Graphic art in the age of Martin Luther (1483-1546) : an exhibition honoring the 500th anniversary of Luther's birth.

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Graphic Art In The Age Of

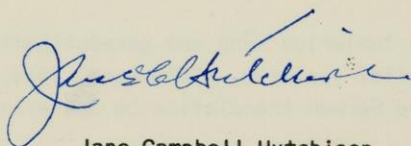# Martin Luther

GRAPHIC ART IN THE AGE OF MARTIN LUTHER (1483-1546)

An exhibition honoring the 500th anniversary of Luther's birth

Jane Campbell Hutchison

October 22 - December 4, 1983

Elvehjem Museum of Art

University of Wisconsin-Madison

Among the Dürer manuscripts in the British Museum is a list, in the artist's hand, of sixteen of Luther's early pamphlets. It is not known whether the list constitutes an inventory or perhaps a reading list, made up in 1520 at the time of Dürer's correspondence with Spalatin.

1. Beschlisred van dem ablas was der sey.
   (The pamphlet against indulgences, Wittenberg, 1517?)

2. Ein bredig van dem ablas.
   (Sermon vom Ablas und Gnade, Wittenberg, 1518.)

3. Ein predig vam pan.
   (Eyn Sermon von dem Bann, Leipzig, 1520.)

4. Beschlisred vam gsetz gottes.
   (? Eyn kurz form der zehen gepott, Wittenberg, 1518?, or possibly Der zehen gebot gotes ain schöne nutzliche Erklerung, Augsburg, 1520.)

5. Beschlisred van der pus.
   (One of Luther's half-dozen tracts on penance.)

6. Ein predig van der pus.
   (Eyn Sermon von dem Sacrament der pus, Wittenberg, 1519.)

7. Ein predig von treierley sünd und gerechtikeit.
   (Sermo de triplici justitia, Wittenberg, 1518.) Dürer may have referred to the German translation by Spalatin, 1520.

8. Ein ler der peicht.
   (Ein kurtz underweyzung wie man beichten soll, Leipzig, 1519, or possibly Ein heylsams büchlein von doctor Martin Luther von der Beicht gemacht, durch Spalatin geteuscht, Wittenberg, 1520.)

9. Wÿ man sich zum sacrament schicken soll.

10. Wÿ man dy leiden Christi betrachten soll.
    (Ain gutte trostliche predig von der wirdigen Berayltung zu dem hochwirdigen Sacrament Doctor Martini Luther. Item wie das Leiden Christi betrachten soll werden, Augsburg, 1518.)

11. Vam elichen stand.
    (Ein Sermon von dem ehelichen standt. Leipzig, 1519.)

12. Ein ferantwortung etlicher artickell.
(Eyn Sermon gepredigt zu Leipzig. . .mit entschuldigung etzlicher
artickel szo ym von etzlichen seiner abgünstigen zugemessen seyn
in der tzeyt der Disputation tzu Leypssyk gehalten. Leipzig,
1519.)

13. Awsslegung des vater unsers.
(Auslegung und Deutung des heyligen Vater unsers, Leipzig, 1518.)

14. Awsslegung der 7 psalmen.
(Die sieben Busspsalmen teutsch übersetzt, Leipzig, 1518.
Luther's translation of the seven "penitential" psalms: Pss. VI,
XXXI, XXXVII, L, CI, CXXIX, CXLII of the Vulgate.)

15. Awsslegung des 109 psalmen.
(Auslegung des 109 Psalms, D. Mart. Luther zu Hieron. Ebner,
Augsburg, 1518.)

16. Dy erst proposition dy Martin mit ecken dyspudirt hat.
(Luther's first proposition debated against Eck at Leipzig was
that Christ, not the Pope, is head of the Church.)

"They are trying to make me into a fixed star. I am an irregular
planet."

-Martin Luther

In his new biography of Martin Luther,[1] Heiko Oberman wryly notes
that few things would have disappointed the great reformer so much as
the knowledge that his own 500th birthday was to be commemorated on
earth, for he had fully expected a more timely arrival of the Last
Judgment. Indeed, in view of Luther's well-known aversion to the pro-
liferation of church anniversaries and feast days of all sorts, we may
yet find ourselves the recipients of an acerbic pamphlet from Elysium.
The quincentennial of Luther's birth has produced major exhibitions of
art and the printed word--and even of the personal possessions of
Luther and his associates--in Nuremberg, Wolfenbüttel, Coburg,
Augsburg and elsewhere, and has seen an escalation of pilgrimages by
motor-coach to the historic sites in both Germanies where Luther
lived, preached or debated. It has, in fact, been customary to
celebrate the anniversaries of Luther's death (1546) and of the
beginning of the Reformation itself (1517) since the seventeenth cen-
tury.[2]

In the United States this year, major symposia honoring Luther
are being presented at the universities of Chicago, Michigan and
Wisconsin. Luther's actual birthday (November 10--he was,
appropriately, a Scorpio) will be the focal point of a week-long
Martin Luther Jubilee in Washington, D.C. which will culminate in an
ecumenical service at the National Shrine of the Immaculate
Conception, featuring a sermon by the president of a Lutheran college.
Among the speakers at these events will be Hans Kung, the eminent
Catholic theologian who in 1967 (the 450th anniversary of the
Reformation) called for the exoneration of Luther from the papal ban
of excommunication. Although, as the Frankfurter Allgemeine duly
noted at the time, the re-Catholicizing of Luther would indeed have
left the Lutherans in an interesting position, it is undeniably true
that the Catholic church today is in official agreement with the
majority of Luther's ninety-five theses. A number of the reforms
which he had originally advocated were, in fact, remedied by the
Council of Trent shortly after Luther's death in 1546.

In 1983, and in the United States of America, which had not yet
been colonized when the Reformation took place, Luther is of interest
less for his doctrinal pronouncements than for the tremendous impact

which he had on purely worldly concerns--the proper education of
children for participation in civic life; the dignity of work; the
importance of marriage and the family.

The Martin Luther 500th Anniversary Symposium, of which this
exhibition forms a part, was organized under the auspices of the
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two private lenders who wish to remain anonymous.

<div align="right">

Jane Campbell Hutchison
Professor of Art History

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1. Heiko A. Oberman, Luther: Mensch zwischen Gott und Teufel
   (Berlin, 1982).

2. Max L. Baeumer, "Lutherfeiern und ihre Manipulation," Deutsche
   Feiern, Reinhold Grimm und Jost Hermand, eds. (Athenaion
   Literaturwissenschaft, 5) Wiesbaden, 1977, pp. 46-61.

Martin Luther's unprecedented success as reformer was intimately related to the growth of the printing industry and to the graphic arts which were its corollary. To begin with, it was the traffic in indulgences which drew his ire. An indulgence placed at the penitent's disposal the merits of Christ and of the saints (the so-called "Treasury of Grace"), remitting the temporal punishment due to mortal sin. Actions taken at several of the medieval church councils, particularly those of the Fourth Council of the Lateran (1215), of Vienne (1311) and of Ravenna (1317), indicate that the granting of excessive and/or unauthorized indulgences already constituted a serious problem. By Martin Luther's day the new technology of the printing press and the art of the woodcut designer lay at the disposal of the forgers of bogus indulgence letters, as well as of duly authorized papal or episcopal representatives, and both sorts before the Council of Trent generally required the payment of a fee. Indulgences therefore were a popular method of raising revenues: "They were the bingo of the sixteenth century," as Roland Bainton so aptly put it.[1] Simply because they were once so common, indulgence letters of the late 15th and early 16th centuries are relatively rare today; our exhibition includes two--both from the collection of Lessing Rosenwald, now housed in the National Gallery (cat. nos. 16 and 18). It is instructive to compare the indulgence of Innocent VIII, issued during his tenure as Pope and worth only seven years, with that of the head of Christ, dating from around 1500 but attri-buted to Pope John XXII (1316-24) and purporting to be worth 10,000 years. It should be noted further that Albrecht Dürer's 1511 engraving of the Sudarium (cat. 19) also fulfills the basic require-ments for obtaining John XXII's 10,000-year indulgence, despite its lack of an inscription to that effect.

Luther's modified view of the community of saints, not as creators of an excess of transferable merit, but as inspirational examples, drastically reduced the market for cheap reproductions of the more remarkable martyrdoms (see cat. 21) as well as for the gold and silver reliquaries used as containers for holy relics (cat. 14). Conversely, Luther's endorsement of the already existing vogue for biblical illustration as a pedagogical device created a greatly enlarged market for suites of small woodcuts and engravings narrating events such as the Creation, the story of Joseph or of the Prodigal Son, and other edifying material. These could be used as illustra-tions in printed editions of the German Bibles, as had been the tradi-tion in the late 15th century, or sold independently of the text. Albrecht Dürer and Lucas van Leyden were two among the printmakers who had dealt most successfully with this type of subject matter well before the Reformation.

Albrecht Dürer, who never met the reformer personally, has left ample documentation of his interest in, and understanding of, Luther's publications. As a member of the "Sodalitas Staupitziana" in Nuremberg, the intellectual circle cum dining club which centered around Luther's own mentor, the Augustinian vicar general Johann von Staupitz, during the period of the latter's sojourn in the city in 1516 and 1517, Dürer was among the first to read Caspar Nutzel's unauthorized German translation of Luther's 95 theses in printed form. A letter from Luther to the jurist Christoph Scheurl, dated 5 March 1518, relays greetings to Dürer and extends thanks for an unspecified gift (donum insignis viri Alberti Dürer), presumably a group of his own prints which the artist had sent soon after learning of Luther's work. A letter from Dürer to Spalatin, chaplain and secretary to Frederick the Wise--undated but evidently written early in 1520--sends thanks to the Elector for the gift of "Luther's little book" and urges that "his Electoral Grace take the praiseworthy Dr. Martin Luther under his protection for the sake of the Christian truth." In the same letter, Dürer expresses his wish to meet Luther and do a portrait drawing to be engraved on copper "for a lasting remembrance of a man who helped me out of great distress. And I beg your worthiness to send me for my money anything new that Dr. Martin may write."[2] A list of sixteen of Luther's early pamphlets dating from the years 1517 through 1520, written in Dürer's hand, is preserved in the British Museum. It is not known whether the list represents an inventory of works which Dürer actually owned or whether it is a reading list drawn up at the time of his correspondence with Spalatin.

