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GERMAN PAINTINGS

in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1350–1600

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MARYAN W. AINSWORTH AND JOSHUA P. WATERMAN

Contributions by Timothy B. Husband and Karen E. Thomas

with Dorothy Mahon, Charlotte Hale, George Bisacca, Silvia A. Centeno, and Peter Klein



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Frontispiece: Unknown painter, probably Hamburg and Lower Saxony. *Christ Blessing, Surrounded by a Donor Family*, ca. 1573–82. Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (cat. 55, detail)
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Page 14: Lucas Cranach the Elder. *The Judgment of Paris*, ca. 1528. Rogers Fund, 1928 (cat. 11, detail)

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Director's Foreword

In conjunction with the grand reopening in May 2013 of the newly renovated European Paintings galleries, the Museum is pleased to present this comprehensive catalogue of our early German paintings. The collection has not been examined in its entirety since 1947, when (at half its current size) it was included in *A Catalogue of Early Flemish, Dutch and German Paintings* by Harry B. Wehle and Margareta M. Salinger. Our seventy-two paintings constitute the largest, most diverse collection of its kind in America and include examples by the foremost German artists of the period: three by Dürer, eighteen from the Cranach group, eleven by Holbein and his workshop, and remarkable works by Hans Baldung, Hans Süss von Kulmbach, and Hans Schäufelein.

The paintings are exhibited throughout the Museum, in the galleries of the Department of European Paintings and the Linsky and Lehman Collections, as well as in the Department of Medieval Art and The Cloisters. They have been gathered in this volume for the purpose of a thorough appraisal of their physical state and condition, the technical aspects of their execution, and their art historical significance. Taking the lead in this reexamination were Maryan Ainsworth, Curator in the Department of European Paintings, and Joshua Waterman, an independent scholar specializing in northern European paintings of the late Middle Ages and Renaissance. Curator Timothy Husband has contributed texts on the examples in the Department of Medieval Art and The Cloisters. The technical inspection of the paintings, an indispensable component of the catalogue, was ably carried out by Karen Thomas, formerly at the Museum and now an independent conservator, who was assisted

by her colleagues in the Department of Paintings Conservation. The many discoveries made during this investigation arose from the particularly close collaboration between the European Paintings and Paintings Conservation Departments.

Together our team of researchers has produced a volume in the best tradition of the Museum's scholarly collection catalogues. Rigorous review of current knowledge, fresh consideration of previously unresolved questions, and full technical examination with the most up-to-date methods have resulted in invaluable reassessments of attribution and dating. As a result, each painting is situated more accurately within the context of the history of German art. Beyond these time-honored issues of connoisseurship, however, the volume offers a rich understanding of an era that stretched from the late Middle Ages into the Renaissance. It provides both a record of the devotional practices of the time and a deeper look at the secular themes that began to emerge. It brings to life the favored mythological subjects that so captivated the dukes of Saxony and their courtiers. Taking us back to the turbulent times of the Reformation, it discusses the spiritual, educational, and propagandistic aims of such key personalities as Martin Luther, Erasmus, and Albrecht of Brandenburg. In its many portraits, it reflects the increased awareness of the individual in the age of humanism. Above all, the catalogue encourages a closer look at the paintings themselves, now seen in a new light, both here and in our galleries.

We are extremely grateful to the Diane W. and James E. Burke Fund and to the Mary C. and James W. Fosburgh Publications Fund for support of this important work.

Thomas P. Campbell

Director

The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Acknowledgments

The scholarly research for this publication of the Metropolitan Museum's collection of early German paintings began under Everett Fahy, former John Pope-Hennessy Chairman of the Department of European Paintings, and continued with the enthusiastic support of his successor, Keith Christiansen. We are grateful to them both for their sustained interest as well as to Director Emeritus Philippe de Montebello, during whose tenure the project was initiated. Thomas P. Campbell, our current Director, has steadfastly endorsed the ongoing study of the Museum's extraordinary collections and has encouraged the publication of scholarly catalogues documenting them. We are grateful to the late John P. O'Neill, former Publisher and Editor in Chief, for his keen interest in this book and to Mark Polizzotti, who has ably assumed John's position and continued to support the project.

Our in-depth technical and art historical study of each of the seventy-two paintings made in the German-speaking territories from 1350 to 1600 has necessitated an interdisciplinary approach between the Departments of European Paintings and Paintings Conservation. We have been extremely fortunate to have been able to work so closely with our colleagues in Paintings Conservation and are particularly indebted to Michael Gallagher, Sherman Fairchild Conservator in Charge, for so generously fostering this cooperative effort. Our chief collaborator, Karen Thomas, undertook the thorough physical examination of the paintings, oversaw the various technical procedures and analyses, wrote a complete report on her findings, and contributed a fine essay and the summary Condition and Technical Notes sections for the catalogue entries. An indispensable member of our team, Karen was joined by other conservators and scientific researchers at the Museum, who gave of their time and expertise to help us solve the thorny problems that emerged during our investigations. We especially acknowledge Dorothy Mahon, Charlotte Hale, and George Bisacca for their important contributions to the Condition and Technical Notes, as well as Shawn Digney-Peer, Michael Alan Miller, and Cynthia Moyer, who fulfilled various other requirements of these comprehensive studies. For certain paintings, Silvia A. Centeno and Julie Arslanoglu of the Department of Scientific Research and Marijn Manuela of the Department of Objects Conservation carried out analyses of pigments, media, and wood, respectively. In addition, we are most grateful to Peter Klein, recently retired Professor of Wood Biology at the Universität Hamburg, for his wood identifications and dendrochronological analyses of the panel paintings.

Our art historical research entailed provenance checks, detailed review of existing scholarship, and forays into new areas of

inquiry. This ongoing study especially benefitted from the tireless efforts of a succession of talented interns and Slifka Foundation Interdisciplinary Fellows, who contributed so much to our endeavors: Sandra Hindriks, Alice Hoppe-Harnoncourt, Anna Koopstra, Daantje Meuwissen, Nathaniel Prottas, Dorothea Seissinger, Sytske Weidema, and Angélique Wille. Natasha Rosenblatt, a summer intern in the department, rigorously organized our long list of image requirements for the catalogue. Numerous questions concerning collections management issues were skillfully answered by Gretchen Wold and Jennifer Meagher, who also saw that the wealth of new information about the paintings was entered into our TMS database and on the Museum's website. We would, of course, have made little progress without access to the incomparable resources of the Thomas J. Watson Library, efficiently overseen by Arthur K. Watson Chief Librarian Kenneth Soehner. We are most grateful to Ken and his staff, particularly those in the Inter-Library Loan division, working closely with Robyn Fleming, for so quickly and ably responding to our many requests.

It is complex projects such as this that reveal once again the remarkable expertise of the members of our staff. Chief among these was Timothy Husband, who wrote exemplary entries on several paintings in the Department of Medieval Art and The Cloisters. We called upon many others here at the Museum with questions, small and large, which were always answered with collegiality. In particular, we extend thanks to Dita Amory, Stijn Alsteens, Dirk H. Breiding, Yassana Croizat-Glaser, Wolfram Koeppe, Donald J. La Rocca, R. Theo Margelony, Asher E. Miller, Alison Manges Nogueira, Nadine M. Orenstein, Freyda Spira, and Melinda Watt. Colleagues elsewhere in this country and abroad supplied important information and gave enthusiastic support for our endeavor. Among those, we warmly acknowledge Katherine Ara, John Bidwell, Dagmar Blaha, Till-Holger Borchert, Bodo Brinkmann, Stephanie Buck, Véronique Bücken, Bruno Bushart, Barbara Butts, Quentin Buvelot, Carla Calov, Stefano Carboni, Julien Chapuis, Nicola Christie, Christina Currie, Gustaf-Götz Eichbaum, Jan Piet Filedt Kok, Sam Fogg, Susan Foister, Annette Frese, Markus Graf Fugger-Babenhausen, Stephan Gasser, Alison Gilcrest, Charlotte Gutscher-Schmid, Bertold von Haller, John Oliver Hand, Babette Hartweg, Jutta Held, Daniel Hess, Gunnar Heydenreich, Hermann Hipp, Gisela Jaacks, Peter Jezler, Stephan Kemperdick, Thomas Ketelsen, Jack Kilgore, Eckhard Kluth, Dieter Koepplin, Kira Kokoska, Karin Kolb, Bernd Konrad, Allen Kosanovich, Olga Kotková, Stefan Krause, Christoph Krekel, Thomas Kren, Andrea Kugler, Annette Kurella, Jan Lekschas, Douglas Lewis, Mark T. Lindholm, Franz Mairinger, Mark McDonald, Alfred Menzel, Guido

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Our investigations required that all the paintings be moved to the Paintings Conservation Department for study and to The Photograph Studio for new photography. This task was efficiently carried out under the direction of our department administrator, Dorothy Kellett, who was succeeded by Rebecca Ben-Atar, and with the expert assistance of our technicians, Gary Kopp, Theresa King-Dickinson, John McKanna, and Rachel Robinson. Manus Gallagher of the Robert Lehman Collection helped on numerous occasions with the transport of paintings in his department. Thanks also go to Andrew Caputo and Patrice Mattia for their attention to myriad administrative details relating to the care and movement of the paintings. Barbara Bridgers, General Manager for Imaging and Photography, graciously handled our requests for new photography under tight scheduling conditions, and Juan Trujillo accomplished the work with the highest professionalism.

The research for a collection catalogue is only the first step toward publication. To convey our findings to our readers most effectively, we look to our editors to polish our prose. In this case, we have been most fortunate to have an unbeatable team led by editor Margaret Donovan, who was so ably assisted by Ellyn Allison. Jayne Kuchna performed her usual meticulous scrutiny and expert styling of our notes and bibliography. We cannot thank all three of them enough for their exceptional collaboration on this book. Such an intricate catalogue could not have been realized without the further assistance of many in the Editorial Department. Under the guidance of Mark Polizzotti, significant contributions were made by Gwen Roginsky, Peter Antony, Michael Sittenfeld, and Robert Weisberg. Bruce Campbell fashioned a classic book design that clearly and perfectly complemented our text. His task was made easier by the

efforts of Jennifer Van Dalsen, our Production Manager, and by an image-acquisition group consisting of Jane Tai, Crystal Dombrow, and Josephine Rodriguez-Massop. Elizabeth Zechella and Hilary Becker further assisted with many administrative matters.

As for our own individual acknowledgments, Joshua owes an immense debt of gratitude to Maryan, not only for the offer to join this project but also for a decade of thoughtful and committed mentorship. He extends personal thanks as well to the Metropolitan's paintings conservators, past and present, and to Karen Thomas in particular for so crucially helping to shape his approach to the investigation of paintings. Joshua's relatives in Germany are gratefully acknowledged for providing a home away from home during research trips there. His final thanks go to his wife, Heather, who was unstintingly supportive throughout the project.

Maryan's exploration of German paintings began with her research a number of years ago on the Museum's portraits by Hans Holbein the Younger, a project that was enthusiastically fostered by John Brealey, then Sherman Fairchild Chairman of the Department of Paintings Conservation. John's interdisciplinary approach, embraced by his many students, is now part of the increasingly accepted discipline of technical art history. Maryan is enormously grateful to the Museum for continuing to promote this approach and to Barbara Slifka and the Joseph and Sylvia Slifka Foundation for supporting the young art historians who train here in the field. Joshua, one of the graduate students who came as an intern, engaged so thoroughly with the material and contributed so much to the development of this catalogue that his status changed from student to valued colleague and co-author. Maryan is enormously indebted to him for his indefatigable energy and innumerable contributions to this volume. She also thanks her husband, Chuck, whose patience and good humor has once again sustained her through another of her many research projects.

Last but not least, we are extremely grateful to Hester Diamond, who has been an unstinting and generous supporter of Maryan's ongoing research. We also wish to heartily acknowledge Didi Burke, who has contributed so much to the educational endeavors of the Museum, as well as the Diane W. and James E. Burke Fund and the Mary C. and James W. Fosburgh Publications Fund for supporting this catalogue.

This book is dedicated to our parents, Rachel and J. C. Wynn (1920–2009) and Christa (1947–2010) and Thom Waterman.

Maryan W. Ainsworth and Joshua P. Waterman

GERMAN PAINTINGS

in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1350–1600



Collecting Early German Paintings at The Metropolitan Museum of Art

MARYAN W. AINSWORTH

Although only half the size of its distinguished holdings of early Netherlandish paintings,¹ the Metropolitan Museum's collection of pictures made in the German-speaking lands (including Austria and Switzerland) from 1350 to 1600 constitutes the largest and most comprehensive group of such works in American museums today. Comprising major examples by the towering figures of the German Renaissance—Albrecht Dürer, Lucas Cranach the Elder, and Hans Holbein the Younger—and many by lesser masters, the collection has grown slowly but steadily from the first major acquisitions in 1871 to the most recent in 2011; it now numbers seventy-two works, presented here in sixty-three entries.² The fact that this collection came together at all is somewhat surprising, given two major impediments to the process: the paucity of excellent works on the market and the lack of knowledge and appreciation of German paintings by American connoisseurs.

Many prime examples remained in situ in the German churches, cathedrals, or monasteries for which they were made. Countless others were seized during the secularization of monastic properties and the dispersion of treasures during the Napoleonic Wars of 1803–15 and were deposited directly into state collections or sold privately. The emerging German nationalism fostered by the Napoleonic Wars subsequently motivated interest in preserving the patrimony of the country. Some collectors, such as the famous Boisserée brothers in Cologne, gathered up what could be had from former monasteries, abbeys, and collegiate churches; their splendid hoard was bought by the king of Bavaria in 1827 for the Wittelsbach Collection, which in turn became the foundation of the Alte Pinakothek in Munich.³ Around the same time, the botanist, theologian, and priest Franz Ferdinand Wallraf assembled a large collection of medieval art, mostly German paintings, which he bequeathed to the city of Cologne in 1824, providing the beginnings of what is now the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum.

While Americans had been aware since the late nineteenth century of the staggering achievements of German printmakers, notably the woodcuts and engravings of masters such as Martin Schongauer and especially Dürer, basic familiarity with paintings from the same time period lagged behind. No doubt some collectors attended the groundbreaking exhibition “Early German Art” at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in London in 1906, which covered all the arts from the Renaissance period.⁴ Notable among its paintings were two Dürers that eventually came to the Metropolitan Museum, *Salvator Mundi*, lent from the Charles Fairfax Murray Collection, and the *Virgin and Child*, lent by Dominic Colnaghi (cats. 23, 24).⁵ That

the two were exhibited in their considerably overpainted states was addressed in the exhibition catalogue with regard to *Salvator Mundi* but not the *Virgin and Child*, which then had an equally if not more disconcerting appearance.

A number of years later, in November 1928, the New York dealer Franz Kleinberger assembled fifty-seven paintings and assorted tapestries and sculpture to present a “Loan Exhibition of German Primitives.”⁶ The outspoken critic Frank Jewett Mather Jr. opened his review of the show in *The Arts* thus: “The time has not yet come when a complete exhibition of early German painting can be given in America.”⁷ He disparaged the fact that the exhibition contained no Dürer, no Matthias Grünewald, and no Hans Baldung, but acknowledged that it at least offered the first opportunity to “grasp the general meaning of this art, without taking a trip to Germany.” Mather’s characteristically pithy remarks reviewed the state of understanding of German painting at the time, which was not at all mentioned in the summary catalogue for the exhibition. Further, he called attention to what he considered the “two characteristic groups” that did appear in the show, the Holbeins and the Cranachs. The exhibition catalogue included some works that later entered the Museum’s collection: the *Virgin and Child with a Donor Presented by Saint Jerome* (now attributed to the Master of the Munich Marian Panels), three paintings of the Cranach group, and two Holbein-workshop portraits (*Portrait of a Man* and *Edward VI*) bequeathed by the estate of Jules S. Bache in 1949 (see cats. 49, 18, 19, 21, 34, 38).

A 1936 exhibition at the Pennsylvania Museum of Art (now the Philadelphia Museum of Art) entitled “German Art from the Fifteenth to the Twentieth Century,” which toured to Cleveland, Chicago, Brooklyn, Boston, and Pittsburgh, did not include American holdings, as the Kleinberger Gallery exhibition had. It was planned as an international loan show, and the event was considered quite a novelty.⁸ The paintings lent for the exhibition were mostly unknown to American viewers. But the intention to represent the continuity of German art through the centuries was thwarted by the last-minute withdrawal of some twenty-six pieces that had been promised by German museums.

Of far greater impact in providing a clearer understanding of early German paintings was Charles L. Kuhn, Harvard professor and director of the University’s Germanic Museum. A 1936 volume by Kuhn aimed “to catalogue all the German paintings of the Middle Ages and Renaissance at present in American possession”—some 454 examples in all.⁹ Arthur Burkhard, a professor of German art history at Harvard, wrote the cogent introduction to the topic, and

the catalogue was divided into nine sections, each focusing on one of the main “schools” of German painting as they were identified at the time. These included Cologne, Saxony, the Middle Rhine, Franconia, Swabia, southern Germany, Austria, the Upper Rhine, and Switzerland; there was also an appendix of works that had appeared in sales catalogues but the locations of which could not be traced. This was in fact the first time that the German paintings in the Metropolitan Museum—all thirty-one of them—were catalogued to any extent as a group. Kuhn’s volume thus called attention to the Museum’s serious intention to build a collection in this area.

Even before greater clarity was brought to the field by Kuhn’s efforts, a few early collectors had begun to seize the opportunity to make purchases in what must have been considered a very favorable market for old master paintings. The earliest comprehensive collection of German paintings in the United States was formed by the lawyer John G. Johnson of Philadelphia, who had amassed more than fifty works by the time of his death in 1917. Today at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, this group reveals what could be acquired in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by an avid collector whose aim was to create a chronologically and geographically inclusive selection of European paintings.¹⁰ The Metropolitan Museum also began to acquire German paintings early on, but not with such a concerted effort as Johnson’s. The first to enter the Metropolitan were the three included in the 1871 purchase of 174 works, the basis of the Museum’s collection of old master European paintings.¹¹ The best of these is the enchanting *Portrait of a Woman* by Bernhard Strigel (cat. 52), which was originally attributed to Lucas Cranach the Younger.¹² The others are less distinguished examples by the workshop of Lucas Cranach the Elder and an unknown Swiss painter (cats. 17C, 60A, B).¹³

Shortly thereafter, in 1889, the railroad financier Henry G. Marquand became the Metropolitan Museum’s second president. He had quickly amassed a collection of fifty old master paintings, and, in a magnanimous act that substantially augmented the size of the collection, he gave them all to the Museum in 1889 and 1891. Among these was a quite unusual and monumental piece—an unfinished *Tüchlein* painting, *Joseph Interpreting the Dreams of Pharaoh*, then thought to be by the Dutch painter Lucas van Leyden but now attributed to the Augsburg artist Jörg Breu the Younger (cat. 4). After Roger Fry was appointed curator in the Department of Paintings in 1906, he charted a decisive course toward building a German paintings collection when he purchased the Metropolitan’s first significant work by Hans Holbein the Younger, *Benedikt von Hertenstein* (cat. 29). At the time, drawings were under the Department of Paintings, and Fry also bought a sheet by the great Danube School artist Albrecht Altdorfer, *Samson and Delilah*.¹⁴

Early encouragement to continue to build the collection of German paintings at the Museum came specifically from the activity of the Department of Prints and Illustrated Books, which was founded in 1916 by the legendary William Mills Ivins Jr. Beginning that year and continuing for the thirty years of his tenure as the head

of the department, Ivins purchased and acquired as gifts the most exemplary collection of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century German prints in America, with particularly strong sheets by Dürer and Schongauer. In 1919 the foundation of great examples by Dürer was enormously enhanced by the group of 256 prints by the master and his school acquired by purchase and gift from the collection of financier Junius S. Morgan; the Museum bought all the engravings, and the woodcuts were an outright gift. Then, in 1923 James C. McGuire established one of the most important collections of rare fifteenth-century German prints in the world with his donation to the Metropolitan.

The German sculpture collection in the Department of Medieval Art and The Cloisters developed simultaneously with the German print collection and provided a further important context for acquisitions in paintings.¹⁵ The Metropolitan began acquiring pieces in 1885, then in the Department of Sculpture and Casts, well ahead of other American museums, which came into the field in the 1920s. Comprising some 337 examples, the Museum’s is the largest and most distinguished collection in America of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century sculpture, eighty-nine examples of which are German. Just as with the German paintings, the sculpture collection encompasses a wide range of regional works, from Swabia, the Upper and Lower Rhine, Upper and Lower Bavaria, the South Tirol, and Lower Franconia. Some of the important examples, such as the Regensburg *Virgin* and the Shrine of the Virgin,¹⁶ come from the thirteenth century, thus predating our earliest German paintings. Among the greatest treasures are Tilman Riemenschneider’s *Seated Bishop* as well as *Saints Christopher, Eustace, and Erasmus* and *Standing Bishop*, which are attributed to him.¹⁷

Instrumental in this early collecting effort was William R. Valentiner, Curator of Sculpture and Decorative Arts from 1907 to 1914. His relationship with J. Pierpont Morgan, a trustee and then president of the Metropolitan, proved to be most advantageous to the Museum. Morgan first lent key pieces in 1908, and the Metropolitan continued to exhibit his important holdings—he was a voracious collector—even after his death in 1913. Without doubt the most significant private collector in America, Morgan made gifts of German sculpture to the Museum that rank among our masterpieces, including *The Visitation*, attributed to Master Heinrich of Konstanz, and the reliquary busts of Saints Catherine and Barbara, attributed to the workshop of Niclaus Gerhaert von Leyden, probably produced in Strasbourg.¹⁸ The latter were joined by the exquisite boxwood *Standing Virgin and Child*, attributed to the same master, which was acquired in 1996.¹⁹

Such extraordinary gifts that made the print and sculpture collections a destination for scholars, connoisseurs, and aficionados were not equaled simultaneously in the paintings collection. Instead, the group of German paintings grew steadily but slowly, one or two at a time, resulting in a collection of which two-thirds has come from the generosity of donors and about one-third has been acquired through purchases. Some of the same donors who bequeathed early

Netherlandish paintings to the Museum also contributed German works, but only on occasion. Our two great Dürer paintings, *Virgin and Child with Saint Anne* and *Salvator Mundi*, were given, respectively, by Benjamin Altman in 1913 and by Michael Friedsam in 1931. The most important and perfectly preserved Holbein portrait of the collection, *Hermann von Wedigh III* (cat. 30), came from Mr. and Mrs. Edward S. Harkness in 1950.

About half of the eighteen panels of the Cranach group (Lucas Cranach the Elder, Lucas Cranach the Younger, workshop pieces, and works “after Cranach”) were purchased and half donated, several as part of the collections that came to the Metropolitan from Robert Lehman in 1975 and Jack and Belle Linsky in 1982. The Museum was interested in Cranach from the beginning—*Johann I, the Constant, Elector of Saxony* entered with the 1871 purchase—and this has continued until recent times; *Saint Maurice* by Lucas Cranach the Elder and workshop was acquired in 2006 (cats. 17C, 16). Five superb examples were purchased using the Rogers Fund, including the great *Judith with the Head of Holofernes* in 1911, the splendid *Judgment of Paris* in 1928, and what is considered by many our Cranach masterpiece, *The Martyrdom of Saint Barbara* in 1957 (cats. 13, 11, 9). Karin Kolb’s survey of Cranach paintings in American collections, carried out in 2006–8, included 108 known examples, of which the Metropolitan’s eighteen paintings constitute the largest group in one location and the most chronologically, as well as thematically, diverse.²⁰ The current “Cranach craze”—since 2007, major European exhibitions in Frankfurt, London, Paris, Brussels, and Rome have been devoted to the artist—has raised the level of interest in the Cranach group as well as the prices these paintings fetch at auction.²¹ The Metropolitan Museum is indeed fortunate to have acquired such prime works throughout its earlier collecting history.

Because of an enormous amount of recent scholarship conducted for collection catalogues, exhibitions, and monographs on major masters such as Cranach, Dürer, and Holbein, German painters are no longer the obscure artists they once were for American collectors and museum visitors. New appreciation for these masters, as already noted in the case of Cranach, has affected the market value of the paintings. Thus, the opportunity in 2011 to add an exceptional, monumental double-sided panel by the great Dürer pupil Hans Schäufelein, *The Dormition of the Virgin and Christ Carrying the Cross* (cat. 50), came only as a result of extraordinary support from friends of the Department of European Paintings. Although the major artists and regions of Germany are represented in the Metropolitan’s collection, there are some notable omissions. Lacking are an Albrecht Altdorfer or another representative Danube School landscape painting, a Matthias Grünewald, and a Stefan Lochner or comparable significant Cologne School painting of the fifteenth century.

Just as the history of collecting German paintings at the Museum has been somewhat irregular, so too has the scholarship regarding the subject. Our major works have been published as part of various temporary exhibitions, articles have been written on segments of the collection, such as the Holbein portraits, and the handful of Linsky

and Lehman Collection paintings were properly catalogued in 1984 and 1986 and in 1998, respectively. However, the only effort to address the collection as a whole came more than sixty years ago in 1947, when Harry B. Wehle and Margaretta Salinger included these panels in their *Catalogue of Early Flemish, Dutch and German Paintings*. Until now, there has been no attempt to provide a complete scholarly catalogue of the Museum’s early German paintings, which have doubled in number since the 1947 volume. Such a collection presents many challenges. Only a few of the paintings are reliably signed or monogrammed and dated, and there is scarcely any information about the original commission or other circumstances of the production of the works. Furthermore, there are only three complete triptychs in the collection—namely, the Burg Weiler Altarpiece (Altarpiece with the Virgin and Child and Saints), *Christ Blessing, Surrounded by a Donor Family*, and the Swabian House Altarpiece (cats. 47, 55, 59). The many fragments merely provide limited clues to their former positions as part of larger ensembles. Only two of the thirty-four portraits in the collection have survived with their original frames,²² and thus information concerning the identities of the sitters as well as the date or authorship of the paintings that might have decorated the frames has been lost.

All these challenges have required detective work of both an art historical and technical nature. Provenances needed to be researched, existing comparative pieces tracked down, and attribution and dating questions reconsidered in light of new scholarship. The starting point for our investigations, however, has always been the object itself, through an assessment of its state and condition and its method of manufacture. Of utmost importance has been a new technical investigation of each of the paintings, which included microscope examination, infrared reflectography, X-radiography, ultraviolet-light study, and pigment and cross-section analysis (see Appendix B for further technical details and a bibliography of recent technical studies of early German paintings). The panels have also been examined as to their wood type, dendrochronology, and construction (see the same appendix for a wood geography chart). While the pertinent information regarding the technical examinations is included in each catalogue entry,²³ a broader survey of the most interesting findings relating to the technique and execution of the Museum’s German paintings may be found in Karen Thomas’s essay in this volume. As a result of this comprehensive and interdisciplinary study, numerous refinements concerning attribution and dating have been possible. Appendix A provides a list of changed attributions as well as some changed titles for the paintings. It also lists a small group of works that are no longer considered German and have therefore not been included in this catalogue, as well as one that has recently been deaccessioned.

Our aim in this volume is not simply to highlight the masterpieces of the collection but also to give full attention to each work. In so doing, we hope to offer a better understanding of the importance of this diverse group of paintings and its place in the broader context of the Museum’s other collections of early German art.



Technical Observations on the Early German Paintings Collection at The Metropolitan Museum of Art

KAREN E. THOMAS

The systematic technical examination of the seventy-two works included in this volume offered an opportunity to reassess some very well known and extensively researched paintings and also to study works that until now have remained virtually unexamined. The relatively limited number of paintings could not provide a fully comprehensive picture of the production of early German paintings, but we were able to add contextualized information to the study of the artists' materials and working methods. This overview presents general observations on the group of paintings examined and highlights particular features that are explored more fully in the entries. It should be noted that some aspects of the artworks are difficult to comment on, given the gaps in the collection; very few, for example, retain their original frames (cats. 31, 47, 55, 59), and general commentary on framing was therefore impossible.

Supports

The overwhelming majority of the artworks examined were painted on wood panel supports; only three of those examined have fabric supports, two of which are the result of transfer from wood panels (cats. 17C, 32).¹ The third, the collection's single *Tüchlein* (distemper on linen), is *Joseph Interpreting the Dreams of Pharaoh*, attributed to Jörg Breu the Younger (cat. 4). One painting, *Benedikt von Hertenstein*, by Hans Holbein the Younger (cat. 29), was painted on paper and adhered to a wood panel in the twentieth century. Another Holbein, *Portrait of a Man in a Red Cap* (cat. 31), was painted on parchment and mounted on linden wood. Information specific to these pictures can be found in the entries; the following observations focus on the paintings on panel.

Most of the wood panel supports are made of oak or linden (see Appendix B).² With the single exception of an English oak panel used for a workshop copy after Holbein (cat. 36), oak panels were made from locally available trees or imported from geographically convenient forests. A sizable group of beech panels is wholly associated with the workshop of Lucas Cranach the Elder, except for a small Middle Rhenish(?) *Adoration of the Magi* (cat. 56) and the Herlin-circle *Saint George* and *Saint Sebastian* (cat. 28A, B). A notable instance of unusual hardwood is a painting on alder from the circle of Cranach (cat. 19). About a third of the panels are coniferous softwoods. When possible, dendrochronological analysis was performed by Peter Klein, retired Professor at the Universität Hamburg, to determine likely fabrication dates of the panels.³

The size of the artworks varies from the palm-sized roundel *Venus and Cupid* by Cranach (cat. 10) to grand-scale paintings that were originally part of much larger altarpieces, such as *The Dormition of the Virgin* by Hans Schäufolein (cat. 50). The majority fall into a range of more modest dimensions, in part because of the numerous portraits designed primarily for domestic settings. With the exception of paintings associated with Cranach, for which a categorization of sizes has been developed,⁴ no standard sizing conventions could be discerned; however, many panels have been trimmed to some degree on the edges, making it impossible to know their original dimensions.

Evidence of panel-making processes includes toolmarks on the back of many panels and a single incidence of a configuration of gouges that may be the mark of a panel maker (cat. 12). Where several boards were needed to make a large support, butt joints were used in almost all cases,⁵ and almost invariably the wood grain is oriented in the longer dimension. Original butterfly inserts were found spanning the joints in one panel (cat. 16), and in four cases joints were strengthened with fabric on the face of the panels (cats. 44, 60A, B, 61). In several other instances, joints were reinforced by adhering tow (long, curling vegetal fibers) across the join either on the reverse of the panel or on the face below the preparatory layers.⁶

It is possible that reinforcement of joints on the backs of panels occurred more frequently than is indicated by our study, given the number of paintings in the collection that no longer retain their original verso surfaces. While passing through the art market and into museums and private collections—especially in the nineteenth century and in North America—wood panels were routinely planed down on the reverse in order to apply cradles. Unfortunately, the information removed in the process—woodworking marks, stamps and inscriptions, historical data, and material evidence of the artist and of ownership, as well as original panel thickness—was rarely if ever documented. The majority of the paintings examined were cradled, and most of these arrived at the Museum already altered. The dealers and restorers who carried out these interventions did so with the best intentions, believing the cradles necessary to ensure stability of the wood panels. We now know that such interventions can—and often do—cause more harm than good by inducing the development of splits, disjoints, and washboarding. In an effort to prevent such damage, in the 1930s and 1940s, before the Museum installed a modern humidity-control system, a wax-resin coating in



Fig. 1. Master of the Burg Weiler Altarpiece. The Burg Weiler Altarpiece (infrared photograph, cat. 47, detail). The interior panels of the altarpiece are underdrawn with pen and ink in a detailed manner that employs hatching and cross-hatching to indicate volume.



Fig. 2. Ulrich Apt the Elder. *Portrait of a Man and His Wife* (infrared reflectogram, cat. 1, detail). An initial sketch with dry media limited to basic contours was reinforced with brush and ink or paint.

a warm molten state was routinely applied as a moisture barrier to the back of cradled panels; this translucent, amber-colored substance is found on the reverse of many early German paintings in the collection, often pooled in the interstices of locked cradles.

Preparatory Layers

To prepare the panels for painting, in almost all cases a ground layer made of a mixture of chalk (calcium carbonate) and animal glue was applied.⁷ In order to prevent paint layers from sinking into the porous ground, an application of glue or oil, or alternately an oil-bound paint layer (priming), was used to seal the ground. It appears that primings were generally applied on top of the already completed underdrawing.

Where an overall priming layer exists, lead-white paint was most often chosen to provide a reflective, luminous base on which to paint; however, a handful of paintings were found to have colored

primings. Various shades of pale pink were the most common colors identified, along with a few examples of gray priming layers. Hans Holbein the Younger, who for many years worked outside Germany as a court painter to England's King Henry VIII, is known to have experimented with the use of tinted priming and underpaints.⁸ For example, the portrait of Hermann von Wedigh III (cat. 30), painted by Holbein in 1532, has a pale pink priming layer. The pink hue may have been intended to provide a warm base for the flesh passages, but its rosy blush was also exploited in Wedigh's black robe, where open brushwork allows the priming to show through and warm highlights were created by scraping away the still-wet black paint.

One notable instance of pale yellow priming was identified on *The Ascension of Christ* by Hans Süß von Kulmbach of 1513 (cat. 41).⁹ Lead-tin yellow primings have been documented on Italian paintings;¹⁰ perhaps the use of yellow priming here derives

from Kulmbach's time as an apprentice to the Italian painter Jacopo de' Barbari, who worked in Nuremberg and Wittenberg between 1500 and 1506.

In the group of paintings examined, the only instance of a colored ground without an underlying layer of chalk-glue ground was found on *Christ Presented to the People (Ecce Homo)*, copied after a Lucas van Leyden print (cat. 63); there, a gray oil ground, favored in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was applied directly onto the wood panel. Given that the unknown artist's painting techniques suggest a concern with rapid production, the use of a single, colored ground may in this instance simply have been a time-saving measure.

Underdrawing

The contrast between a light preparatory layer and a carbon-black underdrawing present in many of the paintings permitted detection of the underdrawing with infrared imaging techniques. Underdrawing completed in brush and pen, sketches in chalk or charcoal, linear tracings from drawings, and evidence of designs transferred by pouncing were all discovered in infrared examinations (figs. 1, 2). On only ten paintings was no underdrawing detected. This is not to say definitively that underdrawing does not exist on those paintings

but that, if it does, it could not be detected with current technology. Of the imaged paintings, two-thirds show a liquid medium in the underdrawing, suggesting a strong preference among artists for ink or paint when fixing a finalized composition on the support, either with or without an initial drawing in a dry medium.

The degree of detail in underdrawing varies widely across the collection, from elaborately hatched and crosshatched compositions to cursory notations of key elements. The strength of German drafting and printmaking is evident in the fully realized underdrawn compositions found on several paintings, culminating with Albrecht Dürer's exquisite but unfinished *Salvator Mundi* (cat. 23). More often, however, underdrawings contain basic visual notations, such as the cursory contours of facial features seen in numerous portraits. Over time, the use of underdrawing was eclipsed by tonal underpainting. This is especially true in circumstances of mass production, such as in Cranach's workshop, where tonal underpainting remains partially visible in and is integral to the final image (fig. 3).

Underpainting

Although not widely found on paintings in this study, an unmodulated underpaint restricted to a particular area was occasionally



Fig. 3. Lucas Cranach the Younger. *Christ Blessing the Children* (cat. 22B, detail). In this detail the tonal gray underpaint shows through the extremely thin upper layers in the shadows of the flesh and in the expanse of the blue clothing.



Fig. 4. Ludwig Schongauer. *Christ before Pilate* (cat. 51A, detail). The boots of the leftmost soldier were painted over the already completed red leggings.

Fig. 5. Master of the Acts of Mercy. *The Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence* (cat. 44, interior, detail). The increased transparency of paint containing red lake allows the underdrawing to be visible through the paint layer. The mottled brown aspect of the green garment results from the deterioration of copper-containing green paints.



seen. This underpaint was intended to have a specific visual effect on the subsequent layers of paint. For example, in the 1557 *Portrait of a Woman of the Slosgin Family of Cologne* by Barthel Bruyn the Younger (cat. 7), a flat gray underpaint was selectively applied in the green background on top of the pink priming. A pink paint would have been counterproductive beneath green: as the complementary color, it would dull the vibrancy of the green. A neutral gray, however, supplies a more sonorous foundation to compensate for the relatively poor covering power of the green paint. By adding the gray underpaint, Bruyn was able to exploit the warmth of his pink priming in the figure without undermining the green background. Holbein used a similar technique in his *Portrait of a Man in a Red Cap* of 1532–35 (cat. 31); only the figure has a gray underpaint on top of the overall white imprimatura. Cranach made widespread use of this technique, for example, underpainting select red and green passages with flat black paint, which helped speed workshop production.¹¹

Paint Layers

As with the preparatory steps, artists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries applied paint to panel in a largely systematic manner.

Several layers of paint often follow fairly standard combinations and juxtapositions, yet produce an impressive variety of pictorial and surface effects. While changes between an underdrawn composition and the final painted image were not uncommon, pentimenti—instances of changes made in the midst of painting—were scarce (fig. 4).

When assessing these works of art, it is important to be mindful of changes and conditions that may have had an impact on their present appearance. Modeling and color saturation on paintings of this period may have been undermined by the passage of time and by cycles of cleaning over the years. Thin glazes and translucent paints such as organic lakes are easily damaged and susceptible to fading (fig. 5).

Pigments were limited to those found in nature and a handful that could be concocted by means of chemical reactions (e.g., lead white, lead-tin yellow, vermillion, and copper-containing greens). Mineral pigments such as azurite, malachite, and ultramarine were commonly employed, and in two instances a rare use of a purple mineral pigment, fluorite, was found: Barthel Beham's *Chancellor Leonhard von Eck* (cat. 3) and Hans Schäufelein's double-sided panel (cat. 50). Although fluorite was mined in more than one location

in Germany, it does not appear to have been widely employed as a pigment.¹² Smalt, a blue pigment made from glass, was identified in only a few paintings.

Even from this relatively limited palette—on average an artist might have access to perhaps a dozen pigments plus a small selection of brown and ocher earth colors¹³—artists were able to coax a wide range of colors and effects. The diminutive *Annunciation* by a southern German (Bavarian?) painter (cat. 61) is a case in point. Using a fairly small array of pigments—an opaque warm red, a pinkish red lake, two shades of blue, green, yellow, black, white, and brown—the artist was able to create what must originally have been a jewel-toned little scene that included mauve walls, an angel clad in a pearly pink alb, an orange-red bed with a plum-colored pillow, and a rich blue dress for the Virgin. The painter of *The Adoration of the Magi* (cat. 56) similarly achieved a surprising variety of hues by altering the ratios of three or four pigments in a mixture—red, blue, white, and sometimes black—to depict objects ranging from a purple-tinted stone wall to a pale blue tunic to a white turban.

Many of the common pigment combinations seen in these paintings were by no means limited to use in Germany. Enhancing an opaque vermilion with translucent red-lake glazes, underpinning brilliant copper-containing green glazes with mixed opaque green or yellow paints, and augmenting an expensive layer of ultramarine with a foundation of the more economical azurite are all practices seen elsewhere in Europe. Flesh passages tend to use the typical palette of lead white, vermilion, red lake, and earth pigments and sometimes blue in the shadows, the primary variation being in their application. Some painters layered thin passes of color, exploiting the luminosity of the ground and priming layers to produce complex skin tones; others eschewed glazes and scumbles in favor of the straightforward blending of opaque paints.

Several paintings employ “overdrawing” in the application of paint.¹⁴ Emphatic contours created with strokes of red, brown, or black paint impart a graphic quality to these images (fig. 6). The resulting pictures have a sharply focused, highly linear feel, which may reflect the importance of printmaking in many regions of Germany.

Gilding and Painted “Gold”

For the most part, either mordant gilding or water gilding with a colored bole was used to embellish paintings with gold leaf. One instance of ground gilding (applying the gold without a clay- or paint-based adherent) was identified in the background of the two panels by the Master of the Berswordt Altarpiece (cat. 46A, B). White metal leaf was found on three paintings: on the sword blade in the Swiss *Beheading of Saint Agapitus of Praeneste* (cat. 60A, interior), on the sliver of moon in Hans Baldung’s *Saint John on Patmos* (cat. 2), and in a few small details of *Christ Presented to the People* (cat. 63). *Zwischgold*, a laminate metal leaf of silver and gold, was detected on the very early *Bishop of Assisi, Accompanied by Saint Francis, Handing a Palm to Saint Clare* (cat. 57), of about 1360, and the *Virgin and Child* attributed to the workshop or circle of Hans Traut of about 1500 (cat. 53).



Fig. 6. Hans Süß von Kulmbach. *The Ascension of Christ* (cat. 41, detail). Visible here are examples of “overdrawing,” the linear application of brown and black paint to emphasize contours.



Fig. 7. Lucas Cranach the Elder. *Portrait of a Man with a Gold-Embroidered Cap* (cat. 14, detail). This type of systematic buildup of three to four colors is often seen in depictions of gold jewelry.



Figs. 8, 9. Master of the Burg Weiler Altarpiece. The Burg Weiler Altarpiece (cat. 47, details). The patterns on both of these textiles are applied as flat fields across the surface, and the illusion of folds is created by applying glazes in the shadows. In the image at the right, painted highlights enhance the illusion despite the fact that the pattern does not conform to the three-dimensional shape of the material.

Depicting metallic materials was also accomplished with paint. It is often seen to good effect in portraits in which sitters are shown with all manner of gold trappings. Most artists consistently relied on the same structure: a straightforward layering of three to five colors applied either dry or wet in wet but rarely blended. The middle tone, usually an orangey ocher color, was laid down first, followed by brown and/or black shadows and finishing with pink and/or pale yellow highlights. Bright dashes of white might also be applied as final touches. This method is readily apparent in paintings by Cranach, who oversaw a veritable manufactory producing multiple variants or copies that required a systematic approach in order to maintain a standard aesthetic (fig. 7).

Portraying Textiles

Depictions of rich textiles in several paintings, including Bernhard Strigel's *Portrait of a Woman* (cat. 52), the Master of Eggenburg panels (cat. 48A, B), and Cranach's *Martyrdom of Saint Barbara* (cat. 9), are highly formulaic in execution.¹⁵ Once the viewer moves beyond the superficial appearance, it becomes obvious the artist has not produced an accurate rendition of three-dimensional form, because the folds in the garments are not taken into account. Rather than alter the design to follow the volume of the fabric, the pattern is painted "flat," and dark glazes are added in shadowed areas to suggest volume (figs. 8, 9). This schematic method is seen in the early gold-ground painting *The Bishop of Assisi, Accompanied by Saint Francis* (cat. 57) and as late as about 1510 in Cranach's *Martyrdom of Saint*

Barbara (cat. 9). In the larger panels meant for liturgical installation, making the modifications necessary to give the illusion of a design curving around the edge of a fold in a garment was probably considered too time-consuming; the superficial effect may be a pragmatic and expeditious visual shorthand rather than a reflection of a lack of skill or understanding.

The Master of the Burg Weiler Altarpiece appears to have made use of sets of patterns, repeating a design in more than one location while varying the color scheme. In a workshop environment, where paintings needed to be produced within a limited time frame, such an efficient mechanical method would have been essential.

At the other end of the spectrum lies Holbein, whose command of illusion can be seen in the black damask pattern in the sleeve of Hermann von Wedigh III (cat. 30), the weight and sumptuousness of which is palpable. Holbein was working in a very different environment from that focusing on large-scale, rapid production, creating instead intimate portraits for associates of King Henry VIII's court and wealthy German merchants, and thus could lavish time on his detailed likenesses.

Another technique employed to give a sense of richness to a garment is one seen more commonly on polychrome sculpture: the use of wax appliqués (*Pressbrokat*). The chasuble worn by Saint Theodulus on the exterior wing of the Burg Weiler Altarpiece (cat. 47) and the emperor's robe in *The Beheading of Saint Agapitus of Praeneste* (fig. 10) are both decorated with low-relief patterns produced with wax appliqués. To create these decorative elements,



Fig. 10. Unknown painter, northern Switzerland. *The Beheading of Saint Agapitus of Praeneste* (cat. 60A, interior, detail). Wax appliqué was used on the emperor's robe. Darkening of the glazes over time has suppressed the brilliance of the underlying gold leaf.

tin was pressed into an engraved mold and the recesses filled with a wax mixture. The resulting sheets were often, but not always, gilded and trimmed to the appropriate shape before being applied to the panel. Colored glazes were frequently used to enhance the patterned appliqué as well as to imitate gold.¹⁶ That the garments in both these paintings have suffered a fair amount of damage is not surprising considering the fragility of the materials.

Evidence of Original Frames

As previously noted, the collection includes few original frames; however, evidence of their former existence is plentiful. The *barbe* found on numerous panels is an artifact of an original frame



Fig. 11. Attributed to Hans Brosamer. *Katharina Merian* (cat. 5, detail). The border of unpainted wood and the raised lip of paint, or *barbe*, along the edge of the image area indicate the former presence of an attached frame. Existence of a *barbe* also confirms that the pictorial area retains its original dimensions.

attached to the panel before it was prepared for painting. When the frame was detached, this ridge of paint at the interface between the frame and the painted surface remained (fig. 11). Panels displaying unfinished borders without a *barbe* were painted prior to framing; the perimeter margin allowed the panel to be inserted into a removable frame without any loss of image behind the frame rabbet. Cranach's *Venus and Cupid* (cat. 10), with its roughly scored unfinished border, is an example of a painting fitted with an attached frame, now lost, after panel preparation.

Methods of Examination

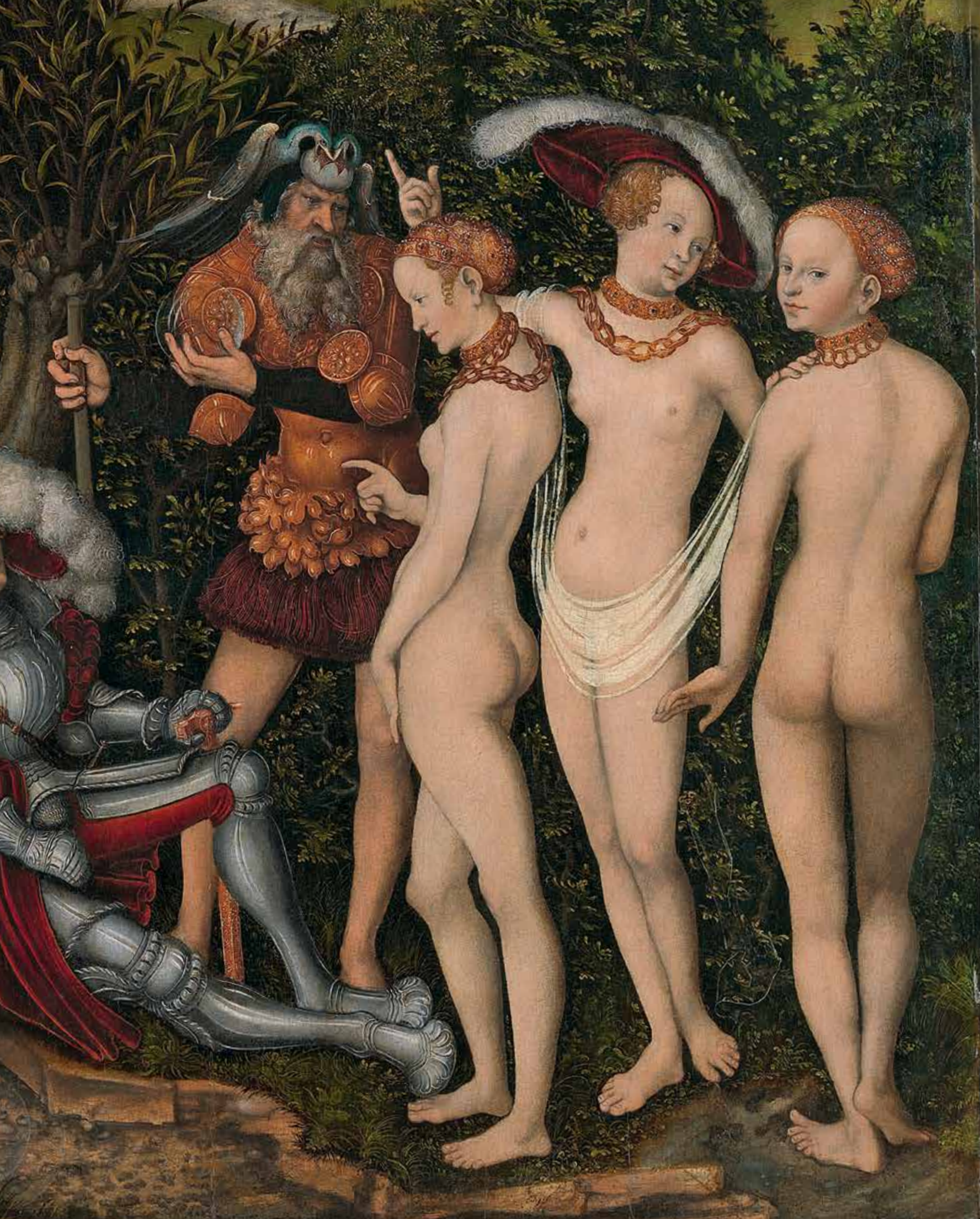
Paintings were examined in the Sherman Fairchild Center for Paintings Conservation at the Museum or the Sherman Fairchild Center for Objects Conservation at The Cloisters. Whenever possible, each painting was fully documented with X-radiography and examined with infrared imaging devices.

Visual examination was aided by the use of a high-powered binocular microscope, which allowed for digital capture of photomicrographs of pertinent details. Ultraviolet illumination was also used in examination.

Samples taken for cross-section analysis were embedded in either BioPlastic™ or Technovit®¹⁷ resin and examined under a stage microscope with both polarized light and ultraviolet illumination. Sample-taking was limited to cases in which specific questions could not be answered by other, noninvasive techniques.

The Department of Scientific Research provided invaluable information by means of several analytical methods, listed in Appendix B.

For further reading, a bibliography of recent scholarship on technical aspects of early German painting is also provided in Appendix B.



Catalogue of the Collection

ULRICH APT THE ELDER

Augsburg ca. 1460–1532 Augsburg

1. *Portrait of a Man and His Wife (Lorenz Kraffter and Honesta Merz?)*

1512

Oil on linden panel

Overall $13 \times 24\frac{1}{16} \times \frac{3}{16}$ in. ($33 \times 63 \times .4$ cm)

Inscriptions: (to right of man) 52; (to left of woman) 35; (on wall between figures) 1512

Heraldry / emblems: none

Marks on verso: none

Frame: not original

Rogers Fund 1912 12.115

PROVENANCE: [Steinmeyer, Munich, 1912; sold to MMA]

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: The support is a single board of linden with the grain oriented horizontally. It has been trimmed, thinned to .4 centimeter, attached to a secondary panel support, and cradled.¹ There are small paint losses along several horizontal splits in the panel. In 1936 the reverse of the secondary panel and the cradle were thickly coated with wax.² A *barbe* and a narrow margin of unpainted wood along the perimeter at the left and right and fragments of a *barbe* along the bottom indicate that the panel was in an engaged frame when the white ground preparation was applied. When the layer structure is examined with the stereomicroscope and X-radiography, a lead-white priming is visible.

The painting is in fairly good condition, although passages are abraded. The flesh in particular has been thinned from harsh cleaning.

Infrared reflectography³ revealed a rough sketch in a crumbly dark material (probably black chalk) over which a dense black paint or ink was applied with a brush to describe facial details as well as contours of the clothing and architecture. Some minor adjustments were made in the painting phase: the underdrawing shows the woman's nose with a slightly more pointed tip and her right thumb touching her index finger rather than her middle finger. A gray underpaint was selectively applied beneath the woman's blue dress.

This double portrait represents a man and his wife placed before an off-center window open to a view of a bucolic landscape. "Carved" on the windowsill and wall between them are the ages of the couple—he is fifty-two, she is thirty-five—and the date of the painting, 1512. Relaxed in pose, they regard each other casually and are attired as typical German burghers. The man wears a black fur-trimmed coat and hat, and his wife is dressed in a blue gown with black velvet edging and fur cuffs, a white cap, and a ring on her index finger. Against the landscape backdrop of snow-covered mountains are a castle and a cottage viewed straight on and a church seen from above; nearby, horsemen come and go on a bridge over a meandering river.

Double portraits are relatively rare, so it is noteworthy that two other nearly identical versions of this painting exist, both attributed to Ulrich Apt the Elder and both in England: one in the Schroder Collection and the other belonging to the Collection of Her Majesty

Queen Elizabeth II (figs. 12, 13).⁴ Recently, Christof Metzger has suggested that the sitters are the prominent Augsburg merchant Lorenz Kraffter and his wife, Honesta Merz, whose birth dates (1460 and 1477, respectively) correspond to the ages of the sitters inscribed on the painting in 1512.⁵ The trompe-l'oeil inscriptions, similar to those found on monuments, might denote a commemorative function.⁶ However, the rather modest composition and lack of additional signifiers more likely indicate a standard private function, and the copies may have been made for descendants or extended family members.⁷ Because the panel was not created as a folding diptych, it is possible that it had a sliding cover, as was the case for other contemporary German portraits.⁸

Hans Memling's *Portrait of an Elderly Couple* of about 1470–75 (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, and Musée du Louvre, Paris) is a much touted example of early companion portraits shown before an open landscape that was possibly introduced by the expatriate German to his adopted residence in Bruges.⁹ Double portraits on one panel had become increasingly popular in Germany in the second half of



Fig. 12. Ulrich Apt the Elder. *Portrait of a Man and His Wife*, 1512 or later. Oil on poplar or willow panel, $13\frac{1}{8} \times 25\frac{1}{8}$ in. (33.3×63.8 cm). Schroder Collection, London



Fig. 13. Ulrich Apt the Elder. *Portrait of a Man and His Wife*, 1512 or later. Oil on linden panel, $13\frac{3}{8} \times 25\frac{3}{8}$ in. (34.6×64.5 cm). Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Windsor Castle (RCIN 406925)





Fig. 14. Ulrich Apt the Elder. *The Adoration of the Magi*, ca. 1510. Oil on panel, 49 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 27 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (125 × 71 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (1993)

the fifteenth century.¹⁰ One of the few that includes a continuous landscape is the *Wedding Portrait of Berthold V and Christina Tucher* by a Nuremberg master, of about 1484 (Anhaltische Gemäldegalerie, Dessau).¹¹ It remains an open question whether the landscapes in such portraits had a metaphorical meaning for the sitters, as Dirk de Vos indicated for Memling's *Portrait of an Elderly Couple*,¹² or whether such backgrounds simply came into vogue as an alternative to the more common architectural settings of Augsburg portraits, such as those by Apt's contemporary Hans Holbein the Elder. Kurt Löcher proposed that the landscape backgrounds could refer to the places in which the couples lived,¹³ but the description of locale in the Metropolitan's painting is far too general for any specific identification.



Fig. 15. Infrared reflectogram, detail of woman's head, cat. 1

The date on the painting is supported by contemporaneous portraits showing sitters dressed in similar fashion, such as the *Portrait of a Lady* of about 1512 by an Augsburg painter (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin) or the *Portrait of Jörg Fischer's Wife at the Age of 34* (Kunstmuseum Basel), attributed to Hans Holbein the Elder and inscribed 1512.¹⁴ The sitter in Holbein's *Portrait of a Man with a Fur Hat* (Kunstmuseum Basel), dated 1513, wears fur-trimmed apparel similar to that of the man in the Museum's painting.

The attribution question is not as easily answered, particularly since each of the three surviving versions is demonstrably by a different hand. The versions have been confused with each other in the literature since the earliest mention of the Royal Collection painting, which was initially attributed to "some good German painter" and subsequently to Hans Holbein the Younger or to the Swabian School.¹⁵ Karl Feuchtmayr was the first, in 1928, to propose Ulrich Apt the Elder, an attribution that has held ever since.¹⁶ The Schroder version is the best preserved and, for Lucy Whitaker, takes precedence over the other two.¹⁷ Yet a close comparison with Apt's few reliably documented works indicates that the Metropolitan's example is the one most clearly by Apt himself. Approximately ten surviving paintings are attributed to the artist and his workshop, and archival sources document the authorship of only two—altar wings depicting a Nativity (Staatliche Kunsthalle



Fig. 16. Infrared reflectogram, detail of man's head, cat. 1

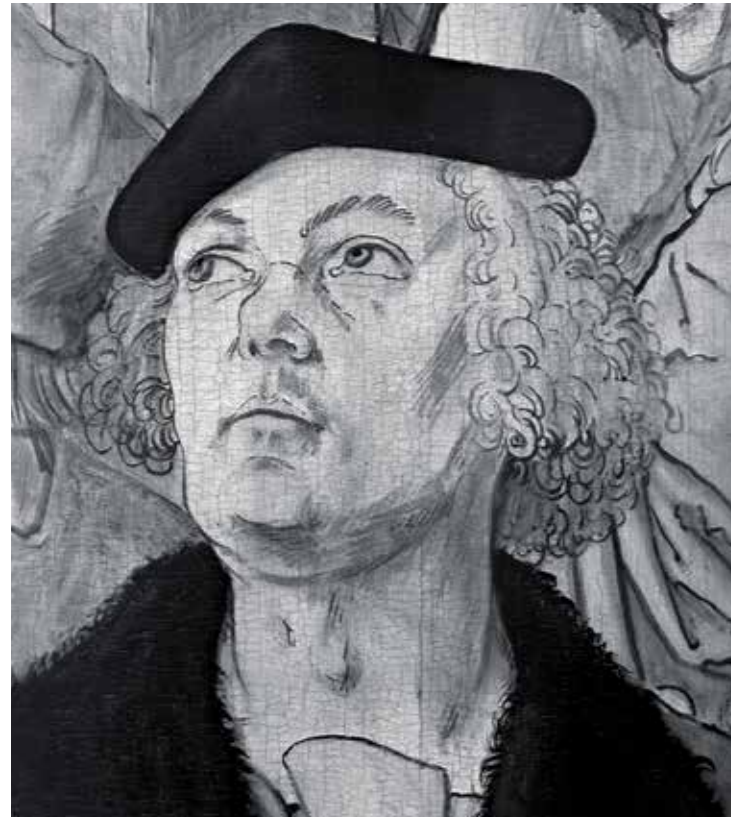


Fig. 17. Infrared reflectogram, detail of man's head, right wing of the Rehlinger Altarpiece by Ulrich Apt the Elder and workshop, 1517. Oil on panel, 67 $\frac{1}{16}$ × 19 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (171.4 × 50.5 cm). Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Staatsgalerie in der Katharinenkirche Augsburg (5351)

Karlsruhe) and an Adoration of the Magi (Musée du Louvre, Paris) painted for the Augustinian convent in Heiligkreuz, commissioned by the weavers' guild, and completed by 1510.¹⁸ The Rehlinger Altarpiece (Staatsgalerie in der Katharinenkirche Augsburg) is signed "Apt" on the mule's harness and dated 1517 on the outside of the wings, but a question remains as to how much of this work is by Apt and how much by his workshop (see discussion below).¹⁹

A comparison of the sitters in the Museum's double portrait with the men of the weavers' guild in the Louvre *Adoration of the Magi* (fig. 14) reveals the same straightforward, unidealized presentation that stresses their strength of character and individuality.²⁰ In particular, the kneeling king in the *Adoration* and the man in the present portrait are strikingly similar in the modeling of their heads, the sharp delineation of their features (even down to the description of the creases of flesh at the cheek and jaw and the clearly outlined lips), and their intense, inner-directed gazes. Both paintings show a certain old-fashioned awkwardness in how the figures relate to their space. The landscape is tipped up and the horizon high, while the massive figures seem uncomfortably crowded into a small area. Landscape details are as meticulously painted as the costumes, and the branches of the trees are dotted at their tips in exactly the same regular, patterned fashion.

Because the three versions of the double portrait match closely, it is possible that they derive from the same workshop pattern.²¹ However, a recent study of the technical evidence revealed that the Metropolitan's example has the most elaborate underdrawing of the three (the other two have little or no apparent underdrawing) and is the only one to show a preliminary black chalk sketch superimposed with brush and ink, as well as adjustments made from the underdrawing to the painted layers (fig. 15).²² In addition, the underdrawing of the Museum's version is stylistically closest to that found in the Rehlinger Altarpiece (compare figs. 16 and 17).²³ Martin Schawe has noted that the underdrawing in the altarpiece is by a single hand and that it is of a particularly high quality and precision when compared with the painting he believes represents some possible workshop assistance.²⁴ This underdrawing, especially in the figure on the right wing in front of the Cross, is quite similar to that in the faces of the Metropolitan's double portrait. Both additionally show the same interrupted line, evident in the eyebrow of the male sitter and in the lips and near the eyes of the Rehlinger figure. Given the support of these comparisons, the Metropolitan Museum's *Portrait of a Man and His Wife* may most reliably be attributed to Ulrich Apt the Elder, despite its compromised condition. MWA

HANS BALDUNG, CALLED GRIEN

Schwäbisch Gmünd 1484/85–1545 Strasbourg

2. *Saint John on Patmos*

Ca. 1511

Oil, gold, and white metal on spruce panel

Overall $35\frac{1}{8} \times 30\frac{1}{4} \times \frac{7}{16}$ in. ($89.2 \times 76.8 \times 1.1$ cm); painted surface $34\frac{1}{4} \times 29\frac{3}{4}$ in. (87×75.6 cm)

Signed (on rock at lower right): HBG [monogram]

Inscriptions: none

Heraldry/emblems: none

Marks on verso: in white chalk, BECKER [and] 002.985; at center, on circular customs stamp with eagle, [ZOLL]AMT SÜDBAHNHOF DORTMUND

Frame: not original

Purchase, Rogers and Fletcher Funds; The Vincent Astor Foundation, The Dillon Fund, The Charles Engelhard Foundation, Lawrence A. Fleischman, Mrs. Henry J. Heinz II, The Willard T. C. Johnson Foundation Inc., Reliance Group Holdings Inc., Baron H. H. Thyssen-Bornemisza, and Mr. and Mrs. Charles Wrightsman Gifts; Joseph Pulitzer Bequest; special funds; and other gifts and bequests, by exchange, 1983–1983.451

PROVENANCE: Church of the Order of Saint John in Jerusalem, Grünen Wörth, Strasbourg (1511 until 1633, when cloister destroyed); in storage (1633–about 1687); relocated to church in Monastery of Saint Mark, Strasbourg (1687–at least 1741, inv. no. 25; church possessions dispersed during French Revolution, after 1789); a village church, Alsace (until shortly after 1870); Dr. Georges-Joseph Wimpfen, Colmar (shortly after 1870–d. 1879); his son General Joseph-Émile Georges Wimpfen, Paris (1879–?until d. 1949); [P. de Boer, Amsterdam, until 1955; sold to Becker]; Dr. Heinrich Becker, Dortmund (1955–71; sale, Sotheby's, London, December 8, 1971, no. 28, to Virch); [Claus Virch, Paris, 1971–83; on extended loan to Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne, 1975–83; sold to Thaw]; Eugene Thaw, New York (1983; sold to MMA)

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: The support is composed of seven boards of spruce from southern Germany, with the grain oriented vertically. Dendrochronological analysis indicated an earliest possible fabrication date of 1499.¹ The panel exhibits an undulating convex transverse warp, several vertical splits, and significant insect damage. There are shallow bevels on the reverse along the top and bottom. A *barbe* around the entire perimeter indicates that an engaged frame was in place when the white ground was applied. There is an incised line along the perimeter of the painted area.

The painting is generally in very good condition. There are some small losses along the joins and splits in the wood panel as well as other minor losses and abrasions throughout. The mottled brown appearance visible throughout the landscape and foliage is characteristic of a common discoloration seen in paint layers containing copper-green pigments. The halos and the clasp and five decorative bosses on the book were applied over a bright orange mordant and have a matte appearance characteristic of oil gilding. The crescent moon upon which the Virgin stands is made with white metal leaf, now reinforced with restoration paint. An amber-hued resinous coating is present on the halos of the Virgin and Child and on the crescent moon. The wide brown band decorating the outer portion of the Virgin's double halo was originally a transparent green. The gilded clasp and bosses are abraded and show significant repair.

Infrared reflectography² revealed extensive underdrawing in a fluid medium, some of which is visible in normal light. The underdrawing has a free, lively quality and features a distinctive looped hatching to indicate areas of shadow. It was closely followed, although the heads of the Virgin and Child were brought slightly closer to each other in the final composition.

Shown here after the emperor Domitian had exiled him to the Island of Patmos, the youthful Saint John the Evangelist wears a bright red-orange robe and cloak as he writes the book of Revelation in the codex on his knees. The Virgin, in a vivid turquoise gown, surrounded by a mandorla of clouds, appears to him in a vision, “a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet.” This text, from Revelation 12:1, became identified with the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, by which the Virgin was exempt from original sin from birth.³ The eagle below her, Saint John's attribute, stands on a precious book that symbolizes the divine inspiration compelling him to record the Virgin and Child's revelation.

The painting is signed at the lower right with Hans Baldung Grien's monogram, a feature of the artist's works that appeared only after 1510. Carl Koch was the first to recognize the relationship of this painting to two others since accepted as part of the same altarpiece or altar frontal. The Museum's panel and *Saint Anne with the Christ Child, the Virgin, and Saint John the Baptist* (National Gallery of Art, Washington) once flanked a central panel, *The Mass of Saint Gregory* (Cleveland Museum of Art) (fig. 18).⁴ Koch also suggested that these paintings were commissioned for the Order of Saint John in Jerusalem at Grünen Wörth, in Strasbourg,⁵ a notion that Gert von der Osten supported by documentary evidence indicating payments to Baldung in 1511.⁶ A 1741 inventory in the Archives Départementales du Bas-Rhin, Strasbourg, listing the contents of the Church of the Order of Saint John includes all three paintings.⁷ These panels, which were hanging in the sacristy of the church, can be convincingly identified with those now in Washington, Cleveland, and New York.⁸

Through the identification of various personages in *The Mass of Saint Gregory* (see fig. 18, center), further connections have been made with the Johannites, the most important spiritual order in the Strasbourg area at the time, one that had the protection of Emperor Maximilian I and his family. The members of the group were not knights, as might be expected, but rather patricians who regularly engaged in charitable endeavors and educational pursuits. Koch suggested that the Johannite at the far right wearing a robe with the cross of the order is Erhart König (or Kienig), commander of Grünen Wörth from 1504 to 1511, who may have commissioned the work.⁹ The four men represented at the far left have been identified as Raymundus Perault, cardinal legate for all of Germany; Wilhelm III von Honstein, bishop of Strasbourg; and two members of the artist's family, Hieronymus Baldung, protonotary apostolic, and behind him, Hieronymus's brother Hans, episcopal procurator of Strasbourg.¹⁰

A closer look at the iconographic program of the three paintings reveals the extent of their interrelationship. Christian Heck noted that there are no obvious comparisons for the association of the two





Fig. 18. Reconstruction of Hans Baldung altarpiece. Left: *Saint Anne with the Christ Child, the Virgin, and Saint John the Baptist*, ca. 1511. Oil on hardboard transferred from panel, painted surface $34\frac{1}{4} \times 29\frac{1}{2}$ in. (87×74.9 cm), support $35 \times 30\frac{1}{2}$ in. (88.9×77.5 cm). National Gallery of Art, Washington, Samuel H. Kress Collection (1961.9.62); center: *The Mass of Saint Gregory*, 1511. Oil on panel, $35\frac{1}{4} \times 49\frac{1}{4}$ in. (89.2×125.1 cm). Cleveland Museum of Art (1952.112); right: *Saint John on Patmos*, cat. 2

Saint Johns with the Mass of Saint Gregory.¹¹ However, through a careful review of the devotional texts related to Grünen Wörth at the time of its founding,¹² he discovered a distinct devotion to both saints, found principally in the texts left by Rulman Merswin and passed down through the Hospitalers at Grünen Wörth, but also in the various works of art made for the institution.¹³ The two Johns in the altarpiece each witness a vision—of the *Anna Selbdritt* (Virgin and Child with Saint Anne) on the left wing and of the Virgin of the Apocalypse on the right.¹⁴ Both serve as witnesses of the Lamb: the Baptist announced the Lamb of the Gospels, the Evangelist revealed the Lamb of the Apocalypse.¹⁵ Positioned as they are at the extreme left and right edges of the panels and at the bases of orthogonals that culminate in the figure of Christ (the sacrificial lamb in the central panel), the two saints underscore the eucharistic meaning of the ensemble. This raises the question of whether the triptych was commissioned for the main altar, since the Order of Saint John itself was dedicated to the two Saint Johns and the Virgin Mary. Von der Osten cited the unsuitability of the relatively small triptych for such a function and saw it instead in a chapel or in the sacristy.¹⁶ Although the documents indicate that the panels were at one time hanging in the sacristy, there is no confirmation of their original location, and clues that might have been derived from the church itself, as mentioned above, were destroyed along with it in 1633.

While most scholars have accepted von der Osten's reconstruction of the stationary triptych as an altarpiece,¹⁷ Max Hasse suggested that the three panels formed an antependium, or altar frontal.¹⁸

Walter Hugelshofer proposed that the two Saint John panels were painted several years before the Cleveland one and that the three works did not form an ensemble.¹⁹ However, as John Oliver Hand pointed out, the documentary evidence cited above, stylistic considerations, and technical evidence confirm von der Osten's reconstruction.²⁰ The figure types are similar, as are the puffy, bloated faces with their distinctive halos. The palettes, including acid greens, yellow-greens, bright reds, and orange-reds, along with the sharply contrasting flesh tones that depend on unblended strokes of white highlights, are technically consistent in all three.

Saint John on Patmos and its two associated paintings belong to Baldung's relatively early career. After having served as an apprentice in Dürer's Nuremberg studio from 1503 to 1507, he moved in 1509 to Strasbourg, where he established his own workshop.²¹ Baldung's training in Dürer's workshop accounts for his strongly graphic approach in *Saint John*. For the composition, he turned to an engraving of 1469–74 by Martin Schongauer that similarly shows the saint in the lower right-hand corner looking up at a vision of the Virgin and Child of the Apocalypse in the sky (fig. 19).

The underdrawing of *Saint John on Patmos* (see figs. 24, 25) can be closely compared to Baldung's drawings and woodcuts from about 1510–11, including a Virgin and Child and a Saint Christopher (figs. 20, 21). These display strongly delineated forms and prominent, even parallel- and cross-hatching (superimposed by short, curved strokes for the modeling of the Virgin's draperies in figure 20) juxtaposed with broad, unmodeled areas. *Saint Christopher* has such bold contrasts of



Fig. 19. Martin Schongauer. *Saint John on Patmos*, 1469–74. Engraving, $6\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ in. (15.9 \times 11.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1940 (40.8.2)



Fig. 20. Hans Baldung. *Virgin and Child*, ca. 1510–11. Pen and ink on paper, $7\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{8}$ in. (18.4 \times 13.7 cm). Prentenkabinett, Rijksuniversiteit, Leiden (PK 2318)



Fig. 21. Hans Baldung. *Saint Christopher*, ca. 1510–11. Woodcut, $15\frac{1}{4} \times 10\frac{3}{8}$ in. (38.7 \times 26.4 cm). The British Museum, London (1895,0122.227)



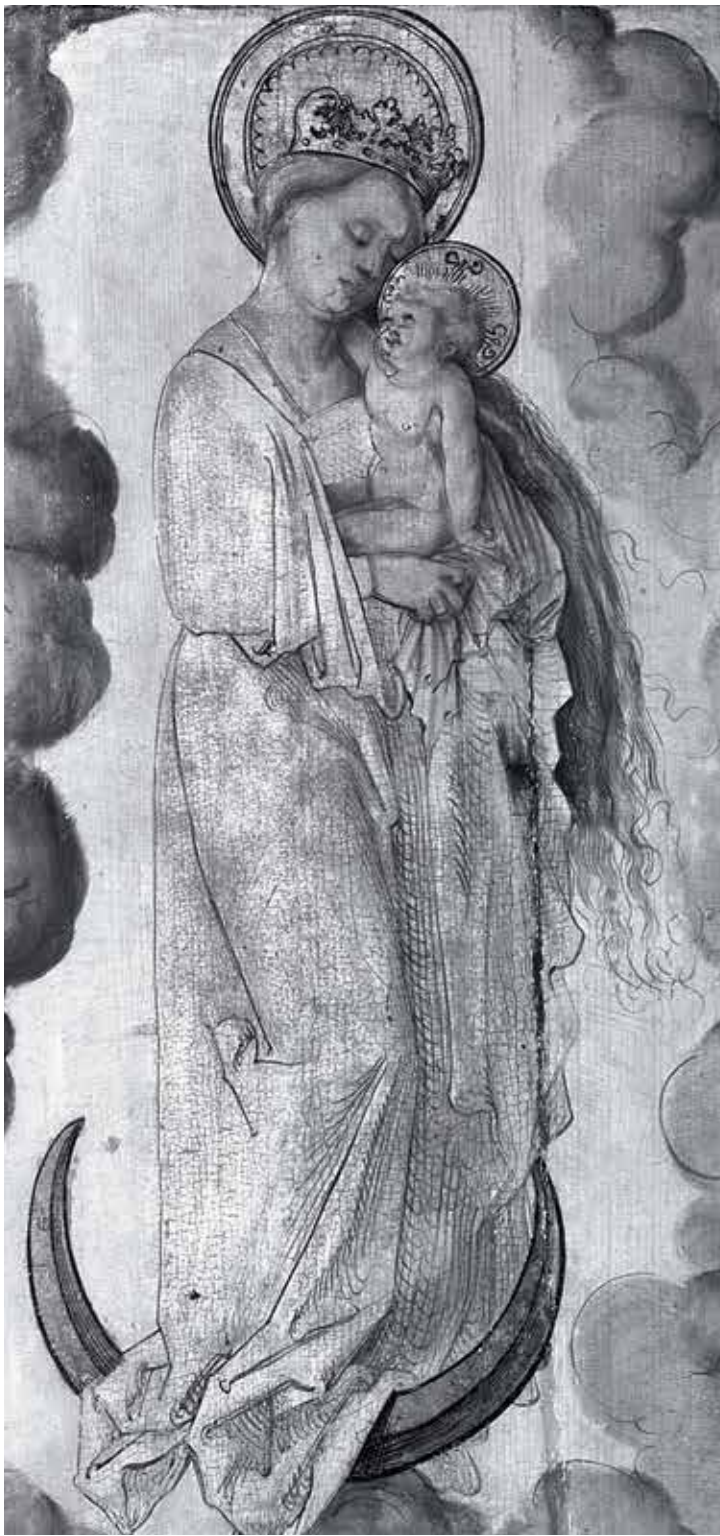
Fig. 22. Detail of Virgin's drapery, cat. 2

modeled and unmodeled areas that it resembles the key block for a chiaroscuro woodcut.²² This might also be said of the underdrawing in *Saint John* (fig. 25), but the parallels go even further to include the painted surface. In addition to the boldly contrasting light and dark blues in the Virgin's robe, Baldung has extended the parallel hatching of the darker color into the field of the lighter one in a kind of



Fig. 23. Hans Baldung. *Saint Jerome in the Wilderness* (detail), ca. 1511. Chiaroscuro woodcut, $5\frac{1}{16} \times 3\frac{7}{16}$ in. (12.8 × 8.8 cm). Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe

modeling technique reminiscent of that achieved by color blocks in chiaroscuro woodcuts such as *Saint Jerome in the Wilderness* (compare figs. 22 and 23). This type of adventurous technical experimentation is associated with Baldung's art in general and in particular with the period around 1511, when he produced his first chiaroscuro woodcut, *Madonna in a Landscape Surrounded by Angels*.²³ MWA



Figs. 24, 25. Infrared reflectograms of underdrawing, cat. 2 (the Virgin, above; Saint John, right)



BARTHEL BEHAM

Nuremburg ca. 1502–1540 Bologna

3. Chancellor Leonhard von Eck

1527

Oil on spruce panel

Overall $22 \times 14\frac{3}{4} \times \frac{3}{16}$ in. (55.9 \times 37.5 \times .4 cm)

Inscriptions: none

Heraldry/emblems: none

Marks on verso: none

Frame: not original

John Stewart Kennedy Fund, 1912 12.194

PROVENANCE: Louis Gottschalk, Berlin (until d. by 1896; his estate, until 1897; sale, Lepke's, Berlin, January 12–13, 1897, no. 50); Eduard F. Weber, Hamburg (by 1898–1912; sale, Lepke's, Berlin, February 20–22, 1912, no. 57, to Douglas); [Robert Langton Douglas, London, 1912; sold to MMA]

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: The support is made of two spruce boards, with the grain oriented vertically.¹ It has been thinned to .4 centimeter and cradled, resulting in washboarding of the surface plane. There are several short splits extending into the composition from the top and bottom as well as a more prominent defect along the central join where the panel was broken and has been repaired.

The paint surface is abraded. There are many small losses throughout and a wide area of repair along the panel join extending from the collar through the hand. Two diagonal scratches appear on the left side of the face; one extends from the eye to the nose, the other from the earflap through the mouth. An area of restoration along the right edge of the figure measures approximately 26.7 centimeters in height and 1.7 centimeters at the bottom.

