206  
 Werdmüller, Rudolf, 203, 206n3  
**Werl, Hans** (cat. 54), x, 113, 119–20, 120  
 Werner, Hans, 90, 90  
 Wertheimer, Anne, 200n8  
 Wertheimer, Otto, 29, 199, 200  
 West, A. N., 160  
 Weyden, Rogier van der, 6, 9, 48n1, 48n3  
 Weyer, Gabriel, 168n7  
 Weyer, Hans the Elder, 173  
 Weyer, Hans the Younger, 173  
**Weyer, Hermann** (cat. 79), xiv, 173–75, 174, 175, 181  
**Weyer, Jacob** (cat. 94), 206–8, 208  
 Wierix, Hieronymus, 105, 105, 106, 114, 114, 120n4  
 Wieser, Ludwig von, 153  
 William, duke of Saxony-Weiner, 161n1, 161n5  
 William IV, duke of Bavaria, 42, 47, 165  
 William V, duke of Bavaria, xiv, 110, 114, 119  
 Williams, Iolo Aneurin, 210n5  
 Willinges, Johann, 129  
 Windsor Castle, 82  
 Winghe, Joos van, 167  
 Winhart, Andreas, 84  
 Winkler, Friedrich, 28, 31n2, 34  
 Winterberg, Arno, 171  
 Winterthur, Gottfried Keller-Stiftung, 60  
 Winzinger, Franz, 9, 10  
 Wisreuter, Hans, 90, 90  
 Witte, Pieter de, 117  
 Wittelsbach, Otto von, 117, 117, 118, 118  
 Woensam, Anton, 41n1  
 Wolfaerts, Artus, 188n13  
 Wolfegg Castle, 170, 175  
 Wolgemut, Michael, 12  
 Wolleb, Hans Heinrich, 56–57  
 Wood, Christopher, 50  
 Woodburn, Samuel, 27  
 Woodner collection, 41n6, 74n3, 88  
 Wouwerman, Philips, 206  
 Wrocław:  
   Bernardine church, 157  
   Muzeum Archidiecezjalne we Wrocławiu, 116n5  
 Würzburg:  
   Julius-Maximilians-Universität, 96n4, 114n3, 212n7  
   Würzburg cathedral, 213  
 Wyss collection, 84, 101n1, 101n4  
  
 Zay, Johannes Carl, 154  
 Zbyněk of Hazmburk, 4  
 Zechetmayr, Thomas the Elder, 90, 90  
 Zehender, Gabriel, 38  
 Ziegert, Max, 158, 160  
 Ziegler, Hugo von, 98  
 Zoller, Hans Wilpert, xi, xii, xiv, 68, 70, 72, 84, 206  
 Zuccaro, Federico, 142  
 Zuccaro, Taddeo, 142  
 Zug, Switzerland, Stadtbibliothek, 104  
 Zurich, 104, 105  
   Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule, 60  
   Kunsthau Zürich, 103, 104n8, 109n2, 204n6  
   Zwicky collection, 50



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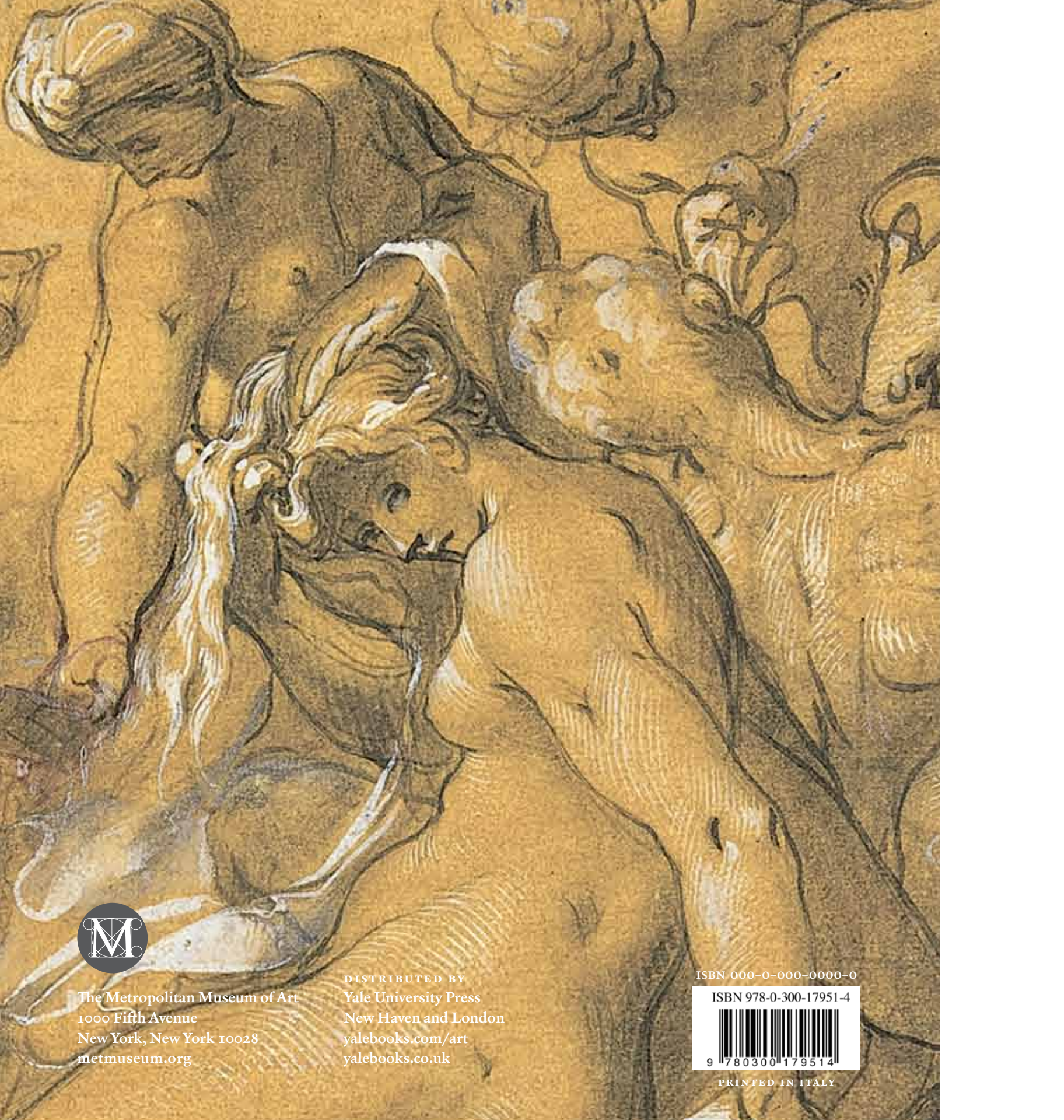
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