Albrecht Dürer, Two Angels with Sudarium

Dürer was in Antwerp in the spring of 1521 when the false news of
Luther's arrest was circulated in order to conceal the reformer's place-
ment in protective custody by order of Frederick the Wise. Fearing
Luther dead, Dürer wrote a lengthy and moving eulogy in his travel
diary (17 May 1521) lamenting the loss of "this man, who has written
more clearly than any that has lived for 140 years" and calling upon
Erasmus to take a public stand in defense of Luther's doctrines
("Hear, thou knight of Christ! Ride on by the side of the Lord Jesus.
Guard the truth. Attain the martyr's crown!").

Concurrently, however, in October of 1520, Dürer had recorded in
his diary the purchase of two rosaries as well as of two copies of
Lazarus Schurer's Condemnatio doctrinae librorum Martini Lutheri. For
good measure, he made a point of viewing the relics of the Virgin in
Aachen (4-26 October 1520) and those of St. Ursula and the 11,000
virgins in Cologne (4 November) while awaiting an audience with
Charles V to petition for the renewal of his old-age pension, which
had to be signed by the Emperor and countersigned by Cardinal Albrecht
von Brandenburg, the Archbishop of Mainz and Chancellor of the Reich
(cat. 8). Dürer made no further reference to his Lutheran sympathies
from May of 1521 until 5 December 1524 when, in a letter to Nikolaus
Kratzer, Henry VIII's German astronomer, he acknowledged the preva-
lence of the "evangelical" faith in Nuremberg and tacitly admitted
acceptance of it, on the eve of the formal public adoption of
Lutheranism by order of the Nuremberg City Council (March 1525).

Dürer's reticence during this period must be viewed in light of
the excommunication of his best friend, Willibald Pirckheimer, in the
selfsame papal bull by which Luther and Ulrich von Hutten were con-
demned (Decet pontificem romanum: 3 January 1521). Dürer's own pre-
carious situation at this time was further complicated by Karlstadt's
dedication of a pamphlet on the symbolic interpretation of the Last
Supper to Dürer (Von anbetvng vnd der erbietvng der
zaychen des newen Testaments, Augsburg, Melchior Remminger, 1521) and
by the arrest and interrogation in the Nuremberg torture chamber of
three of Dürer's students, Barthel and Sebald Beham and Jörg Pencz.
The three, who are referred to in the court record as the "drei
gottlosen Maler," admitted not merely to a symbolical interpretation
of the sacrament, but to disbelief in Christ's divinity and denial of
civil authority. The three young artists were expelled from Nuremberg
temporarily, while their mentor, the schoolmaster Hans Denck, who had
concealed the radical Anabaptist Thomas Münzer in his home, was
banished permanently. The Nuremberg edition of Karlstadt's pamphlet
was confiscated and the printer imprisoned for questioning.

After Nuremberg had become the first Imperial city to declare for the Reformation, Dürer met and portrayed Luther's associate, Philip Melanchthon, who was the guest of Willibald Pirckheimer during his assignment as consultant to the City Council for the reorganization of the school system (cat. 9). A letter written by Melanchthon to a mutual friend after Dürer's death on April 6, 1528 (followed by a Lutheran funeral) reveals that he possessed an important, and perhaps complete, collection of Dürer's graphic oeuvre.[3] Additionally, a death notice and obituary poem were sent to Luther by Eoban Hesse, then rhetoric instructor at the Nuremberg Gymnasium. Luther's gracious reply was as follows:

> Grace and peace in Christ. I have already received an earlier letter from you, together with the Epicedion on Dürer....It is natural and right to weep for so excellent a man; still you should rather think him blessed, as one whom Christ has taken in the fullness of his wisdom and by a happy death from these most troublous times, and perhaps from times even more troublous which are to come, lest one, who was worthy to look upon nothing but excellence, should be forced to behold things most vile. May he rest in peace. Amen.[4]

<div align="center">* * *</div>

Lucas Cranach the Elder was Luther's friend, neighbor and business associate in Wittenberg, and was, with his younger son and namesake, "official" artist to the Reformation. The elder Cranach, who had come to Wittenberg as court painter to Frederick the Wise in 1505, three years before Luther's arrival, not only served as witness at his friend's wedding to Katharina von Bora, but stood godfather to the couple's first child, Hans ("A child born of a monk and a nun must have a great lord as godfather," wrote Luther, "therefore I am inviting you. I regret that I cannot be precise as to the time."). A decade later when Cranach's own eldest son, also named Hans, died unexpectedly during a study trip to Italy, it was Luther who came to the Cranach household to bring the news and to offer comfort.

Cranach was eleven years older than Luther, and was indeed "a great lord," having been given a coat-of-arms by Frederick the Wise in 1509, when he was entrusted with quasi-ambassadorial duties on a trip to the Netherlands. Cranach was one of the wealthiest men in Wittenberg (it was at his home that the exiled King Christian of Denmark stayed), and as a mark of his friendship for Luther he provided safe-deposit service for the precious stones and other objects of value which were sent to the reformer by his admirers.[5] Having already proved his mettle as book illustrator with the printed catalogue of Frederick the Wise's famous relic collection (the Wittenberger Heiltumsbuch, 1509), Cranach maintained a printer's license giving him a near monopoly on Luther's writings after 1519. The printer, Melchior Lotter, who arrived from Basel bearing the Froben type faces, lived in Cranach's house and used Cranach's equipment during the printing of the first edition of Luther's Bible.

Since he also travelled widely and frequently in his capacity as court painter--sometimes in order to fulfill requests for Luther's enemies, such as Cardinal Albrecht von Brandenburg and Duke George the Bearded--Cranach also served at times as Luther's courier and informant. Always the businessman, however, he prudently refused to cash at least one of Luther's drafts, and seems not to have allowed his Lutheran sentiment to prevent his acceptance of commissions for devotional works from Catholic clients. Portraits of Cardinal Albrecht von Brandenburg and the wonder-working Innsbruck Mariahilf were among the markedly non-Lutheran paintings which he created during the 1520s, at the height of the Reformation. Commissions of this kind seem to have ceased after about 1530, however, and the Cranach workshop, under the direction of Lucas the Younger, eventually turned to the production of specifically Lutheran altarpieces and woodcut illustrations, as well as to satirical and polemical woodcuts to fuel the propaganda-war being waged by Lutherans and Catholics with equally vitriolic

caricatures of Luther and the Pope (these last, unfortunately, are too little collected in the United States, and could not be represented in this exhibition).

Of all the prints associated with the Reformation, the single image in greatest demand was that of Luther himself. The elder Cranach's earliest engraved portrait of Luther, made in 1520 shortly after the Leipzig debate, shows him as a still ascetic young Augustinian monk with tonsure and cowl (cat. 1). His second, dated 1521, in the year of the Diet at Worms, emphasized Luther's scholarly credentials by showing him in his doctoral beret, seen in the pure profile view suitable for a coin or medal. Both images were "beatified" by copyists: Hans Baldung's woodcut (not exhibited) supplied the tonsured Luther with a halo and dove of the Holy Spirit, and Daniel Hopfer's etching (cat. 2) of 1523 shows an aura around the doctoral beret, and popularized Cranach's Latin inscription by translation into German. Such images as these recall the allegation made by the papal nuncio, Girolamo Aleander, that:

Martin is pictured with a halo and a dove above his head. The people kiss these pictures. Such a quantity have been sold that I was not able to obtain one. A cartoon has appeared showing Luther with a book in his hand accompanied by [Ulrich von] Hutten in armor with a sword under the caption "Champions of Christian Liberty." Another sheet portrays Luther in front and Hutten behind carrying a chest on which are two chalices with the inscription "The Ark of the True Faith." Erasmus, in front, is playing the harp as David. In the background is John Hus, whom Luther has recently proclaimed his saint. In another part of the picture the pope and the cardinals are being bound by soldiers of the guard. I cannot go out on the streets but the German people put their hands to their swords and gnash their teeth at me. I hope the Pope will give me a plenary indulgence and look after my brothers and sisters if anything happens to me.[6]

Cranach's woodcut of 1522 is the first portrait of Luther in non-monastic attire (cat. 3). During his period of protective custody in the Wartburg (May 1521 - February 1522), it was necessary for Luther to keep his identity secret, even from the household staff. Consequently he allowed his black hair and beard to grow, and dressed as a knight. Lucas Cranach was one of the very few people permitted to see Luther in this disguise as "Junker Jörg" when, dressed in a red mantle for travelling, he (Luther) paid a brief visit to Wittenberg in

early December, 1521. Cranach's woodcut, in which the sense of anima-
tion is particularly vivid, actually constitutes an official announce-
ment that Luther, who had been feared dead, was actually alive and
well, and had returned from "Patmos" (the Wartburg) to Wittenberg.
Such portraits as these, by coming onto the market at critical moments
in Luther's early career, helped spread his fame and generate further
curiosity about his message, and actually contributed in a very
material way to the success of the Reformation.

The final portrait of Luther in our exhibition (cat. 4) is
Heinrich Aldegrever's engraving of 1540, presenting the enduring image
of the reformer as a sedately middle-aged evangelical pastor, a hus-
band and father upon whom settled habits and regular meals have worked
a transformation. The agent of this change was Katharina von Bora,
the former nun to whom he had been betrothed on June 13, 1525, in a
ceremony witnessed only by Lucas Cranach, Johannes Bugenhagen and the
jurist Apel. Having at first declared pointedly that his reasons for
marrying were "to please my father, to spite the Pope, and to seal my
witness before martryrdom," and having heretofore regarded marriage as
primarily a Pauline remedy for the sin of lust, Luther soon found in
matrimony both an agreeable state and an educational model for his
followers. Such store was set by later Lutheran theologians on the
importance of home and family, and on the Luther household as par-
ticularly exemplary, that a market for engraved copies of Katherina
von Bora's wedding portrait (the original a painting by Lucas Cranach)
existed long after her death in 1552 (cat. 5).

As a connoisseur of art, Luther was relatively unsophisticated,
yet his views on the uses of religious images were much more moderate
than those of Karlstadt, Zwingli or Calvin. While for Luther it was
primarily through the spoken Word, and through sacred music, that
Christianity was to be operative, he overcame his early suspicion that
the expenditure of funds for liturgical works of art might constitute
poor stewardship. Although he recommended the destruction of certain
supposedly wonder-working images in rustic pilgrimage sites, yet he
recognized in iconoclasm an inherent danger to civil authority, and he
recognized in religious art, used "for the sake of memorial and
witness," a positive educational value.[7]

Albrecht Dürer, Phillip Melanchthon

FOOTNOTES

1. Roland Bainton, Here I Stand: A Life of Martin Luther (New York, 1950), p. 54.

2. Basel, MS. G. I 33,4. Hans Rupprich, Dürer, Schriftlicher Nachlass (Berlin, 1956) 1, 85-87, no. 32.

3. Letter (in Latin) to Joachim Camerarius, 15 March 1533. (Reprinted in German translation in Heinz Ludecke and Suzanne Heiland, eds., Dürer und die Nachwelt, Berlin, 1955, p. 42).