Infrared reflectography² revealed rough sketching-in of the full composition in what appears to be a dry medium. Outlines of the clothing, the fabric folds, and contours of the facial features and hands (including the deep wrinkles of some knuckles) are visible in the reflectogram. Some contours appear as two lines parallel to each other, one very fine, the other more emphatic. To the right of center, a scrolling pattern of curved lines extends from top to bottom. As this pattern bears no relationship to the portrait, and the X-radiograph shows no evidence of its having been painted, the lines may be part of an image originally intended for the panel but not carried out.

Examination with the stereomicroscope revealed that the overshirt was painted with a combination of pigments: lead white, a red lake, black, and a small amount of fluorite, a transparent purple pigment mined in several areas of Germany, including locations near Nuremberg and Munich. Although not widely reported in technical studies, fluorite has been identified in several paintings from southern Germany and the Tirol;³ its use by Beham is not surprising, since his paintings are known for their colorful palette. At present, the fluorite lends a slight grayish purple cast to the white overshirt; however, the color may have originally been more emphatic, because its red-lake component has faded and the panel has suffered from abrasion.

The identification of this portrait is based on an engraving bearing the initials of Barthel Beham that also provides the name of the sitter, *LEONART VON ECK*; his age, forty-seven; and the date, 1527 (fig. 26). Although the print is much smaller than the painting and shows the figure facing left instead of right, the head and shoulders



Fig. 26. Barthel Beham. *Leonhard von Eck*, 1527. Engraving, first state, sheet $4\frac{3}{8} \times 3\frac{1}{4}$ in. (11.1 \times 8.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1981 (1981.1087)

in each work are very similar. In a second state of the engraving, a fur coat and wide-brimmed beret were added.⁴

Leonhard von Eck (1480–1550) was born into a noble family in Bavaria and studied law in both Germany and Italy.⁵ In 1519 he became chancellor to Duke Wilhelm IV of Bavaria, who was the patron of Barthel Beham. Ambitious, explosive, and strong-willed,⁶ von Eck opposed the Reformation and fervently supported the Wittelsbach cause against the Habsburg monarchs. Beham was initially influenced by the radical ideas of Thomas Müntzer. As a result of his refusal to acknowledge the validity of the Mass, baptism, and the Scriptures, he and his brother Sebald were arrested and imprisoned in Nuremberg in January 1525. They were subsequently expelled from the city, but were allowed to return ten months later. Barthel departed Nuremberg for good in 1527 to serve as court painter in Munich to the Catholic dukes Wilhelm and Ludwig X of Bavaria. As Keith Moxey has noted, “In doing so he sought the patronage of rulers who were engaged in Counter-Reformation policy aimed at reimposing religious orthodoxy on a population that had been much affected by Lutheran



Fig. 27. Infrared reflectogram, cat. 3

ideas.”⁷ Both the 1527 engraving of von Eck and the painted portrait must have been produced shortly after Beham settled in Munich.

The close connection between the painting and the engraving provides support for the attribution to the artist.⁸ Kurt Löcher observed that the painting is convincing on the whole but not in its execution.⁹ He noted that although the figure stands out against the dark background, the work nonetheless appears monochrome, unlike Beham’s other portraits. Furthermore, Löcher objected to the rendering of the contour and modeling of the head, which he

regarded as less “energetically sculptural” than in the print. However, this opinion does not take into account the considerably abraded condition of the painting, the subsequent loss of the modeling and a more informed sense of volume in the face, and the fading of the purplish color of the costume.¹⁰

The comparison of Beham’s print to the painting has led some scholars to question which came first. Gábor Térey and Hans Tietze held that the painting provided the basis for the print,¹¹ but Löcher maintained the opposite, noting that the print is “more sharply defined and closer to the model.”¹² Again, the latter opinion does not take into account the compromised state of the painting. Tietze and Nadine Orenstein are most likely correct in proposing that both print and painting were based on a now-lost drawing by the artist.¹³ The underdrawing appears to confirm this: although the execution, probably in black chalk, shows searching lines drawn freehand to secure the desired contours, it is generally confident and steady, as if following a preexisting preparatory study (fig. 27).

Beham’s move from Nuremberg to Munich led to numerous commissions for portraits, including the present work. Even though there is no documentation that he studied with Dürer in Nuremberg, the latter’s influence is certainly felt in these early portraits. Beham’s engraving of von Eck, in particular, is indebted to Dürer’s 1524–26 engravings of notable political and religious figures, such as Friedrich the Wise, Willibald Pirckheimer, and Philipp Melancthon. Nevertheless, Alison Stewart’s suggestion that the Italianate half-length format used for Dürer’s engraved portrait of Erasmus inspired the present work is not convincing.¹⁴ Beham may have been influenced instead by the more similar half-length painted portraits by Dürer in which the figures fill the space and are turned at a slight angle to the picture plane, including *The Artist’s Father* of 1497 (National Gallery, London), the self-portrait of 1498 (Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid), and *Maximilian I* of 1519 (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna). But by the time Beham began to employ this composition, it had already become a tradition in Bavarian and Swabian portraiture, as a number of examples show.¹⁵ Beham helped to establish it further in such works as *Chancellor Leonhard von Eck* as well as in later companion portraits such as those of Ruprecht and Ursula Stüpf of 1528 (Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid) and Ludwig X of Bavaria (Liechtenstein Collections, Vaduz-Vienna) and Ursula von Weichs of 1531 (National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa).

MWA

ATTRIBUTED TO JÖRG BREU THE YOUNGER

Augsburg ca. 1510–1547 Augsburg

4. *Joseph Interpreting the Dreams of Pharaoh*

Ca. 1534–47

Distemper on linen, lined

Overall 67³/₈ × 57¹/₄ in. (171.8 × 145.4 cm)

Inscriptions: (in right foreground, on scabbard) *MAR SVL* [Mars Ultor?];

(on breastplate) [. . .] *S IN SO*; (at center, on border of robe) *EVIS OAME SUPER*

AUGUST; (on rug) [illegible]

Heraldry/emblems: none

Marks on verso: none

Frame: not original

Marquand Collection, Gift of Henry G. Marquand, 1889 89.15.20

PROVENANCE: Paul Methuen, Corsham Court, Chippenham, Wiltshire (by 1766–d. 1795);¹ Paul Cobb Methuen, Corsham Court (1795–d. 1816); Paul Methuen, 1st Baron Methuen, Corsham Court (1816–d. 1849); Frederick Henry Paul Methuen, 2nd Baron Methuen, Corsham Court (1849–86); Henry G. Marquand, New York (1886–89)

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: This painting is executed in pigments mixed in a water-soluble glue medium on a fine, plain-weave fabric with no ground preparation. The edges were roughly cut and the painting lined to fabric with an aqueous adhesive and attached to a wooden stretcher. Remnants of an original black-painted border are visible along the perimeter.

Because much of the painting was never fully finished, different stages of execution remain visible. A straightedge was used to draw the architecture and floor tiles, and the ruled lines were reinforced with black ink or paint. The balance of the composition was also drawn with a dry material and the lines reinforced with black paint. The forms were modeled in black and brown washes heightened with white, which can be seen in the unfinished figures of dogs in the foreground. Other areas where the undermodeling is visible include the face of the man seated on the throne, his robe (where there is also detailed drawing of a floral pattern), and the faces of the figures surrounding him. Some passages, primarily those painted with red, green, and blue, have been brought to a high level of finish. They include the garlands, canopy, red cloak of the man standing at the lower right, red cloaks and tunics of the men standing at the left, and green robe of the man standing with arms crossed in the group behind the throne. The costume of the man in armor at the right and the green robe and red head scarf of the figure behind him, the blue hat of the seated man, his scepter, his necklaces, and the throne are also finished. Gold was used to accent highlights in the throne.

Water damage, discoloration of the fabric support, abrasion throughout the surface, and flake losses in areas where the paint is more thickly applied have diminished the appearance of this very delicate painting. Along the bottom and left side and at the top left corner the paint is damaged and the surface is severely stained. Those areas have been restored, using pastels in order to respect the matte surface. Despite its unfinished and damaged state, the painting can still be appreciated as a beautiful and rare example of the distemper-on-linen (*Tüchlein*) technique.

The subject of this painting, which for many years was misapprehended or called uncertain, is a trio of episodes from the story of the Old Testament patriarch Joseph as told in Genesis. Joseph, the favorite son of Jacob, then living in Canaan, was sold by his jealous brothers to Ishmaelite merchants destined for Egypt. Upon arrival in Egypt, the merchants sold the youth to Potiphar, the captain of Pharaoh's guard, who eventually made him the overseer of his household. Potiphar's wife became infatuated with Joseph and attempted to seduce him. He fled from her advances but, in his haste, left behind the cloak that she had grasped to draw him near. In revenge, she accused him of attempting to violate her, presenting Joseph's cloak to Potiphar as evidence. Potiphar sent Joseph to prison, where he gained a reputation as an interpreter of dreams. Later, when Pharaoh was troubled by dreams whose meaning eluded his advisers, he learned of Joseph's talent and summoned him from prison. Joseph foretold seven years of bountiful harvests followed by seven years of famine. Pharaoh, grateful for the warning, made Joseph Egypt's second-in-command and put him in charge of stocking up for the famine.

The main, foreground scene in the Metropolitan Museum's painting represents Joseph interpreting the dreams of Pharaoh (Gen. 41:14–36). Joseph is the figure to the left of center, in profile, bareheaded with shoulder-length, curly brown hair. He wears a billowing white robe adorned with a flower motif. His gestures—left hand raised and right hand pointing—show him in the act of interpretation. Pharaoh, holding a scepter and wearing a crown (on his blue hat), leans far forward in his throne, listening with rapt anticipation.²

Two earlier episodes from the Joseph story appear in the background of the painting. In the arched window of the next building, Joseph is seen escaping Potiphar's wife (Gen. 39:7–13; fig. 28). The woman is at the left, naked except for a white bonnet, and she appears to be seated on a bed, as is common in depictions of this subject; the horizontal white streak across her belly must represent a sheet. She leans toward Joseph and clutches his blue cloak. He turns away and flees, holding his right hand to his shoulder, apparently in an attempt to secure the cloak.

Beneath the window, in the arched canopy before the entrance to the house, Potiphar's wife falsely accuses Joseph (Gen. 39:16–19). The blue cloak from the previous scene is draped over a chair or stool and is being examined by a figure wearing a large blue hat similar to that of Pharaoh in the foreground, but without a crown. He is further distinguished from Pharaoh by his lack of a beard. This must be Potiphar. The figure with shoulder-length hair just to the right, shown from behind in yellowish costume, could well be Joseph, given that he is wearing yellow in the scene above and has a yellow sleeve in the foreground scene. The indistinct figure to



Fig. 28. Detail of cat. 4: Joseph escaping Potiphar's wife (above) and Potiphar's wife falsely accusing Joseph (below)

the left, in the doorway, draped in a purplish robe, was most likely intended to be Potiphar's wife.

Although Sidney Colvin correctly recognized the subject matter in 1877, the feminine appearance of Joseph's garment in the main scene eventually stirred enough doubt to prompt a shift in the identification to the Justice of Trajan (Emperor Trajan and the Widow), a proposal that was later abandoned, leaving the question of subject unresolved for many years.³ The ornate robe that caused some scholars to suspect a female protagonist may simply allude to the "vestures of fine linen (Vulgate: *stola byssina*)" (Gen. 41:42) in which Pharaoh dressed Joseph as a reward for the dream interpretation. Moreover, the facial profile of this figure is clearly masculine. The scene of Joseph and Potiphar's wife in the background, which Colvin also noted and which confirms the subject beyond doubt, appears to have escaped the attention of later scholarship.

The Metropolitan Museum's painting may well have been conceived as part of a series devoted to the story of Joseph, examples of which are known in a variety of media.⁴ The technique employed here—a water-based medium on ungrounded fine-weave linen, now referred to by the German term *Tüchlein*—offered a lightweight and economical alternative to both panel paintings and tapestries.⁵ Such works on cloth were far more common than their scarcity at the present time would suggest. The disadvantage of *Tüchlein* paintings was their susceptibility to deterioration and damage.⁶

Several motifs in this picture are traceable to print sources. The dog at the left was copied in reverse from Albrecht Dürer's woodcut *Knight on Horseback and Landsknecht*.⁷ The guard just to the left of Joseph, shown from behind, combines elements from two Dürer prints. His pose follows, in mirror image, the figure at the right of *Christ Carrying the Cross* from the Large Passion series, though with the head turned away and one hand made to rest on the hip. The plume on his hat was taken from the corresponding figure in *Ecce Homo*, the preceding print in the same series.⁸ The figure in the immediate right foreground of the painting appears to have been modified in reverse from the striding candle bearer on the left of *The Circumcision* in Dürer's *Life of the Virgin* series.⁹ The soldier to the right of Pharaoh in *all'antica*-style armor appears again, in the main aspects of pose and costume, in the foreground of a Netherlandish *Crucifixion* of about 1520 in the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin;¹⁰ both probably derive from a common, possibly northern Italian, source.¹¹ The composition and architectural setting may have been inspired by Italian engravings, such as the *Judgment Hall of Pilate* attributed to Baccio Baldini.¹²

The foreground architecture and its classicizing ornament suggest that the Museum's painting originated in southern Germany. Italianate motifs in German art of this period were by no means limited to the south, but they were especially prevalent there because of the early, intense interest shown by artists and patrons of Augsburg, which had strong economic ties to Venice.¹³ Certainly *Joseph Interpreting the Dreams of Pharaoh* invites comparison with notable examples of classicizing tendencies in Augsburg painting, such as





Fig. 29. Jörg Breu the Younger and workshop. *The Story of Lucretia*, from *Joannis Tirolli Antiquitates*, 1541. Watercolor, pen and ink on vellum, 19 $\frac{7}{16}$ × 13 $\frac{9}{16}$ in. (49.3 × 34.5 cm). Eton College Library, Windsor (Mss. 92)

Jörg Breu the Elder's *Story of Lucretia* and Hans Burgkmair the Elder's *Story of Esther*, both completed in 1528.¹⁴ The first scholars to associate the New York *Tüchlein* with an Augsburg artist were Hans Tietze and Erika Tietze-Conrat, who in 1936 rightly rejected the old attribution to Lucas van Leyden, which is untenable on stylistic grounds.¹⁵ They proposed an attribution to Jörg Breu the Younger based on similarities with his illustrations dated 1541 in a manuscript at Eton College, which Campbell Dodgson had published shortly before.¹⁶ Dodgson himself was aware of the *Tüchlein* and found an Augsburg origin likely, although he was unsure about the attribution to Breu.¹⁷ In the 1947 catalogue of the Metropolitan Museum's early northern European paintings, Harry Wehle and Margaretta Salinger upheld the attribution to Breu the Younger after comparing it with the artist's large 1540 woodcut *The Story of Susanna*.¹⁸ Apart from brief references, the most recent of which dissociated the picture from Breu and left it anonymous,¹⁹ the attribution received no further discussion in print.

Even allowing for differences in scale and media, the opinions of the Tietzes and of Wehle and Salinger were ultimately unconvincing because they were based on a small sample of the production of Jörg Breu the Younger and his workshop, which was not easily accessible at the time. The illustrations in the Eton manuscript—for example, *The Story of Lucretia* (fig. 29) and *Romulus as King*—are certainly comparable in the use of Italianate architecture and ornament, but they diverge from the Museum's painting in their often awkwardly proportioned, dollish figures and inconsistent perspective.²⁰ The same spatial problems are apparent in the *Story of Susanna* woodcut, in which portions of the architecture follow incompatible orthogonals,²¹ unlike

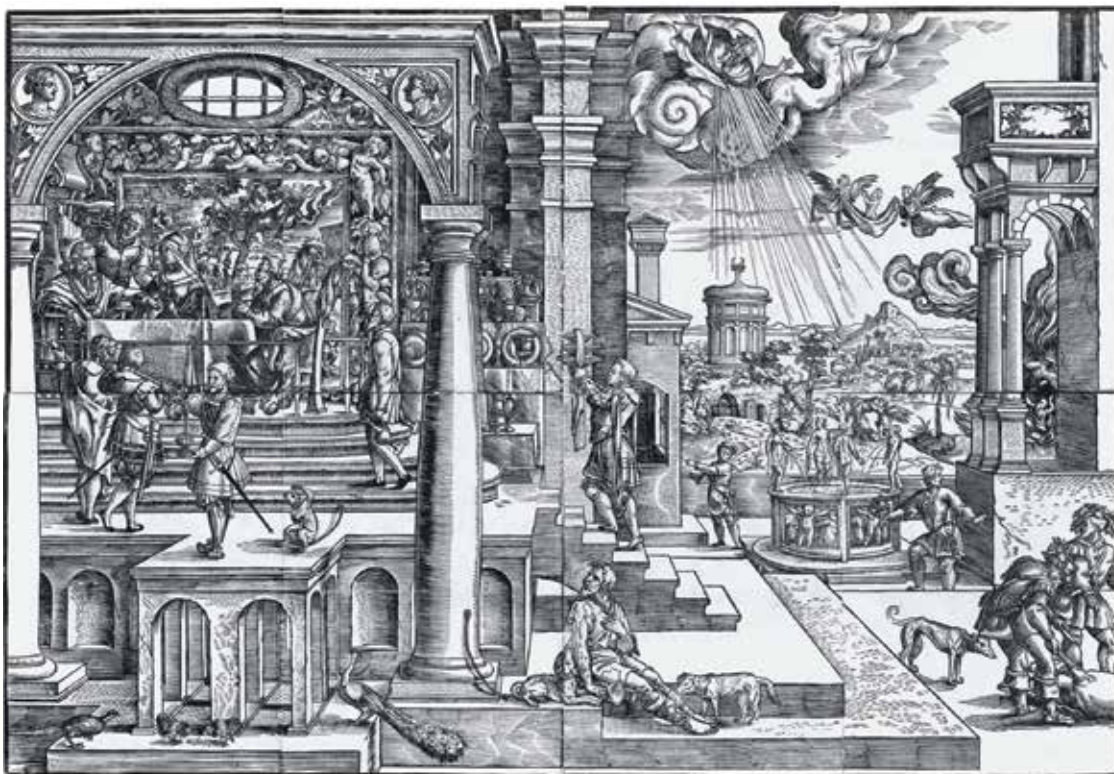


Fig. 30. Jörg Breu the Younger. *The Rich Man and Lazarus*, ca. 1534–47. Woodcut from eight woodblocks, 26 $\frac{1}{16}$ × 38 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (67.8 × 98.2 cm). Kupferstichkabinett, Gotha



Fig. 31. Jörg Breu the Younger. *The Prodigal Son*, ca. 1534–47. Woodcut from nine woodblocks, hand-colored, in ornamental border, 31 $\frac{1}{16}$ × 29 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (79 × 74.9 cm). Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Kupferstich-Kabinett

the clear and consistent construction of the New York picture. The main question arising from these comparisons is whether the obvious similarities in architecture and ornament are merely generic, part of a common language of Italianate forms in southern Germany.

The recent publication of Breu's complete printed oeuvre, however, prompts closer consideration of the artist.²² In fact, a survey

of Breu's *Riesenholschnitte* (monumental woodcuts) turns up several examples far more comparable in appearance than *The Story of Susanna* to the Metropolitan's painting. Foremost among them are two scenes of *The Rich Man and Lazarus*—one 98.2 centimeters wide (fig. 30), the other about half the size—which, with their perspectively sound architecture and convincingly proportioned figures, display a grandeur and sophistication consonant with the style of the Museum's painting.²³ Breu's *David and Bathsheba* is another large woodcut that presents similarly solid figures set in a rationally constructed space; moreover, it makes use of a baldachin-like structure set before a palace that invites comparison with the arched canopy in the background of the painting (where Potiphar's wife accuses Joseph).²⁴ Additionally, in the *Prodigal Son* print, now newly attributed to Breu by Guido Messling (fig. 31), the broad, sturdy male faces have the same forceful presence as the most fully realized head in *Joseph Interpreting the Dreams of Pharaoh*, that of the guard on the left edge.²⁵ Other prints by Breu, such as *The Resurrection of Christ*, further convey his ability to design robust, stately figures that would not be out of place in the Metropolitan Museum's *Tüchlein*.²⁶

These works lend new plausibility to Breu's authorship of the Museum's picture. They suggest that the connection proposed in earlier scholarship goes beyond the shared ornamental and architectural motifs evident in the *Story of Susanna* woodcut and the manuscript illuminations and extends to deeper principles of composition and design.²⁷ If Breu was responsible for the *Tüchlein*, then a date of about 1534 (after taking over management of the workshop from his father) to his death in 1547 is conceivable.²⁸ Here it must be emphasized, though, that the painting's unfinished state and damaged condition prevent a comprehensive stylistic analysis. In addition, comparative paintings by and attributed to Breu are scant.²⁹ The conclusions offered here must therefore remain provisional.

J P W

ATTRIBUTED TO HANS BROSAMER

Fulda ca. 1495–ca. 1554 Erfurt

5. Katharina Merian

Probably 1524

Oil, gold, and white metal on linden panel

Overall 18 1/4 × 13 × 3/8 in. (46.4 × 33 × .95 cm); painted surface 17 1/16 × 13 in.

(45 × 33.1 cm)

Inscriptions: none

Heraldry / emblems: none

Marks on verso (on cradle): on preprinted label, with handwritten entries in graphite, *Consign no.: Higgs; Date:* [blank]; *Lot no.: 23; Remarks:* 18 1/2, 13¹

Frame: not original

The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, 1982 1982.60.38

PROVENANCE: Fürsten von Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, Meersburg and Sigmaringen; Fürst Karl Anton von Hohenzollern, Sigmaringen (by 1871–d. 1885, inv. no. 2182);² Fürst Leopold von Hohenzollern, Sigmaringen (1885–d. 1905); Fürst Wilhelm von Hohenzollern, Sigmaringen (1905–d. 1927); Fürst Friedrich von Hohenzollern, Sigmaringen (1927 until 1928, or soon after);³ Han Coray, Erlenbach, Switzerland (until 1930; his sale, Wertheim, Berlin, October 1, 1930, no. 42, to Bottenwieser); [Paul Bottenwieser, Berlin, 1930—at least 1931]; [P. Jackson Higgs, New York, until 1932; sale, American Art Association / Anderson Galleries, New York, December 7–9, 1932, no. 26, to Fox]; William Fox, New York (from 1932); Mrs. William Fox, New York (until 1942; sale, Kende Galleries, New York, December 1–2, 1942, no. 35); Mr. and Mrs. Jack Linsky, New York (1942–his death 1980); The Jack and Belle Linsky Foundation, New York (1980–82)

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: The support is made of three linden boards with the grain oriented vertically.⁴ The panel is trimmed on the left and right edges, thinned to .95 centimeter, and cradled. It displays a slight convex lateral warp. Unpainted wood borders and a *barbe* along the top and bottom perimeter indicate that the panel was in an engaged frame when the white ground preparation was applied. There is a pale pink priming applied on top of the ground.

Although the paint layers of the figure are in fairly good condition, the copper-containing green glazes in the background were removed and extensively restored with verdigris in oil, probably because the original glazes had discolored. The lead-tin yellow (type I) used to underpaint the background was carefully brushed along the contour of the figure with fairly large, loose strokes, visible in the X-radiograph. The modeling of the face is abraded and has been reinforced with restoration. The lozenge pattern decorating the hat is barely visible, perhaps because the paint has darkened naturally with age.

The gilding of the jewelry, belt, and aiglets on the cap was applied to an ochre brown mordant containing a mix of black, red, blue, and earth pigments. In general, the gold leaf is abraded, although the rings and aiglets are fairly well preserved. The pendant is made with both gold and a white metal leaf glazed with brown and red glazes. The fifteen-point white metal leaf sunburst is embellished with opaque grayish white strokes of paint.

Inspection of the surface with the stereomicroscope revealed summary underdrawing of contours of the chin, jawline, eyes, shoulders, and lips. The underdrawing could not be imaged using infrared reflectography.⁵

This portrait shows a woman at half length, standing before a green background. She turns her head and rests her hands, the right folded over the left, at her waist. She wears a broad black *Tellerbarett* (“platter hat”) decorated with gray ribbon along the edge of the brim and with a lozenge pattern and gold aiglets underneath it. Her gray dress is trimmed with black at the breast, midriff, and cuffs. A gold and silver sunburst pendant with three pearls is suspended from her gold necklace. She wears gold rings on the visible hand. Although no corresponding male portrait is known, this likeness probably accompanied a pendant depicting the sitter’s husband.

Sometime before 1871 the background was entirely reworked, and in the process the upper layer of the original background was removed, along with any inscriptions it bore.⁶ In the catalogue of the Hohenzollern Collection in Sigmaringen, where the picture is first documented, F. A. Lehner was the first to identify the background as repainted.⁷ He noted that an inscription by a later hand on the reverse probably recorded information that had been lost during the reworking of the background. It contained the name and age of the sitter and the artist’s monogram and date: *KATHARINA MERIAN ÆT. 38 and HB 1524* (this evidence was itself obliterated during the subsequent planing of the panel for cradling).⁸ Most likely the original inscription ran along the top edge. The age of thirty-eight given for Katharina Merian, whose existence has not yet been corroborated by other sources, is consistent with her appearance in the portrait. If the recorded date is correct, then she must have been born in 1485 or 1486.⁹

A ligated *HB* monogram is found on several similar half-length portraits with green backgrounds also dated in the 1520s. On the basis of stylistic similarities to the portrait of Johann von Otthera (1536, private collection), which is signed with the full name of the artist Hans Brosamer, the monogrammed group is widely accepted as Brosamer’s work.¹⁰ In 1911 Gustav Pauli included the Metropolitan Museum’s portrait in the group, an attribution that has since met with unanimous approval.¹¹ While the assignment of the monogrammed portraits to Brosamer is highly plausible, the unavailability of the fully signed Otthera portrait for firsthand comparative study is cause for some uncertainty.

Several of the portraits with the *HB* monogram depict citizens of Nuremberg. They range in date from the beginning to the end of the 1520s, and from this we surmise that Brosamer, although he is not documented in the city, was active in Nuremberg during that decade.¹² The Metropolitan Museum’s picture is consistent with the standard compositional scheme of Brosamer’s Nuremberg portraits.¹³ The likeness of Wolfgang Eisen is a typical example and demonstrates also how the lost inscription on the Museum’s panel must have been placed (fig. 32).¹⁴ In the Museum’s picture,





Fig. 32. Hans Brosamer. *Wolfgang Eisen*, 1523. Mixed media on panel, 18 $\frac{1}{16}$ × 12 in. (47.8 × 30.5 cm). Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe (128)

the stiffness, linearity, and flatness of design characteristic of this group is even more pronounced because of the faded modeling in the blacks and grays, which has the effect of emphasizing the outline of the figure. Moreover, the repainting of the background obliterated the customary cast shadow, clearly present, for example, in the Wolfgang Eisen portrait, which would originally have lent greater depth to the representation.

The woman's costume type is documented in other Nuremberg portraits of the time, such as the female likeness in the 1525 portrait diptych of Hans and Barbara Straub by Hans Plattner in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, in which the dress, jewelry, and hat are all very similar (fig. 33).¹⁵ As Jutta Zander-Seidel pointed out, the hats in the two female portraits exemplify the type of headdress that in the 1520s replaced the bonnet among patrician woman of Nuremberg.¹⁶ The pose and composition of these two works are also strikingly close. Kurt Löcher noted that the portrait of Barbara Straub may be dependent on the Metropolitan's picture, which probably dates to one year earlier.¹⁷ This strongly supports the idea that the present work originated in Nuremberg, and it underscores the possible significance of Brosamer to portrait painting in that city during the 1520s.

J P W



Fig. 33. Hans Plattner. *Barbara Straub*, 1525. Oil on linden panel, 19 $\frac{1}{16}$ × 14 $\frac{3}{16}$ in. (49.3 × 36.4 cm). Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg (GM 180)

BARTHEL BRUYN THE ELDER

Wesel or Cologne 1493–1555 Cologne

6A. *Portrait of a Man*

6B. *Portrait of a Woman*

1533

Oil on oak panel

6A: overall $11\frac{1}{16} \times 8\frac{3}{16} \times \frac{3}{8}$ in. ($30.3 \times 21.1 \times .95$ cm); painted surface $11\frac{3}{4} \times 8\frac{1}{8}$ in. (29.8×20.6 cm)

6B: overall $12 \times 8\frac{7}{16} \times \frac{3}{8}$ in. ($30.5 \times 21.4 \times .95$ cm); painted surface $11\frac{7}{8} \times 8\frac{3}{16}$ in. (30.2×20.8 cm)

Inscriptions (across top of each panel): ANNO 1533

Heraldry/ emblems: none

Marks on verso:

6A: at bottom left, in black, directly on wood, *Fra. Kraszewski*; at center, in red, 62.267.1; at top center, on paper label, A3254, scratched in wax coating, A3254

6B: at bottom left, in black, directly on wood, *Fra. Kraszewski*; at center, in red, 62.267.2; at top center, on paper label, A3253, scratched in wax coating, A3253

Frames: not original

Gift of James A. Moffett 2nd, 1962 62.267.1, .2

PROVENANCE: ?*Fra. Kraszewski*; ¹Marcus Kappel, Berlin (by 1915–d. 1919; his estate, 1919–30; his estate sale, Cassirer & Helbing, Berlin, November 25, 1930, nos. 2, 3, bought in); ?Kappel family, Berlin (from 1930); [Knoedler, New York, until 1946; sold to Moffett]; George M. Moffett, Queenstown, Md. (1946–d. 1952); his son, James A. Moffett 2nd, Glen Head, N.Y. (1952–62)

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: A single piece of vertically grained oak that originated in the Netherlands or western Germany was used as the support for both paintings. Dendrochronological analysis provided an earliest possible fabrication date of 1515 and indicated that the panels were made from the wood of the same tree.² Both panels display a very slight convex transverse warp. They are thickly coated with wax on the verso. There is unpainted wood and a *barbe* along the perimeter of both panels, indicating that an engaged frame was in place when the white ground preparation was applied. The unpainted wood border has been slightly trimmed. A lead-white priming visible in the X-radiographs was laid down in wide, diffuse brushstrokes.

Overall, the *Portrait of a Woman* is in good condition. The fine details are intact, including the brocaded band on the bodice, embroidered belt, lace-edged cuffs, bonnet, and carnation. The paint is thinly applied, but strokes of fuller body were used for small details. Many of the latter were created with precise wet-on-dry brushstrokes. The artist managed to convey the fine details of the clothing with a minimum of brushwork. The backgrounds of both portraits, including the *trompe l'oeil* shadows cast by the sitter and the frame, were constructed by applying glazes over a bluish green underpaint. The result was probably a richly transparent and modulated green, which over time became a rather opaque, dark greenish brown. Such degradation is common in paint containing copper-green pigments.

The *Portrait of a Man* is less well preserved than its pendant. The thinly applied paint is generally abraded, most seriously in the flesh. The delicate brushstrokes describing the fur trim of the overcoat, which was painted with a translucent, very dark shade of brown, are damaged. Restoration applied to diminish a crack pattern disfigures the face.

When the surface of the female portrait is examined with the stereo-microscope, some underdrawing is visible along the left nostril and the right hand. The underdrawing could not be imaged with infrared reflectography on either portrait.³

This pair of small portraits dated 1533 shows a couple at half length. The man wears a beret, a dark jacket with fur lapel, and a gray shirt with a damask pattern over a white undershirt. He holds a pair of gloves in his right hand and displays a ring on his left. He looks to our right, meeting the gaze of the woman in the companion picture. She wears a bonnet decorated in gold and pearls, and her braided hair is exposed at either side of her face. Her bluish gray dress has a broad black lapel and reveals a black and gray damask underlayer at the wide openings of the sleeves. Her belt and the collar and breast of her undershirt are embroidered with gold, and she wears a gold neck chain and a necklace hung with a pendant decorated with jewels and pearls. There is a gold ring on her right hand, and in the same she holds a red carnation.

These portraits have been attributed to Barthel (Bartholomäus) Bruyn the Elder of Cologne since the time of their first publication in 1915.⁴ Bruyn appears not to have signed any portraits, and none can be linked to him through documentary sources. Nevertheless, a large body of independent portraits has been established for him through comparison with donor portraits in securely documented retables, such as the high altarpiece that Bruyn completed for Xanten Cathedral in 1534.⁵ The large irises, prominent chins, fleshy noses and lips, and high-contrast modeling characteristic of the Xanten portraits are evident to a greater or lesser degree in the Metropolitan Museum's pair.⁶ Moreover, the Museum's portraits compare well in format, style, composition, costume, and attributes with several contemporary portrait pairs that are accepted as the work of Bruyn.⁷ The deft and efficient execution further supports a full attribution to Bruyn; it is especially convincing in the modeling and costume details of the female portrait, which is the better preserved of the two.

The unidentified sitters wear costume typical of the upper-class citizenry of Cologne, whose members were Bruyn's usual patrons.⁸ The woman's exposed hair, visible in the braids at either side of her face, indicates that the couple are depicted as engaged, not married, as married women of Cologne wore their hair completely covered.⁹ It is likely that these portraits were commissioned to commemorate the engagement. In the context of this work, the carnation in the woman's hand is symbolic of love, betrothal, and marriage.¹⁰

Material and iconographic evidence suggests that many of Bruyn's portraits with rounded tops were originally attached as folding diptychs, such as his 1528 portraits of Gerhard and Anna Pilgrum



6A

in the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne.¹¹ The verso of the Anna Pilgrum portrait displays a vanitas allegory that would have been visible when the work was closed for storage. The original frames of

other Bruyn portraits have recesses on the sides where hinges were once affixed, and vanitas scenes are found on the backs of several other extant female portraits by him.¹² The Museum's panels lost



6B

any evidence of hinge or hanging hardware when they were cut from their original frames.¹³ Nevertheless, it can be inferred from the undecorated, black versos, neither of which was meant to be

seen, that the portraits were most likely not conceived as a folding diptych.¹⁴ Rather, they were probably meant to hang side by side as autonomous pendants.

JPW

BARTHEL BRUYN THE YOUNGER

Cologne ca. 1530–1607/10 Cologne

7. *Portrait of a Woman of the Slosgin Family of Cologne*

1557

Oil on oak panel

Overall $17\frac{1}{16} \times 14\frac{1}{16} \times \frac{1}{16}$ in. ($45.3 \times 35.7 \times .16$ cm), including later wood strips added at left and right sides, each $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (.64 cm) wide

Inscribed and dated (at upper left): ANNO. 1557. ÆTATIS. SVÆ 34

Heraldry / emblems: at upper right, coat of arms of Slosgin (also Schlossgen / Schlössgen) family of Cologne (on shield, fire-kindling fans)¹

Marks on verso (on cradle): at lower center, in red, 32.100.50

Frame: not original

The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931 32.100.50

PROVENANCE: Count Charles Robert de Nesselrode, Moscow;² comte André de Ganay, Paris; Benjamin Altman, New York; [Kleinberger, New York]; Michael Friedsam, New York (by 1928–d. 1931)

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: The wood support is a single piece of oak with the grain oriented vertically that originated in the Netherlands or western Germany. Dendrochronological analysis indicated an earliest possible fabrication date of 1541.³ The panel has undergone structural alterations. At some point the upper part was cut to form a truncated gable. It was subsequently thinned to .16 centimeter and laminated to a secondary support panel, which extended beyond the gable edges; pieces of oak .1 centimeter thick were then added to this to raise it to the original surface level. The perimeter was finally trimmed to form a shaped top. Wood strips .64 centimeter wide were attached to the sides, and the panel was cradled. X-radiography revealed that the original panel was damaged at the top when it was thinned; the large horizontal loss extends into the top of the bonnet. There are two vertical splits in the primary support associated with the joins in the secondary support. The verso of the panel and the cradle are thickly coated with wax.

The panel was prepared with a ground that contains calcium carbonate and with a pale pink priming. X-radiography and examination of paint samples taken from the green background and mounted in cross section revealed a locally applied pale gray layer on top of the pink priming.

Because of the darkening and increased transparency of the paint as it aged, the details and distinction between the bodice and the yoke with its decorative band surrounding the armhole and chest are apparent only when the painting is viewed in a strong light. The mottled brownish green background color may have diminished from a brighter green, a change commonly observed in paint containing copper-green pigments.

A few traces of underdrawing are visible when the surface is examined with the stereomicroscope. They include the contours of the base of the nose, the chin, and the edge of the cuff on the sitter's right hand. The underdrawing could not be imaged using infrared reflectography.⁴

The woman in this portrait is shown at half length, seated behind a parapet. She is lavishly dressed in a white undershirt embroidered with gold at the collar and cuffs, a black and dark gray brocade bodice, a black, high-collared yoke, and wide ermine sleeves over red foresleeves. A pearl-decorated plastron is revealed in the opening of the yoke. Her hair is tucked beneath a richly ornamented bonnet. The jewelry consists of a gem- and pearl-decorated pendant attached to a gold collar, a long gold chain necklace, and eight rings on her fingers. In her right hand she holds a pair of gloves. Attached to the belt, whose fastener displays a male head in profile, is a gold, pear-shaped pomander.

The coat of arms behind her left shoulder identifies the sitter as a member of a prominent family of merchants in Cologne, the Slosgins (variously spelled), whose progenitor, Johann Slosgin of Nijmegen, settled in Cologne in 1415.⁵ According to the inscription at the upper left, the sitter was thirty-four years old when the painting was made in 1557 and must therefore have been born in 1522 or 1523. Her concealed hair and the white covering affixed to the front of her bonnet indicate that she was married.⁶ In 1557, three daughters of Peter Slosgin (d. 1536) and Margaretha von Bergen (d. 1571) come into consideration: Catharina, Elisabeth, and Ursula.⁷ Catharina married Heinrich Kannegiesser (d. 1571), a future mayor of Cologne, in 1540; hers is the only marriage among the three sisters of which the date is known.⁸ Elisabeth's first husband was Johann Anholtt and her second Dr. Martin Krufft Crudener (d. 1612).⁹ Ursula was the first wife of Johann Helman (ca. 1530–1579).¹⁰ The lack of additional biographical data makes it impossible at the moment to narrow down the identification of the sitter. It is likely that the portrait was paired with a pendant of the husband, now lost.

Max J. Friedländer was the first (in 1912) to attribute this work to Barthel (Bartholomäus) Bruyn the Younger, who took over his father's workshop in Cologne after the latter's death in 1555.¹¹ Horst-Johannes Tümmers affirmed the attribution, having compared the painting with Barthel Bruyn the Younger's signed portrait of Peter Ulner (fig. 34),¹² and Annekatrein Löw accepted the younger Bruyn's authorship in her 2002 study of the Bruyns.¹³

Along with the *Crucifixion* panel of 1556–57 for Hermann von Weinsberg (Kölnisches Stadtmuseum), which is documented as by the artist, the Ulner portrait, dated 1560, forms the basis for attributions to the younger Bruyn.¹⁴ While the former, which contains donor portraits, is consistent in style with the Metropolitan Museum's picture and supports the attribution, the only slightly later Ulner portrait is more apt for comparison, given its similar format and better state of preservation. It is the left half of a diptych with a *Christ Carrying the Cross*. The likeness of Ulner exhibits the same enamel-like finish and pale pinkish flesh tone, which in the Museum's picture is somewhat yellowed by discolored varnish.¹⁵ It shows a strikingly





Fig. 34. Barthel Bruyn the Younger. *Peter Ulner*, 1560. Oil on oak panel, 20 $\frac{7}{16}$ × 14 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (52 × 38 cm). LVR-LandesMuseum Bonn, Rheinisches Landesmuseum für Archäologie, Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte (22.478)

similar approach to the modeling and delineation of the facial features, hands, and jewelry. In addition, the exaggerated spread of the creases at the base of Ulner's middle finger is present also in the Sloggin portrait; it seems to have been an idiosyncrasy of Barthel Bruyn the Younger's approach to hands and appears in other works attributed to him.¹⁶

The costume of the Sloggin woman is typical of that found in other female portraits by Barthel the Younger.¹⁷ Only the ermine sleeves are unusual, but they do find a precedent on one of the female donors portrayed in Barthel Bruyn the Elder's *Passion Altarpiece* of the Siegen Family of about 1540 (Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg),¹⁸ and they appear again in the *Portrait of a*

Woman, Probably Joanna von Salm, née von Römer, another work of the younger Bruyn (fig. 35).¹⁹ In our picture the simple modeling of the red foresleeves with highlights placed along the edges, giving the forearm a flat appearance, is encountered, for example, in the artist's pendant portraits of a family in the Toledo Museum of Art.²⁰

As noted in the technical report above, the shape of the arched top of the Museum's portrait is not entirely original. The curves are cut into later additions that were set in place after the top of the primary support had been trimmed down. The additions are clearly visible on the X-radiograph, which also reveals a large loss at the top that probably occurred when the panel was thinned in preparation for being glued to a secondary support (fig. 36). The ogee-arch design



Fig. 35. Barthel Bruyn the Younger. *Portrait of a Woman, Probably Joanna von Salm, née von Römer*, ca. 1561. Oil on panel, transferred to canvas, 17³/₄ × 14 in. (45.1 × 35.6 cm). Philadelphia Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection, 1917 (Inv. 36)

with the addition of peaks in the lateral slopes approximates a panel shape occasionally used by Barthel the Elder.²¹ The flat apex given to the Sloggin portrait is unusual. While the present shape possibly reconstructs one lost when the support was cut down, the original form was more likely a simple ogee arch with a rounded apex, as is very commonly found in other works by the elder and the younger Bruyn, for example the portrait of Peter Ulner discussed above.

The 1557 date of the Metropolitan Museum's picture makes it one of the earliest known works done by Barthel the Younger after his father's death. It is a clear example of the son's continuation of his father's successful business of portrait painting for Cologne's elite.

J P W



Fig. 36. X-radiograph, cat. 7



LUCAS CRANACH THE ELDER

Kronach 1472–1553 Weimar

8. *Portrait of a Man with a Rosary*

Ca. 1508

Oil on oak panel

Overall $18\frac{1}{16} \times 14 \times \frac{3}{16}$ in. ($47.4 \times 35.6 \times .95$ cm); painted surface (recto)

$18\frac{3}{8} \times 13\frac{3}{4}$ in. (46.7×34.9 cm), (verso) $18\frac{1}{16} \times 13\frac{1}{16}$ in. (46.5×34 cm)

Inscriptions: none

Heraldry / emblems: on signet ring, coat of arms of the Dutch family Six van Hillegom or Six van Oterleek (six-pointed star and two crescents on light blue)

Marks on verso: grisaille image of male saint

Frame: not original

H. O. Havemeyer Collection, Bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 1929 29.100.24

PROVENANCE: private collection, England; [Cottier, New York, until 1914; sold to Havemeyer]; Mrs. H. O. (Louisine W.) Havemeyer, New York (1914–d. 1929)

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: The panel support is a single plank of Baltic oak, with the grain oriented vertically. Dendrochronological analysis indicated an earliest possible fabrication date of 1502.¹ The panel, which has developed a slight transverse convex warp, has been trimmed on the bottom and the right side. Its dimensions are closest to those of Heydenreich Formmat C.² The verso displays a shallow bevel, wider on the untrimmed edges. A *barbe* on both sides along the untrimmed edges indicates that an engaged frame was in place when a thin white ground was applied to both sides of the panel. On the verso, only fragments remain of a male saint standing in an arched niche painted in grisaille.

The portrait is in good condition. There are several scratches on the face, losses along the craquelure in the clothing, and two large losses in the right shoulder and sleeve. The more thickly applied red paint outlining the contour of the delicately modeled mouth appears more prominent than intended because of general abrasion and perhaps some fading in the lips. The background, which may originally have been a more vibrant green, now appears a mottled brownish green as a result of the characteristic degradation of paint layers containing copper-green pigments.

Infrared reflectography revealed changes to the placement of the left eye and the contours of the left brow, tip of the nose, and chin.³ The increased transparency of the paint layers over time has caused the adjustment to the nose to be visible in normal light.

The signet ring on the man's left index finger is painted in a systematic manner typical of Cranach, with applications of an orangey medium brown, dark brown, and opaque yellow. The hair, too, shows the artist's typical approach, with individual dark brown and off-white strands painted over an initial brushy application of warm brown. A very finely ground blue pigment, visible with magnification, is used to color the gemstone and the whites of the eyes. The damask sleeve is painted with no attempt to adjust the pattern to the modeling. The green background is underpainted with a pinkish brown color.

This sensitive portrait shows a well-dressed young man seemingly transfixed by a devotional image—perhaps of the Virgin and Child—to which he offers a silent prayer as he pauses on a bead of the rosary held in his right hand. With his left hand, he clutches the fur border of his overcoat. On the reverse, a *trompe-l'oeil* image of a statue of a bald, bearded, and barefoot saint perhaps represents Saint Peter, but the work is too damaged for a definitive identification (fig. 37).



Fig. 37. Verso, cat. 8

Initially expressing some hesitation, Max J. Friedländer was the first to link this panel to the authorship of Lucas Cranach the Elder.⁴ He pointed out that the large curves and heavy shadows of the head are similar to those found in the portraits in the Torgau (Holy Kinship) Altarpiece of 1509 (Städel Museum, Frankfurt) and supposed that the panel could have been painted during Cranach's trip to the Netherlands in 1508.⁵ By the time of Friedländer's 1932 Cranach monograph with Jakob Rosenberg, there was no further doubt about the attribution, which has been accepted ever since.⁶

In 1966 Dieter Koeplin first proposed this portrait as the pendant of the *Portrait of a Woman in Prayer*, a work that also represents on its reverse a niche containing a grisaille statue of a saint, Catherine of Alexandria (figs. 38, 39).⁷ Except for the fact that the female portrait is cut at the bottom by about 5 centimeters, the two panels match closely in size; they also share a similar green background, even though these colors have shifted in differing ways.⁸ There was most likely a central panel, twice the width of the two donor panels that, when closed, would have revealed the grisaille images.⁹



Fig. 38. Lucas Cranach the Elder. *Portrait of a Woman in Prayer*, ca. 1508. Oil on oak panel, 16 $\frac{15}{16}$ × 13 in. (43 × 33 cm). Kunsthaus Zürich, Gift of Werner Abegg, 1925 (1643)

Fig. 39. Lucas Cranach the Elder. *Saint Catherine of Alexandria* (verso of fig. 38)



The saints, probably also by Cranach's own hand,¹⁰ are likely the patron saints of the man and woman, who therefore might be a Peter(?) and a Catherine.¹¹ Other clues to the identity of the sitters appear in the costume of the woman, who wears a Dutch hood, and in the man's ring, which bears the coat of arms of the Dutch family Six van Hillegom or Six van Oterleek.¹² Also of note is the fact that the panel is made of Baltic oak, the customary support for paintings produced in the Netherlands and one that was used only rarely by Cranach and his workshop.¹³ These factors, as well as the probable original format as the wings of a typical Netherlandish triptych, suggest that the sitters were from the Low Countries and that the male portrait and its pendant may have been painted there.

But when and where might this have happened? Cranach visited the Netherlands in 1508, perhaps for political and commercial business on behalf of the Elector of Saxony, Friedrich the Wise; according to Walther Scheidig, he may even have traveled there earlier,

in 1506.¹⁴ Two payments in 1508 to the artist and an assistant, "maistre Christoffele," for unspecified work in Malines for Margaret of Austria, Regent of the Netherlands, indicate Cranach's connections at the highest court levels.¹⁵ Werner Schade and Koeplin both recognized the strong influence of Netherlandish paintings on Cranach's works after 1509,¹⁶ and Bodo Brinkmann rightly observed that an "increased empathy" for the sitters comes directly from Cranach's exposure to the works of the great Netherlandish masters, from Jan van Eyck to Quentin Metsys.¹⁷ The few painted portraits by Cranach from 1509 provide insufficient material for stylistic comparisons,¹⁸ but, as Friedländer pointed out early on, there are close comparisons with the Torgau Altarpiece.¹⁹ It is above all on the basis of the telltale signs of Cranach's typical technique and execution (see technical notes above) that the attribution to him may be secured. All in all, the extant evidence strongly suggests that Cranach painted this portrait and its pendant while on a trip to the Netherlands in 1508. MWA

LUCAS CRANACH THE ELDER

Kronach 1472–1553 Weimar

9. *The Martyrdom of Saint Barbara*

Ca. 1510

Oil on linden panel

Overall $60\frac{1}{2} \times 54\frac{3}{8} \times \frac{7}{16}$ in. (153.7 × 138.1 × 1.1 cm); painted surface $59\frac{7}{8} \times 53$ in. (152.1 × 134.6 cm)

Inscriptions: none

Heraldry / emblems: at lower right, coat of arms of Rem / Rehm family, Augsburg (black ox on yellow shield; helmet surmounted by black ox standing on yellow pillow)¹

Marks on verso: none

Frame: not original

Rogers Fund, 1957 57.22

PROVENANCE: Dorfkirche, Goseck, near Naumburg (sold to Zech-Burkersroda); Grafen von Zech-Burkersroda, chapel of Schloss Goseck, Goseck (possibly from 1840, definitely by 1844); by descent in Zech-Burkersroda family, Schloss Goseck, later Munich (until 1956; sold by either Margarethe, Gräfin von Zech-Burkersroda, or her sister-in-law Baronin Elisabeth, Gräfin von Zech-Burkersroda, to Böhler); [Böhler, Munich, from 1956]; [Hougershofer, Zürich; sold to Rosenberg & Stiebel]; [Rosenberg & Stiebel, New York, until 1957; sold to MMA]

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: The linden panel is composed of ten horizontally oriented boards.² It has been thinned to 1.1 centimeters and cradled. Thinning exposed insect channels on the reverse. The left, right, and bottom edges have unpainted borders, approximately 1.2 centimeters wide, that have been filled and overpainted. Along the top, the paint extends to the edge of the panel, and a black border, approximately 1 centimeter wide, has been painted over the image. The panel was prepared with a white ground followed by a thin white priming that likely contains lead white, the application of which resulted in an uneven, patchy radio-opacity consistent with patterns seen in X-radiographs of many paintings produced in Cranach's workshop.

The painting is generally in very good condition. There are tiny losses along the wood grain over much of the surface. Losses throughout the dark green garment worn by the figure with hands clasped in front of his chest have been considerably restored; the lighter passages, in particular, appear quite broken up. Judging from the patchy appearance of the garment, a final green glaze may have been partially removed in this passage and may remain in a fragmentary state, primarily in the deepest shadows. The green tassel hanging from Dioscorus's knee armor, however, remains in good condition.

Infrared reflectography³ revealed bold contours and parallel hatching executed with a brush in a liquid medium. Some facial features were shifted slightly in the final painted image: the profile of Dioscorus's right cheek and forehead was moved to the left, the gaze of the bare-headed man was shifted away from Barbara, and the nose of the figure at the far left was elongated.

The painting does not rely heavily on the shorthand techniques formalized in Cranach's later works. Although details are built up in an economical fashion, forms are created with blending and transitional tones. Generally, the image is begun with a flat or slightly modulated midtone that is then enhanced with blended darks and more graphic highlights in one to three colors. One of the most skillfully painted passages, in which the fluency of application is clearly apparent, is the skirt of Dioscorus's armor. Translucent ocher establishes the base tone of the garment, with opaque gray shadows blended in to create volume. Arcing wet-in-wet brushstrokes in pink and yellow form the highlights. The black overlaid pattern is not altered to follow the folds of the

garment, but relies instead on shading in the underlying layers to describe volume. Unlike most areas of the painting, the rocky ledge at the right is executed in a fairly loose manner, with brushy scumbles laid over brown and gray translucent tones. Thickly applied stippled paint was used for the lichen growing on the rocks and trees.

According to *Der Heiligen Leben* (*The Lives of the Saints*),⁴ Barbara was locked in a tower by her heathen father, Dioscorus, to protect her from avid suitors. While there, she was baptized as a Christian and had a third window installed to symbolize the Trinity. Upon learning of this, Dioscorus flew into a rage and drew his sword to kill her. Barbara fled to a mountain cave, but was betrayed and delivered to a judge, who ordered her to be tortured for refusing to recant her faith. Having survived whipping, burning, beating, and the hacking off of her breasts, she was sentenced to decapitation. Dioscorus led his daughter up a mountain, where he cut off her head, but on the way down he was killed by a bolt of lightning.

This painting shows a luxuriously dressed Barbara kneeling before her father, who raises his sword (falchion) to behead her. Artistic license has been taken with Dioscorus's attire: his helmet is a fantastical creation *all'antica*, a style popular at the time, and his knee defenses (polyens), typically steel, are heavily gilt.⁵ The elderly man in the dark green robe and hat with earflaps standing behind Barbara is probably the judge who ordered her beheading. To his left is a courtly-looking fellow wearing a fur-trimmed yellow damask robe. One of the two soldiers to his right wears armor meant to look either antique or foreign. The large round reinforce on his left shoulder and the short sleeve of the mail shirt protruding from under his shoulder defense are usually associated with mid-fifteenth-century Italian armor. As Dirk Breiding noted, "His gauntlets with 'open cuffs' on the inside, the helmet with reinforcing discs on the sides (and a fantastical visor), and the skirt (made of downward-overlapping metal scales), especially its fabric part with the lower dagged edge and attached bells, were all fashionable particularly in German-speaking areas during the early to mid-fifteenth century."⁶

Karl Peter Lepsius suggested that this painting collapses the traditional narrative, simultaneously representing the judge's execution order, the soldier's preparing to draw his sword to carry out the punishment, and Dioscorus's sudden action, seizing his daughter to kill her himself.⁷ This could explain why the man in the yellow robe speaks into the ear of the judge, rather than attending to the action at hand, and also why the judge and two soldiers appear troubled.⁸ A similar mood pervades a Cranach-workshop drawing (fig. 40), in which the judge presses his hand to his heart and confers with his companion.⁹ However, in a Cranach woodcut of about 1510–15 (fig. 41), a large crowd recoils in horror while the judge seems to argue with Dioscorus. A second drawing of around 1513



Fig. 40. Workshop of Lucas Cranach the Elder. *The Martyrdom of Saint Barbara*, ca. 1510(?). Pen and ink on paper, $8\frac{7}{8} \times 6\frac{1}{8}$ in. (21.9 × 15.6 cm). Formerly in Lahmann Collection; location unknown



Fig. 41. Lucas Cranach the Elder. *The Martyrdom of Saint Barbara*, ca. 1510–15. Woodcut, $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{5}{8}$ in. (24.8 × 16.8 cm). The British Museum, London (1894,0611.57)

(fig. 42) shows an even more tightly edited grouping of figures behind Dioscorus that is similar to those in the Museum's painting.¹⁰ In the painting and both drawings, Barbara appears to accept her fate calmly, whereas in the woodcut she is clearly terrified.

Following the details of the legend, all these examples set the scene in a landscape; the Museum's painting and one of the previously mentioned drawings (see fig. 40) show towers on the background hills, indicating Barbara's place of confinement. In the painting, the tower at the far left has three windows in its upper portion, perhaps representing those that Barbara told her father referred to the Trinity. The beheading itself takes place before the entrance to the cave in which Barbara had hidden; another cave, at the foot of the rocky hills in the background, is the one that Barbara used to escape captivity by fleeing through it onto a mountain.¹¹ The two trees at the upper right suggest those forked trees between which, in another version of the legend, the judge sentenced Barbara to hang.¹²

Karl August Gottlieb Sturm was the first to mention the Museum's painting, in 1844, when it was in the chapel at Schloss Goseck, but he misidentified the subject as the Sacrifice of Jephthah's Daughter.¹³ In 1851 Christian Schuchardt named the scene correctly and deemed the painting a product of the Cranach workshop based on Cranach's woodcut of about 1510–15 (see fig. 41).¹⁴ The first comprehensive

study of the panel by Lepsius, published posthumously in 1855, discussed the details of the Saint Barbara episode and revealed that the painting curiously had been affixed to the ceiling of the Goseck parish church before it was bought by Count von Zech-Burkersroda and transferred to the chapel at Schloss Goseck.¹⁵ Lepsius determined that the coat of arms at the lower right was that of the Rem / Rehm family, merchants in Augsburg who worked in the Welser-Vöhl, Höchstetter, and Fugger companies.¹⁶ On that basis, he supposed that the painting originally hung in the Rem residence at Augsburg and that it was likely painted by a Swabian, not a Saxon, artist.¹⁷

Opinion continued to be divided concerning the attribution and subject matter of the painting,¹⁸ until in 1956 Ernst Buchner affirmed the attribution to Cranach and dated the work around 1509–15.¹⁹ Citing the comparison with the coat of arms on the Lucas Rem Altarpiece by Quentin Metsys (Alte Pinakothek, Munich), he identified the one here as probably that of Lucas, who was based in Antwerp. Buchner proposed that Cranach received the commission from Lucas during his trip to the Netherlands in 1508.²⁰ Modern scholarship has vacillated between those who considered *Saint Barbara* a work by a talented pupil (Werner Schade and Johannes Erichsen)²¹ and those who supported the attribution to Cranach (Dieter Koepplin, who later expressed doubt, and Max J. Friedländer and



Jakob Rosenberg).²² Friedländer and Rosenberg dated the painting to about 1510, pointing out its similarity to Cranach's early style, as exemplified by *Fourteen Helpers in Need* (see fig. 43).²³

The coat of arms is indeed that of the large Rem family, of whom the best known is Lucas, author of a diary covering the years 1494–1541.²⁴ Although it is tempting to identify Lucas as the one who commissioned *Saint Barbara*, this cannot be established with certainty. The other works commissioned by him, including one painting by Metsys and three by Joachim Patinir, all carry Lucas's personal motto, *Istz gvyt so gebs Got* (All good things come from God), which is absent from the Museum's painting.²⁵ Equally uncertain is why Lucas would have commissioned a Martyrdom of Saint Barbara, although he was related to two Barbaras by marriage through his wife, Anna Ehem.²⁶ If the painting originally had wings, forming a triptych, these might offer further clues about the commission, but no clear candidates have survived.²⁷ Two smaller workshop copies of the painting survive as independent panels and testify to the popularity of the image.²⁸

Of the many earlier representations of the subject, the one that most directly influenced the Museum's painting seems to be Master MZ's engraving of about 1500.²⁹ The painting closely follows the poses of the two main protagonists in the print.³⁰ The preparatory drawings mentioned above (see figs. 40, 42) experiment with a number of tightly edited, close-up renderings of the figures that achieve a more subtle expression of emotion than Cranach had realized in his woodcut from about 1510–15 (see fig. 41).

In its compact, friezelike arrangement of figures parallel to the picture plane, the Museum's *Saint Barbara* has much in common with several Cranach paintings dating to about 1510. Gunnar Heydenreich has noted its similarity to the painted wings of the altarpiece in the Stadtkirche Sankt Johannis in Neustadt an der Orla (dated 1511–12 on documentary evidence), which share compressed figures in the foreground, a cloudless sky, and certain anatomical awkwardnesses.³¹ Also stylistically related are the large *Virgin and Child* (Samuel H. Kress Collection, University of Arizona Museum of Art, Tucson) that once formed the centerpiece of a triptych with wings of Saint Catherine and Saint Barbara (Moravská Galerie, Brno), which Friedländer and Rosenberg dated to about 1513, as well as the *Virgin with Child Eating Grapes* of about 1509–10 (Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid).³² The faces of Saint Barbara and the Virgins in the Tucson and Madrid paintings are especially close in type and in their smooth, pinkish flesh tones. These paintings also display the same compressed space, with figures in the foreground, and similarly painted background castles, rocky outcroppings, trees with lichen, and bushes with yellow-tipped leaves.

A less planar sense of space and a more graceful integration of figures within that space characterize other paintings from the same period that are securely attributed to Cranach. Among these are *The Martyrdom of Saint Catherine* of about 1505 (Collection of the Reformed Church, Budapest), the *Saint Catherine Altarpiece*, inscribed and dated 1506 (Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden),

and the *Torgau Altarpiece*, signed and dated 1509 (Städel Museum, Frankfurt).³³ Since some scholars have therefore questioned the attribution of *Saint Barbara* to Cranach, it is important to compare the panel with *Fourteen Helpers in Need*, which has generally been dated between 1505 and 1509 (fig. 43).³⁴ In particular, the face of the armored soldier, second from left in the former, is quite similar to that of Saint Pantaleon in the latter; the faces of the two armored men at the far left in both paintings are also comparable, especially in terms of physiognomic details. The armor is similarly rendered in each painting: broad strokes of the brush in white are scored through to create the sharp black lines defining its structure. A comparison of the underdrawing of the heads in the two paintings revealed a reliance on short, curved strokes, sometimes seeming to be randomly applied, to indicate facial features or to suggest garment folds.³⁵

The same characteristics are also evident in the drawings attributed to Cranach from about the same time, especially *The Beheading of Saint Barbara* of about 1513 (Nationalgalerie, Oslo), *Saint Anthony in a Niche* of about 1509–10 (Harvard Art Museums, Fogg Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts), and *Samson Fighting the Lion* of about 1509–10 (Kupferstich-Kabinett, Dresden).³⁶ Finally, the faces in *Saint Barbara* are treated in a combination of ways (fig. 44). X-radiographs revealed that some, including that of the judge, have a "marked



Fig. 42. Lucas Cranach the Elder. *The Martyrdom of Saint Barbara*, ca. 1513. Pen and ink on paper, 16 $\frac{1}{16}$ × 14 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (42.3 × 36.3 cm). Nationalgalerie, Oslo (NG.K&H.B.16582)



Fig. 43. Lucas Cranach the Elder. *Fourteen Helpers in Need*, 1505–9. Oil on panel, 33 $\frac{3}{16}$ × 46 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (84.3 × 117.8 cm). Marienkirche, Torgau

Fig. 44. Infrared reflectogram, detail of Saint Barbara's head, cat. 9 (detail)



virtual relief,” as Heydenreich called it,³⁷ others a softer, more blended approach, as seen in that of the man in yellow damask. Such variations may reflect the change that Ingo Sandner noted in Cranach’s style around 1510, which was due perhaps to his contacts with Franconian painting or to his trip to the Netherlands in 1508.³⁸

When taken together, these observations suggest that *Saint Barbara* can be dated to about 1510, at a moment when Cranach not only was looking to further streamline his painting methods but also was influenced by practices elsewhere in developing facial types and expressions. MWA

LUCAS CRANACH THE ELDER

Kronach 1472–1553 Weimar

10. *Venus and Cupid*

Ca. 1525–27

Oil on beech panel

Diam., overall, top to bottom, 4 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (12.2 cm), left to right, 4 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (11.8 cm), of painted surface, top to bottom, 4 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (11 cm), left to right, 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (10.7 cm); thickness $\frac{3}{16}$ in. (.4 cm)

Signed (at lower left, on stone block): [winged serpent mark, wings raised]

Inscriptions: none

Heraldry/emblems: none

Marks on verso: at center, in graphite reinforced with red, beneath wax, 15322; at upper center, in red paint, 1982.60.48

Frame: not original

The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, 1982 1982.60.48

PROVENANCE: private collection (until 1965; sale, Sotheby's, London, March 24, 1965, no. 100, to Linsky); Mr. and Mrs. Jack Linsky, New York (1965–his death 1980); The Jack and Belle Linsky Foundation, New York (1980–82)

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: The grain of the circular beech panel is oriented vertically.¹ A small indentation at the center of the panel indicates that a stylus was used to create the circle. The panel has been thinned to .4 centimeter and laminated to a linden secondary support; the laminated panels display a convex curvature. The verso and sides have been waxed. The white ground extends to all edges. The unpainted border has been deeply scored. One mark extends into the painted background, confirming that the scoring was done after the painting was completed. There is a vertical split in the panel extending from the bottom edge, below the right foot of Venus to her knee. Overall the condition of the painting is very good. When it is viewed in normal light, a few dark lines can be seen below the surface of the paint in Venus's feet; however, examination with infrared reflectography revealed no underdrawing.²

This small roundel shows the full-length nude figures of the goddess Venus and her son Cupid on a strip of pebble-strewn earth before a black background. Venus wears a broad-brimmed hat



Fig. 46. X-radiograph, cat. 10



Fig. 45. Lucas Cranach the Elder. *The Fall of Man*, 1525. Oil on panel, diam. 5 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (14.9 cm). Kurpfälzisches Museum der Stadt Heidelberg (G2443)

decorated with ostrich plumes, and with both hands she grasps a veil, which floats across her hips as if blown by a breeze. Her waist-length blond hair fans out on either side of her body. Cupid, his wings spread wide, stands on a thick stone block. He holds a bow in his right hand and raises his left hand to his face.

After it came to light in 1965, this painting was recognized by Dieter Koeplin as belonging to a group of small roundels by Lucas Cranach the Elder that depict various biblical, mythological, historical, and portrait subjects.³ The example of Italian medals and circular plaquettes and the work of the medalist Hans Schwarz in Augsburg and Nuremberg may have inspired Cranach to choose a round format.⁴ The production of these paintings appears to have been limited to just a few years; the dated examples are almost exclusively from 1525, and none is dated later than 1527.⁵ Although the Metropolitan Museum's panel bears no date, it clearly belongs to the same moment.⁶ In design and execution, this *Venus* is very close to Eve in the artist's *Fall of Man* tondo of 1525 (fig. 45). Also similar to that panel is the crisscross scoring at the edges beyond the image area, which may have been applied to provide the surface with enough tooth to anchor a frame.⁷ Further support for the dating of the present work is provided by Cranach's *Venus and Cupid* in rectangular



10

format, dated 1525, at Compton Verney, Warwickshire, which has a similar composition showing Cupid perched on a stone block.⁸ The austere setting derives from Cranach's first painted treatment of the theme, the large *Venus and Cupid* of 1509 (State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg).⁹

The Museum's tondo is remarkable for its confident, efficient, and apparently very rapid brushwork. The speed of execution is suggested by the way the base flesh color was initially brushed beyond the final outlines of the figures, as is visible in the X-radiograph (fig. 46). As was common practice in the Cranach workshop, the final silhouettes were then defined using the black background color, which overlaps the edges of the roughed-in flesh paint.¹⁰ The flesh was modeled with thin, economically applied glazes, and the contours of interior forms were sketched in with tiny strokes of brown. The realization of complex and visually convincing forms by minimal means, apparently at great speed, supports the attribution to Cranach himself.

The iconography of Venus and Cupid in the present work represents a change from Cranach's earliest versions of the subject. In the 1509 *Venus and Cupid* and a woodcut from about the same year, Cupid is armed and draws his bow, but Venus subdues him with a downward gesture of her right hand, thus conveying a message

of restraint of carnal desires.¹¹ In the Saint Petersburg painting the admonitory intent is made explicit in an inscription that reads, "Avoid Cupid's lust with all your might, that your breast not be possessed by Venus."¹² Later variants of the composition abandon Venus's restraining gesture. In the Metropolitan Museum's panel and certain others, including the version of about 1520–25 in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, and one of about 1530 in the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, the goddess's supremacy over Cupid is implied by her inattention to him.¹³ In the present work, this is emphasized by the direction of her gaze away from Cupid. That her aloofness has effectively disarmed her son is suggested by the lack of arrows for his bow. Raising a hand to his face, his lips slightly parted, he appears to call in vain for his mother's attention. Here, the moralism with which Cranach inaugurated the theme in 1509 is deemphasized in favor of offering Venus's nonchalance and Cupid's dismay for the viewer's amusement. The harmlessness and humor of the scene are fully consonant with its diminutive size, which requires that it be studied at close range. Only in paintings showing Cupid stealing honey from a beehive, a popular theme first treated about 1526, did Cranach reintroduce a strong moralizing element in his Venus and Cupid repertoire (cat. 20).¹⁴

J P W

LUCAS CRANACH THE ELDER

Kronach 1472–1553 Weimar

II. *The Judgment of Paris*

Ca. 1528

Oil on beech panel

Overall $39\frac{1}{16} \times 27\frac{3}{4} \times \frac{5}{16}$ in. ($100.9 \times 70.5 \times .8$ cm), with added strips
 $40 \times 28\frac{1}{4}$ in. (101.6×71.8 cm)

Signed (at right foreground, on rock beneath leftmost goddess): [fragmentary winged serpent mark]

Inscriptions: none

Heraldry / emblems: none

Marks on verso: none

Frame: not original

Rogers Fund, 1928 28.221

PROVENANCE: Freiherr von Lüttwitz, Lüttwitzhof, Ścinawka Średnia / Mittelsteine, County Kłodzko / Glatz, Silesia (until 1889 / 90; sale, Lepke's, Berlin, 1889 / 90); Freiherr Konrad von Falkenhausen, Schloss Wallisfurth, Wolany / Wallisfurth, County Kłodzko / Glatz (d. 1898); Fräulein E. Hubrich, Wrocław / Breslau (by 1899–1900); [Georg Voss, Berlin]; Marzell von Nemes, Munich (by 1922; on loan to Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, 1922–24; his sale, Frederik Muller, Amsterdam, November 13–14, 1928, no. 51; sold to MMA)

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: The beech panel support is made of four vertically oriented boards with skewed joints. Dendrochronological analysis indicated an earliest possible fabrication date of 1526.¹ The panel has been trimmed to the original image area, thinned to .8 centimeter, and cradled. A wood strip approximately 21 centimeters long and 1.8 centimeters wide has been inserted along the top left edge. Strips of wood were added to the left, right, and bottom edges. The X-radiograph shows a small amount of tow, applied with no apparent correlation to the construction of the support.

The numerous losses and repairs in the upper third of the painting are due to chronic blistering of the paint layers. This blistering and abrasion from harsh cleaning have disrupted the delicate modeling of the goddesses' flesh, Mercury's legs and hands, and Paris's face. The veil draped across the middle goddess is damaged. The better-preserved passages in the red garments, including the feather hat worn by the middle goddess, Paris's hat and robe, and Mercury's red skirt fringe, display the typical, systematic technique characteristic of other paintings attributed to Cranach: an underpainting of dense black is followed by bright, opaque red, which is finished with transparent red-lake glazes. A gray underpaint was used for the greenery of the landscape. Other hallmarks of Cranach's technique include hair worked up from a nearly flat orange-brown, finished with delicate whorls of yellow, orange, and brown brushstrokes. Painted "countercurls" can be seen in the hair of two of the goddesses, a mannerism associated with the finest paintings produced by Cranach and his workshop.²

Infrared reflectography³ revealed linear contours drawn with a brush. The horse's raised leg was drawn lower and further forward and the painted dead branches deviate slightly from the underdrawing. The underdrawn lines in the legs of the goddesses were intended to remain visible through the paint film to depict veins below the surface of the skin.⁴

Among the most popular mythological scenes produced by Lucas Cranach the Elder and his workshop were those featuring Venus and, in particular, the Judgment of Paris.⁵ This legend relates how the goddess of discord Eris, peeved at not having been invited to the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, attended unannounced and threw her golden apple, inscribed "to the fairest," into the midst of the guests. Juno, Venus, and Minerva all claimed ownership of the prize, and Jupiter decreed that their dispute could be settled only by Paris, son of the king of Troy. After Mercury brought the goddesses to the Trojan prince, each offered him a bribe: Juno, power; Minerva, all human knowledge; and Venus, the love of Helen of Troy, wife of the Spartan king, Menelaus, and the world's most beautiful woman. Paris chose Venus and embarked for Sparta to abduct Helen and bring her to Troy, thus instigating the Trojan War.

In the mid-twelfth century, the French poet Benoît de Saint-Maure wrote the *Roman de Troie* (*Romance of Troy*), which was based on the purportedly eyewitness account of the destruction of the city by Dares Phrygius, a Trojan priest of Hephaestus.⁶ Another well-known and widely disseminated romance was Guido delle Colonne's late thirteenth-century *Historia Destructionis Troiae* (*History of the Destruction of Troy*).⁷ Cranach must have known either Dares's account⁸ or the medieval romances,⁹ for his *Judgment of Paris* follows two distinctive features of their texts: Paris as a hunter, not a shepherd as in other ancient sources,¹⁰ and Paris's encounter with Mercury and the three goddesses in a dream. Guido's text also provides other specific details adopted by Cranach: the setting in the "loneliest part of these groves" of Mount Ida, the horse tied near a tree, and the proviso that the goddesses present themselves naked so that Paris might "consider the individual qualities of their bodies for a true judgment."¹¹

Cranach's depiction of the theme was also influenced by early prints. An engraving of about 1460 by the Master of the Banderoles shows the three naked goddesses, modestly covering themselves with diaphanous veils, and Mercury attempting to awaken a slumbering Paris in a lush wooded landscape (fig. 47).¹² A woodcut illustration of the scene in the 1502 Wittenberg edition of Dares Phrygius's *Bellum Troianum* (*Trojan War*)¹³ also provided a visual precedent for Cranach's first image on the theme, a signed and dated woodcut of 1508 in which the goddesses have just disrobed (fig. 48). For the contrasting front and back poses of two of them, the artist was inspired by Jacopo de' Barbari's *Victory and Fame*, an engraving of 1498–1500 that circulated in Nuremberg, where de' Barbari went in 1500 to work for Emperor Maximilian I.¹⁴ Cranach's woodcut in turn served as the model for at least a dozen painted versions by himself and his workshop, beginning with the artist's panel of about 1510 (Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth) and including the present work, a considerably later adaptation of about 1528.





Fig. 47. Master of the Banderoles. *The Judgment of Paris*, ca. 1460. Engraving, $5\frac{13}{16} \times 8$ in. (14.7 × 20.3 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

Fig. 48. Lucas Cranach the Elder. *The Judgment of Paris*, 1508. Woodcut, $14\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{1}{8}$ in. (36.8 × 25.7 cm). Victoria and Albert Museum, London (E.578-1890)



In the Museum's painting, Paris has dismounted his horse and fallen asleep beneath a tree. Mercury nudges him awake with his staff, and Paris, in a sleepy stupor, observes the three beauties before him. He wears a full suit of knightly armor in the style of 1520–25, including a lance rest; his sword is by his side and he holds a decoratively embellished gold war hammer. His long coat and puffed, slashed sleeves reflect contemporary courtly fashion; his huge beret with ostrich feather pom-poms, a type worn by high-ranking military commanders, perhaps was introduced here to appeal to the patron.¹⁵ Mercury's costume, including the breastplate with oak leaf decoration, the fringed red skirt beneath, and the extraordinary hat showing two birds ravenously eating seeds from a pod, is pure fantasy.¹⁶ The apple he holds appears to be formed of rock crystal. The three goddesses are only very slightly differentiated, perhaps to emphasize the difficulty of Paris's decision.¹⁷ Which is Juno and which Minerva is unclear,¹⁸ but the center figure must be Venus. It is she who is the most suggestively alluring, with her broad-brimmed, feather-adorned red hat and strategically placed diaphanous veil that accentuates all the more her otherwise naked state. It is also she who points to Cupid, who in turn prepares to shoot his arrow at her. The walled-in city in the background being approached by a large ship is presumably Troy, and the leafless,

dead branches on the tree directly above the figures may signal the destruction to come.

A free sketch of the composition, dated by most scholars between 1527 and 1530 (fig. 49),¹⁹ probably served as a preliminary idea for the Museum's painting and other close variants,²⁰ none of which follow the initial design exactly but simply rearrange its landscape and figural motifs. Although the three goddesses have sometimes been thought to be portraits of women at the Saxon court,²¹ their faces appear too generalized for such an assertion. Instead, they are likely based on oil sketches such as the *Study of Three Female Heads* of about 1530 (fig. 50), which Cranach produced for use in a number of his paintings, making slight adjustments to the facial features in each work to give the impression of different individuals.²²

The remnants of Cranach's insignia, a winged serpent, appear below the feet of the leftmost goddess, but Richard Förster failed to notice them when he stated in 1899 that the painting was neither signed nor dated.²³ The same year, Karl Woermann listed it among unauthenticated works by Cranach and his workshop,²⁴ and Max J. Friedländer deemed it a middling, perhaps autograph work. Others, including Eduard Flechsig, assigned it to Cranach's son Hans.²⁵ After the painting was exhibited in Nuremberg in 1922–24 and came



Fig. 49. Lucas Cranach the Elder. *The Judgment of Paris*, 1527–30. Pen and ink on paper, $7\frac{1}{16} \times 5\frac{1}{16}$ in. (20.1 \times 14.4 cm). Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig (z 27)

up for auction in 1928, Friedländer viewed it more positively as a genuine and accomplished work.²⁶ As a result, the Metropolitan Museum acquired the painting, and Harry Wehle published the first substantial study of the picture since Förster's initial article.²⁷ Wehle convincingly argued for a date around 1528, comparing the work favorably with the version of that date in the Kunstmuseum Basel.²⁸ Confusion developed when Friedländer and Jakob Rosenberg (later followed by Charles Kuhn and Hans Posse) wrote that the painting is signed and dated 1529, an error corrected in the second edition of their monograph.²⁹ More recently, Burton Dunbar noted that the poses and attitudes of the goddesses here served as a source for the figures in *The Three Graces* (Nelson-Atkins Museum, Kansas City), which is dated 1535.³⁰ He argued that the goddess pointing upward in that work must derive from the earlier Metropolitan's Venus, since without Cupid above there is no iconographic reason for this gesture.