4. Lüdecke and Heiland, pp. 41-42.

5. See Paul Lehfeldt, Luthers Verhältnis zu Kunst und Künstlern Berlin, 1892).

6. Paul Kalkoff, Die Depeschen des Nuntius Aleander, 1897 (trans. Roland Bainton, op. cit. p. 136).

7. See Carl C. Christensen, Art and the Reformation in Germany Athens, Ohio, 1979).

CATALOGUE

1 LUCAS CRANACH THE ELDER (1472-1553)
Martin Luther as an Augustinian Friar, 1520
Engraving, B.5
National Gallery of Art, Rosenwald Collection, 1949

Inscribed: AETERNA IPSE SVAE MENTIS SIMVLACHRA LVTHERVS / EXPRIMIT AT
VVLVS CERA LVCAE OCCIDVOS / M.D.X.X.

("Luther himself portrayed the lasting image of his mind;
Lucas drew the mortal countenance. 1520")

Lucas Cranach's two engravings of Luther as an Augustinian, with ton-
sure and cowl, are the earliest authentic portraits of the reformer.
Such was the popular demand for portraits of Luther in 1520, the year
of the papal bull of excommunication, that Cranach's first edition was
entirely sold out. The artist then engraved a second plate, slightly
larger than the first, showing the figure in waist length and framed
in a niche, which bore an identical Latin inscription.

Cranach was court painter to Luther's patron, Frederick the Wise, and
knew Luther personally. His portrait was subsequently copied by other
artists, among them Hans Baldung, who supplied the reformer with a
halo and a dove representing the Holy Spirit.

J. Fiker, "Älteste Bildnisse Luthers," Zeitschrift des Vereins für
Kirchengeschichte der Provinz Sachsen, XVII, 1920.

Lucas Cranach (exhibition catalogue, Basel, 1972) Vol. I, no. 35.

Martin Luther und die Reformation in Deutschland (exhibition cata-
logue, Nuremberg, 1983) nos. 214, 215.

2 DANIEL HOPFER THE ELDER (1470-1536)
Martin Luther in Scholar's Attire, 1523
Etching on iron, B. 86
Elvehjem Museum of Art, Class of 1947 Gift Fund purchase, 1973.137

Daniel Hopfer is often credited as being the first to adapt the
armorer's art of etching to the printing process. He was himself a
professional armorer, active in the imperial city of Augsburg during
the reign of Maximilian. He had joined the Evangelical movement in
1522-23, shortly before making this etched copy of Lucas Cranach's
engraving of 1521 showing Luther in full profile and wearing his doc-
toral beret and Augustinian cowl. Cranach's portrait was circulated
at the time of Luther's departure for the meeting of the Reichstag at
Worms. Hopfer's copy dates from 1523, after Luther's return from the
Wartburg, in the year of the publication of his pamphlets On Civil
Government and On the Order of Worship, and like the Cranach original
it places emphasis on Luther's scholarly credentials. As Hans Baldung
had done with the tonsured portrait, however, Hopfer has added a halo-
like aura behind Luther's head. Hopfer has also "popularized" the
image by translating Cranach's Latin inscription into German:

    DES LUTTERS GESTALT MAG WOL VERDERBENN
    SEIN CRISTLICH GEMIET WIRT NYMER STERBEN

    ("Luther's body may be destroyed, but his
    Christian mind will never die.")

Popular sympathy for Luther was such that the papal nuncio, Girolamo
Aleander, remarked on the false "saint" Luther, whose image was
purchased and kissed by the people.

E. Eyssen, Daniel Hopfer (dissertation, Heidelberg, 1904) no. 90.

Lucas Cranach (exhibition catalogue, Basel, 1972) Vol. I, no. 38.

Martin Luther und die Reformation in Deutschland (exhibition cata-
    logue, Nuremberg, 1983) no. 217.

3   LUCAS CRANACH THE ELDER (1472-1553)
    Martin Luther as "Junker Jörg," 1522
    Woodcut
    National Gallery of Art, Rosenwald Collection, 1943

    Inscribed: IMAGO MARTINI LVTHERI, EO HABITV EXPRESSA. QVO REVERSVS
                 EST EX PATHMO VVITTENBERGAM. ANNO DOMINI M.D.XXII

                 ("Portrait of Martin Luther as he appeared when he
                 returned from his Patmos to Wittenberg, 1522")

Cranach's woodcut of 1522 is the first portrait of Luther in non-monastic attire. During his period of protective custody in the Wartburg Castle (May 1521 - February 1522), it was necessary to keep his true identity secret, even from the servants, and to keep his actual place of concealment secret even from Frederick the Wise himself, so that the latter could truthfully deny knowing Luther's whereabouts. By way of disguise, Luther dressed as a knight and allowed his tonsure to grow out, and cultivated a luxuriant black beard.

Cranach, who was Luther's personal friend, had been one of the very few people permitted to see Luther in his civilian disguise as "Junker Jörg" during the latter's brief visit to Wittenberg from the Wartburg in December of 1521. Cranach's unusually animated and lively portrait was issued in 1522, serving as a formal announcement that Luther, who had been feared dead by many people, was alive and well and had returned from 'Patmos' -- Luther's own term for the Wartburg, which he compared to St. John's place of exile. Like the Evangelist, Luther had put his period of captivity to literary use, utilizing his time to complete a translation of the New Testament into German.

Lucas Cranach (exhibition catalogue, Basel, 1972) Vol. I, no. 42.

Martin Luther und die Reformation in Deutschland (exhibition catalogue, Nuremberg, 1983) no. 260.

Martin Schongauer, St. Christopher

4   HEINRICH ALDEGREVER (1502-1558)
Portrait of Martin Luther as Evangelical Pastor, 1540
Engraving, B.184
Art Institute of Chicago, Clarence Buckingham Collection, 1938.1340

Heinrich Aldegrever's portrait of Martin Luther, which had as pendant
a portrait of Philip Melanchthon, was evidently not done from life.
Zschelletzschky has suggested that the prototype may have been a wood-
cut attributed to Hans Brosamer (Pass.IV. 19.200), an artist who was
active in Erfurt in the late 1530's and who portrayed both Luther and
Katharina von Bora. The accuracy of Aldegrever's Luther image,
however, comes closer to Lucas Cranach than to Brosamer. A Cranach
gouache drawing of Luther, dating from about 1532, has survived and is
now in the collection of the Duke of Buccleuch (illus. Werner Schade,
Die Malerfamilie Cranach, plate 167). In contrast to the earlier
portraits of Luther, which depicted him as a lean and vigorous young
candidate for martyrdom, Aldegrever's image reveals a settled and
domesticated man of middle age, upon whom married life and regular
meals have worked as great a transformation as has public acceptance
of Lutheranism as a territorial alternative to Catholicism.

Aldegrever, who was born in Paderborn in 1502, is presumed by some
scholars to have worked for a time in Dürer's studio in Nuremberg.
More recently, however, it has been suggested that he may well have
been trained in the Netherlands, where Dürer's influence was also
strong. He took up residence in Soest in 1530, and played a prominent
role in introducing the Reformation in that city under the protection
of the Protestant Duke of Cleves, whose portrait he also engraved in
1540. Aldegrever's most famous works, however, are his engraved
portraits of the two condemned Anabaptist leaders of Münster, John of
Leyden and Bernard Knipperdolling, made shortly before their execu-
tions in 1536.

Herbert Zschelletzschky, Das graphische Werk Heinrich Aldegrevers.
    Baden-Baden, 1974, 100-3.

5   ERHARD AND/OR ANDREAS NUNZER
Katharina von Bora, early 18th century
Engraving
Private collection

Katharina von Bora (1499-1552), a former nun, became the wife of
Martin Luther in 1525. Lucas Cranach the Elder witnessed the
betrothal ceremony, with Johannes Bugenhagen, on June 13, and painted
formal portraits of both husband and wife in the following year.
Luther himself, and after him his followers, so stressed the impor-
tance of marriage and family life, and of the exemplary quality of the
Luther household in particular, that a market for the likeness of
Katharina von Bora, "Dr. Martin Luthers Nonne," persisted long after
her death in 1552.

The present engraving, formerly in the collection of the Société de
l'Histoire du Protestantisme français, Paris, was produced in the
Nuremberg workshop of the Nunzer brothers, who are believed to have
produced much of their engraved work in collaboration. According to
Nagler, one brother provided preliminary drawings, and the other
translated them into copper engravings.

Georg Kaspar Nagler, Die Monogrammisten. Munich, 1858-79.

6   LUCAS CRANACH (Workshop)
Luther and Hus Giving Communion to the Saxon Princes
Woodcut
National Gallery of Art, Rosenwald Collection, 1954

Formerly attributed to the Elder Cranach, this work is now considered
by most scholars to be a product of the workshop, dating from perhaps
as late as 1560. It is nevertheless of great iconographic interest in
that it depicts Luther's own concept of himself as the theological
successor to the early fifteenth-century Bohemian martyr, Jan Hus.
Both Luther and Hus had in common, among other things, the conviction
that communion in both kinds (wine as well as bread) should be offered
to the laity. On the altar behind the two reformers, a "fountain of
grace" trimmed with a symbolic grapevine springs from the wound in the
side of the crucified Christ. Unlike the traditional subject of the
Mass of St. Gregory, in which the priest's crucial role in the re-
enactment of the Incarnation and Crucifixion was stressed as central
to the service of the Mass, this woodcut is appropriate to the
Lutheran view of the Crucifixion as a single, non-recurring historical
event, and of the sacrament itself as the revelation of divinity to
the believing communicant, whose participation is essential to the
effect of the sacrament.

Since it is the Elector Johann Frederick, and not Frederick the Wise, to whom Luther administers the cup in this woodcut, it seems likely that the design does not date from the early days of the Reformation when Luther first compared himself to Hus, but rather from the period around 1560 by which time all of the principal dramatis personae had died: Hus in 1415; Luther in 1546; Johann Frederick in 1554 (and the elder Cranach, of course, in 1553). If this is the case, the woodcut must represent an apotheosis, so to speak, of the Lutheran communion as a means of salvation.

Lucas Cranach (exhibition catalogue, Basel, 1972) Vol. II, no. 361.

M.B. Woodall, Fons Pietatis: Eine Ikonographische Studie. Goteborg, 1969, 72 ff.

7   BARTHEL BEHAM (1502-1540)
Portrait of Charles V, 1531
Engraving, B.60
Art Institute of Chicago, Clarence Buckingham Collection, 1938.1344

Charles V was crowned Holy Roman Emperor in Aachen in 1520, at the age of twenty, only a few months after issuance of the papal bull threatening Luther with excommunication; consequently, the case of Martin Luther formed one of the first and most prominent items on his agenda as Emperor. At the urging of Frederick the Wise, he extended to Luther the unusual courtesy of a hearing before a secular court, composed of himself and the German electors and princes, at the meeting of the Reichstag in Worms. Having listened carefully to the arguments of both Luther and his opponent, a representative of the Archbishop of Trier, Charles declared:

I am descended from a long line of Christian emperors of
this noble German nation....They were all faithful to
the death to the Church of Rome, and they defended the
Catholic faith and the honor of God. I have resolved to
follow in their steps. A single friar who goes counter
to all Christianity for a thousand years must be
wrong....After having heard yesterday the obstinate
defense of Luther, I regret that I have so long delayed

in proceeding against him and his false teaching....He
may return under his safe conduct, but without preaching
or making any tumult. I will proceed against him as a
notorious heretic....

(Deutsche Reichstagsakten, II, 595-6,
trans. Roland Bainton.)

Barthel Beham, one of the three "godless young painters" of Nuremberg
who were expelled from the city in 1525 for professing both atheistic
and anarchistic views, witnessed the festivities held in Munich in
1530 honoring Charles V and his brother, Ferdinand I, on the occasion
of their state visit to the court of Duke Wilhelm IV of Bavaria. A
year later, in 1531, he engraved pendant portraits of the two
monarchs, commemorating the coronation of Charles in Italy by the pope
(he was the last emperor to undergo this ceremony) and the coronation
of Ferdinand, in January of 1531, as King of the Romans (and thus his
brother's designated successor as Emperor, by-passing the three-year-
old Philip II).

8   ALBRECHT DÜRER (1471-1528)
Cardinal Albrecht von Brandenburg ("The Large Cardinal"), 1523
Engraving, M.101
Art Institute of Chicago, Potter Palmer Collection, 1956.955

Albrecht, by Divine Mercy Presbyter Cardinal of the Holy Roman
Church, Titular of St. Chrysogonus, Archbishop of Mainz and
Magdeburg, Primate Elector of the Empire, Administrator of
Halberstadt, Margrave of Brandenburg.

Thus were his eyes, his cheeks, his features at the age of 34.

It was Cardinal Albrecht von Brandenburg's ambitious acquisition of
three major offices in two years, with concomitant installation fees,
which led to Tetzel's sale of the indulgence for new St. Peter's --
the incident which provoked Luther to submit his ninety-five theses
for purposes of debate. Albrecht, who had borrowed the 10,000 ducats
for the pallium costs of the Archbishopric of Mainz, was permitted to
retain one-half of the revenue raised by Tetzel in order to repay his
loan from the Fugger bank.

As Archbishop of Mainz, Albrecht (1490-1545) was also, of course,
Chancellor of the Reich, and as such had been required to countersign
the Imperial order granting Dürer his pension in 1520. It was perhaps
with this fact in mind that Dürer had first made the Cardinal a pre-
sent of an engraved portrait ("The Small Cardinal," 1519), the plate
for which was subsequently worn out in use as the frontispiece for the
Halle Relic Book of 1520. The work exhibited ("The Large Cardinal,"
1523) was done from a silverpoint study made by Dürer during
Albrecht's visit to Nuremberg in 1522. Like its predecessor, the
plate for this portrait, together with 500 impressions, was sent as an
unsolicited gift to the Cardinal. As we know from Dürer's letter
dated 4 September 1523 (two months after the burning of the first
Lutheran martyrs at Brussels), Albrecht Dürer was keenly interested in
the writings of Martin Luther as early as 1517; however, he remained
officially a Catholic until the Reformation was imposed in Nuremberg
by order of the City Council in March, 1525.

Hans Rupprich, Dürer, Schriftlicher Nachlass, I, 95-6.

Charles Talbot, ed., Dürer in America: His Graphic Work (exhibition
    catalogue, National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1971) no. 75.

Albrecht Dürer: 1471-1971 (exhibition catalogue, Nuremberg, 1971)
    no. 548.

9 ALBRECHT DÜRER (1471-1528)
   Philip Melanchthon, 1526
   Engraving, M.104
   Elvehjem Museum of Art, Thomas T. Coxon Fund and Edna G. Dyar Fund
   purchase 71.27

   "Dürer was able to depict Philip's features as if living, but the
   practiced hand could not portray his soul."

Melanchthon (né Philip Schwarzerd), professor of Greek at the
University of Wittenberg from the age of 18, was the grand-nephew of
the great humanist, Johannes Reuchlin, and was the most moderate of
the reformers in Luther's circle, as well as the most articulate. He
was the author of the Augsburg Confession (1530) and of the first
systematic Protestant treatise on the method of theological study, the

Loci Communes Rerum Theologicorum (1521). He is regarded as the
founder of higher education in Evangelical Germany, and as such was
called "Praeceptor Germaniae."

Melanchthon (1497-1560), like Dürer, was a close personal friend of
the Nuremberg humanist Willibald Pirckheimer and may have met the
artist as early as 1518 when he paid his first visit to Nuremberg.
Dürer made this likeness in the winter of 1525-6, when Melanchthon was
in Nuremberg at the invitation of the City Council in order to reorga-
nize the school system.

Melanchthon owned an important, and perhaps complete, collection of
Dürer's graphic art, as his letter of 15 March 1533 to Johann
Camerarius shows. It is probable that he also owned the plate for
this engraving, which is still preserved in the Gotha museum.

Like the majority of Dürer's portrait engravings of the 1520's, this
one is cast in the mode of an epitaph, with its inscription illu-
sionistically incised in Roman lettering on a tablet resembling the
Roman tombstones which are very numerous in Germany.

Clyde Manschreck, Melanchthon, The Quiet Reformer. New York, 1958.

Jan Bialostocki, "The Eye and the Window," Festschrift für Gert von
    der Osten. Cologne, 1970.

Charles Talbot, ed., Dürer in America. 1971, no. 78.

Heinz Lüdecke and Suzanne Heiland, Dürer und die Nachwelt. Berlin,
    1955, 267-9.

O   ALBRECHT DÜRER (1471-1528)
    Erasmus of Rotterdam, 1526
    Engraving, M.105
    Art Institute of Chicago, Clarence Buckingham Collection, 1938.1444

    "Portrait of Erasmus of Rotterdam by Albrecht Dürer, drawn from the
        living figure"

    "A better portrait show the writings"

The diary of Dürer's journey to the Netherlands in 1520-21 lists at
least three separate meetings with Erasmus -- once in Brussels and

The diary of Dürer's journey to the Netherlands in 1520-21 lists at least three separate meetings with Erasmus -- once in Brussels and twice in Rotterdam. A letter from Erasmus to Willibald Pirckheimer dated January 8, 1525 refers to a charcoal portrait which Dürer had begun in Brussels (presumably the one now in the Louvre: W.805). The engraved portrait was forthcoming only six years later, after Erasmus had written to Pirckheimer at least twice requesting that he prod the artist into action, and even suggesting that Dürer rely on Quentin Massys' medal of 1519 for a likeness. Dürer did, in fact, repeat the Greek inscription from the medal ("A better portrait show the writings"). Erasmus, whose vanity as well as whose Ciceronian cult of friendship were almost legendary, had already commissioned painted portraits by both Quentin Massys and Hans Holbein the Younger, and was fond of sending likenesses of himself as remembrances to friends. He was greatly disappointed with Dürer's engraving which, as his letter to Henricus Botteus shows (March 29, 1528), he considered to be a poor likeness.

Neither Dürer's drawing nor his engraving of Erasmus is up to his usual standard, as Panofsky has noted. The reason may lie in Dürer's disappointment when Erasmus failed to espouse the Lutheran cause. His lengthy and anguished essay in the travel diary for May 17, 1521, written on hearing the news of Luther's supposed arrest, contains the following passage:

> O Erasmus of Rotterdam, where wilt thou take thy stand?
> Behold how the wicked tyranny of worldly power, the might
> of darkness, prevails. Hear, thou knight of Christ!
> Ride on by the side of the Lord Jesus. Guard the truth.
> Attain the martyr's crown!

Hans Rupprich, Dürer, Schriftlicher Nachlass, I, 156, 271, 276.

Erwin Treu, Die Bildnisse des Erasmus von Rotterdam. Basel, 1959, 36.

Alois Gerlo. Erasme et ses portraitistes, 2nd ed., Nieuwkoop, 1969.

Charles Talbot, ed., Dürer in America, no. 79.

11 HANS SEBALD BEHAM (1500-1550)
    Coat of Arms of Lazarus Spengler
    Woodcut
    National Gallery of Art, Rosenwald Collection, 1943

Albrecht Dürer's portrait of Lazarus Spengler (1479-1534), a man nearly his own age and a fellow member of both the Pirckheimer circle and the Sodalitas Staupiziana, has not survived. Dürer's student,

Albrecht Dürer, The Virgin as Queen of Heaven

Sebald Beham (one of the three "godless" young painters expelled from
Nuremberg in 1525) was the designer of this print showing Spengler's
escutcheon.

Spengler, like his father before him, was secretary to the Nuremberg
City Council (Ratsschreiber), a position of considerable power and
influence. He was one of the first to publish a defense of Martin
Luther's teaching (Augsburg, 1519). He was also the author of The
Main Doctrines by which Christendom has until now been Deceived
(Wittenberg, 1520), published under the name Nicolas von Amsdorf, a
treatise attacking belief in free will, salvation by good works, and
the authority of tradition. With Luther himself and with Willibald
Pirckheimer, Spengler was included in the papal bull Exsurge Domine
(15 June 1520) threatening excommunication, as well as in Decet pon-
tificem romanum (2 January 1521) actually concluding the process.
Spengler was highly instrumental in directing the orderly transition
to Lutheranism in Nuremberg, which was the first Imperial city to
break with the papacy. He was also a leader in the field of Protestant
education. Luther's Sermon on Keeping Children in School (1530) is
dedicated to him.