One of the most intriguing questions concerning Cranach's *Judgment of Paris* is its deeper meaning in the context of its own time. The theme was popular with German humanists,³¹ and Franz Matsche has argued for a humanist understanding of Paris's dilemma in the vein of the philosophy of life of Conrad Celtis and his followers.³² This concerned the difficult choice of which type of life to lead: the *vita contemplativa*, the *vita activa*, or the *vita voluptaria*. Although the contemplative life was the most highly regarded, its arduousness was acknowledged, as was the fact that knowledge is achieved



Fig. 50. Lucas Cranach the Elder. *Study of Three Female Heads*, ca. 1530. Oil over black chalk on paper, mounted on oak panel, $4\frac{7}{8} \times 10\frac{3}{8}$ in. (12.4 \times 27 cm). Royal Cornwall Museum, Truro (Truri: 1828.4)

primarily through making errors. Hanne Kolind Poulsen viewed Matsche's interpretation in the light of Protestantism, arguing that the Christian's difficulty in choosing a way of life, in finding salvation, ultimately depends on divine grace.³³ This dilemma was the subject of the commencement speech given by the Greek scholar Nicolaus Marschalk to the first graduating class of the University of Wittenberg in 1503.³⁴ Railing against Paris's misguided judgment, Marschalk urged students to be wary of Venus's power and of women in general and instead to follow Minerva, who "offers thrift, a sense of shame, modesty, chastity, [and] industry . . . the stepping stones to the attainment of learning, of wisdom and the remaining virtues, and of the highest happiness."³⁵

Just one year after Marschalk's oration, a student of his at Wittenberg, Hermann Trebelius, published a warning against Venus's power in a preface to a poem on the Judgment of Paris by the Neapolitan humanist Johannes Baptista Cantalicius.³⁶ The rather crude woodcut illustrating this publication was an important antecedent to Cranach's first woodcut of the subject in 1508. Seen in this context, Cranach's woodcut and his paintings on the theme would have an admonitory function, warning against the wiles of woman, a subject further developed in contemporary *Weibermacht* (power of women) images, such as Cranach's *Samson and Delilah* (cat. 12). Dieter Koepplin argued that Marschalk's moralizing interpretation, based on the writings of Fulgentius, would have been the source for Cranach's realization of the story.³⁷

A challenge to the humanist interpretation was offered by Berthold Hinz.³⁸ Hinz argued that, for such an interpretation to be valid, the goddesses would have to be clearly identifiable in order to link them with the alternative ways of life, a precondition that does not apply to Cranach's depiction. Instead, Hinz regarded the similarity of the goddesses as an attempt to "provoke a play of ideas and meanings"³⁹—and perhaps to introduce an element of ambiguity and the possibility of multiple interpretations—which has little to do with the rigorous humanism found in images by contemporary artists such as Dürer and Burgkmair.⁴⁰

The Judgment of Paris theme may also be understood in a social-historical rather than philosophical context. Inge El-Himoud-Sperlich has interpreted Cranach's Paris paintings as decorations for bedroom chambers, noting that he is documented as having painted such a scene for the bridal chamber of Margareta von Anhalt, who married Duke Johann of Saxony in 1513. El-Himoud-Sperlich suggested that these works were meant not as warnings to men against making wrong decisions, as Koepplin theorized, but instead as confirmations for women that their husbands had renounced what advantages might be gained by marrying a smarter (Minerva) or wealthier (Juno) mate, instead choosing for love and beauty (Venus).⁴¹

Koepplin, in a more recent revisiting of the Judgment of Paris theme, examined a few troubling issues, namely, Cupid's pointing his arrow at Venus instead of at Paris and the nearly indistinguishable appearance of the goddesses. Regarding the former, Koepplin claimed that the positioning of Cupid emphasizes the power of the goddess instead of the weakness of Paris and that the informed viewer would realize that his arrow ultimately reaches Paris.⁴² As for the sameness of the goddesses, Koepplin noted that, although a moralizing message is certainly present, their resemblance serves Cranach's desire to introduce new possibilities of meaning, such as the positive aspects of Venus's power if the painting were to be used as a marriage picture.⁴³

Equally interesting but also controversial was Helmut Nickel's interpretation of the Museum's *Judgment of Paris* as alchemical in meaning.⁴⁴ Nickel understood the painting as representing the three stages of the so-called Great Work, that is, the conversion of base material into gold, and the three goddesses as personifications of the stages. His extremely meticulous argument has yet to be supported or refuted by other scholars on the basis of subsequent discussions of alchemy.

Clearly, there is a rich array of possible meanings for the Judgment of Paris theme. Its popularity, evidenced by the significant number of surviving examples, perhaps attests to multivalent interpretations in Cranach's own time.

MWA

LUCAS CRANACH THE ELDER

Kronach 1472–1553 Weimar

12. *Samson and Delilah*

Ca. 1528–30

Oil on beech panel

Overall $22\frac{1}{16} \times 14\frac{3}{4} \times \frac{1}{4}-\frac{5}{16}$ in. ($57.3 \times 37.4 \times .6-.8$ cm)

Signed (at center right, on tree stump): [winged serpent mark, wings raised]

Inscriptions: none

Heraldry / emblems: none

Marks on verso:¹ at top center, carved in panel wood, an H-like mark with slanted crossbar; at upper right, in white chalk, 107;² at upper right, on paper label, NO. 62369 / PICTURE; at upper left, on paper label, T. ROGERS & CO. (PACKERS) LTD. / 14 MASON'S YARD, DUKE ST., LONDON, S.W.1 / WHITEHALL 4252 / DAMAGED WHEN RECEIVED / PANEL. OLD CRACK / AT TOP; at center left, in red paint, 1976.201.11

Frame: not original

Bequest of Joan Whitney Payson, 1975 1976.201.11

PROVENANCE: Barrie Simmons (until 1961; sale, Sotheby's, London, June 14, 1961, no. 107, to Markham, bought in; sold to Kleinberger for Payson); Joan Whitney Payson, New York and Manhasset (1961–d. 1975)

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: The panel support is composed of two beech boards with the grain oriented vertically. Dendrochronological analysis indicated an earliest possible fabrication date of 1525.³ Two irregular, broad, horizontal bands of tow (visible in the X-radiograph) were attached to the panel before the thin white ground was applied. The presence of a *barbe* and unpainted wood borders at the top and bottom indicate that an engaged frame was in place when the ground was applied. The absence of an unpainted border at the right and left edges suggests the panel was trimmed. The dimensions fall within those for Heydenreich Format C.⁴ There is insect damage in the left board. On the verso there are chatter marks from woodworking tools, a cluster of three linear incisions, and an application of tow across the slightly skewed joint. In a previous restoration, five narrow horizontal crosspieces were set into the verso of the panel; later, the crosspieces were removed and short sections of wood were inserted to fill the tracks, and a split in the top third of the panel join was repaired with wedges.

Delilah's red dress and most of the foliage are very well preserved, although the latter exhibits some brownish discoloration commonly seen in paint layers containing copper-green pigments. The winged serpent insignia on the tree trunk at lower right is abraded, as are the flesh and fine details such as the eyelashes. Abrasions in the distant landscape and sky are partially concealed by very old, patchy, discolored restoration paint.

Infrared reflectography revealed some underdrawing as well as underpaint in gray and black, including a broadly brushed dark gray beneath the foliage.⁵ Areas for the figures, tree trunks, and rocks were left in reserve. Contours of facial features, outlines of Samson's left toes and toenails, and curved lines for the general placement of foliage are visible. The contour of Samson's left shin was shifted slightly to the right. The veins in his legs were achieved by scumbling over underdrawn lines to create the cool bluish appearance of blood beneath skin.⁶

In this Old Testament scene, the Israelite judge Samson sleeps in the lap of his Philistine lover Delilah, who shears a lock of hair from his head to drain his superhuman strength (Judg. 16:19).⁷ A group of Philistines emerges from the forest, seeking revenge against Samson, who had murdered a thousand of their kind with the ass's jawbone that lies at his feet. They had paid Delilah to discover the secret source of the Israelite's power (his uncut hair). Samson's failure to keep this secret from Delilah caused him to be seized, blinded, and imprisoned by the Philistines. After his hair grew back, he exacted vengeance by pulling down the house of his captors in Gaza, crushing many Philistines and himself in the process (Judg. 16:21–31). In the present work, the sawn tree stump in the right foreground contrasts with the vital, fruit-bearing apple tree immediately behind it, in what may be a visual pun on the cutting of Samson's hair.⁸ That Delilah sits upon the stump underscores her subjugation of the hero. As Dieter Koepplin noted, the apple tree brings to mind the Tree of Knowledge,⁹ and thereby alludes to Eve's temptation of Adam to eat the forbidden fruit as an analogue to Delilah's beguilement of Samson.

The story of Samson and Delilah is one of the biblical and classical subjects that were seen to exemplify the power or wiles of women (*Weibermacht*, *Weiberlisten*) and as such were popular in medieval and Renaissance art and literature.¹⁰ They include David and Bathsheba, Solomon's Idolatry, Hercules and Omphale, Aristotle and Phyllis, and Virgil in a Basket, among others. The theme presented an admonitory and often humorous inversion of the male-dominated sexual hierarchy. In northern European art, such scenes of heroic or wise men dominated by women appeared first in the decorative arts of the fourteenth century and were often grouped in series, as in the Malterer Embroidery of about 1320–30 (Augustinermuseum, Freiburg), which displays several power of women subjects, including Samson and Delilah.¹¹ During the fifteenth century the power of women theme remained popular in the decorative arts, from small-scale sculpture to wall painting, and by the early sixteenth century, engravings and woodcuts by the Master E.S., Lucas van Leyden, Hans Burgkmair, and others had facilitated the spread of the theme. As Koepplin pointed out, Lucas Cranach the Elder was the first northern artist to treat many of these subjects, found previously only in the decorative and graphic arts, in the elevated medium of panel painting.¹² Such is the case with Samson and Delilah, of which the Metropolitan Museum's version is one of three known examples produced by Cranach and his workshop, the others being the 1529 panel by Cranach in the Kunstsammlungen und Museen Augsburg (fig. 51),¹³ and the panel of about 1537–40 attributed to Lucas Cranach the Younger in the Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden.¹⁴



Fig. 51. Lucas Cranach the Elder. *Samson and Delilah*, 1529. Oil on linden panel, $46\frac{1}{8} \times 32\frac{1}{4}$ in. (117.2 \times 81.9 cm). Kunstsammlungen und Museen Augsburg (3608), on loan to Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Staatsgalerie in der Katharinenkirche Augsburg (L.1696)

Fig. 52. Lucas van Leyden. *Samson and Delilah*, from The Large Power of Women series, ca. 1514. Woodcut, $16\frac{1}{8} \times 11\frac{3}{8}$ in. (41 \times 28.9 cm). The British Museum, London (1849,1027.89)



The Museum's *Samson and Delilah* became known only in 1961, when it appeared on the art market as a work of Lucas Cranach the Elder.¹⁵ Jakob Rosenberg—apparently unaware of the serpent insignia on the tree stump, whose raised wings indicate a date before 1537—suspected the authorship of Lucas the Younger and a date of about 1540 in association with the Dresden panel.¹⁶ Koepplin, however, assigned it to Lucas the Elder, placing it after the Augsburg version but rejecting 1540 as too late.¹⁷ Guido Messling saw the painting as a work by the elder Cranach, of about 1530, and noted that Lucas van Leyden's woodcut of the same subject of about 1514 provided the basic compositional model (fig. 52).¹⁸ The Museum's own publications have favored an attribution to Cranach the Elder.¹⁹

The Metropolitan's *Samson and Delilah* is stylistically consistent with the Augsburg example and surely dates about the same time; however, the prevailing opinion that it must fall somewhat later than 1529 appears to rest solely on the assumption that certain compositional differences in the present version—for example, the more compressed, planar space, the higher horizon that leaves less room for background detail, and the more blocklike group of Philistines—must represent a degeneration from the grander, more

elaborate Augsburg picture. Yet those differences may have less to do with chronological sequence and stylistic development than with the relative importance and expense of the commissions. The large Augsburg panel appears to have been a highly prestigious commission; it has an old provenance from the city's town hall, for which it may have been ordered.²⁰ Although the original circumstances of the Metropolitan's version are unknown, it is obviously a more modest work. The design features that make it appear less accomplished than the Augsburg painting may simply be the result of a less labor-intensive execution at a lower cost. As there is no clear logic of compositional dependency from one picture to the other, the question of which came first remains open.

Comparison with other dated works from the same period suggests a range of about 1528 to 1530 for the Museum's picture. The 1528 *Lot and His Daughters* (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna) and the 1530 *Aristotle and Phyllis* (private collection), which are of the same format, both show striking similarities in composition, palette, drapery folds, and figure and costume types.²¹ A dating of about 1528–30 is furthermore consistent with the results of dendrochronological analysis of the Museum's panel, which indicates an earliest possible





Fig. 53. Detail of incised mark, cat. 12 (verso)



Fig. 54. Lucas Cranach the Elder. *Samson Slaying the Lion*, ca. 1528–30. Oil on beech panel, 22 $\frac{3}{16}$ × 15 in. (56.7 × 38 cm). Schlossmuseum im Stadtschloss, Klassik Stiftung Weimar (G 836)

fabrication date of 1525. Of special interest on the verso is the *H*-like mark carved into the top center; it was possibly executed by the panel maker and is illustrated here in the interest of identifying similar examples on other works by Cranach (fig. 53)

Contemporary sources indicate that the Samson and Delilah story was commonly understood as an admonition against divulging secrets, for Samson's disclosure of the source of his strength left him vulnerable to his archenemies. Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff* (*Ship of Fools*), first published in Basel in 1494, popularized this interpretation; in the fifty-first chapter, a woodcut of Delilah clipping Samson's hair illustrates the verse, "He who cannot keep a secret / And reveals his intentions to another / Will experience regret, harm, and suffering."²² Indicative of the idea's cultural prevalence is the appearance of Samson and Delilah on a baking mold dated 1510 with the epigram, "Had you kept your secret, you would not have been harmed."²³ This was of particular relevance in the town-hall context of the Augsburg panel, where the subject would have reminded municipal officials not to divulge confidential matters of government.²⁴ Albrecht Dürer's 1521 design for the mural decoration of Nuremberg's town hall, which depicts Samson and Delilah as part of a larger program of power of women themes, further demonstrates the subject's pertinence in a public civic context.²⁵

The smaller size of the Museum's picture seems less appropriate to a town-hall setting and suggests a more private display context, in which it might have conveyed its message of secrecy alongside other subjects that dealt with the folly of love and the power of women. This would follow a precedent set, for example, by the decoration of the 1513 nuptial bed of Duke Johann of Saxony (later Elector Johann I; r. 1525–32), which Cranach is reported to have painted with various admonitory mythological and biblical scenes, including the Judgment of Paris, Hercules and Omphale, and Solomon's Idolatry.²⁶ The power of women series by Lucas Cranach the Younger (Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden), which includes the later *Samson and Delilah* panel noted above, was probably commissioned by Elector Johann Friedrich I of Saxony (r. 1532–47)²⁷ and attests to a sustained interest in those themes among the workshop's most important patrons. The Museum's picture may also have served as a foil for a heroic depiction of Samson. In particular, Cranach's *Samson Slaying the Lion* in the Schlossmuseum Weimar (fig. 54) goes well with the painting in New York; the dimensions match, the design is comparable, and the style also points to the late 1520s.²⁸ A pairing of those two scenes would have emphasized the magnitude of Samson's descent from heroism to folly.²⁹

J P W

LUCAS CRANACH THE ELDER

Kronach 1472–1553 Weimar

13. *Judith with the Head of Holofernes*

Ca. 1530

Oil on linden panel

Overall $34\frac{1}{2} \times 24\frac{1}{8} \times \frac{3}{16}$ in. ($87.6 \times 61.3 \times .5$ cm); with bottom ledge (part of spring strainer) and attached lateral strips $34\frac{5}{8} \times 24\frac{3}{8}$ in. (87.9×62.9 cm)

Signed (at lower right): [winged serpent mark, wings raised]

Inscriptions: none

Heraldry / emblems: none

Marks on verso: none

Frame: not original

Rogers Fund, 1911 II.15

PROVENANCE: Robert Hoe, New York (until d. 1909; his estate sale, American Art Association, New York, February 17, 1911, no. 107, to R. W. de Forest for MMA)

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: The panel support is composed of four linden boards, with the grain oriented vertically.¹ As in some other Cranach panels, the joints of the boards are skewed.² Although there is evidence that the edges have been trimmed, the overall size corresponds to the range of dimensions for Heydenreich Format D.³ X-radiographs revealed long, fine, curling tow fibers below the preparatory layers; these were applied in broad, horizontal bands at the top and bottom, with some smaller pieces in the upper center and near the top. This distribution of tow is characteristic of panels prepared for Cranach's workshop beginning in 1514.⁴ In some areas, such as Holofernes's left eye, the underlying fibers are reflected in cracks in the ground and paint layers. Before the panel entered the collection, it was badly damaged, after which it was thinned to .5 centimeter and cradled. The cradle was subsequently removed, and the panel is now attached to a spring strainer, a custom-made auxiliary support that strengthens its structure while allowing some freedom of movement.⁵

Aside from the large localized damages outlined below, much of the painting is in very good condition. The crimson glaze on the bloody stub of Holofernes's neck is somewhat abraded and has probably faded. Modifying glazes on the parapet appear to be disrupted as well. Most significant are the large losses along the joins, including those running through the center of Judith's entire figure; traveling along the left edge of Holofernes's face and the sword raised above his head; and passing through the right side of Judith's hat, down through her left arm and into the parapet.

The ground is composed of calcium carbonate bound with animal glue. Although an isolating layer seen in two cross sections above the ground appears unpigmented, X-radiographs showed horizontal banding in the preparatory layers, which is distinctive of Cranach and his workshop. Infrared examination revealed only two fine lines of underdrawing, in the lower bodice.⁶ One of at least eighteen versions of this subject by Cranach and his workshop, the painting employs the typical systematic methods used by the artist, which were designed to facilitate rapid manufacture and ease of reproduction. Judith's red hat, for example, is underpainted with black mixed with a little vermilion, followed by an opaque vermilion of varying thickness, depending on the need for light or shadow, and completed with a crimson lake glaze. The same black underpaint is used for the green robe, here followed by a bright opaque green made from a mixture of lead-tin yellow (type I) and a copper-containing blue (probably azurite), with lead-tin yellow highlights and a copper-containing green glaze. The hairnet, dress ornaments, gold jewelry, and sword hilt display a layering scheme ubiquitous in Cranach paintings: a midtone brownish orange

followed by dark brown shadows and lead-tin yellow highlights, augmented occasionally (as on the borders of the dress) with intermittent pinkish highlights. The window-shaped catchlights in Judith's eyes are similarly characteristic, as are the red accents touched onto the edge of the pupil opposite the reflection.

The Book of Judith, part of the Old Testament Apocrypha, relates how the beautiful Jewish widow killed Holofernes, the Assyrian general directing the siege of her city, Bethulia. After seducing Holofernes with her beauty and a false plan to defeat her people, Judith decapitated him as he lay drunk in his tent. Upon discovering the assassination, the Assyrians ended the siege (Judith 8–15).⁷

Directly addressing the viewer, Judith wields a sword in her right hand, while her left arm rests on Holofernes's foreshortened head, with its gruesome severed neck. She is presented as the epitome of beauty and high fashion, as understood at the courts of the dukes of Saxony during the early sixteenth century.⁸ Her hair bound up, as was appropriate for a married woman,⁹ she wears a plumed red beret over a *calotte* of gold and silver threads decorated with pearls, a style in vogue around 1530.¹⁰ Her dress is dark green with golden orange bands and trim, again embellished with pearls. Around her neck Judith wears two gold collars (called *carcanets* or *gorgerins*) set with emeralds, rubies, and pearls; a long gold chain with flattened links is draped across her chest and trails down her back.¹¹ This ostentatious combination of collars and chains was particular to the court of the Saxon dukes and eventually ran its course, disappearing entirely in the 1540s.¹² The rings on Judith's fingers poke through the slits of her thin silk gloves.

The Metropolitan's *Judith* first became known in 1911, when it was purchased by the Museum from the estate of Robert Hoe. At that time, Holofernes's beard had been enlarged to cover his severed neck. After cleaning and restoration, the painting could be more readily compared with other examples of the same theme produced by Cranach and his workshop, notably those in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (fig. 55), and the Staatsgalerie Stuttgart.¹³ At the lower right, the Museum's panel shows a crowned serpent with raised wings and a ring in its mouth, the insignia Cranach employed before 1537. In addition, the technique and execution of the work, as described above, are entirely consistent with those of Cranach and his workshop in the early 1530s, a date also supported by Judith's costume.¹⁴ The attribution to the artist has never been challenged, although greater scrutiny of his workshop may well lead to a more informed understanding of its participation in paintings such as this, which were produced in many versions.¹⁵

The Cranach workshop's serial production of paintings with this theme during the 1530s has raised intriguing questions about possible links between these pictures and the Saxon court. Because Judith is presented in contemporary dress and because her physiognomy



Fig. 55. Lucas Cranach the Elder. *Judith with the Head of Holofernes*, ca. 1530. Oil on linden panel, $34\frac{1}{4} \times 22\frac{1}{16}$ in. (87 × 56 cm). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Gemäldegalerie, Vienna (GG 858)

varies from painting to painting, several scholars have suggested that these are portraits of court women in the guise of Judith.¹⁶ David Oldfield, noting that only the sword and severed head of Holofernes separate a Cranach *Judith* from an official portrait, thought it likely that several women commissioned portraits of themselves in the role of the virtuous heroine.¹⁷ If the Museum's *Judith* is a portrait,¹⁸ then it is certainly idealized in the same manner as the *Judith* in the Kunsthistorisches Museum. Cranach's contemporaneous portraits, such as *Princesses Sibylla, Emilia, and Sidonia of Saxony* of about 1535 (fig. 56), show far greater attention to the distinctly different physiognomies of the sitters, who are more objectively observed and portrayed than the women in the Metropolitan and Vienna depictions of Judith.

Judith's popularity throughout the ages has led to various interpretations of her image. In medieval times, the moral emphasis of the narrative took precedence. Judith was equated with Humilitas and Continentia, who overpowered and destroyed Holofernes, representative of the deadly sins of Superbia and Luxuria. She was also seen as a symbol of Chastity and a prefiguration of the Virgin Mary as Ecclesia.¹⁹

In the sixteenth century, these associations evolved as Judith's story took on political implications. Gertrud Rudloff-Hille first proposed, in 1953, that Cranach's Judiths relate to the Schmalkaldic League—an alliance of Protestant princes formally established in Schmalkalden on February 27, 1531, to defend against the Holy Roman Emperor's advancements—as well as to the threat of a Turkish invasion.²⁰ Werner Schade further elaborated on this view and cited, as had Rudloff-Hille, two panels of 1531 in Gotha, *Judith at the Table of Holofernes* and *The Death of Holofernes* (Schlossmuseum,



Fig. 56. Lucas Cranach the Elder. *Princesses Sibylla, Emilia, and Sidonia of Saxony*, ca. 1535. Oil on linden panel, $24\frac{7}{16} \times 35\frac{1}{16}$ in. (62 × 89 cm). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Gemäldegalerie, Vienna (GG 877)



Schloss Friedenstein, Gotha).²¹ He noted that theologians of the time, when asked whether disagreeing with the emperor accorded with Christian principles, would cite the Judith narrative and particularly her aim to free her country from the grip of tyrants. Supporting this theory, Schade identified the central standing figure of *Judith at the Table of Holofernes* as Philipp I, Landgrave of Hesse, a founder and coleader of the league.²² Helmut Börsch-Supan broadened Schade's proposal by applying it to individual paintings of Judith, specifically an example from 1530 in the Jagdschloss Grunewald, Berlin, that is of the same type as the Museum's panel. He regarded such works as symbolic of the Schmalkaldic League and noted that no known examples date before the formation of the league.²³ Dieter Koepplin and Peter Gorsen qualified and elaborated upon Schade's claims,²⁴ but twenty years later, in 1994, Schade himself altered his view, indicating that the threat of the Turkish invasion also had significance for the Gotha paintings.²⁵ Anja Schneckeburger-Broschek similarly made a strong case for the half-length *Judith* in Kassel dating to before 1537 (Museum Schloss Wilhelmshöhe) as a symbol of resistance to Turkish invasion.²⁶

Equally important for other interpretations of the Judith paintings are their connections to the literature of the period.²⁷ As Henrike Lähnemann has recently pointed out, a number of anonymous German *Meistersinger* texts depict Judith as an active heroine, clever and cunning.²⁸ More specifically, certain broadsheets emphasized her dual nature as both virtuous, even beyond reproach, and

dangerously seductive. In Lähnemann's view, "the popular conception of Judith had developed into a permanent state of ambiguity by the sixteenth century, shaped by the divergent focuses of the short texts of the previous centuries."²⁹ Certainly, this sense of ambiguity must have played well at the Saxon court and helped to guarantee the popularity of the Judith representations.

Judith's dual nature sheds further light on the moralizing interpretations of the story. Along with other figures from ancient history and the Bible, Judith used her considerable charms to dominate and even destroy men. The themes commonly known as *Weibermacht* and *Weiberlisten* (power of women, wiles of women) were already well established in the literature of the late medieval period as well as in its prints and decorative arts. Cranach was among the first sixteenth-century artists to take up these themes in painting, both in half-length figures, such as Judith and Salome, and in more developed narrative scenes, including Lot and His Daughters and Aristotle and Phyllis.³⁰ The introduction of this new medium for depicting the theme raises the question of how the paintings were used and displayed.³¹ Was the Museum's painting, for instance, meant to hang alone or in a series of *Weibermacht* / *Weiberlisten* themes? Unfortunately, our picture provides no clues as to how it was originally installed. For now, in the absence of further evidence, *Judith with the Head of Holofernes* can be considered a prime example of one of the most important themes in Saxon court art, one that remains as multivalent in meaning as it perhaps did in its own time. MWA

LUCAS CRANACH THE ELDER

Kronach 1472–1553 Weimar

14. *Portrait of a Man with a Gold-Embroidered Cap* (*Lukas Spielhausen?*)

1532

Oil and gold on beech panel

Overall 19 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 14 $\frac{5}{16}$ × $\frac{7}{16}$ in. (50.5 × 36.4 × .8 cm)

Signed and dated (at center left): [winged serpent mark, wings raised] 1532

Inscriptions: none

Heraldry / emblems: on signet ring, red shield charged with white *Wolfsangel*, surmounted by *LS*

Marks on verso: at top left and top right, impressed in panel wood, coat of arms of Spielhausen family (shield charged with tilted six-of-hearts playing card), surmounted by *DS*;¹ at top center, on printed label, 26

Frame: not original

Bequest of Gula V. Hirschland, 1980 1981.57.1

PROVENANCE: Spielhausen family; Georg Hirth, Munich (until 1916; his sale, Galerie Helbing, Munich, November 28ff., 1916, no. 1042); private collection

(until 1924; sale, Kleykamp, The Hague, June 10, 1924, no. 7); [Julius Böhler, Munich]; [Van Diemen & Co., Berlin and New York, in 1925]; [Paul Bottenwieser, Berlin and New York, in 1925]; Dr. and Mrs. Franz H. Hirschland, Harrison, N.Y. (by 1929–his death 1973); Mrs. Franz H. (Gula V.) Hirschland, Harrison, N.Y. (1973–d. 1980)

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: The panel support is made of two beech boards with the grain oriented horizontally. Dendrochronological analysis provided an earliest possible fabrication date of 1531 and confirmed that both boards came from the same tree as the board used for Cranach's *Philipp Melancthon*, dated 1532 (Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden).² The panel is reinforced in the center of the verso with tow applied in a horizontal band. Adze marks are clearly visible on the verso, and there is a shallow bevel (approximately 3.8 centimeters wide) on all sides. The dimensions most closely approximate Heydenreich Format C.³ In a past treatment the central join was reinforced with wood blocks attached to the verso; additional blocks were attached to the top and bottom of the panel; and the whole of the reverse (including the blocks) was coated with opaque brown paint. Also present on the verso are remnants of an earlier stabilizing treatment that involved three



symmetrically arranged cross-grained battens. The panel was prepared with a white ground and a priming containing lead white. The diffuse vertical banding visible in the X-radiograph is related to the preparation layers.

In general, the portrait is in very good condition despite increased transparency in some passages due to normal aging of the paint. The sitter's collar, rings, and gold-embroidered cap display color combinations, paint buildup, and the dexterous handling characteristic of Cranach's work. He proceeded systematically, starting with the middle tones and then applying the darks, followed by the final highlights. These passages were further embellished with mordant gilding, now in a fragmentary state. Parallel strokes of pale yellow in the collar, intended to mimic embroidery, appear to have been made using a double-pointed brush.⁴ Infrared reflectography revealed underdrawing of the facial features and hands executed in a liquid medium applied with a brush.⁵

This 1532 portrait shows a man at half length against a light blue background. His beard and mustache extend broadly to either side, and his hair is tucked beneath a close-fitting cap embroidered with gold. He wears a black coat whose lapel is decorated with a moiré fabric. His doublet displays a pattern of black and orange stripes separated by narrow bands of yellow, green, and white.⁶ The orange stripes are slashed to reveal the white under-shirt, which is decorated on the collar with three gold-embroidered bands. A medallion hanging from the necklace is tucked beneath the doublet. The man grasps his lapel with his left hand, on which he wears four rings. The signet ring on his forefinger bears the initials *LS* and a red shield charged with a *Wolfsangel*, a house mark in the shape of a double hook with a slanted bar at the center (see fig. 58).

The Museum's portrait was first published in 1916, when it appeared at auction as a work of Lucas Cranach the Elder.⁷ The attribution was later affirmed by Heinrich Zimmermann and by Max J. Friedländer and Jakob Rosenberg.⁸ Possibly because it remained in private ownership until 1981,⁹ the panel received relatively little attention in the Cranach literature. Stylistically, it is consistent with other Cranach portraits of the early 1530s, such as *Portrait of a Man with a Beret* of 1532 (formerly Alfredo Hirsch Collection, Buenos Aires), *Portrait of a Man with a Rosary* of the same year (Kirchenkreis Alt-Hamburg), and *Chancellor Gregor Brück* of 1533 (Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg).¹⁰ The underdrawing, which consists of thin, sparingly applied contour lines in the face and hands, compares well with the type found in the portrait of Brück.¹¹ The X-radiograph reveals an economy of means in the buildup of the paint layers, especially in the thin flesh tones (fig. 57). The deft and confident execution of this painting elevates it above the level of routine shop production and suggests that it is mostly the work of Cranach himself. The lively pattern of colors in the costume and the interplay of curves throughout give this portrait an especially striking visual impact.

A clue to the identity of the sitter may be provided by the coat of arms of the Spielhausen family on the panel's verso (fig. 59).¹² One intriguing possibility, suggested by the initials *LS* on the signet ring, is that he is Lukas Spielhausen. Born about 1493 in Leipzig,

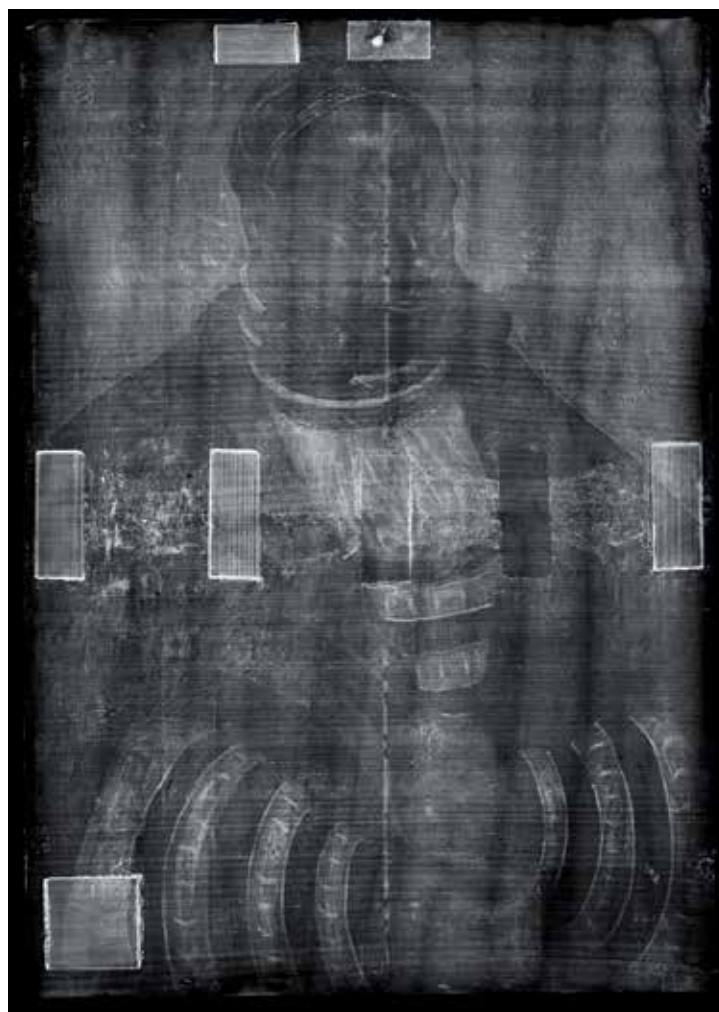


Fig. 57. X-radiograph, cat. 14



Fig. 58. Detail of signet ring, cat. 14



Fig. 59. Detail of stamped coat of arms, cat. 14 (verso)

where he took a doctorate in law in 1524, Spielhausen was by 1531 *Hofprokurator* in the electoral residence of Torgau, that is, a lawyer in the state judicial curia under Johann the Constant, Elector of Saxony (r. 1525–32).¹³ In 1544 Spielhausen gained citizenship in Weimar, where he held several positions in the municipal administration, including that of mayor, before his death in 1558.¹⁴ The initials *DS* above the Spielhausen coat of arms on the back of the panel add further support to the identification, since they could refer to Lukas Spielhausen's grandson David, who died in or before 1607, as a possible owner of the painting.¹⁵

Spielhausen's age of approximately thirty-nine in 1532, the date of the portrait, is compatible with the appearance of the sitter. He could have encountered Cranach, court painter to the Saxon electors, through his official duties in Torgau. It remains to be discovered whether the *Wolfsangel* on the signet ring was a personal insignia of Spielhausen, one that he might have used separately from the family coat of arms with the playing card. Spielhausen's only documented marriage was in 1541;¹⁶ thus, if he is indeed portrayed here, the present work was likely an isolated portrait without a female pendant.

J P W

LUCAS CRANACH THE ELDER

Kronach 1472–1553 Weimar

15. *Johann, Duke of Saxony*

Ca. 1534–37

Oil on beech panel

Overall 25¹/₁₆ × 17⁵/₁₆ × ³/₈ in. (65.3 × 44 × .95 cm), including later wood strips added at top and bottom, each ³/₈ × 17⁵/₁₆ in. (.95 × 44 cm); remaining image area 24¹/₁₆ × 17⁵/₁₆ in. (63.3 × 44 cm)

Inscriptions: none

Heraldry / emblems: none

Marks on verso (on cradle): in black, 7665;¹ in red, 08.19

Frame: not original

Rogers Fund, 1908 08.19

PROVENANCE: Julius Alexander Baumgärtner, Leipzig (before 1851; reportedly sold to collector in Cologne);² private collection, Cologne (after 1851); Johann Nepomuk Graf von Wilczek, Schloss Kreuzenstein, Leobendorf, near Vienna (until 1907; sold to Kleinberger);³ [Kleinberger, Paris, 1907–8; sold to MMA]

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: The support consists of two beech boards with the grain oriented vertically.⁴ Tow was applied to the recto, along the join, before the panel was prepared. The very thin white ground appears similar to grounds used in Cranach's late paintings, when the workshop was highly productive.⁵ At some later date, the panel was thinned to .95 centimeter, strips of wood were attached to the top and bottom, and it was cradled. The entire verso is thickly coated with wax.

The flesh tones of this portrait are very delicate and thinly painted, as is typical of Cranach, and harsh cleaning that took place before the portrait entered the Metropolitan Museum's collection has thinned the paint layers further. The eyes present an interesting detail: a clean brush was pulled horizontally through the wet paint of the iris and pupil of the eye, in the direction of the sitter's gaze. The background is heavily restored, and what appears to be a fine black ink was rubbed into the cracks throughout the painting. The subject's cloak and hat are somewhat obscured by an uneven, hazy, brittle varnish that has developed a minute crack pattern.

Infrared reflectography revealed a few lines of underdrawing. They indicate the bottom edge of the mouth and the junction of the upper and lower lips; a

few faint lines show the placement of the hands.⁶ When the surface is examined with magnification, the underdrawing is visible in some areas. It appears to have been done with a dry material, such as charcoal or black chalk. Wavering underdrawn lines in the ring and middle fingers of the left hand and on the back of the right hand are intentionally visible through the paint, suggesting veins below the skin. They are characteristic of Cranach's technique.

Johann, Duke of Saxony, Margrave of Meissen, and Landgrave of Thuringia (1498–1537), is depicted here at half length against a red background. He is dressed in a white undershirt, a black cloak with a shoulder-length pleated collar, and a broad-brimmed black hat surmounted by a black plume hung with strands of gold beads. He wears a ring on his right hand and a gold neck chain, which is tucked beneath his cloak. A cast shadow at the left adds a degree of depth to the otherwise compressed space.

Son and heir apparent of Duke Georg the Bearded (r. 1500–1539), of the Albertine branch of the Wettin dynasty, Johann is notable mainly for the religiopolitical consequences of his early death and failure to produce a successor.⁷ Georg, a committed Roman Catholic and noted opponent of Martin Luther's religious reforms, outlived Johann and a younger son, Friedrich, both of whom died childless. Thus, upon Georg's death in 1539, his territories fell to his brother, Heinrich the Pious, a Lutheran convert who introduced the Protestant Reformation to the Albertine lands, which included the ducal residence of Dresden.

Although the Metropolitan Museum's portrait bears no inscription or coat of arms, the identification is secure, for it is based on similar likenesses that explicitly name Johann.⁸ In the so-called *Sächsisches Stammbuch* (Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Dresden),



Fig. 60. Monogrammist I.S. *Johann, Duke of Saxony*, ca. 1534–66. Oil on panel, 19 $\frac{3}{16}$ × 13 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (48.8 × 35 cm). Schlossmuseum Schloss Friedenstein, Gemäldesammlung, Gotha (SG 898)

with illustrations by the Cranach workshop of about 1540–46, he appears as “Hertzog Johans” next to his wife, Elisabeth of Hesse.⁹ A miniature portrait of about 1578–80 by Lucas Cranach the Younger (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna), calls him “H[erzog]. Hans,”¹⁰ and the Latin inscription on a likeness by Monogrammist I.S. describes him precisely as “Johann, Duke of Saxony, son of Georg” (fig. 60).¹¹

The attribution of this portrait has received only cursory discussion. Upon its initial publication by Christian Schuchardt in 1851, it was included among the works of Lucas Cranach the Elder, and most references to the painting retain that attribution.¹² In their catalogue raisonné of Cranach’s paintings, however, Max J. Friedländer and Jakob Rosenberg tentatively ascribed it to Lucas Cranach the Younger, presumably because they perceived in it the “empty grandeur, . . . pallid tones and . . . feeble plasticity” described by Friedländer as characteristic of the son’s work.¹³ Their dating of the painting after 1537 accords with the hypothesis, advanced provisionally by Friedländer, that the father had mostly withdrawn from managing the workshop by that time, leaving his son in charge—a notion that



Fig. 61. X-radiograph, cat. 15

recent documentary evidence refutes.¹⁴ Friedländer and Rosenberg also noted the existence of a bust-length version in private ownership (now in the Staatsgalerie Aschaffenburg).¹⁵ Heinrich Zimmermann implicitly upheld the suggested attribution of Friedländer and Rosenberg by likening the Metropolitan’s portrait stylistically to a sketch in Rheims that he considered a work of Lucas Cranach the Younger.¹⁶ Zimmermann dated the Museum’s portrait about 1537 and proposed that it might have been painted posthumously as a memorial image.

Those traditional stylistic assessments, which imply a certain inferiority in quality, fail to consider how the painting’s condition adversely affects its appearance. The already thin layering of paint in the flesh areas was strongly abraded in past cleanings; also, the inner modeling of the costume has faded into a largely undifferentiated field of black. Both aspects of the condition increase the work’s overall impression of flatness and stiffness, factors that surely contributed to the tentative attribution to Lucas Cranach the Younger.

In style and technique this work is consistent with other portraits by Lucas Cranach the Elder and his workshop. As a member of the





Fig. 62. Lucas Cranach the Elder. *Georg the Bearded, Duke of Saxony*, 1534 or 1535. Oil on beech panel, 25 $\frac{1}{8}$ \times 17 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (63.8 \times 43.3 cm). Museum der Bildenden Künste Leipzig (Kat. 1924 Nr. 43)

studio, Lucas the Younger could well have had some involvement, but the painting does not display characteristic features, such as a dominant paleness in the flesh tones, that would justify distinguishing it as by his hand, as is possible with a few works of the 1530s and with greater frequency in the 1540s.¹⁷ The modeling of the flesh in fact appears typical of a process used by the father, in which sparing applications of pinks and whites were laid over a thin base flesh color and in which shadows were established with dilute

glazes of black pigments.¹⁸ A similar approach can be observed, for example, in the Museum's *Portrait of a Man with a Gold-Embroidered Cap* of 1532 (cat. 14). Moreover, X-radiographs of both works reveal a similar buildup of paint in the faces, including the prominent stroke along the bottom edge of the lower lip (figs. 57, 61).¹⁹ The X-radiograph of Johann's portrait also shows that the base tone of the hands was brushed on loosely, beyond its visible contours in normal light; the final silhouette was defined only during the painting of the surrounding black costume, which overlaps the flesh tone. This time-saving technique, which occurs frequently in Cranach's oeuvre, appears also in the hands in the Museum's 1532 portrait.²⁰ A particularly clear example of this procedure is found in the Metropolitan's *Venus and Cupid* roundel, where it is used for the whole figure (fig. 46).

A specification of the portrait's date is offered by Lucas Cranach the Elder's strikingly similar *Georg the Bearded* of 1534 or 1535, now in Leipzig (fig. 62).²¹ The dimensions, placement of the figure, and cast shadow are all closely comparable; only the blue background color is different.²² As a portrait of Johann's father, the Leipzig panel may well have provided a model for the size and design of the present portrait. It also establishes a plausible earliest execution date of 1534 for the latter. That date is consistent with the style of the painting and the mature appearance of the sitter. Furthermore, 1534 is the year when cast shadows suddenly occur in several other works by Cranach and his workshop, including the only signed portrait by Cranach's elder son, Hans.²³ The artist's rare use of a red background is documented among this 1534 group in the Staatsgalerie Bamberg's *Christiane von Eulenaus*, which has been attributed variously to Lucas the Younger and Lucas the Elder.²⁴

Further evidence for dating is offered by the panel support, which is of beech wood. Dendrochronological research has shown that beech was used with greatest frequency by the Cranach workshop between 1522 and 1535, with some later occurrences.²⁵ Although the present panel is not currently datable with dendrochronology, the use of beech nevertheless suggests, even if tentatively, a date not considerably later than the mid-1530s. The combined evidence thus supports a plausible date range of 1534 to about 1537, the year of Johann's death. Whether this work was indeed painted as a posthumous memorial, as Zimmermann suggested, cannot be ruled out, but the idea is not necessarily supported by the representation itself and therefore remains highly speculative. J P W

LUCAS CRANACH THE ELDER AND WORKSHOP

16. *Saint Maurice*

Ca. 1520–25

Oil on linden panel

Overall $53\frac{3}{4} \times 15\frac{1}{4} \times \frac{1}{8}$ in. (136.2 × 38.7 × .32 cm); painted surface $53\frac{1}{4} \times 15$ in. (135.3 × 38.1 cm)

Inscriptions: none

Heraldry / emblems: none

Marks on verso: none

Frame: not original

Bequest of Eva F. Kollsman, 2005 2006.469

PROVENANCE: probably commissioned by Archbishop Elector Cardinal Albrecht von Brandenburg-Hohenzollern, Halle, Saxony; ?Habsburg collections, Schloss Ambras, near Innsbruck; Waldemar Müller, Berlin (in 1906); [Ephron Gallery, New York, after 1940]; private collection, Pennsylvania (until 1946; sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, May 15–16, 1946, no. 36B); Mr. and Mrs. Paul Kollsman, New York (by early 1970s–his death 1982); his widow, Mrs. Paul (Eva F.) Kollsman, New York (1982–d. 2005)

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: The wood panel support is made of two boards of linden, with the grain oriented vertically.¹ The join is reinforced with two original butterflies that are visible on the surface in a strong raking light and in the X-radiograph, which also reveals tow covering the join below the preparation. The unpainted wood border and *barbe* at the top and sides indicate that an engaged frame was in place when the white ground preparation was applied. The bottom edge has been trimmed.

Before entering the collection, the panel had been thinned to .32 centimeter, marouflaged to a secondary oak panel, and attached to a mahogany cradle. Later, the cradle was removed, several splits repaired, and a custom-made spring tension strainer attached; however, the secondary panel was left intact.²

Although there are a number of scattered flake losses throughout, the paint layer is in very good condition overall, with only one area of significant damage, in the foliage at the bottom center, and surface abrasion limited to the tops of some of the raised craquelure.

The white ground is primed with pale pink. Infrared reflectography revealed extensive underdrawing.³ This confident, freehand drawing was applied with a brush and a liquid medium containing coarse black particles that were visible with magnification. The underdrawing was not followed exactly in the final composition; there are shifts in the placement of elements of the armor, in details of the flag, and in the articulation of the armor apron. Portions of the underdrawing, including the loose, tailing curves and coils of the ostrich feather plumes on the hat, are clearly visible in normal light. While this effect is perhaps intentional, it may have been enhanced as the paint film became more transparent with age.⁴

The painting was produced in a sequential manner, and the quality decreased as the work progressed. While the underdrawing is extremely dexterous and the underpainting skillful, the final decorative details are weak. In the armor, for example, the shading and articulation of forms are sensitively handled and display a solid understanding of how to create the illusion of three dimensions, but the finishing touches describing the golden decorative metalwork are simplistic and somewhat crude.

The sky is underpainted in shades of gray, darkest at the top to nearly white at the horizon;⁵ these tonal gradations are followed in the finished painting.

According to the oldest known version of the story, the *Passio Acaunensium martyrum* (*The Passion of the Martyrs of Agaunum*), dating to about 450 and based on the writings of Eucherius, bishop of Lyons, Maurice commanded a Roman legion in Thebes, which was an early Christian territory.⁶ When he and his African soldiers were ordered by Emperor Maximian to persecute the Christians in Gaul, they refused and were martyred near Agaunum (present-day Saint-Maurice-en-Valais) on September 22 in 280 or 300.⁷ The cult of Saint Maurice, most widespread in the Late Middle Ages, was first associated with the royal house of Burgundy and thereafter with Saxon and Ottonian kings.⁸ One of the main centers for the veneration of Saint Maurice was the archdiocese of Magdeburg, particularly the eastern German city of Halle, where as early as 1184, an Augustinian convent and monastic school were founded and dedicated to him.⁹ From 1484 to 1503, during the rule of Archbishop Ernst of Wettin, the Moritzburg, the seat of the ruler, was built in Halle.¹⁰ Ernst was among the most notable art patrons of the period, surpassed only by his successor, Albrecht of Brandenburg.

The youngest son of a family of Wettin and Habsburg descent, Albrecht was elected archbishop of Magdeburg and bishop of Halberstadt in 1513. He quickly rose in the church hierarchy, and in 1518 he was made cardinal and succeeded as high chancellor primate, becoming one of the most influential and wealthy individuals within the Holy Roman Empire. Albrecht made the Moritzburg his main residence and endowed the Dominican church nearby with special privileges upon its dedication in 1523 as the Neues Stift (New Foundation).¹¹ This church, with Saints Maurice, Erasmus, and Mary Magdalen as patrons, became Albrecht's showplace. He called upon Matthias Grünewald, his court painter from 1516 to 1526, to produce a painting representing a conversation between Saint Maurice and himself, in the guise of Saint Erasmus (Alte Pinakothek, Munich). From 1520 to 1525, Albrecht commissioned sixteen altarpieces from Lucas Cranach and his workshop; these exist today only in a fragmentary state, although their original placement is known from a detailed inventory.¹²

The Neues Stift also housed the most important collection of relics in northern Europe, which had been initiated by Ernst of Wettin. Its approximately 8,200 objects comprised not only modest-appearing relics, associated with the calendar of saints celebrated throughout the liturgical year,¹³ but also far more extraordinary reliquaries. The first inventory of the collection appeared in 1520 in a printed version that included an engraved portrait of Cardinal Albrecht by Dürer as well as a title-page woodcut by Wolf Traut showing Albrecht and Ernst of Wettin flanking the Neues Stift, with its three patron saints surrounded by angels in the heavens above.¹⁴



Fig. 63. Reliquary of Saint Maurice, from the *Hallesches Heiltumsbuch (Liber ostensionis)*, ca. 1526–27. Watercolor on vellum, $13\frac{1}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{16}$ in. (35 × 25.5 cm). Hofbibliothek, Aschaffenburg (Ms. 14, fol. 227v)



Fig. 64. Infrared reflectogram, cat. 16





Fig. 65. Workshop of Lucas Cranach the Elder (Simon Franck?). *Saint Maurice*, left wing of Marian Altarpiece, 1529. Oil on panel, 85 $\frac{7}{16}$ × 39 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (217 × 101 cm). Marktkirche, Halle

In 1526–27 a second inventory, called the *Liber ostensionis* and generally known as the *Hallesches Heiltumsbuch* (*Halle Book of Relics*),¹⁵ was produced for Albrecht's personal use. Probably illustrated by a Cranach pupil (possibly Simon Franck),¹⁶ it described 353 reliquaries, all but three of which were illustrated. Although few of these unique reliquaries survive, the drawings testify to their superior craftsmanship and luxurious materials.

It is in the context of Albrecht's Neues Stift, his patronage of the arts, his commissions from Cranach and his workshop, and above all his collection of relics and reliquaries that the Museum's recently resurfaced painting of Saint Maurice must be understood.¹⁷ Approximately seventeen of the images in the *Hallesches Heiltumsbuch* depict

the saint and relics associated with him. The most important of these, and indeed the most important that Albrecht owned, was a lifesize silver reliquary statue produced about 1520–21, the designer of which remains unknown (fig. 63).¹⁸ This work was the prototype both for the Metropolitan's painting and for another that forms the left wing of the 1529 polyptych displayed on the main altar of the Marktkirche in Halle (attributed to Simon Franck; see fig. 65).¹⁹

Surrounded by thirteen main lamps and seven subsidiary ones, the reliquary of Saint Maurice stood on a red brocade pillow beneath its own baldachin before the high altar in the Neues Stift. Its silver armor was partially gilded and further embellished with precious jewels and pearls. The head was made of wood or metal, and the hat of gold brocade with ostrich feathers. Dangling from the tips of the feathers were gold and jeweled teardrop-shaped ornaments that moved as the air circulated. According to the description in the *Hallesches Heiltumsbuch*, numerous relics were housed inside.²⁰

In the reliquary statue and the two related paintings, Maurice is depicted as the patron saint of the empire and not, as had been more common from the twelfth century on, as the patron of the Magdeburg archdiocese. The armor worn by both the statue and the figure in the Museum's painting clearly refers to Emperor Charles V. The symbol of the Burgundian Golden Fleece is attached to the cuirass, the Saint Andrew's Cross appears between sparking flint stones on the pauldrons, and the banner bears the imperial eagle as well as Charles's emblems. The sword denotes Maurice's role as a soldier-saint as well as the instrument of his decapitation. It may also represent the gilded-silver ceremonial sword presented to Emperor Maximilian I by Pope Leo and passed on to Albrecht at his investiture as cardinal.²¹ Installed in a place of honor near the high altar and bearing the insignia of Charles V, the reliquary thus symbolized the close relationship between the emperor and Albrecht.²²

The Museum's painting follows the Saint Maurice illumination of the full-length reliquary statue in the *Hallesches Heiltumsbuch* quite closely while masterfully adjusting the figure and his massive armor to fit into the narrow format of a side wing of an altarpiece. Some of the altarpieces executed by the Cranach workshop for Albrecht were multipanel ensembles, occasionally with more than one opening. Various surviving models, both drawn and assembled, show that a closed altarpiece could comprise four very narrow panels, with two each for the right and left wings.²³ Since Maurice faces to the right here, our panel probably formed the inside left wing of such an altarpiece, the remainder of which has not been identified and may no longer exist.

The armor in the Museum's painting is a type known as *Feldkiriss* (field armor) and dates from about 1510–20. Rendered in great detail and based on known examples, it is generally quite similar to contemporary German armor in the collections of the Metropolitan Museum and the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.²⁴ Even the fanciful red beret with feathers derives from actual costumes of the time. A surviving example in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, that once belonged to Christoph Kress von Kressenstein retains the same dangling gold ornaments as on Saint Maurice's

beret.²⁵ The armor of the reliquary statue (and by association that in the Metropolitan's painting) is thought to have been based on that worn by Charles V for his coronation in Aachen on October 22, 1520, which was subsequently given to Cardinal Albrecht as a present; however, documentary proof of this theory is lacking.²⁶ Some have suggested that it reproduces the armor that Albrecht gave to Charles for that occasion; others propose that it was owned by Maximilian I, who offered it as a coronation gift to Charles.²⁷ A fitted, full-plate cavalry armor, it featured a harness and fluted jupon, with vertical and horizontal ridges and a narrow girdle. Cantilevered pauldrons encased the shoulders, while the arms and legs were clothed in metal defenses.

The authorship of *Saint Maurice* has been addressed infrequently, as the painting has not been available for firsthand study. The 1946 Parke-Bernet auction catalogue attributed the painting to Lucas Cranach the Elder and the similar example in the Marktkirche in Halle to the workshop.²⁸ On the basis of black-and-white photographs only, Gude Suckale-Redlefsen ascribed the Metropolitan's painting either to an immediate collaborator of Cranach or to the master himself.²⁹ Andreas Tacke identified the artist as one of those who painted the Halle picture cycle in the Neues Stift.³⁰

In determining the attribution of our painting, we must consider the situation of the Cranach workshop at the time it was made. The sixteen altarpieces that Albrecht commissioned from Cranach between 1520 and 1525 comprised more than 142 separate panels. Cranach and his shop were accustomed to handling large commissions and had a reputation for completing them on schedule. An epithet used in praise of Cranach—*pictor celerrimus* (the fastest painter)—may still be read on his tomb in the city church in Weimar. Indeed, Cranach developed a style of painting that depended on shortcut solutions and an extensive use of easily copied patterns and rote methods of producing decorative detail that could be successfully replicated by assistants. By the 1520s, the artist had adopted an increasingly streamlined painting technique that permitted rapid execution by both himself and his assistants. Recent technical studies have yielded important new information about the painting techniques of the workshop, but it is not always easy to distinguish Cranach's own hand from that of his assistants.³¹ Ingo Sandner considered that Cranach was generally involved in various ways at the underdrawing stage.³² The difficulty of identifying individual hands in the painted layers remains, however, because the workshop achieved its major goal so well—producing a recognizable style at a consistent level of quality.

Further clues concerning authorship have been derived by examining *Saint Maurice* with infrared reflectography. Comparing the underdrawing (fig. 64) with the final painted layers revealed how many decorative details were added at a late stage. Among these are Charles V's insignia on the pauldrons, the Golden Fleece at the neck, the jewels on the borders of the pauldrons and the tasset of the armor, the jewels of the gorget, and the decoration of the sword handgrip. In fact, some decorative features in the more exact underdrawing were misunderstood in the process of painting. In certain places, the underdrawing follows the original model—whether the illumination in the *Hallesches Heiltumsbuch* or the reliquary itself—more closely than the final painted form does. For example, the underdrawn flutes adorning the breastplate take into account the rounded form of the chest, but the painted ones do not. The drawing of the tassets also acknowledges their convex form, while the painter made these lines run straight across the curved form. In many places, such details indicate that an artist with a better understanding of form carried out the preliminary underdrawing, while another painted the final decoration on the armor. If *Saint Maurice* is compared with the Museum's painting of Judith and Holofernes (cat. 13) from about 1530, it is quite apparent that Judith's decorative collar exhibits an understanding of the reflection of light and form that surpasses that shown in the saint's gorget, which is clearly the product of less sophisticated handling.

A comparison of the underdrawing in the flag here with that of the saint's draperies in *The Martyrdom of Saint Barbara* (cat. 9) reveals in both a spontaneous, free sketching method in brush and a finely detailed execution that are characteristic of Cranach's best works. The same sense of assurance and directness in the handling and execution of Saint Maurice's face is found in the works most reliably attributed to the master, including *Saint Barbara* (compare figs. 64 and 44). Certainly, the detailed rendering of Saint Maurice's face and the masterful treatment of the landscape (the subtle use of color to suggest atmosphere and the reddish tones of the sunset) reflect a level of execution above that displayed in the treatment of the armor.

In the case of *Saint Maurice*, Cranach's hand is most likely seen primarily in the design stages and only to a restricted degree in the paint layers. The tedious, painstaking execution of the decorative details of the armor was surely turned over to an assistant, as was typical of the organization of the workshop at the time. Which assistant was given the task may become clearer with continued investigations of the Cranach workshop.

MWA

LUCAS CRANACH THE ELDER AND WORKSHOP

17A. *Friedrich III, the Wise, Elector of Saxony*

1533

17B. *Johann I, the Constant, Elector of Saxony*

1532–33

Oil on beech panel, with letterpress-printed paper labels

Each panel overall $8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{7}{8} \times \frac{1}{8}$ in. ($20.9 \times 14.9 \times .32$ cm); image and text area, approx. $8 \times 5\frac{7}{8}$ in. (20.3×14.3 cm)

WORKSHOP OF LUCAS CRANACH THE ELDER

17C. *Johann I, the Constant, Elector of Saxony*

1532–33

Oil on canvas, transferred from wood, with letterpress-printed paper labels

Overall $8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{7}{8}$ in. (21×14.9 cm)

17A: Signed and dated (at upper left): [winged serpent mark, wings raised] 1533

17B, 17C: Not signed or dated

17A, 17B, 17C:

Inscriptions: none

Printed texts on paper labels:¹

17A: (at top right) *Friderich der Drit, Chur-/fur[s]t vnd Hertzog zu / Sachsen.*

(Friedrich the Third, Elector / and Duke of Saxony.)

(at bottom) *Fridrich bin jch billich genand / Schönen frid jch erhielt jm land. / Durch gros vern[unfft] gedult vnd glück / Widder manchen e[rtz]bösen tück. / Das land jch zieret mit gebew / Vnd Stifft ein hohe Schul auff's new. / Zu Wittemberg jm Sachsen land / Jnn der welt die ward bekand / Denn aus der selb kam Gottes wort / Vnd thet gro ding an manchem ort. / Das Bepstlich Reic[h] störtzt es nidder / Vnd bracht rechten glauben widder. / Zum Keisar ward erkorn jch / Des mein alter beschweret sich. / Dafur jch [K]e[is]a[r] Carl erwelt / Von dem mich nich[t] wand gonst noch gelt. (I am rightly called Friedrich [peaceful ruler], / for I maintained a serene peace in my domain / with great reasonability, patience, and luck, / in the face of the most pernicious malice.² / I graced my lands with new buildings / and endowed a new university / at Wittenberg in Saxony / that became famous throughout the world, / for from it God's word came forth / and did great things in many a place. / It toppled the papal empire / and restored the true faith. / I was elected emperor, / but my old age protested this, / so I chose Emperor Charles [Charles V] / and neither favors nor money could dissuade me.)³*

17B: (at top left) *Johans der Erst, Churfurst / vnd Hertzog zu Sachsen.* (Johann the First, Elector / and Duke of Saxony.)

(at bottom) *Nach meines [lieben bruders e]nd / Bleib auff m[i]r d[as] ganz Regim] end. / Mit grosser sorg [und mancher fa]hr / Da der Bawr toll vnd [tö]richt w[ar]. / Die auffrhur fast jnn alle[m] land] / Wie gros fewer jm wald [entbrand]. / Welches ich halff dempffen mit Gott / Der Deutsches land erret aus not. / Der Rottengeister feind ich war / Hielt jm land das wort rein vnd klar / Gros drawen bittern hass vnd neid / Vmb*

Gottes worts willen ich leid. / Frey bekand jchs aus hertzem grund / Vnd personlich selbst jch da stund. / Vor dem Keisar vnd gantzen Reich / Von Fursten gschach vor nie des gleich / Solchs gab mir mein Gott besnnder [sic; besunder] / And [sic; Vnd]⁴ vor der wellt was ein wunder. / / Vmb land vnd leut [zu bringen] mich / Hoffft beid freund vnd [feind ge]wislich. / Ferdnand zu Römisch[h]m König] gmacht / Vnd sein wahl jch allein anfacht. / Auff das da[s] alte Recht bestünd / Jnn der gulden Bullen gegründ. / Wiewol das grossen zorn erregt / Mich doch mehr recht denn gunst beweg[t. / Das hertzt gab Gott dem Keisar zart / Mein guter freund zu letzt er ward. / Das jch mein end jm frid beschlos / Vast sehr den Teuffel das verdro. / Erfarn hab jchs vnd zeugen thar / Wie vns die Schrifft sagt vnd ist war. / Wer Gott mit ernst vertrauwen kan / Der bleibt ein vnnerdorben [sic; vnuerdorben, i.e., unverdorben] man. / Es zürne Teuffel odder welt / Den sieg er doch zu letzt behelt. (On the death of my dear brother / the whole job of ruling fell to me, / bringing much worry and considerable danger, / for the peasants were wild and foolish. / Violence flared throughout my country / like a great forest fire, / which I helped to quench with God, / who rescued German territory from its misery.⁵ / I was an enemy of the sectarian zealots⁶ / and kept the Word pure and clear in my land. / I had to suffer dire threats, bitter hatred, and envy / for the sake of God's word. / I professed it freely from the bottom of my heart, / and I myself took a stand / before the emperor and the entire realm. / No prince had ever done such a thing before.⁷ / My God gave me alone that role, / and it was a marvel to the world. / / Friend and foe alike sought to rob me / of my land and people, to be sure, / and made Ferdinand [Ferdinand I] king of the Romans. / I alone opposed his election, / hoping to ensure that authority might continue / to be based on the Golden Bull of old.⁸ / Though this occasioned great wrath, / I acted according to justice rather than partiality. / God gave the emperor a kind heart, / and in the end he became my friend / so that I ended my days in peace, / much to the Devil's dismay. / I have seen it myself, and I assure you / that as the scriptures tell us, and it is true, / the man who can truly trust in God / will never be defeated. / The Devil and the world may rage all they will, / yet victory is his in the end.)

17C: (at top left) [*J]ohans der Erst, Churfurst / vnd Hertzog zu [S]a[c]hsen.* [For translation, see above, under 17B]

(bottom) *Nach me[in]es lieben bruders end / Bleib auff mir d[as] g]antz Regimend. / Mit grosser [sorg und man]cher fahr / Da der [Bawr to]ll vnd [tö]richt war. / Die auffrhur fast jnn allem land / Wie gros fewer jm wald entbrand. / Welches ich halff dempffen mit Got[t] / Der Deutsches land erret aus not. / Der Rottengeister feind ich war / Hielt jm land das wort rein vnd klar / Gros drawen bittern hass vnd neid / Vmb Gottes w[ö]rds willen ich leid. / Frey bekand jchs aus hertzem grund / Vnd personlich selbst jch da stund. / Vor dem Keisar vnd gantzen Reich / Von Fursten gschach vor nie des gleich / Solchs gab mir mein Go[t]t besnnder [sic; besunder] / Vnd vor der wellt was ein wunder. / / V[ü]mb l]and vnd leut [z]u bringen mich / Hoffft beid fre[un]d vnd [feind] gewislich. / Ferdnand zu Römischm König gmacht / Vnd sein wahl jch allein anfacht. / Auff [d]as das alte Recht bestünd / Jnn der gulden Bullen gegründ. / W[ie]wol das grossen zorn erregt / Mich doch mehr recht denn gunst bewegt. / Das hertzt gab Gott dem Keisar zart / Mein guter freund zu letzt er ward. / Das jch mein end jm frid beschlos / Vast sehr den Teuffel das verdro. / Erfarn hab jchs vnd zeugen tha[r] / W[i]e vns die Schrifft sagt vnd ist war. / Wer Gott mit ernst vertrauwen kan / Der bleibt [e]in vnnerdorben [sic; vnuerdorben, i.e., unverdorben] man. / Es zür[n]e T[eu]ffel odder welt / D[e]n sieg er doch zu letzt behelt. [For translation, see above, under 17B]*

Heraldry / emblems:

17A: on verso, at center, in black, red, green, and possibly yellow and white pigments on paper, the electoral Saxon coat of arms

17B, 17C: none

Marks on verso:

17A: at bottom, in red, 46.179.1

17B: at bottom, in red, 46.179.2

17C: on stretcher bar at top, in graphite, 61

Frames:

17A, 17B, 17C: not original

17A, 17B: Gift of Robert Lehman, 1946 46.179.1, .2

17C: Purchase, 1871 71.128

PROVENANCE: 17A, 17B: Ministerialdirektor Heinrich Spangenberg, Munich (until 1925; sold to Heinemann);⁹ [D. Heinemann, Munich (half share to Galerie Hansen, Lucerne), until 1929; sold to Lehman];¹⁰ Robert Lehman, New York (1929–46)

17C: ?by descent to Martin Comte Cornet de Ways Ruart, Brussels (until d. 1870); [Étienne Le Roy, Brussels, 1870; sold through Léon Gauchez, Paris, to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett, New York, and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA)¹¹

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: The pendant portraits 17A and 17B have a number of features in common. Affixed to each of them are two original paper labels. One, printed in black ink with the sitter's name, is in a corner at the top of the panel, and the other, on which a verse is printed in black ink, is at the bottom of the panel, beneath the likeness of the sitter.¹² The labels are mostly legible and intact, although the paper support has darkened and degraded owing to acidity in the wood panel and the absorption of varnish.

The supports are vertically grained beech panels, .32 centimeter thick, both of which display a slight transverse convex warp.¹³ The size of the panels corresponds to Heydenreich Format A.¹⁴ The versos have been coated with a black ink or paint, within an unpainted border .64 centimeter wide.

An extremely thin white ground was applied to the panels. X-radiography revealed a thinly washed priming layer that contains small amounts of lead-white pigment. The priming was applied in horizontal strokes with a brush 1.27 to 1.9 centimeters wide (17A) and 1.9 to 2.5 centimeters wide (17B). The ground was scored with a line along the perimeter of the pictures indicating the area to be painted. Further scored lines show where the labels would be placed.

Eight semicircular skips in the ground preparation along the edges of each panel are vestiges of the Cranach workshop's practice of fastening panels to a support before applying the ground. Evidence that the panels were unfastened before painting took place is visible along the perimeter where paint flowed over the skips.¹⁵

A very finely divided pale greenish blue pigment was used for the background of both portraits. The background was painted first, leaving a reserve area for the figure; however, the background color was allowed to flow across the unpainted borders, indicating the painter anticipated that the latter would be covered by a frame. Examination with infrared reflectography did not clarify the underpainting or reveal any underdrawing.¹⁶

17A: The wood support for this portrait was cut from the same tree as the supports for eleven other Cranach paintings. Dendrochronological analysis indicated an earliest possible fabrication date of 1533 for them all.¹⁷

Underpainting in shades of gray was used to establish the shadows in the flesh tones and the modeling in the white shirt. Under magnification the particles of coarse black pigment used in the underpainting are visible. As is typical of paintings by Cranach and his workshop, many details were executed in a

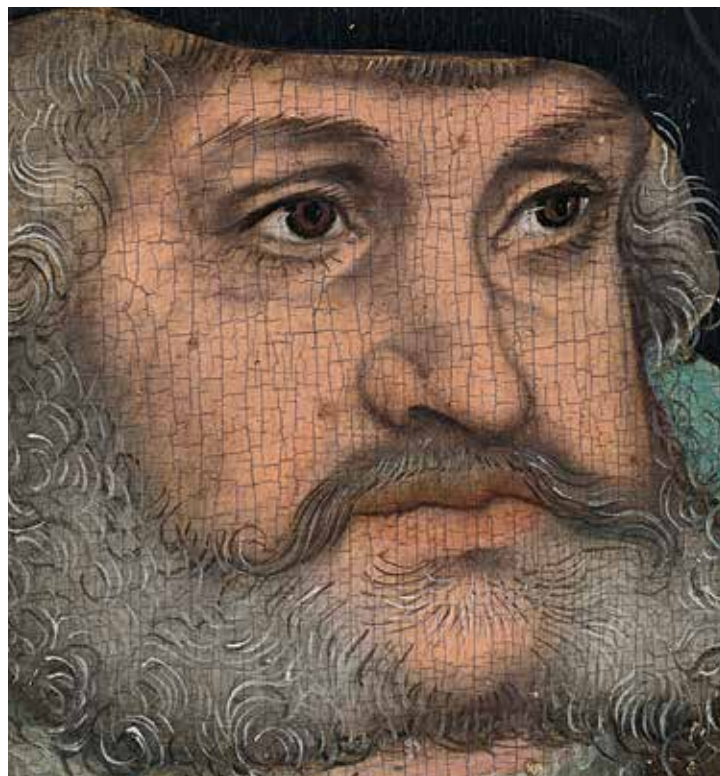


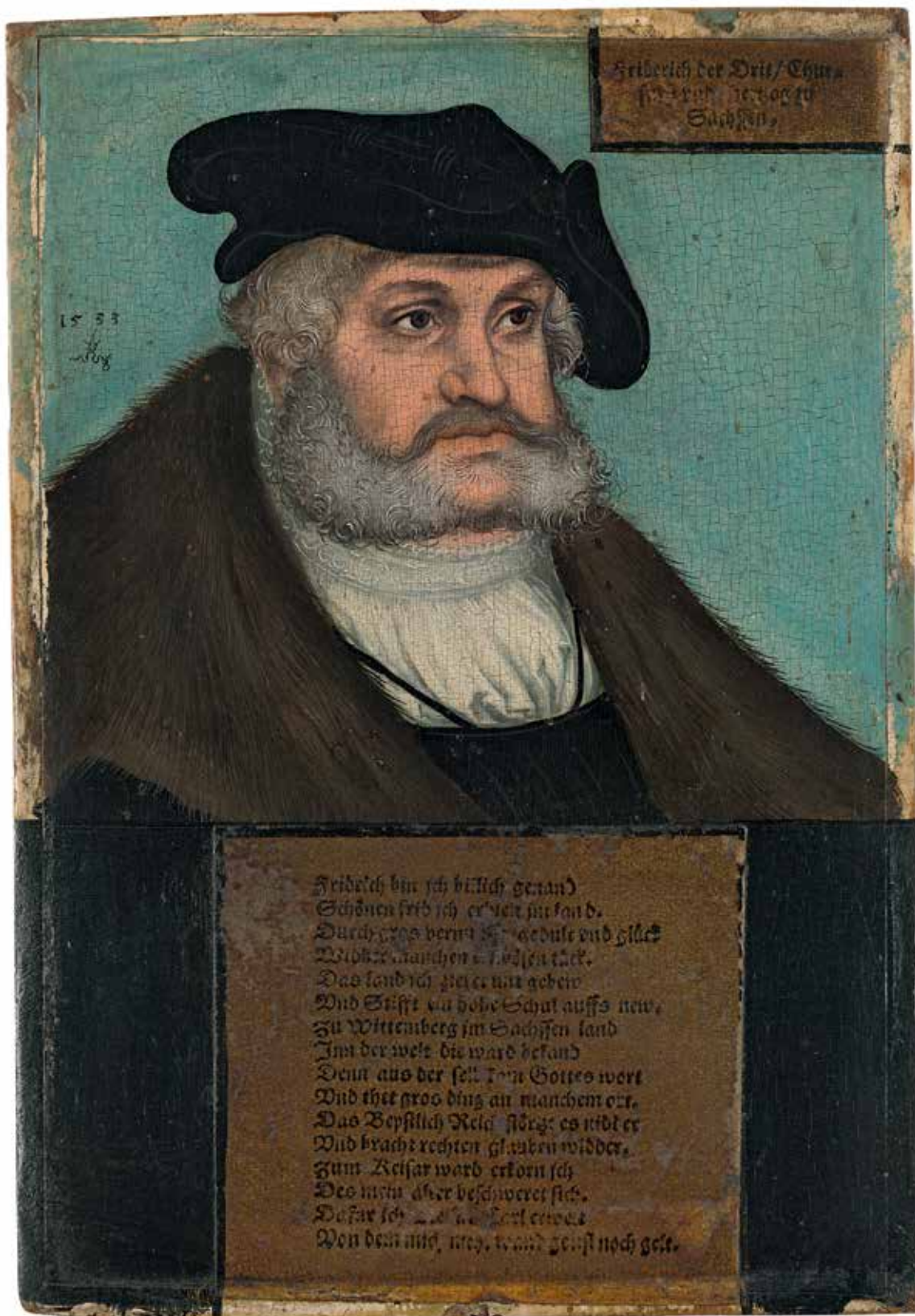
Fig. 66. Detail, cat. 17A

layered technique: a nearly flat base color was topped by fine strokes of dark and light paint. In the sitter's mantle, intermingled dark and light tones were finely applied with a slightly dry brush on top of a midbrown base to create the illusion of long fur. The fur is more convincing and realistically volumetric than that in 17B. In the flesh, the cool gray shadows were finished by thinly scumbling over the tonal underpainting.

In general, the condition of the painting is very good. The quick, deft brushwork contrasts with the more studious and labored style seen in portrait 17B; moreover, the interplay between the dark and light strokes seems less mechanical. Many passages are painted with fewer brushstrokes, to better effect.

A strong black line overlapping the edge of the paint layers on one side and the edge of the paper on the other was added as a final touch along the sides and top of the label below the sitter and along the bottom and left edge of the label in the top right corner. A black painted line extending the whole width of the painting separates the portrait from the printed verse. The verse is flanked by wide borders of black paint.

17B: Dendrochronological analysis provided an earliest possible fabrication date of 1526 for this portrait.¹⁸ Monochrome gray undermodeling, typical of Cranach and his workshop, was used to establish the forms, a technique particularly evident in the face. Under magnification, this undermodeling is visible beneath the translucent flesh in the eye sockets and the nose, the shadow below the mouth, and the shaded side of the face. Fine strokes of dark paint were added for final outlines, such as the eyelashes, the nostril, and the crease in the eyelid. A heavy black line separates the likeness of the sitter from the poem. It overlaps the edge of the paint layers on one side and the edge of the paper on



17A



the other. Dark lines can also be found on the bottom and right edges of the paper in the upper left corner of the painting.

In general, the condition of the painting is good. There are tiny losses along the wood grain surrounding the right eye and above the left eye of the sitter.

17c: As with the Metropolitan Museum's other portrait of Johann I in Cranach's elector series (17b), the sitter's likeness is accompanied by two original paper labels printed in black ink. One, with the sitter's name, is attached in the upper left corner, and the other, with a poem, is attached at the bottom.¹⁹ A slight indentation of the characters, which resulted from the printing process, is visible in raking light. The labels are mostly legible and intact, although the paper support has darkened and degraded owing to acidity in the wood panel and the absorption of varnish. At some point before it entered the Museum, the painting was transferred to canvas and attached to an expandable stretcher. The original ground preparation is white. Damage extending vertically through the face was probably caused by a split in the original wood support. The dimensions match Heydenreich Format A.²⁰

The painting is in poor condition. There are large losses and severe abrasion in the cheek and beard at right and large losses in the hat and torso and in the background. The entire surface is distorted by a fabric-weave texture imparted during the transfer process.

The pale blue background was painted first and, as in 17A and 17B, an area was left in reserve for the figure. The smoothly blended flesh tones were achieved with a wet-in-wet application of paint. The hair, beard, and fur coat were painted wet on dry, beginning with a dark, warm undertone followed by fine, detailed strokes, first in a darker hue and then with a lighter tone. As in 17b, a strong black line overlaps the edge of the paint on one side and the edge of the paper on the other. A similar line can be found on the bottom and right edge of the paper label attached in the upper left corner. Examination with infrared reflectography did not reveal underpainting or underdrawing.²¹

These small posthumous portraits depict the brothers and Saxon electors Friedrich III, the Wise (1463–1525; r. 1486–1525), and Johann I, the Constant (1468–1532; r. 1525–32), in bust length against a light blue background. Each wears a white undershirt, a black shirt, a coat with a heavy fur lapel, and a black beret. The names of the sitters and laudatory poems are printed (not painted) on pieces of paper that have been pasted down on the panels. Two of the Metropolitan Museum's pictures are pendants (cat. 17A, B); the third (cat. 17C), which was acquired separately, is a now-isolated likeness of Johann I, which would originally have been paired with another portrait of Friedrich III.