Spengler's family arms were modified in February, 1524, just prior to
his participation as a delegate in the Nuremberg Reichstag. The ori-
ginal simple silver helmet which had served as crest was replaced with
a "virgin" in a red dress, and a pair of Imperial eagle wings were
added at that time.
On Lazarus Spengler, see:
Stephen Ozment, The Reformation in the Cities. Yale, 1975, 74-9.
Harold J. Grimm, Lazarus Spengler: A Lay Leader of the Reformation.
    Ohio State Press, 1978.

12   ANONYMOUS (AUGSBURG)
     The Way of Salvation, c. 1490
     Woodcut
     National Gallery of Art, Rosenwald Collection, 1943

This Augsburg woodcut, made when Luther was a boy, depicts the path to
salvation as an orderly progress through a fantastic landscape. A
famous example of the same subject had been engraved in Florence in
1477 for use as the frontispiece of a book entitled Monte Sancti di
Dio.

The three largest banderoles, at left and bottom right, exhort the
reader to overcome vice and sin, represented symbolically in the
landscape by thorns and thistles, in order to reach the top of the

mountain and attain peace with God. Shorter banderoles, reminiscent
of the rungs of a mystic ladder, begin at the bottom with faith and
ascend through charity, modesty, steadfastness, justice, strength,
determination, temperance, patience, obedience, and humility to love
of God. The kneeling nun at lower left, with two scourges and a pla-
card bearing the name of Jesus, suggests that the sheet was prepared
primarily for use in a convent. The heart pierced by an arrow, at the
top of the mountain, probably indicates Augustinian issue (in token of
the famous passage from the Confessions: "Thou hast wounded my heart
with the arrow of Thy love").

The implication of such designs as this, which were extremely common
in medieval times, is that, through the use of free will, a state of
perfection can be attained. Luther was later to deny both the effi-
cacy of free will and the accessibility of God to human reason.

> Show me a mortal in the whole universe, no matter how
> just and saintly, to whose mind it would ever have
> occurred that this could be the way to salvation to
> believe in him who was both God and man, who died for
> our sins, who rose and sits at the right hand of the
> Father....If God's justice could be recognized as just
> by human experience, it would not be divine. Since God
> is true and one, He is utterly incomprehensible and
> inaccessible to human reason....
>   (Martin Luther, Weimar ed. XVIII, 758-9)

Elizabeth Mongan and Carl O. Schniewind, The First Century of
    Printmaking (exhibition catalogue, The Art Institute of Chicago,
    1941) no. 1.
Heitz-Major, XXIII, 10.
Richard Field, Fifteenth Century Woodcuts and Metalcuts from the
    National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1965, 270.

13 MARTIN SCHONGAUER (c. 1450-1491)
    St. Christopher, c. 1475-80
    Engraving, L.56
    Elvehjem Museum of Art, Humanistic Foundation Fund Purchase, 63.4.5

The cult of St. Christopher generated more images, in all media, than
that of any other single saint. Due to the popular belief that anyone
who looked at his image in the morning would not die "an evil death"
(i.e., without benefit of confession and absolution by a priest) that
day, the saint was a particularly popular subject for the graphic
arts, as well as for statues and wall paintings placed at the entran-
ces of churches and dwellings, and at the ends of bridges. Coins with
St. Christopher's image were cast in central Germany and Bohemia, and
he was the chosen patron saint of several German cities, among them

Baden, Braunschweig and Mecklenburg, as well as of bookbinders, gardeners and sailors.

Both Erasmus, in the Praise of Folly (1509), and Martin Luther, in the Sermons on the Ten Commandents (1518), expressed scorn for the practice of venerating wooden or painted images. Luther singled out the cult of St. Christopher as a particularly flagrant example of honor paid to images that should be granted to God alone.

The Alsatian painter and engraver, Martin Schongauer, was the most widely imitated artist in northern Europe in Martin Luther's boyhood. His designs were copied by painters, sculptors and by other engravers from Flanders to Bohemia, and were a powerful influence on the formation of Albrecht Dürer's style.

D. Martin Luthers Werke (Weimar Ausgabe) Vol. 1, 412-4.

14   ISRAHEL VAN MECKENEM (c. 1445-1503)
A Gothic Monstrance (after Master W with the Key), c. 1480
Engraving, L.IX.440.589
Ex coll.: Trivulzio, Milan
National Gallery of Art, Rosenwald Collection, 1943

Designs for, and depictions of, gold and silver objects for liturgical use formed a special genre of printmaking in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, particularly among engravers who had themselves been trained as goldsmiths. The demand for such articles, and for prints depicting them, was drastically reduced in Germany after the Reformation.

A monstrance such as this would be used for the ceremonial display of holy relics. The famous collection of 17,000 such relics owned by Luther's patron, Frederick the Wise, was encased in a splendid array of such reliquaries, as we know from the illustrated catalogue published by Lucas Cranach in 1509 (the Wittenberger Heiltumsbuch). Among the many items of interest in Frederick's collection were relics of one of the Hebrew children in the fiery furnace; an entire Holy Innocent; St. Bartholomew's face; St. Anne's thumb; a piece of the tree under which Mary sang "bei dem Balsam Garten"; two straws from the manger; a vial of Mary's milk, a piece of Christ's foreskin; and a piece of the burning bush from which God spoke to Moses.

Luther's rejection of the cult of saints eliminated the need for such items, just as his altered view of the meaning of the elements of the Mass drastically reduced and simplified the requirements for other articles of church plate.

Master W with the Key was a fifteenth-century Flemish engraver closely connected with the court of Charles the Bold of Burgundy. He is thought to have been trained as a goldsmith. Israhel van Mechenem was

also a practicing goldsmith who received frequent commissions for
silver and gold objects for civic functions and ceremonies in his
native city of Bocholt.

Max Geisberg, Verzeichnis der Kupferstiche Israhel van Meckenems.
    Strassburg, 1905, no. 448.

Alan Shestack, Fifteenth Century Engravings of Northern Europe from
    the National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1968, no. 180.

15 ANONYMOUS (SOUTH GERMAN)
Purgatory, 1500
Woodcut
Ex coll.: Martin Aufhäuser, Munich
National Gallery of Art, Rosenwald Collection, 1943

Printed by Albert Kunne of Memmingen, c. 1500, this sheet contains a
Collect and Offertory "for the exiled souls" (Pro exulibus animabus)
to be recited by the priest during the celebration of the Mass. The
text beseeches God to liberate the souls in Purgatory from their intol-
erable suffering, to lead them into eternal light, and to grant them
everlasting rest.

Unlike such earlier reformers as the Bohemian martyr Jan Hus, Luther
did not deny the existence of Purgatory. In the Ninety-five Theses he
did, however, deny the existence of papal authority over both
Purgatory and the "treasury of grace," or supererogation of merits
earned by the saints which were traditionally believed to be available
for transfer to the less deserving. It was Luther's contention that
the Pope has no power over Purgatory other than that of making inter-
cession on behalf of souls -- a power which could as easily be exer-
cised by any priest or curate in his parish.

Paul Heitz, ed., Einblattdrucke des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts.
    Strassburg, 1899-1942: Vol. LXXVIII, T.O. Mabbott, Mabbott
    Collection, New York, 1933, no. 21.

Wilhelm Schreiber. Manuel de l'amateur de la gravure sur bois et sur
    metal au XVe siecle, Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, no. 1005.

Richard Field, Fifteenth Century Woodcuts and Metalcuts from the
    National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1965, no. 265.

16 ANONYMOUS (SOUTH GERMAN)
The Wounds of Christ with Symbols of the Passion, c. 1490
Woodcut
Ex coll.: Martin Aufhäuser, Munich

National Gallery of Art, Rosenwald Collection, 1943
Signed by Pope Innocent VIII (1484-92):
> This little cross in Christ's wound measures 40 hands. The
> length of time Christ was a man. Whoever recalls this image
> with due devotion shall be preserved from sudden death.
> This is the length and breadth of the wound that was
> inflicted in Christ's side. Whoever recalls this image with
> repentance and pity as well as with devotion shall have, for
> each occasion, seven years' indulgence from Pope Innocent.

Unlike the later Alsatian indulgence (cat. 18), allegedly issued by a
fourteenth-century pope and worth 10,000 years, or Pope Leo X's of
1517, which promised total remission from Purgatory, this sheet offers
only a modest seven years' indulgence, and then only to viewers who
are repentent. No mention is actually made of purchase or monetary
contribution, and the indulgence may be obtained merely by "recalling"
the image, so that, in theory at least, the penitent need not actually
own the sheet himself. As such, this is a model of the "correct" form
for an indulgence, and probably constitutes a more or less faithful
replica of Innocent VIII's original issue.

Richard Field, Fifteenth Century Woodcuts and Metalcuts from the National
Gallery, Washington, 1965, no. 260.

17 ALBRECHT DÜRER (1471-1528)
The Four Horsemen (Apocalypse Series), 1496-8
Woodcut, M. 167
National Gallery of Art, Rosenwald Collection, 1964

The four horsemen described by St. John the Evangelist (Revelations
6:1) represent pestilence, war, famine and death. In accordance with
St. John's statement that "Hell followed after," the artist has
included a traditional medieval Leviathan who devours the fallen vic-
tims struck down by the horses' hooves. Dürer's rendition of this
familiar theme is justly famous for the unprecedented vigor and power
of both design and execution, which set entirely new standards for the
art of woodcut. Dürer's series was first published in 1498, with
St. John's text on the reverse side of each sheet, and was the first
book ever to be issued by an artist acting as his own publisher. It
appeared first on the market at a time, just before 1500, when the
arrival of the millenium seemed imminent. Martin Luther, who was a
fifteen-year-old student at Eisenach in 1498, continued to believe
that the end of the world was near, and became convinced that the
papacy represented the institutionalized Antichrist.

In 1511 Dürer reissued the Latin edition of the Apocalypse, with the
Large Passion and Life of the Virgin, in a format making it possible

for all three series to be bound together. It is intriguing to specu-
late whether this might have been included in the gift which he sent
to Martin Luther during the winter of 1517/8.

Ludwig Grote, Albrecht Dürer, Die Apokalypse. Munich, 1970.