These works belong to a series of sixty such portrait pairs that Johann I's son and successor, Johann Friedrich I, the Magnanimous (r. 1532–47), commissioned from Lucas Cranach the Elder in 1532.²² The commission coincided with Johann Friedrich's assumption of electoral office after the death of his father. An extant record of payment indicates that Cranach and his workshop completed the series in 1533. An entry in the accounts of the electoral finance chamber (*Kammerrechnungen*) dated from Leipzig on May 10, 1533, states that Cranach received payment for "sixty pairs of little panels painted in blessed and laudable memory of both electors."²³ Many of the portraits from the series are still extant in public and private collections.²⁴ The works also gave rise to a number of variants, such as the triptychs in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg,



Fig. 67. Verso, cat. 17A



Fig. 68. Verso, cat. 17B



and the Hamburger Kunsthalle, both datable to about 1535, which display larger portraits of Friedrich, Johann, and Johann Friedrich.²⁵

Because of the great size of the series, the content of the accompanying poems, and the religiopolitical position of electoral Saxony in those years, it is thought that Johann Friedrich intended the portraits to serve as instruments of propaganda.²⁶ He is presumed to have given them to other political figures in order to gain influence and support.²⁷ The electoral reign of Johann Friedrich began at a time of growing antagonism between Saxony and the Habsburgs. The Augsburg Confession, the fundamental doctrinal statement of the Lutheran Reformation, of which both Elector Johann and Johann Friedrich were signees, had been submitted at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530 and was subsequently rejected by Emperor Charles V (r. 1519–56). Furthermore, at the beginning of 1531, both Johann and Johann Friedrich had opposed the election of Charles's brother, Archduke Ferdinand I, as king of the Romans. In February of that year, several Protestant princes and cities, led by Elector Johann and by Philipp I, Landgrave of Hesse, founded the Schmalkaldic League to defend against potential Habsburg incursions. As a result, after Johann Friedrich took office in 1532, Charles V refused to invest him with the electoral title until 1535.

The 1532–33 portrait pairs appear to address this political situation through their poems, which were possibly composed by Martin Luther.²⁸ The texts emphasize the passage of Saxon electoral dignity from Friedrich to Johann, thereby implying the legitimacy of Johann Friedrich's electorate. Also, while invoking the electors' facilitation of Luther's religious reforms, the verses simultaneously attest to Friedrich's support of Charles V and to Johann's ultimate reconciliation with Charles after the controversy over Archduke Ferdinand's election as king of the Romans. In this way, the portraits convey a tactful message of electoral Saxony's resolution to protect its own political and religious interests while remaining loyal to the empire.

The overall compositional scheme of these works appears to derive from the engraved likeness of Friedrich that Albrecht Dürer made in 1524, which depicts the elector in a similar pose and attire above a fictive epigraphic tablet.²⁹ The particular Friedrich type that Cranach employed for the series is based on one he developed by 1522 and reused in various formats, the only significant change being the shift of beard color from brown to gray by 1525, the year of Friedrich's death.³⁰ This long-established type for Friedrich served, in turn, as the model for the figure of Johann as it appears in the 1532–33 series. In the Metropolitan Museum's portrait of Friedrich, black bars of paint mask out the otherwise empty space to the left and right of the single-column poem.³¹ However, in most other examples, the black bars were omitted in favor of allowing bare paper to extend to the left and right edges, probably to maintain a visual balance with the broad paper support of the double-column poem beneath the portraits of Johann.

This portrait series exemplifies the speed and efficiency of which the Cranach workshop was capable. The modeling was carried out

with a typical economy of means, and certain compositional and material elements, particularly the conformity of the figures' silhouettes and the use of printed (as opposed to painted) texts, were clearly intended to speed production.³² Another means of streamlining manufacture was the use of fasteners to affix the panels to a stable support, perhaps side by side, during the painting process.³³ The fasteners left semicircular marks in the border areas of the Metropolitan's pair, and similar marks are present on the Budapest, Heidelberg, and Weimar pairs, on the portraits of Friedrich in Regensburg and Wittenberg, and surely on other versions.³⁴ Affixing several small panels to a larger support would have hastened completion by allowing groups to be worked up simultaneously.

The relative refinement of the Museum's pendant portraits of Friedrich and Johann sets them among the highest-quality examples in the series. The portrait of Friedrich in particular, while conforming to the unified appearance of the group, displays a remarkably subtle handling (cat. 17A). This is apparent when the painting is compared in detail with the still highly competent companion piece of Johann (cat. 17B). In the likeness of Friedrich, the line between the lips is more delicately applied; the fur collar is painted in a livelier manner, and the white of the eyes and glint at the edge of the iris consist of a single, deft brushstroke (fig. 66). In this light, although the series is probably mostly the work of studio assistants,³⁵ the possibility that Cranach himself contributed from time to time should not be discounted. This may well have been the case with the Museum's portrait of Friedrich and perhaps also with the comparable but somewhat less refined likeness of Johann. The Museum's second portrait of Johann (cat. 17C), on the other hand, is not as accomplished; it appears to have been produced entirely by the workshop. The 1533 date of the Friedrich portrait places it later than several inferior versions of the previous year, when work on the series began. This instance of higher quality at a later date adds further support to the idea of a flexible distribution of labor between master and workshop as the commission progressed, suggesting that Cranach's involvement did not end with the creation of models to be followed by assistants.³⁶

As part of a mass-produced series, the Metropolitan Museum's pendants of Friedrich and Johann were possibly not originally planned and executed as a discrete pair. It is plausible that they were paired together only after completion, selected for their comparable quality from a group of nearly identical versions. Although the original frames do not survive and any evidence of attachment by hinges has consequently been lost, the decoration of the backs suggests a diptych arrangement.³⁷ The verso of each is painted black, and the back of the portrait of Friedrich bears an electoral Saxon coat of arms (figs. 67, 68),³⁸ which would have been displayed when the diptych was in its closed state. A dynastic portrait diptych of this sort has a clear precedent in Cranach's intact 1509 diptych of Elector Johann and his son Johann Friedrich in the National Gallery, London, which has hinged frames, black reverses, and similar heraldic decoration.³⁹

J P W

WORKSHOP OF LUCAS CRANACH THE ELDER

18. *Martin Luther*

Probably 1532

Oil on beech panel

Overall $13\frac{1}{8} \times 9\frac{1}{8} \times \frac{1}{4}-\frac{5}{16}$ in. ($33.3 \times 23.2 \times .6-.8$ cm)

Inscriptions: none

Heraldry / emblems: none

Marks on verso: at upper left, in graphite, 11029; at upper right, in graphite, 196-27; at center, in chalk(?), 6; at center, twice on masking tape, in grease pencil(?) and graphite, 55.220.2

Frame: not original

Gift of Robert Lehman, 1955 55.220.2

PROVENANCE: ?[art market, in 1927]; Robert Lehman, New York (by 1928–55)

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: The panel support is made of two boards of beech with the grain oriented vertically.¹ The center join has been reinforced on the verso with a strip of tow 7.6 centimeters wide. All four edges of the verso are beveled. The uneven edges of the panel suggest that it has been trimmed on all sides. Judging from the residual black border at the top, this edge has been merely trimmed, while the bottom and lateral edges may have been cut down substantially. The panel falls within the range for Heydenreich Format B.²

The painting is generally in good condition. A triangular restoration appears over the left shoulder, and there is a small loss in the right eye. Some microscopic pitting and abrasion are found in the clothing and hat, and the background is slightly abraded. The craquelure, emphasized by accumulated dirt and old varnish, is particularly noticeable in the flesh.

The X-radiograph revealed wide, diffuse stripes running horizontal to the grain, evidence of a lead-white priming applied to the white ground preparation, a common feature associated with the Cranach workshop. In normal light, the use of monochrome gray undermodeling is apparent; this technique is also observed in paintings produced in the workshop.³ Infrared reflectography⁴ did not aid in clarifying the undermodeling because a carbon-black pigment was also employed in the final modeling. However, when the surface was examined with the stereomicroscope, the dark undermodeling could be seen along the contour of the head where it is not entirely covered by the upper layers and beneath the translucent flesh. In addition, microscopic examination revealed underpainted cross-hatching beneath the meeting of the lips.

This is one of the many printed and painted portraits of Martin Luther (1483–1546) that were produced by Cranach and his workshop beginning about 1520. The reformer and the artist were well acquainted, for Cranach served as Luther's matchmaker (*Brautwerber*) when he was courting Katharina von Bora, who lived in Cranach's house in Wittenberg from 1523 until her marriage to Luther in 1525. Luther also served as the godfather of Cranach's first daughter, born in 1520.

Deeply involved with the production of images for the Protestant Reformation, Cranach made illustrations for the Bible, including for *Das Neue Testament deutsch* (Wittenberg, 1522) and for Luther's sermons, lectures, polemical tracts, and broadsheets. He also painted

a number of pictures and altarpieces supporting Protestant viewpoints, among them portraits of Luther that varied according to the purposes they were meant to serve.⁵ In 1532 Cranach paired a half-length view of Luther facing right with one of Philipp Melanchthon facing left; of the several versions of this pairing, the pendants in the Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden, are considered the primary examples.⁶ Melanchthon, of course, was Luther's main collaborator, a theologian and intellectual leader of the Reformation. The Museum's *Luther* is a subtype of this group, showing a close-up view and a more tightly cropped image that was probably joined with a portrait of Melanchthon.⁷ An extant pair in the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin (fig. 69a, b), is very similar in dimensions (37 by 24.6 centimeters and 37 by 23.5 centimeters) to the Metropolitan's painting (33.3 by 23.2 centimeters, the shorter vertical measurement owing to the panel's having been cut at the lower edge).⁸

Kurt Löcher suggested that this portrait type of Luther emerged in 1532 because of the new Protestant "state of awareness" (*Bewusstseinsstand*) that resulted from the 1530 Imperial Diet at Augsburg.⁹ With that convocation and the presentation there of the *Confessio Augustana* (Augsburg Confession), he noted, Lutheran Protestantism came to be seen as an "independent confession and church" separate from Roman Catholicism.¹⁰ In the 1532 portrait type, Luther is shown wearing the distinctive black Protestant vestments and in a mood of "calm persuasiveness," which has replaced the militant demeanor and features of Cranach's early portraits of him, including the 1520 engraving *Luther as Augustinian Monk* and the 1522 woodcut *Junker Jörg*.¹¹ The pairing with the Melanchthon portrait, Löcher suggested, may also be related to the Diet of Augsburg: it was Melanchthon who drew up the Augsburg Confession and presented it as a representative of electoral Saxony and of the Protestant Estates.¹² As Kira Judith Kokoska has expressed it, "The intention of pairing the two main Reformers of Wittenberg was likely to represent pictorially the unity of the Protestant movement and the legitimacy of the doctrine which Melanchthon had worked out and set in canonical form."¹³ She further asserted that the granting of imperial concessions to the Protestants in the 1532 Peace of Nuremberg may have driven demand for this particular portrait type and resulted in the need for its increased production.¹⁴

The pairing of Luther and Melanchthon may also derive, as Löcher theorized, from humanist friendship portraits such as Quentin Metsys's 1517 depictions of Erasmus and Peter Gillis (Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Palazzo Barberini, Rome, and Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp).¹⁵ Seeing a parallel with the paired portraits of Electors Friedrich the Wise and Johann the Constant (cat. 17A–C), Löcher imagined the electoral Saxon court as the motivating force behind the 1532 Luther and Melanchthon portraits and regarded their purpose as propagandistic, to spread the



Fig. 69a, b. Lucas Cranach the Elder. *Martin Luther* and *Philipp Melanchthon*, ca. 1532. Oil on panel, $14\frac{1}{16} \times 9\frac{1}{16}$ in.; $14\frac{1}{16} \times 9\frac{1}{4}$ in. (37×24.6 cm; 37×23.5 cm). Staatliche Museen zu Berlin–Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie (Kat. Nr. 617, 619)

“image” of the “spiritual representatives and authorities.”¹⁶ Though the paired Luther and Melanchthon portraits must have established the idea of the reformers and the Reformation as an institution, how they specifically related to particular propagandistic aims is not completely clear. As Robert Scribner argued with regard to the post-1540s propagandistic prints of the Reformation, such images were “less a matter of establishing an evangelical movement, and more of consolidating it.”¹⁷ The “calm persuasiveness,” as Löcher termed it, of the Luther and Melanchthon portraits more likely served to sustain the idea of a newly established Reformation and to maintain the morale of its proponents.¹⁸

Although Max J. Friedländer first considered the Museum’s *Luther* an autograph work by Cranach from about 1530,¹⁹ this attribution was reevaluated over the years owing to the preponderance of versions and workshop copies.²⁰ The painting does indeed exhibit the rather dry, hard contours and stiff rendering of a copy. There are five other known versions of closely similar size, four of which are in oil on panel (sold at Christie’s, London, July 7, 1972, lot 75; Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen; Gemäldegalerie, Berlin; Universitätsmuseum für Bildende Künste, Marburg) and one watercolor on parchment (Duke of Buccleuch Collection, Boughton House). The formerly Christie’s and Copenhagen versions both carry Cranach’s insignia and the date 1532.²¹ The Museum’s painting is most similar to the Copenhagen version and to the drawing in the Buccleuch Collection (fig. 70). There is a particularly close correspondence between our painting and the drawing—in the wavy contour of the head at the right, in the modeling of the face, in the specific arrangement of the locks of hair at the left, and even in the stubble of the beard, a feature shared with none of the other painted versions. In fact, when an exact scale digital image of the drawing is superimposed onto the Metropolitan’s painting, the two so nearly match that they must have either a direct or indirect relationship to each other. However, there is no visible evidence that the design



Fig. 70. Lucas Cranach the Elder. *Martin Luther*, ca. 1532. Watercolor on parchment, $8\frac{7}{8} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ in. (21.9×19.1 cm). The Buccleuch Living Heritage Trust, Boughton House, Kettering, Northamptonshire, England

for the Museum’s portrait was transferred from a cartoon, and it is possible that the tonal underpainting in gray washes in the head (see technical notes above) obscures such evidence. The vivid appearance of the Buccleuch drawing²² and its parchment support suggest that it may have served in the workshop as either a model for portraits of Luther or as a *ricordo*. If the former, then the Metropolitan portrait has followed this model very closely indeed.

MWA



19. *Portrait of a Man*

1538

Oil on alder panel

Overall 22 × 16¹¹/₁₆ × 1/4 in. (55.9 × 42.4 × .64 cm); painted surface 21 × 15³/₄ in.

(53.3 × 40 cm)

Inscribed and dated (at top, left of center): *M·D·XXXVIII / XLV*¹Heraldry / emblems: on signet ring on index finger of left hand, green shield charged with an orange sunburst, surmounted by initials *M[?]**LD* in mirror imageMarks on verso (on cradle): in center, in red wax on paper, unidentified collector's seal; at upper right, in pen and ink on round paper decal, 6080; at upper center and right, stamped four times in ink, *DOUANE* [. . .]; at lower center, stamped in ink, *JPL* / [. . .] 01 [. . .]; left of center, letterpress-printed on paper, *IMPORTED FROM FRANCE*; left of center, in white chalk, *xxx*; at center right, in red paint, 32.100.61

Frame: not original

The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931 32.100.61

PROVENANCE: [Lindemann, Vienna, in 1927]; [Rothschild Bros., London, 1928]; James P. Cabey (1928; sold to Kleinberger);² [Kleinberger, New York, 1928–30; sold to Friedsam]; Michael Friedsam, New York (1930–d. 1931)

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: The support consists of three alder boards with the grain oriented vertically.³ An engaged frame was in place when the white ground was applied. Along the perimeter are unpainted wood borders, an incised line, and the remains of a *barbe*. The panel has been thinned to .64 centimeter and cradled. Although the painting likely did not issue from the Cranach workshop, the panel dimensions are close to Heydenreich Format C.⁴

The painting's condition is poor. It is severely abraded throughout from harsh cleaning. Along the edges of the cracks in the thinly painted flesh and sky, the paint has been removed down to the ground layer. There are large losses and repairs in the costume and several scratches in the face and hands. While the painting technique is typical of the period, it is not entirely characteristic of Cranach's workshop. For example, the trees are executed in a systematic manner somewhat similar to the workshop's practice, but the green curtain is not. The rings were not executed using the workshop's usual techniques.

Examination of the inscription with the stereomicroscope revealed coarse yellow particles that display a structure characteristic of the pigment orpiment. Similar particles are also present in the chain, orange, rings, and embroidered collar.⁵ The presence of orpiment was confirmed with analysis.⁶ Examination of the painting with magnification and X-radiography revealed the white ground and what may be a layer of priming containing lead white; however, that slightly radio-opaque layer does not display the typical horizontal banding that has been observed in paintings from the Cranach workshop. Infrared reflectography did not detect any underdrawing or compositional changes.⁷

This half-length portrait dated 1538 shows a man forty-five years of age.⁸ He is seated before a dark green curtain that is drawn back from the right to reveal a castle on a rocky crag. His black coat opens at the chest, showing a white, pleated undershirt embroidered with gold at the neck and fastened with two black bows. A gold chain necklace is tucked beneath his black shirt. Several rings adorn his left hand, including a signet ring displaying a coat of arms with a sunburst and initials in mirror image that appear to read *MLD* (fig. 71).⁹

The coat of arms has not been identified. The black cap with earflaps suggests that he was a scholar; the *D* in his initials may refer to a doctoral degree.¹⁰ Citrus fruits like the orange in the sitter's hands were luxury items at the time and could convey social distinction in portraits; in the Christian context they bore connotations of purity, fertility, and eternal life—meanings that could carry over into secular portraiture.¹¹ If the present work had a female pendant, which is quite possible, the orange as a symbol of fertility would have been especially appropriate.¹²

This portrait appeared in two dealers' exhibitions in New York in the late 1920s, where it was attributed to Lucas Cranach the Elder on the advice of Max J. Friedländer and Wilhelm Valentiner.¹³ In their 1932 catalogue raisonné of Cranach's paintings, however, Friedländer and Jakob Rosenberg recognized a divergence from the style of Cranach himself and attributed this portrait along with four others to the Master of the Masses of Saint Gregory (Meister der Gregorsmessen), a painter from Cranach's studio who worked extensively for Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg.¹⁴ The Metropolitan Museum's internal cataloguing from 1947 onward situated the portrait within the Cranach workshop.¹⁵ Andreas Tacke upheld Friedländer and Rosenberg's attribution to the Master of the Masses of Saint Gregory, whom Tacke proposed to identify as the painter Simon Franck, who is documented in the service of Albrecht of Brandenburg.¹⁶ Isolde Lübbecke, however, pointed out significant stylistic differences between the name paintings of the Master of the Masses of Saint Gregory and the group of portraits that includes this one. Maintaining rightly that the "exaggerated plasticity" of the *Mass of Saint Gregory* pictures is inconsistent with the style of the portrait group, she reassigned the latter, to which she added further examples, to an anonymous painter in Cranach's circle.¹⁷ Technical examination of the present work (see technical notes above) shows furthermore that some aspects of the paint layering, for example in the curtain and the finger rings, are uncharacteristic of standard practices of the Cranach workshop.



Fig. 71. Detail of signet ring, cat. 19

The group of portraits to which the Metropolitan Museum's panel belongs now consists of at least ten known works spanning the second quarter of the sixteenth century (1525–48), which show a remarkable consistency of style and composition.¹⁸ Although the artist was clearly influenced by the style of Cranach, portraits produced



by the Cranach workshop exhibit a greater variety of pose, expression, and motifs. As Lübbecke noted, the almost unwavering adherence to a strict formula suggests a painter operating independently of Cranach.

Without exception, the sitters in these works strike a rigidly upright pose. Their hands are almost always crossed one over the other, but rarely are they actually folded together. The expressions tend to be wide-eyed and vacuous. In the early portraits, the sitters' irises are nearly covered by exaggerated windowpane catchlights, but beginning in the 1530s those reflections diminish or no longer appear. Frequently, as in the Museum's portrait, the garments are fastened at the neck with black bows. In the earliest works, a green curtain covers the whole background; from 1528 onward, the curtain

is pulled aside to reveal a landscape. The artist's treatment of forms initially displayed a certain smoothness and softness, which in the 1530s gave way to a harder, more severely linear style. In the Museum's portrait, which belongs to the later period, the impression of hardness and flatness is exaggerated by extensive abrasion of the paint layers.

The artist responsible for these portraits appears to have remained active within the regional orbit of Cranach, for the one identified sitter in the group is the University of Leipzig professor Heinrich Stromer.¹⁹ The unidentified painter may have had a career comparable to that of Antonius Heusler, who, after presumably training under Cranach, established himself independently in the mining town of Annaberg, in Saxony, in 1525.²⁰ JPW

COPY AFTER LUCAS CRANACH THE ELDER

20. *Venus with Cupid the Honey Thief*

Ca. 1580–1620

Oil on oak panel

Overall 14 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 9 $\frac{7}{8}$ × $\frac{5}{16}$ in. (36.2 × 25.1 × .8 cm); thickness beveled to $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (.32 cm) on edges of verso

Signed and dated: (by copyist, at left, on tree trunk) [Cranach's winged serpent mark, wings raised] 1530

Inscriptions (in text field, at upper left): *DVM PVER ALVEOLO FVRATVR MELLA CVPIDO, / FVRANTI DIGITVM SEDVLA PVNXIT APIS. / SIC ETIAM NOBIS BREVIS ET MORITVRA VOLVPTAS / QVAM PETIMVS TRISTI MIXTA DOLORE NOCET* (As Cupid was stealing honey from the hive / A bee stung the thief on the finger / And so do we seek transitory and dangerous pleasures / That are mixed with sadness and bring us pain) Heraldry / emblems: none

Marks on verso: on label, in Cyrillic, *TS. F. T* [. . .] *Z / ****; in round stamp [. . .]

KUNST / 24.VII.28

Frame: not original

Robert Lehman Collection, 1975 1975.1.135

PROVENANCE: Paul Gustav Victor von Transehe-Roseneck (d. 1928), Neuschwanenburg/Jaungulbene, Riga, and Berlin (by 1909);¹ [Zacharias M. Hackenbroch, Frankfurt, 1928];² Mrs. Albert E. (Sophie Lauer) Goodhart, New York (by 1934–d. 1952;³ bequeathed to Lehman); Robert Lehman, New York (until d. 1969; given to the Robert Lehman Foundation on his death and transferred to MMA in 1975)

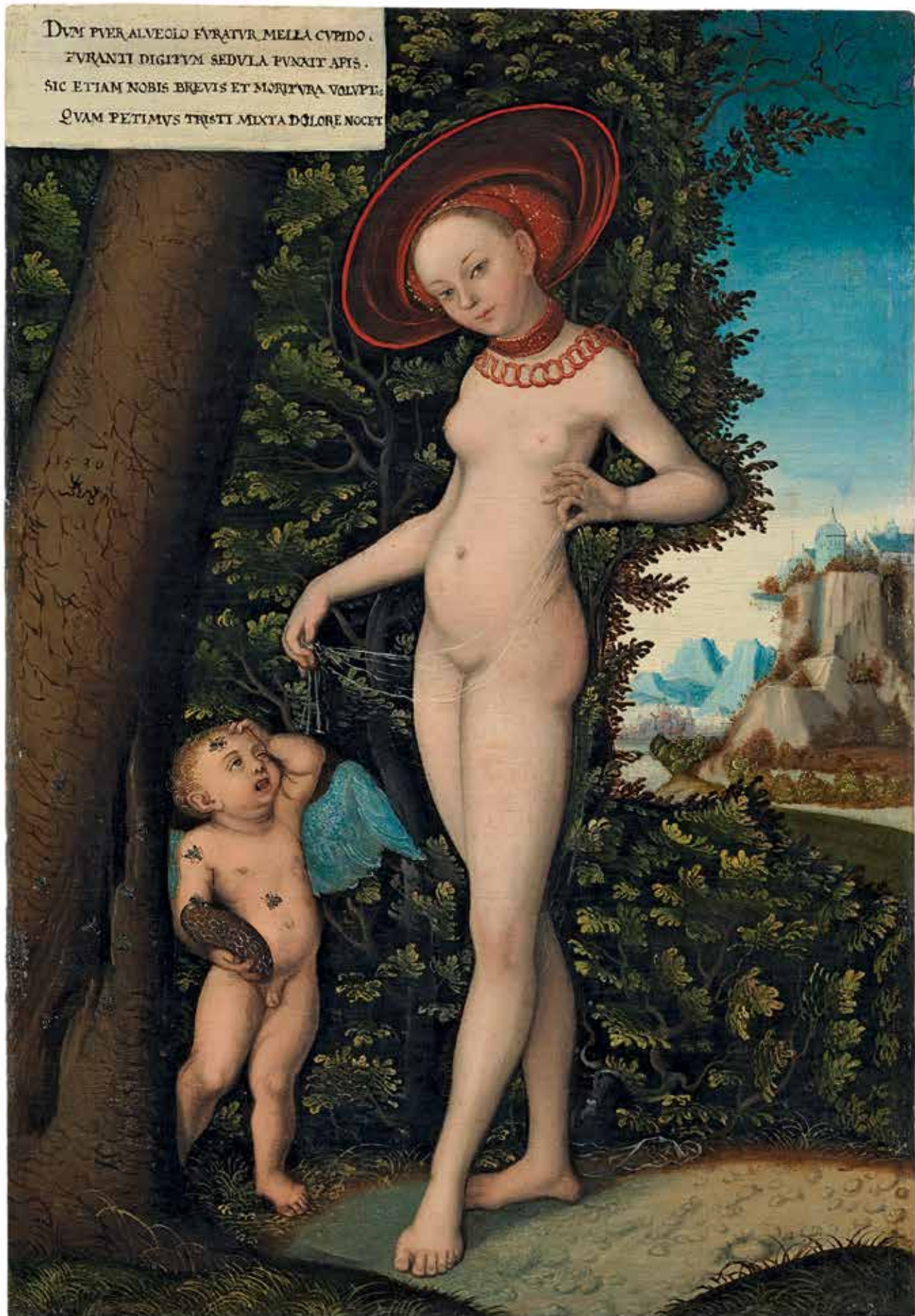
CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: The work is painted on a horizontally grained oak panel prepared with a white ground that extends over the right and left edges, demonstrating that they are original; the top and bottom edges have been trimmed. Dendrochronological analysis revealed that the wood was cut from a tree in southern Germany, and it indicated an earliest possible fabrication date of 1570.⁴ There are bevels around the perimeter on the verso; along

the right side the bevel is twice as wide as on the other three sides. The dimensions fall within the bounds of Heydenreich Format B, presumably because the painting is a same-size copy of a lost Cranach original (see discussion below).⁵ When the surface is examined in raking light, broad vertical brush marks that seem to originate in a thickly applied priming layer are visible. In general, the technique does not conform in either method or style to paintings produced by Cranach or his workshop. While the palette closely approximates that of Cranach, the paint application is comparatively labored and less economical.

The painting is in very good condition. The inscription in the top left corner, the date of 1530, and the insignia of the winged serpent are original but spurious, that is, the copyist either transcribed them from an earlier version of the painting or inserted them on his own initiative. Imaging with infrared photography and infrared reflectography revealed a thin line describing the contour of the right hip and thigh of Venus and some monochrome gray undermodeling.⁶

The goddess Venus and her son Cupid stand beside a tree at the edge of a leafy thicket.⁷ Wearing golden neck jewelry and a large red hat over a gold-embroidered snood, Venus gazes out toward the viewer. She holds a diaphanous veil across her hips. Cupid, who carries a honeycomb taken from a hive in the tree trunk, is attacked by a swarm of bees and cries out to his mother in distress.

Lucas Cranach the Elder began painting depictions of Venus with Cupid taking honey from a beehive in the mid-1520s. To judge from the numerous surviving variants, the theme was one of the most successful products of that artist's workshop.⁸ The subject is based ultimately on the nineteenth idyll of Theocritus, which tells of Cupid being stung by bees, whose hive he raided in search of honey,



DVM PVER ALVEOLO FVRATVR MELLA CVPIDO .
FVRANTI DIGITVM SEDVLA PVNxit APIS .
SIC ETIAM NOBIS BREVIS ET MORITVRA VOLVPTAS .
QVAM PETIMVS TRISTI MIXTA DOLORE NOCET



Fig. 72. Lucas Cranach the Elder. *Venus with Cupid the Honey Thief*, 1529. Oil on beech panel, 15 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 9 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (39.1 × 25.1 cm). Private collection, New York



Fig. 73. Copy after Lucas Cranach the Elder. *Venus with Cupid the Honey Thief*, after 1607 (dated 1530 by copyist). Oil on oak panel, 14 $\frac{1}{16}$ × 9 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (37.9 × 25.3 cm). Private collection

and then complaining to Venus of the great pain inflicted by such small creatures. Venus, amused, likened Cupid to the bees, remarking that he, too, is small and, as the god of love, also a bringer of great pain.⁹ The Latin quatrain that appears in Cranach's paintings is an adaptation of Theocritus's verses by the poet Georg Sabinus.¹⁰ During the 1520s—concurrent with the appearance of this subject in Cranach's oeuvre—Sabinus studied ancient Greek literature at the University of Wittenberg under Philipp Melanchthon. It is thought that Melanchthon, as a friend of Cranach, may have brought Sabinus's verses to the artist's attention and advised him on the subject matter.¹¹

While the first half of Sabinus's quatrain summarizes the narrative passed down from Theocritus, "As Cupid was stealing honey from the hive, / a bee stung the thief on the finger,"¹² the second half delivers a forthright admonition: "And so do we seek transitory and dangerous pleasures, / that are mixed with sadness and bring us pain." The warning clearly concerns the sexual and, more broadly,

worldly temptations embodied by the nude figure of Venus, who in many versions of the subject allures the viewer with a direct gaze, making those pictures at once visually seductive and morally deterrent. The subject represents an adaptation of the moralizing theme introduced in Cranach's first Venus and Cupid painting, the 1509 picture now in the State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg, in which the goddess subdues her son, who is in the process of drawing his bow, and an inscription warns the viewer to "Avoid Cupid's lust with all your might, that your breast not be possessed by Venus."¹³

Although in the 1998 catalogue of the Lehman Collection in the Metropolitan Museum the present work was attributed to Cranach and his workshop and dated 1530 according to the inscription on the tree trunk,¹⁴ closer technical scrutiny has shown that it is in fact an old copy after a lost original, as was already maintained by Dieter Koepplin in 1976.¹⁵ Dendrochronological analysis of the oak support, which is original to the work, indicated an earliest possible fabrication date of 1570 and a plausible one of 1580 or later for the



Fig. 74. Copy after Lucas Cranach the Elder. *Venus with Cupid the Honey Thief*, 17th or 18th century (dated 1530 by copyist). Oil on panel, 13 $\frac{1}{16}$ × 8 $\frac{7}{16}$ in. (35 × 21.5 cm). Location unknown

painting.¹⁶ In addition, the technique used to depict the flesh is unlike that normally encountered in works of the Cranach studio, either under Lucas the Elder (d. 1553) or his son Lucas Cranach the Younger (d. 1586). Whereas in Cranach paintings the flesh is usually built up with thin translucent glazes of grays, browns, pinks, and whites over a light base flesh tone (with greater emphasis on pink and red glazes in the second half of the century under Lucas the Younger), in the Museum's picture the flesh modeling is uncharacteristically thick, pasty, and opaque, relying heavily on a palette of mixed browns.¹⁷ Furthermore, the application of paint throughout the present work is broader and more summary than the precise execution characteristic of Cranach and his workshop. This is immediately apparent, for example, in Cupid's ear and right hand, Venus's face, and the hastily sketched-in city at the right. Comparison with a fine autograph version of the subject, such as the example dated 1529 in a private collection (fig. 72),¹⁸ clearly demonstrates the considerable distance of the Museum's painting from Cranach's handling and execution.

A nearly identical version of the composition, formerly in the Björnstjerna Collection, Stockholm, is likewise marked with the winged serpent insignia and a date of 1530 (fig. 73), but also shows evidence of having been painted considerably later.¹⁹ Koeplin suspected it, too, of being an old copy after a lost original.²⁰ It exhibits a similarly summary handling of the anatomical details, the foliage, and the background landscape and buildings. The diaphanous shift that has been added to Venus is of a type frequently encountered in the decades around 1600.²¹ Like the Museum's picture, the ex-Björnstjerna version is on oak, with the wood grain running horizontally, counter to the longer dimension. This is an uncommon feature, since a panel's grain is normally oriented parallel to the longer dimension. Dendrochronological analysis of the panel of that picture indicated a felling date between 1607 and 1637 for the tree from which it was made.²² The similar paint handling and the two instances of oak with an atypical grain orientation raise the possibility that the Museum's and the ex-Björnstjerna versions were painted by the same hand—the same copyist working from a lost original—sometime after 1607.²³ The somewhat earlier dendrochronological dating of the Metropolitan's panel, which establishes only a terminus post quem, does not exclude the possibility.

An enduring interest in the present composition is furthermore documented by the existence of yet another copy, probably of the later seventeenth or eighteenth century, whose current location is unknown (fig. 74).²⁴ In addition, in 1957 Pablo Picasso made a gouache painting after a magazine illustration of the Lehman panel.²⁵

J P W

LUCAS CRANACH THE YOUNGER

Wittenberg 1515–1586 Wittenberg

21. *Nymph of the Spring*

Ca. 1545–50

Oil on beech panel

Overall 6 × 8 × 1/16 in. (15.2 × 20.3 × .16 cm)

Signed (at center left, on tree trunk): [winged serpent mark, wings folded]

Inscriptions (in text field, at upper right): *FONTIS NYMPHA SACRI SOMNVN NE RVMPPE QVIESCO* (I, nymph of the sacred spring, am resting; do not disturb my sleep)

Heraldry / emblems: none

Marks on verso: none

Frame: not original

Robert Lehman Collection, 1975 1975.1.136

PROVENANCE: Guillaume de Gontaut-Biron, marquis de Biron, Paris (until 1908; sold to Kleinberger);¹ [Kleinberger, Paris, 1908; sold to Simon]; James Simon, Berlin (from 1908);² Rudolf Chillingworth,³ Nuremberg and Lucerne, and/or his wife,⁴ Paris (in 1927); [A. S. Drey, New York, until 1928; sold to Lehman]; Robert Lehman, New York (1928–d. 1969; given to the Robert Lehman Foundation on his death and transferred to MMA in 1975)

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: Although the format of this painting is horizontal, the grain of the panel—a single beech board—is oriented vertically.⁵ The panel has been thinned to .16 centimeter and adhered to a mahogany board of equal thickness, to which a mahogany cradle is attached. A light brown material that was applied to the edges conceals the lamination. When the perimeter is examined under magnification, minute chipping is visible at the edges of the paint surface. This suggests that the panel has been trimmed on all sides; nevertheless, the dimensions fall within the bounds of Heydenreich Format A.⁶ The panel is prepared with a white ground. X-radiography showed

a thinly brushed layer of priming containing lead-white pigment; the priming was applied in horizontal strokes.

The painting is in very good condition. Diminutive details in the background remain intact, and even the most thinly painted passages are well preserved. There are small losses along the wood grain in the foreground foliage. The two abraded white animals in the foreground constitute a later, but still very old, addition.

Infrared reflectography revealed monochrome gray undermodeling as well as underdrawing in the knee and hand adjacent to the water and in the rocks at the right that is also visible from the paint surface.⁷

This small, astonishingly well preserved painting shows a nude woman reclining on the grassy bank of a river, near a spring that issues from a rock formation.⁸ Looking toward the viewer, she identifies herself and offers a word of caution through the first-person Latin inscription at the upper right: “I, nymph of the sacred spring, am resting; do not disturb my sleep.” The scene’s open eroticism is heightened by the nymph’s sultry, half-closed eyes; the red tinge of her cheeks, buttocks, elbows, knees, and feet; the transparent veil that meanders from head to foot, as if to guide the viewer’s gaze along her body; and the bundled red dress, which evokes the thought of her disrobing. A bow and quiver hang in a nearby tree, signaling that the nymph belongs to the entourage of the huntress goddess Diana. A green parrot perched on the bow and two rock partridges in the grass probably serve as symbols of the *Luxuria* (lust) that is embodied by the nymph and called forth in the male viewer.⁹



Fig. 75. Detail of landscape, cat. 21



The creatures' unperturbed proximity to the nymph underscores the calm that reigns after the hunt. The two white animals in the immediate foreground are old additions to the composition; they are possibly rabbits, added by a later hand to further emphasize the notion of *Luxuria*.¹⁰

The meticulously detailed landscape background is populated by tiny humans and animals (fig. 75). To the right of the mill, one person walks along the riverbank while another kneels by the water. A rider drives three donkeys, loaded with sacks of grain, toward the mill. A boater navigates the river. Farther back, beyond the walled city, two deer graze in a grassy clearing, and persons on foot and on horseback follow trails into the forest. A castle set high upon a bluff presides over the landscape.

Like the *Judgment of Paris* and *Venus with Cupid the Honey Thief* (see cats. 11, 20), the *Nymph of the Spring* counts among

the most popular mythological subjects treated by Lucas Cranach the Elder and his workshop. The present panel, which is most probably by Lucas Cranach the Younger, is one of at least seventeen versions that survive. They date from the mid-1510s to about 1550.¹¹ In the two earliest examples, a panel dated 1518 in the Museum der Bildenden Künste Leipzig, and one of about 1515–20 in the Jagdschloss Grunewald, Berlin,¹² the spring (*fons*) is depicted as a man-made fountain basin, with the inscription (the nymph's address to the viewer) painted as if carved into it. From about the mid-1520s onward, however, the nymph lies before a natural spring flowing from a rock, the inscription is no longer fashioned as a fictive carving, and a bow and quiver, partridges, and, frequently, stags appear as accessories.¹³

Authors have detected in this subject matter an ambivalence between the sensual allure of the nude figure and her admonition not to disturb her rest, which is comparable to the moralizing

aspect of the *Venus with Cupid the Honey Thief* paintings.¹⁴ As Franz Matsche noted, the Cranach nymphs are thus connected with the courtly ideal of control of the emotions and with the Christian and humanist concern for the restraint of carnal desire.¹⁵ In the case of the Museum's picture, these ideas appear to be at play not only in the iconography but also in the intimate viewing experience, for its small size and minute execution encourage the viewer to approach within just inches of the seductive nymph.

The subject matter appears to have originated in a pseudoclassical Latin epigram thought to have been composed by the Roman humanist Giovanni Antonio Campano before 1465.¹⁶ It reads,

Huius nympha loci sacri custodia fontis / Dormio dum blandae sentio murmur aquae. / Parce meum quisquis tangis cava marmora somnum / Rumpere; sive bibas sive lavere tace. (I, the nymph of this sacred place, keeper of the spring, am sleeping and listening to the endearing murmur of the water. Take care, whoever approaches this marmoreal cave, not to disturb my sleep; whether you drink or bathe, keep silent!)

The passage found its way into many contemporary compilations and, its modern origin mostly forgotten, rapidly became one of the most widespread of all pseudoclassical epigrams.¹⁷

Evidence that it was current north of the Alps reaches back to the 1470s at the court of King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary (r. 1458–90). In a compendium drawn up before 1486, Michael Fabricius Ferrarinus, prior of the Carmelite monastery in Reggio Emilia, remarked that the *Huius nympha loci* quatrain was to be found carved beneath the figure of a sleeping nymph on a fountain “on the banks of the Danube” (*super rippam danuvii*).¹⁸ For fifteenth-century Italian humanists like Ferrarinus, the Danube River was associated with the ancient Roman province of Pannonia, or modern Hungary; thus, Ferrarinus's reference may well have been to a fountain monument in Buda erected by Matthias Corvinus and since lost.¹⁹ Further awareness of the epigram in northern Europe is documented in the literary remains of imperial poet laureate and humanist Conrad Celtis.²⁰ Also, Albrecht Dürer, an acquaintance of Celtis, reproduced the full passage in a drawing of 1514 (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna).²¹ The Cranach paintings of the theme reduce the epigram to a single-line abridgment, “Fontis nympha sacri somnum ne rvmpe qviesco,” which raises the question of a variant textual or epigraphic source.

In 1974 Dieter Koepplin broached the possibility that Lucas Cranach the Elder knew of an actual sculpted fountain nymph “on the banks of the Danube,”²² and recently Franz Matsche and Zita Ágota Pataki drew renewed attention to Matthias Corvinus's fountain.²³ Matsche maintained that Cranach might have encountered it firsthand on a trip to Buda about 1502–4, when he resided in Vienna. As evidence, Matsche cited a description written by the Hungarian humanist Thomasus Jordanus, in which the fountain's inscription is recorded not as the usual four-line epigram but instead as a couplet whose first line is the same as the verse on Cranach's paintings, which

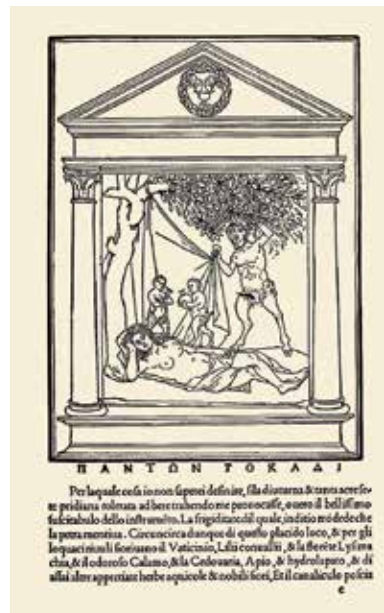


Fig. 76. Attributed to Benedetto Bordone. *Nymphaean Fountain*, fol. err, from Francesco Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, Venice, 1499. Woodcut, 6 $\frac{1}{16}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (17.3 × 12.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1923 (23.73.1)



Fig. 77. Giovanni Maria Pomedelli. *Allegory of Quietude*, 1510. Engraving, 5 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (14.9 × 14.6 cm). The British Museum, London (1873,0809,728)

suggests that the monument described by Jordanus was Cranach's source.²⁴ Pataki cast doubt on the historical and epigraphical accuracy of Jordanus's note, but she nevertheless maintained the value of his remarks as evidence of the fountain's existence in Buda.²⁵ Concerning Cranach, she proposed a transfer of knowledge of the Buda fountain to the artist along humanist channels.²⁶

Whereas the extent and manner of influence of the Buda fountain on Cranach is difficult to gauge, it is clear that the reclining pose he used for most of his nymphs derives from a woodcut published in Francesco Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (Venice, 1499) that



Fig. 78. Infrared photograph, detail of nymph, cat. 21

shows an imaginary nymphean fountain (fig. 76).²⁷ In the book illustration and the majority of Cranach's paintings, the nymph supports her head with her right hand, rests her left hand on her left thigh, and crosses her left leg over her right. The bow and quiver, which appear commonly in paintings after 1525, find a precedent in a 1510 engraving by Giovanni Maria Pomedelli (fig. 77).²⁸ That print, which shows a reclining nymph in a landscape surrounded by animals in repose (except for the retreating boar with an arrow in its rump), is inscribed *Qvies* (quietude) and thus emphasizes the notion of rest after the hunt found also in Cranach's pictures. Other proposed sources of influence are less direct but nevertheless demonstrate a growing interest in the reclining female nude in the years before the first appearance of Cranach's fountain nymphs.²⁹

In the 1998 catalogue of the Lehman Collection, Charles Talbot convincingly ascribed the *Nymph of the Spring* to Lucas Cranach the Younger and rightly noted that its high quality sets it apart from routine workshop production.³⁰ The folded wings of the serpent insignia on the tree trunk confirm a date after 1537, when the Cranachs began using that form of the mark. The overall bright tonality, the gray undermodeling of the flesh, visible with the naked eye and infrared imaging (fig. 78), the paleness of the flesh tone, and the exaggerated local reddening all speak in favor of an attribution to Lucas the Younger. The dimensions of the Museum's picture associate it with a group of small panels³¹ produced in the second half of the 1540s that share a doll-like quality of the figures and a pronounced rosiness in the faces (discussed in greater detail in the next entry, cat. 22A, B). This group is also close to certain contemporary large-scale pictures that have been attributed to Lucas Cranach the Younger, such as *Elijah and the Priests of Baal* of 1545 (Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden) and *Saint John the Baptist Preaching* of 1549



Fig. 79. Workshop copy after Lucas Cranach the Younger. *Nymph of the Spring*, after 1545. Oil on panel, 5¹³/₁₆ × 8³/₁₆ in. (14.7 × 20.8 cm). Museums-landschaft Hessen Kassel, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister (GK 19)

(Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig).³² The dates of the comparative works suggest a likely range of about 1545–50 for the Museum's *Nymph of the Spring*, slightly earlier than the dating of about 1550 proposed by Talbot.

The composition of the Museum's *Nymph of the Spring* served as the basis for three copies. While those in the Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Kassel (fig. 79),³³ and a private collection were probably produced within the workshop,³⁴ the one in the Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe appears to be by a copyist of the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century.³⁵

J P W

LUCAS CRANACH THE YOUNGER

Wittenberg 1515–1586 Wittenberg

22A. *Christ and the Adulteress*

22B. *Christ Blessing the Children*

Ca. 1545–50

Oil on beech panel

22A: overall, including engaged surround with extensions of painted surface, $6\frac{3}{8} \times 8\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{1}{8}$ in. (16.1 \times 21.6 \times .32 cm); original painted surface $5\frac{1}{16} \times 7\frac{1}{16}$ in. (14.7 \times 20.2 cm)

22B: overall, including added strips, $6\frac{3}{4} \times 8\frac{5}{16} \times \frac{1}{16}$ in. (17.1 \times 21.7 \times .16 cm); painted surface $6 \times 8\frac{1}{16}$ in. (15.2 \times 20.5 cm)

Signed (each panel, at upper right): [winged serpent mark, wings folded]

Inscriptions:

22A (across top): WER VNTER EVCH ON SVNDE IST, DER WERFFE DEN ERSTEN STEIN AVFF SIE. ~ IOH ~ VIII ~ (He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her. John VIII)

22B (across top): LASSET DIE KINDLIN ZV MIR KOMEN, VND WERET INEN NICHT, DENN SOLCHER IST DAS REICH GOTTES. ~ MARCUS.X. ~ (Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not: for of such is the kingdom of God.

Mark X)

Heraldry/emblems: none

Marks on verso (on cradle, in different locations):

22A: in red paint, 1982.60.35; in graphite, on masking tape, 12

22B: in red paint, 1982.60.36; in ink, on paper sticker, D. 626; in graphite, on masking tape, 11; in white chalk, 11

Frames: not original

The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, 1982 1982.60.35, .36

PROVENANCE:

22A: D. Schevitch, Paris (until 1906; his sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, April 4–7, 1906, no. 3, to Drey); ?[A. S. Drey, Paris and Munich, from 1906]; Gustav von Gerhardt, Budapest (until 1911; his estate sale, Lepke's, Berlin, November 10, 1911, no. 81, bought in; his estate, from 1911); private collector, United States (until 1928; estate sale, American Art Association, New York, February 2–3, 1928, no. 108); [Richard Ederheimer, New York, until 1936]; Henry Schniewind, New York (in 1936); Mrs. Arthur Corwin, Greenwich, Conn. (by 1945–55; sold to Newhouse); [Newhouse Galleries, New York, 1955; sold to Linsky]; Mr. and Mrs. Jack Linsky, New York (1955–his death 1980); Mrs. Jack (Belle) Linsky, New York (1980–82)

22B: [Ehrich Galleries, New York, in 1920]; ?[R. Langton Douglas, London]; ?[Agnew, London]; [Richard Ederheimer, New York, until 1936]; thereafter, the same history of ownership as 22A

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES:

22A: The support is a beech panel with the grain oriented vertically.¹ The panel has been thinned to .32 centimeter, trimmed, extended on all sides with mahogany strips .64 centimeter wide attached to the perimeter, and cradled. Mahogany blocks were inserted in the spaces between the vertical cradle members at top and bottom. The dimensions of the original panel fall within the bounds of Heydenreich Format A.² The support was prepared with a white ground.

The painting is very well preserved. The extensions were primed with a red ground and have been restored to complete the composition without a noticeable break. The restoration, including some painted cracks, encroaches slightly on the original. The contours and details of the armor are executed with very

fine, fluid strokes of black and creamy white paint. The facial features and hands were outlined with brown paint, the eyelids and pupils with deep black. Hair color varies more widely than in the pendant painting (22B): from deep auburn, to golden blond, to white.

The transparent chemise covering the adulteress's décolletage is not original. It is painted over the ribbon tied around her neck. The black decorative border has a distinctly greenish brown cast, different from the fine deep black used elsewhere in the composition; moreover, the execution of this feature is less controlled and thorough than is usual in Cranach's work. Although the presence of a fine crack pattern suggests the paint in that passage is very old, the cracks differ from the ones that appear in the parts of the picture that are surely original.

Infrared reflectography revealed extensive monochrome gray undermodeling.³ The translucent blue paint used for Christ's robe, which contains a fractional amount of red pigment, allows the undermodeling to show through. The result is a very cool gray-blue, much grayer than the color of Christ's robe in the pendant. The range of tones in the flesh was achieved by scumbling over the undermodeling, exploiting the deepest grays for the shadows. Underdrawn lines are visible in the upturned helmet held by the man to Christ's right.

22B: The support of this painting, too, is a beech panel with a vertical grain.⁴ It has been trimmed, thinned to .16 centimeter, laminated to a mahogany panel, and cradled. Strips of mahogany .64 centimeter wide were attached with nails to the sides and bottom. The panel displays a slightly corrugated surface and a minimal transverse convex warp. At right there is a split running from top to bottom and three small splits extending from the bottom. The support was also prepared with a white ground.

Overall the painting is in very good condition. As in the pendant, fine details—here, ruffles, jewelry, and lace—were created with precise, fluid strokes of black and creamy white paint, and the outlines of the facial features and hands are indicated with brown paint, the eyelids and pupils with deep black. The warm, medium-brown base tone of the hair of most of the figures is enlivened with touches of red or gold and enhanced with strokes of creamy white, yellow, brown, and black that describe curls and strands.

Here, too, infrared reflectography revealed extensive monochrome gray undermodeling.⁵ The form of Christ's robe was essentially achieved by scumbling a translucent blue paint over the undermodeling. The lower portion of the white underdress of the women in green at left is underpainted with black, a feature that is also visible in normal light. There are a few lines of drawing describing the folds but no modeling under the orange dress with yellow highlights worn by another woman at the left. During painting, a change was made in the position of the hobbyhorse held by the child at the lower left.

These two small paintings depict the New Testament stories of Christ and the Adulteress and Christ Blessing the Children. Although both subjects were frequently treated by the Cranach workshop, their pairing as pendants was unprecedented.

The story of Christ and the Adulteress is told in the Gospel of John (8:2–11). A group of scribes and Pharisees brought before Jesus a woman accused of adultery, which in Mosaic law was punishable by death. They asked for his verdict, suspecting that he might contradict the law and thereby incriminate himself. His response, “He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her” (John 8:7), exposed the accusers' self-righteousness. The painting sets



22A



22B



Fig. 80. Workshop(?) copy after Lucas Cranach the Younger. *Christ and the Adulteress*, after 1545. Oil on panel, $5\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$ in. (14.6 \times 19.7 cm). Schlossmuseum, Schloss Friedenstein, Gotha (SG II)

the three-quarter-length figures before an abstract black background. The armored men are an embellishment of the biblical account; they serve to contrast the violent intentions of the accusers with Christ's message of forgiveness, while also adding variety to the scene. Also in the painting are two figures with typical features of the apostles Peter (balding, with a short gray beard) and Paul (with a long brown beard), who are not part of the narrative. The same two disciples appear in the companion panel and thus help to unify the compositions.

The story of Christ Blessing the Children appears in the Gospels of Matthew (19:13–15), Mark (10:13–16), and Luke (18:15–17). When children were brought to Jesus for blessing, his disciples raised objections. Countering their complaints, he said, "Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not: for of such is the kingdom of God" (Mark 10:14; and similarly in Matthew 19:14 and Luke 18:16). This painting uses the same compositional scheme as its pendant. The motifs of Christ lifting one child to kiss its cheek and laying a hand on another derive from Mark 10:16, which relates that Christ "took them up in his arms, put his hands upon them, and blessed them."⁶ Four older children along the bottom edge show various states of attention: a boy on a hobbyhorse turns away, distracted, while being pulled along by his mother; a girl in pigtails, holding a doll wrapped in swaddling clothes, waits patiently before Christ; and a still older girl and boy dressed in lavish courtly costume stand to the other side of Christ, she with arms raised in excitement and he apparently trying to prevent her from rushing forward. The apostles Peter and Paul register their surprise with upturned hands.

Of the two subjects, Christ and the Adulteress appeared earlier in the repertoire of the Cranach workshop. Lucas Cranach the Elder's first painted treatment of the theme, the panel of about 1520 in the Fränkische Galerie, Kronach,⁷ established a compositional standard—horizontal format, friezelike arrangement of figures, and



Fig. 81. Workshop(?) copy after Lucas Cranach the Younger. *Christ Blessing the Children*, after 1545. Oil on panel, $5\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$ in. (14.6 \times 19.6 cm). Schlossmuseum, Schloss Friedenstein, Gotha (SG 6)

black background—that endured for decades in numerous examples, including the Metropolitan's panel. The horizontal format and half-length figures of the panel in Kronach seem to rely on Venetian prototypes, such as the *Christ and the Adulteress* by Marco Marziale of about 1505 (Bonnefantenmuseum, Maastricht).⁸ Whereas Dieter Koepplin speculated that Cranach might have encountered the compositional scheme in a northern Italian painting imported to Saxony, Sabine Engel proposed that the medium of transmission could have been a drawing after a Venetian composition brought to Wittenberg by Jacopo de' Barbari.⁹ Cranach's iconographic innovation, also with respect to earlier German examples, was to have Jesus take the woman's arm, which emphasizes his protective mercy.¹⁰

Before the sixteenth century, the theme of Christ Blessing the Children appears to have been confined to manuscript illumination. Cranach is credited with introducing it to panel painting.¹¹ He first treated the subject in the mid- to late 1530s; the earliest dated examples are the panels of 1538 in the Hamburger Kunsthalle and the Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden.¹² It was an extraordinarily popular product of the Cranach workshop; some twenty-five versions are currently known, and Elector Johann Friedrich I, the Magnanimous (r. 1532–47), ordered at least three.¹³

Evidently the Metropolitan's panels are the only examples to have been designed as pendants. Although in their modern history they were united only in the 1930s, the matching dimensions, similar handling and execution, and close resemblance of the Christ, Peter, and Paul figures in both all strongly suggest that they originally were a pair. Another indication that they were meant to be displayed together is the inscription on *Christ Blessing the Children*. As Christiane Andersson noted, most depictions of the theme display not Christ's spoken words, "Suffer the little children to come unto me . . .," but instead the narrative verse (Mark 10:13), "And they brought young children to him, that he should touch them."¹⁴ The

choice here of the less common “speaking” verse creates continuity with the inscription on the companion panel, in which Christ also speaks (“He that is without sin among you . . .”). The existence of a pair of sixteenth-century copies in the Schlossmuseum, Schloss Friedenstein, Gotha (figs. 80, 81), is further evidence that the pendant arrangement is original.¹⁵ Attachment as a folding diptych would be unusual for the horizontal format; probably the works were simply displayed side by side in whichever arrangement the owner preferred. The small size indicates that the pair was made for private viewing, and the courtly costume of the two children at the bottom center of *Christ Blessing the Children* suggests princely patronage.

The pairing of the subjects emphasizes the notion of the free dispensation of divine grace.¹⁶ The stories were discussed in those terms by Martin Luther and his followers, who also used them to demonstrate the break with Mosaic law initiated by the Gospel of Christ. Concerning Christ and the Adulteress, Luther’s 1531 sermon on John 8 states,

The story is related to show the clear distinction between the Law and the Gospel, or between the kingdom of Christ and that of the world. . . . In Christ’s realm no punishment is to be found, but only mercy and forgiveness of sins, whereas in the realm of Moses and the world there is no forgiveness of sins, but only wrath and punishment.¹⁷

In the same sermon, Luther preached, “[S]ee how sweet . . . the grace of God is, the grace which is offered to us in the Gospel. This is the absolution which the adulteress receives here from the Lord Christ.”¹⁸ Similarly, in an exegesis of Psalm 29 published in 1542, Johannes Bugenhagen, a close confidant of Luther, wrote of the story of Christ Blessing the Children,

Here we have a decree of grace, most certainly: “Suffer the little children to come unto me, etc.” . . . This is not God’s secret judgment and grim wrath, but rather God’s gracious promise, that the kingdom of heaven belongs to our children, and so they are brought to Christ.¹⁹

Although those remarks were made in defense of the baptism of infants, they also indicate that Lutherans understood the story more broadly, much like Christ and the Adulteress, as an example of God’s free gift of grace to humanity. The more specific interpretation of Cranach’s depictions of Christ Blessing the Children as propaganda against the Anabaptist opposition to infant baptism—a reading first advanced by Christine Kibish—would seem not to apply to the Museum’s picture.²⁰ The small size and the pairing with *Christ and the Adulteress* are at odds with any use as religious propaganda. When displayed together, the Metropolitan’s pendants were much rather meant to prompt the pious viewer to meditate on the common theme of divine grace.

In the catalogue of the Linsky Collection, Guy Bauman dated the Museum’s pair in the mid-1540s and noted stylistic similarities

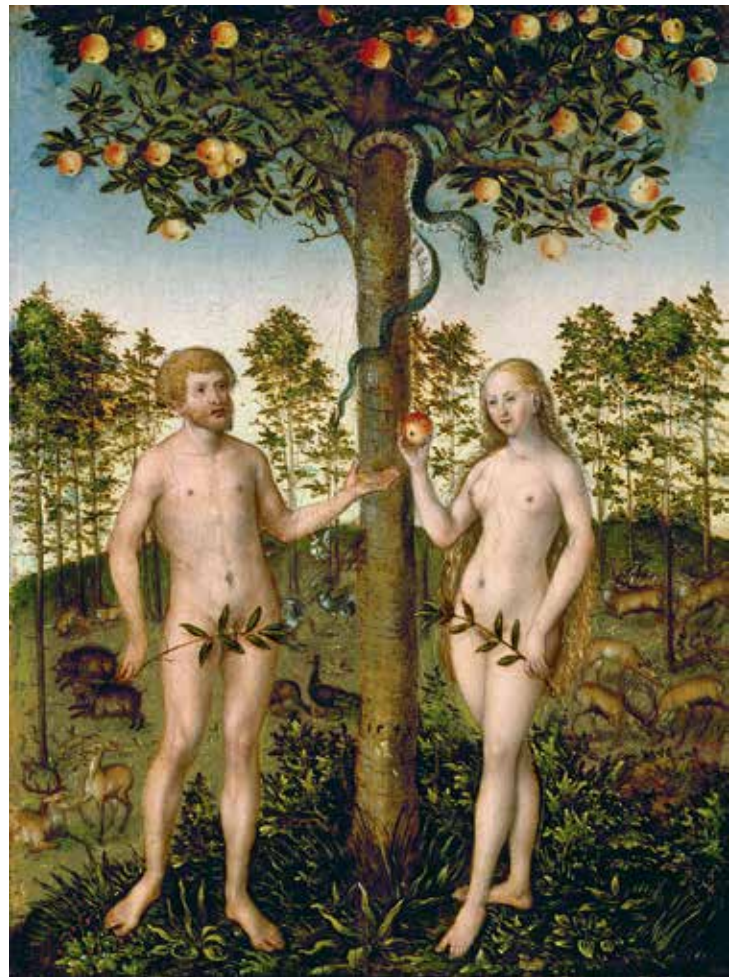


Fig. 82. Lucas Cranach the Younger. *The Fall of Man*, 1549. Oil on panel, 8½ × 6¾ in. (21.6 × 17.1 cm) The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, Edith A. and Percy S. Straus Collection (44.546)

with works attributed to Lucas Cranach the Younger, especially the 1549 *Saint John the Baptist Preaching* in the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig.²¹ Despite the disparity in scale (the latter panel is about eight times larger than those in New York), the figures in Braunschweig and New York are of a similar type and share an exaggerated redness in the cheeks and noses, which frequently conveys a doll-like appearance. Comparable features are found in other large-scale works of the mid- to late 1540s that are attributed to Lucas the Younger, such as the 1545 *Elijah and the Priests of Baal* in the Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden, and the 1549 *Conversion of Saul* in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg.²² In both, the rosy tones in the faces are especially pronounced, and in the panel in Nuremberg, the representation of highlights on armor is particularly close to that of the armored figures in *Christ and the Adulteress*.

The Metropolitan’s pendants align stylistically with several other small panels produced in the mid- to late 1540s.²³ These include two pictures dated 1547 (*Saint Paul*; private collection)²⁴ and 1549 (*The Fall of Man*; fig. 82),²⁵ and several undated paintings of comparable appearance,²⁶ one of which is the Museum’s *Nymph of the Spring* (cat. 21). In addition to the strong rosiness in the flesh tones and



Fig. 83. X-radiograph, detail of head of Saint Peter, cat. 22A



Fig. 84. X-radiograph, detail of head of Saint Peter, cat. 22B

dollish quality of the figures that they have in common with the large panels mentioned above, they also share certain idiosyncrasies of execution, such as large irises, prominent black lines used to indicate the shadow beneath the upper eyelid, and brown outlines around the hands and fingers. In reference to a selection of the small panels, Dieter Koeplin wrote of a “miniaturistic style, independent of the father’s manner” that Lucas Cranach the Younger appears to have developed in the late 1540s.²⁷

The Fall of Man is particularly relevant to the question of authorship because of a drawing (in the same museum) that records the composition and bears an old inscription in Latin attributing the painting expressly to Lucas Cranach the Younger.²⁸ While not necessarily proof of the younger Cranach’s authorship,²⁹ the inscription at least reflects an old tradition—possibly reaching back to the sixteenth century—of associating the painting with him, and thus provides further evidence for attributing pictures of similar style to Lucas Cranach the Younger. The emergence of a distinct manner in both large- and small-scale paintings in the mid-1540s points to a

growing autonomy of Lucas the Younger within the workshop at that time and suggests that certain workshop assistants may have trained more intensely under him than under his father.³⁰

Although the Museum’s panels are nearly identical in handling and execution, small differences in quality suggest that greater care was lavished upon *Christ and the Adulteress*. Generally, the figures in *Christ Blessing the Children* are somewhat flatter in appearance. For example, in *Christ and the Adulteress* the head and facial features of Saint Peter are convincingly volumetric, but in *Christ Blessing the Children* the same head, turned in the other direction, is more planar in overall form and more summary in execution. The same difference is apparent in the X-radiographs, which reveal a clear buildup of lead white at the cheek, forehead, and brow of Peter in *Christ and the Adulteress* and much less distinct forms in the corresponding head in *Christ Blessing the Children* (figs. 83, 84). These differences suggest that, while both works can be attributed to Lucas Cranach the Younger, the participation of a different hand in the completion of *Christ Blessing the Children* is possible.

J P W

ALBRECHT DÜRER

Nuremberg 1471–1528 Nuremberg

23. *Salvator Mundi*

Ca. 1505

Oil on linden panel

Overall $22\frac{7}{8} \times 18\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{3}{16}$ in. ($58.1 \times 47 \times .4$ cm); painted surface $22\frac{1}{4} \times 18\frac{1}{8}$ in. (56.5×46 cm)

Inscriptions: none

Heraldry / emblems: none

Marks on verso: none

Frame: not original

The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931 32.100.64

PROVENANCE: ¹ Estate of the artist (sold by Ursula Dürer to Imhoff); Willibald Imhoff, Nuremberg (until d. 1580); by descent in Imhoff family, Nuremberg (1580–1750; by descent through marriage to Haller); Christoph Joachim, Freiherr Haller von Hallerstein, Nuremberg (1750–d. 1792); his son Hans Christoph Joachim, Freiherr Haller von Hallerstein, Nuremberg (1792–d. 1814); his brother Johann Sigmund Christoph Joachim, Freiherr Haller von Hallerstein, Nuremberg (1814–d. 1838); his estate (1838–61; sold to Geuder); [Georg Friedrich Geuder, Nuremberg, 1861; sold to Finke]; [Gustav Finke, Bamberg, 1861]; Franz Reichardt, Munich (1861–69); Alexander Posonyi, Vienna (1869–at least 1873); Eugen Ferdinand Felix, Leipzig (by 1880–d. 1888); his son Hans E. C. Felix, Leipzig (1888–about 1904); Charles Fairfax Murray, London (by 1906–14; his sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, June 15, 1914, no. 8, to Kleinberger); [Kleinberger, Paris and New York, 1914–21; sold to Friedsam]; Michael Friedsam, New York (1921–d. 1931)

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: The panel support is composed of three boards of linden, with the grain oriented vertically; two of the boards originate from the same tree.² The panel has been thinned to .4 centimeter and cradled, and the verso was coated with wax in 1935.³ There are two short splits in the panel: in the background to the right of Christ's head, extending down from the top edge, and at the left extending from the lower edge. Additionally, hairline cracks and small losses are found along the panel joins.

The presence of unpainted wood and a *barbe* around the perimeter indicates that the white ground preparation, containing calcium carbonate, was applied when an engaged frame was in place.

The panel was not painted to completion. Examination of the unfinished portions of the composition with the stereomicroscope showed a thin, translucent lead-white priming over the underdrawing. In addition to the underdrawing visible in the unpainted portions, infrared reflectography revealed in the completed areas a carbon-containing underdrawing, executed with both brush and pen, that was fully worked up before the painting began.⁴ The painted composition follows the underdrawing precisely.

The blue robe, red cloak, and green background are well preserved. The hair along the top of Christ's head is severely abraded, but the long locks falling onto his right shoulder are well preserved and their finely applied highlights are intact. The hair falling onto his left shoulder is damaged and partially covered with very old repainting. Examination with the stereomicroscope confirmed that the thinly applied passages of paint on the flesh, beard, and orb are original, as are the more densely applied flesh paint along the collar and the red tincture in the lips and nostrils. All these delicate first stages in the painting process are abraded, which is understandable given the complex restoration history of the painting. The forehead and right cheek are peppered with small indentations that seem to be due to the collapse of the panel support, possibly from insect damage. There are losses on the bridge of the nose.

Along with the *Virgin and Child with Saint Anne* (cat. 25), the *Salvator Mundi* (Savior of the World) is one of two exceptional paintings by Albrecht Dürer in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum.⁵ Placed before a brilliant green background, Christ raises his right hand in blessing while holding a crystal orb in his left. A significant feature of this painting is its unfinished state, recorded as early as the 1573 inventory of the Willibald Imhoff Collection, which lists “der Salvator, so Albrecht Durer nit gar ausgemacht hat” (“the Salvator, not quite finished by Albrecht Dürer”).⁶ In 1861 Alois Hauser, a restorer in Bamberg, cleaned the painting and described its condition at the time: the draperies, hair, and background were completed; the face and hands had been sketched in; and highlights had been applied to the forehead and nose.⁷ To Hauser's statement, we should add that the globe was abandoned at a midstage of painting. Also notable are a whitish wash over portions of the underdrawing in the neck area, employed to tone down the prominent dark black strokes, as well as applications of the orangey pink underpainting of the flesh at the base of the neck near the collar of the robe. Before 1895 a subsequent owner had the painting “finished” by a restorer in



Fig. 85. Cat. 23, restoration by Anton Deschler, late 19th century

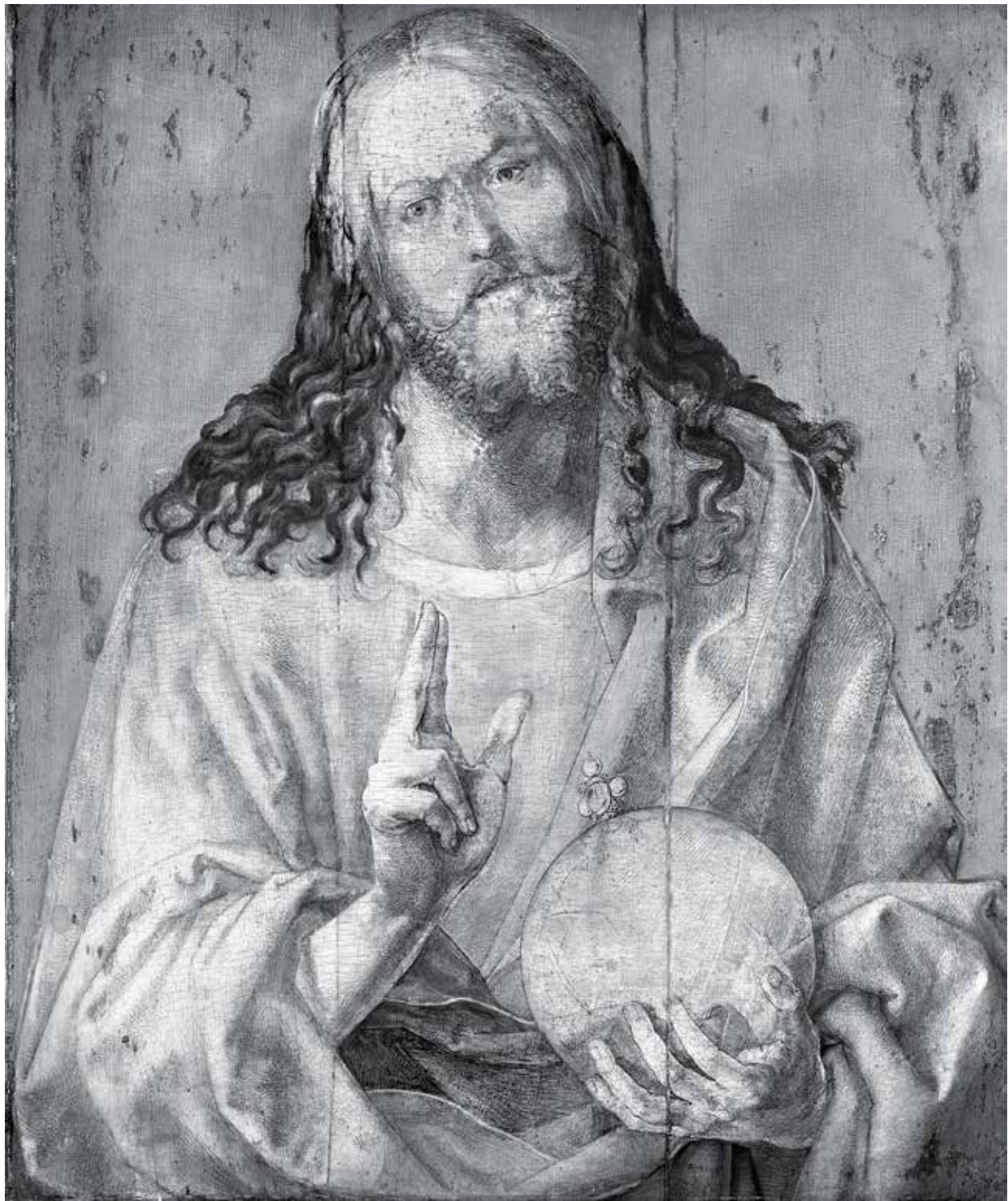


Fig. 86. Infrared reflectogram, cat. 23

Augsburg named Anton Deschler (fig. 85).⁸ Finally, cleanings before 1906 and in 1939–40 removed most of the overpainting, thus exposing additional unfinished portions.⁹

Despite the somewhat checkered history and compromised state of the *Salvator Mundi*, its authorship has rarely been questioned.¹⁰ Its autograph quality is especially evident in the sensitive rendering of Christ's head and hands and in the sophisticated realization of texture and sculptural form in the richly colored draperies. Dürer

lavished extraordinary attention on the fully worked-up underdrawing, portions of which can be seen with the naked eye, especially on the head, neck, and hands; infrared reflectography has revealed similar underdrawing in the draperies (fig. 86). It is also noteworthy that, in this preliminary design stage, Dürer not only carefully modeled the orb with light and shade but also indicated a reflection of a window on its left and right side. He was also careful to offset the contours of the robe and indicate the refraction of the light

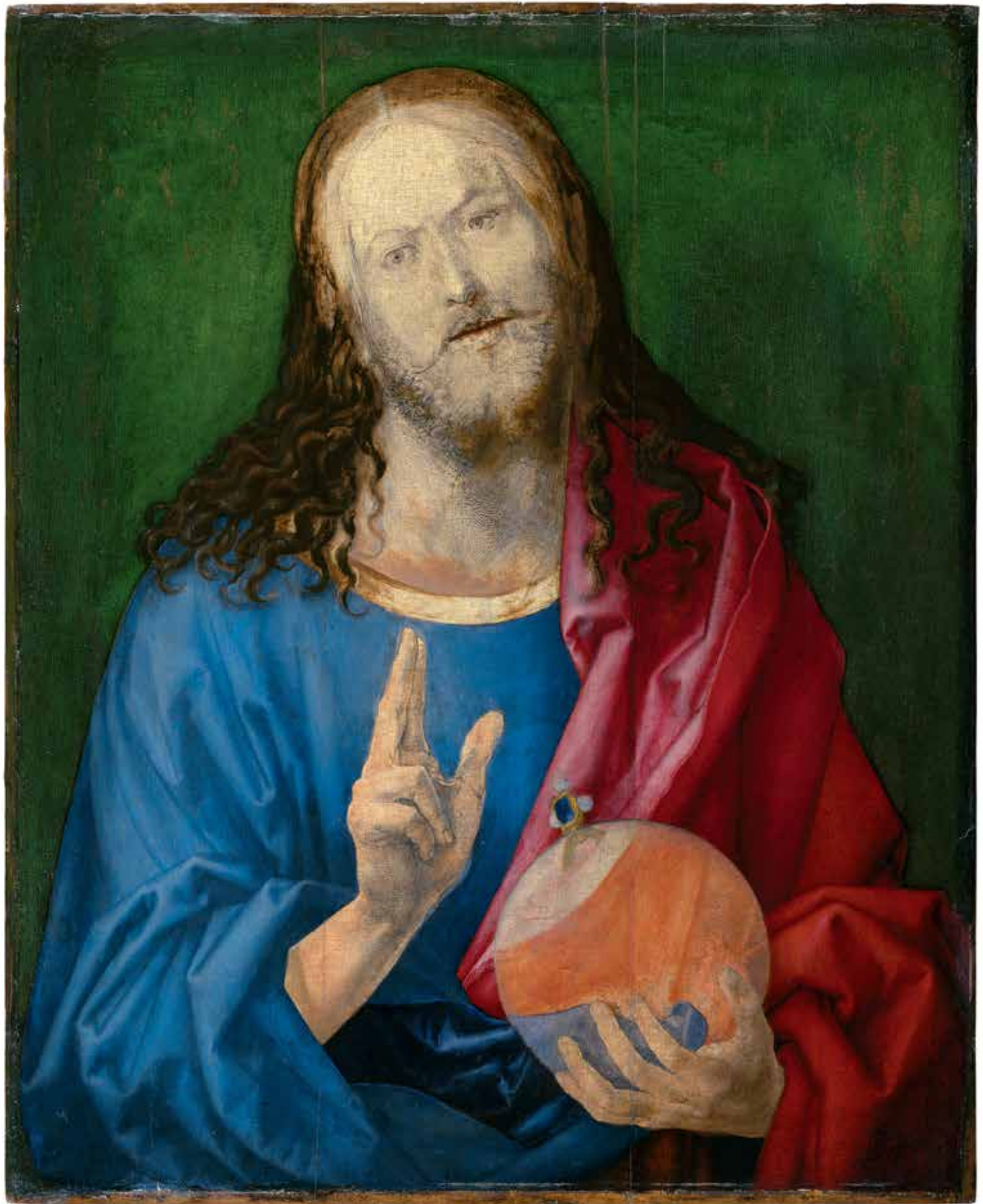




Fig. 87. Albrecht Dürer. *Head of a Young Man*, 1503. Metalpoint and pen and brown ink, heightened with white on gray prepared paper, $8\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{8}$ in. (22.3 × 18.1 cm). Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Massachusetts (1955.1835)



Fig. 88. Albrecht Dürer. *Hands* (Study for "Christ among the Doctors"), 1506. Brush and gray and black ink, gray wash, heightened with opaque white on paper, blue ground, $8\frac{3}{16} \times 7\frac{1}{16}$ in. (20.7 × 18.5 cm). Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Bernhard Hausmann Collection, Nuremberg (H25482)

through the crystal.¹¹ This extensive and complex underdrawing is not the norm for Dürer and is equaled only in a limited number of examples, including his self-portrait of 1500, now in Munich (see figs. 93, 94).¹²

Such finished underdrawing has a direct parallel in Dürer's drawings on paper of the same period, in which he adopted the exacting technique he had developed for engraving. The extremely dense passages of parallel hatching and cross-hatching in pen in the shadowed areas of Christ's head are even further reworked with another layer of curved strokes in brush to indicate the cavity of the neck. The structure of these strokes resembles that in Dürer's drawings *Head of a Young Man* of 1503 (fig. 87) and *Head of a Curly-Haired Boy* of 1508 (Collection of G. M. Gathorne-Hardy, Donnington Priory, Newbury, England).¹³ The exceptional level of finish elsewhere in the underdrawing is paralleled in some of Dürer's preparatory studies for his first major commissions in Venice in 1506, *The Feast of the Rose Garlands* (Národní Galerie, Prague) and *Christ among the Doctors* (Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid).¹⁴ Among these, the drawings for hands in the Albertina, Vienna, and the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg (fig. 88), are strikingly similar to the underdrawing of Christ's right hand (see fig. 86): all exhibit obliquely angled cross-hatching for the deepest shadows, short, commalike strokes indicating the edges of forms, and bold, even, parallel strokes across the fingers.¹⁵ In the preparatory drawings for the draperies in these two paintings, Dürer employed penwork in darker and lighter inks and white heightening on blue paper that is comparable to the structure of the penstrokes used to create the volumes of forms in Christ's draperies in the *Salvator Mundi*.¹⁶ Both in underdrawing and in drawing on paper, Dürer achieved a remarkable variety in surface textures modeled by light and shade through the particular arrangement of strokes of the pen and brush.

The *Salvator Mundi* derives from late medieval prints such as an engraving by Master E.S. (later reworked about 1466–67 by Israhel van Meckenem), which provided Dürer with a model for Christ's pose, somewhat furrowed brow, tightly curled beard, and ringlets of hair falling onto the shoulders (fig. 89).¹⁷ Yet the work is also imbued with a Renaissance spirit that owes its inspiration to Jacopo de' Barbari, whom Dürer perhaps met on his first trip to Italy in 1494–95¹⁸ and certainly encountered sometime between 1500 and 1503, when the Italian was working for Emperor Maximilian I in Nuremberg. Two paintings of Christ by de' Barbari, in Dresden (Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister) and Weimar (fig. 90),¹⁹ dating from about 1503, show the same pose and treatment of the hair and beard. The rich, saturated colors in Christ's robe and cloak, particularly in the Weimar example, reflect an Italian palette that was readily assimilated by Dürer. But above all it is the poignant, human expression of Jacopo's Christ that Dürer adopted.

Exactly why Dürer left the *Salvator Mundi* unfinished will never be known. The most immediate reason may have been the sudden outbreak of the plague in Nuremberg, which caused him to escape to Venice in the late fall of 1505. Interestingly enough, though, this was



Fig. 89. Master E.S., with additions by Israhel van Meckenem. *Christ as Savior*, ca. 1467. Engraving, second of two states, $6\frac{1}{16} \times 4\frac{3}{8}$ in. (15.4 × 11.1 cm). National Gallery of Art, Washington, Rosenwald Collection (1961.17.59)



Fig. 90. Jacopo de' Barbari. *Christ*, ca. 1503. Oil on panel, $12\frac{3}{16} \times 9\frac{1}{16}$ in. (31 × 25 cm). Schlossmuseum in Stadtschloss, Klassik Stiftung Weimar (G2)

not the only work that Dürer abandoned in midstage. Around 1503–5, perhaps considering illustrations for a book of prayers, he produced a number of woodcuts of hermit saints. Two unfinished panels of about the same date as the *Salvator Mundi*, now in Bremen, portray a fictional encounter in the wilderness between Saint John the Baptist and the fourth-century hermit Saint Onuphrius (fig. 91a, b). Like the *Salvator Mundi*, these paintings reflect a new interest in Italian models. Saint John, in his forward-facing contrapposto, recalls poses that Dürer was studying in preparatory drawings for his famous 1504 engraving *Adam and Eve*,²⁰ while Saint Onuphrius appears to be derived from a figure of Job at the lower left in Giovanni Bellini's San Giobbe Altarpiece, which Dürer must have seen on his first trip to Venice in 1494–95 (fig. 92). In both these incomplete works, the underpainting of the figures, the initial description of their draperies, and the features of the landscape have been laid in, but the finishing glazes, which produce the final definition of form, have not yet been added.²¹

Eduard Flechsig was the first to suggest that the two unfinished panels in Bremen were the wings of a triptych, with the *Salvator Mundi* as its centerpiece.²² His proposal immediately attracted scholarly attention and found many supporters, as well as a few notable

detractors.²³ Erwin Panofsky rejected it because of the incongruity of the three backgrounds, noting the lack of precedents for a central panel with an abstract background combined with wings having landscape backgrounds.²⁴ Another objection might be the considerable difference in scale between the figures of the saints and Christ, although at least two other contemporaneous triptychs by Dürer show this type, namely *Oswolt Krel and Two Wild Men with Shields* of 1499 (Alte Pinakothek, Munich) and a drawing after a lost altarpiece representing the Vera Icon flanked by donor portraits of Jacob Heller and Katharina von Mühlheim (École des Beaux-Arts, Paris).²⁵

Are the features that the three panels share—period of creation, unfinished state, similar early provenances in important collections in Nuremberg,²⁶ and compatible sizes—coincidental, or were the works actually designed as a triptych? It finally became possible to test Flechsig's hypothesis in January 2005, when the Bremen panels were brought to the Museum for technical examination.²⁷ The support of all three paintings is linden wood, and their preparation with a chalk ground indicated that they were painted in northern Europe, not in Italy as has sometimes been suggested.²⁸ All show intact painted edges and a wood reserve that proved they were painted within frames. Given their dimensions, the three could have formed

a triptych, although the framing elements for such an arrangement would have been extremely narrow (about 2 centimeters).

Yet, significant differences among the unfinished states of the three works immediately cast doubt upon their connection as a triptych. While the Bremen panels have been left uniformly at a midstage of painting, the *Salvator Mundi* has been brought up to a final form in most areas except for the head, hands, and orb. Infrared reflectography revealed a fully worked-up underdrawing for the *Salvator Mundi* in areas not visible to the naked eye, but the same equipment did not show similarly complete preparatory drawings in the panels of the saints. While the underdrawings of the Bremen panels are masterfully executed in Dürer's typically sensitive, confident manner, they are less finished²⁹ and applied in a more dilute manner—or perhaps in an underdrawing material, such as brown ink, that becomes transparent with conventional infrared reflectography.³⁰ Although the two saints demonstrate Dürer's highly proficient handling and execution, they do not

show the same level of attention lavished on the *Salvator Mundi*. If the latter work was ever accompanied by wings, they would more likely represent the Virgin Mary and Saint John or Saints Paul and Peter, the founders of the Church. The tall, very thin panels of the saints alternatively may have been planned to flank a central sculpture to form a shrine of the type being made in Nuremberg at that time.³¹

How then might the *Salvator Mundi* be understood as an independent painting, not as part of a triptych? Significantly, one of the few paintings by Dürer worked up in a similarly detailed, meticulous way is the *Self-Portrait* of 1500 (figs. 93, 94).³² The full-face, frontal figure seen there was a form usually reserved in northern Europe at this time for icons of Christ. In addition, the sitter in this idealized formal portrait, with his hypnotic gaze, handsome face, and shoulder-length brown hair (Dürer was blond in other portraits), calls to mind the description of Christ in the famous Lentulus Letter, generally believed an accurate description and only later found to



Fig. 91a, b. Albrecht Dürer. *Saint Onuphrius* (left) and *Saint John the Baptist* (right), ca. 1503–5. Oil on linden panel, each $22\frac{1}{16} \times 7\frac{7}{8}$ in. (58 × 20 cm). Kunsthalle Bremen, Senator Hieronymus Klugkist Bequest, 1851 (33)



Fig. 92. Giovanni Bellini. *The San Giobbe Altarpiece*, ca. 1480. Oil on panel, 15 ft. $5\frac{7}{16}$ in. × 8 ft. 5 in. (471 × 258 cm). Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice



Fig. 93. Albrecht Dürer. *Self-Portrait*, 1500. Oil on panel, 26 $\frac{7}{16}$ × 19 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (67.1 × 48.9 cm). Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek, Munich (537)

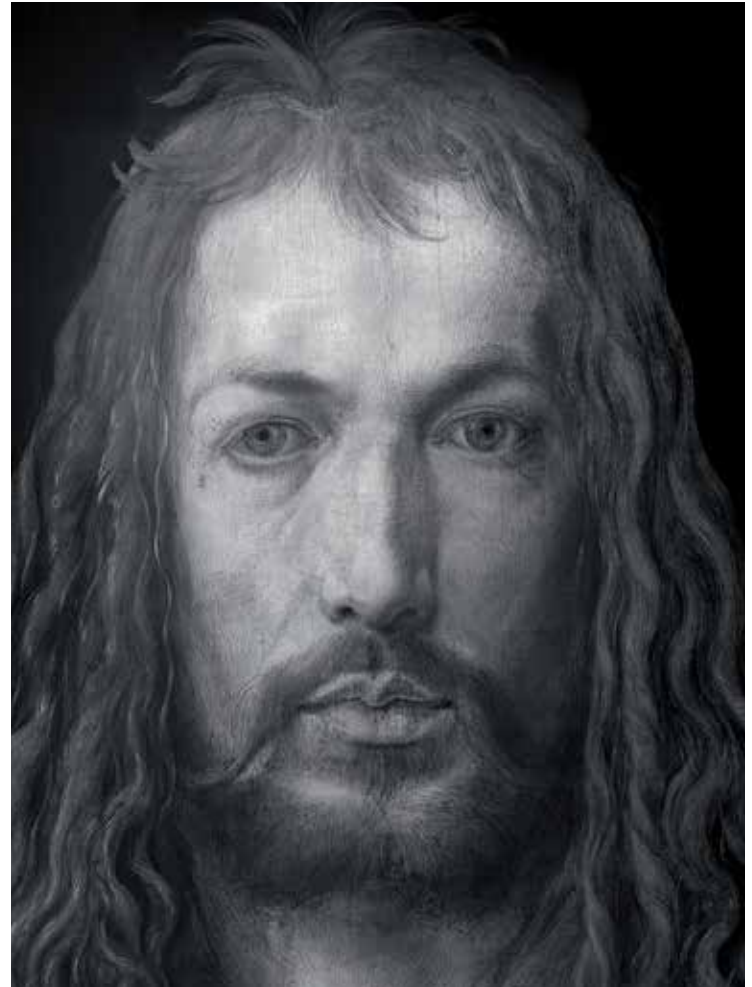


Fig. 94. Infrared reflectogram, detail of head, fig. 93

be a forgery.³³ Dürer's well-known intention to imitate or emulate Christ is also reflected in his drawing *Self-Portrait as a Man of Sorrows* of 1522 (formerly Kunsthalle Bremen) and in an engraving of 1513 in which his features are those of Christ imprinted on Veronica's veil. The Christlike nature of the Munich self-portrait has been ascribed to Dürer's dual desire to represent humanity as created in the image of God and the artist himself as a creator.³⁴

The Munich *Self-Portrait* was likely meant as a showpiece to demonstrate Dürer's extraordinary abilities to his students and prospective clients alike.³⁵ Most probably it was kept in the artist's house during his lifetime, just as the *Salvator Mundi* was. Could the *Salvator Mundi* have served a similar purpose in Dürer's workshop? The exceptional attention he lavished on every stage of workmanship, from the underdrawing to the final touches in the finished areas, does not speak logically for a commissioned work with a deadline. Rather, the painting was apparently kept close at hand by Dürer to

work on as a further development of the concepts and aims of the self-portrait.³⁶ Klaus Jürgens, who noted the extraordinary similarities between the two paintings, even speculated that the *Salvator* was left unfinished precisely because the completed painting of Christ would have looked more and more like Dürer himself.³⁷

When Dürer's workshop closed after his death, the two Bremen panels and the *Salvator Mundi* went their separate ways. An inventory of 1616 described the saints' panels as being framed together.³⁸ In the nineteenth century, when in the Felix Collection, the *Salvator Mundi* had been separated from an old, still-existing frame that had a sliding lid bearing the date 1650 and the coat of arms of the Haller von Hallerstein family, an illustrious previous owner.³⁹ The *Salvator Mundi* and the *Saint Onuphrius* and *Saint John the Baptist* seem never to have formed a triptych. Rather, what they have in common are revelations concerning Dürer's workshop practice, style, and technique in the early years of the sixteenth century. MWA

ALBRECHT DÜRER

Nuremberg 1471–1528 Nuremberg

24. *Virgin and Child*

1516

Oil on spruce panel

Overall, including added lateral strips, $11 \times 8\frac{1}{4} \times \frac{1}{2}$ in. ($27.9 \times 21 \times 1.27$ cm);

original painted surface $11 \times 7\frac{3}{8} \times \frac{1}{8}$ in. ($27.9 \times 18.7 \times .32$ cm)

Signed and dated: 1516 AD [monogram]

Inscriptions: none

Heraldry / emblems: none

Marks on verso: none

Frame: not original

Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 17.190.5

PROVENANCE: Friedrich Lippmann, Berlin; Dominic Ellis Colnaghi, London (1906); J. Pierpont Morgan, New York (until d. 1913; his estate, 1913–17)

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: The support is composed of two boards of spruce,¹ with the grain oriented vertically, and has been trimmed on all sides. The panel has been attached to a secondary support made of three horizontal pieces of oak and a tertiary support comprising two vertical pieces of oak, beveled along the perimeter and thickly coated with wax. On the recto, two wooden inserts coated with gesso flank the original panel. There is a very slight convex transverse warp in the original panel. A long split extends from the top through the Virgin's forehead into her left eye. Additionally, at the right, there are two short splits, one extending from the top edge, the other from the bottom edge.

The ground preparation is white. Examination of the X-radiograph and the edges of the small losses revealed what appeared to be a priming layer containing lead white. The paint surface is severely abraded from harsh cleaning, and there are large losses in the Virgin's arm at the right as well as losses associated with the long split described above. The flesh is patchy, and the modeling throughout almost completely effaced. Facial details are badly abraded, although two tiny opaque red strokes in the Virgin's mouth are visible with magnification, as are tiny black fragments of her eyelashes. Finely painted light yellow details, including the signature and date, the nimbus, and the highlights in the hair of the Virgin and Child, have survived somewhat intact. The green background and the cloth beneath the Christ Child are, by comparison with the whole, relatively well preserved.

Infrared reflectography² revealed two types of underdrawing in a fluid medium: one, describing the contours, is broad and confident, with tapering ends characteristic of the use of a brush; the other, more faintly visible (describing the hair, for example), is finer and more detailed.

The Virgin gazes tenderly at the Christ Child on her lap as he turns abruptly in response to an unknown distraction at the left. To restrain the infant, she grasps the white cloth beneath him with her right hand, while her left steadies the Child, who holds on to her pinkie finger.

Dürer's authorship of this painting has been challenged, even though the monogram and date of 1516 appear autograph and are integral with the original paint layers.³ After seeing the panel in the 1928 Nuremberg exhibition, Max J. Friedländer, followed by Friedrich Winkler, accepted the attribution to Dürer.⁴ However,



Fig. 95. Cat. 24, overpainted state, 1906



Fig. 96. Albrecht Dürer. *The Holy Family*, 1513. Drypoint, $8\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{8}$ in. (21×18.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Fletcher Fund, 1919 (19.73.51)





Fig. 97. Albrecht Dürer. *Virgin and Child*, 1503. Oil on linden panel, $9\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{3}{8}$ in. (24.1 \times 18.3 cm). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Gemäldegalerie, Vienna (GG 846)

Gustav Glück, along with Hans Tietze and Erika Tietze-Conrat, had registered doubts and considered it to be an imitation or forgery; Erwin Panofsky also questioned it.⁵ The debate has continued to the present day.⁶ Complicating the question is the severely compromised condition of the picture.⁷ A photograph published in the catalogue of the 1906 exhibition “Early German Art” (fig. 95) shows it as heavily overpainted before it was cleaned and restored first by Alois Hauser the Younger under Friedländer’s supervision, sometime before 1936,⁸ and again around 1945 by Murray Pease at the Metropolitan Museum.⁹ Today the *Virgin and Child* is a ghost of its former self, but its quality and its specific association with Dürer’s works in other media support the attribution to the master himself.

This diminutive panel belongs to a group of paintings, drawings, and prints, most notably from the second decade of the sixteenth century, in which Dürer considered the theme of the Virgin and Child. There are a number of pen-and-ink sketches from that period depicting the wriggling infant on his mother’s

lap, including drawings in the Seattle Art Museum, dating to about 1514; at Windsor Castle, dated 1515; and in the Albertina, Vienna, of 1512.¹⁰ In these, as in *The Holy Family*, a drypoint of 1513 (fig. 96),¹¹ Dürer favored a particular pose for the Virgin—often looking down lovingly upon her child, with tilted head and heavy-lidded eyes—an attitude especially close to that of the Museum’s Virgin. Also, as in our painting, the drypoint shows the Child’s neck largely hidden by his bulbous head, which is peculiarly perched between his shoulders and awkwardly protruding arms. In all these examples, dating from approximately the same years, the Child’s pudgy arms and legs emerge animatedly from his stocky torso, as Dürer convincingly captures the essence of a squirming baby.

Parallels to the Museum’s picture are also found among Dürer’s other paintings. The pose of the Virgin’s head (even her slightly open, smiling mouth), the small size of the panel, and the intimate nature of the scene recall his *Virgin and Child* of 1503 in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (fig. 97).¹² Despite considerable differences in their states of preservation, the present work and the Museum’s *Virgin and Child with Saint Anne* (cat. 25) show distinct similarities in style and in particular details of handling and execution. In each, the Virgin’s attitude is one of quiet reverence toward her Child. There are close parallels in the angle of the tilt of Mary’s head and her physiognomy in both paintings—a prominent forehead, heavy-lidded, downcast eyes, a long, straight nose, full lips in a hint of a smile, and a round, protruding chin. Both show Dürer’s interest in robust, even swollen, forms, especially of the hands and fingers. The shift in hue of the Virgin’s attire from a pale rose to a deeply saturated red (left to right across the upper torso) is subtly achieved in each. The oddly crinkled cloth beneath the Christ Child in the *Virgin and Child* is paralleled by the white draperies at Saint Anne’s neck and across her upper torso.

Subtle differences between Dürer’s images of the Virgin and Child from this period not only reveal his various approaches to the subject but also illuminate gradations in meaning. At first glance, the Museum’s painting appears to represent simply a mother’s loving attention to her lively child, but certain details suggest deeper implications. The Virgin’s red dress and cloak signal the color of Christ’s Passion. The nakedness of the Child, with his genitals exposed, emphasizes the human nature of the divine Son of God.¹³ Mary’s right hand, positioned to hold the white cloth taut beneath the Child, recalls the actions of Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus, who supported the weight of the dead Christ on a white burial shroud after the Deposition from the Cross. This complex conflation of Christ’s infancy with his adult sacrifice is a theme that Dürer portrayed more than once during these years.¹⁴ In fact, the drypoint mentioned above presents this subject even more directly, anachronistically including Mary Magdalen, John the Evangelist, and Nicodemus as observers of the young Holy Family.¹⁵ More than a simple depiction of daily life, then, the Museum’s *Virgin and Child* perhaps subtly foreshadows Christ’s sacrifice and death on the Cross.

MWA

ALBRECHT DÜRER

Nuremberg 1471–1528 Nuremberg

25. *Virgin and Child with Saint Anne*

Probably 1519

Oil on linden panel

Overall, including later additions at edges, $23\frac{1}{16} \times 19\frac{13}{16} \times \frac{3}{16}$ in. ($60.1 \times 50.4 \times .5$ cm); original painted surface $22\frac{15}{16} \times 19\frac{1}{16}$ in. (58.2×48.4 cm)

Signed and dated (at right center, by a later hand): 1519/AD [monogram]

Inscriptions: none

Heraldry / emblems: none

Marks on verso (on cradle): 11442.=

Frame: not original

Bequest of Benjamin Altman, 1913 14.40.633

PROVENANCE: probably commissioned by Leonhard I Tucher, Nuremberg (about 1519–d. 1568);¹ his son Paul IV Tucher, Nuremberg (1568–d. 1603);² his son, Leonhard II Tucher, Nuremberg (1603–d. 1618); his son, Gabriel III Tucher, Nuremberg (1618–d. 1628; to Furtenbach in settlement of a debt); Hans von Furtenbach, Nuremberg (1628–30; sold to Maximilian);³ Maximilian I, Elector of Bavaria, Munich (1630–d. 1651);⁴ electors and later (1806) kings of Bavaria, Residenz, Munich, later Schloss Schleissheim and possibly Schloss Lustheim,⁵ Oberschleissheim (1651–1852; their sale, Munich, April 13–23, 1852, no. 128, to Entres);⁶ Joseph Otto Entres, Munich (1852–67; sold to Kuris);⁷ Ivan Iraklievich Kuris, Odessa (1867–d. 1898); his widow, Liubov' Ivanovna Kuris, née Gizhitskaia, Odessa, later Dresden (1898–1911; sold to Duveen);⁸ [Duveen, New York, 1911; sold to Altman]; Benjamin Altman, New York (1911–d. 1913)

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: The support is a linden panel with the grain oriented horizontally.⁹ Past intervention makes it impossible to discern the number of boards that compose the panel. There are several splits in the support along the wood grain in the middle third of the panel. At some point prior to entering the collection, the panel was thinned to approximately .5 centimeter and attached to a support composed of a walnut veneer and a three-layer plywood sheet; mahogany strips were attached to the perimeter of the whole composite. A mahogany cradle probably dating to the early twentieth century is attached to the verso.

A *barbe* along all four edges indicates that the composition retains its original dimensions and that an engaged frame was in place when the white ground preparation was applied. Along the very edge of the perimeter, there are fragments of linear indentations, which may be the remnants of an original score line along the border between the paint surface and a frame. Wide beveling in the surface plane along the entire perimeter may have been imposed when the preparation layers were pared down to sharpen the division between the panel and the engaged frame.

The painting is signed with an AD monogram set beneath the date “1519.” Although a similar double-stroke style of monogram is seen in other paintings associated with Dürer, neither the monogram nor the date are judged to be original because the finely divided pigments used are characteristic of a post-1850 industrial manufacturing process.

The paint layers are generally in good condition. A few tiny paint losses are scattered throughout. Residues of a dark toning layer, removed in the nineteenth century after the painting left the royal Bavarian collection at Schleissheim, can be seen under high magnification.¹⁰ They manifest as minute, round, brownish black deposits lodged in and along the craquelure. With the exception of a few strokes concealing slight abrasion in the Child's flesh, restoration is limited to the small losses and the abrasion in the background.

The paint layers were built up using small strokes that feather the colors into each other and often follow the form of the object depicted. This is

especially noticeable in the shadows on the faces. In the shadows of Saint Anne's drapery the glazes were applied with the side of a hand, and similar marks can be seen in the red-lake glazes on Mary's dress. Many bright red fibers are present in the passages containing red lake because the pigment was manufactured from red-dyed wool or silk cloth.¹¹ The background has a brownish cast that is possibly due to a degradation commonly seen in paint layers composed of copper-containing green pigments. It is likely that the background was originally a more brilliant, saturated green. Infrared reflectography revealed a few faint contour lines of underdrawing in the hands.¹² They were apparently done with a dry material and are positioned slightly differently from the final painted forms.

This panel shows Saint Anne, her daughter, the Virgin Mary, and the Christ Child arranged in a compact pyramidal composition set against a deep green background. The group assumes a striking presence through the tightly cropped composition, the broad areas of bold color (green, white, and red, accented by the blue of Mary's sleeve at the bottom), and the almost sculptural volume of the figures. Mary faces left, posed in adoration of her sleeping child; her eyes are directed downward and her hands are lifted in prayer. The Child, partially covered by a white cloth draped over his right shoulder, rests on Anne's arm. Anne gazes out of the picture, not at the viewer, but beyond, in deep contemplation. She places her left hand on Mary's shoulder, in a gesture that heightens both the intimacy and the gravitas of the scene.

The subject, referred to in German as *Anna Selbdritt* (Anne in a group of three),¹³ gained widespread popularity in the second half of the fifteenth century in connection with the flourishing cult of Saint Anne.¹⁴ This painting is based on a type that shows Anne seated, in full length, supporting the Christ Child on one knee and the Virgin Mary on the other, or, if standing, holding them in her arms.¹⁵ In such representations, to accommodate the Virgin to the composition and to lend prominence to Anne, the Virgin was frequently shown in diminutive, childlike size, as in a sandstone sculpture by Tilman Riemenschneider of about 1490–95 (Mainfränkisches Museum, Würzburg).¹⁶ The Metropolitan Museum's painting recalls this late medieval pictorial tradition by the higher placement of Anne relative to the Virgin and by the breadth of Anne's headdress, which gives her figure a certain monumentality. However, the work presents the Virgin in natural proportion and, by cropping the figures to half length and bust length, obviates compositional problems commonly associated with earlier *Anna Selbdritt* groups.¹⁷

A sense of foreboding disrupts the tenderness of this familial encounter. The motif of the sleeping infant Jesus, which probably derives from the slumbering child frequently encountered in Madonnas by Giovanni Bellini, foreshadows his death on the Cross.¹⁸ The motif is unusual in *Anna Selbdritt* iconography, in which the Passion is normally signified by a symbolic element in the Child's hands, such



Fig. 98. Unknown artists, Nuremberg(?). *Virgin and Child with Saint Anne* (*Anna Selbdritt*), ca. 1500. Linden with polychromy, height of shrine 25 $\frac{3}{16}$ in. (64 cm). Staatliche Museen zu Berlin–Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst (2298)

as an apple (Christ's atonement for original sin) or grapes (Eucharistic wine / Christ's blood). In this painting, the blue tones in the shadows of the infant's face create a slight pallor that emphasizes the allusion to death. With Christ's sacrificial death implied in this way, Anne's hand on Mary's shoulder takes on consolatory meaning. Equally important, Anne's distant gaze suggests a premonition of the Passion.¹⁹ Although the intensity of this representation is new, its combination of elements is not entirely unprecedented. Comparable in this regard is a carved *Anna Selbdritt* of about 1500, thought to be by a Nuremberg sculptor, in which the prayer gesture of Mary, the grapes held by the child in reference to the Passion, and especially the tilt of Anne's head and her engrossed gaze anticipate the somber, meditative mood of the Museum's painting (fig. 98).²⁰

A work of Albrecht Dürer, the *Virgin and Child with Saint Anne* was probably commissioned by the Nuremberg patrician Leonhard Tucher, and it remained with the Tucher family until 1628.²¹ In 1630 the great Dürer collector Maximilian I, Elector of Bavaria, purchased the painting as part of a sustained acquisition campaign that brought numerous important works by Dürer to Munich. Yet this happened only after he had rejected the work as a copy upon initial inspection

in 1628. Evidently some uncertainty lingered, for the entry in the 1630 inventory of the electoral *Kammergalerie* contains the remark: "there is some doubt that it is by Dürer's hand throughout."²² The painting remained in the electoral (later royal) Bavarian collection until 1852, when, apparently demoted to the status of a copy, it was included in a substantial sale of paintings from Schloss Schleissheim and bought by the sculptor and collector Joseph Otto Entres.

Entres's showing of the painting in Munich in 1854, after it had been cleaned, was hailed in the press as a sensational rediscovery.²³ The work won the admiration of numerous prominent visitors to Entres's gallery—monarchs, museum directors, artists, and collectors—whose opinions Entres later published.²⁴ However, a laudatory article in the *Deutsches Kunstblatt* by the art historian Ernst Förster prompted a vehement rebuttal by Gustav Friedrich Waagen, director of the *Gemäldegalerie*, Berlin, who firmly rejected Dürer's authorship.²⁵ The attribution issues were complicated by the known existence of several copies, one of which had also been included in the 1852 Schleissheim sale.²⁶ The dispute between Waagen and Förster, carried out in subsequent issues of the *Kunstblatt*, long remained the definitive record of the work, which, after being sold in 1867 by



Fig. 99. Albrecht Dürer. *Agnes Dürer as Saint Anne*, 1519. Brush and gray, black, and white ink on paper, gray ground (black background possibly added later), 15 $\frac{1}{16}$ × 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (39.5 × 29.2 cm). Albertina, Vienna (3160)





Fig. 100. Albrecht Dürer. *Head of a Sleeping Child*, 1520. Black chalk, brush and black and gray ink, heightened with white, $10\frac{3}{16} \times 7\frac{3}{16}$ in. (25.9 × 18.2 cm). Hamburger Kunsthalle (23911)



Fig. 101. Albrecht Dürer. *Head of a Woman*, 1520. Brush and black and gray bodycolor, heightened with white, $12\frac{3}{4} \times 9$ in. (32.4 × 22.9 cm). The British Museum, London (SL, 5218.43)

Entres, spent the next several decades in the collection of Ivan Kuris in Odessa, less accessible to Dürer scholars.²⁷

A renewed assessment began upon the painting's return to Germany about 1909. Georg Biermann, Hermann Voss, and Rudolf Wustmann, apparently among the first to gain access, all praised its quality and considered it the original Dürer from which the many copies descended.²⁸ Max J. Friedländer offered his full endorsement of authenticity to the dealer Joseph Duveen,²⁹ who took the painting to the United States in 1911, after which it entered the Metropolitan Museum of Art through the bequest of Benjamin Altman. For many decades to follow, Dürer's authorship was unanimously accepted, with opinion splitting mainly on the aesthetic impression.³⁰ For example, whereas Friedländer in 1921 accepted the work but found it awkward and inharmonious, Friedrich Winkler later praised the "intense expression of feeling."³¹ This broad acceptance remained unchallenged until 2002, when Claus Grimm maintained on formal and technical grounds that the painting is an accomplished workshop production based on preparatory drawings by Dürer.³²

One of Dürer's studies for the painting survives. It is a brush drawing of Saint Anne on gray prepared paper, signed and dated 1519 (fig. 99).³³ Dürer's wife, Agnes, recognizable from her 1521 likeness in Dürer's sketchbook from their journey to the Netherlands, sat as model.³⁴ The pose, the fall of the drapery, and the empty areas at the lower left and right, where Jesus and Mary appear in the painting, indicate that the composition of the final product was already largely worked out. In the painting, Agnes Dürer's facial features have generally been smoothed; the bump on the bridge of the nose has been reduced, the nostrils and mouth narrowed, the upper lip lifted. Both the outline of the headdress and the opening for the face have been made more circular. Also, the painting abandons the sitter's direct gaze to achieve the distant, contemplative look discussed above. These modifications make sense as a process of removing the remnants of informality from a portrait-based study to transform it into a representation of a holy figure.

Contemporaneous works by Dürer show an engagement with forms and motifs strikingly similar to those of the Museum's painting. In the 1519 engraving *Virgin Nursing the Child*, Mary's head is closely comparable in position and in the structure and modeling of facial features, and her left hand and fingers have the same rounded, slightly swollen appearance.³⁵ One of the initially incongruous features of the picture, Mary's prominently knobby ear, in fact shows Dürer working up forms closely reminiscent of those in the 1515 drawing *Portrait of a Girl* in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin.³⁶ And while the rest of Mary's features bear only a distant resemblance to those of the Berlin Girl, which cannot be considered a model,³⁷ the faces share a common general approach to form. The artist's 1520 drawing *Head of a Sleeping Child* (fig. 100) shows a similar treatment of an infant's head tilted back and viewed from slightly below, and the motif appears also, in reverse orientation, in the *Virgin with the Swaddled Child*, an engraving of 1520.³⁸ In *Head of a Woman*, a drawing in the British Museum, also from 1520, the distribution of highlights



Fig. 102. Albrecht Dürer. *The Praying Virgin*, 1518. Oil on linden panel, 20 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 16 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (53 × 43 cm). Staatliche Museen zu Berlin–Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie (557 H)

down the length of the nose and on the upper portion of the cheek compares well with our Saint Anne (fig. 101).³⁹ Also, the form of Saint Anne's mouth matches that of the British Museum's *Head* to a remarkable degree; the similarity extends even to the narrowly spaced ridges of the depression between the upper lip and nose (the philtrum). This correspondence in the mouths is not due to a common model;⁴⁰ it probably resulted from processes of idealization in which Dürer arrived at similar solutions.

As a painting, the *Virgin and Child with Saint Anne* is entirely typical of Dürer's style and technique in the years around 1520. Here it must be noted that, contrary to previous statements in the literature,

the painting is very well preserved.⁴¹ The 1518 *Praying Virgin* (fig. 102) compares particularly well, with its monumental figure in a tightly cropped space, broad areas of bold color, and highly refined, enamel-like treatment of the skin surfaces.⁴² The *Saint Jerome* of 1521 (Museu Nacional de Arte Antigua, Lisbon) shares a similar pyramidal composition and tectonic arrangement of colors, the red of the cloak and blue of the cap set against a deep green background.⁴³ Moreover, the skin of the Jerome figure, despite its generally deeply wrinkled texture, shows passages that are comparable in the way highlights are laid over the middle tone. This is apparent in Jerome's more taut right hand, in which gently curved highlights are set parallel to one another to describe fine wrinkles and establish a plump surface sheen, much as in the hand of Mary in our painting. The shading in Mary's face, marked by deep shadows at the temple, cheek, and jawline, finds an especially close parallel in the high-contrast modeling of *Bernhard von Reesen* of 1521 (Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden).⁴⁴ Saint Anne's eyes show Dürer's typical placement of catchlights opposite a minute, crisp reflection along the inner rim of the iris, a combination that creates an extraordinary sense of rounded volume and glassy transparency of surface. Also, the shadows of Anne's headdress and Mary's dress were worked up with the heel or side of the painter's hand. A similar hand- and fingerprint modeling technique has been observed in other works by Dürer.⁴⁵

These numerous close correspondences in style, motifs, and technique to contemporary paintings, drawings, and prints by the artist leave little room for doubt that the Museum's picture was executed by Dürer. Although examination of the material properties of the painting's date and monogram indicates that they are not original and possibly postdate the acquisition by Entres in 1852 (see technical notes above), they may well reflect a lost original inscription formerly on the painting or the frame, for a date of 1519 was associated with the picture already by the time of Elector Maximilian's acquisition in 1630. Taken together, that documented date, the 1519 date of the preparatory drawing, and the stylistic affinities with numerous works of similar date strongly suggest that Dürer painted the Museum's picture in that year. That the *Virgin and Child with Saint Anne* proved a popular composition is attested by the existence of several copies as well as elaborations with the addition of Joseph and Joachim figures.⁴⁶

J P W

CONRAD FABER VON CREUZNACH

?Bad Kreuznach ca. 1500–1552 / 53 Frankfurt am Main

26. *Portrait of a Man with a Moor's Head on His Signet Ring*

Ca. 1535

Oil, gold, and white metal on linden panel

Overall, including added strips at left and right, $20\frac{7}{8} \times 14\frac{3}{4} \times \frac{3}{16}$ in.

($53 \times 36.5 \times .4$ cm); painted surface $20\frac{7}{8} \times 13\frac{7}{8}$ in. (53×35.2 cm)

Inscriptions: none

Heraldry / emblems: on signet ring, gold shield charged with the head of a Moor, in profile, wearing a silver headband; on pommel of dagger, Saint George Slaying the Dragon

Marks on verso: at top left, in red paint, beneath wax, 12.75

Frame: not original

John Stewart Kennedy Fund, 1912 12.75

PROVENANCE: George Edward Dering, Lockleys, Welwyn, Hertfordshire, England (until d. 1911; posthumous sale, Christie's, London, December 16, 1911, no. 66, to Martin); [Frederik Müller, Amsterdam, until 1912; sold to MMA]

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: The panel support is composed of four linden boards with the grain oriented vertically.¹ Each board has developed a slight transverse concave warp. The panel was thinned to .4 centimeter and trimmed, oak strips .6 centimeter wide were added to the lateral edges, and the painting was cradled. There is a wood insert in the top left corner of the original panel measuring 2.9 by .6 centimeters. The ground preparation is white.

Abrasion, aging, and some fading of the pigments have muted the fine detail, particularly in the sitter's flesh and hair and in the distant background. The deterioration is most apparent in passages executed in brown paint, which has increased in transparency with age. Small losses have occurred along the panel joins and along a split in the lower left corner, numerous repairs have been made in the sky, and a horizontal scratch is apparent between the hands.

The artist used atmospheric perspective to create an illusion of depth, painting the landscape in progressively bluer tones as it receded from the picture plane; possibly because a light-sensitive yellow-lake pigment has faded, the foliage in the foreground and middle ground is nevertheless quite blue. A portion of the landscape at left, next to the subject's shoulder, appears to have retained more of the original green color where it was protected from light by the frame.

The artist depicted metallic objects in gold and white metal leaf and added fine details in color. For example, he painted the pommel of the man's dagger over an application of gold leaf, leaving an area of gold in reserve for the medallion, within which he created the image of Saint George Slaying the Dragon using orange-red and brown glazes and touches of black. The finger rings he embellished with a very dark blue pigment thickly applied to create the look of a gem in low relief. Details in the signet ring depicting a Moor's head were added over white metal leaf. The fine lines on the gilded collar are painted with brown glazes, and the pattern on the gold cap was created with inscribed lines and lines painted with orange-red glaze. Extensive retouching over abrasion on the face made it hard to discern any underdrawing using infrared reflectography.²

The bearded sitter in this portrait is shown in half length, wearing a broad-brimmed hat over a gold-embroidered cap, a white undershirt with gold collar, a gold necklace, a black shirt with a gray stripe down the middle of the chest and down each arm, and a dark jacket with a wide fur lapel and damask pattern on the sleeves. With his left hand he grips the hilt of a sword, whose pommel bears an image of Saint George Slaying the Dragon. One of the man's two rings displays a gold shield bearing a profile Moor's head with a silver headband. The background includes a walled city at the right surrounded by cultivated fields, patches of forest, and hamlets. A mountain range rims the horizon, which has been given a distinct downward tilt toward the left, creating the impression of a vast expanse seen from a high vantage point. The portrait was probably originally paired with a pendant of the sitter's wife, though none has been identified.

Upon appearing at auction in 1911, this picture was attributed to the Master of the Holzhausen Portraits, named after a group of likenesses of the Holzhausen family of Frankfurt now in the Städel Museum there.³ Only two years earlier, the master had been identified as Conrad Faber von Creuznach,⁴ and his name was applied to



Fig. 103. Conrad Faber von Creuznach. *Gilbrecht von Holzhausen the Younger*, 1535. Oil on panel, $23\frac{3}{8} \times 17\frac{1}{16}$ in. (59.4×44.4 cm). Städel Museum, Frankfurt (1716)





Fig. 104. Detail of pommel and signet ring, cat. 26



Fig. 105. Detail of city, cat. 26

the present work when the Metropolitan Museum acquired it in 1912.⁵ The attribution, which is obvious in light of the clear stylistic consistency with signed portraits by Faber, such as the 1535 pendants *Gilbrecht von Holzhausen the Younger* (fig. 103) and *Anna Holzhausen, née Ratzeburg* (Städel Museum)⁶ has never been challenged. Prevailing opinion dates the Museum's portrait in the mid-1530s by comparison with the above-mentioned pair of 1535 and the 1536 double portrait *Justinian von Holzhausen and Anna Holzhausen, née Fürstenberg* (Städel Museum), in which, as Wolfgang Brückner noted, the type of broadly expansive landscape is closely comparable.⁷ The attribution is further supported by the similarity of the damask pattern in black and gray on the sleeves of the sitter in our portrait to that found in the costume of Faber's undated *Portrait of a Man of the Stralenberg(?) Family* in the Städel.⁸

The signet ring bears a Moor's head, a common heraldic device, which has prompted several attempts at identification of the sitter (fig. 104). Max J. Friedländer's suggestion of a member of the Vom Rhein zum Mohren family of Frankfurt was rejected by Charles Beard and Wolfgang Brückner, both of whom noted that the family's coat of arms lacks a Moor's head.⁹ Beard proposed a member of the Nuremberg Schedel family and noted that the apparent date of the painting and age of the sitter place him in the generation of the sons of the humanist Hartmann Schedel (1440–1514).¹⁰ Brückner suggested a Tucher of Nuremberg or, following a proposal made by Walther Zülch in 1935, a Schwarzkopf of Frankfurt, which he thought more likely.¹¹ Both the Schedel and Tucher identifications seem improbable, as the Moor's head in their respective coats of arms lacks the headband clearly depicted in the present work.¹² Moreover, a Moor's head is only part of the Tucher sign, of which the upper half consists of diagonal stripes of black and white. This leaves the Schwarzkopf identification favored by Brückner as the most plausible suggestion. The coat of arms of that family includes the headband, and its members were based in Frankfurt, the locus of Faber's activity.¹³ Zülch suggested a Dr. Jakob Schwarzkopf (d. 1577), while Brückner thought a Georg Schwarzkopf (undocumented) was possible if the image of

Saint George on the sword pommel was meant to be eponymic.¹⁴ As Gert von der Osten noted, a privately owned male portrait by Faber of 1530 bears a physiognomic resemblance to the sitter in the Museum's picture, and may represent the same person; yet that work offers no clues of identity.¹⁵ The question of identification remains unresolved.

Faber is known to have used recognizable city views in his landscapes, for example, Frankfurt in the Holzhausen pendants, cited above, and Passau in the 1533 pair *Georg Weiss von Limpurg zu Sachsenhausen and Dorothea von Stralenberg* (Staatsgalerie Bamberg and private collection, respectively).¹⁶ The city in the right background of the Metropolitan's picture appears to be Nuremberg. As Brückner noted, the two main churches in the view (right of center and far right, respectively) have the characteristic double towers and raised choirs of Nuremberg's hallmark edifices, the Lorenzkirche and Sebalduskirche (fig. 105).¹⁷ Their positioning in the townscape is generally consistent with a view from the southeast, which was apparently a preferred vantage point, as it was used in Hartmann Schedel's *Liber Chronicarum* (1493) and later in the first and second volumes of Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (1572, 1575).¹⁸ In Nuremberg, the Lorenzkirche and Sebalduskirche are located on the south and north sides, respectively, of the Pegnitz River, which flows through the center of the city from east to west.¹⁹ The Pegnitz appears in the painting as a thin ribbon of bluish white coming into view above the left edge of the city, at the level of the sitter's chin, and continuing across the left half. Nuremberg's famous castle, located at the old city's northern edge, is not present in this view; it presumably would have appeared in the continuation of the townscape that undoubtedly was present at the left edge of a missing pendant.²⁰ The towering mountain range in the distance is a fanciful addition to the environs of Nuremberg. The city is not necessarily a clue to the sitter's identity, for Faber is known to have used views unrelated to his patrons' place of residence, as with the panorama of Passau, noted above, behind the Frankfurt patricians Georg Weiss von Limpurg and Dorothea von Stralenberg. J P W

COPY AFTER CONRAD FABER VON CREUZNACH

27. *Heinrich(?) vom Rhein zum Mohren*

Ca. 1530–50

Oil and gold on oak panel

Overall $21\frac{3}{4} \times 15\frac{1}{16} \times \frac{3}{16}$ in. ($55 \times 39.5 \times .5$ cm); painted surface $21\frac{3}{4} \times 15$ in. (54.2×38 cm)

Inscriptions: none

Heraldry / emblems: none

Marks on verso (on cradle): at top left, in red paint, 1982.60.37; above center, M836B 151; at upper left edge, on adhered labels, T [and] 26; at center, on adhered masking tape, FABER

Frame: not original

The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, 1982 1982.60.37

PROVENANCE: Viscount Lee of Fareham, White Lodge, Richmond, Surrey (in 1937);¹ N. M. Friberg, Stockholm (by 1949–50;² sale, Kende Galleries, New York, May 18, 1950, no. 23); [John Mohnen, Del Mar, Calif., from 1950];³ Mr. and Mrs. Jack Linsky, New York (until his death 1980); The Jack and Belle Linsky Foundation, New York (1980–82)

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: Two boards of vertically grained oak that originated in western Germany were used as the support for this painting. Dendrochronological analysis indicated an earliest possible fabrication date of 1512.⁴ The panel has been thinned to .5 centimeter and cradled. There is a thin coating of wax on the panel and cradle. Unpainted borders and a *barbe* around the perimeter indicate that an engaged frame was in place when the ground preparation was applied. X-radiography revealed holes from nails (now removed) inserted in the end grain along the top and bottom edges. A crescent-shaped deformation in the left corner of the subject's black hat was caused by a knot in the wood panel.

The paint layers are generally abraded. A prominent craquelure throughout the painting, primarily oriented in the direction of the wood grain, has been suppressed with retouching. Abrasion in the beard and fur coat has given an amorphous appearance to those passages. Remnants of white and pale yellow-ocher brushstrokes describing the beard give a hint of the original finish, which is now lost.

The cap, pomander, and finger ring are embellished with gold leaf. An orange mordant is visible in the cap and ring where the gold leaf is abraded. The pattern in the cap is painted with a dense black, and the gold filigree on the pomander was created with a brown glaze. The portions of the pomander that imitate silver are painted rather than gilded.

Examination with the stereomicroscope revealed a very thin buff-colored priming on top of a white ground preparation. The priming contains a warm red pigment. Infrared reflectography revealed underdrawing: there is curved hatching in the cheeks, eye sockets, bridge of the nose, and lips, as well as basic contours describing the facial features, hat, ears, and hairline.⁵ Contours of the hands and cuffs are also visible. The artist drew several lines as he searched for the final shape of the subject's left thumb. Landscape elements were also sketched in and quite faithfully followed in the paint.

The bearded sitter in this portrait rests his arms on a stone parapet and holds a rosary with a pomander attached. He wears a broad-brimmed hat over a gold cap, a fur coat over a black shirt and white undershirt, and a gold ring on the left index finger. In the background at left, a bridge over a lake leads to a rocky outcropping topped by a castle; on the right there is a house near a winding road, and fortifications at the edge of the lake are connected to an island by a bridge.

The Metropolitan Museum's picture is one of two known copies after Conrad Faber von Creuznach's portrait of a man of about 1526–29 in the *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, Brussels (fig. 106).⁶ The other copy, in the *Städel Museum*, Frankfurt, is in oil on copper and probably dates in the late sixteenth century.⁷



Fig. 106. Conrad Faber von Creuznach. *Heinrich(?) vom Rhein zum Mohren*, ca. 1526–29. Oil on panel, $21\frac{1}{4} \times 14\frac{9}{16}$ in. (54×37 cm). *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, Brussels (1903)

The three paintings are of approximately the same size. No female pendant is known to exist for any of the versions.

The identification of the sitter derives from an inscription on the verso of the Frankfurt copy. The inscription, which appears to be contemporary with the picture, gives the name "Philipp vom Rhein zum Mohren," with a birth date of 1477 and a death date of 1538, changed from 1536 in an underlying but still legible version.⁸ Wolfgang Brücker noted that the inscription conflates the names of Heinrich vom Rhein zum Mohren (1477–1536) and Philipp vom Rhein zum Lindwurm (1484–1537).⁹ The two sobriquets "Zum Mohren" and "Zum Lindwurm" are *Hausnamen*, referring to the houses the brothers inhabited in Frankfurt. Heinrich vom Rhein was a member of Frankfurt's city council, held deputy mayoral office in 1508, and stepped down from his council seat in 1519; Philipp vom Rhein became a council member in 1530.¹⁰ Heinrich's life dates correspond better than do Philipp's to the ones given in the Frankfurt inscription. Also, unlike Philipp, whose only offspring died in childhood, Heinrich had progeny for whom portrait copies could have been made, for example, in divisions of estates.¹¹ In this light, as Brücker and also Bodo Brinkmann concluded, the sitter is probably Heinrich vom Rhein zum Mohren.¹²

Successive cleanings of the Museum's picture have considerably thinned its paint layers. Comparison of photographs dating from the periods of ownership of Viscount Lee (in 1937) and N. M. Friberg (by 1949) with the portrait today reveal a gradual

diminishment of details, in some cases approaching obliteration, as in the figures (formerly) on the bridge at the left and the windows on the house at the right, which are, as Katharine Baetjer pointed out, detectable at present only with the aid of a microscope.¹³ Presumably the cleanings also changed the overall appearance by reducing surface layers throughout, essentially flattening the volume of the figure and the depth of the landscape.

Opinion has divided over whether the Museum's picture is an autograph replica by Faber or the work of an anonymous copyist. In support of Faber's authorship, Baetjer acknowledged the painting's weaknesses in comparison with the original in Brussels but maintained that they are due mainly to the compromised condition, not the stilted hand of a lesser copyist.¹⁴ She dated the picture in the late 1520s in accord with the likely date of the original. For Brücker, however, the copy's deficiencies ruled out Faber's authorship.¹⁵ He noted the less precise rendering of the pomander and ring, the misunderstood form of the arched gateway at the top end of the road at the left, and the awkward downward turn of the road at the right. Brücker also pointed out the omission of the traveler and dog present in the Brussels original in the road at the right (also omitted, but not noted by Brücker, is the lower one of two buttons on the proper right sleeve opening of the coat). The missing features appear not to have been casualties of overcleaning, for they are absent even in the aforementioned photograph from the Lee collection that shows long-lost details. Brücker thought that the Museum's copy possibly dated before 1550.



Fig. 107. X-radiograph, detail of head, cat. 27





Fig. 108. Infrared reflectogram, detail of head, cat. 27

A look beneath the surface of the copy adds support to Brücker's doubts about Faber's authorship. X-radiographs of signed and otherwise securely attributed portraits by Faber, such as *Hamman von Holzhausen* (1529), *Gilbrecht von Holzhausen the Younger* (1535), *Justinian von Holzhausen and Anna Holzhausen, née Fürstenberg* (1536), and *Portrait of a Woman of the Stralenberg (?) Family* (ca. 1545) in the Städel Museum, Frankfurt, reveal that Faber applied lead white to faces in a very generalized manner.¹⁶ In contrast, the X-radiograph of the Museum's copy reveals a localized distribution of lead white that conforms to the facial features (fig. 107). For a comparable articulation, one must look outside the secured oeuvre, for example, to the *Portrait of a Young Man* in the Städel attributed to the circle of Faber.¹⁷ In addition, infrared reflectographic examination of Faber's underdrawings has shown that his normal practice was to apply only the most sparing contours.¹⁸ The Brussels original is typical in this regard, as it appears to contain no detectable underdrawing.¹⁹ In contrast, the Metropolitan Museum's portrait is plentifully underdrawn with contours and hatching (fig. 108). It seems unlikely that Faber, were he copying his own work, would employ underdrawing that

went far beyond his normal requirements. Finally, the Museum's portrait is painted on oak, a type of wood otherwise unknown in Faber's oeuvre. With the exception of one extraordinarily large full-length portrait on a conifer panel, all of Faber's supports for which wood identification has been undertaken are linden.²⁰ These significant anomalies in material and technique suggest that the Museum's picture is not an autograph replica by Faber; rather, it appears to be the work of a competent early copyist.

The Brussels original is thought to date about 1526–29, based on stylistic similarity to securely dated portraits of those years.²¹ Dendrochronological analysis of the oak support of the Museum's picture indicated an earliest possible fabrication date of 1512 and a more plausible date of 1522 or later; thus, the copy could well have been made soon after the original, although the dendrochronological result does not rule out a significantly later date. As Brücker rightly noted, the copy's manner of execution still appears to belong to the first half of the century, unlike the late sixteenth-century copy in Frankfurt. A date range of about 1530 to 1550 therefore seems likely.

J P W

CIRCLE OF FRIEDRICH HERLIN

28A. *Saint George*

28B. *Saint Sebastian*

Ca. 1475–80

Oil and gold on beech panel

Overall, each panel, $29\frac{3}{8} \times 13\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{3}{16}$ in. ($74.7 \times 34.3 \times .4$ cm)

Inscriptions: none

Heraldry / emblems: none

Marks on verso:

28A: at top center, on paper label beneath waxy coating, No. 2590 / Herlin / Zwei Heilige [two saints]; near bottom, in red paint, 29.158.743. On cradle (in different locations), on attached paper label, 1211; Georg / I; 34.4 – 74.9

28B: at bottom right, on paper label beneath waxy coating, 1491 $\frac{1}{2}$ / Friedrich Herlin 76.a. On cradle (in different locations) Seb / II; $34\frac{1}{2}$ – 74.7; on attached paper label, 1212

Frame: not original

Bashford Dean Memorial Collection, Funds from various donors, 1929

29.158.743

PROVENANCE: ?[antiques dealer, Munich; sale, Carl Maurer, Munich, unknown date, to Röhrer];² Sigmund Röhrer, Munich (by 1910); ?Dr. Pinder, Berlin (1915);³ [A. S. Drey, Munich, 1921; sold to Dean]; Bashford Dean, Riverdale, New York (1921–d. 1928); his estate, Riverdale (1928–29; sold to MMA)

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: These two paintings were once a single work executed on a support composed of three vertically oriented beech boards, for which dendrochronological analysis provided an earliest possible fabrication date of 1475.⁴ At some point the work was cut in half vertically. The two halves—*Saint George* on the left, *Saint Sebastian* on the right—match closely; less than .2 centimeter of the original composition between the two figures has been lost. The remains of an arch below each saint similar to the one above him indicates that a large part of the original panel was cut off horizontally. The top was also trimmed. An unpainted wood border and a *barbe* along the left side of the painting with *Saint George* and along the right side of the painting with *Saint Sebastian* indicate that the original panel was in an engaged frame when the white ground preparation was applied.

After the panel was cut in two, both supports were thinned to .4 centimeter and cradled. They have an overall convex transverse warp. The panel with *Saint George* displays a slight corrugation induced by the cradle; a split extending nearly the length of the panel from the bottom left edge has been reinforced on the verso with three pieces of mahogany placed between the vertical cradle members. A split in the panel depicting *Saint Sebastian* extends halfway up from the bottom left edge; it has been reinforced on the verso with a pine block placed between the vertical cradle members at the perimeter. The versos of both panels and cradles are thickly coated with wax.

The gilded hanging extending across the background of both pictures is not original and was added before 1910.⁵ The paint along the contours of the figures and at the edge of the hanging's decorative border was damaged when the area was pared down to accommodate the new ground preparation, bole, and gilding. There is restoration along the interface between the reworked passage and the original painting.

The full-bodied paint, applied in a robust manner, remains in fairly good condition. The reflections in *Saint George's* armor—in particular, those on his torso—are painted with energetic, hatched brushstrokes applied wet in wet. Scored lines indicating the perspective of the floor tiles are visible in raking light. The glazes used to color the tiles have been muted by abrasion and fading due to age. The

armored index and second finger of *Saint George's* left hand have been completely restored. There are losses along the splits and joins in the panels and extensive cracking and numerous losses in the architecture at the bottom of both paintings.

Infrared reflectography revealed extensive, boldly brushed underdrawing executed in a liquid medium.⁶ Hatching to indicate shading, a distinctive looping line in the curve of the arched openings, and contour lines for the figures could all be seen. The underdrawn faces are in somewhat different positions from the painted ones. A chest-level clasp on *Saint Sebastian's* cloak was drawn in but not painted.

These fragmentary panels show the standing figures of *Saints George and Sebastian*. *George* is dressed in a suit of armor and appears with his traditional attributes, the dragon, the lance and sword with which he defeated the creature, and a banner with a red cross.⁷ *Sebastian*, wearing a red, ermine-lined robe over his armor, holds arrows referring to his martyrdom.⁸ As indicated by the fragments of arches below, the saints must originally have belonged to the top half of a panel consisting of four figures, which, judging from the perspective of the architecture, probably formed the right wing (measuring approximately 150 by 70 centimeters) of a folding triptych.⁹ Presumably a complementary arrangement was present on the lost left wing. Sometime before 1910, when the *Saint George* and *Saint Sebastian* were first published,¹⁰ the panel to which they belonged must have been split front from back and cut horizontally and vertically, a once common way of creating multiple salable works of art from disused altarpieces.

The original ensemble of eight standing figures (four at left, four at right) was probably located on the wing exteriors, visible in the triptych's closed state. The continuous arcade in two rows, the shallow space, the dominant gray tones of the architecture, and the very broad, coarse brushwork all speak for such placement, as altarpiece exteriors were traditionally plainer in appearance and more summarily executed than the interiors. The hanging behind the figures was completely reworked, also before 1910; it was given a modern motif that only approximates fifteenth-century brocade patterns.¹¹ The reworking was probably done after the panel was dismembered, since the pattern repeats without an adequate interval on either side of the split column. As part of an altarpiece exterior, the original cloth was probably not gilded; more likely it was green, which would have contrasted well with the red robe of *Sebastian* and the red lance of *George*.

Wilhelm Schmidt first published these panels in 1910 and attributed them to Friedrich Herlin (ca. 1435–1500) of Nördlingen.¹² Georg Burkhart affirmed the attribution a year later and suggested a date in the mid-1460s, citing affinities with Herlin's paintings for the high altarpieces of the Georgskirche, Nördlingen (1462), and Jakobskirche, Rothenburg (1466).¹³ Ernst Buchner and later Alfred Stange aligned them instead with an anonymous painter in the



28A



28B

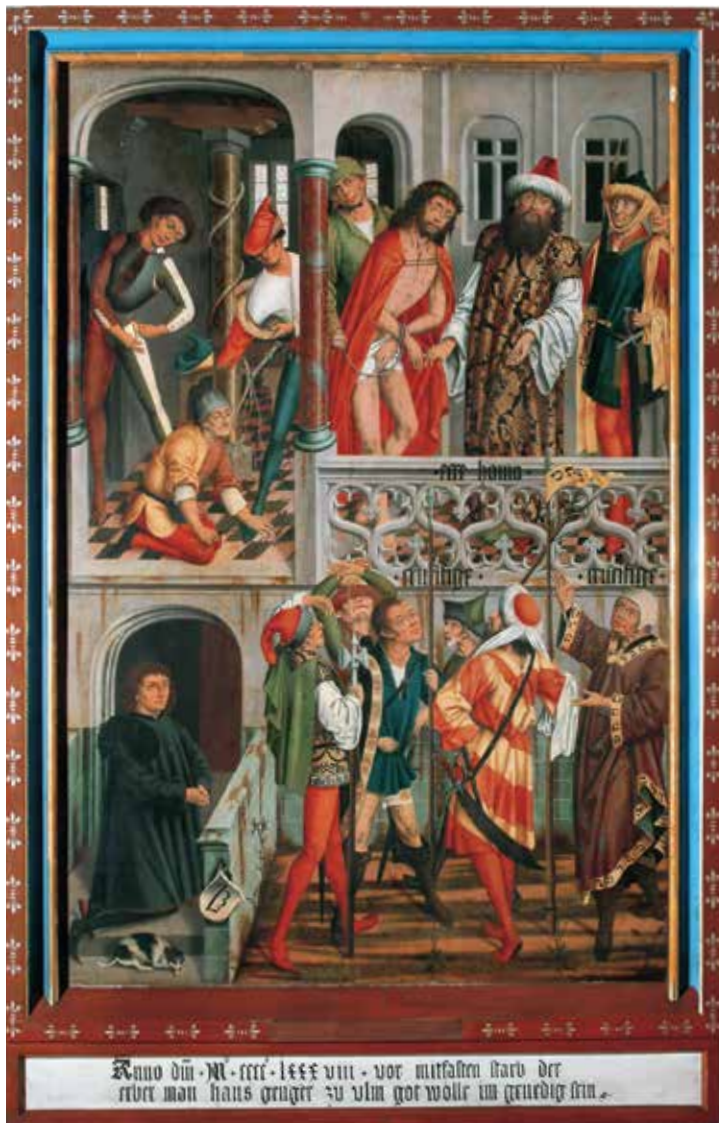


Fig. 109. Friedrich Herlin. *Ecce Homo* (Epitaph for Hans Gienger), 1468. Oil on panel, 67¹/₁₆ × 44⁷/₈ in. (172 × 114 cm). Stadtmuseum Nördlingen (7)

Fig. 110. Infrared reflectogram, detail of Saint George's head, cat. 28A



circle of Herlin thought to have been active in the third quarter of the fifteenth century called the Master of the Harburg Crucifixion, after a painting of that subject now in the Oettingen-Wallerstein Collection, Harburg.¹⁴ Charles Kuhn in correspondence with the Metropolitan Museum recognized a general stylistic dependence on Herlin and opted for a Swabian attribution about 1480.¹⁵ In 2005 Ralf Krüger retained the panels in the circle of Herlin and ascribed them to Friedrich Walther, who for a time was active alongside Herlin in Nördlingen.¹⁶ Krüger proposed a date in the late 1460s and saw in the Museum's saints an example of Walther's stylistic affinity with his better-known contemporary. Alternatively, Harry Wehle and Margareta Salinger maintained a Rhenish attribution based on a perceived similarity to the work of the Master of the Housebook, active in the Middle Rhine region.¹⁷

The origin of the paintings in the circle of Herlin seems likely, given the strong similarity of the facial types to those of Herlin and his workshop. The long cylindrical noses with pinched nostrils,

heavy-lidded eyes, reddened cheeks, and strong gray shadows are typical, as is the prominent triangular shadow at the temple of the Sebastian figure. Similar faces appear, for example, throughout the Nördlingen and Rothenburg high altarpieces of 1462 and 1466,¹⁸ as well as in Herlin's 1468 Gienger Epitaph in the Stadtmuseum Nördlingen, which also shows comparable architectural forms (fig. 109).¹⁹ In its overall form, the head of Sebastian is similar to that of Saint John the Evangelist in Herlin's *Votive Image of the Müller Family* of 1463 in the Stadtmuseum Nördlingen.²⁰ Furthermore, the infrared reflectogram of *Saint George* shows that the nose was initially drawn with the nostrils significantly higher than the tip (fig. 110); this manner of elongating the end of the nose by setting the nostrils at a sharp angle is encountered in numerous faces by Herlin. A similar cloth suspended against the wall and traversing the corner of the room appears on the exterior of the Nördlingen altarpiece, in the section depicting Saints Barbara and Dorothy and female donors.²¹

The motif of the dragon's tail wound around George's lance also speaks for an artist in the circle of Herlin, since it derives from Nicolaus Gerhaert's sculpted *Saint George* from the shrine of the Nördlingen altarpiece.²²

Despite the connections that can be drawn to Herlin, the panels frustrate attempts at attribution because they offer only a limited range of forms for comparison. An attribution to Herlin or his workshop seems implausible, given the marked coarseness of the execution, even allowing for the likely original position on an altarpiece exterior. Krüger's attribution to Friedrich Walther can be rejected based on close comparison with Walther's only secured work, the 1467 *Saint Wendelin* in the Bernisches Historisches Museum, which shows a different individual style and handling (see fig. 191).²³ The Herlin-circle *Crucifixion* and *Charity of Saint Nicholas of Bari* in Harburg indeed show some similarities, but the relationship seems too general to maintain, as Buchner and Stange did, that they are by the same hand as the saints in the Metropolitan.²⁴

The Museum's saints appear to be close to figures in the Herlin-influenced Altarpiece of the Three Kings of 1473 in the Bonifatiuskirche, Emmendingen.²⁵ In the *The Adoration of the Magi* panel there, the head of the page to the left of the Virgin Mary and of the kneeling Magus to the right show strong similarities to *Saint Sebastian*, as does the angel closest to the Virgin in the Emmendingen *Nativity* scene. Also closely comparable are the panels dated 1476 by the Master of the Nördlingen Passion (Stadtmuseum Nördlingen), a painter likewise stylistically indebted to Herlin.²⁶ These comparisons underscore the appropriateness of locating the Museum's panels in Swabia in the circle of Herlin.

Dendrochronological analysis of the beech-wood support suggested that 1475 was the earliest possible date of fabrication. On the basis of style and costume,²⁷ and in consideration of the dates of the comparable works in Emmendingen (1473) and Nördlingen (1476) noted above, a date of about 1475 to 1480 seems plausible for the Metropolitan's paintings. J P W

HANS HOLBEIN THE YOUNGER

Augsburg 1497/98–1543 London

29. *Benedikt von Hertenstein*

1517

Oil and gold on paper attached to wood panel

Overall 20½ × 15 in. (52.1 × 38.1 cm); painted surface 20¾ × 14¾ in.

(51.8 × 37.1 cm)

Signed, dated, and inscribed (at upper left): •DA•ICH•HET•DIE•GE / STALT•WAS•ICH•22• / •IAR•ALT•1517•H•H• / •PINGEBAT ~ / [. . .] S [. . .] (When I looked like this, I was twenty-two years old, [in] 1517 H H was painting [this] [. . .] S [. . .])¹
Heraldry / emblems: on signet ring, [largely illegible; presumably coat of arms of Hertenstein family (lion rampant surrounded by deer antlers)]²

Marks on verso: none

Frame: not original

Rogers Fund, aided by subscribers, 1906 06.1038

PROVENANCE: by descent in Hertenstein family, Lucerne (until 1819;³ sold to Burckhardt-Wildt); Daniel Burckhardt-Wildt, Basel (until d. 1819); his daughter Anna Katharina Burckhardt, later Werthemann-Burckhardt; her daughter Marie-Charlotte Werthemann, later Burckhardt-Werthemann; her daughter Julie Burckhardt, later Vischer-Burckhardt, and Peter Vischer-Burckhardt (?sold by Peter Vischer-Burckhardt in the 1850s); Charles Spencer Canning Boyle, 10th Earl of Cork and Orrery, Marston, Frome, Somerset (sale, Christie's, London, November 25, 1905, no. 50, to Cox); [Colnaghi, London, 1906; sold to MMA]

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: The portrait is painted in oil on paper. In 1906 the paper support was glued to a seventeenth-century wood panel composed of three pieces of wood, with the grain oriented vertically; it was then cradled.⁴ In 1936 the verso was thickly coated with wax.⁵ There are several dents and wrinkles in the surface, visible in raking light, as well as an overall pebbly texture typical of a paper support. Beneath the inscription by the artist at the upper left, there are fragmentary characters, including a capital S. Remnants of gray paint on top of the S are visually identical with the surrounding background paint and suggest that these characters may have been painted out by the artist, only to be exposed by later cleaning.

Infrared reflectography⁶ revealed simple contours drawn with a crumbly black material, perhaps charcoal or black chalk. Facial features, including a searching line for the contour of the chin and several curves for the right iris, nose, and lips, were put in place. When compared with the final painted image, the underdrawn nose is slightly more upturned, the right nostril almost visible, the mouth more open, and the right eye slightly lower and farther to the left. Infrared reflectography also showed certain contours of the cap, a general sketching-in of the form, and some folds in the red garment. The neckline of the shirt is drawn slightly higher than in the final painted image. Underdrawn lines in the hands, evident through the paint film, were also visible under the microscope. The frieze of figures, which exhibits a particularly fluid, facile technique, was apparently executed without underdrawing.

There does not appear to be an overall preparatory paint layer. Most of the portrait seems to have been painted directly on the sized paper, but an initial thin white paint was selectively applied beneath the flesh passages and the red-lake clothing.

All the sitter's jewelry has been enhanced by touches of gold leaf, affixed in the case of the six rings with a pale yellow mordant. The image on the signet ring is largely illegible. Four of the other rings are embellished with brightly colored gems, and a fifth is set with a cameo. The chain around the neck and the embroidered gold neckline use a buff-colored mordant and are also abraded. The gold aiglets dangling from the cap are somewhat abraded; under the stereomicroscope, only a few tiny strokes of what appears to be a brown resinous mordant can be located. The armrest of the chair is decorated with gilt highlights and small dots of gilding.

The paint layers are generally abraded and/or thinned, particularly the flesh tones and details of the hair. The upper corners are complete restorations. The bright green edging of the costume was painted in layers, beginning with white mixed with a coarsely ground blue pigment, followed by a yellowish green and topped with an emerald green glaze. The brilliant, transparent color and the tiny spots of brown in the glaze suggest that this is a copper-containing green pigment. In the dark passages, subtle shading and indications of folds are now suppressed owing to natural aging of the paint medium.

Seated in the corner of a room beneath a bas-relief frieze of a triumphal procession, this handsome young man gazes directly at the viewer. He is extravagantly attired in a pleated, gold-trimmed white shirt, black doublet, and wide-sleeved red jacket with black striped trim. A black cape is slung over his right shoulder. Covering his wavy red hair is a large red and black beret with slits embellished with paired gold aiglets. He wears four jeweled rings, and another with a cameo, and a signet ring on his left hand, prominently displayed on the armrest of a chair that is decorated with a roundel

with a faux Kufic inscription damascened in the Italian manner.⁷ The large, weighty gold chain around his neck completes his ostentatious attire.

In 1906 Paul Ganz first identified the sitter as Benedikt von Hertenstein, in part because of the signet ring's once-visible coat of arms, which Ganz described as an upright lion (the Hertenstein arms are a lion rampant surrounded by deer antlers).⁸ However, by 1909, when Ganz published his observations,⁹ the coat of arms was already less discernible;¹⁰ by 1913 it was nearly illegible.¹¹ Today it is unclear whether the upright lion was indeed distinct in 1906 or whether Ganz was led to this identification by the inscription, which states, "When I looked like this, I was twenty-two years old, [in] 1517 H H was painting [this]." Alternatively, both Holbein himself and his brother Ambrosius have been suggested as the sitter,¹² but this cannot be supported by the proposed comparative material. The more compelling evidence supports Ganz's initial identification.

Between 1517 and 1519, Hans Holbein the Elder and his son Hans worked together on an important commission to decorate the Hertenstein house in Lucerne. Scholars generally agree that the father painted the interior frescoes and that his son designed and executed the facade.¹³ The house was demolished in 1825 and is known today only by nineteenth-century descriptions, watercolor copies of the interior frescoes,¹⁴ and pen and watercolor drawings by Hans the Younger for various scenes on the building's facade.¹⁵ Judging from these renderings, Ganz believed that Benedikt von Hertenstein, similarly dressed as in the Museum's portrait, appeared in two of the exterior scenes—on horseback, accompanying his father on a duck hunt, and at the feet of Saint Benedict in a painting depicting family



Fig. III. Infrared reflectogram, detail of head, cat. 29





Fig. 112a, b. Hans Holbein the Younger. *Double Portrait of Jakob Meyer zum Hasen and His Wife, Dorothea Kannengiesser*, 1516. Oil on linden panel, each $15\frac{5}{8} \times 12\frac{1}{16}$ in. (39.7 × 31.9 cm). Kunstmuseum Basel (312)

members kneeling beneath their patron saints.¹⁶ Ganz's claim is more credible for the former than the latter example, although neither shows Hertenstein precisely as he is dressed in the portrait.

The facade of the Hertenstein house was decorated with various classical figures and themes, including on the upper portion of the second level nine scenes from the *Triumphs of Caesar*, based on Mantegna's famous series. Holbein employed a variation of the Mantegnesque motifs for the frieze in the Museum's painting—a procession of naked and clothed revelers advancing from right to left—which would have connected the portrait with the exterior decoration of the house.¹⁷ Stephanie Buck has noted the two trumpeters, situated precisely over the sitter's head, who boldly announce his heroic status.¹⁸

Benedikt von Hertenstein (ca. 1495–1522) was the eldest son of the mayor of Lucerne, Jakob von Hertenstein, and his second wife, Anna Mangold of Landegg. From 1511 he studied at the University of Basel. In 1517 Hertenstein became a member of the Great Council of Lucerne, an event that may have prompted the commission of this portrait.¹⁹ At an unknown date, he went off to serve with the Swiss mercenaries and died at the battle of Bicocca in Lombardy on April 27, 1522.

When this portrait was painted, Holbein was only about twenty years old and had not yet been admitted into the Painters' Guild in Basel, which he paid to join in 1519. Perhaps in an effort to save time and eliminate some of the more laborious steps of traditional portraiture, Holbein worked up his oil painting directly over the preliminary charcoal or black chalk sketch on paper (fig. 111).²⁰ In so doing, he modified his initial frank portrayal of the sitter, with its slightly



Fig. 113. Cat. 29, viewed from the right at a forty-five-degree angle

open mouth and rather bulbous upturned nose, to a more refined, elegant one. Holbein was experimenting with various modes of presentation at this time, as shown by the imposing *Double Portrait of Jakob Meyer zum Hasen and His Wife, Dorothea Kannengiesser* of 1516 (fig. 112a, b) and the tightly cropped *Adam and Eve* of 1517 (Kunstmuseum Basel).²¹ Considered in this context, *Benedikt von Hertenstein* is perhaps the most lifelike and dramatic of these portrayals.

Holbein employed several new strategies here that enhance the relationship between the sitter and the viewer. In a dramatic shift from the setting and lighting of the Meyer-Kannengiesser portraits, he placed Hertenstein in the corner of a room, strongly illuminating him from the left so that his form cast a dark shadow on the back wall. To further establish the volume of the figure, Holbein manipulated the setting.²² The side and back walls meet at an oblique angle, emphasized by the bas-relief above and the diminishing size of the letters in the inscription. He also subtly adjusted various details of the sitter in the paint stage, increasing the width of the neck, the height of the shoulders, and the position of the right eye. Viewed straight on, Hertenstein appears noticeably broader than he perhaps should, with an oversized left arm and hand. But, as we pass from left to right before the painting, he assumes more natural proportions and seems to project in a realistic manner out of his space into ours. As he engages us with his glance and we reach an angle of forty-five degrees opposite his image (fig. 113), we gradually experience the full force of Hertenstein's corporeal presence. The inscription becomes more prominent, and the authorship of the painting is featured. Holbein's striking effect

of verisimilitude, in which the ideal image of the man is recognized only "in passing," calls attention to the transience of life—both Hertenstein's and our own.²³

Scholars have scrutinized the inscription for its use of German for the part "uttered" by the sitter and Latin for the portion relating to the artist's role. Oskar Bätschmann and Pascal Griener contended that the presence of the Latin imperfect tense—*pingebat* (was painting), as opposed to *pinxit* (painted)—is a deliberate reference to Pliny's *Natural History* (1:26–27).²⁴ Pliny relates that Apelles, the greatest painter of antiquity, cast his inscriptions in the imperfect tense, with its implication of incompleteness, for several reasons: to express modesty, to fend off critics, and to indicate that the work had been interrupted and could be taken up again if desired. According to Bätschmann and Griener, in this painting the tense implies that Holbein's abilities will continue to improve and that there are greater achievements yet to come; it may also express Holbein's deliberate wish to associate himself with Apelles.²⁵ Johann Ekhardt von Borries challenged this view, citing the lack of documentary evidence that Holbein was either educated in such matters or personally identified with Apelles.²⁶ Furthermore, he noted that the artist was only the latest of several prominent German painters to employ the Apelles imperfect. The verb tense in this portrait may thus reflect not a special interest in Apelles but simply a current fashion.²⁷ Whatever Holbein's motivation, the Hertenstein portrait contains his earliest usage of this form of inscription, which appears later in considerably more ambitious paintings, such as *The Ambassadors* of 1533 (National Gallery, London).

MWA

HANS HOLBEIN THE YOUNGER

Augsburg 1497 / 98–1543 London

30. *Hermann von Wedigh III*

1532

Oil and gold on oak panel

Painted surface 16 $\frac{3}{16}$ × 12 $\frac{3}{8}$ × $\frac{5}{16}$ in. (41.2 × 31.4 × .8 cm); added strip at bottom edge $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (1.27 cm)

Signed, dated, and inscribed: (to left of sitter) ANNO. 1532.; (to right of sitter) ÆTATIS. SVÆ. 29.; (on cover of book) ·H·H·; (on fore edge of book) HER W [within a shield] WID.; (on sheet of paper inserted in book) Veritas odiū[m] parit:~ (Truth breeds hatred [Terence, *Andria*, 1.69])

Heraldry / emblems: on signet ring, coat of arms of Wedigh family (chevron surrounded by three willow leaves) and WH [monogram]

Marks on verso: on printed sticker, No. 43499 / picture; handwritten in ink on label, w[. . .] / 2(?) 2[. . .] / 9 / 7 / 2[. . .] / CA876;¹ stamped on same label, ZOLL / ·1-10·; stamped on glued-down paper, DO[U]ANES / [. . .] DE L'EST [. . .] PARIS; handwritten directly on panel, in grease pencil, CA876; on printed sticker, No. 25038 / PICTURE; at bottom left, 50.135.4

Frame: not original

Bequest of Edward S. Harkness, 1940 50.135.4

PROVENANCE: Grafen Schönborn, later Schönborn-Buchheim, gallery in Palais Schönborn, Vienna (by 1746–1903); Friedrich Karl, 10th Graf von Schönborn-Buchheim, Vienna (1903–23; sold to Duveen); [Duveen, London, Paris, and New York, 1923]; Mr. and Mrs. Frank D. Stout, Chicago (1923–35; sold by Mrs. Stout's estate to Knoedler); [Knoedler, New York, 1935–36; sold to Harkness]; Edward S. Harkness, New York (1936–d. 1940; life interest to his widow, Mary Stillman Harkness, 1940–d. 1950)

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: The support is composed of two radial-cut boards of Baltic oak, with the grain oriented vertically. Dendrochronological analysis indicated an earliest possible fabrication date of 1525.² A bevel is present on the right side of the verso, and there are narrower bevels at its top and bottom. Routing tracks measuring .8 centimeter in width from the original, engaged frame appear along the top and bottom edges of the verso. The panel may have been trimmed slightly. A cross-grain wood addition to the bottom, set into the routing track, increased the height of the panel by 1.3 centimeters. The panel has a slight convex lateral warp.

The panel was prepared with a white ground followed by a pink priming. This pink layer was used compositionally in the black robe, where it is visible

beneath the open, dark brushwork and creates a range of purplish gray tones. Furthermore, while the black paint was still wet, it was scraped through with an instrument, such as the pointed end of a brush, exposing the pink priming to indicate stitching along the edges of the velvet bands that embellish the shoulder seams of the robe.