18   ANONYMOUS (ALSATIAN)
Head of Christ, c. 1500-1510
Woodcut
National Gallery of Art, Rosenwald Collection, 1943

It was the sale of Pope Leo X's indulgence for the building of new St.
Peter's which inspired Luther to compose the Ninety-five Theses
igniting the Reformation. Under the terms of that indulgence, dated
1517, subscribers were promised complete remission of all sins, and
therefore complete relief from all pains of Purgatory. The instruc-
tions issued by Cardinal Albrecht von Brandenburg (qv.) listed "fair
share" assessments for various levels of society.

This sheet, which was probably issued in Alsace between about 1500 and
1510, repeats an indulgence purporting to have been issued by Pope
John XXII (1316-1324), offering a mere 10,000-years' release from
Purgatory "to all truly contrite penitents making a devout prayer in
supplication before the face of the Saviour."

The stylistic prototype for this piece appears to have been a drawing
by Martin Schongauer (Winzinger 1) of about 1470, which was itself
related to a Netherlandish work from the Van Eyck circle.

Richard Field, Fifteenth Century Woodcuts and Metalcuts from the
    National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1965, no. 109, as reviewed by
    Christian von Heusinger in Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft, 1968,
    pp. 77-85.

For devotion to the Holy Face, see also Horst Appuhn and Christian von
    Heusinger, "Der Fund kleiner Andachtsbilder des 13. bis 17.
    Jahrhunderts in Kloster Weinhausen," Niederdeutsche Beiträge zur
    Kunstgeschichte, IV (1965), 165, no. 7.

19   ALBRECHT DÜRER (1471-1528)
The Sudarium Held by Two Angels, 1513
Engraving, M.26
Elvehjem Museum of Art, Humanistic Foundation Fund purchase, 61.2.2

Although it contains no inscribed reference to papal indulgence,
Albrecht Dürer's engraving of the miraculous veil of St. Veronica,
which is nearly contemporary with the anonymous Alsatian woodcut
showing the head of Christ (cat. 18), would be equally eligible for

use as an indulgence sheet. The popularity of the Sudarium as a sub-
ject in the visual arts stems ultimately from the papal indulgence
conferred by Pope Innocent III in 1216 on a relic, allegedly
Veronica's veil itself, which was preserved in St. Peter's in Rome.
Innocent III's original indulgence was worth ten days only; the suc-
cess of this relic, however, caused its supposed value to escalate
rapidly until, by the pontificate of Pope John XXII (1316-24) the
grant was worth 10,000 years. The office could be recited before any
replica of the relic, which led to a virtual epidemic of copies in all
media.

The face of Christ, supposedly imprinted on Veronica's view when the
saint offered it as a kerchief to the Saviour as He carried the cross
to Golgotha, takes the form of the image found on Byzantine coins in
its earliest copies. Dürer, however, has conspicuously humanized the
image of the holy face which bears a striking resemblance to his own
self-portraits.

Ernst von Dobschütz, Christusbilder. Leipzig, 1899, 197-251.

Adolf Katzenellenbogen, "Heiliges Antlitz", Reallexikon zur deutschen
     Kunstgeschichte, I, 732-42.

Charles Talbot, ed. Dürer in America, no. 57.

See also Roland H. Bainton, "Dürer and Luther as the Man of Sorrows,"
     Art Bulletin XXIX (1947), 269-72.

20 ALBRECHT DÜRER (1471-1528)
    The Virgin Mary as Queen of the Angels, 1518
    Woodcut
    Elvehjem Museum of Art, Endowment Fund purchase, 1973.136

At the very time of his most intense interest in the new teachings of
Martin Luther, Albrecht Dürer created this decorative and lyrical
woodcut depicting the Virgin, wearing the garland of roses which
signifies the Rosary, as two angels appear with an Imperial crown for
her coronation as Queen of Heaven. Other angels carry Eucharistic
grapes, musical instruments, and lilies-of-the-valley, which are sym-
bolic of the Virgin's humility. Dürer's composition recalls the
Glorification, as part of the Rosary devotion, as well as the Easter
anthem of the Virgin, Regina coeli (Queen of Heaven), and the
Ave Regina antiphon, in which the Virgin is referred to both as Queen
of Heaven and as a flower among flowers. Perhaps, even more
appropriately, Dürer had in mind the fifteenth-century hymn to the
Virgin, in which she is called both Queen of Heaven and "glory of
angels":

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       Ave, regina coelorum
       Ave, decus angelorum
       Ave, gaudium sanctorum
           Ave, solis regia.
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In 1518, the year of the Heidelberg disputation, Luther had not yet
formally addressed the problem of the Virgin's theological role, which
he only began to take up in the commentaries on the Magnificat (1521)
and on the Hail Mary (1522). In his later sermons on the Nativity and
elsewhere, Luther would stress the Virgin's humility, which manifested
itself in her willingness to perform housekeeping and barnyard tasks.

21   LEONARD BECK (1480-1542)
     St. Ferreolus, c. 1522
     Woodcut
     Art Institute of Chicago, 1937.185

St. Ferreolus, an early Christian priest, was sent by St. Irenaeus as
a missionary to Besancon about 180 A.D. and was active there for about
thirty years, until his arrest during an early third-century per-
secution of the Christian community. It is reported that he was mar-
tyred in particularly gruesome fashion, being first hung on a
windlass, then flogged, tortured with nails driven through his breast,
feet and wrists, and finally beheaded. As one of the 123 saints to
whom the Hapsburg family claimed kinship and to whom they had pledged
special devotion, this image of St. Ferreolus was designed for inclu-
sion in a series commissioned by the Emperor Maximilian. The series
was finally published in book form, after his death, in 1522.

Leonard Beck was active as both painter and woodcut designer in the
imperial city of Augsburg. A former pupil of the Elder Holbein, he
provided woodcut designs for several of Maximilian's ambitious pro-
jects, including the Triumphal Procession as well as the illustrations
for the Teuerdank and Weisskunig. A Catholic loyalist, his son was
eventually ennobled by Charles V.

Simon Laschitzer, "Die Heiligen aus der Sipp-, Mag-, und Schwagerschaft
    des Kaisers Maximilians," Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen
    des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses, V (1887), 149-151.

22   LUCAS VAN LEYDEN (1494-1533)
     Susannah and the Elders, c. 1508
     Engraving
     Elvehjem Museum of Art, Oscar Rennebohm Foundation Fund purchase, 64.1.13

Lucas van Leyden was the most important Netherlandish engraver of the
early 16th century. His choices of subject matter and of compositional

arrangement, which are highly original, were developed in response to
a public devoutly Catholic, but steeped in the ideals of the
Devotio moderna of Geert Grote and Thomas à Kempis, which stressed
sermons and Bible reading in the Dutch language as well as a practical
application of Christian principles to daily living.

The story of Susannah is told in the thirteenth chapter of the Book of
Daniel, which is included in the Vulgate, but was destined to be
omitted from Luther's Bible as non-canonical. It is also included in
Sebastian Brant's Ship of Fools, in the chapter titled "Of Old Fools".
Like Brant, who mentions the chaste Susannah only in passing, Lucas
concentrates upon the characterization of the two wicked voyeurs:

> Susannah's judges showed us why
> On older men we can't rely;
> An oldish fool spares not his soul,
> A sinner cannot change his goal.

Ellen S. Jacobowitz and Stephanie L. Stepanek, The Prints of Lucas van
   Leyden and his Contemporaries (exhibition catalogue, Washington
   D.C., National Gallery of Art, June 1983) no. 15.

23 LUCAS VAN LEYDEN (1494-1533)
   The Conversion of St. Paul, 1509
   Engraving, L.32
   Elvehjem Museum of Art, Oscar Rennebohm Foundation Fund purchase, 64.1.9

One of Lucas van Leyden's largest and most popular engravings, The
Conversion of St. Paul illustrates Geert Grote's favorite theme of the
power of salvation through personal repentance. Unlike the standard
fifteenth-century representations of this subject, in which Saul (the
future St. Paul) is shown alone on a fallen horse, in the manner of
the fall of Pride in illustrated manuscripts of the Psychomachia of
Prudentius, Lucas's composition centers on the blinded Saul led toward
Damascus by his companions, reserving the moment of the blinding
vision as a small vignette in the left background.

Lucas's print is the first to make clear the fact that it was, after
all, St. Paul, and not his horse, who had the vision. In an era when
the teachings of St. Paul were gaining in importance through the
writings of Erasmus and Martin Luther, and later still, of John Calvin,
this plate was printed and reprinted until the linework was exhausted,
and then was reworked by a later hand.

The popularity of the print may well have escalated after 1524, when
Erasmus published his tract championing the Catholic doctrine of
freedom of the will against Luther's attack. As it happens, however,

the subject was readily adaptable to Calvinist theology, which
interpreted the voice which spoke to St. Paul as that of his
conscience.

Ellen Jacobowitz and Stephanie Stepanek. The Prints of Lucas van
    Leyden and his Contemporaries (exhibition catalogue, National
    Gallery of Art, Washington, 1983) no. 19.

24 ALBRECHT DÜRER (1471-1528)
    The Man of Sorrows Mocked by a Soldier, 1511
    Woodcut, M.113 (Proof impression)
    National Gallery of Art, Rosenwald Collection, 1943

    These Cruel wounds I bear for thee, O man,
    And cure thy mortal sickness with my blood.
    I take away thy sores with mine, thy death
    With mine -- a God Who changed to man for thee.
    But thou, ungrateful, still stab my wounds with sins;
    I still take floggings for thy guilty acts.
    It should have been enough to suffer once
    From hostile Jews; now, friend, let there be peace!

    (Text by Dürer's friend, the poet Benedict Schwalbe called
    Benedictus Chelidonius)

As title page for the 1511 Latin edition of The Large Passion, Dürer
designed a new and visionary image, derived from the historical scene
of the mocking of Christ (Matthew 27:29), a travesty of a royal coro-
nation in which the Saviour's Roman captors offer him a crown of
thorns, a reed for a sceptre, and a mantle. Dürer removed the image
from the boundaries of time and place, dressing the soldier in modern
costume and placing the event in a framework of cloud, which signifies
a vision. The implication that Christ continues to suffer on behalf
of undeserving mankind reveals Dürer's interest in the popular but
unorthodox "Perpetual Passion." Moreover, it helped prepare the way
for public acceptance of Luther's belief in the sinful nature of
mankind, and of grace as totally undeserved, or unearned by good
works.