Infrared reflectography³ revealed a cursive line indicating the contour of the head and the outlines of facial features, possibly executed with a dry drawing medium such as black chalk, as well as some reinforcements with a brush and black pigment. The line of the mouth and contour of the chin were painted slightly lower than the drawn lines, while the right eye was moved up during the painting stage. The profile of the right side of the face was adjusted slightly, and the outlines of the fingers were closely but not exactly followed in the paint layers. The infrared reflectogram also revealed a roughly painted reserve around the hands as well as adjustments of the contours of the fingers and thumbs during painting; in addition, it showed that the glove was painted over the thumb of the left hand.

The paint layers are in an excellent state of preservation, which is notable given the great economy with which the portrait was painted. The flesh tones are thickly applied, with smoothly blended transitions. A wet-in-wet technique was used for many of the facial details, including the eyelashes, the irises, pupils, and even the highlights of the eyes. Other details, such as some of the lower eyelashes and the fine light and dark strokes in the hair, were added over dry paint. The tiny, stubby facial hairs are individually painted. Although in general the clothing is thinly painted, a thick application of white paint was used for the low-relief embroidery on the shirt. The paper inserted in the book has a dragged edge that appears to have been made by lifting a straightedge off the still-wet paint. This contour was subsequently sharpened by overlapping it with the vivid green of the tablecloth.

Mordant gilding was used for the gold embellishments throughout the painting. For the clasp of the book, a thick, creamy white mordant produces a low-relief surface. The cream-colored mordant of the decorative design on the top edge of the book also creates a low relief, but not all the decorations laid out in this particular mordant were gilded. This suggests that the mordant may have dried too quickly, thus preventing the gold leaf from adhering. A full-bodied, creamy mordant is used for the oval-shaped crest of the ring; however, the gold adjacent to the oval has been adhered with a much thinner mordant. The monogram *WH* on the ring, painted with pale yellow, is so small it can be read only with magnification.

A thin, white, translucent mordant is barely discernible below the well-preserved inscription. It is most easily seen with magnification in areas where small changes have been made in the letters. Traces of gold indicate that some parts of the letters were initially broader, while others were smaller. The remains of the gilding in the inscription are for the most part found around the perimeter of the mordant.

Seated behind a table covered with a bright green cloth, this elegant young gentleman of twenty-nine turns to address the viewer with a self-confident, somewhat haughty look. He wears a black cap over his neatly trimmed brown hair, a black silk damask jacket with patterned sleeves, a fur vest, a black jerkin, and a crisp white pleated shirt with lace-edged collar and ties. In his left hand, he holds a pair of gloves,⁴ and on his index finger is a signet ring. The gilt and goffered fore edge of the unlatched book on the table is inscribed *HER W WID.*, while its top edge bears an interlaced-rope pattern.⁵ Stamped into the brown leather cover are the initials *HH*, and a Latin phrase is written in italic script on the sheet of paper inserted in the book.

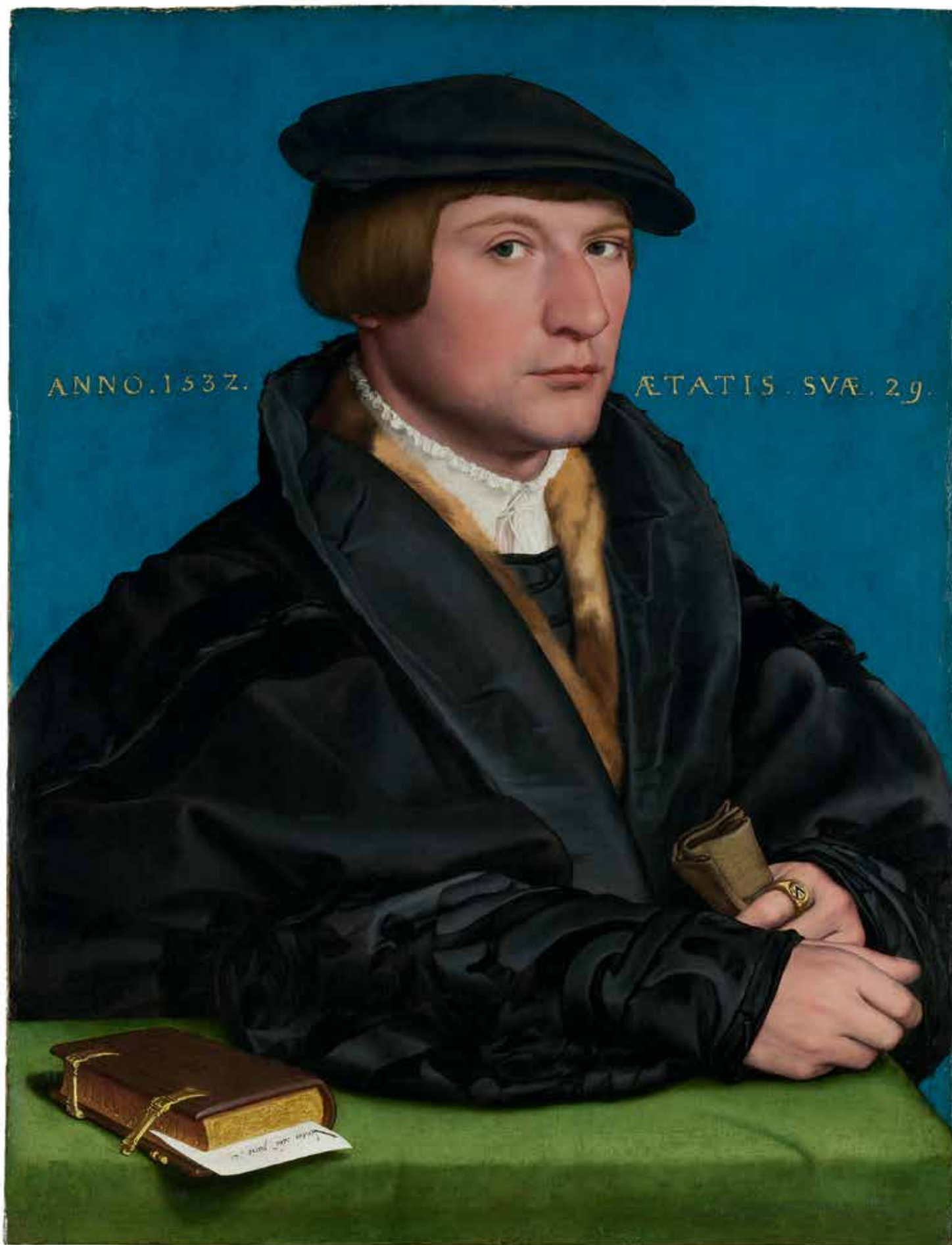
The attribution of this painting to Holbein has never been questioned. Because of its remarkably well preserved state, it is ranked

among his key extant works. The panel has long been identified as one of the earliest portraits that Holbein made of merchants of the Hanseatic League, whose guildhall was located in the London Steelyard (*Stahlhof*).⁶ The specific function of these portraits is not known,⁷ and they vary in size, composition, and pose of the sitter. Katrin Petter-Wahnschaffe has recently scrutinized these differences and, as a result, has separated from the Steelyard group the Museum's portrait, as well as those of Hermann Hillebrandt von Wedigh, possibly the sitter's brother or cousin (*Gemädegalerie*, Berlin; see fig. 115),⁸ and Derich Born (*Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II*, Windsor Castle).⁹ The sitters in these three paintings do not hold letters with their house marks or other references to their membership in the group. Petter-Wahnschaffe proposed that our Wedigh portrait and that in Berlin were intended for private purposes, as their smaller size might suggest.

The sitter of the Museum's painting has been most convincingly identified as Hermann von Wedigh III.¹⁰ Theodor von Frimmel recognized him as a member of the Wedigh family from the coat of arms on his signet ring,¹¹ which consists of a chevron surrounded by three willow leaves,¹² and from the inscription on the fore edge of the book.¹³ Frimmel's identification is supported by the tiny letters *W* and *H* above the shield on the ring (fig. 115), the initial of the family name coming before that of the given Christian name.¹⁴ The *W* within the shield in the inscription on the book might stand for "Wedigh" but could also be the symbol for the Windeck, an organization for members of the Cologne Merchant Guild, a professional and political group that elected representatives to the Cologne Assembly.¹⁵ The inscriptions flanking the sitter's head—the date of 1532 and the sitter's age of twenty-nine—strengthen the identification as Hermann von Wedigh III, who was the son of Hermann von Wedigh II and Barbara von der Linden. The initials *HH* on the front of the book may be another allusion to the sitter's name, "Herman Hermannsohn," but a reference to Holbein is probably



Fig. 114. Detail of signet ring, cat. 30



more likely;¹⁶ the artist signed *Benedikt von Hertenstein* (cat. 29) with the same capital letters. Although Hermann III is not recorded at the Steelyard in the 1530s, his name appears connected with various important matters in its register in the years 1553, 1554, and 1557.¹⁷ He was married to Sophia Hörners (d. 1567), with whom he had eight children, and became a judge in Niederich and an alderman of the Cologne Assembly.¹⁸ Hermann III died on December 28, 1560.¹⁹

The previously mentioned portrait in Berlin of another member of the Wedigh family, likewise identified by the coat of arms on his signet ring, is dated 1533 (fig. 114). That both paintings were in the Schönborn Collection, Vienna, in the eighteenth century suggests that they might have originally been intended to hang together. Although the Berlin portrait deviates from the Museum's in its frontal pose and the absence of the foreground table, the two have certain features in common: they are nearly exactly the same size and share the bright blue background with gold inscriptions in similar lettering, arranged to the left and right of the sitters' heads and indicating the years the portraits were made and the ages of the sitters. These appear to be the earliest examples of a type of inscription that subsequently became more commonplace in Holbein's portraits. Perhaps to engage the viewer in close study of the likenesses of



Fig. 115. Hans Holbein the Younger. *Hermann Hillebrandt von Wedigh*, 1533. Oil on panel, 18 1/2 × 14 3/16 in. (47 × 36 cm). Staatliche Museen zu Berlin–Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie (4234)



Fig. 116. Infrared reflectogram, detail of face, cat. 30



Fig. 117. Infrared reflectogram, detail of hands, cat. 30

these two men, or even to stress a common family trait, Holbein exaggerated the size of the right eye of each.

Unlike other portraits from Holbein's second English visit (1532–43), this one and the others of the Steelyard members are not represented by any surviving preparatory drawings.²⁰ Furthermore, a study of our portrait with infrared reflectography showed that the nature of the underdrawing does not indicate a transfer from a pattern drawing or cartoon, which was characteristic of Holbein's working method at this time. Instead of the rigid contour line indicative of a pattern transfer, this underdrawing shows a cursive line for the contour of the head and the outlines of facial features, possibly executed with a dry drawing medium such as black chalk, as well as some reinforcements with a brush and black pigment (fig. 116). Infrared reflectography also revealed minor alterations in the position of facial elements, including the right eye and the mouth, and in the hands (fig. 117), adjusted subsequent to the underdrawing in the paint layers alone (see technical notes above). The lack of preparatory drawings and the shifts from the loose underdrawing to the final painted stages may indicate that the Hanseatic League portraits were painted by Holbein directly from the sitter in his London studio. Whether or not this is the case, *Hermann von Wedigh III* was apparently sent home, possibly to Wedigh's family in Cologne, for the *Portrait of a Man* by Barthel Bruyn the Elder (Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig), dated 1539, closely follows the Holbein model.²¹

Additional information regarding Wedigh may perhaps be discerned from the book and its interleaved paper. Alfred Woltmann misread the inscription on the paper as "Veritas odiu[m] point [rather than *parit*]" (Truth breeds hatred) and presumed that the volume is a Protestant Bible of the type introduced into England at the time.²² In this reading, which was reiterated by Quentin Buvelot and Susan Foister, the "hatred" would refer to the turbulent times of the Reformation and the opposition to biblical "truth" that was advanced by reformers.²³ Wedigh's name on the fore edge of the book would

thus mark him as a supporter of Protestant reform.²⁴ However, the book is probably not a Bible, since those from the period were larger in format.²⁵ Another suggestion for the identification of the book, based on the letters *HER . . . WID* on its fore edge, is one of the publications of Hermann Wied, the archbishop of Cologne and a noted reformer.²⁶ This is unlikely, for the few texts by Wied published in 1532 were pamphlets in quarto format that, even if bound together, would not correspond in size to the relatively thick, octavo format seen here.²⁷

An alternative interpretation is perhaps more convincing in the light of humanist concerns at the time. The binding appears to be somewhat of a pastiche, derived from several different types of contemporaneous books, and offers no clear indication of its contents.²⁸ The Latin text, correctly transcribed as "Veritas odiu[m] parit,"²⁹ is taken from *Andria* (or *The Girl from Andros*) by the Roman author Terence. It was cited in antiquity by those such as Cicero (*De amicitia*, chap. 24), who rejected its sentiments in favor of admiration for the truth-teller.³⁰ Furthermore, the phrase was used as a motto by humanists in the sixteenth century, among them Erasmus, Bonifacius Amerbach, Paracelsus, Cognatus (Gilbert Cousin), and Pietro Aretino.³¹ When the phrase is taken in context—"Obsequium amicos, veritas odium parit" (Flattery produces friends, truth hatred), a secular interpretation seems more likely than one associated with reformist controversies.³²

The book, therefore, might well be intended as a classical text or even as Erasmus's *Adagia*, of which there were many octavo editions.³³ The inserted slip of paper would serve both as a reference to the content of the book and perhaps as the sitter's personal motto.³⁴ Rather than any reformist leanings, the phrase and book seem to represent Wedigh's humanist interests.³⁵ Supporting this interpretation is the prominent inscription in Roman capitals, a form commonly used by contemporary artists, including Cranach and Dürer, who often employed it for depictions of classical themes or portraits of prominent humanists.

MWA



HANS HOLBEIN THE YOUNGER

Augsburg 1497/98–1543 London

31. *Portrait of a Man in a Red Cap*

1532–35

Oil and gold on parchment¹ attached to linden panel
Diam., overall, with engaged frame, 5 in. (12.7 cm), of painted area 3¾ in. (9.5 cm); thickness of painted area ⅞ in. (.87 cm)

Inscriptions: none

Heraldry / emblems: none

Marks on verso: none

Frame: original and engaged, cut from one piece of wood with secondary support

Bequest of Mary Stillman Harkness, 1950 50.145.24

PROVENANCE: probably private collection, Paris² (until about 1891; sold to Engel-Gros); Frédéric Engel-Gros, Basel and Château de Ripaille, Thonon, Haute-Savoie (by 1897–d. 1921; his estate sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 30–June 1, 1921, no. 18, to Paravicini); his daughter, Mme E. Paravicini, Basel and Château de Ripaille (1921–at least 1924); [F. Stern, Brussels, until 1939; sold to Pinakos and Knoedler]; [Pinakos Inc. (Rudolf J. Heinemann) and Knoedler, New York, 1939–40; sold to Harkness]; Mrs. Edward S. (Mary Stillman) Harkness, New York (1940–d. 1950)

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: The support is composed of a circular piece of parchment set into the recessed center of a circular linden panel with an integral frame. The wood grain runs at a slight diagonal (approximately twenty degrees clockwise) from vertical. The panel appears to have been turned on a lathe, and three decorative concentric circles were engraved into the verso. While the back and sides are painted black, the frame molding has been gilded and enhanced with transparent black and red glazes, now abraded.

The painting is in excellent condition, with only some areas of light abrasion and a few scattered tiny losses. The linear cracks in the face and in the background at the right reflect the wood grain.

There does not appear to be an overall preparatory layer on the primary support, although under the stereomicroscope a cool gray underpaint can be seen in the area of the figure, and a white underpaint was used for the blue background. Infrared reflectography³ did not reveal any underdrawing.

The portrait appears to have been executed using an oil medium in a manner strikingly similar to that employed for miniatures, which are painted with an aqueous medium. The short, overlapping brushstrokes, particularly in the flesh passages, are commonly seen in portrait miniatures associated with Holbein. The linear details of the jerkin seem to have been applied wet in wet.

Judging from visual examination, a typical range of pigments appears to have been used, including a coarsely ground azurite for the background and vermilion and red-lake glazes for the jerkin and cap. The lack of definition in the hair is due in part to an age-related increase in the transparency of the brown paint.

The characters *H* and *R* embroidered on the jerkin have been reinforced with gold paint added at a later date. The fragmentary state of the gold makes the letters difficult to read clearly.

Against a monochrome blue background, this young, clean-shaven man poses in a white chemise with a collar of black-and-white English lace and a sleeveless red doublet with the black letters *H* and *R* enhanced by delicate gold embroidery. His short, pageboy-cut brown hair is covered by a red beret. It is possible that the portrait had a protective lid of painted wood,⁴ as does Holbein's small roundel *Philipp Melanchthon* of about 1535 (Landesgalerie, Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum Hannover).⁵ The structure of the frame and the excellent condition of the painting corroborate this supposition.⁶ Such intimate portrait capsules were easily portable as well as more affordable than larger-scale likenesses.

This painting has been attributed to Holbein since 1897, when it was first published in the catalogue of an exhibition in Basel devoted to the artist's works.⁷ Only Roy Strong and Claus Virch in 1963, followed by Hans Werner Grohn in 1971, expressed any reservations.⁸ But since 1978, when Graham Reynolds reaffirmed the extraordinary quality of the piece, other Holbein scholars, including John Rowlands, D. M. Klinger and Antje Höttler, and Susan Foister, have concurred.⁹

Starting in the 1530s and continuing into the early 1540s, Holbein made a number of small, round, bust-length portraits of various sitters, including potential wives for Henry VIII, members of the royal household, and servants to the king. Some were painted in oil on wood, others in bodycolor on vellum as miniatures.¹⁰ The Museum's portrait approximates Holbein's miniatures in its execution and handling as well as in its parchment support. It is closest stylistically to his 1534 roundel portraits of a courtier of Henry VIII and his wife in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (fig. 118a, b). The male sitter in Vienna shares the same pose and calm demeanor

as well as similar dress, a red coat with the initials *H* and *R* that indicate "Hendricus Rex" and service to King Henry VIII. Further supporting a date in the early 1530s for the Museum's portrait, as Foister has suggested, is the pageboy hairstyle, which had gone out of fashion by about 1536.¹¹

Considerable attention has been given to ascertaining the identity of the sitter here. At the 1897–98 Basel exhibition, he was identified simply as an official of Henry VIII's court.¹² Paul Ganz subsequently deciphered the embroidery on the jacket and noted that similar liveries were worn by other officials and members of the royal guard.¹³ Suggesting that the man's features appeared either German or Flemish, Ganz wondered if he might be a painter in Henry's service.¹⁴ Arthur Chamberlain elaborated upon these theories by linking the Metropolitan's portrait with the female pendant in Vienna, in which the sitter wears a Flemish costume and also, in his opinion, has German facial features.¹⁵ He therefore concluded that the Museum's sitter could well be Lucas Horenbout, court painter and, from 1534, sergeant painter to the king, and that the Vienna female portrait could depict Horenbout's sister, Susanna, who settled in England in 1522. At that time, their father, the renowned miniaturist Gerard Horenbout, served as court painter and had established a family workshop there.¹⁶ However, the identification of the Vienna portrait pair as Susanna Horenbout and her husband cannot be supported by any corroborating evidence.¹⁷ Although some authors have continued to support Lucas Horenbout as the sitter in the Metropolitan portrait,¹⁸ more recent publications have approached this theory with greater caution.¹⁹ The sitter was certainly an official at the court of Henry VIII, but what service he rendered to the king cannot at this time be firmly established.

MWA



Fig. 118a, b. Hans Holbein the Younger. *Courtier of Henry VIII and His Wife*, 1534. Oil on linden panel, diam. of each 4 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (11.8 cm). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Gemäldegalerie, Vienna (GG 5432, GG 6272)

HANS HOLBEIN THE YOUNGER

Augsburg 1497/98–1543 London

32. *Derick Berck of Cologne*

1536

Oil on canvas transferred from panel

Overall 21¹/₆ × 17¹/₈ in. (55.1 × 43.5 cm); painted surface 20⁷/₈ × 16¹/₄ in.

(53 × 41.3 cm)

Inscriptions: (at lower right) *AN^o 1536 ÆTA: 30·*; (at lower left, on cartellino) *Olim meminisse iuvabit* ([Perchance even this distress] will someday be a joy to recall [Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.203]); (on letter in sitter's hand) *Deme Ersame[n] Und / froe[m]me[n] Derick berck to / lunden upt staelfhoff[. . .] / befelt de[m] bode[n]* [Berck's merchant mark to right]¹ (To the honorable and pious Derick Berck, London, at the Steelyard [. . .] deliver to the [postal] carrier)

Heraldry / emblems: none

Marks on verso: none

Frame: not original

The Jules Bache Collection, 1949 49.7.29

PROVENANCE: probably Joceline Percy, 11th Earl of Northumberland, Suffolk House (subsequently Northumberland House), London (by 1652–d. 1670; inv., 1652, no. [2]; inv., 1671, no. [8]; George O'Brian Wyndham, 3rd Earl of Egremont, Petworth House, Sussex (until d. 1837); his son George Wyndham, 1st Baron Leconfield, Petworth House (1837–d. 1869); Henry Wyndham, 2nd Baron Leconfield, Petworth House (1869–d. 1901); Charles Henry Wyndham, 3rd Baron Leconfield (1901–27; sold to Duveen); [Duveen, London, Paris, and New York, 1927–28; sold to Bache]; Jules S. Bache, New York (1928–d. 1944; his estate, 1944–49)

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: The portrait was painted on a panel composed of three boards, the central piece of which was approximately 15.2 centimeters wide, and the two flanking pieces approximately 12.7 centimeters wide. Before entering the collection, the painting was transferred from the wood support to canvas, imposing an uneven, textured surface in the process.

The painting is not well preserved. The surface is severely abraded throughout along the wood grain and panel joins. There is a large loss in the arm at the right (associated with a vertical split in the panel), and a series of losses are found in the mouth and right eye; an area of restoration 1.27 centimeters wide is present around the perimeter. Holbein's characteristic deft brushwork, used to enrich the individual hairs and eyelashes of the sitter and the fur trim of his clothing, is badly damaged. The flesh tones, with their higher concentrations of lead white, the green cloth in the background at the left, and the opaque red cloth draped over the table are better preserved. The meticulous embellishments in black, such as the trim and tassel on the shirt and the flowing script on the paper fragments, are also fairly well preserved, as is the inscription at the lower right. Both pieces of paper were added on top of the fully painted ledge and hands.

Infrared reflectography revealed a small amount of underdrawing in the face and hands as well as an area of reserve for the hands.²

According to the inscription on the cloth-covered table,³ this portrait of a bearded young man was painted in 1536, when the sitter was thirty years old. He holds a letter in his left hand, while a scrap of paper inscribed with a line from Virgil's *Aeneid* lies nearby. The sitter is handsomely but soberly attired in a black cap and black velvet gown over a doublet with satin sleeves; his white shirt, with

exquisitely embroidered edges in blackwork in a meander pattern, is tied at the neck. Behind him hangs a green curtain, its cord decoratively dangling against a brilliant blue background.

The address on the letter identifies the sitter as Derick Berck, a German merchant who lived and worked at the Steelyard (Stahlhof), the London headquarters of the Hanseatic League.⁴ What has been identified as his personal merchant's mark is next to his thumb on the paper he holds.⁵ Heinrich Averdunk and Walter Ring, historians of the city of Duisburg, first identified the sitter in 1927 as a member of the Berck family of Duisburg.⁶ Günther von Roden subsequently concurred, citing a document of 1558 that mentions the family's address there and noting that the Bercks were respected merchants with ties to London.⁷ Later scholarship uncovered other documentary evidence that placed Derick Berck in Cologne, some fifty miles south of Duisburg. He may have become a citizen of that city, for a 1543 document in the Cologne Archives refers to him as "Dirk Bergh aus Köln" in connection with a dispute involving him and Derich and Johannes Born, two brothers who were also members of the Steelyard.⁸ In 1545 Berck is mentioned in another document as renting a room in London.⁹

The art historical literature has never challenged the attribution of this portrait to Holbein. The work is consistent stylistically and technically with the artist's other Steelyard portraits of the 1530s.¹⁰ No preparatory drawing on paper survives for *Derick Berck* or for the other portraits in the group. Indeed, the underdrawing (figs. 119, 120) does not show the characteristics of a transfer from a cartoon, as do the portraits that Holbein and his workshop made of individuals associated with the court of Henry VIII.¹¹ The Metropolitan's portrait may therefore have been worked up directly by Holbein at one or more sittings with Berck.

Notwithstanding its damaged condition, which Ralph Nicholson Wornum noted as early as 1867,¹² this forthright representation is among the most appealing of the Steelyard portraits. Its charm derives in large part from the sitter's warm, amiable facial expression. Berck appears fully at ease, despite the formal setting and the rigid frontal pose, which is employed in a number of the Steelyard portraits. His relaxed hands and the seemingly casual manner in which the cartellino is tossed to the side perhaps account for this impression.¹³

Various meanings have been proposed for the excerpt from Virgil's *Aeneid* on the cartellino that reads in full, "Perchance even this distress will someday be a joy to recall." Alfred Woltmann thought that the words were simply intended as a memento of a friend who had died.¹⁴ Deborah Markow interpreted them as a "sentimental reassurance to those left behind of Berck's eventual safe return [to Germany]." Thomas Holman, however, stressed that the passage came from a speech by Aeneas that was in effect a

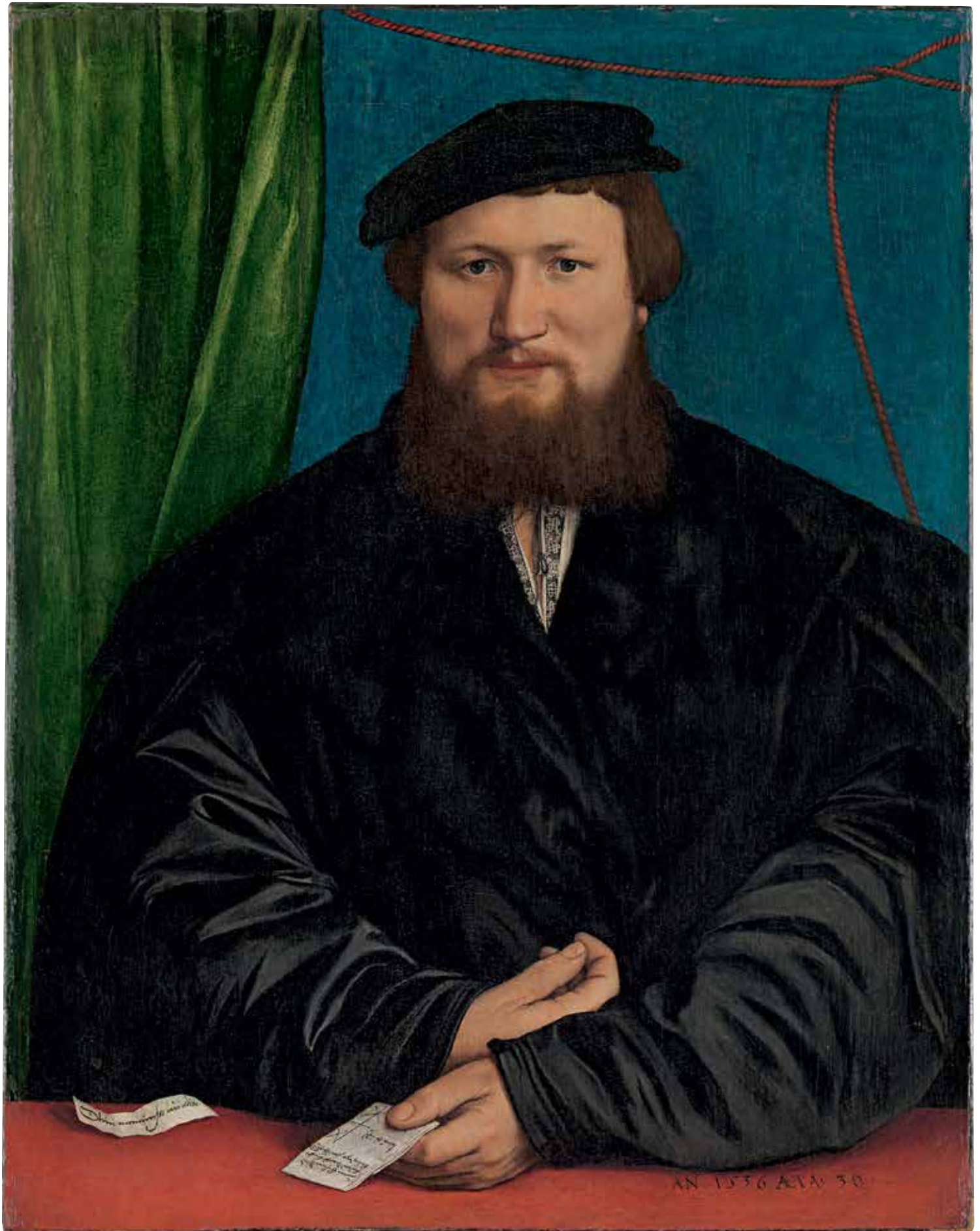




Fig. 119. Infrared reflectogram, detail of head, cat. 32



Fig. 120. Infrared reflectogram, detail of hands, cat. 32

“statement of encouragement” to his comrades, who were headed for considerable challenges before arriving at their new home.¹⁶ Holman thus interpreted it as meaning that Berck would fondly recall his days at the Steelyard only after having returned safely to German soil. Similarly, if the portrait were to be sent home, such a sentiment might be of some solace, as Markow suggested, to family members anxiously awaiting his return.

Katrin Petter-Wahnschaffe has recently challenged Markow’s and Holman’s interpretations, noting that the reference to future happy memories of London would apply to the sitter and not to his family and that it was thus unlikely that the portrait would have been sent home to loved ones.¹⁷ She argued further that, as part of a speech by Aeneas, the passage implied an address to more than one person, an idea also supported by the orientation of the script toward the viewer. Following Craig Kallendorf’s observation that Renaissance commentators regarded the *Aeneid* as a source of moral and ethical precepts, Petter-Wahnschaffe interpreted the passage as an “appeal to the forbearance, constancy, and steadfastness of the addressees.”¹⁸ This, of course, fits well with the routinely precarious situation of the Hanseatic merchants, who frequently encountered dangers at sea as part of their occupation. Petter-Wahnschaffe thus concluded that the portrait was intended for the Steelyard members

themselves, who would have found significance in the inscription. Far more speculatively, she theorized that the quotation may have been chosen to further Berck’s aspirations for leadership within the group.¹⁹

Still others have seen references to human mortality in the inscriptions. Susan Foister was the most recent to link the Virgil quotation with the phrase on the letter near Berck’s thumb, which Paul Ganz had transcribed as *besad dz end* (consider the end)—the sitter’s wish to be remembered fondly after his death.²⁰ Kurt Löcher interpreted the same words as advice to Berck to recall his Christian duty and bear in mind the salvation of his soul.²¹ Ganz’s transcription was, however, mistaken and led to misunderstanding in almost all the subsequent literature.²² Wornum alone was on the correct path when, early on, he transcribed the words as *befall ds briff* (deliver this letter).²³ As Joachim Deeters and Manfred Huiskes have lately recognized, the correct transcription is *befelt de[m] bode[n]* (deliver to the [postal] carrier) and thus has no relationship to life’s end.²⁴

Taken together, the recent findings and new interpretations concerning the texts in *Derick Berck* reinforce the notion that the Steelyard portraits were intended to hang together and to be appreciated by the members of this group rather than sent home to family in Germany.²⁵

MWA

HANS HOLBEIN THE YOUNGER AND WORKSHOP(?)

33. *Erasmus of Rotterdam*

Ca. 1532

Oil on linden panel

Overall $7\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{16} \times \frac{1}{8}$ in. ($18.4 \times 14.2 \times .32$ cm); painted surface $6\frac{7}{8} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in. (17.5×14 cm)

Inscriptions: (at upper left) [illegible; reportedly, *ERASMUS ROTERODAMUS* (Erasmus of Rotterdam)]; (on label on verso) [removed; reportedly, *Haunce Holbein me fecit / Johanne[s] Noryce me dedit / Edwardus Banyster me possidit [sic]* (Hans Holbein made me, John Norris gave me, Edward Banister owns me)]¹

Heraldry / emblems: none

Marks on verso: none

Frame: not original

Robert Lehman Collection, 1975 1975.1.138

PROVENANCE: John Norris of Fifield, Berkshire (d. 1577); Edward Banister (d. between 1540 and 1546); Edward Banister of Idsworth, Hampshire (1540–1606);² Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel (until d. 1580), Nonsuch Palace, Surrey; his son-in-law, John, Lord Lumley (until d. 1609), Nonsuch Palace, Surrey, Lumley Castle, and London; Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, and his wife, Alethea Talbot, Countess of Arundel (both d. 1645); Charles Howard of Greystoke; the Howards of Greystoke (sold to Morgan); J. Pierpont Morgan, New York (d. 1913); his son J. P. Morgan, New York and Glen Cove, N.Y. (d. 1943; his estate, sold to Lehman through Knoedler, New York);³ Robert Lehman, New York (1943–d. 1969; given to the Robert Lehman Foundation on his death and transferred to MMA in 1975)

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: The linden support has been thinned to .32 centimeter, adhered to a wood panel, and cradled.⁴ An unpainted border and a *barbe* along the top, bottom, and left side suggest that the panel was in an engaged frame when the white ground preparation was applied. The right side has been trimmed. X-radiography revealed that the blue background is underpainted with lead white.

In general, the portrait is in excellent condition and painted with an economy typical of Holbein. There is a narrow strip of restoration along the bottom edge, and small losses appear along the right edge. The blue background has a slightly striated appearance, due to discoloration and wear along the craquelure. All the brushwork in the face, particularly in the eyes, appears to have been completed quickly and deftly. Much of the paint was applied wet in wet, which suggests a fairly rapid working method. The shadowy stubble is formed of tiny dots of brown and shades of gray paint, with particles of blue and red pigments visible under high magnification. The sitter's hands are painted in a summary manner. The inscription on the *trompe l'oeil* label at the upper left is badly abraded.

Infrared reflectography⁵ revealed pouncing for the facial features and the opening of the coat. The profile of the nose was shifted slightly to the right when painted.

Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466–1536) was the most famous Dutch humanist of his day. A noted theologian and classical scholar, he published new editions in Latin and Greek of the New Testament, and his sermons and satirical writings were widely disseminated. Although he was critical of the Catholic Church, he never officially joined Luther and the other reformers, preferring instead to work for change as a priest within the Church. Called the “Prince of Humanists,” Erasmus was widely admired, and portraits of him were in great demand throughout Europe.

Erasmus and Holbein were close friends who had become acquainted when both lived in Basel. It was there in 1523 that Holbein painted two important portraits of his friend, one of which is in the Musée du Louvre, Paris,⁶ and the other in the collection of the Earl of Radnor, Longford Castle, Salisbury (fig. 121).⁷ The latter portrait served as the model for subsequent images, which were produced in three different versions:⁸ a half-length view of Erasmus holding a book, either open or closed;⁹ a half-length figure with overlapping hands, exemplified by the painting from the Robert Lehman Collection discussed here;¹⁰ and a bust-length roundel of which the primary example is in the Kunstmuseum Basel.¹¹ The Lehman Collection type, the most popular, inspired further copies, namely those from the workshop of Lucas Cranach the Elder after 1535 and others by Georg Pencz dated 1536–37.¹² While in the Arundel Collection during the sixteenth century, the Lehman portrait was engraved by Lucas Vorsterman, then exiled in England, and this engraving was copied later by Andries Stock in a print dated 1628 made in The Hague.¹³ This particular image of Erasmus also served as the model for a woodcut in Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia Universalis*, the earliest German description of the world, published in Basel in 1550.¹⁴

Although Ralph Nicholson Wornum was the first to publish the Lehman painting, in his 1867 monograph on Holbein, it was Sidney Colvin in 1909 who presented important information about the early provenance of the work, linking it not only to England but also to notable figures in the entourage of Henry VIII. When Colvin viewed the painting, there was a label on the verso in an old hand (dating to 1530–50, he thought) that read in translation, “Hans Holbein made me, John Norris gave me, Edward Banister owns me.” Colvin indicated that the John Norris (Norreys, Norrice), who first owned the panel, was a gentleman-usher to Henry VIII. Edward Banister was assumed by Colvin to be the man listed as an usher in 1526 and the owner when the inscription was made.¹⁵ Lorne Campbell later clarified the identities of these personages as most likely John Norris of Fifield, Berkshire, and possibly Edward Banister of Idsworth, Hampshire. This Edward Banister, younger than the one proposed by Colvin, was “a contemporary and near neighbour of Lord Lumley, whose extensive Sussex properties lay near Idsworth” and whose second wife was related to the second Lady Lumley.¹⁶



Fig. 121. Hans Holbein the Younger. *Erasmus*, 1523. Oil on panel, 29 × 20¼ in. (73.7 × 51.4 cm). Collection of the Earl of Radnor, Longford Castle, Salisbury, England (1658)

This refinement of Colvin's argument has the distinct virtue of providing a closer connection among the owners of the Lehman painting. In addition, as Campbell pointed out, his Norris and Banister were related by marriage to various persons portrayed by Holbein in extant portraits.¹⁷ It would have been while the painting was in the collection of John, Lord Lumley, that it acquired its *trompe l'oeil cartellino*.¹⁸

In light of the distinguished British provenance of the Lehman painting,¹⁹ scholarly discussion has largely revolved around the dates of its execution and arrival in England. Further questions have been raised as to its relationship to the other known versions. As Paul Ganz observed, the portraits of Erasmus are generally divided into those produced during Holbein's initial period in Basel (1519–24) and those made between 1528 and 1532, after the artist returned to Basel from his first stay abroad in England.²⁰ While the Lehman portrait is ultimately based on the 1523 Longford Castle likeness, its portrayal of Erasmus as grayer and more wizened indicates that it must have been made during the later Basel phase. The fact that its support is linden wood, frequently used in German and Swiss territories at

the time, also reinforces this conclusion; it is unlikely to have been produced in England, where Holbein habitually used oak panels.

The pounced underdrawing on the panel (fig. 122) signifies that its design was transferred from a cartoon that served as a model for multiple versions of the image.²¹ Its presence has raised questions regarding the authorship of the Lehman painting, which previously had been accepted by all major scholars of Holbein's works.²² Susan Foister recently catalogued the painting as Holbein and Workshop(?), Jochen Sander considered it a copy after Holbein, and Stephan Kemperdick noted that the Basel version, which he called Holbein Workshop(?), is superior to the Lehman example.²³ Of all the closest rectangular versions of comparable size,²⁴ the one from the Walter E. Boveri Collection in the Kunstmuseum Basel has a few sketchlike underdrawn lines at the contour of the left side of the face and at the nose,²⁵ while that in the Morgan Library & Museum in New York again shows pouncing but not in the same configuration of dots as in the Lehman painting.²⁶ Clearly, the demand for this image was great, and methods of streamlined production, including the use of cartoons, aided in efficiently meeting it.²⁷ However, the evidence of a cartoon transfer does not completely rule out Holbein's participation.²⁸ The facility of the handling and the impressive deftness of execution on a small scale, most notably in the eyebrows, fur edging, and stubbly facial hair, argue for Holbein's authorship. The preparation of the panel, transfer of the pounced



Fig. 122. Infrared reflectogram of pounced underdrawing in head and neck, cat. 33



33

design, and less impressive painting of elements such as the hands may indicate workshop participation.

How the Lehman painting arrived in England is yet to be determined. Erasmus may have felt the need to distribute such portraits to likely allies in order to promote dialogue between various factions of the Church. Derek Wilson suggested that the portrait was either sent to or ordered by John Norris, whose brother Henry was

a favorite of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn.²⁹ Or perhaps Holbein, seeing the advantage of advertising his abilities through wider dissemination of what had by then become the officially recognized image of Erasmus, may have brought several of these small portraits with him from Basel on his second trip to England. Whether the artist sold this painting or gave it away to members of the court, its first location cannot be readily deduced.³⁰ MWA

WORKSHOP OF HANS HOLBEIN THE YOUNGER

34. *Portrait of a Man (Sir Ralph Sadler?)*

1535

Oil and gold on oak panel

Diam., overall, 15½ in. (39.4 cm), of painted surface, 13⅞ in. (33.3 cm); thickness ½ in. (1.27 cm); thickness of surround ⅜ in. (.95 cm); depth of step, from painted area to surround, ⅛ in. (.32 cm)

Dated and inscribed: (at left of sitter) *ANNO DOM[INI] 1535*; (at right of sitter)

[A]ETATIS SVÆ 28

Heraldry / emblems: none

Marks on verso: at bottom left, in red paint, 49.7.28

Frame: not original

The Jules Bache Collection, 1949 49.7.28

PROVENANCE: H. M. Clark, London (shortly before 1924); Arthur W. and Alice Sachs, New York (by 1924–27; sold to Duveen); [Duveen, New York, 1927–28; sold to Bache]; Jules S. Bache (1928–d. 1944; his estate, 1944–49)

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: The roundel is made of two boards of Baltic oak originating from the same tree, with the grain oriented horizontally. Dendrochronological analysis indicated an earliest possible fabrication date of 1526.¹ The panel exhibits a flat, unpainted border approximately 3.2 centimeters wide, which is recessed .32 centimeter below the image area. The border is painted with a thin layer of black over a thick layer of opaque red. A compass point visible in the X-radiograph is an artifact of the manufacture of the circular format. The X-radiograph also revealed a central dowel, which indicates that the panel was originally turned on a lathe with an integral frame that has been removed. The roundel is cradled, and the reverse of the panel and cradle are thickly coated with wax.

The white ground preparation was followed by an application of a pale pink priming. Examination with the stereomicroscope and X-radiography revealed that the priming contains an opaque red pigment and lead white.

Abrasion and extensive restoration make it difficult to assess the quality of the original. There are losses along the panel join, as well as a large loss extending the width of the forehead above the eyes. Half of the right eyebrow and the whole of the left are lost and have been restored. There is a large loss in the beard associated with the central compass point and dowel. The inscription has been almost entirely restored with gold paint. However, when the panel is examined with the stereomicroscope, traces of the original gold and a gold-colored mordant are visible.

Infrared reflectography² revealed evidence of the use of a tracing: slight skips in the line, areas where a drawing implement was apparently removed and then placed down again in a slightly different location (for example, in the right eye), and reinforcement of some contours with ink (also in the eyes).³

A comparison of the underdrawing and the painting revealed a few discrepancies. The ear on the left, drawn slightly too high, was not painted. The curls in the beard, which are freely drawn, extend far lower onto the chest than in the painted version. The profile of the hat was adjusted during painting, and the turned-back edge of the shirt collar was painted in a slightly different position than drawn.

Infrared reflectography also revealed that an area was left in reserve for the hand, and that the gloves were painted over the hand and jacket. Additionally, the shirt cuff was extended and embellished with a more elaborate fold.

On his second sojourn in London, from 1532 to 1543, Holbein was attached to the court of Henry VIII at Whitehall Palace. There he catered primarily to the sovereign's requests, but he also counted among his patrons and friends many courtiers who were eager to have their portraits made by the king's painter. In his usual manner, Holbein began such portraits by capturing the likeness of the sitter on paper. While he had employed black and colored chalks on unprimed paper during his first visit to England (1526–28), he worked up the drawings of his second stay in colored chalks and pen and ink on pink primed paper that approximated the color of flesh.⁴ His meticulous drawings were in turn used as cartoons—one-to-one scale images—to transfer the details of the sitter's features onto the prepared ground of a panel.⁵ Many of these drawings have survived, an especially rich selection being housed in the Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II at Windsor Castle.

The *Portrait of a Man* can be directly linked to such a drawing (fig. 123), which was carefully prepared as a model for the painted



Fig. 123. Hans Holbein the Younger. *An Unidentified Man*, ca. 1532–35. Black and colored chalks on pale pink prepared paper, 10¼ × 7⅞ in. (26 × 20 cm). The Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Windsor Castle (RCIN 912262)





Fig. 124. Infrared reflectogram, detail of head, cat. 34

image. Not only do the size and features of the heads match exactly, but there are clear indications that the drawing itself was used to make a tracing onto the grounded panel. Precise, reinforcing metal-point and sharp chalk lines can be detected on most contours of the forms in the drawing, including those around the head, ear, and hat and in certain areas of the costume. On the verso of the drawing, remnants of black chalk are restricted to these same reinforced lines, indicating that the contours were gone over in order to achieve a transfer (using an interleaving carbon-coated sheet) of the main details of the portrait onto the panel. The underdrawing on the grounded panel shows the rigid contour lines typical of a transfer (fig. 124).

Certain details indicate that while the masterfully executed drawing is by Holbein himself, the painting was most likely produced by a workshop assistant. Even taking into account the compromised state of the picture, the demeanor of the sitter and the execution and handling of his costume are wooden and lifeless compared with the powerfully direct, vigorous expression in the drawing. The underdrawing on the panel is more extensive than usual on autograph Holbein portraits, perhaps suggesting the necessity of a more detailed plan for execution in paint by an assistant. I concur with Julius Held, John Rowlands, and Susan Foister in rejecting the attribution of the portrait to Holbein himself.⁶ Foister, observing that the hands are awkwardly

small and narrow for the size of the man, ascribed the painting to the workshop.⁷

The inscription reveals that the sitter was twenty-eight years old in 1535. This has given rise to the theory that he may be Sir Ralph Sadler (1507–1587), a diplomat and administrator whose biographical details indicate close connections with the court of Henry VIII.⁸ By the age of fourteen, Sadler resided in the house of Thomas Cromwell, in 1527 he became his secretary, and in 1535 he became clerk of the hanaper in chancery and built his own house in Hackney.⁹ Sadler was knighted in 1540 and appointed to the post of principal secretary of state to Henry. His long association with Cromwell led to his brief arrest when Cromwell was charged with treason, but Sadler renounced his mentor and resumed his post apparently without further difficulties. He continued to serve Henry, as well as Edward VI and Elizabeth, until his death at the age of eighty. The only other known likenesses of Sadler are his tomb effigy in Standon Church, Hertfordshire, and a full-length portrait showing him holding a hawk on his wrist, which survives only in a schematic copy.¹⁰ Although our portrait and the tomb effigy display certain similarities, the difference of more than fifty years between the two images—one drawn and painted and the other a stone sculpture—makes a reliable determination of our sitter's identity impossible. For now, the identification as Sadler must remain hypothetical. MWA

WORKSHOP OF HANS HOLBEIN THE YOUNGER

35. *Lady Rich (Elizabeth Jenks)*

Ca. 1540

Oil and gold on oak panel

Overall $17\frac{1}{2} \times 13\frac{3}{8} \times \frac{3}{8}$ in. ($44.5 \times 34 \times .95$ cm)

Inscriptions: none

Heraldry / emblems: none

Marks on verso: none

Frame: not original

Bequest of Benjamin Altman, 1913 14.40.646

PROVENANCE: Rt. Rev. Herbert Croft, Bishop of Hereford, Croft Castle, Herefordshire (until d. 1691); Sir Herbert Croft, 1st Baronet, Croft Castle (1691–d. 1720); Sir Archer Croft, 2nd Baronet, Croft Castle (1720–d. 1753); Sir Archer Croft, 3rd Baronet, Croft Castle (1753–d. 1792); his cousin Walter Michael Moseley, Buildwas Abbey, Iron Bridge, Salop, Shropshire (1792–d. 1827); Walter Moseley, Buildwas Abbey (1827–d. 1850); Walter Moseley, Buildwas Abbey (1850–d. 1887); his nephew Captain Herbert Richard Moseley, Buildwas Abbey (1887–1912; sold to Duveen); [Duveen, London and New York, 1912; sold to Altman]; Benjamin Altman, New York (1912–d. 1913)

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: The panel support is composed of two boards of Baltic oak, with the grain oriented vertically. Dendrochronological analysis indicated an earliest possible fabrication date of 1470.¹ It is possible that the panel has been trimmed slightly, for the paint is chipped and passages have been restored along the edges. A cradle has been attached to the verso.

The panel was prepared with a white ground and a thin pink priming. X-radiography showed that the priming contains lead white.

Infrared reflectography² revealed underdrawing, derived from a tracing and executed in a liquid medium, that describes the contours of the head, cap, shirt, collar, and bodice edge. Contour underdrawing of facial features, visible with infrared reflectography as well as in normal light, included the earlobe, jaw, chin, mouth, nose, eyes, eyebrows, and hairline. Infrared reflectography also revealed that the hand was painted larger than the area left in reserve.

Widespread abrasion makes it difficult to assess the quality of the original. The background, originally a vibrant greenish blue, is concealed by dull green restoration paint that exhibits drying cracks throughout. Other areas that have been extensively restored include the cap, the jacket and headdress, and portions of the index and middle fingers. The face appears almost completely flat, and the remaining modeling has been reinforced with restoration. The final modeling on the white cuff has been completely removed. A hint of the original pinkish lip color is visible with magnification. There are small losses along the panel join.

The ring and the large, round brooch were made with oil gilding, applied to an off-white mordant and then enhanced with glazes. In both, the original gold is damaged and has been restored with gold restoration paint. The brownish red glazes used to depict the scene on the brooch are severely abraded and have been restored. The original red stone set in the center of the ring is damaged and partially concealed by black restoration paint.

This rather dour woman is conservatively attired in a black damask or velvet gown with a high neck and turned-back collar lined with white.³ The white shift beneath has a frilled collar neatly tied at the neck and gathered cuffs that emerge at the wrist and through slits in the sleeves. The lady wears an English-style gable headdress with a black hood that was no longer fashionable by 1540, although still worn by older women.⁴ The only departures from her somber attire are a red-jeweled ring and a large gold brooch, possibly representing a mythological scene meant to suggest her good character or learned interests.⁵

Although initially thought to be Catherine of Aragon,⁶ the sitter was correctly identified by both Alfred Woltmann and Ralph Nicholson Wornum as Lady Rich.⁷ Their findings were based on the direct correlation of the Museum's portrait with a preliminary drawing by Holbein in the Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II that is inscribed with Lady Rich's name (see fig. 126).⁸ Born Elizabeth Jenks, she was the daughter of a well-to-do London spice merchant.⁹ In 1535 she married Richard Rich, with whom she had at least twelve children.¹⁰ Rich served as solicitor general in 1533, ascended to the nobility as the first Baron Rich in 1548, and became lord chancellor in the same year.¹¹ An opportunistic lawyer, he rose in prominence at Henry VIII's court through a privileged relationship with Thomas Cromwell. Later on, through his treachery, he ensured the demise of a number of leading political and religious figures, including Cromwell, Thomas More, and Bishop Fisher.¹² Lady Rich, who died in 1588, outlived her husband by more than twenty years.

Holbein's preparatory drawings on paper for pendant portraits of the Riches are preserved at Windsor Castle (figs. 125, 126).¹³ The corresponding paintings presumably once existed, although none of Sir Richard has survived,¹⁴ and the two remaining of Lady Rich arguably do not exhibit the artist's typically refined handling and execution, but are instead workshop copies.¹⁵ Our painting was regarded as by Holbein's own hand¹⁶ until Paul Ganz cast doubt on its authorship in 1937;¹⁷ he maintained that opinion when another, in his view autograph, version surfaced the following year.¹⁸ Harry Wehle had the opportunity in 1940 to study the Museum's painting and the second version (then at the Schaeffer Galleries, New York) side by side and concluded that both were copies of a lost original and were of comparable quality.¹⁹ This opinion gained widespread support and has been maintained to this day.²⁰

More recently, the formerly Schaeffer Galleries version has resurfaced as part of the Georg Schäfer Collection, Schweinfurt, Germany.²¹ Technical comparisons of this portrait with ours indicated that the two share many features: their oak supports are almost exactly the same size,²² and the paintings employ similar materials and techniques.²³ Their underdrawings both reveal signs that the main contours and features of the head and upper torso were



Fig. 125. Hans Holbein the Younger. *Sir Richard Rich, Later First Baron Rich* (1496/97–1567), ca. 1535–40. Black and colored chalks and pen and ink on pale pink prepared paper, 12 $\frac{5}{8}$ \times 10 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (32.1 \times 26.4 cm). The Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Windsor Castle (RCIN 912238)



Fig. 126. Hans Holbein the Younger. *Lady Rich*, ca. 1535–40. Black and colored chalks, pen and ink, and metalpoint on pale pink prepared paper, 14 $\frac{3}{4}$ \times 11 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (37.5 \times 30.2 cm). The Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Windsor Castle (RCIN 912271)

transferred from a preliminary drawing on paper. A Mylar photostat overlay of the Windsor Castle drawing of Lady Rich corresponds closely with the underdrawing on the panel of the Museum's painting, indicating that Holbein's drawing was available to the artist who executed our portrait.²⁴ The contours of the forms in the drawing that were gone over with a stylus correspond directly to those lines in the underdrawing that were reinforced with pen or brush and ink (fig. 127). The Schäfer version also derived from a design that was transferred to the panel, but in that case, the method was pouncing, which was then gone over with pen.²⁵ Thus, although the patterns used for the two paintings were not exactly the same, each pattern can be associated directly with Holbein's preparatory drawing.

The two portraits of Lady Rich are among several examples for which the design was clearly based on an autograph drawing by Holbein, but the painting was executed by a follower working in the artist's immediate environment (see, for example, cat. 34). These works support the theory that a Holbein workshop in some form must have existed.²⁶ Even though guild regulations prohibited foreign artists in London from having their own workshops or assistants, it is possible that those working at the court of Henry VIII were not subjected to such rules.²⁷ In light of these observations,



Fig. 127. Infrared reflectogram, detail of head, cat. 35



the Metropolitan's *Lady Rich*, like the version in the Schäfer Collection, can be attributed to an anonymous member of a putative Holbein workshop.

But when would our version of *Lady Rich* have been painted?²⁸ Although not by Holbein, the painting clearly dates from his second English period (1532–43) at the earliest.²⁹ The marriage of Elizabeth Jenks to Richard Rich in 1535 may well have provided an occasion

for the commission of a portrait pair and later copies of it.³⁰ The costume indicates a date of about 1540,³¹ which places the stylistic restraint and somber palette of the portrait in line with similar works from the same time, including the late portraits of Lady Lee (cat. 36), Lady Vaux (Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Hampton Court Palace), and Lady Butts (Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston).³²

MWA

WORKSHOP OF HANS HOLBEIN THE YOUNGER

36. *Lady Lee (Margaret Wyatt)*

Early 1540s

Oil and gold on oak panel

Overall 17³/₈ × 13³/₈ × ³/₈ in. (44.1 × 34 × .95 cm)

Inscriptions: (to left of sitter) • ETATIS •; (to right of sitter) • SVÆ • 34 •

Heraldry / emblems: none

Marks on verso: none

Frame: not original

Bequest of Benjamin Altman, 1913 I4.40.637

PROVENANCE: Palmer family;¹ Major Charles Palmer, Dorney Court, Windsor (by 1907–12; sold to Gimpel & Wildenstein); [Gimpel & Wildenstein, Paris and New York, 1912; sold to Altman]; Benjamin Altman, New York (1912–d. 1913)²

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: The support is a single piece of English oak with the grain oriented vertically. It has been trimmed on all sides and cradled. Dendrochronological analysis suggested an earliest possible fabrication date of 1515.³

The painting is in fairly good condition, although there are repairs concealing numerous pinpoint losses, particularly noticeable in the face and hands. At some point after the completion of the work, a strip of warm ochre paint, .79 centimeter wide, was applied around the perimeter, skirting the pendant.

The panel was prepared with a white ground and a thin, pale pink priming containing a vivid orange-red pigment. The priming contributes to the distinctly rosy cast of the painting.

The gold inscription and decorations, characteristic of oil gilding, are well preserved. X-radiography revealed that the cream-colored mordant contains lead white. Infrared reflectography⁴ showed an underdrawing, deriving from a tracing and executed in a liquid medium, that includes basic contours such as the facial features, hairline, hands, and cuffs of the shirt. In a few areas (along the edges of the hairline and the jawline, for example), the black underdrawing can be seen through the paint layers and in the losses. The painted frill of the right cuff deviates noticeably from that in the underdrawing, although both are in the same fashion of dress. The thumb of the left hand was lengthened when painted. The line of the drawn necklace lies slightly lower on the neck than its painted counterpart.

The flesh is a striking pink, produced by a mixture using abundant opaque red pigment that is visible with magnification. A narrow passage of the original paint, extending from the bridge of the nose to the chin, is virtually free of cracks and corresponds to a highly radio-opaque area in the X-radiograph.

The background is painted with two layers of a thick, opaque blue composed of smalt mixed with a small amount of lead white that displays the finest crack pattern in the painting and, in raking light, is higher in plane than the figure.

The dress was essentially painted in two stages. An underpainting with a somewhat modulated pinkish brown was followed by finishing layers executed wet in wet with a range of rich orangey browns, modified with black to create the elaborate damask pattern. Interlayer cleavage has resulted in numerous small losses in the top layer. The red petticoat was painted with an opaque orange-red underlayer, glazed with a red lake; this area is damaged and has been restored.

With her erect posture and exceedingly angular features, this aristocratic lady projects a cold, rather distant demeanor. She is sumptuously dressed in the court style of the day in a gown of brown damask with a foliate pattern and leg-of-mutton sleeves adorned with gold aiglets. Matching the white, turned-back collar of her gown are the full, gathered undersleeves; beneath is a rose-colored petticoat. The lady's French bonnet is adorned with a crescent-shaped band of alternating pearls and gold filigree squares. Her extravagant jewelry also includes a gold chain-link necklace, a red silk flower,⁵ two rings with gems, and, hanging below her waist, a large gold pendant with an image of the Roman heroine Lucretia in relief above an imposing rectangular-cut precious stone.

This painting was first exhibited, simply as *Portrait of a Lady*, in 1907 at the Royal Academy of Arts, London.⁶ Lionel Cust subsequently established the relationship between the portrait and a version belonging to the Viscount Dillon at Ditchley, Oxfordshire.⁷ A late sixteenth-century copy, the Dillon portrait is inscribed on the verso "Lady Lee, mother of Sir H. Lee, K.G."⁸ This identification of the sitter as Lady Margaret Lee, born Margaret Wyatt, is strengthened by the fact that the Dillon family was a branch of the Lees and claimed her as their ancestor.⁹ Furthermore, Margaret Wyatt was an ancestor of the Palmer family, which allegedly owned the



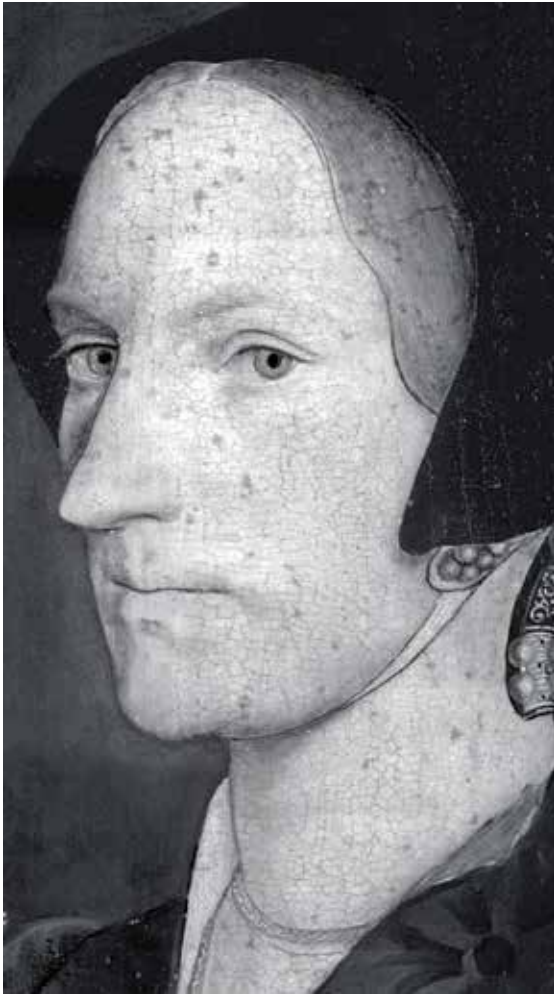


Fig. 128. Infrared reflectogram, detail of head, cat. 36

Fig. 129. Infrared reflectogram, detail of hands, cat. 36



Metropolitan's portrait from at least 1640 until Major Charles Palmer sold it to Benjamin Altman in 1912.¹⁰ The identification of the sitter is also supported by details of her biography. Margaret Wyatt was baptized in 1509.¹¹ According to the inscription on the painting, the sitter was thirty-four at the time the portrait was made; the estimated date of execution thus provided, the 1540s, corresponds to the presumed date of the work.¹²

Margaret Wyatt grew up in a family with close connections to the court. Her father, Sir Henry Wyatt the Elder of Allington Castle, Kent, was allied with Henry VII and Henry VIII and served as privy councillor and treasurer of the king's chamber. Her brother, Sir Thomas Wyatt, was the foremost Tudor poet and an ambassador at Henry's court, while her sister, Mary Wyatt, attended Ann Boleyn at the scaffold. Margaret was married to Sir Anthony Lee, M.P., and bore him nine children. Unfortunately, little else can be discovered about her, her husband, or their family life. Nothing further can therefore be suggested concerning the meaning of the prominently displayed pendant of Lucretia, other than that Lady Lee hoped to present herself as a virtuous woman.¹³

Holbein was acquainted with the sitter's father, for it was Henry Wyatt, in his role as treasurer, who paid the artist for design work for the Greenwich Revels.¹⁴ Holbein also painted Henry's portrait in

about 1535 (Musée du Louvre, Paris) and carried out other commissions for various members of the family.¹⁵ However, the question of his authorship of *Lady Lee* has persisted since Roger Fry first cast doubt on it in 1909.¹⁶ While Fry acknowledged that the work was painted in Holbein's manner, he rightly noted the extraordinary attention paid to decorative effects and linear details at the expense of the sense of life that regularly imbues the sitter's expression in the autograph paintings. The concentration here on ornament and line also produces a planar effect that shows little of Holbein's customary attention to spatial depth and volume. Thomas Holman furthermore noted that the hands and arms are not well proportioned and that the pendant is awkwardly inserted. He even wondered whether the costume could be a pastiche based on those in other Holbein portraits.¹⁷ Perhaps most disturbing is the distinctly pinkish flesh tone, which is uncharacteristic of Holbein and probably resulted from a different understanding of the way in which he attained the extraordinarily luminous, pearly flesh tones of his portraits.¹⁸

Nonetheless, the high quality of the work has produced its defenders, among them Martin Conway and Paul Ganz.¹⁹ When acquired by Altman in 1912, the picture was praised as an admirable example of Holbein's work and heralded as "one of the best known of the many fine Holbeins in English collections."²⁰ More

recently, with renewed scrutiny of its technique and execution, the painting has come to be regarded as a copy by a talented follower of the artist.²¹ Roy Strong identified two portraits sharing certain characteristics with the Museum's painting, particularly the sitter's three-quarter pose facing left, the raised blue background, and the emphasis on ornament and linear treatment. He found these features in the *Portrait of an Unknown Lady from the Fitzwilliam Family* (Fitzwilliam Collection, Milton Hall, Cambridgeshire) and the *Unknown Lady* (formerly identified as Catherine Howard; Toledo Museum of Art), both dated to the 1540s.²² Strong now considers

our painting an early version of a lost original and dates it about 1542–43.²³ Such a dating would correspond with the style of the costume, especially the type of French hood, which was apparently introduced by Queen Catherine Howard in 1540 as a replacement for a more angular version.²⁴ A date in the early 1540s would place the portrait at the end of Holbein's life. Given the fact that the underdrawing indicates dependence on a preexisting, same-scale pattern or drawing (figs. 128, 129)—which was exactly the practice Holbein employed at the court of Henry VIII²⁵—the painter of *Lady Lee* may have belonged to the workshop of the master.²⁶ MWA

WORKSHOP OF HANS HOLBEIN THE YOUNGER

37. *Portrait of a Young Woman*

Ca. 1540–45

Oil and gold on oak panel

Overall $11\frac{3}{4} \times 9\frac{3}{4} \times \frac{1}{8}$ in. (29.8 × 24.8 × .32 cm); painted surface $11\frac{1}{8} \times 9\frac{3}{16}$ in. (28.3 × 23.3 cm)

Inscriptions: (to left of sitter) *ANNO*; (to right of sitter) *ETATIS SVÆ • XVII*

Heraldry / emblems: none

Marks on verso: various inscriptions and labels, including printed-paper loan label attached to upper crossbar; written on panel in yellow chalk or crayon, above center, *C214*; written in black ink on paper label, above lower crossbar and to right of center, 23; illegible circular stamp on fragmentary paper label, at left of center, directly above lower crossbar

Frame: not original

The Jules Bache Collection, 1949 49.7.30

PROVENANCE: Prince Józef Antoni Poniatowski; Count Kasimir Rzewuski; his daughter Countess Ludwika Rzewuska Lanckorońska, and her husband, Count Antoni Lanckoroński; their sons, Count Karl Lanckoroński (d. 1863) and/or Count Kasimir Lanckoroński, Vienna; Count Kasimir Lanckoroński, Vienna (by 1866—at least 1872); Count Karol Lanckoroński, Vienna (by 1903—at least 1927); [Duveen, Paris, London, and New York, until 1928; sold to Bache]; Jules S. Bache, New York (1928–d.1944; his estate, 1944–49)

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: The panel is a single board of oak from western Germany or the Netherlands, with the grain oriented vertically. Dendrochronological analysis indicated an earliest possible fabrication date of 1522.¹ The paint extends to the edges and is chipped, which suggests that the panel is slightly trimmed. Four strips of oak with mitered corners have been nailed to the perimeter. Two oak crossbars, adhered to the verso at the top and bottom edges, overlap these strips.

The panel was prepared with a thin white ground followed by an even thinner pale pink priming.

Infrared reflectography revealed three types of underdrawing: broad strokes made with a thick brush and a liquid medium, used for the contours

of the puffed red undersleeves; finer, more tentative brush lines, also in a liquid material, used for the contours of the hands and ends of the cuffs; and faint, schematic contours, used for the neck and shoulder, head, chin, lips, and eyes, with some diagonal hatching below the jaw and chin.² While the position of the hands remained unchanged during the painting stage, the underdrawn contours were only loosely followed. The contour of the chin was adjusted slightly during painting.

The painting has been abraded and extensively restored. The originally cool, vibrant blue background has been overpainted with a grayish blue-green paint. A rectangular area of restoration above the arm at the far right appears yellowish. There are restored areas in the dark clothing and the face. Retouching of the mouth may contribute to the exaggerated pout.

With magnification, very finely ground opaque and transparent red pigments are visible in the relatively well preserved undersleeves and in the red trim on the cap. The cream-colored passages, such as in the cap and the edging of the neckline, are well preserved, although the dark brown paint describing the pattern of the lace edging is abraded.

A pale, cream-colored mordant was originally used to attach the gilding on the inscription, jewelry, embroidery, and aiglets. The gilded inscription has been damaged and reinforced with paint. The amber-colored glaze on the braided decoration of the cuffs is abraded. The damaged glazes modeling the faces in the brooch have been restored.

The style of this young woman's sumptuous attire indicates that she was most likely a member of the English royal court from about 1540 to 1547, during the time of Catherine Howard and Catherine Parr. Her black velvet gown has full satin sleeves and red fabric pushed through the slashing, which is fastened at regular intervals with gold Moresque aiglets; its embroidered square-cut neckline is decorated with alternating clusters of pearls and gold-filigree buttons. Over her reddish-brown hair, the woman wears a French hood with an upper biliment of gold, oval-shaped beads and a French cap with a shortened biliment decorated with pearls. Her extravagant



Fig. 130. Infrared reflectogram, detail of head, cat. 37

jewelry includes a gold chain composed of black-enameled rings with a large gold-filigree pendant and a cameo brooch representing two antique heads, possibly a man and a woman.³

Given her lavish costume, the woman must have been of the highest levels of society, although her exact identity remains elusive.⁴ Most recently, Susan James and Jamie Franco have suggested that she is Catherine Howard on the basis of her similarity to the sitter in a portrait miniature at the Yale Center for British Art, New Haven.⁵ Although the portraits share certain details of costume and ornament, the physiognomies of the sitters are strikingly different. Another group of portraits perhaps offers a closer comparison for our sitter. These works represent the woman, usually identified as Howard, who is found in two miniatures (Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Windsor Castle, and Duke of Buccleuch Collection, Boughton House)⁶ and in a larger panel painting (Toledo Museum of Art).⁷ These portraits all present, though in reverse, a three-quarter view of a lady with folded hands; the miniatures feature the French hood with decorative biliments and the square, elaborately decorated neckline, while the Toledo portrait has the puffy sleeves with aiglets. However, the poor condition and considerably restored face of the Museum's portrait preclude any determination of whether our sitter can be identified with those in the other paintings. Nevertheless, the details of the costume do suggest that the portrait was most likely produced about 1540–45.⁸ According to the heavily reinforced but original inscription, the woman was seventeen years old at the time that her portrait was made.

Because it generally exhibits typical characteristics of Holbein portraiture, this picture was at first highly praised and confidently

attributed to the artist.⁹ Yet, by the mid-1870s, when the second edition of Alfred Woltmann's Holbein monograph appeared, the painting was identified as "presumably Holbein,"¹⁰ and Woltmann's changed opinion initiated the negative assessments that the picture subsequently received.¹¹ Some have considered it a clever pastiche, possibly from the artist's late portraits,¹² while others still gave it to Holbein's workshop.¹³ In the 1995 summary catalogue of the Metropolitan's collection of European paintings, the portrait was designated a British copy in the style of Holbein from the second half of the sixteenth century.¹⁴

Despite the poor state of the picture and the absence of Holbein's sophisticated execution in the face and details of the costume, technical investigation did reveal the routine methods of portraits made in the artist's workshop during the 1540s.¹⁵ There is no extant preparatory drawing for the portrait, but the rigid underdrawing outlining the head and facial features indicated a one-to-one transfer from a pattern on paper to the prepared panel, the customary practice devised by Holbein for portraits made from 1532 to 1543, during his second period in England (fig. 130).¹⁶ Also, as was typical in his workshop, the hands here are more freely underdrawn, with tentative strokes of a pen or brush loosely defining the form (fig. 131). Finally, the most spontaneous brush underdrawing in Holbein's paintings is usually employed for the costumes, as seen here in the red slashing in the woman's sleeves.¹⁷ Later sixteenth-century copies do not generally exhibit these specific characteristics and are often of a different scale than the associated drawing by Holbein or the original painted portrait.¹⁸ In addition to these details of handling and execution, dendrochronology supported an earliest possible dating of the Museum's painting to 1522. Although we cannot rule out the subsequent use of an early sixteenth-century panel, later copies of Holbein paintings are usually made on wood from their own time.

The *Portrait of a Young Woman* has suffered badly over time, and it was never equal to the quality of handling and execution of works by Holbein himself. It is likely a copy of a portrait by Holbein that has not survived, representing a sitter who can no longer be identified.

MWA



Fig. 131. Infrared reflectogram, detail of hands and sleeves, cat. 37



WORKSHOP OF HANS HOLBEIN THE YOUNGER

38. *Edward VI*

Ca. 1545; reworked 1547 or later

Oil and gold on oak panel

Diam. 12¾ in. (32.4 cm); thickness, ⅜–⅞ in. (.5–1.1 cm)

Inscriptions: (to left of sitter) *ÆTATIS* ·; (to right of sitter) *SVÆ · VI ·*

Heraldry / emblems: none

Marks on verso: label from 1929 New York World's Fair; rectangular label with beveled corners and red border reading *c.8285 / #8*; identical label beneath, reading *c.7540*

Frame: not original

The Jules Bache Collection, 1949 49.7.31

PROVENANCE: [art dealer, Hampstead, until 1923; sold to Lee]; Viscount Lee of Fareham, White Lodge, Richmond, Surrey (1923–28; sold to Duveen); [Duveen, London, and New York, 1928; sold to Bache]; Jules S. Bache, New York (1928–d. 1944; his estate, 1944–49)

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: The panel support is made of two boards of Baltic oak from the same tree, with the grain oriented horizontally. Dendrochronological analysis indicated an earliest possible fabrication date of 1545.¹ The verso displays tool marks and is beveled around the perimeter. A horizontal split, approximately 7.6 centimeters from the bottom edge, has been repaired with narrow oak wedges and two butterfly inserts.

The ground preparation is white. Examination of the chipped paint along the perimeter with the stereomicroscope and X-radiography revealed an overall priming layer containing lead white. Beneath the blue background is an additional gray layer followed by a white layer.

Examination with raking light, as well as the X-radiograph, showed that the profile of the sitter was inscribed in the ground, suggesting it was traced from a drawing.

The painting is abraded throughout, particularly in the flesh, the background, and the darks. Details are muted, although in some areas the fine brushwork remains intact. Pinpoint losses in the red doublet expose dark underlying paint from the initial costume. Examination of the inscription with the stereomicroscope showed that the original gold leaf has been extensively restored using shell gold.

Infrared reflectography² revealed what appear to be a few drawn lines along the profile and around the curve of the ear. An area was left in reserve for the feather decorating the hat. Extensive changes to the clothing are visible both with the naked eye and with the aid of infrared reflectography and X-radiography.

According to the inscription on a related drawing in Windsor Castle (see fig. 132),³ as well as a series of other paintings of the sitter, this profile portrait shows the future King Edward VI. He is shown here at the age of six, when he was still the Duke of Cornwall. Born on October 12, 1537, Edward was the sole legitimate son of King Henry VIII; his mother, Jane Seymour, died just twelve days after giving birth. Edward has often been considered a weakling in poor health, but more recent assessments have described him as a vigorous youth, celebrated for his intellect, in particular a gift for languages and a strong interest in theology.⁴ Upon Henry's death

in 1547, young Edward became king, but the affairs of court were mainly handled in his name, first by his uncle Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, and then by John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland. Under them the English Reformation was consolidated, a move completely in line with Edward's own fervent commitment to Protestantism. The boy king's reign was cut short by a deadly lung infection that took him, in a matter of months, on July 6, 1553.

Although Edward's life was brief, a significant number of surviving portraits attest to his importance as Henry's only male heir and lawful successor, as well as the reigning king during the reestablishment of the Protestant faith. Only some of the extant portraits were produced during Edward's lifetime, the majority having been made posthumously.⁵ Holbein painted the earliest known of these



Fig. 132. Copy after Hans Holbein the Younger. *Edward, Prince of Wales* (1537–1553), ca. 1543. Black and colored chalks on pale pink prepared paper, 10¾ × 7⅞ in. (27.3 × 18.9 cm). The Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Windsor Castle (RCIN 912202)





Fig. 133. X-radiograph, cat. 38



Fig. 134. Infrared reflectogram, cat. 38

(National Gallery of Art, Washington) and probably presented it to Henry on January 1, 1539, as a New Year's present.⁶ The later official state portraits show either a bust-length profile or a full-length standing figure facing the viewer. The first group of such portraits may have been painted to accommodate requests from foreign ambassadors hoping to facilitate marriage negotiations,⁷ while those produced around 1547 were linked to Edward's coronation and the official medals struck for that occasion.

The profile pose derived from a growing interest, developing late in Holbein's career, in the antique and in a classicizing mode for portraiture. Among the first portraits painted in this style was Holbein's likeness of Simon George of 1535–40 (Städelsches Kunstinstitut und Städtische Galerie, Frankfurt), followed by another of Thomas Wyatt the Younger of about 1541 (formerly Christopher Gibbs Collection, London) that is of disputed attribution but may well be among the artist's last portraits.⁸ It was principally Holbein's followers who exploited and popularized the profile portrait.⁹

Problematic issues of attribution and date surround this portrait. Early on, the painting was widely accepted as an autograph work by Holbein.¹⁰ A somewhat romantic view, deeming it the artist's last work, completed just prior to the prince's birthday in 1543, was based on the previously mentioned lost drawing by Holbein of which an extant copy is today in the Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II at Windsor Castle (fig. 132).¹¹ As early as 1929, however, others rejected the Museum's portrait as autograph, and in

more recent times, with progressively greater scrutiny of Holbein's oeuvre, this view has gained supporters.¹²

The doubts concerning the portrait are based in part on new technical evidence. Holbein's standard working procedure was to transfer the sitter's main features from a drawing directly onto a panel, using a stylus to reinforce the contour lines of the drawing and an interleaving carbon-coated sheet that deposited the carbon material onto the grounded panel.¹³ Good examples of his characteristic method are evident in the two profile portraits mentioned above,¹⁴ as well as in others in this catalogue (cats. 34–36). Yet, in the case of Edward's portrait, the X-radiograph showed that the contours of the head were incised directly into the ground preparation of the painting, indicating a slight variation on Holbein's standard method of design transfer (fig. 133). Furthermore, despite the attractive design of the bold profile view, the handling and execution of *Edward VI* are rather weak and nowhere recall Holbein's typical level of finish and his subtly blended tones that achieve a lifelike modeling of the face, as seen in such works as the Museum's *Hermann von Wedigh III* (cat. 30).

The presumed date of the portrait first came into question when Roy Strong published an account stating that the background was repainted, which rendered the inscription questionable, and also that changes were made to the sitter's costume.¹⁵ The issue of the repainted background was raised in a letter of April 28, 1984 (based on notes made in March 1953), from Reginald Pound to Strong in

which the author noted that the background was removed in the early twentieth century by the restorer Nico Wilhelm Jungmann and then completely resurfaced with an amber resin and powdered azurite through a process of heating.¹⁶ Were this to be the case, the inscription would obviously come into doubt, along with the dating of the painting.

However, Strong's account disregarded Tancred Borenius's 1923 report, which stated that when the picture was purchased by the Viscount Lee Collection in that year, it was overpainted and the background was greenish black. Jungmann removed the overpaint, "apparently from the eighteenth century," and recovered "practically uninjured" the original surface with the blue background and inscription.¹⁷ Recent technical study through X-radiography, infrared reflectography, and microscope examination has revealed Pound's anecdotal tale to be apocryphal and Borenius's account to be more reliable.¹⁸ From the evidence of this close examination, it is possible to confirm that the background and inscription (though restored) are original to the painting.

Strong's other observation, based only on an X-radiograph, that Edward's costume was altered is true. Nevertheless, his contention that the original design showed a later style of costume—that is, of the type associated with the portraits of the king by Guillim Scrots—is open to question. Some of the changes made to the costume can be seen with the naked eye as pentimenti, while others are visible only with X-radiography and infrared reflectography, which showed that the figure originally wore a plain, dark, open-front jacket revealing a white tunic (figs. 133, 134). The collar of the jacket projected farther out behind the neck (visible through X-radiography) and opened lower in the front (more easily seen with infrared reflectography). Subsequently, the dark jacket was replaced by a red vest, leaving an altered portion of the white shirt with its raised neckline. A wide fur collar containing lead-white pigment

(based on X-radiographic evidence) was added, extending out onto the blue background. The arc of the cap was also shortened to meet the edge of the forehead at a higher point. The revised costume, particularly the ermine-trimmed jacket, represents Edward as he was more usually depicted after his coronation in 1547.

It seems quite likely, then, that the Museum's painting originated as the earlier portrait type of Edward VI, when he was Duke of Cornwall at age six in 1543. The portrait was subsequently adapted in costume to reflect his new stature at the time of his coronation. Perhaps it was then that the background was overpainted with the greenish-black paint mentioned in Borenius's 1923 report. This paint application would have appropriately covered the inscription, which, now that it is again revealed with the removal of the overpaint, does not match the later state of the costume.

Scrots, Holbein's successor at the court of Henry VIII, has been associated with the series of profile portraits of Edward VI, of which the Museum's example appears to be the earliest.¹⁹ This artist is best known for the anamorphic image of Edward (National Portrait Gallery, London),²⁰ which is quite close in type to the present work. Yet, even making allowances for the unusual anamorphic form, the handling of the paint and the execution of the London portrait are extremely loose and not nearly as refined as in the Museum's painting.

Painted neither by Holbein nor by Scrots, *Edward VI* is most likely by an assistant in Holbein's workshop who remained active after his master's death and who would have had access to the pattern drawings on which the portrait was based. After Henry VIII died, Holbein's drawings passed on to Edward,²¹ who apparently made them available to subsequent court painters. This would explain how the Windsor Castle drawing could have been the basis for the many profile portraits made after Holbein's death and during Edward's reign.²²

MWA

COPY AFTER HANS HOLBEIN THE YOUNGER

39. *Lady Guildford (Mary Wotton)*

English, mid-16th century

Oil and gold on oak panel

Overall $32\frac{1}{4} \times 26\frac{1}{8} \times \frac{3}{8}$ in. (81.6 × 66.4 × .95 cm)

Dated and inscribed: (at top left) ANNO • MDXXVII • ÆTATIS • SVÆ • 27; (on book)

VITA • CHRISTI

Heraldry / emblems: unidentified painted crest on verso

Marks on verso: *Lady Guildford wife* / [. . .] / *Comptroller of the Household to / Hen: VII* [sic], lettered in black on crest painted in lead white (based on X-radiography)

Frame: not original

Bequest of William K. Vanderbilt, 1920 20.155.4

PROVENANCE: Richard Plantagenet Temple-Nugent-Brydges-Chandos-Grenville, Second Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, Stowe, Buckinghamshire (until 1848; his sale, Christie's, at Stowe house, September 12, 1848, Addenda no. A16, to Rodd) [Horace Rodd, London, 1848; sold to Frewen]; Thomas Frewen, Brickwall House, Northiam, Sussex (1848–d. 1870); Edward Frewen, Brickwall House (1870—at least 1880); [Asher Wertheimer, London, about 1886?]; William K. Vanderbilt, New York (by 1907–d. 1920)

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: The panel support is composed of three boards of Baltic oak, with the grain oriented vertically. Dendrochronological analysis indicated an earliest possible fabrication date of 1540.¹ The panel has been very slightly thinned and cradled, with the exception of a rectangular area depicting a crest identifying the sitter as Lady Guildford. Two vertical cradle members are interrupted, and two horizontal crossbars were designed to move out from the center to reveal the crest. Three lines of the inscription on the verso are now hidden beneath immobile horizontal crossbars. A split 10.2 centimeters long extends from the edge above the sitter's head, and the paint is cracked along both panel joins.

The paint layers of this picture are in poor condition. Widespread abrasion is concealed with a toned varnish. The flesh is significantly damaged and is missing the necessary shading and modulation to describe the form.

X-radiography revealed that the portrait of Lady Guildford was painted on top of another painting, a fragment of a full-length portrait of a man.

Examination of samples mounted in cross section revealed a white ground preparation and a white priming layer, the paint layers of the first composition, a white priming applied to conceal this painting, and the paint layers of the portrait of Lady Guildford. Analysis confirmed that the pigments of both paintings are consistent with the 1540s.

With the stereomicroscope, contour drawing in the leaves at the right and in the eyes, lips, and nose is visible, although underdrawing was not detected with infrared reflectography.²

Gold decorations, such as the reflective threads in the sleeves and the embellishments on the gable hood, were created with a buff-colored mordant and now-fragmentary gold leaf, which has been restored with gold paint. The same buff-colored mordant, applied more heavily to create a low-profile relief, was used for the chains around the sitter's neck. The gilding on the rings and on the tassels hanging from the book used an unpigmented mordant. Overall, the application of the gilding does not display the same level of control or attention to detail as found in Holbein's autograph portraits.

Several features of this portrait indicate the high status of Mary Wotton, Lady Guildford, at the court of Henry VIII. She wears a lavish black velvet gown with a square neckline, black oversleeves, pleated undersleeves, and a neckline decorated with black embroidered edging. Her undersleeves are pulled through the slits of her pleated cloth-of-gold sleeves and gathered for the cuffs. As was customary for a married woman, Lady Guildford's head is covered with a fashionable English gable headdress of gold-patterned fabric featuring white earflaps, pearl decoration, and a long black hood.

The lady's ostentatious jewelry also signals her wealth. In addition to the six gold chains draped across her bodice and over her shoulders, she wears another around her neck decorated with a splendid pendant set with gems and suspended pearls.³ A tiny sprig of rosemary, the herb associated with remembrance, is tucked into her bodice. Along with a rosary made of large coral beads, Lady Guildford holds a precious devotional book with a tasseled, pearl-encrusted bookmark and silver clasps that is inscribed "Vita Christi," the title of a popular fourteenth-century life of Christ written by Ludolph of Saxony.

The setting for the portrait is equally sumptuous. Lady Guildford stands before a gray wall with staggered gray stone pilasters with porphyry capitals and a cantilevered entablature supporting a curtain rod. In front of these is a pale red stone column decorated with classical antique grotesques in bas-relief and topped with a capital ornamented with a Medusa head and Ionic volutes.⁴ Framing her at the right are leafy tendrils that have variously been identified as grapevines, elements of a fig tree, or a hybrid of both.⁵ If grapevines or fig leaves, they may indicate prosperity or the supposed medical benefits of these plants.⁶

This painting is a copy of the well-known *Mary, Lady Guildford* at the Saint Louis Art Museum (fig. 136), which is the pendant of the *Sir Henry Guildford (1489–1532)* in the Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Windsor Castle (fig. 135), both by Hans Holbein the Younger.⁷ Mary Wotton, the daughter of Sir Robert Wotton of Boughton Malherbe, Kent, was born in 1500. In 1525 she became the second wife of Sir Henry,⁸ an important member at the court who served the king in several capacities, including as chamberlain of the receipt of the Exchequer. Each of the portraits of the couple is dated 1527, the year in which Sir Henry, as the king's master of the revels, was charged with making the arrangements for the king to receive an embassy from France at Greenwich, an event planned to celebrate the peace accord with Francis I. This may have been where Guildford first met Holbein (probably the artist referred to in records of the event as "Master Hans"), who was engaged to produce paintings for a banqueting hall and theater at Greenwich.⁹ Sir Henry also knew Sir Thomas More and Erasmus,





Fig. 135. Hans Holbein the Younger. *Sir Henry Guildford* (1489–1532), dated 1527. Oil on oak panel, 32½ × 26⅞ in. (82.6 × 66.4 cm). The Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Windsor Castle (RCIN 400046)



Fig. 136. Hans Holbein the Younger. *Mary, Lady Guildford*, dated 1527. Oil on oak panel, 34¼ × 27¾ in. (87 × 70.5 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, Museum Purchase (1:1943)

other patrons of Holbein, and they may have introduced him to the esteemed painter.

Holbein's portraits of Sir Henry and Lady Guildford are among the first that he made after his arrival in England. It is notable that all the portraits he painted during his first stay in England, from 1526 to 1528, are associated with the events at Greenwich.¹⁰ However, Sir Henry's election to the Order of the Garter on April 24, 1527, probably provided an even more momentous occasion for the commission of the pendant portraits.¹¹ Indeed, the poses, demeanor, and magnificent attire of the couple are striking reflections of their sense of importance and well-being.¹²

Although the Museum's panel was originally thought to be the pendant of the Windsor Castle portrait of Sir Henry Guildford,¹³ and by the hand of Holbein himself,¹⁴ it began to lose its place of prominence when the Saint Louis painting surfaced in 1930.¹⁵ Indeed, if the Metropolitan's version is compared with the Saint Louis original, considerable differences in technique and execution are observable. While the copy is fairly faithful, its overall quality does not match that of accepted works by Holbein and his workshop. By and large, the execution is not as refined, the techniques do not exactly follow Holbein's workshop practices, and portions of the painting do not correspond correctly to the original. Technical divergences include

the fabrication of the leaves, which do not appear to be made with Holbein's documented technique of layering lead-tin yellow and green paints and green glazes, as, for example, in *A Lady with a Squirrel and a Starling* (Anne Lovell?) (National Gallery, London), in which the greenery is constructed with "a solid yellow-green composed of verdigris and lead-tin yellow, glazed with 'copper resinate.'"¹⁶ Also atypical are the comparatively insensitive handling of the flesh tones and the inferior gilding techniques. The application of the shell gold is not as controlled or delicate as in works firmly attributed to Holbein and his workshop, and the attention to the direction and parallel positioning of the strokes is inferior. Changes from the original portrait include the placement of the figure slightly to the left, such that the chest overlaps the column more fully, and the indication of the sitter's age with Arabic rather than Roman numerals.

The question has been raised whether the Museum's copy might have been made in Holbein's workshop during the artist's lifetime. Arguments against this possibility are supported by evidence derived from the technical examination of the painting, in particular from the study of the underdrawing. It has been well established that Holbein's habitual working procedure for portraiture was to employ his preparatory drawing of the sitter as a cartoon, tracing its essential features onto the grounded panel with the aid of an interleaving,



Fig. 137. Hans Holbein the Younger. *Lady Mary Guildford*, 1527. Black and colored chalk on paper, $20\frac{1}{16} \times 15\frac{1}{16}$ in. (52.2 \times 38.5 cm). Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, Amerbach-Kabinett (1662.35)



Fig. 139. Guillim Scrots. *Edward VI, King of England*, ca. 1550. Oil on panel, $66\frac{1}{8} \times 34\frac{1}{16}$ in. (168 \times 87.5 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (561)



Fig. 138. X-radiograph, turned 180 degrees, showing leg of figure, cat. 39

carbon-coated sheet. This method was used for the Saint Louis painting, which was based on a rendering of Lady Guildford in colored chalks on paper (fig. 137).¹⁷ The Metropolitan's portrait shows no obvious evidence of a traced pattern for Lady Guildford's facial features. Furthermore, placing a Mylar photostat of the Basel drawing over the painting revealed that, even though the painted contours of the eyelids, nose, and mouth coincide to some degree with the drawing, the contour of the face does not, and the forehead has been elongated by shifting the hood farther upward. Holbein's workshop pattern was therefore clearly not used for the Museum's painting. This examination of the underdrawing, coupled with the known details of Holbein's execution and handling, indicate that our painting was not made in Holbein's studio by a workshop assistant but rather was copied after Holbein's painting at a later moment in time.

Clues concerning when the painting might have been made come from X-radiography and dendrochronology. The X-radiograph shows that our picture was painted on top of another (fig. 138).¹⁸ Turned 180 degrees, the X-radiograph reveals the fragment of a male figure, specifically the left leg from the thigh to the toes and a tiny portion of the right leg above the knee of a man in aristocratic dress, as well as an undetermined oval object in the lower right corner of the painting. The stance of the figure immediately recalls the pose seen in the official full-length portraits of Edward VI after his coronation (see fig. 139 and discussion under cat. 38). The dendrochronology of our painting indicated that it could have been produced

at the earliest in 1540 and more likely in 1546 or later—precisely the period in which the new standing portrait models were painted in multiple versions.

For reasons that cannot at present be determined, the panel first employed for the probable portrait of an aristocratic man was cut down and reused for the Museum's *Lady Guildford*. This might have served as a pendant to a copy of Holbein's portrait of her husband or as an independent portrait; no pendant of Sir Henry matching this work is known. The commission for the copy of the original portrait could have come from members of the Guildford family, the Wottons, or extended family members.

MWA

HANS SÜSS VON KULMBACH

?Kulmbach ca. 1485–1522 Nuremberg

40. *Portrait of a Young Man; (verso) Girl Making a Garland*

Ca. 1508

Oil on poplar panel

Overall $7\frac{7}{16} \times 6\frac{1}{8} \times \frac{1}{16}$ in. (19 × 15.6 × .16 cm); painted surface $7\frac{3}{8} \times 5\frac{1}{16}$ in. (18.7 × 14.5 cm)

Signed and dated (on verso, at center right, falsely, with initials of Albrecht Dürer): AD [monogram]/1508

Inscriptions (on verso, on scroll): ICH PINT MIT, VERGIS MEIN NIT. (I bind with forget-me-nots.)

Heraldry / emblems: none

Marks on verso: panel painted on both sides

Frame: not original

Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 17.190.21

PROVENANCE: ?private collection, Vienna (before 1800); Francesco Santangelo, Palazzo Carafa di Maddaloni, Naples (by 1815–d. 1836); his son Nicola Santangelo, Palazzo Carafa di Maddaloni (1836–47);¹ his brother Michele Santangelo, Palazzo Carafa di Maddaloni, and Villa dei Santangelo, Pollena (1847–d. 1876); Santangelo family, Pollena (1876—at least 1884; Dominic Colnaghi (in 1906);² J. Pierpont Morgan, New York (by 1909–d. 1913; his estate, 1913–17)

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: The support is a poplar panel .16 centimeter thick, with the grain oriented horizontally.³ The panel displays a moderate convex warp across the grain. A horizontal split is present below the center, and several chip losses are found along the side edges. A *barbe* and unpainted borders approximately .6 centimeter wide surrounding the image areas on both sides indicate that the panel was in an engaged frame when the white ground preparation was applied. Examination with the stereomicroscope revealed a very thin, bright white priming on top of the ground layer.

Magnification showed that the large monogram in the style of Dürer above the cat in *Girl Making a Garland* extends over the cracks and is therefore not original.

Girl Making a Garland is generally well preserved. It is thinly painted, however, and the paint has increased in transparency with age. In addition, the surface is slightly worn. The blue-and-red edging on the neckline of the white chemise is damaged. Nevertheless, the appearance of the painting is cohesive, and the fine detail remains impressive. *Portrait of a Young Man* is severely abraded throughout and has been extensively restored.

In *Girl Making a Garland*, detailed underdrawing with a dark liquid medium applied with a very small brush and slightly wavering in quality is visible beneath the paint surface in normal light but not visible with infrared reflectography.⁴ Contours of the girl and cat as well as overall loose, curling hatching describing the forms are most clearly apparent. The painted positions of the girl and cat differ slightly from those drawn. A few strokes of underdrawing are visible in *Portrait of a Young Man*, including the contours of the mouth and chin, the strands of hair framing the face, and the edge of the collar. The quality of the line appears similar to that found beneath the image of the girl. In *Girl Making a Garland*, lines scored into the preparation layer were used to plan the architecture of the window. The lattice was incised into the brownish black background with a fine stylus.

This small, double-sided panel bears a portrait of a man on one side and a depiction of a girl making a garland on the reverse.⁵ There are no clues to the identity of the young man, who wears a black beret over his shoulder-length, reddish brown hair and a fur-trimmed brown coat over a white shirt. The young girl, in a yellow dress trimmed in red-and-blue velvet, is seated within a slightly asymmetrical window casement. A white cat sits patiently across



40, recto



40, verso



Fig. 140. Master of the Housebook (Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet). *Gotha Double Portrait (Pair of Lovers)*, ca. 1480–85. Oil on linden panel, 44 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 31 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (114 × 80 cm). Stiftung Schloss Friedenstein Gotha (SG 703)

from her, watching as she makes a wreath with forget-me-nots, one of which lies on the windowsill. A decoratively trailing banderole above reads, in translation, “I bind with forget-me-nots.”

This is among the relatively few extant early sixteenth-century panels that join a portrait with an emblematic or allegorical subject on the verso. Two other notable contemporaneous examples are Jacopo de’ Barbari’s *Portrait of a Man*, with a nude couple on the verso, of about 1500–1504 (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin),⁶ and a *Portrait of a Man*, with Pyramus and Thisbe on the reverse, of about 1505, formerly attributed to Hans Baldung and now given to a follower of Albrecht Dürer in Nuremberg (Musée Unterlinden, Colmar).⁷

Scholars have offered various interpretations of *Girl Making a Garland*, most notably that it represents a generic portrait of the betrothed of the man on the recto⁸ or that it constitutes the first genre scene in German art.⁹ However, the meaning of the painting must surely be tied to the specific activity of the girl, the prominently placed cat, and the text on the banderole. Wearing a dancing dress,¹⁰ the girl is presented as a young maiden, her loose, flowing hair adorned with a double string of pearls symbolic of her chastity. Rather than a portrait, she is a female type, symbolizing a lover or prospective bride.¹¹ Although the wreath of flowers was traditionally

worn by women at festivals and tournaments, it was also commonly donned without a special event in mind by girls in southern Germany, Austria, and Switzerland.¹² Most important for our painting was the wreath worn by the bride as a sign of her virginity on her wedding day, when it would be taken from her with certain rites and replaced with a bonnet.¹³ The cat has many connotations in the art of this period, but the most likely one here is that suggested by Sigrid and Lothar Dittrich: a symbol of the respectable, constant love for the man who appears on the other side of the panel.¹⁴

The inscription on the banderole is a text in Middle German referring specifically to the action of the maiden as she makes her wreath. The banderole, derived from numerous medieval examples, serves to unite text with image, offering an explanation of the scene.¹⁵ A similar “subtitle” appears in the so-called *Gotha Double Portrait* by the Master of the Housebook, perhaps the most well-known of such love-and-betrothal paintings, which also bears an inscription referring to the relationship of the man and the woman depicted (fig. 140).¹⁶ The girl in the Museum’s painting seems to address the young man on the other side of the panel. A close translation of the verb *binden* also reveals that the girl expresses an almost oathlike commitment along with her affection.¹⁷ Her promise to bind herself faithfully to her lover is further heightened by the reference to the forget-me-not. This plant played an important role in the love poetry and love folklore of that time, where it was often cited with its pre-fifteenth-century name, *Jelängerjelierber* (the longer, the better). When given to a beloved and suspended from his or her neck, the forget-me-not was believed to inspire love toward its presenter.¹⁸ Moreover, the name highlights the association of the flower with faithfulness and loving commemoration within relationships.¹⁹

Because of the false monogram and date on the verso, the two paintings were initially accepted as by Dürer.²⁰ By 1884 Moriz Thausing had already rejected that notion;²¹ in a 1909 Museum publication, a new attribution was made to Wolf Traut, a Nuremberg painter who served as Dürer’s assistant on a number of occasions.²² A catalogue of a 1906 exhibition in London attributed only *Girl Making a Garland* to Traut and ascribed the portrait to a Nuremberg painter influenced by de’ Barbari.²³ Concurrently, Max J. Friedländer recognized the “sentimental” manner of the two paintings as characteristic of Hans Süss von Kulmbach, rejected any attribution to Traut, and deemed the Dürer monogram inauthentic.²⁴ While several scholars agreed with Friedländer’s observations, the attribution to Traut persisted,²⁵ in part because the artist was known to have emulated Kulmbach’s style.²⁶ Taking up Friedländer’s attribution to Kulmbach, Friedrich Winkler dated the panel to the period after the artist settled in Nuremberg in 1505.²⁷ This opinion gained ground, especially when Winkler’s opinion that it might be Kulmbach’s earliest known work was reiterated in the catalogue of a 1950 exhibition at the Herron School of Art and Design, Indianapolis.²⁸

The maiden in *Girl Making a Garland* is comparable with figures in Kulmbach’s early drawings, particularly *Pairs of Lovers* and *an Old*



Fig. 141. Hans Süss von Kulmbach.
Two Pairs of Lovers and an Old Woman,
ca. 1504–5. Pen and ink on paper,
7¼ × 9½ in. (18.4 × 25.3 cm).
Staatliche Graphische Sammlung,
Munich (I.153.910)

Fig. 142. Digital photograph manipulated to
enhance legibility of underdrawing, cat. 40
(verso), detail





Fig. 143. Jacopo de' Barbari. *Portrait of a Man*, ca. 1505–6. Oil on linden panel, 15 1/8 × 11 1/16 in. (38.4 × 29.6 cm). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Gemäldegalerie, Vienna (GG 7719)

Woman of about 1504–5 (fig. 141).²⁹ The woman seated second from the left in that drawing shows a similar awkward foreshortening of the shoulders but also a successful understanding of the legs, described by the folds of the fabric of her dress. Even, parallel hatching in discrete areas suggests the modeling of forms in both the drawing and the underdrawing of our painting (fig. 142), although Kulmbach is quicker and looser with his handling in the underdrawing than in the more formal sketch on paper, as the underdrawing of the cat also shows.³⁰ Though thinly applied, the brownish and pinkish tones over the underdrawing in the flesh areas (with white present only in slightly blended highlights) appear both in the painting of the girl here and in Kulmbach's apostles in the later *Ascension of Christ* (cat. 41).

Questions regarding the date of the panel have been harder to resolve, in part because of the compromised state of *Portrait of a Man*.³¹ A more precise placement of the portrait within Kulmbach's oeuvre must take into account the influence of de' Barbari and especially of his *Portrait of a Man* in Vienna, which bears the initials *I.B.* and the caduceus, the artist's mark (fig. 143).³² This painting dates to about 1505–6, when Jacopo was working in Wittenberg for the dukes

of Saxony.³³ The sitters are similar in pose, except for the absence of a hand resting on the edge of the lower frame in Kulmbach's portrait; each faces forward and turns his head slightly to the left as he gazes dreamily into the distance. As Johannes Wilde remarked, de' Barbari's portrait reflects the strong influence of Dürer, but its monochrome color scheme—dark gray cap and coat against a dark background—is unlike anything in Italy or Germany at the beginning of the sixteenth century.³⁴ Wilde further noted that the “equally soft and peculiar modeling” of the face “finds its continuation later at Nuremberg.” Even without knowing of the Museum's portrait, he reinforced the notion that Kulmbach's proposed tutelage under de' Barbari is clarified in light of the Vienna portrait.

De' Barbari was in Nuremberg by 1500, serving as court painter and illuminator to Maximilian I. He spent time at a number of other German courts, including those of Friedrich the Wise of Saxony, Joachim and Albrecht of Brandenburg, and Heinrich of Mecklenburg, before heading to the Netherlands around 1509 to work for Philip of Burgundy and later for Margaret of Austria in Mechelen. Friedrich Winkler supposed that Kulmbach was in de' Barbari's workshop at Maximilian's court between April 1500 and 1503.³⁵ Barbara Butts argued convincingly that Kulmbach was more likely to have been apprenticed to de' Barbari in Wittenberg from 1503 to 1505, at Friedrich's court, before he joined Dürer's workshop in Nuremberg around 1507.³⁶ This time frame for Kulmbach's route as a journeyman painter explains why the Metropolitan's portrait shows de' Barbari's strong influence and especially that of his so-called soft portrait style. This influence must have continued even somewhat after Kulmbach joined Dürer's workshop, which was then being run by Hans Schäufelein during the master's sojourn in Venice. Although the Dürer monogram and date of 1508 were added to the painting later,³⁷ the date could well be correct for the portrait. Peter Strieder concurred that the awkward rendering of space and the archaic elements of the banderole in *Girl Making a Garland* indicate an early date, before 1510.³⁸ And Winkler noted that it was not until after 1511, when Kulmbach became a citizen of Nuremberg and established his own workshop, that the artist signed his works with the monogram *HK*.³⁹

As a portrait with an accompanying allegorical subject, this panel is unique in Kulmbach's oeuvre. Given its close connections with de' Barbari's *Portrait of a Man* in Vienna, it can also be identified as the earliest surviving portrait by Kulmbach, one that reinforces the importance of the German's route and connections as he traveled as a journeyman before reaching Dürer's workshop. Nearly three hundred years later, the simple charm of *Girl Making a Garland* captivated Johann Friedrich Overbeck. It was the inspiration for his 1810 work *The Painter Franz Pförr*, a homage to his friend and cofounder of the Lukasbund, a brotherhood of artists in Vienna who strove to adopt the same religious basis for their art as they found in the old masters.⁴⁰

MWA

41. *The Ascension of Christ*

1513

Oil on fir panel

Overall 24¼ × 15⅞ (top)–14⅞ (bottom) × ⅜–⅝ in. (61.6 × 38.5–37.7 × 5–8 cm); painted surface 23⅞ × 14⅞ in. (60.2 × 36 cm)

Inscriptions: none

Heraldry / emblems: none

Marks on verso: along top, in black ink, A2219; along left edge, in black ink, *Eigentum der Frau Professor Dorner* (Property of Frau Professor Dorner) / *Schweinfurt 1884*; at bottom right, on paper label, in black ink, 12; at bottom right, on red seal, a shield emblazoned with a crane, its right leg raised, a stone in its claw, and on the crest two wheat stalks encircled by a thistle surmounted by the initials *I.I.C.V.*

Frame: not original

Rogers Fund, 1921 21.84

PROVENANCE: ?Walburgis Chapel, Nuremberg Castle (by 1778–before 1828);¹ Otilie Dorner, Schweinfurt (by 1884);² her son, Baurat (government building officer) Anton Dorner,³ Amberg (until d. 1917); his widow, Frau Baurat Dorner, Amberg (1917–at least 1918);⁴ Herr Stallforth, Wiesbaden (until 1919; sale, Galerie Helbing, Munich, October 1, 1919, no. 109);⁵ [Julius Böhler, Munich; sold to Beskow]; [Axel Beskow, New York, until 1921; sold to MMA]

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: The support is composed of two fir boards with the grain oriented vertically; dendrochronological analysis indicated an earliest possible fabrication date of 1496.⁶ Saw marks on the verso suggest that this painting was originally one side of a double-sided work that was cut apart. X-radiography revealed that a knot beneath Mary's shoulder and the slightly diagonal join are reinforced with tow. A *barbe* and an unpainted wood border along both sides and the bottom confirm that an engaged frame was in place when the white ground preparation was applied. The panel has been reduced at the top (see discussion below), and it displays a moderate convex lateral warp. In 1936 a thick coat of wax was applied to the verso.⁷

The condition of the painting is overall fairly good. There are only minor abrasions and losses and some darkening—most apparent in the sky—along the wood grain. The very graphic technique used throughout the composition demonstrates that it was painted by an accomplished draftsman. Fine individual strokes of fluid paint in several hues describe contours, and crisply hatched brushstrokes produce shadows and volume. Those linear touches were made over blended base tones, and the result is a tightly rendered figural group. The many vibrant colors were produced by mixing as well as by applying transparent glazes over opaque underpainting. In some areas the glazes were applied with parallel hatched strokes. The dark green cloak worn by the disciple standing in the center of the composition was painted with a bright yellow underpaint and glazed with a highly saturated green. The lighter portion of his cloak was originally a more vibrant shade of green; it now appears yellowish brown, perhaps because of a degeneration commonly seen in glazes containing copper-green pigments.

When the surface was examined with the stereomicroscope, a warm, yellowish priming was visible on top of the ground. Infrared reflectography revealed faint hatching and some lines of underdrawing in the red garments.⁸ With the stereomicroscope, in normal light, it was possible to see both the underdrawing and the finely painted lines and hatching that were applied as final touches to define contours and forms.

This painting shows Christ rising to heaven above a compact group of the twelve apostles and the Virgin Mary. Only his feet and lower legs are visible. This Ascension iconography, which emphasizes Christ's departure by showing him leaving the pictorial space, emerged in art about the turn of the first millennium.⁹ Its biblical source is the Acts of the Apostles (1:9): "While they beheld, he was taken up; and a cloud received him out of their sight." In the painting Christ's feet show the wounds of having been nailed to the Cross. The red of his robe is reflected on the pink-tinged clouds nearest his legs. Saint Peter, identifiable by his baldness and the yellow of his cloak, and the Virgin Mary kneel in the immediate foreground, arranged symmetrically around the composition's vertical axis. Saint John the Evangelist, distinguished by his youthful features, stands at the right, cloaked in white.

Since 1921, when the Metropolitan acquired this work, scholars have noted that the composition borrows from Albrecht Dürer's *Ascension* in the Small Passion woodcut series (fig. 144).¹⁰ The general stylistic debt to Dürer is undeniable. Also, the low angle of vision, which creates a dramatic upward lift appropriate to the subject matter, and the strong foreshortening of the apostles' upturned heads appear to have their source in Dürer's woodcut. However, the Museum's *Ascension* departs from Dürer and returns to an earlier tradition in the symmetrical placement of Peter and Mary in the central foreground, a common feature of fifteenth-century depictions.¹¹ A similar continuation of that tradition can be seen, for example, in Hans Schäufelein's *Ascension* woodcut of 1507 (fig. 145).¹² In a divergence from both Dürer and earlier examples, however, the Museum's panel omits the standard central mound marked with impressions of Christ's feet, which alludes to the Mount of Olives, where the event occurred.¹³

That the painting is a fragment of a dismantled altarpiece is indicated by the remains of a gray fictive molding at the top, which originally marked the boundary with another scene above. In addition, saw marks across the verso suggest that the panel was originally decorated on both sides, and was therefore part of a movable wing. When the altarpiece was taken apart, the larger panel to which this scene belonged must have been sawn apart vertically, to split the front from the back, and then cut horizontally through the fictive framing element.

When first published in 1919, the painting was attributed to Hans Süss von Kulmbach, and all subsequent scholarship has confirmed his authorship.¹⁴ Indeed, the physiognomic types, drapery styles, generally thin application of paint, and graphic approach to form are typical of Kulmbach. Proposals for the reconstruction of the altarpiece to which the panel belonged were offered by Ernst Buchner in 1928 and Franz Stadler in 1936,¹⁵ and further clarification came when the picture was exhibited among related works in Nuremberg





Fig. 144. Albrecht Dürer. *The Ascension*, from the Small Passion series, ca. 1510. Woodcut, sheet $5\frac{1}{16} \times 3\frac{1}{16}$ in. (12.9 × 9.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The George Khuner Collection, Gift of Mrs. George Khuner, 1975 (1975.653.56)



Fig. 145. Hans Schäufelein. *The Ascension*, from Ulrich Pinder, *Speculum passionis domini nostri Ihesu Christi*, Nuremberg, 1507. Woodcut, $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ in. (23.5 × 15.9 cm). The British Museum, London (1895,0122.491)

in 1961.¹⁶ But a real breakthrough in the reconstruction occurred when Rainer Brandl, in 1983 and 1985,¹⁷ credibly connected the painting to an altarpiece formerly in Nuremberg's castle that had been described and published by Christoph Gottlieb von Murr in 1778.¹⁸ Murr wrote of a Marian altarpiece in the Walburgis Chapel that displayed a carved Coronation of the Virgin at the center, a Visitation and a scene of "saints ascend[ing] a stairway" toward "a person . . . holding a book"—surely a Presentation of the Virgin—on the wings, and a Death of the Virgin on the predella.¹⁹ Murr noted that the latter was painted by Kulmbach in 1513, information he probably gained from inscriptions on the frame in the predella area.²⁰

Murr's description led Brandl to identify this altarpiece's shrine as the tabernacle relief of *The Coronation of the Virgin* by a pupil of Veit Stoss that is preserved in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg.²¹ Brandl furthermore proposed that the wings described by Murr are Kulmbach's narrow panels of *The Meeting at the Golden Gate* and *The Presentation of the Virgin* now in the Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid (fig. 146), which are currently attached as wings, falsely it appears, to a Heavenly Rosary by Kulmbach.²² Murr's apparent misidentification of *The Meeting at the Golden Gate* as a Visitation is

attributable, Brandl maintained, to the compositional similarities of the two subjects.²³ Building on ideas already proposed by Buchner and Stadler, Brandl considered the altarpiece's predella to be Kulmbach's *Death of the Virgin* in the Staatsgalerie Bamberg and the exterior wing decoration *The Annunciation* in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg; *The Nativity* in the Staatsgalerie Bamberg; *The Adoration of the Magi* in the Allentown Art Museum, Pennsylvania; and *The Ascension* in the Metropolitan.²⁴ With its sculpted shrine, Brandl's reconstruction decisively rejected the idea, proposed by Stadler but doubted in subsequent literature, of the Kulmbach *Coronation of the Virgin* in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, as the altarpiece's center.²⁵ Problematic, however, was Brandl's exclusion on stylistic grounds of the four scenes of the *Birth of the Virgin*, *Visitation*, *Appearance of Christ to His Mother*, and *Pentecost* in the Museum der Bildenden Künste Leipzig, which Stadler had proposed as belonging to the ensemble.²⁶ Without the Leipzig panels, the iconographic program in the closed state jumped abruptly and implausibly from scenes of Christ's infancy to his ascension with nothing in between.

Although Kurt Löcher soon reintroduced the Leipzig panels to the discussion,²⁷ a clear idea of the exact distribution of scenes was

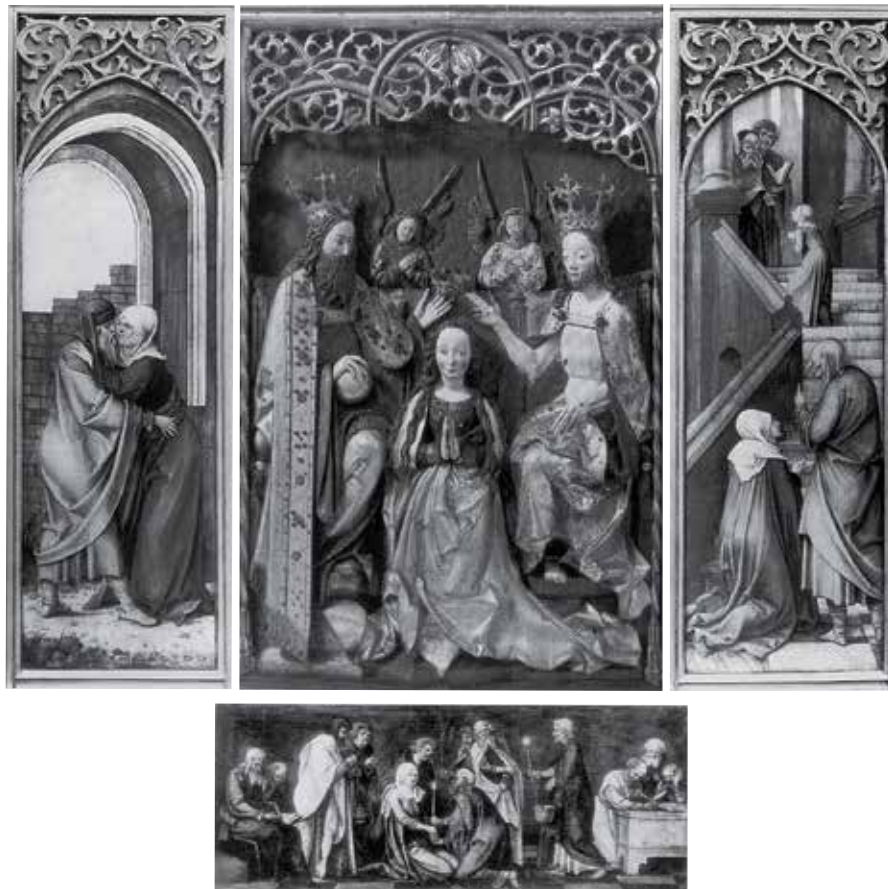


Fig. 146. Reconstruction of Hans Süß von Kulmbach's Marian altarpiece, 1513, open state. Shrine: Pupil of Veit Stoss (Hanns Heberlin?), *The Coronation of the Virgin* (Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg); left wing: *The Meeting at the Golden Gate* (Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid); right wing: *The Presentation of the Virgin* (Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid); predella: *The Death of the Virgin* (Staatsgalerie Bamberg)



Fig. 147. Reconstruction of Hans Süß von Kulmbach's Marian altarpiece, 1513, closed state. Far left wing (stationary): *The Birth of the Virgin* (Museum der Bildenden Künste Leipzig), *The Adoration of the Magi* (Allentown Art Museum, Pennsylvania, Gift of The Samuel H. Kress Foundation); outer side of left wing: *The Annunciation* (Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg), *The Appearance of Christ to His Mother* (Museum der Bildenden Künste Leipzig); outer side of right wing: *The Visitation* (Museum der Bildenden Künste Leipzig), *The Ascension* (cat. 41); far right wing (stationary): *The Nativity* (Staatsgalerie Bamberg), *Pentecost* (Museum der Bildenden Künste Leipzig); predella: *The Death of the Virgin* (Staatsgalerie Bamberg)



Fig. 148. X-radiograph, cat. 41

lacking until Isolde Lübbecke proposed a solution in 1991.²⁸ Noting that the Leipzig scenes are stylistically consistent with the other paintings, as had been widely accepted since the 1961 exhibition in Nuremberg, Lübbecke deduced a convincing arrangement based on crucial technical evidence about the states and relative thicknesses of the wood supports. Whereas four of the panels—the *Annunciation*, *Visitation*, *Appearance of Christ to His Mother*, and *Ascension*—are between .5 and .8 centimeter thick and show saw marks on the backs, which indicate that they were split from their versos, the

other four—the *Birth of the Virgin*, *Nativity*, *Adoration*, and *Pentecost*—are between 1 and 1.5 centimeters thick and show no signs of having been split.²⁹ The latter, thicker panels must have constituted stationary wings, undecorated on the reverse. The four thinner panels with saw marks on the backs were the exteriors of the movable wings and had been split off the *Madrid Meeting at the Golden Gate* and *Presentation of the Virgin*. This is confirmed by the existence of a vertical crack in corresponding positions on *The Meeting at the Golden Gate* and *The Annunciation* and a knot that aligns on *The Presentation of the Virgin* and *The Ascension* (visible beneath Mary's shoulder in the X-radiograph; see fig. 148).³⁰ The eight exterior scenes were separated from one another by cutting along the fictive gray framing element whose remnants are found alternately at the panels' bottoms (*Birth of the Virgin*, *Annunciation*, *Visitation*, *Nativity*) and tops (*Adoration*, *Appearance of Christ to His Mother*, *Ascension*, *Pentecost*). This technical evidence perfectly supports Lübbecke's arrangement of the exterior scenes in two rows of four, running chronologically from the top left to the bottom right (fig. 147).³¹

Lübbecke noted further that the presence of stationary wings allows a better fit for the Bamberg *Death of the Virgin* as the predella, as it is wider than the central section above.³² That the Bamberg panel indeed belongs to this ensemble is corroborated by the fact that it, the Allentown *Adoration*, and the New York *Ascension* remained together in private collections until 1919.³³ Additional support for the connection is found in the heads of two apostles in the *Death of the Virgin*, both situated to the right of center, one shown in profile, holding the aspergillum and situla, and the other shown frontally, reaching for the aspergillum. While the head of the clean-shaven profile figure appears in reverse on the kneeling figure at the left edge of the *Ascension*, the head of the figure shown frontally, bald on top with a wide forehead, broad beard, and long mustache, matches that of the figure just right of center in the background of the *Ascension*, tilted in the opposite direction. They probably derive from common model drawings used for the commission.

Even before Brandl linked these paintings to the altarpiece described by Murr, most authors had dated them within the range 1511–13, based on stylistic comparison to dated works by Kulmbach.³⁴ This lends credibility to the date of 1513 cited by Murr. As Lübbecke pointed out, we cannot expect Murr to have deduced an attribution and a date based on his own knowledge of Kulmbach, and it is therefore most likely that the artist's name and the date were displayed on the case or frame near the predella.³⁵ Thus 1513 can be accepted as the most plausible date of Kulmbach's paintings for this altarpiece.

J P W

HANS MALER

Ulm ca. 1480–1526 / 29 ?Schwaz

42. Sebastian Andorfer

1517

Oil on Swiss stone pine panel

Overall $17 \times 14\frac{1}{8} \times \frac{3}{16}$ in. ($43.1 \times 35.9 \times .8$ cm); painted surface $16\frac{1}{2} \times 13\frac{5}{8}$ in. (41.9×34.6 cm)

Inscribed and dated: (at bottom) *DA MAN • 1517 • ZALT, / WAS ICH • 48 • IAR ALT*

(In 1517 / I was forty-eight years old); (at bottom right) *SEBASTIA / -N / ANNDORFE- / ER*

Heraldry / emblems: none

Marks on verso: in red paint, 32.100.33

Frame: not original

The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931 32.100.33

PROVENANCE: Friedrich Graf von Toggenburg, Bolzano, later Frankfurt, sold to Drey;¹ [A. S. Drey, Munich, ?by 1924–26; sold to Kleinberger]; [Kleinberger, Paris and New York, 1926; sold to Friedsam]; Michael Friedsam, New York (1926–d. 1931)

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: The support is made of three boards of Swiss stone pine with the grain oriented vertically.² The panel has a slight convex lateral warp. Its edges have irregularities that suggest they may have been trimmed slightly. X-radiography revealed that fine tow was attached to the panel along the joins before the white ground preparation was applied. The ground extends .6 centimeter beyond the image area to the edge of the panel on all sides, although it is fragmentary along the bottom. On the verso there are narrow bevels of uneven width around the perimeter, and as with other paintings by this artist, the verso has been coated with an opaque dark red paint.³ In 1936 a thick coat of wax was applied to the verso.⁴

In general the painting is in fair condition. Microscopic losses in the black and gray passages have brought the cloth of the sitter's dark coat closer in tone to the fur trim. This optical lightening of the blacks, in combination with an increased transparency of the paint layer, has diminished contrast and form. Abrasion in the face has reduced the modeling and range of color. Only patches remain of the reddish brown paint used to model the eye sockets, and only a fractional amount of a finely divided blue pigment in the whites of the eyes can now be detected. With magnification, the catchlights in both eyes are visible: four tiny horizontal strokes of white paint, one in the white of each eye and one on the iris, both right of center. Restoration paint is lodged in many cracks and depressions in the blue background, where there are also residues of restoration along the unpainted perimeter. A strip of dark green restoration is visible along the top.

Examination with the stereomicroscope showed that the inscription dating the portrait and giving the age of the sitter is original and that the inscription identifying the sitter, although very old, was added later. Infrared reflectography revealed faint contours of a few facial features: the outline of the bridge and tip of the nose, the line where the lips meet, and possibly the crease of the upper eyelids and the folds of the ear.⁵ Underdrawn lines made with the aid of a straightedge frame the image, overlapping at the corners (see discussion below). The lateral lines are set closer to the center of the picture than those at the top and bottom, and a double line is visible at the left and top edges. The bottom line begins at the left as two separate lines that merge before reaching the right side.

This portrait depicts Sebastian Andorfer (1469–1537), a top mining official of Schwaz in Tirol. The inscription at the bottom, which gives the date of 1517 and the sitter's age of forty-eight, is a rhyming couplet written in the first person, a form that appears frequently in contemporary portraiture.⁶ The sitter's name has been fitted awkwardly into the space at the right and was executed in a less elegant hand; it is a later addition, possibly recorded from a lost frame. The original part of the inscription appears to have been placed slightly left of center to align it with the sitter's leftward pose. Andorfer wears a thick brown beard, which, as would be appropriate for his age of forty-eight, is tinged with gray. His hair is tucked beneath a black and gold netted cap and an ample brown fur hat. His shirt and coat are black. The background, suggestive of sky, modulates from deep to light blue.

Sebastian Andorfer was the son of Jörg Andorfer,⁷ who held a prominent position in the mining administration at Schwaz, serving as *Silberbrenner* (refiner of silver)⁸ from 1470 to 1499.⁹ Sebastian assumed the post in 1499 and occupied it until his death in 1537.¹⁰ The Schwaz *Silberbrenner* served under appointment by the Tirolean sovereign; during the first half of Sebastian Andorfer's tenure this was Emperor Maximilian I (d. 1519), who had ruled Tirol since 1490. The *Silberbrenner* oversaw the last step in the refinement of silver, which raised the purity to a mandated level, and stamped each ingot with an official mark of certification.¹¹ When portrayed by Hans Maler in 1517, Sebastian Andorfer had held this position of considerable authority for nearly two decades.

The Metropolitan Museum's portrait was first attributed to Hans Maler in 1924 by Max J. Friedländer, who had been instrumental in defining the painter's oeuvre at the end of the nineteenth century.¹² In light of the picture's stylistic consistency with other works by Maler, the attribution has remained unchallenged in the literature. In 1932 Georg Habich noted the existence of a variant, also dated 1517, in which Andorfer is depicted beardless (fig. 149).¹³ For Habich (who was unaware of Friedländer's opinion and offered an attribution to Conrad Faber von Creuznach) the portraits exemplified the practice, which he observed in contemporary medals, of recording a change in appearance for eternity. In 1933 Otto Benesch ascribed both portraits to Maler and claimed that they document Andorfer's transformation from a bearded Tirolean rustic into a clean-shaven, modern entrepreneurial type.¹⁴ This interpretation was upheld by Heinz von Mackowitz and Gert von der Osten.¹⁵ The two Andorfer portraits stand as the earliest securely dated works in Maler's oeuvre.¹⁶

In a recent study of Maler's portraits, Stefan Krause rightly challenged the assumptions that informed Benesch's interpretation, noting that a beard did not necessarily connote provincialism and obsolescence.¹⁷ More importantly, as Krause pointed out, the notion



Fig. 149. Hans Maler. *Sebastian Andorfer*, 1517. Oil on panel, 17 $\frac{1}{16}$ × 14 in. (43.3 × 35.6 cm). Private collection

of social elevation at this stage of Andorfer's career misconstrues the office of *Silberbrenner* and overlooks the high status that Andorfer had long enjoyed.¹⁸ As studies of the mining management in Schwaz have made clear, Andorfer was not the rustic smelter described by Benesch, but a high official with extensive experience at the most important center of silver mining in the Habsburg realms.¹⁹ It thus seems highly unlikely that a sudden increase in wealth or social status would have occasioned the change in appearance represented here.

No known biographical events correspond with the 1517 date of these portraits. Andorfer's first wife and his father died before 1507 and his second wife on April 18, 1518.²⁰ Other significant events such as births or deaths of children or deaths of siblings are not known.²¹ In Andorfer's professional life, no special occurrence is documented for 1517.²²

In speculating about the significance of the growth or removal of Andorfer's beard, the flexibility of beard symbolism should be kept in mind. For example, it is thought that Duke Georg of Saxony (r. 1500–39) let his beard grow to chest length as a sign of grief over his wife's death.²³ Yet it has also been established that Bonifacius Amerbach of Basel, whom Hans Holbein the Younger portrayed bearded in a 1519 portrait (Kunstmuseum Basel), planned to commission a clean-shaven pendant expressly to show his renunciation of worldly vanities after the deaths of several family

members.²⁴ Without knowledge of what occasioned the Andorfer portraits and how they were displayed, the interpretation of their differences remains problematic. The idea that the two portraits were meant primarily to document a change in appearance rests on the assumption of side-by-side display, which was not necessarily originally the case, especially given the verbatim redundancy of the inscriptions. Although the works share a common provenance from the Toggenburg collection²⁵ and must have been together at least by the time Andorfer's name was added to the bottom right of both (long ago, given the apparent age of the additions), it is still conceivable, for example, that Andorfer intended one portrait for home and the other for an office of the mining administration or some other location.

Technical differences may help to clarify the chronology of these portraits.²⁶ Although surface abrasion has compromised the appearance of the Metropolitan Museum's portrait, condition does not fully account for disparities between the two. On close inspection, the clean-shaven likeness displays defter, more refined handling. This is apparent, for example, in the lively brushstrokes on the forehead and the dense network of softly curved strokes used to model the flesh around the eyes, nose, and mouth. On the bearded portrait, the execution in the same areas is coarser and more summary.

X-radiography brings differences to light that support the observation of a more refined execution in the clean-shaven portrait.



Fig. 150. X-radiograph, fig. 149





Fig. 151. X-radiograph, cat. 42



Fig. 152. Infrared reflectogram, cat. 42

Whereas the X-radiograph of the clean-shaven Andorfer likeness displays a volumetric buildup of the facial features, giving a three-dimensional effect (fig. 150), that of the bearded portrait shows a flat, masklike application of white in the face (fig. 151). On the clean-shaven figure, more fine changes are visible along the contours, which would seem to indicate that the artist was working to perfect the design. Overall the X-radiograph of the clean-shaven portrait emphasizes the work's livelier use of line, a quality also apparent in visible light. This difference holds also for the inscribed couplet, where, on the clean-shaven portrait, the letter forms are more crisply and elegantly rendered.²⁷

Infrared reflectography revealed only minimal underdrawing in both portraits. The Museum's example, however, has ruled lines along all four edges: a single line at the right, double lines at the left and top, and double lines that converge into a single line at the bottom (fig. 152). They lie within the edges of the painted area and thus appear not to have been used to establish its limits. It is possible that these lines, which are not present on the privately owned portrait, served to align a pattern used to transfer the design to the panel.

An overlay of tracings made from both portraits shows a near-exact correspondence in the facial features, suggesting use of a common model or transfer of the design from one painting to the other.²⁸

Given the higher-quality execution of the clean-shaven likeness and the presence of underlying lines on the bearded version possibly used to position a pattern, it seems most likely that the former is the primary version and that it served as the model for the bearded version. The more summary, evidently more rapid, technique of the bearded likeness may have been determined by a lower price paid for its commission, which could also explain the choice of a plain black costume instead of the more elaborate black, red, brown, and gray of the other. That both versions issued from Hans Maler's workshop is without doubt. Despite the differences discussed above, they share a closely comparable style, and both are coated on the verso with a dark brownish red found on other works by the painter (see technical notes above). However, the question of whether the Museum's portrait was completed by Maler using a modified technique for a secondary version or by a less-skilled workshop assistant must remain open pending further technical studies of the artist's oeuvre. J P W

HANS MALER

Ulm ca. 1480–ca. 1526/29 ?Schwaz

43. *Ulrich Fugger the Younger*

1525

Oil on linden panel

Overall $15\frac{7}{8} \times 12\frac{1}{16} \times \frac{3}{8}$ in. ($40.3 \times 32.9 \times .95$ cm); painted surface, $15\frac{7}{8} \times 12\frac{3}{4}$ in. (39.9×32.4 cm)

Dated and inscribed (formerly on verso): *DOMINI / MDXXV / ANNO CVRENTI / XXXV / ETATIS* (In the current year of the Lord 1525, 35 years of age)¹

Heraldry/emblems: none

Marks on verso: none

Frame: not original

Bequest of Benjamin Altman, 1913 14.40.630

PROVENANCE: Maximilian von Heyl, Darmstadt (by 1895²–1910; sold to Kleinberger); [Kleinberger, Paris and New York, 1910; sold to Altman]; Benjamin Altman, New York (1910–d. 1913)

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: The support is a single linden board with the grain oriented vertically.³ The panel has been thinned to .95 centimeter and cradled and displays a slight vertical corrugation at the far right. The white ground preparation and paint layers extend to the very edge of the panel, and losses along the left edge indicate it was trimmed.

Overall the painting is fairly well preserved, although the thin dark strokes of paint that describe the gathering in the white shirt and the geometric pattern in the collar have been abraded to such an extent that only portions remain. Vertical pale yellow catchlights in the whites of the eyes are not original. With magnification, remnants of the original catchlights are visible in both eyes: four horizontal strokes of white paint, one in the white of each eye and one in the iris, both to the right of center.

Infrared reflectography revealed underdrawing in the face and clothing.⁴ The design was evidently traced from another source (see discussion below), and it appears that a liquid medium was used. There are slight discrepancies between the underdrawing and the paint application: in the drawing, the placement of the collar of the white shirt is farther to the left, the contours of the sitter's right brow and upper forehead jut out farther, and the cap is larger overall. In all other respects the paint layers follow the underdrawing very closely. Infrared reflectography also clarified a deep black floral pattern applied to the chest and sleeves, now difficult to see because of changes in the paint, and revealed a finger- or thumbprint in the paint in the lower right corner.

This portrait shows Ulrich Fugger the Younger (1490–1525) in bust length and three-quarter profile against a blue background that lightens from top to bottom. Over a white undershirt with a standing collar he wears a black shirt and jacket. His hair is tucked beneath a black netted cap. A nearly identical example of this portrait, also by Hans Maler, is in a private collection and was until recently owned by the Fugger-Babenhhausen family (fig. 153).⁵ Although neither panel bears the sitter's name, an identification is possible based on later portraits that follow Maler's design and are inscribed with the name of Ulrich Fugger.⁶ Moreover, before the Metropolitan Museum's panel was planed down for the application of a cradle, it bore an old, probably original inscription dating the

work to 1525 and giving the sitter's age as thirty-five, which corresponds exactly with Fugger's biography.

Ulrich Fugger the Younger was born in Augsburg on April 17, 1490, into what would soon become one of Europe's greatest mercantile and banking dynasties.⁷ His father—Ulrich the Elder—and his uncles Georg and Jakob Fugger together founded a flourishing spice- and textile-trading firm in 1494, which under Jakob's leadership became immensely prosperous by expanding into mining and finance. After undertaking mercantile training in Venice (1506–7) and Rome (1510), the young Ulrich traveled widely in central Europe as a representative of the Fugger firm.⁸ In 1516 he married Veronika Gassner, the daughter of the Augsburg merchant Lukas Gassner, who, like Ulrich's uncle Jakob Fugger, owned interests in the Tirolean mining industry. Ulrich increasingly had business in Tirol, both at the Habsburg court in Innsbruck and at the mint in Hall.⁹ His final station in life was the flourishing mining center of Schwaz in Tirol, where he represented the Fuggers probably beginning in the early 1520s.¹⁰ It was surely in Schwaz in 1525 that Hans Maler painted the Museum's portrait. Ulrich Fugger died on May 14, 1525, less than a month after his thirty-fifth birthday. He was interred at Schwaz's Pfarrkirche.¹¹

Max J. Friedländer in 1895 was the first to publish the portrait and associate it with Hans Maler.¹² The attribution has not been contested. At the time, the picture was in the Heyl Collection in Darmstadt. On the basis of the inscription displaying the date and sitter's age, then still on the reverse, Friedländer speculated that the portrait preceded the other version, then in the Fugger-Babenhhausen Collection,¹³ which lacks an inscription. Most writers who have addressed the chronology of the two works have followed Friedländer's conjecture that the Museum's version is earlier.¹⁴

The two examples of this portrait are remarkably close in size and design, and both are typical of Hans Maler's style and technique.¹⁵ X-radiographs reveal a very similar distribution of whites,¹⁶ and comparison of tracings made from both reveals a close correspondence in the contours, which suggests the use of a common model.¹⁷ The surface differences between the two paintings appear to be a matter of condition, for the privately owned picture is better preserved. The Museum's portrait was harshly cleaned at some time in the past, and many of its finer details—whiskers at the perimeter of the beard, catchlights on the eyes, modulating glazes throughout the face, pleats in the white shirt, and the pattern on the standing collar—exist only as remnants. These losses have increased the severity of the representation, making the Museum's portrait look harder and flatter than it should.

Infrared reflectography of the Metropolitan's picture revealed a notable difference between the works: an underdrawing that carefully establishes the main contours, as if strengthening a pattern



Fig. 153. Hans Maler. *Ulrich Fugger*, 1525. Oil on panel, $16\frac{9}{16} \times 13\frac{13}{16}$ (42 × 35 cm). Private collection, Germany

that had been transferred to the ground layer (fig. 154). The halting, broken quality of line has the appearance of a tracing. (An identical manner of underdrawing has been found on Hans Maler's 1525 *Anton Fugger* in the Allentown Art Museum, Pennsylvania).¹⁸ In contrast, neither infrared reflectography nor microscopic examination could detect any underdrawing on the privately owned Ulrich Fugger portrait.¹⁹ This does not mean that the work was painted freehand. An underlying design could well exist in a medium undetectable by infrared reflectography, such as red chalk, applied faintly enough to escape discovery with a microscope. In any case, the clearly discernible underdrawing in the one example and the lack of detectable underdrawing in the other suggest somewhat different preparatory processes.

The New York portrait's divergences from its underlying design are few but significant. Relative to the underdrawing, the sitter's right brow and right iris were shifted slightly inward. Also, the height of the forehead was reduced, and the cap was made smaller. In fact, the Museum's portrait appears to diverge from its underdrawing in the same ways it differs from the privately owned example, namely, in the protrusion of the right brow, the outward tilt of the right iris, and the volume of the cap, all of which are more pronounced in the privately owned work (an observation that is confirmed by comparing the aforementioned tracings of

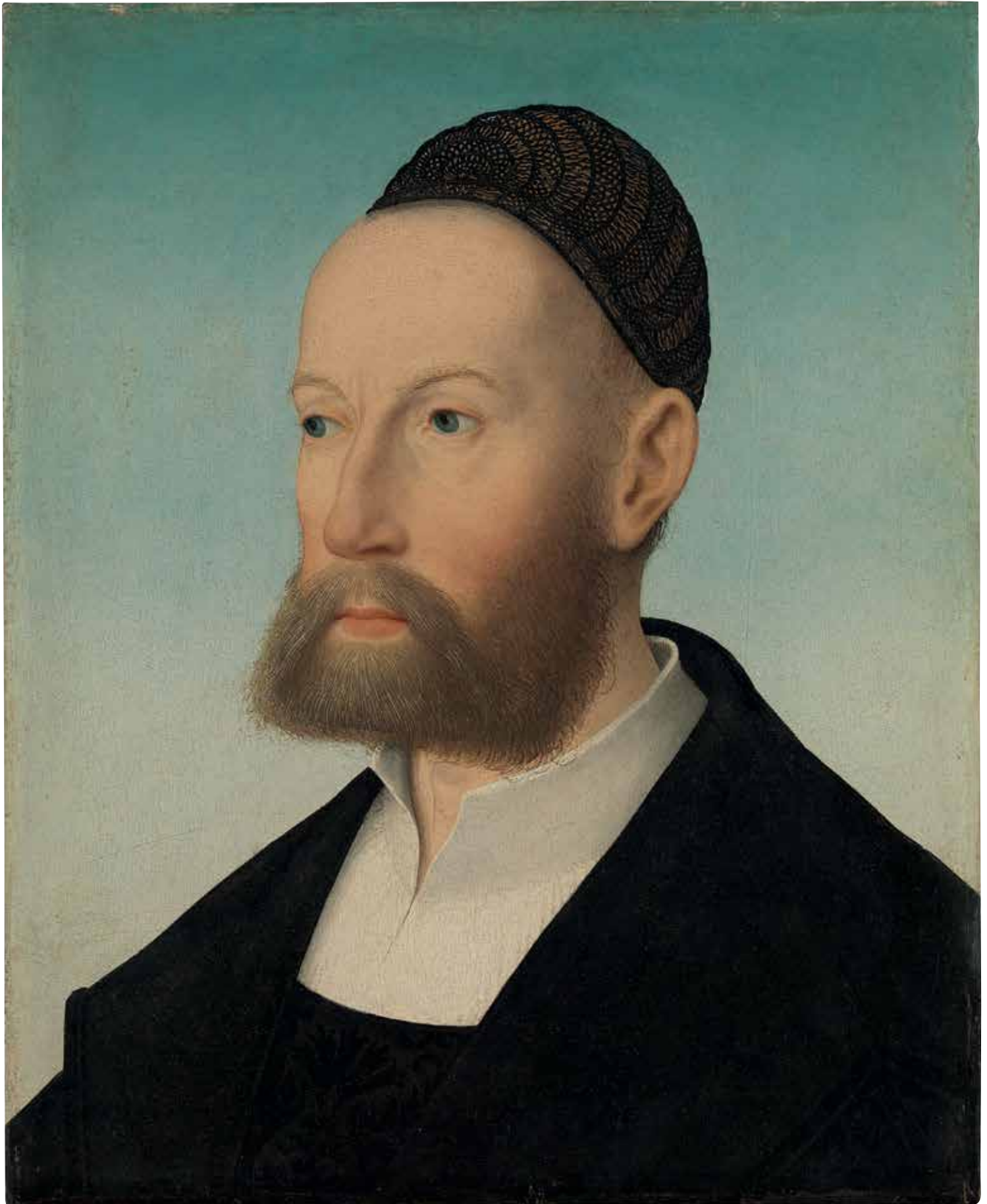
the two paintings). The most important effect of the changes in the Museum's portrait is the reduction in the sag of the right eye, which is conspicuous on the other panel. This suggests, against the chronology proposed by Friedländer, that the portrait in private hands was completed first, and that the Metropolitan's portrait, whose underlying design was probably transferred from a common model, was modified during the painting process to improve the sitter's appearance.

Hans Maler's portraits of Ulrich Fugger represent just one part of his more extensive work for the Fuggers and their close associates in Schwaz, made possible by the increased presence of the Fugger firm in the mining town from 1522 onward.²⁰ Between 1524 and 1526, Maler produced portraits of Ulrich's cousin Anton Fugger in three different types,²¹ a portrait of Jakob Fugger after a print by Hans Burgkmair,²² and a portrait of the Fugger bookkeeper Matthäus Schwarz.²³ Of these, the series of bust-length, three-quarter-view likenesses of Anton Fugger painted in 1525 is most similar to the portraits of Ulrich, which are from the same year. The Fuggers may well have commissioned those relatively small works in multiples to distribute as mementos among family members and important business partners.²⁴ It is conceivable that some were used to decorate the family's new residence and office in Schwaz, the Fuggerhaus, completed about 1525–28. As Stefan Krause suggested, Ulrich and Anton Fugger, through their connections to the Habsburg court in Innsbruck, possibly saw as a model for patronage Maler's 1521 portrait series of Archduke Ferdinand I and his wife, Anna of Hungary.²⁵

J P W



Fig. 154. Infrared reflectogram, detail of head, cat. 43



MASTER OF THE ACTS OF MERCY

Salzburg, active ca. 1460–70

44. *The Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence* (interior); *Giving Drink to the Thirsty* (exterior)

Ca. 1460–70

Oil and (interior) gold on fir panel

Painted surface 29 × 18¾ in. (73.7 × 46.7 cm); thickness ½ in. (1.27 cm)

Inscriptions (on interior, at lower left and right): pseudo-Greek on hats of henchmen

Heraldry / emblems: none

Marks on verso: panel painted on both sides

Frame: not original

Gift of The Jack and Belle Linsky Foundation, 1981 1981.365.1

PROVENANCE: [Paul Lindpaintner, Berlin and Tegernsee, by about 1952–55;¹ sale, Lempertz, Cologne, November 23, 1955, no. 37, to Linsky]; Mr. and Mrs. Jack Linsky, New York (1955–his death 1980); The Jack and Belle Linsky Foundation, New York (1980–81)

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: The panel support is composed of three fir boards with the grain oriented vertically.² X-radiography confirmed that on the exterior side the joins are reinforced with strips of cloth and the whole of the interior side is prepared with cloth below the ground-preparation layer. The whole panel displays a slight convex transverse warp. Although examination of the perimeter was hindered by a nonoriginal attached frame, inspection of small losses revealed that the ground preparation on both sides is white.

On the interior side the outlines of the figures were incised in the ground preparation before gilding and painting took place. The burnished gold leaf that forms the background was laid down on a layer of bright orange bole using the water-gilding technique. The decorative pattern was created by incising its outlines in the gold and then filling them with a zigzag design by stamping with a V-shaped tool. The thicker passages in the flesh of Saint Lawrence display a pebbly or stippled texture, suggesting that the paint was tamped with a blunt brush to create a subtle texture. Visible in the reds of the emperor's robe and hat is the imprint of the fabric the artist used to distribute the red-lake glazes as he created depth and form. Those glazes appear to have faded somewhat in areas where it was thinly applied. Examination with the stereomicroscope revealed the remnants of a red-lake glaze painted on top of the blue in the leggings of the henchman kneeling at left. The patchy dark brown glaze on the tunic of the henchman at right may originally have been a transparent green that discolored when copper-containing green pigments in the paint degraded. Inscriptions on the henchmen's clothing are abraded, as is the painted hatching on the grill. The gilding is moderately abraded.

The painting on the exterior side displays a wide-aperture craquelure throughout and is less well preserved than the painting on the other side. Widespread abrasion allows the underdrawing to show through quite clearly in some passages. The fragmentary remains of the faded red-lake glazes in the woman's robe have a spotty appearance attributable to the artist's manipulation of the glaze with a piece of cloth. Examination with magnification revealed that the original background was blue. That paint darkened and was covered with restoration.

In both scenes the paint was applied with an active brush, methodically worked up in progressive phases. A transparent brown paint was used to emphasize some of the final contours. The lively, direct underdrawing on both sides of the panel, visible with infrared reflectography as well as in normal light, was executed with a brush in a liquid medium.³ In addition to the contours

of all the figures, the underdrawing describes facial features and folds as well as details of some pieces of clothing with hatching in selected areas to indicate shading. There are several minor deviations from the underdrawing in the painted images, primarily in the details of the garments. On the exterior side, there is a line of indecipherable script in the clouds at the upper left.

This double-sided panel shows on one side the martyrdom of Saint Lawrence and on the other a woman offering drink to a bedridden man. The work is a fragment of an altarpiece shutter, in which the Saint Lawrence scene on gold ground would have been oriented to the interior, visible in the altarpiece's open state. Stripped naked and bound to a gridiron, Lawrence is roasted over a fire that one of his tormentors stokes with a bellows. The gray-bearded figure wearing a bejeweled robe and holding a scepter is the Roman emperor who ordered the execution. Although Lawrence is understood to have perished in 258 during the joint rule of Emperor Valerian (r. 253–60) and his son Gallienus (r. 253–68), the thirteenth-century *Golden Legend* by Jacobus de Voragine, the most common source for details of the saint's life, describes Lawrence's demise as having taken place under Decius (r. 249–251), and it is thus probably as Decius that this painting's original viewers would have identified the emperor figure.⁴ The mustached figure in blue next to the emperor appears to direct the torture as he points at the crouching tormentor below and slings an arm over the shoulder of the man to his left. Those two henchmen, in turn, steady Lawrence on the gridiron.

According to the *Golden Legend*, the martyrdom of Lawrence, a deacon of the Roman Church in charge of the treasury, was prompted by his refusal to surrender the treasury to the emperor and by his distribution of some of that wealth to the poor. Although the legend describes Lawrence's calm in his final moments, Jacobus de Voragine's commentary points out the extraordinary suffering involved in death by fire, an aspect that this painting emphasizes through Lawrence's tormented expression and the bite of the rope beneath his rib cage.⁵

The scene on the other side of the panel of a woman tending to a man's thirst represents one of the six so-called acts of mercy named in the description of the Last Judgment in the Gospel of Matthew (25:35–36): feeding the hungry, offering drink to the thirsty, providing shelter to strangers, clothing the naked, tending the sick, and visiting the imprisoned. Early Christian authors added a seventh, burial of the dead, thus establishing the group of seven as standard during the Middle Ages.⁶ At the upper left corner, the hand of God emerges from a stylized cloud to bless the act. Underneath the cloud, visible with infrared reflectography, is an as-yet-indecipherable inscription that appears to be in German, probably a preparatory notation related to the design or subject matter (fig. 155). The source of this





44, exterior



Fig. 155. Infrared reflectogram, detail of upper left corner, cat. 44 (exterior)

composition could be the *Ars Moriendi* series of engravings by the Master E.S. (ca. 1445–50), which features a similarly emaciated man in a bed set diagonally in the picture plane.⁷ Although the woman's gold nimbus is suggestive of sainthood—and Saints Elizabeth of Hungary, Hedwig, and Erentrudis of Salzburg have been considered possible subjects—the lack of attributes prevents a definitive identification.⁸ It is altogether possible, especially in light of the secular costume, that the figure is not a saint but rather a personification of charity, the halo indicating not the sainthood of a particular person but rather the traits of saintliness and benevolence.⁹ Both scenes on the Metropolitan Museum's panel demonstrate the painter's talent for bold design that fully exploits the expressive potential of tightly compressed space. The vitality of his handling is detectable also in the free, direct underdrawing (fig. 156).

When first published in 1954, the panel was, on the advice of Ernst Buchner, localized in Salzburg and dated about 1460.¹⁰ By 1959 Buchner recognized it and two panels in the Stadtmuseum Simeonstift Trier as belonging to the same ensemble; the works in Trier depict the Beheading of John the Baptist and the Feast of Herod, and the back of each shows another of the acts of mercy—Providing Shelter to Strangers and Feeding the Hungry, respectively—administered by the same female figure in a green dress and red cape (fig. 157).¹¹ Buchner named the anonymous painter the Master of the Acts of Mercy (*Meister der Barmherzigkeiten*) after this ensemble. Given the customary grouping of six biblical acts of mercy, Buchner reasoned that the panels in the Metropolitan Museum and the Stadtmuseum Simeonstift constituted half of the total wing scenes from a dismantled altarpiece.¹² To the same hand he attributed a small Marian altarpiece (the so-called Nonnberg Crypt Altarpiece, in the Nonnberg Convent in Salzburg) and a double-sided panel with *The Adoration of the Magi* and *The Presentation in the Temple* in the Staatsgalerie Burghausen,¹³ for which a pendant has recently been identified in *The Death of the Virgin* in the Musée Anne-de-Beaujeu, Moulins.¹⁴ For the 1972 exhibition “Spätgotik in Salzburg,” Albin Rohrmoser endorsed Buchner's localization of the painter in Salzburg and slightly shifted the dating of the New York and Trier

panels from about 1460 to 1465, figuring that they show a stylistic progression from the Nonnberg Crypt Altarpiece, which circumstantial evidence may date before 1463.¹⁵ In 2011 a fourth panel of the Acts of Mercy ensemble emerged on the art market; now in a private collection, it shows Saint Lawrence before the emperor and the act of Clothing the Naked (see fig. 157), thus allowing a less fragmentary reconstruction of the altarpiece.¹⁶

A plausible reconstruction, as offered by Buchner and Rohrmoser, assumes a total of six acts of mercy, according to the biblical number and by reason of symmetry, and arranges the wing scenes in two tall columns, displaying the Acts of Mercy in the closed state, and three scenes each from the lives of Saint John the Baptist and Saint Lawrence in the open state.¹⁷ It is possible that a seventh act of mercy, burial of the dead, was depicted on the lost predella.¹⁸ This would have resulted in an especially narrow structure, whose center, a painting or a sculpted shrine, would have been somewhat more than twice as tall as it was wide. Though unusual, such a narrow format should not be ruled out as a possibility, for the art of Salzburg and neighboring regions offers examples of works of comparable dimensions, such as the Salzburg *Crucifixion* of about 1470 in the Kunstmuseum Basel (215.5 by 89.5 centimeters)¹⁹ or the *Virgin and Child with Saints Margaret and Catherine* by a follower of Michael Pacher in the Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid (166 by 76.5 centimeters).²⁰ Although

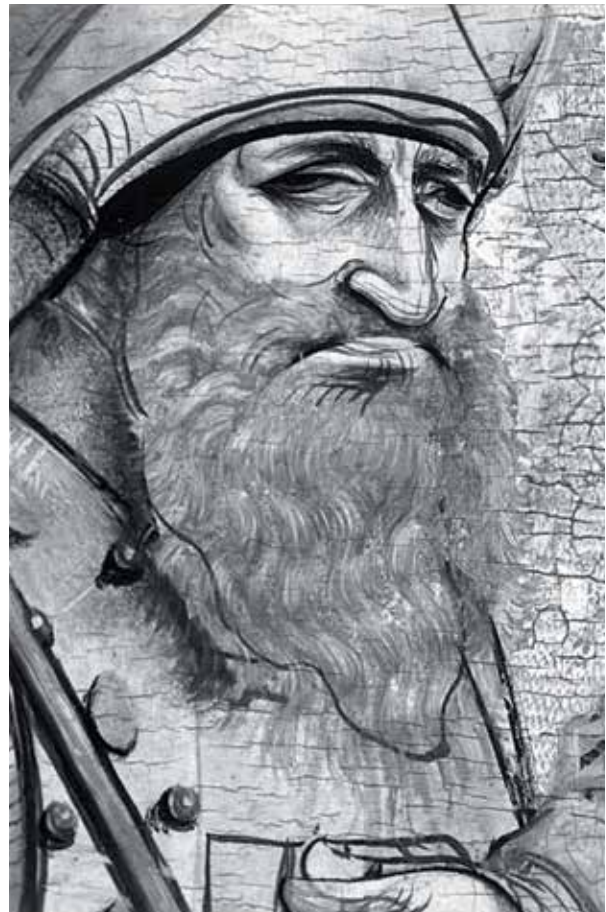


Fig. 156. Infrared reflectogram, detail of head, cat. 44 (interior)



Fig. 157. Master of the Acts of Mercy. Additional panels from dismantled altarpiece, ca. 1460–70. Top, left: *The Beheading of John the Baptist* (interior), right: *Providing Shelter to Strangers* (exterior) (Stadtmuseum Simeonstift Trier); center, left: *The Feast of Herod* (interior), right: *Feeding the Hungry* (exterior) (Stadtmuseum Simeonstift Trier); bottom, left: *Saint Lawrence before the Emperor* (interior), right: *Clothing the Naked* (exterior) (private collection)

the original display contexts of those pictures remain uncertain,²¹ they could well have served as central panels of narrow winged altarpieces. Outside Austria, the intact Marian triptych of 1489 in the Pfarrkirche, Wachenheim (near Worms), gives an example of an extraordinarily narrow retable with a sculpted shrine (wings each 170 by 30 centimeters, center approximately 170 by 60 centimeters).²² The altarpiece to which the Museum's panel belonged plausibly had a Crucifixion or a Virgin of Mercy (*Schutzmantelmadonna*) at its center, both subjects adaptable to a narrow format and compatible with the iconography of the acts of mercy.

Although Rohrmoser's proposal that the Saint Lawrence scenes occupied the left wing and the John the Baptist scenes the right has remained unquestioned,²³ the opposite arrangement creates a more favorable composition in the closed state, with the hands of God establishing a visual rhythm down the center and the repeated female figure girding the combined scenes along the far left and right (fig. 158). It also makes more sense chronologically in the open state, with John the Baptist, who came before Lawrence, on the left rather than the right. This new arrangement also offers a proper sequence of the acts of mercy, according to their order in the Gospel of Matthew, if they are read from left to right, beginning from the bottom. This suggests that the two missing acts, tending the sick and visiting the imprisoned, were shown at the top left and right.