It is interesting to note that Luther himself may have owned a set of
the bound Large Passion, for which this was the frontispiece. In a
letter to Christoph Scheurl dated March 5, 1518, Luther conveys thanks
to Albrecht Dürer (whom he had never met) for his recent gift. We
know from many other sources that Dürer's gifts to people whom he
admired almost invariably were sets of his own prints.

D. Martin Luthers Werke, Briefwechsel 1. Weimar, 1930, no. 62.

Erwin Panofsky, Albrecht Dürer. Princeton, 1943, I, 138-9.
Charles Talbot, ed., Dürer in America, no. 122.

25 HANS SEBALD BEHAM (1500-1550)
The Man of Sorrows at the Foot of the Cross, 1520
Engraving, B.28
Art Institute of Chicago, Potter Palmer Collection, 1919.2537

Sebald Beham's starkly simple image of Christ holding the communion
chalice was engraved in the year of Luther's important treatise on the
sacraments, The Babylonian Captivity, in which the powers of the
priesthood were drastically diminished, and the number of sacraments
reduced from seven to two. Luther retained only the sacraments
directly instituted by Christ -- baptism and the Lord's Supper --
maintaining that the sacrament of the Mass was to be considered the
mystical experience of divine presence, not the actual re-enactment of
the incarnation and crucifixion, and that its effect is only operative
through the faith of the believer who receives it. "All of us who
have been baptised are priests without distinction," he wrote. "The
Priesthood is nothing but a ministry. The sacrament of ordination,
therefore, can be nothing other than a certain rite of choosing a
preacher in the Church." (WA, VI, 563-4) Stylistically derived from

Albrecht Altdorfer, Horatius Cocles
Leaping into the River

Albrecht Dürer's Christ of the Engraved Passion, Beham's image offers
an Evangelical substitute for the Catholic crucifix, as well as for
the medieval Mass of St. Gregory, with its emphasis on the all-
important role of the ordained priest as celebrant. Christ, here iso-
lated between the cross and the tomb, is Himself the celebrant,
offering the communion in both kinds (wine as well as the host).

Sebald Beham was twenty years old when this engraving was made. In
his twenty-fifth year (1525), he and his younger brother Barthel were
both expelled from Nuremberg by order of the city council for having
denied both the efficacy of the Lord's Supper and the divinity of
Christ, and for having denied belief in a superior worldly authority
as well.

Herbert Zschelletzschky, Die drei Gottlosen Maler von Nürnberg.
    Leipzig, 1975.

Gustav Pauli, Hans Sebald Beham: Ein kritisches Verzeichnis,
    Strassburg, 1901.

26 LUCAS CRANACH THE ELDER (1472-1553)
    Adam and Eve, 1509
    Woodcut
    Elvehjem Museum of Art, Earl O. Vits Endowment Fund purchase, 1979.1159

Lucas Cranach's pre-Reformation woodcut interprets the Fall of Man in
terms of sexual desire, and combines it with the theme of Adam as
cataloguer of the animals. As befits a sexual interpretation of the
Fall, the Garden of Eden is unusually well stocked with stags. These
are primarily symbolic of the sin of lust, but also serve as a
reference to the extreme seriousness with which stag hunting was
regarded at the Saxon court, where Lucas Cranach was frequently called
upon to record the day's catch. The plein-aire setting and wealth of
natural detail which characterize this early Cranach, done while
Luther was yet in Erfurt, form the strongest possible contrast to the
tragic interpretation used in the later engravings by the Beham
brothers.

27 HANS SEBALD BEHAM (1500-1550)
    Adam, Eve and Death, 1543
    Engraving, B.28
    Art Institute of Chicago, Potter Palmer Collection, 1921.316

Sebald Beham's engraving, dated 1543, is a close copy of his brother
Barthel's original, which was engraved in the late 1520's. The Tree
of the Knowledge of Good and Evil has been transformed into a skeletal
figure of Death, which both unites and separates Adam and Eve in an
interesting visual reference to the Augustinian interpretation of orig-
inal sin favored by Luther, presupposing both depravity and mortality

as conditions of humanity. Not merely the existence of death is
implied here, but also the foreknowledge of it, for it is Adam himself
who holds the flaming sword which will later be used by the avenging
angel to drive the disobedient couple from Paradise. Both Adam and
Eve look directly at the skeleton as they accept the apple from the
serpent's mouth. It is possible that Barthel Beham's unexpected death
in 1540, while on a trip to Italy, may have inspired his older brother
to undertake a new version of this composition. Iconographically the
engraving reflects the influence of Hans Baldung's studies of woman
and death, as it also prefigures the Edvard Munch of 1899.

28 JEAN DUVET (1485-c. 1561)
The Martyrdom of St. John the Evangelist, c. 1546-1555
Engraving
Elvehjem Museum of Art, Oscar Rennebohm Foundation Fund purchase, 64.1.15

Inscribed: IN FERVETIS OLEI DOLLIO MISSVS IOH. APO ROMAE DOMITIA
             IMPER ILLOESUS EXIIT AC IN PATMOS INS RELEGAT VBI ET
             APOCALYPSUM SCRIPSIT.

             In Rome, by the order of Emperor Domitian, the Apostle
             John, placed in a vat of boiling oil, leaving it safe and
             sound, was sent to the island of Patmos, where he wrote
             the Apocalypse.

Jean Duvet, the earliest French engraver whose name is known, was two
years younger than Luther. Born in Dijon in 1485, he was goldsmith to
Francis I and his son Henry II, and to the Bishop of Langres. By 1540
he maintained dual citizenship in Catholic Burgundy and in the new
Calvinist Republic of Geneva, where he was in demand as mintmaster and
architectural draftsman.

St. John was the patron saint of printers, and it had been the
evangelist's literary exile on Patmos to which Luther compared his own
seclusion in the Wartburg in 1521, during which time he translated the
New Testament from the Greek into German, using as his source the
newly revised Greek New Testament published in 1516 by Erasmus.

Colin Eisler, The Master of the Unicorn: The Life and Work of Jean
    Duvet. New York, 1979.

29 ALBRECHT DÜRER (1471-1528)
The Offer of Love (The III-Assorted Couple), 1495/6
Engraving, M.77
Elvehjem Museum of Art, Bequest of J.H. Van Vleck, 1981.31

The theme of mismatched lovers, usually depicted as unequal in age as
well as in social station, was a popular one in German and

Netherlandish art of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.
Dürer's characterizations are much more restrained than those of his
contemporaries, perhaps in deference to the fact that his own father
was twenty-four years older than his mother. The old man is not a
caricature, but his short-comings as a marriage partner are slyly
suggested by the motif of the "ridden-out" horse leaning against a
tree in the background. The woman's mercenary motive is made clear in
the transfer of coins from her suitor's wallet to her own open purse.
The increasing importance of money in German society was undoubtedly a
contributory factor in the sudden popularity of this subject in
literature and art in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth cen-
turies. Literary examples are to be found in the Ship of Fools by
Sebastian Brant, the Ritter vom Turn, the Gesta Romanorum, and in such
carnival plays as Vom Heiraten Spil ("A Play About Marriage").

Alison G. Stewart, Unequal Lovers: A Study of Unequal Couples in
    Northern Art. New York, 1977.

Charles Talbot, ed., Dürer in America, no. 3.

Albrecht Dürer 1471-1971 (exhibition catalogue, Nuremberg 1971), no. 463.

30 ALBRECHT DÜRER (1471-1528)
    Peasants at Market (Three Peasants in Conversation), 1497
    Engraving, M.87
    Art Institute of Chicago, Clarence Buckingham Collection, 1935.164

One of three small engravings dealing with peasant subjects which
Dürer created soon after establishing his own workshop in Nuremberg
(1496-7), the Peasants at Market carries on a tradition begun by
Martin Schongauer and the Housebook Master in the 1470s and '80s.
Such works recall the popularity of late fifteenth-century fairs as
sales outlets for printmakers.

One of Dürer's peasants carries a sword, and another wears spurs,
while the third wears a Turkish turban. It is true that peasants in
Nuremberg, where there was not a tradition of serfdom, were allowed to
bear arms. It is possible, however, that in this case Dürer may have
been inspired by the first Bundschuh uprising, which took place in the
Rottweil area in 1492-3 while Dürer was on his bachelor's journey in
nearby Basel. Such armed rebellions of peasants were destined to con-
tinue well into the sixteenth century, culminating in the Peasant's
War of 1525 led by the radical Anabaptist, Thomas Münzer.

Vorbild Dürer (exhibition catalogue, Germanisches Nationalmuseum,
    Nuremberg, 1971), nos. 28, 29, 30.

31 ALBRECHT DÜRER (1471-1528)

Nemesis ("The Large Fortune"), c. 1501-2

Engraving, M.72

Elvehjem Museum of Art, Oscar Rennebohm Foundation Fund purchase,
    64.1.11

> Virgin and victress...Applying the scales to human affairs
> and looking down upon the terrestrial realm from the
> heavens, she punished the bad and grants rewards to the
> good.... But finally, angered by the multitude of crimes,
> she has long since averted her eyes from human affairs and
> unwilling to return, awaits the rebirth of the world in the
> company of her mother (Night) in the remoter parts of the
> heavens, far beyond the regions of the earth.

> (Pomponius Laetus, Manual of Roman History)

> (Nemesis) walks aloft, floating in empty air...in her hand
> she carries a bridle and bowl.

> (Politian, Manto, Milan, 1499)

The Greek goddess of retribution, whom Dürer called "Die Nemesis,"
although never intended to be an ideal figure, is nevertheless
constructed according to the canon of Vitruvius.
Supplementing Roman proportion with natural observation, and
suspending the great winged figure over the village of Klausen (modern
Chiuso) in the Tyrol, Dürer has created an image at once fascinating
and repulsive. As Panofsky suggested, he was probably influenced by
the two modern Italian texts cited above, both of which were known in
the Nuremberg circle of humanists surrounding Dürer's closest friend,
Willibald Pirckheimer. The "Utopian" sentiments expressed in
Pomponius Laetus' manuscript would have been endorsed by many
Christian humanists at the turn of the new century, and help to
explain the extreme interest which Luther's early work evoked in
Nuremberg.

Karl Giehlow, "Poliziano und Dürer," Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für
    Vervielfaltigende Kunst, XXV (1902), 25-6.

Erwin Panofsky. "'Virgo et Victrix': A Note on Albrecht Dürer's
    Nemesis," Prints, Thirteen Illustrated Essays., ed. Carl Zigrosser,
    New York, 1962, 15-16.

Charles Talbot, ed., Dürer in America, no. 25.

Albrecht Dürer: 1471-1971 (exhibition catalogue, Nuremberg, 1971),
    no. 481.

Lucas van Leyden, Susannah and the Elders

32 ALBRECHT DÜRER (1471-1528)
Knight, Death and Devil, 1513
Engraving, M.7
Art Institute of Chicago, Robert Wallen Fund, 1959.538

> In order that you may not be deterred from the path of virtue
> because it seems rough and dreary....and because you must
> constantly fight three unfair enemies, the flesh, the devil
> and the world, this third rule shall be proposed to you: All
> those spooks and phantoms which come upon you as in the very
> gorges of Hades must be deemed for nought, after the example
> of Virgil's Aeneas ....
>
> (Erasmus of Rotterdam, Handbook of the Christian Soldier)

One of Dürer's most famous engravings, the Knight, Death and Devil has
been interpreted in conflicting ways. Death and the Devil are seen by
some scholars as accomplices of the rider, who then would represent
the type of robber-knight all too common in early sixteenth-century
Germany. Heinrich Wölfflin and Erwin Panofsky, however, favored the
theory of Hermann Grimm that Dürer had been inspired by the Handbook
of the Christian Soldier, first published by Erasmus in Latin in 1504.
This theory has much to recommend it, particularly in view of the
motto which Erasmus proposed for the Christian soldier: "Look not
behind you" (Non est fas respicere). Dürer later refers to Erasmus

himself as "du Ritter christi" in the famous passage from the
Netherlandish diary commenting upon the news of Luther's arrest: "O
Erasmus of Rotterdam, where wilt thou take thy stand?....Hear, thou
knight of Christ! Ride on by the side of the Lord Jesus. Guard the
truth! Obtain the martyr's crown!" (May 17, 1521).

Erwin Panofsky, Dürer, I, 151-4.

Charles Talbot, ed., Dürer in America, 1971, no. 58.

For alternate interpretations see Hans Schwerte, Faust und das
    Faustische (Stuttgart, 1962, Ch. VIII, 243-78), and Sten Karling,
    "Riddaren, doden och djavulen," (Konsthistorisk Tidskrift XXXIX
    (1970), 1-13). The early nineteenth-century Dürer specialist,
    Joseph Heller, believed the Knight to be a portrait of Franz von
    Sickingen.

33 ALBRECHT DÜRER (1471-1528)
Dancing Peasants, 1514
Engraving, M.88
Art Institute of Chicago, Potter Palmer Collection, 1956.949

This splendid, small engraving of two country dancers and its pendant
of a bagpiper (M.90, not exhibited) were done in the same year as the
more famous Melencolia I. It is as though Dürer had turned to the
rustic mode for comic relief from the serious theoretical problems
with which he was then concerned, as well as from the personal tragedy
of his mother's final illness and death. Unlike the sedentary and
serious life of the intellectual, peasants are shown to be carefree
and essentially mindless. The boisterous "Hoppelrei" itself is in
strong contrast to the slower and more measured dances favored by the
burghers of Dürer's day, just as the heavy-limbed peasants are the
antithesis of the classical proportions which Dürer and his friends
considered ideal for the human body.

Dürer's summation of the peasantry was quickly adapted by later
sixteenth-century engravers, including his two students, the Beham
brothers, and reached a final climax in the art of Pieter Brueghel the
Elder in his peasant paintings of the 1560s. After the events of the
Peasant War in 1525, Dürer himself was never again to depict such
peasants as these.

Albrecht Dürer 1471-1971 (exhibition catalogue, Nuremberg, 1971),
    no. 425.

Charles Talbot, ed., Dürer in America, no. 64.

34 HANS BURGKMAIR (1473-1531)
Court Officials (Triumph of Maximilian), 1516
Woodcut, B.81-16
Private Collection

Hans Burgkmair was the leading artist in Augsburg and chief designer
to the Emperor Maximilian. In collaboration with Dürer, Leonard Beck,
Hans Schauffelein and Albrecht Altdorfer, he designed the woodcuts for
Maximilian's Triumphal Procession, a set comprising 138 woodcuts
which, when assembled, extend fifty-seven yards in length.
Burgkmair's print showing the Imperial "Quartermaster Corps" is one of
the most charming of the series. These mounted officials of the
Emperor's household and wardrobe were designed to follow immediately
behind the Master Bear Hunter, and before the elk-drawn cart with
string musicians.
Tilmann Falk, Hans Burgkmair, Hans Schauffelein, Lucas Cranach the Elder.
  The Illustrated Bartsch, 11) 81 (229) 19, 166.

35   HANS BURGKMAIR (1473-1531)
     Three Good Jewesses, 1519
     Woodcut
     Elvehjem Museum of Art, Class of 1963 Gift Fund purchase, 63.3.15

     The three "good" Jewesses--Esther, Judith and Jael--were Old Testament
     heroines remarkable for their courage or fortitude. Together with the
     Jewish heroes David, Joshua and Judas Maccabeus, they were included in
     a series of woodcuts illustrating the traditional theme of The Nine
     Worthies and their female counterparts.

     Tolerance for the Jews characterized the reign of Kaiser Maximilian
     who, chronically short of funds, was dependent to a great extent on
     Jewish bankers as well as on the Catholic merchant-bankers of
     Augsburg. Maximilian's tolerant policy was resented by many Germans
     and was to have unfortunate consequences after his unexpected death in
     1519, when pogroms and synagogue-burnings were carried out in
     Regensburg and elsewhere. Luther, who had grown to manhood during
     Maximilian's reign, at first expressed the opinion that contemporary
     Jews were not to be blamed for the sins of their ancestors, and that
     their conversion to Christianity would ensue as soon as papal corrup-
     tion had been corrected. Late in life, unfortunately, in disappoint-
     ment at the failure of the evangelical movement to effect the mass
     conversion for which he had hoped, Luther wrote the ill-advised pamph-
     let Against the Jews (January 4, 1543), advocating their deportation
     to Palestine.

36   ALBRECHT ALTDORFER (c. 1480-1538)
     Horatius Cocles, c. 1521-26
     Engraving, Winzinger 156
     Elvehjem Museum of Art, Oscar Rennebohm Foundation Fund purchase, 65.1.1

Albrecht Altdorfer (active 1505-38) was a member of the Regensburg
City Council when it voted, after Maximilian's death in 1519, to expel
the Jews from the city and destroy the Synagogue. He designed several
works of art for the promotion of the cult of the Beautiful Mary,
which erected a Council-sponsored chapel on the site of the former
Synagogue. As a member of the Inner Council, he was present at the
interrogation under torture of the Anabaptist Würzlburger in 1528, and
in 1533 he voted with the majority to establish Protestantism in
Regensburg. In his will, he renounced masses for his soul.

The Horatius Cocles is one of a series of small prints dealing with
antique and biblical heroes and heroines as examples of virtue. The
story of Horatius Publius (called Cocles--"the one-eyed") is told by
both Livy (2:10) and Polybius (6:55). He was a hero of early
Republican Rome who saved the city by singlehandedly holding the army
of the Etruscan king Porsenna at bay on the far side of the Tiber
bridge until his companions could dismantle the bridge behind him. He
then leaped fully armed into the water and, according to Livy, swam
safely ashore to a hero's welcome (Polybius reports that he drowned).
Altdorfer's interest in classical exemplars and Roman armor had come
from his study of Mantegna's engraved Triumph as preparation for his
work on Maximilian's prayerbook. The interest of his buyers in
Horatius Cocles stems from the extraordinary valor and selfless
patriotism of "Horatius at the bridge," the model of fortitude for the
military hero. Since Horatius' plunge into the river was preceded by
a prayer to Father Tiber to bless himself and his sword (Livy 2:10),
this scene was greatly favored for the decoration of sword hilts and
scabbards in Renaissance Germany.

37 WOLF HUBER, Attributed to (c. 1520-1553)
Standard Bearer and Drummer, 1543
Drawing (quill pen and brush)
Private Collection

This drawing of two soldiers, dated 1543, is attributed to Wolf Huber,
with whose figure style it seems consistent. Huber was court painter
to the Bishop of Passau, Wolfgang von Salm, and earlier to the
Administrator, Ernst von Bayern. The standard depicted does not
appear to be that of Bavaria, but is quite possibly Austrian. The two
soldiers would seem to belong to the Holy League rather than to the
Protestant forces of the League of Schmalkalden. Although the drawing
pre-dates the Campaign of the Danube by three years, the forces of
Charles V were in the ascendancy in 1543 after the surrender of the
Protestant duchy of Cleves.

38 HANS SEBALD LAUTENSACK (1523-1560/63)
Landscape with a Castle on a Cliff by a River, 1553
Etching
Elvehjem Museum of Art, Oscar Rennebohm Foundation Fund purchase, 64.1.3

The development of pure landscape, devoid of human activity, origi-
nated among the painters and printmakers of the Danube valley during
the early years of the sixteenth century. Interest in the physical
appearance of Germany had been awakened by the humanists Conrad
Celtis, Johannes Cuspinian and Joachim Vadian. Celtis' great, unfin-
ished historical project, the Germania Illustrata, and his brief
poetic description of Germany, the Germania gerneralis (1502), were of
particular significance. Luther's early pamphlets criticizing corrup-
tion in the papacy struck a responsive chord among those German human-
ists for whom patriotic pride and anti-Italian sentiment were closely
allied.

The use of an elevated viewpoint and panoramic space employed by
Lautensack and his predecessors Wolf Huber, Albrecht Altdorfer and
Augustin Hirschvogel, who was himself a practicing cartographer, are
the pictorial equivalents of the regional maps of the day.

Annegritt Schmitt, Hans Lautensack, Nürnberg, 1957.

Karen S. Pearson. "German Renaissance Geography Books," The
    Illustrated Book: Essays in Honor of Lessing J. Rosenwald. Sandra
    Hindman, ed., Washington D.C., 1981.

Jean Duvet, Martyrdom of St. John the Baptist

The following books were graciously loaned for the exhibition:

FROM THE RARE BOOK COLLECTIONS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON
  MEMORIAL LIBRARY:

Johann Bugenhagen. Annotationes in epistolas Pauli, ad Galatas...
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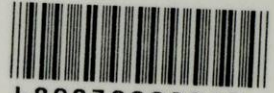J. Schönsperger, 1500.

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