The Master of the Acts of Mercy's localization in Salzburg was established based on the Nonnberg Crypt Altarpiece, which the anonymous painter is presumed to have made for Salzburg's venerable Nonnberg Convent, where it is still kept. Affinities with the works of Conrad Laib (active ca. 1440–60) and Rueland Frueauf the Elder (ca. 1440/50–1507) further attest to his activity in Salzburg and make plausible the dating of his oeuvre in the 1460s.²⁴

Nonetheless, the tidy chronology of the oeuvre proposed in the 1972 exhibition in Salzburg, and maintained ever since, with the Nonnberg Crypt Altarpiece falling before 1463, the Acts of Mercy panels about 1465, and the Marian panels in Burghausen and Moulins about 1470,²⁵ rests on scant evidence. The dating of the Nonnberg Crypt Altarpiece derives from its representation of the Nonnberg church (held by Saint Erentrudis of Salzburg) in a form that probably predates major renovations begun in 1463. This assumes that the altarpiece's patrons required the painted church to correspond to the concurrent structure of the actual church. But it cannot be ruled out that the work dates later, after the renovations were begun, and that the patrons wished Erentrudis (d. 718), the convent's first abbess, to be shown with what is effectively an ancient form of the church. Moreover, with regard to style, although the Nonnberg Crypt Altarpiece lacks the vigor and expressiveness of the Acts of Mercy panels and the Marian scenes, this is not necessarily reflective of an artistic evolution that would place it at the beginning of the known oeuvre. The more fundamental difference is that the Nonnberg retable is non-narrative; its row of standing saints by nature looks more austere and archaic than the other, narrative subjects. Here, subject matter and type, rather than date, may have been



Fig. 158. Reconstruction of Master of the Acts of Mercy's Altarpiece with Scenes from the Lives of Saint John the Baptist and Saint Lawrence and the Acts of Mercy, ca. 1460–70. Closed state, left wing: *Providing Shelter to Strangers*, *Feeding the Hungry* (Trier); right wing: *Clothing the Naked* (private collection), *Giving Drink to the Thirsty* (cat. 44). Open state, left wing: *The Beheading of John the Baptist*, *The Feast of Herod* (Trier); right wing: *Saint Lawrence before the Emperor* (private collection), *The Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence* (cat. 44)

more determinative of appearance. The treatment of space adds a further complication, for although the background of the Nonnberg Crypt Altarpiece consists of a flat expanse of patterned gold, which probably contributed to its being assigned an early date, the very low horizon creates the convincing illusion that the figures actually stand on the ledge below. Comparison with the Burghausen *Presentation in the Temple*, with its absolutely vertical floor and virtually floating figures, demonstrates the comparative spatial incongruity of a supposed later work.

These considerations suggest that the chronology of the Master of the Acts of Mercy's works is not as clear-cut as previously presumed. Indeed, in the absence of a larger, more stylistically varied oeuvre and dendrochronological data, it seems premature to align the works in a coherent succession. For that reason, while the traditional bracket dates of approximately 1460 to 1470 are retained here, the sequence proposed in 1972 is abandoned in favor of assigning the oeuvre—including, of course, the Acts of Mercy panels—to the whole decade, until more conclusive evidence appears. J P W

MASTER A.H. OR H.A.

Austria, Tirol(?), active late 1520s

45. *Mary of Burgundy; (verso) Virgin of the Immaculate Conception*

1528; (verso) late 17th–18th century

Oil on fir panel

Overall $17\frac{7}{8} \times 12\frac{1}{4} \times \frac{3}{8}$ in. (44.8 × 31 × .95 cm); painted surface $17\frac{7}{8} \times 12$ in. (43.9 × 30.5 cm)

Signed and dated (on verso, at lower edge of panel): A H [or H A (ligated)] 1528

Inscriptions: none

Heraldry/emblems: none

Marks on verso: several labels, now photographed and removed,¹ including octagonal paper label inscribed in pen, 11447 / *Ec. Francoise*; scalloped-edged circular label with Parisian customs stamp reading *DOUANE CENTRALE PARIS*; circular label from the Magniac Collection inscribed at center in fountain pen, 73; narrow printed clipping with portion missing reading “*Cunn’s e . . . aret Plantagenet*, in costume of the period”; and rectangular piece of paper with printed description of painting, identifying subject as Mary of Burgundy and including brief history of her life

Frame: not original

Robert Lehman Collection, 1975 1975.1.137

PROVENANCE: Hollingworth Magniac, London (his sale, Christie, Manson and Wood, London, July 2, 4–8, 11–15, 1892, no. 73); Monsieur de Villeroy, Paris (his sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, April 28–29, 1922, no. 29, to Seligman); [Germain Seligman, New York; sold to Kleinberger]; [Kleinberger, New York and Paris, until 1922; sold to Lehman]; Philip Lehman, New York (1922–d. 1947); his son, Robert Lehman, New York (1947–d. 1969; given to the Robert Lehman Foundation on his death and transferred to MMA in 1975)

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: The panel support consists of two vertical boards of fir² and displays a convex transverse warp. Unpainted wood and a *barbe* along the perimeter indicate that the panel was in an engaged frame when the white ground preparation was applied.

The painting is abraded throughout, most visibly in the background and in the face, the features and modeling of which are barely discernible.

Infrared reflectography did not reveal any underdrawing.³

Examination with the stereomicroscope showed that the gown is underpainted in grisaille and glazed with a transparent green paint to imitate velvet. This color and the one used for the decorative pattern on the bodice have darkened with age, perhaps because of the degradation commonly observed in paint layers containing copper-green pigments.

The verso displays a robustly executed Virgin in prayer painted directly on the unprepared wooden support. Below the Virgin, a large monogram combining the letters A and H and the date 1528 is painted with lead-tin yellow (type I). Remnants of black restoration paint are present throughout the surface.

Mary, Duchess of Burgundy (1457–1482), the first wife of Archduke Maximilian of Austria, later Holy Roman Emperor, is shown here wearing a gown with a square-cut bodice of gold brocade and laced-on green velvet sleeves. Above the bodice there is a transparent inlay adorned at the neckline with black and gray pearls. A long, diaphanous veil falls from her rose-colored Burgundian hennin, and an elaborate gold pendant with a large rectangular

ruby and gray pearls is pinned to its black velvet border. Mary wears two necklaces: one of interlocking gold rings with gold pendants and another of black and gray pearls.

There are five extant profile portraits of the sitter, three in which she faces right (Alte Galerie des Steiermärkischen Landesmuseums Joanneum, Graz; Kisters Collection, Kreuzlingen; and Kunsthistorisches Museum, Gemäldegalerie, Vienna [fig. 159]) and two in which she faces left (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, exhibited at Schloss Ambras, no. GG 4402, and the present work). The two in the Kunsthistorisches Museum depict Mary in an interior before a damask curtain, which in one case (GG 4400) is pulled back to reveal a view into a landscape beyond; the other versions all reflect an earlier type with a plain background. These five represent only a small number of the portraits that must have been made of Mary, both during her lifetime and posthumously. Attributed to several artists,⁴ they may have been based on a now-lost drawn or painted prototype, although all show slight variations in the sitter’s apparel.



Fig. 159. Niklas Reiser. *Mary of Burgundy, Half-Length in Profile*, ca. 1500. Oil on panel, $29\frac{1}{16} \times 21\frac{1}{16}$ in. (75.5 × 54.5 cm). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Gemäldegalerie, Vienna (GG 4400)





Fig. 160. Verso, cat. 45

The earliest portrait of this group is thought to be the one in the Kisters Collection, dating between 1477 and 1482,⁵ followed by the example in Graz, from after 1493, and the Vienna paintings, both from about 1500.

The Lehman portrait was initially attributed to a French master, before August Mayer noted in 1930 that Max J. Friedländer had proposed Bernhard Strigel as an alternative.⁶ This suggestion was reiterated by Grete Ring, who dated the painting to the beginning of the sixteenth century.⁷ Hans Maler later became the favored attribution, proposed by Charles Sterling in the catalogue of a 1957 exhibition

in Paris and subsequently supported by René Berger, Robert Wyss, and George Szabó; Katharine Baetjer also attributed the work to this artist in her 1995 summary catalogue of European paintings in the Museum.⁸ Maler's name became associated with several of the portraits of Mary because of documentary evidence indicating that Maximilian, on three occasions in 1500, had requested portraits to be sent to him in Augsburg from a painter in Schwaz.⁹ Furthermore, a "Hans from Ulm," whose surname was Maler, was paid for two portraits of Mary in 1510.¹⁰ On this basis, Gustav Glück suggested that only one artist was being referenced, Hans Maler zu Schwaz.¹¹ Alfred Stange then rightly questioned that the Hans Maler in the documents was the same as Hans Maler zu Schwaz, especially since Hans was such a common name at the time in the Tirolean region.¹² In addition, the considerably abraded condition of the work makes any determination of attribution very difficult, and its stylistically conservative, retardataire profile presentation finds few parallels in the works of Hans Maler zu Schwaz.¹³

The attribution question was clarified in 1998, when Charles Talbot published the first scholarly text on the picture in the catalogue of European paintings in the Lehman Collection.¹⁴ New X-radiography revealed another image that had been overpainted on the reverse of the panel, a Virgin of the Immaculate Conception, as well as an inscription and date. Further information came to light after most of the overpaint was removed (fig. 160). The monogram on the lower edge of the panel shows the superimposed letters *A H* or *H A* and the date 1528, which was already present when the image of the Virgin was added in the late seventeenth or the eighteenth century.¹⁵ Thus, the painting may now be assigned to the Master *A.H.* or *H.A.*, who was perhaps an artist from the Tirol.¹⁶

The date of 1528 confirms that this is a posthumous portrait of Mary, who died in March 1482. After Maximilian married Mary in 1477, he had continually struggled to secure her Burgundian inheritance while fending off the territorial pursuits of King Louis XI of France. Mary's untimely death made this even more difficult, as Flemish towns offered considerable resistance to Habsburg rule. The commission and circulation of portraits such as the Lehman example not only kept the memory of this much beloved duchess alive for Maximilian and her subjects but also served, well into the sixteenth century, to underscore Mary's role as one of the founders of the Habsburg dynasty.¹⁷

MWA

MASTER OF THE BERSWORDT ALTARPIECE

Westphalia, active ca. 1390–1400

46A. *The Flagellation*

1400

Oil, egg(?), and gold on modern plywood support, transferred from wood

Overall $22\frac{3}{4} \times 16\frac{7}{8}$ in. (57.8 × 42.9 cm)

Inscriptions: none

Heraldry / emblems: none

Marks on verso: none

Frame: not original

Bequest of Hertha Katz, 2000 2001.216.2

PROVENANCE: Neustädter Marienkirche (former Kollegiatstift Sankt Maria und Sankt Georg), Bielefeld (1400–about 1840; wings of altarpiece, including this panel, probably sold to Krüger);¹ Carl Wilhelm August Krüger, Minden (about 1840–54; sold to National Gallery);² National Gallery, London (1854–57; sale, Christie's, London, February 14, 1857, no. 7, to Hermann);³ [Hermann, London, from 1857]; [art market, Spain];⁴ vicar and churchwardens of Milton Ernest, Bedford (by 1923–50; on loan to Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, 1923–50; sale, Christie's, London, December 8, 1950, no. 80, to Katz); Willi Katz (1950–57); George and Hertha Katz, Great Neck, N.Y. (from 1957); Hertha Katz, Great Neck (by 1981–d. 2000)⁵

46B. *The Crucifixion*

1400

Oil, egg(?), and gold on oak panel

Overall $23\frac{1}{2} \times 17 \times \frac{5}{16}$ in. (59.7 × 43.2 × 1.4 cm)

Inscriptions: none

Heraldry / emblems: none

Marks on verso: none

Frame: not original

Rogers Fund, 1943 43.161

PROVENANCE: the same history of ownership as 46A until 1857;⁶ [Hermann, London, from 1857]; [Spanish Art Gallery (Tomás Harris), London, until 1936];⁷ [Böhler and Steinmeyer, Lucerne, 1936–37];⁸ [Spanish Art Gallery (Tomás Harris), London, 1937–39];⁹ [Durlacher Brothers, New York, 1939–43; sold to MMA]

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: Before *The Flagellation* entered the Museum's collection, its paint layers, ground, and original fabric preparation were transferred from the wooden support to a secondary fabric support and then adhered to a plywood panel with a wax adhesive. No evidence of the original support remains.

The support of *The Crucifixion* is composed of two oak boards that originated in western Germany; the wood grain is oriented vertically.¹⁰ The boards are joined by tongue and groove. On the verso of the panel there is evidence of the lap joint that connected it to the adjacent panel on the right, of a dowel for connecting framing elements on the upper left, and of a recess along the left side, where an original hinge was located. The presence of that dowel and the recess confirms that the panel was located in the bottom right of the inner left wing of the altarpiece.¹¹ There is an original layer of lead white on the panel's verso, which has been covered thickly with wax.¹² Two modern, horizontal crossbars have been attached to the panel with screws.¹³ Dendrochronological analysis of the panel indicated an earliest possible fabrication date for the painting of 1342;¹⁴ however, analysis of boards in other parts of the altarpiece provided a later terminus post quem—an earliest possible fabrication date of 1373—for the whole ensemble.¹⁵

Fabric was glued to the panel supports of both *The Crucifixion* and *The Flagellation* before the white ground preparation was applied. There is no apparent priming layer. In both paintings, the ground was incised to indicate the areas to be gilded. In *The Crucifixion*, the position of Christ's Cross is designated with ruled lines. The halos of the Virgin and Saint John are defined with incised lines and enhanced with punched decoration. In both panels the gilding that forms the backgrounds was applied directly to the ground. Ground gilding (called *Leimvergoldung* in German) has been documented in northern European paintings that date, for the most part, from the thirteenth century. The smoothed ground layer is coated with an aqueous adhesive such as animal glue, to which the gold leaf is applied and then burnished and tooled, as desired.¹⁶

The artist relied on a layering technique—with particular emphasis on scumbles—to achieve color effects and to create volume. The blended brushstrokes and creamy appearance of the paint suggest that the medium could be a "fatty" tempera, in which oil is mixed with an egg-yolk binder.¹⁷ The use of this medium has been reported in studies of other paintings from the same altarpiece.¹⁸

Overall the paintings are in fair condition; however, the surfaces are worn along the edges of an extensive crack pattern, and abrasion from harsh cleaning has increased the visibility of the original underlying fabric. The brown painted borders on both panels are not original. Examination with the stereomicroscope revealed fragments of an opaque red below the brown overpaint; this may perhaps be fragmentary evidence of the red and white patterned border present on other panels of the altarpiece.¹⁹ Numerous paint losses in *The Flagellation* occurred when the painting was transferred to a new support.

When the surfaces of the paintings are examined in normal light, some underdrawing in the form of cursory contours applied with a liquid medium is visible. Examination with infrared reflectography did not reveal any further underdrawing,²⁰ although investigations of other panels attributed to the same artist have found underdrawing executed with brush, red chalk, and possibly metalpoint.²¹

These two panels showing the Flagellation and Crucifixion of Christ come from a large dismantled retable probably made for the high altar of the former Kollegiatstift Sankt Maria und Sankt Georg, now the Neustädter Marienkirche, in Bielefeld.²² One of the key monuments of late medieval painting in Westphalia, completed in 1400,²³ the altarpiece was a triptych with folding wings about 6.56 meters wide when fully opened and about 2.18 meters high, including its lost frame.²⁴ In the open state, it displayed a large central image of the Virgin and Child enthroned in the company of saints, flanked by thirty smaller scenes ranging from God Warns Adam about the Tree of Knowledge, through the life of the Virgin Mary and the Passion of Christ, to the Last Judgment, all on gold ground (fig. 161).²⁵ The small scenes were arranged in three rows of ten, with the subjects progressing chronologically across each row, skipping over the Virgin and Child at center, from the upper left to the lower right. The folding wings displayed nine scenes each; the rest of the small scenes belonged structurally to the central panel and were thus immobile. The internal divisions of the altarpiece were



46A

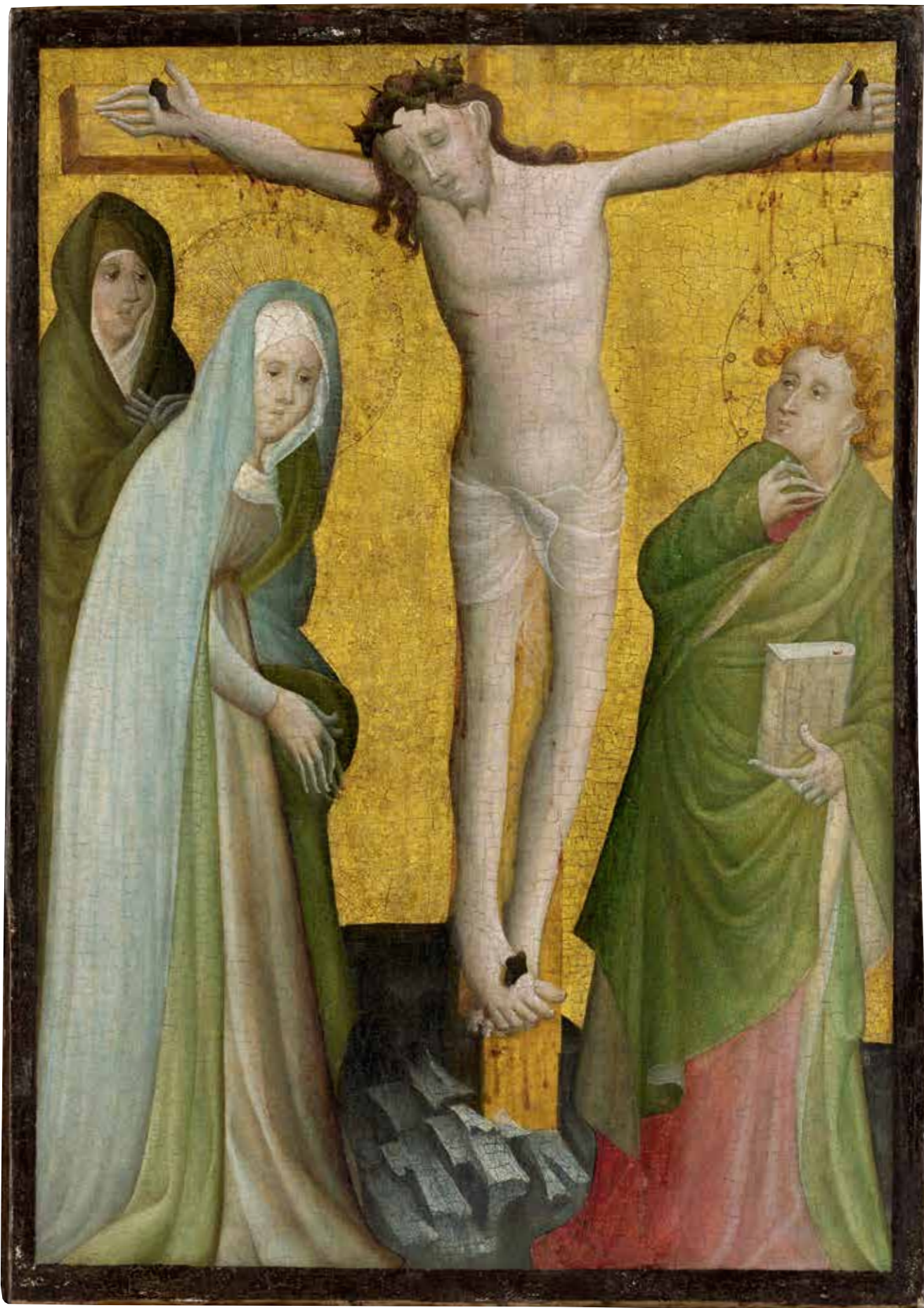




Fig. 161. Reconstruction of the Bielefeld Altarpiece, open. Center, Virgin and Child with Saints and twelve New Testament scenes. Each wing, nine scenes from the Old and New Testaments (subjects and locations of panels given in note 25 to cat. 46A, B)

achieved with applied red strips decorated with rosettes at their intersections.²⁶ The lost exterior decoration of the wings was probably painted either with standing saints or nonfigural ornaments.²⁷

The central section of the Bielefeld Altarpiece with its enthroned Virgin and Child and twelve New Testament scenes remains in the Marienkirche in Bielefeld. After the retablo was dismantled in the course of church renovations in 1840–41, the wings were cut along their horizontal divisions, creating six three-scene fragments.²⁸ It was in that state that all but one of the fragments were described (1847) and then catalogued (1848) in the collection of Carl Wilhelm August Krüger of Minden, who probably acquired them from the church about 1840.²⁹ Subsequently, the wing fragments were further divided into the individual scenes now found at the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin; the Oetker Collection and Marienkirche in Bielefeld; the Metropolitan Museum, New York; and the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.³⁰

The Museum's *Flagellation*, from the far right of the middle row of the right wing, shows Christ naked except for a loincloth and bound to a column, his gaze directed outward toward the viewer. The column alludes to the praetorium (judgment hall) of Pontius Pilate, where Christ was condemned to death, to which traditionally belongs a colonnade.³¹ The inclusion of a vegetated hillock in the background, suggestive of an outdoor setting, is unusual but it finds a general precedent in the region in the earlier *Devotional Panel with the Life of Christ* by a Cologne workshop (Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne), in which the Flagellation takes place on a grassy ground.³² The two standing tormentors on the Museum's panel flog Christ with bundles of twigs. The one on the left has his arm behind his back, indicating that he has just delivered a heavy downstroke, and the one on the right raises both arms and twists his torso outward, about to strike the next blow. A third henchman crouches on the ground, holding the rope that binds Christ's right leg to the column. Blood streams down Christ's body, both from wounds inflicted by the scourging, indicated by horizontal dashes of red paint (now faint), and from the crown of thorns.

The crown is unusual for this subject because it is chronologically out of place. The Gospels situate the Flagellation before the Crowning with Thorns, with both events preceded by Christ's appearance before Pontius Pilate (Matthew 27:1–29; Mark 15:1–17; John 18:29–40, 19:1–2). The Bielefeld Altarpiece, however, displayed the opposite order, with the Crowning with Thorns leading to the Flagellation followed by Christ before Pilate. In light of what must be assumed was an intimate familiarity with the events of Christ's Passion on the part of artist and patron, this unconventional sequence seems unlikely to have been a mistake. Götz Pfeiffer explained the anomaly as one of several attempts to establish meaningful vertical relations among scenes, whereby *The Flagellation* appeared directly beneath *The Nativity* and above the *Last Judgment* to align Christ's being born human, taking on bodily suffering, and delivering judgment upon humanity.³³

The Crucifixion, from the far right of the bottom row of the left wing, shows the dead Christ on the Cross flanked by the Virgin Mary and Saint John the Evangelist. An additional female figure, probably the Virgin's sister Mary Cleophas, stands at the far left. The horizon forms a slope where it intersects the Cross, likely as shorthand for the hill of Golgotha, the site of the Crucifixion. The Virgin's hunched posture, limp arms, and heavy-lidded, inward gaze express the weight of her sorrow. John raises a hand to his chest in what has been interpreted as a gesture of horror and helplessness.³⁴ He leans away from the Cross in a manner that suggests he is literally stricken with grief. The book in John's left hand is his traditional attribute in reference to his writings. The drop of Christ's blood that stains the book's upper edge enhances the simple attribute with an allusion, as Pfeiffer suggested, to John's assertion of the truth of his gospel account as a basis for belief (John 19:35).³⁵

Concerning attribution, it has long been recognized that the Bielefeld Altarpiece is by the Master of the Berswordt Altarpiece, named after a retablo of the Crucifixion now in the Marienkirche, Dortmund, which bears the coat of arms of the Berswordt family of that city.³⁶ With a project as extensive as the Bielefeld Altarpiece, the

involvement of assistants in most stages can be taken for granted. The current compromised condition of many of the altarpiece's parts, including the Museum's *Flagellation*, for example, which has sustained much damage in the past, necessarily frustrates any effort to distinguish between the master's contributions and those of the workshop, as attempted in some of the literature.³⁷

Documents of the commission are not known to have survived. The patronage of the church's college of canons has been put forth as a possibility,³⁸ with the canon Hermann Crusing (who died shortly after 1397) possibly being influential in the process.³⁹ Thus far, however, Pfeiffer has made the most convincing case for patronage in the persons of Wilhelm of Jülich, Duke of Berg (ca. 1348–1408), and his wife Anna of Bavaria (1346–1415), to whose territory Bielefeld belonged as part of the county of Ravensberg,

and whose ancestors founded the Marienkirche and were entombed in its choir.⁴⁰

With its secure date of 1400, the Bielefeld Altarpiece has played a pivotal role in the recent reevaluation of the Master of the Berswordt Altarpiece. The consensus view at present dates the rest of the master's oeuvre before 1400—including the Berswordt Altarpiece in Dortmund, for which a date of 1431 has been maintained at times⁴¹—thus overturning the old notion of the anonymous master as artistically dependent on Conrad von Soest, the greatly important Westphalian painter whose earliest surviving work dates from 1403.⁴² The recent reconsideration posits the Master of the Berswordt Altarpiece as instrumental in the transmission of artistic ideas from France and the southern Netherlands into Westphalia and nearby Cologne.⁴³

J P W

MASTER OF THE BURG WEILER ALTARPIECE

Northern Swabia, active ca. 1470

47. The Burg Weiler Altarpiece (Altarpiece with the Virgin and Child and Saints)

Ca. 1470

Oil and gold on fir panel

Overall, including frames, central panel, 68½ × 60 in. (174 × 152.5 cm),
each wing 68½ × 26 in. (174 × 66 cm)

Inscriptions (interior, along bottom of each panel, the names of the saints depicted):¹ (left wing) *S IOS S WENDEL*; (central panel) *S ADOLONIA S BARBARA S HARIA (Maria) S KATERINA S LORENCIVS*; (right wing) *S SEBASTEIVNVS S HORICIVS (Moricus)*

Heraldry / emblems: none

Marks on verso: none

Frame: all frames original; tracery probably original

The Cloisters Collection, 1953 53.21

PROVENANCE: Freiherren von und zu Weiler,² chapel of Burg Weiler,³ Baden-Württemberg; Ernst Dauer (or Bauer), Heilbronn (until 1937; sold to Böhler); [Julius Böhler, Munich, 1937–38; sold to Lüps];⁴ Werner Lüps, Hamburg (from 1938); by descent to Dr. Gita Forell, Munich (until 1950); [Julius Böhler, Munich, 1950–53; sold to Agnew];⁵ [Agnew, London, 1953; sold to MMA]⁶

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: The wood used to make the panel supports for the three paintings of this altarpiece is probably fir, with the grain oriented vertically.⁷ X-radiography was not undertaken on the paintings; therefore, the number and distribution of boards could not be determined. The brown oil paint that coats the verso of the central panel is possibly original. The painted decoration on the frames and the carved tracery have not been thoroughly examined.

Overall the paintings are in excellent condition, with a wide range of color effects still in evidence and details intact. The blue worn on both exterior wing paintings are extensively restored. The chasuble worn by Saint Theodulus, who is depicted on the exterior right wing, is damaged.

The figures visible when the altarpiece is open are arranged in front of a burnished gold background created over an orange bole using the technique of water gilding. The gold is decorated with a sumptuous brocade pattern made with incised lines and V-shaped punch marks.

The artist constructed the intricate designs on the saints' garments as flat patterns and then used glazing and made tonal and directional variations in the painted embroidery threads to create shadows that give the illusion of modeling and volume. A molded appliqué, possibly wax, embellished with gold leaf glazed with a transparent green, was used to create the low-relief pattern on the chasuble of Saint Theodulus.

Infrared photography revealed underdrawing done in a liquid medium.⁸ On the interior panels, detailed underdrawing was produced with a fine-pointed implement. There, facial features were indicated with circular notations for eye sockets, linear contours for noses and mouths, and parallel curved hatching to show volume. The elaborate folds of the garments were carefully rendered with directional hatching and cross-hatching. The underdrawing on the wing exteriors is limited to broadly stroked contours. The only noticeable differences between the underdrawing and the finished painting are seen on the exterior of the left wing; there, the legs of the central figure were repositioned, as were several of the massive thorns.

In the central panel of this three-part altarpiece, the Virgin stands on a crescent moon holding the Child. Abundantly draped in a blue mantle, she is flanked by saints: to the left are Apollonia and Barbara and to the right are Catherine of Alexandria and Lawrence. A pair of hovering angels in fluttering white albs hold a crown over her head. On the left interior wing are Jodokus and Wendelin and on the right interior wing, Sebastian and Maurice. The saints prominently display their identifying attributes, and their halos are plain disks tooled in the gold ground. Red, green, and a muted violet



47, open

dominate the palette of the costumes; the outer garments rhythmically alternate between red and green. The figures are placed in a shallow foreground against a gold backdrop raised slightly off the floor like a cloth of honor. The brocade pattern tooled in the gold background echoes the patterns of the rich fabrics of the saints' sumptuous costumes. Above the backdrop, filling the upper third of each panel is a carved and gilded wooden screen of interlaced and twisted stems. Their undulate foliate forms, occasionally accented with abstracted flowers, all rise from small foliate corbels and stand out against a blue ground.

On the exterior of the left wing are depicted three martyrs of the Theban Legion, naked but for breechcloths and impaled upon a thorn bush. On the exterior of the right wing Saint Theodulus is seen holding in his right hand a model of the chapel of Saint

Maurice, which housed the relics of the Theban martyrs. On both wings, the figures are placed in shallow landscapes with lush grassy and flower-strewn foregrounds and middle grounds of rocky outcroppings, all against unarticulated blue backgrounds elaborated with crossed foliate branches. The original frames, painted dull red with blue chamfers, are stenciled with gold abstracted blossoms.

The altarpiece, apparently commissioned for the small chapel adjacent to the castle of Burg Weiler, one of the seats of the Freiherrn von und zu Weiler, remained there until the early twentieth century, explaining, in part, its excellent state of preservation. The village of Weiler lies near the crossroads of the main route from the Rhine to Nuremberg in Franconia and from Cologne to Ulm in Swabia. The surrounding hills supported farming communities as well as a thriving wine industry, and nearby Heilbronn was a



47, closed

major market town. While most of the represented saints were universally venerated, the two in the left wing were more regional. Jodokus—known in the Middle Rhine region as Jost, thus explaining the orthography of the inscription on the dais beneath his feet—was a seventh-century prince, son of the Celtic ruler of Brittany, who made a pilgrimage to Rome, abdicated, was ordained a priest, and became a religious hermit. Usually depicted as a young, clean-shaven man, here he is clearly of middle age and wears a partial beard. His attributes include a pilgrim's hat and staff as well as a crown at his feet (symbolizing his forsaken birthright), which is not shown here. The patron of hospitals and the blind, he was locally venerated as protector of cattle and crops and frequently sought as an intercessor to secure the ripening of crops, vineyards in particular. Wendelin was likewise the son of a king who made a pilgrimage to Rome and

renounced his inheritance. He became a religious hermit in the Saarland, subsisting as a shepherd. Following convention, he is depicted as a young man; however, the shepherd's staff, his usual attribute, is here more akin to a wild man's club. Emerging from behind Wendelin's robes, the elegant dog wearing an elaborate collar may well reference his master's royal upbringing. Wendelin was particularly venerated in southwestern Germany, from the Rhineland to Franconia, and—again pertinent to the rural and agricultural concerns of the Weiler barons—was the protector of meadows and cattle. Furthermore, it was thought that the Weiler family originated in the place of the saint's burial.

As the saints in the left panel protected the livelihood of the Weiler barons, so the warrior saints on the right provided models of strength in securing their ancestral estates and authority. Sebastian

was the patron of archers and Maurice of foot soldiers, the mainstays of castle defense and the enforcers of baronial prerogative. Maurice was the leader of the Theban Legion, so-called because the soldiers were mustered in the Egyptian city of Thebes. Under the command of Maurice, they were dispatched to Gaul in 302 by the Roman emperor Maximian (r. 286–305). While encamped at Agaunum—today Saint-Maurice-en-Valais, Switzerland—the legion was ordered either to sacrifice to pagan gods or, in a different version of the story, to punish a local group of Christians. They refused to follow orders, as they were themselves all Christians. As a consequence, Maximian had them all put to death by being impaled on sharpened tree branches or hurled off a cliff. Tradition has it that Gereon of Cologne and Viktor of Xanten, as they were out on detail, survived, became missionaries, and brought Christianity to the regions of the Lower and Middle Rhine, where they were particularly venerated.

Like the stained-glass workshops, with whose figural style and compositional arrangements they have much in common, the workshops across southern Germany that produced altarpieces devoted to groups of saints relied on cartoons to facilitate production. Stock figures could be readily arranged in pleasing attitudes—sometimes by merely reversing the cartoon—and the subjects could be customized to satisfy local preferences by simply adding the correct attributes. A painter not fluent in the iconography of saints and their regional variations might make errors, perhaps explaining in the present altarpiece the advanced age of Jost, the clublike staff of Wendelin, and the beard and dress of Sebastian.

In the late 1930s Ernst Buchner considered the Burg Weiler Altarpiece to be a work of about 1460 by a Middle Rhenish painter in the circle of the Master of the Housebook.⁹ He dubbed this artist Master of the Lüps Altarpiece, after the collector Werner Lüps of Hamburg, who had bought the altarpiece from the dealer Julius Böhler in 1938. When it was acquired by the Museum in 1953, this attribution was repeated. In a publication of the following year, however, Theodore Heinrich characterized the altarpiece as the product of a “Rhenish-Franconian” artist who had absorbed elements of Netherlandish art

and tended more to the Middle Rhineland than Swabia. He believed it was by the same hand as the wings of the Adoration Altarpiece from the Cistercian monastery of Lichtenthal, near Baden-Baden, now in the Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe (the polychromed sculptures from the central shrine are in The Cloisters Collection).¹⁰ Alfred Stange, in the late 1950s, attributed the triptych to a Bamberg artist who might have trained in the Nuremberg workshop of Hans Pleydenwurff but was under both Franconian and Swabian influence. Stange noted in particular the similarities to Pleydenwurff’s style in the handling of the ample drapery folds and the distinct modeling of the oval female faces with small chins and mouths and eyes with full, rounded lids. He also noted the hand gestures with the little fingers extended. He believed the Madonna was derived from a late expression of the Beautiful Style and that particular drapery motifs, such as the folds of Saint Lawrence’s white underrobe accumulated on the ground, relied on a somewhat earlier midcentury model. He dated the triptych to the early 1470s.¹¹ In 1976 Wolfgang Lotz asserted that the triptych was Swabian, not Middle Rhenish.¹² In 2011 Susie Nash expanded the oeuvre of the Master of the Burg Weiler Altarpiece with three panels from a larger ensemble devoted to the Martyrs of the Theban Legion. While stylistically closely related, the figures are somewhat more puppetlike, the faces rounder, the eyes more widely opened and protruding, the stances stiffer, and the surface details more summary. The signature extended little finger of the female figures, moreover, is wanting. These panels nonetheless may well be associated with the same workshop if not the same hand as the present triptych, and the stylistic similarities along with the coat of arms on one panel that have been identified with a Württemberg landowner strengthen the localization of our accomplished workshop in the northern reaches of Swabia, perhaps in Heilbronn or another nearby center.¹³ While the arrangement of the figures in the shallow foreground is somewhat conventionalized and static, the meticulous execution of surface detail and vibrant play of light endow the altarpiece with a striking visual opulence.

TBH

MASTER OF EGGENBURG

Lower Austria, active fourth quarter of 15th century

48A. *Saint Adalbert and Saint Procopius* (exterior)

48B. *The Burial of Saint Wenceslas* (interior)

Ca. 1490–1500

Oil and gold on spruce panel

Overall, including additions, each $28 \times 17\frac{3}{4} \times \frac{3}{16}$ in. ($71.1 \times 45.1 \times .64$ cm); remaining original panel $27 \times 16\frac{3}{4}$ in. (68.6×42.5 cm); painted surface 27×16 in. (68.6×40.6 cm)

Inscriptions: none

Heraldry / emblems: none

Marks on verso: none

Frame: not original

Gift of William Rosenwald, 1944 44.147.1, 44.147.2

PROVENANCE: Baron von Tinti, Sankt Pölten, Austria; William Rosenwald, New York (until 1944)¹

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: These two paintings were originally the front and back of a single, vertically oriented spruce² panel that was later separated in two. After the separation, the remaining wood supports were thinned to .64 centimeter and cradled. Modern wooden strips, .5 centimeter wide and painted black, were nailed to the perimeter. On the reverse of *Saint Adalbert and Saint Procopius*, pieces of wood of various sizes were inserted into the interstices of the cradle, and a wax coating was applied. Between the two saints, there is a split in the panel that extends from top to bottom. *The Burial of Saint Wenceslas* displays several splits and washboarding of the surface plane because the cradle is restricting the natural movement of the wood support.

Fragments of a *barbe*, unpainted wood borders at the left and right, and incised lines along the left, right, and top perimeters of *The Burial* indicate that the white ground preparation was applied when the panel was in an engaged frame. While the left and right edges of both panels are original, the unpainted wood borders at the tops have been trimmed up to the paint. The bottom edges have been cut; here the paint extends out to the very edges and is chipped and irregular. On *Saint Adalbert and Saint Procopius* a nonoriginal black border approximately 1 centimeter wide runs around the left, top, and right edges. X-radiography of *Saint Adalbert and Saint Procopius* revealed that, before the ground preparation was applied, fabric was attached to the panel in the area to be gilded.³ The elaborately patterned, burnished gold background, characteristic of water gilding, is applied to an orange-red bole.

The paintings are generally well preserved. *The Burial* exhibits large losses at the foot of the open sarcophagus in the background, to the right of the central column, in the knees of Saint Wenceslas, in the altar at the top left, and below the feet of the man standing at the left. There are remnants of later fill material and black paint on the unpainted wood borders. The portion of Saint Wenceslas's halo that extends onto the border is a restoration. In *Saint Adalbert and Saint Procopius* losses in the gold background and along the contour of Adalbert's cope are associated with the central vertical split in the panel. Much of the bole and the white ground shows through the badly damaged gilded background. The damage appears deliberate and may have been done to efface the elaborately tooled background, which has been extensively restored with gold paint.

Infrared photography⁴ revealed an extensive underdrawing, carried out with a brush, that describes the contours and uses hatching to suggest shading and modeling. The facial structures—most notably, the sunken cheeks and rounded eye sockets—were indicated in the underdrawing. When the surface

was examined with the stereomicroscope, the dispersed black pigments of the underdrawing were visible in a skip in the paint in the neck of the figure at the right in *The Burial*.

To establish the pattern of Saint Adalbert's gold-and-green brocade tunic, the artist used an instrument to score the ground, first laying down the outlines and then filling them in with parallel scoring. Layers of gesso were next added to make the raised-relief floral decoration. The low-relief pattern was gilded, and a brown glaze applied and wiped away, leaving traces in the interstices that created the impression of gold-thread embroidery. The gilded-leaf pattern was glazed with green. Brown glaze was brushed over the completed garment to produce the folds and shadows.

Full-bodied paints have been generously applied in a straightforward manner. The good deal of visible wet-in-wet brushwork implies that the artist worked quickly and with facility. He employed a simple but effective technique to create volume by juxtaposing three to four colors or shades of color.

Alfred Stange was the first to recognize the saint at the right on the recto of this separated panel as Procopius (d. 1053), one of the patron saints of Bohemia, who often appears in works of art dedicated to Saint Wenceslas.⁵ According to legend, Procopius had the power to control the devil and forced him with a scourge to pull a plow through a field.⁶ The scourge and devil-monsters, seen here at the saint's feet, are therefore his attributes. The figure at the left, holding a crosier and book and wearing a miter, is Adalbert (956–997),⁷ another patron of Bohemia and the most frequently depicted bishop-saint in works dedicated to Wenceslas. Otto Benesch identified the narrative scene (formerly the reverse of the panel) as an episode from the story of Wenceslas, and Betty Kurth, who recognized it as the saint's entombment in the Cathedral of Saint Vitus in Prague, confirmed that both sides formerly belonged to the Saint Wenceslas Altarpiece.⁸ A legend, first reported by Cosmas Pragensis and later written down by Johannes Dubravius in the *Historiae Regni Boemiae* (Prostějov, 1552),⁹ relates that Boleslav, the brother and murderer of Wenceslas, transferred his body to the cathedral in hopes that the miracles taking place at the saint's grave in Stará Boleslav would be instead attributed to Vitus.¹⁰ The background scene showing three haloed corpses lying on a bier—Vitus flanked by his foster parents, Modestus and Crescentia, all of whom were martyrs—is not mentioned in connection with the burial of Wenceslas in any of the known written narratives of that event.¹¹

The altarpiece to which our two works belonged comprised an unknown number of paintings depicting scenes from the life of Wenceslas (ca. 907–September 28, 935), Bohemian duke of the Přemyslid dynasty. Six of these are in the collection of the Národní Galerie, Prague: *Saint Wenceslas Liberating the Prisoners*, *Saint Wenceslas Regaling Pilgrims in Stará Boleslav*, *Saint Wenceslas Collecting Firewood for the Poor and Being Tortured by the Gamekeepers*, *Saint Wenceslas Led by Angels and Welcomed by King Henry I the Fowler at the Reichstag*, *The Martyrdom of Saint Wenceslas*, and *The Securing of the Body of Saint*



48A





Fig. 162. Master of Eggenburg.
Saint James Minor and Saint Vitus,
ca. 1490–1500. Oil on spruce
panel, 27 × 16¼ in. (68.6 ×
41.3 cm). Robert McCarthy
Collection, London



Fig. 163. Master of Eggenburg.
Saint Wenceslas and Saint Ludmila,
ca. 1490–1500. Oil on spruce
panel, 27 × 16¼ in. (68.6 ×
41.3 cm). Robert McCarthy
Collection, London

Wenceslas.¹² Two others, *Saint James Minor and Saint Vitus* and *Saint Wenceslas and Saint Ludmila*, were sold at auction in April 1997 at Sotheby's, London, and are now in the Robert McCarthy Collection in London (figs. 162, 163).¹³ The panels of paired saints formed the exterior wings of the altarpiece, while the narrative episodes from the saint's life were on the interior. Because of the unknown number of missing panels and the compromised state of the existing ones, it is not currently possible to determine whether the altarpiece was composed entirely of paintings or whether the paintings formed the wings of a shrine that had a sculpture of Saint Wenceslas at its center. All the panels have been split front from back, and all those in Prague have been thinned and cradled or backed with a plywood panel. As a result, it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to compare their wood grain patterns with those of the existing panels of paired saints in order to identify which are the front and back sides of the same panel.

As early as 984, a feast day for Wenceslas had been established. By the eleventh century he was considered the Bohemian national saint, and he is still venerated today as the patron saint of the Czech Republic. The Saint Wenceslas Chapel in Saint Vitus Cathedral is decorated with an extensive mural depicting episodes from the saint's life.¹⁴ It was here that the cult of Saint Wenceslas was especially supported by the Bohemian emperor Charles IV. The extant paintings belonging to the same altarpiece as the Metropolitan's panels all derive from legends of Saint Wenceslas that date from

the tenth to the fourteenth century.¹⁵ The *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* provides as many as twenty-nine of these episodes, suggesting that the original altarpiece may have been much larger than indicated by the extant paintings.¹⁶ Unfortunately, no other altarpiece of the life of Saint Wenceslas is known to have survived, only murals and book illuminations.¹⁷

There is little evidence of who might have commissioned the altarpiece, aside from the three coats of arms on *Saint Wenceslas Liberating the Prisoners* (fig. 164). Olga Kotková has identified the white lion wearing a crown on a red ground as the coat of arms of Bohemia (albeit in reversed position), the red-checkered eagle on a dark ground as Moravia, and the crest in the center as the sign of a royal city, which she suggests could be Šumperk in Moravia.¹⁸ This theory has the virtue of placing the commission in the general region where the artist's name painting is found. The Master of Eggenburg's *Death of the Virgin* remains today in the Redemptoristenkloster in Eggenburg, Lower Austria, just south of the former margravate of Moravia.¹⁹ On the basis of this painting, Benesch first established the oeuvre of the Master in 1932 as a group including fifteen additional works: nine belonging to the Saint Wenceslas Altarpiece; four to a Saint John the Baptist Altarpiece;²⁰ one illumination, a Crucifixion, produced as a new canon sheet for a Bohemian missal of 1371 (Stiftsbibliothek Geras b. Horn, f. 243v); and a Last Supper, then in a private collection (1929 auction, Dorotheum,



Fig. 164. Master of Eggenburg. *Saint Wenceslas Liberating the Prisoners* (detail showing coat of arms). Národní Galerie, Prague (O-II908)

Vienna), that may have been part of the same altarpiece as *The Death of the Virgin*.²¹ Bodo Brinkmann and Kotková have each added one additional work, a fragment of a female saint (private collection) and *Saint Bonaventure with Saint Anthony* (Diözesanmuseum, Vienna), respectively.²²

There is no question that the Museum's panels belong to the core group of the Master of Eggenburg as established by Benesch.²³ All the paintings display tightly compressed compositions featuring puppetlike figures in jaunty poses. The Master's rather sculptural approach is established in the underdrawing, where the sunken cheeks and rounded eye sockets of the faces are formed, and broad brushstrokes in parallel hatching and cross-hatching establish the modeling of the garments to be carried out in paint (fig. 165).²⁴ There is a dependence on primary colors with a preponderance of red accents. The distinctive execution in full-bodied paints shows facile and quick brushwork, often employed wet in wet (fig. 166).

The artist likes to use a fairly simple technique to create the volume of forms, juxtaposing three or four shades of color, sometimes dragging the brush back and forth to produce hatched transitions. Using glazes minimally, the Master of Eggenburg prefers opaque mixed paints that he sometimes varies in hue for the desired modifications. He adds definitive dark and light strokes for contours as the final touches.²⁵ What the overall effect lacks in subtlety, it gains in a certain vibrancy and directness of expression.

Despite the cohesive but small group of paintings in the Master of Eggenburg's oeuvre, his origin remains a matter of conjecture. Benesch thought he was an assistant to the Master of Herzogenburg, a late fifteenth-century artist from northern Lower Austria, who worked in 1491 in Gars am Kamp, Waldviertel.²⁶ Like Stange, Brinkmann considered the Master a contemporary of the Master of Herzogenburg but not his pupil.²⁷ Brinkmann showed the striking similarities, especially in composition, between the *Last Supper* by the Master of Herzogenburg (Stiftskirche Heiligenkreuz, Lower Austria) and that by the Master of Eggenburg mentioned above.²⁸ Although the two artists share tightly edited, heavily populated narrative scenes and straightforward, even naive treatments of figures, theirs is more a general than a specific relationship and supports Brinkmann's view that the two are contemporaries. The Master of Herzogenburg's Passion Altarpiece (formerly in Gars am Kamp and today divided between the Stiftsgalerie in Herzogenburg and Heiligenkreuz) is dated 1491; his two altarpiece wings with Saint George and Saint Leonard (Národní Galerie, Prague) also probably bear the same date, although the last digit is damaged and may be a 5 or a 6.²⁹ As Brinkmann indicated, this provides a likely period of creation for the Master of Eggenburg's *Beheading of Saint John the Baptist* (Städel Museum, Frankfurt).³⁰ During the same period, the 1490s, the Master must have also worked on the Saint Wenceslas Altarpiece and therefore on the Museum's paintings.³¹ MWA



Fig. 165. Infrared reflectogram, detail of figures, cat. 48b



Fig. 166. Detail of figures, cat. 48b

MASTER OF THE MUNICH MARIAN PANELS

Bavaria, probably Munich, active mid-15th century

with additions by an unknown painter

Italy(?), active 1460s / 1470s(?)

49. *Virgin and Child with a Donor Presented by Saint Jerome*

Ca. 1450

Oil and gold on poplar panel

Overall $24\frac{3}{8} \times 18\frac{7}{8} \times \frac{3}{8}$ in. ($62.5 \times 47.9 \times .95$ cm), including added wood strips; remaining image area $22\frac{1}{16} \times 17\frac{7}{8}$ in. (57.3×45.4 cm)

Inscription (on Mary's halo): VFQT[. . .]D RAOWB

Heraldry / emblems: none

Marks on verso: none

Frame: not original

Robert Lehman Collection, 1975 1975.1.133

PROVENANCE: [Mathias Munk, Augsburg, until 1877; sold to Hohenzollern];¹ Fürst Karl Anton von Hohenzollern, Sigmaringen (1877–d. 1885; inv. no. 6567); Fürst Leopold von Hohenzollern, Sigmaringen (1885–d. 1905); Fürst Wilhelm von Hohenzollern, Sigmaringen (1905–13; sold to Böhrer); [Julius Böhrer, Munich, 1913; sold to Wendland];² Hans Wendland, Paris (1913–21; sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, October 26, 1921, no. 12, to Lehman);³ Philip Lehman, New York (1921–d. 1947); his son, Robert Lehman, New York (1947–d. 1969; given to the Robert Lehman Foundation on his death and transferred to MMA in 1975)

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: The support is a single poplar board with the grain oriented vertically, prepared with a gypsum ground.⁴ Before cradling, the panel was thinned to .95 centimeter and strips of wood were attached to the perimeter. Originally the painting was framed at the top with a rounded arch drawn with a compass (radius 22.5 centimeters); the portion of the panel above the trees would have been covered over (see discussion below). There is a depression in the surface and a mark in the right thigh of the Christ Child, visible in the X-radiograph, where the point of the compass was secured. The original gilding is applied over a reddish orange bole.

The incised and punched depiction of God the Father or Christ as Salvator Mundi on the gold ground at the top is a later extension of the ground, gilding, and paint layers. To integrate the addition, leaves were added to the tops of the trees at left and right, and rays of punchwork were extended into the original gold ground. Where the composition was extended, the panel is prepared with a gypsum ground and a thin, pale yellowish orange bole. The gilding in the extension is severely abraded, but despite the alterations the painting and gold ground of the original composition are generally well preserved. The border surrounding the original composition and the later addition was concealed during multiple campaigns of filling and repainting. Incisions in the preparatory layer beneath the donor's garment note the locations of folds. Examination with infrared reflectography revealed no underdrawing.⁵

This panel shows the Virgin Mary and Christ Child venerated by a donor and Saint Jerome, the latter identifiable by his cardinal's hat and red cape.⁶ The Virgin, Jerome, and donor lean toward each other with their heads thrust forward, lending the scene an air of urgency, which is heightened by the Virgin's dynamic pose, her left leg slung over her right. The Child clutches a bunch of

grapes, symbolic of the wine of the Eucharist and the future Passion, and wears coral amulets valued for their apotropaic qualities. The Virgin appears to lift him off the bench, as if presenting him to the donor—a literal offering of the body and blood of Christ. The bench is adorned with relief figures, probably prophets,⁷ and its form is reminiscent of a sarcophagus or an altar. The rosary draped over the Virgin's leg traces a line from the immediate foreground back to the Child, inviting the pious viewer to move mentally toward Christ through prayers represented by the rosary beads.

The scene takes place in a grassy garden bounded by a low stone wall, which evokes the *hortus conclusus* (enclosed garden) of the Song of Songs (4:12), a Mariological symbol of virginity popular in sacred literature and art of the fifteenth century.⁸ The wall supports a raised bed of grass, out of which grow three trees with precisely rendered leaves and fruits. They may be identified, from left to right, as olive, apple, and fig.⁹ Situated directly behind Christ and Mary, the apple tree refers to the Tree of Knowledge in the Garden of Eden and thereby alludes to the typological notion of Christ and Mary as the new Adam and Eve, bringing deliverance from sin. The fig tree at the right calls to mind the leaves with which Adam and Eve covered their nakedness after the fall from grace. The olive tree is symbolic of Mary; the Hours of the Virgin cite from Ecclesiasticus (Sirach) 24:19 in reference to her: "As a fair olive tree . . . was I exalted."¹⁰ Various plants are identifiable in the grass: shepherd's purse, hoary plantain, red clover, wood sorrel, strawberry (leaves only), and dandelion.¹¹ While the tripartite leaves of strawberry, clover, and wood sorrel may well refer to the Holy Trinity, plantain and dandelion were commonly associated with Christ's Passion.¹² Like plantain, shepherd's purse was known in medieval medicine as a stancher of blood¹³ and might therefore also be suggestive of the Passion.

As originally executed, the upper limit of the composition formed an arch that ran along the tops of the trees (fig. 167). An arched framing element must have covered the top third of the panel. Sometime after the initial completion of the work, that framing element was removed, and the composition was extended upward by the addition of a trilobed, gilded area containing an incised and punched depiction of God the Father or Christ as Salvator Mundi,¹⁴ flanked by two angels. Charles Talbot tentatively dated the upper extension within a few decades of the original work¹⁵—a plausible suggestion, on which see below.

When first published by F. A. Lehner in 1877, the Museum's panel was considered the work of an anonymous Florentine painter of the mid- to late fifteenth century under the influence of contemporary German art.¹⁶ In the 1920s and 1930s, the picture





Fig. 167. Overlay showing approximate original image area, cat. 49

was localized variously in Swabia, Cologne, and the Lower Rhine region.¹⁷ The most compelling attribution, however, was offered in 1955 by Ernst Buchner, who recognized the panel as Bavarian and assigned it to the Master of the Munich Marian Panels, a painter probably active in Munich in the mid-fifteenth century, named after an *Annunciation* and a *Nativity* in the Kunsthau Zürich (figs. 168, 169).¹⁸ The latter are thought to have constituted parts of the wings of a large Crucifixion altarpiece whose central panel was the *Munich Cathedral Crucifixion* (*Münchner Domkreuzigung*) now in that city's Frauenkirche, which in turn is considered the work of a collaborator dubbed the Master of the Munich Cathedral Crucifixion. Independently of Buchner, Charles Sterling pointed out the similarity of the Museum's picture to the Marian panels in the Kunsthau Zürich,¹⁹ and in 1959 Friedrich Winkler, followed by Alfred Stange in 1960, reinforced the connection.²⁰ Winkler, who offered the most detailed comparison, noted the similar way in which the figures, pressed prominently into the foreground, form the primary building blocks of the compositions.²¹ He also drew attention to the comparable forms of the hands, the stout body type of the Christ Child common to the Metropolitan's panel and the Kunsthau Zürich's *Nativity*, and the regular crisscross pattern of the grass in the Museum's picture, which resembles that of the hay in *The Nativity* and is further

paralleled in the wiry, crisscrossed strands of hair in certain figures in all three works.²² Despite the credible links to the Master of the Munich Marian Panels, George Szabó and, later, Charles Talbot pursued more diffuse attributions, situating the work generally in southern Germany and then in Bavaria or Austria.²³ Nevertheless, more recent scholarship has maintained the attribution to the Master of the Munich Marian Panels.²⁴

The opportunity to study the *Virgin and Child with a Donor Presented by Saint Jerome* side by side with the Kunsthau Zürich's *Annunciation* and *Nativity* for the first time in 2010²⁵ brought to light further similarities. To Winkler's observations may be added the matching conception of the drapery folds, the dotted texturing of many of the garments,²⁶ and the rosy undertone of the Virgin's white robe in *The Nativity*, which finds an analogue in the layering of white over red in Jerome's surplice. In addition, the eyes of most of the figures share a distinctive sideways-teardrop shape, in which the outer end of the form appears pinched down. Also, the physiognomy of the Child in the Metropolitan's picture closely resembles that of the two angels shown *en face* in *The Nativity*, and the fictive sculpture on the bench of the Museum's panel is very similar to that on the spandrels of *The Annunciation*. The only significant difference between the works appears to arise from their divergent functions: the large altarpiece panels in Zürich display simpler, more massive forms and a broader application of paint better suited to viewing from a distance, while the smaller panel in New York, meant for closer viewing, is more minutely and exquisitely rendered.

Points of comparison with the rest of the ensemble to which the Marian panels belong—those paintings assigned to the Master of the Munich Cathedral Crucifixion, which comprise the eponymous *Crucifixion* in Munich and an *Agony in the Garden* and *Entombment of Christ* in the Kunsthau Zürich—reinforce the link to the Master of the Munich Marian Panels, since the two artists were collaborators (probably as master and assistant) who shared a common repertoire of forms and motifs.²⁷ Not only are the figure types and treatment of drapery folds comparable, but details such as the intersecting semicircles tipped with fleurs-de-lis on certain halos and borders of robes in the *Crucifixion*, *Agony in the Garden*, and *Entombment of Christ* are found also on the halos of Jerome and Mary in the present painting.²⁸ The foliage forms are largely similar, and there is even a parallel in the idiosyncratic placement of dandelion leaves projecting from beneath the Virgin's robe in the Metropolitan's panel and Mary Magdalen's robe in the Kunsthau Zürich's *Entombment*.

Commentators on the Metropolitan's panel have repeatedly called attention to its Italianate aspects.²⁹ Indeed, the format—both in the original state, with an arched frame capping the composition just above the trees, and as altered to form a trilobed arch—is more suggestive of Italian panels of the fourteen and fifteenth centuries than of any northern European precedent. The composition is strongly reminiscent of a picture such as the *Virgin and Child with Saints Nicholas, Catherine of Alexandria, and a Donor* by Gentile da Fabriano (fig. 170), and more generally it resembles numerous



Fig. 168. Master of the Munich Marian Panels. *The Annunciation*, ca. 1450. Oil and gold on pine panel, $42\frac{1}{8} \times 31\frac{1}{16}$ in. (107 × 80.5 cm). Kunsthau Zürich (2311)



Fig. 169. Master of the Munich Marian Panels. *The Nativity*, ca. 1450. Oil and gold on pine panel, $42\frac{1}{8} \times 31\frac{1}{16}$ in. (107 × 80.5 cm). Kunsthau Zürich (2312)

other Virgins in garden settings, both enthroned and of the Madonna of Humility type, such as Jacopo Bellini's *Virgin and Child with a Donor, Probably Lionello d'Este* (ca. 1435, Musée du Louvre, Paris).³⁰ Also, the stance of the Christ Child might be Italian in inspiration, for as any informal survey will demonstrate, a standing child is far more common in Italian than in northern European art of the period. Although his pose in the Museum's picture is complicated by his bent knee, he is in fact upright, not seated.

While elements of format and composition indicate an Italian influence, certain material properties of the Metropolitan's picture suggest that it was actually made in Italy. The support is poplar, the most common wood type used in Italian panel painting, and one that is rare north of the Alps. Moreover, the ground preparation of both the original composition and the later extension consists of gypsum (calcium sulfate), the standard ground material used in Italy, not chalk (calcium carbonate), which is common for northern paintings.

It seems highly probable, therefore, that the Master of the Munich Marian Panels painted the Museum's picture while on a trip to Italy, using local materials for the support and ground preparation but executing the painting in the northern oil technique familiar to him. That the area of the later alteration was also prepared with a gypsum ground suggests, moreover, that the picture remained in Italy and was reworked there.³¹ In this light, it should be noted not only that the motif of the addition—a *Salvator Mundi* (or God the Father)



Fig. 170. Gentile da Fabriano. *Virgin and Child with Saints Nicholas, Catherine of Alexandria, and a Donor*, ca. 1395–1400. Tempera and gold on poplar panel, $51\frac{1}{16} \times 44\frac{1}{2}$ in. (131 × 113 cm). Staatliche Museen zu Berlin–Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie (1130)



Fig. 171. Unknown artist, Florence. *The Resurrection*, ca. 1460–70. Engraving, 10⁷/₈ × 7⁷/₈ in. (27.6 × 20 cm). The British Museum, London (1845,0825.365)

flanked by angels—is widespread in Italian art of the period but also that persuasive stylistic parallels for the incised and punched group are found in Italian engravings of the third quarter of the fifteenth century.³² The broad, somewhat fleshy features of the blessing figure and the angels are reminiscent of types that appear in certain Florentine prints of the 1460s and 1470s, such as *The Resurrection* (fig. 171) and *The Death and Coronation of the Virgin*, both anonymous works of the 1460s, and the *Christ in Glory* of 1477 attributed to Baccio Baldini.³³ If the portion of the Metropolitan’s picture that is by the Master of the Munich Marian Panels is to be dated roughly 1450, in general agreement with the putative date of the master’s name paintings,³⁴ then the composition plausibly remained in its original state for only a decade or two before being reworked with the addition of the trilobed area at the top, possibly by an Italian artist commissioned to accommodate it to a new display context.

Since the Master of the Munich Marian panels assimilated Italianate influences to a personal style deeply informed by northern traditions of descriptive realism and local conventions probably acquired in Munich, the Lehman panel reveals little of precisely where in Italy the master traveled. Nevertheless, northern Italy was a geographical inevitability, and Venice is likely, given the city’s economic ties to southern Germany. For the moment it is difficult to say whether the trip occurred before or after the master’s involvement with the Munich Cathedral Crucifixion Altarpiece. In any case, the *Virgin and Child with a Donor Presented by Saint Jerome* reveals the Master of the Munich Marian Panels as an important early example of a German painter who, decades before the famous example of Albrecht Dürer, gained firsthand experience of art in Italy.³⁵ J P W

HANS SCHÄUFELEIN

Upper Rhine 1482/83–1539/40 Nördlingen

and

ATTRIBUTED TO THE MASTER OF ENGERDA

Augsburg, active ca. 1510–20

50. *The Dormition of the Virgin* (interior); *Christ Carrying the Cross* (exterior)

Ca. 1510

Oil and gold on fir panel

Overall $56 \times 53\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{1}{2}$ in. (142.2 \times 135.9 \times 1.27 cm); painted surface, exterior and interior, $54\frac{3}{4} \times 52\frac{3}{4}$ in. (139.1 \times 134 cm)

Inscriptions: none

Heraldry/emblems: none

Marks on verso: panel painted on both sides

Frame: not original¹

Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace, Karen and Mo Zukerman, Kowitz Family Foundation, Anonymous, and Hester Diamond Gifts, 2011 2011.485ab

PROVENANCE: ?art market, Munich (about 1838); Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin, London (given to Hardman); John T. Hardman, Birmingham or Cheltenham; John Hardman Powell, Birmingham or Cheltenham (on loan to Saint Chad's Cathedral, Birmingham, 1927–69); H. G. Rowland, Birmingham or Cheltenham (Christie's, London, June 26, 1970, no. 52); [Xavier Scheidwimmer, Munich, from 1970]; Georg Schäfer, Schweinfurt; private collection, Germany (1978–2011; sale, Sotheby's, London, July 6, 2011); [Otto Naumann, New York, 2011; sold to MMA]

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: The support of this double-sided painting, which retains its original dimensions, is made of five vertical boards of fir of varying widths. Unpainted wood and a *barbe* around the perimeter indicate that an engaged frame was in place when a calcium carbonate ground and a lead-white priming were applied to both sides of the panel.² The unpainted border is beveled on both sides along the perimeter. X-radiography showed that tow was glued to defects and knots in several locations on each side before the panel was primed.

As an additional preparation for the areas to be gilded, a piece of fabric was glued to the upper third of the side with the *Dormition*.³ The burnished gold background is characteristic of water gilding applied over an orange-red bole. The composition loosely follows scored lines marking the area to be gilded, except in the windowsill and wall below, which were painted over the gilding. The gold background is decorated with *Kreispolitur* (circle polishing).⁴ Throughout the gold background, microscopic fragments of blue paint extend over the cracks and on top of original paint, indicating that at one time the gilding was overpainted as a blue sky. The Virgin's gold halo has a matte finish, characteristic of oil gilding, applied over a very thin, pale orange, medium-rich mordant.

Infrared reflectography revealed extensive underdrawing on both sides of the panel (discussed below) executed in a liquid medium with a brush.⁵

Examination of the painted surface in normal light, in combination with study of X-radiographs and infrared reflectograms, supported the conclusion that the *Dormition* was painted by Schäufelein. It also revealed that most of the composition on the exterior was painted by another master. The exception is the tormentor pulling the rope at the right, a dynamic figure stylistically characteristic of Schäufelein, that was painted quickly with great confidence and skill in one session without any underdrawing.

The overall excellent preservation of this painting is a testament to the well-crafted oil painting technique practiced in early sixteenth-century Germany. Any damages of note arose from expansion and contraction of the wooden panel caused by environmental changes or from misguided restoration practice. On the *Dormition*, these include areas of small losses along the splits, a large flake loss at the upper right in the Virgin's veil, small losses and abrasions in several areas where the panel was prepared with tow, severe abrasions in the gold background, and losses, abrasions, and natural darkening in the green draperies. In a previous restoration, the severely discolored green robe of the apostle standing at the left was repainted an opaque light green; this drapery was later significantly damaged during removal of the overpaint by an unskilled cleaner.⁶ The Virgin's azurite robe and the mantle draped over the shoulder of the apostle holding the candle have darkened with age. When the painting is examined with the stereomicroscope, many brightly colored red fibers are visible in areas containing red-lake pigments. These result from the fact that such pigments were manufactured from red-dyed wool or silk cloth.⁷ The robe of the apostle holding the candle was originally a purple made by combining lead white, azurite, and a red-lake pigment. Fading of the red-lake pigment resulted in the present light blue appearance of most of the robe, but the original purple hue remains in the shadows. The light blue robe of the apostle at the upper right holding the holy water bucket was also originally purple and his scapular a very dark purple.⁸ At the top right, the grayish blue mantle of one apostle and the hat of another were originally a medium dark purple.

The side with *Christ Carrying the Cross* has suffered to a greater degree, but its losses are generally confined to insignificant areas, except for the losses and abrasions in the face of the figure holding the spiked maul. Small losses occur along splits in the panel, and losses as well as abrasions are found in several small areas where the panel was prepared with tow. Additional losses are present in the right side of Christ's halo, behind his back and in his hip, in the chest, left hip, and leg of the tormentor pulling the rope, and in the boot of the man with the maul. The sky and the Virgin's robe, both of which contain azurite, have darkened with age. The large areas of reticulated drying cracks are characteristic of oil paint that has been exposed to sunlight or high heat during the early stages of drying. This defect has developed primarily in the medium-rich paint layers containing red lake and azurite, where an unpigmented translucent material was applied between the paint layers.⁹ It is most extreme in the robes of the figure grasping the Cross at the left and the tormentor holding the maul and in the snood of the tormentor at the upper left. Christ's robe was originally purple, fabricated by applying a mixture of azurite, red lake, and lead white over a layer containing lead white mixed with the purple pigment fluorite. Fading of the red-lake pigment in the upper layers has caused the robe to now appear light blue. Fading of the red-lake pigment has diminished the original color saturation of all the passages that now appear very pale pink as well as the pale orange costumes of the tormentor at the right who pulls the rope and the man carrying the ladder.

This monumental double-sided panel, one of four that once formed the wings of a folding triptych, represents the *Dormition* of the Virgin on the interior side and *Christ Carrying the Cross* on the exterior. The *Dormition* scene, based on an account in the thirteenth-century *Golden Legend* of Jacobus de Voragine,¹⁰



50, interior



50, exterior



Fig. 172. Reconstruction of exterior of Hans Schüpfen's altarpiece. Top left: *Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane* (Hamburger Kunsthalle [151]); bottom left: *The Mocking of Christ* (Tyne and Wear Archives and Museums, Shipley Art Gallery, Gateshead, England [G1186]); top right: *The Flagellation of Christ* (Staatsgalerie Stuttgart [3213]); bottom right, *Christ Carrying the Cross* (cat. 50)

shows the Virgin in her bedroom, surrounded by twelve apostles. Mary crosses her arms over her heart in prayerful acceptance of her imminent death, the pose traditionally adopted for her assumption into heaven and crowning as Queen of Heaven.¹¹ The mood of the apostles is sorrowfully contemplative, and several display objects pertaining to the rites associated with death and burial: an open book of the Scriptures; a book in a pouch (known as a girdle book) and an inkwell for recording the event;¹² a consecrated candle; a censer; a container of holy water and an aspergillum; a processional cross; and the palm, carried by the apostles in the Virgin's funeral procession, that would perform miracles along the way. The young, beardless apostle in the red cloak, wiping away his tears, is John; the bearded, bald apostle reading the Scriptures at the lower right is traditionally identified as Peter. Clues to the identification of the other apostles may possibly be found in *The Death of the Virgin*, a woodcut made in Ulm about 1465–70 (National Gallery of Art, Washington) in which the name of each has been added in an early hand.¹³ In that print, Matthew holds the burning censer, Philip the holy water and aspergillum, and Andrew the processional cross, while Matthias, James, and Bartholomew read or hold devotional books. Peter, clutching a book of Scriptures close to his chest, and John are the two closest to the Virgin. Whether or not these identifications were based on a contemporary apocryphal text that might also relate to our picture is not known, and at present it is not possible to unequivocally identify the individual apostles in the Museum's painting.

In the second half of the fourteenth and the early fifteenth century, the Virgin was increasingly represented as sitting or kneeling,

rather than lying, on her deathbed—a composition that traveled from east to west in paintings from Prague to Franconia, Bavaria, Swabia, and the Upper Rhine.¹⁴ This type was also popular in Augsburg,¹⁵ and Richard Field has established that it took root early on in Nuremberg.¹⁶ In a thorough study of how the new iconography developed, Gyöngyi Török recognized not only the apostles' enhanced participatory role but also the associated meanings conveyed by the sitting Virgin.¹⁷ This posture, he noted, expresses her humanity and recalls episodes from Christ's life and Passion, as reflected in the Virgin of the Nativity and the Presentation in the Temple, in Christ during the Agony in the Garden, and in Mary's collapse into John's arms at the Crucifixion. Such parallels reinforce the Virgin's identification with Christ's suffering and sacrifice on the Cross and also encourage the viewer to relate to these themes.

On the exterior side of our panel, the Savior stumbles under the weight of the Cross at the center of the composition and is assisted by Simon of Cyrene, who is followed by the mournful Virgin and Saint John. Two tormentors propel Christ onward by a rope encircling his waist, while another prepares to strike him with a spiked maul. Leading the procession is a man, seen from behind, who carries a ladder over his head for mounting the Cross on Golgotha.

The folding triptych to which the Museum's panel once belonged represented, on the exterior, scenes from the Passion of Christ and, on the interior, episodes from the Life of the Virgin (figs. 172, 173). Each interior scene had a burnished gold background, as is typical of this most important side of a German altarpiece. The Museum's panel occupied the position at the lower right. The three other extant



Fig. 173. Reconstruction of interior of Hans Schüpflein's altarpiece. Top left: *The Nativity* (Hamburger Kunsthalle [150]); bottom left: *Christ in the Temple* (Tyne and Wear Archives and Museums, Shipley Art Gallery, Gateshead, England [G1186]); top right: *The Adoration of the Magi* (Staatsgalerie Stuttgart [3213]); bottom right, *The Dormition of the Virgin* (cat. 50)

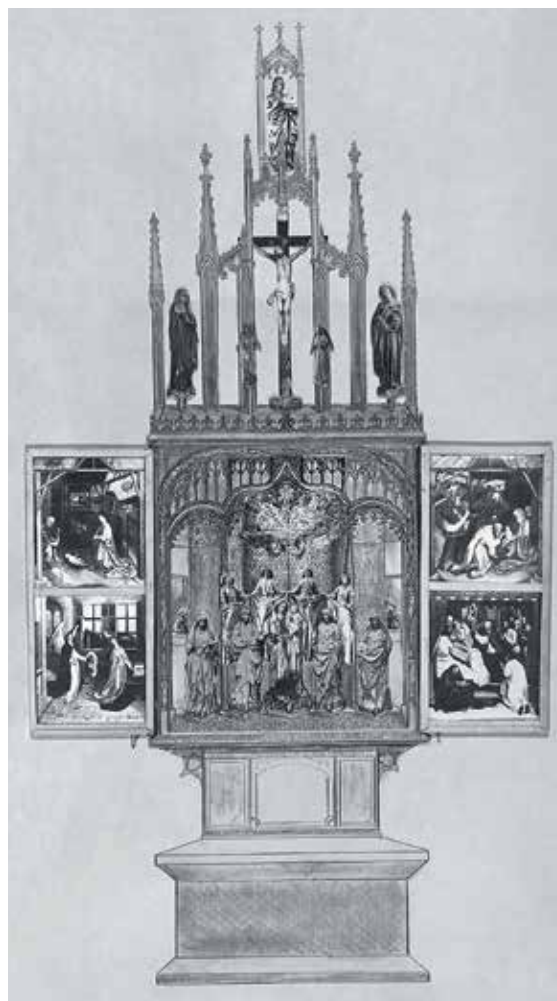


Fig. 174. Reconstruction of Hans Multscher's Sterzing Altarpiece, open and closed, ca. 1456–57. Panels each $72\frac{1}{16} \times 66\frac{1}{16}$ in. (185 × 170 cm). Multscher Museum and Stadtmuseum Sterzing

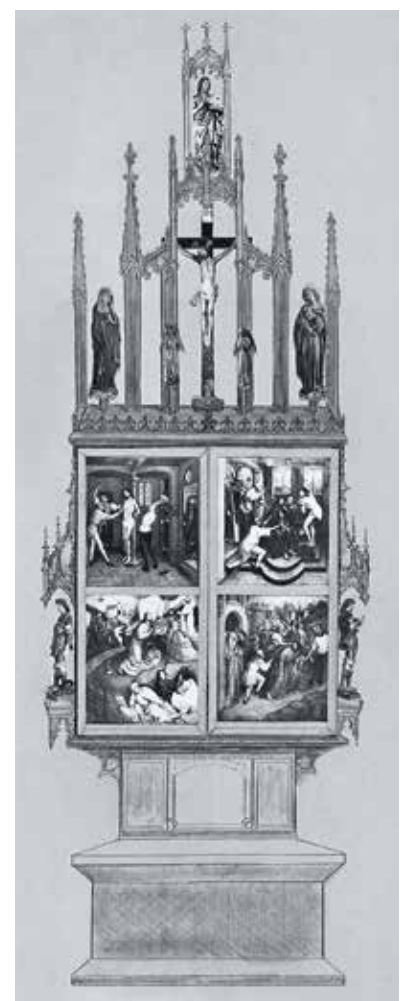




Fig. 175. Infrared reflectogram, detail of right half, cat. 50 (interior)

panels from this altarpiece (exterior and interior, respectively) are *Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane* and *The Nativity*, in the Hamburger Kunsthalle; *The Flagellation of Christ* and *The Adoration of the Magi*, in the Staatsgalerie Stuttgart; and *The Mocking of Christ* and *Christ in the Temple*, in the Shipley Art Gallery, Gateshead, England. The missing centerpiece most likely displayed sculptures of the Virgin and Child flanked by saints or possibly an Assumption of the Virgin.¹⁸ How the original altarpiece comprising Schäußelein's double-sided panels may have looked is perhaps suggested by Hans Multscher's Sterzing Altarpiece (fig. 174) or his Wurzach Altarpiece, which featured a similar configuration and paintings with nearly the same square proportions as found in Schäußelein's panels.¹⁹ Christof Metzger has suggested that Schäußelein's altarpiece was probably made for the Heilig-Kreuz-Kirche in Augsburg, where the artist was then active in the workshop of Hans Holbein the Elder.²⁰ The church was one of Emperor Maximilian's favorites, and the placement of Schäußelein's altarpiece there would have introduced his work to the artists and patrons of the imperial court.

Although the Museum's two paintings are neither signed nor dated, their attribution to Schäußelein and a workshop assistant has never been questioned.²¹ Schäußelein was a member of Albrecht Dürer's workshop in Nuremberg beginning in 1503 or 1504, and the influence of this towering figure of the German Renaissance is clear in the



Fig. 176. Hans Schäußelein. *Christ Taking Leave of His Mother*, 1510. Pen and brown ink, black chalk on paper, 10 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (27.6 × 21.3 cm). The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (85.GA.438)

paintings of the interior of the altarpiece.²² The Hamburg *Nativity* is loosely based on Dürer's 1502–4 *Paumgartner Altarpiece* (Alte Pinakothek, Munich), made for the Sankt Katharinen in Nuremberg, and the Stuttgart *Adoration* pays homage to Dürer's 1482 painting of the same theme (Uffizi Gallery, Florence), on which it depends for both the composition and the specific figure types.²³ The *Dormition of the Virgin* testifies to the inspiration of Dürer in the marvelously individualized heads of its apostles and their concentrated mood of quiet sorrow, so eloquently conveyed in the master's woodcut series of the Life of the Virgin and the Passion of Christ.²⁴ The drawn and painted studies of different head types that Schäußelein made around 1510 served him well as a resource for portraying the diverse group of apostles in the Museum's painting.²⁵ Such varied types used to enliven a biblical theme had already appeared in Schäußelein's woodcuts illustrating Ulrich Pinder's 1507 *Speculum passionis domini nostri Ihesu Christi* (see especially the *Pentecost*)²⁶ and in his *Last Supper*, a monogrammed and dated pen-and-ink drawing of 1509 (British Museum, London).²⁷

Further securing the attribution of the *Dormition* to Schäußelein is the underdrawing (fig. 175). His characteristically complex underdrawing in brush and black pigment²⁸ mirrors the graphic style he had learned from Dürer.²⁹ Its finished quality approximates that of Schäußelein's woodcut illustrations for Pinder's 1505 *Der beschlossenen Gart des Rosencrantz Marie* as well as his *Speculum passionis*. A highly confident, direct draftsman, Schäußelein established his figures in the composition with supple, loose outlines and modeled his drapery forms with hook-ended strokes and controlled, even parallel- and cross-hatching. He particularly enjoyed utilizing the rhythmic, circular motion of his drawing tool to describe the men's thick beards and brought expression to their eyes with an economy of means—only a few wavy lines for the deep sockets, augmented by long lashes usually added in black in the final paint layer. Also seen here is Schäußelein's typical manner of "overdrawing" with dark painted outlines and parallel hatching on the paint surface in order to emphasize the sculptural quality of the figures.³⁰ A constructive comparison can be made between the general features of Schäußelein's underdrawing in the *Dormition* and his *Christ Taking Leave of His Mother*, a drawing in pen and brown ink on paper, signed with his inscription, shovel emblem, and the date 1510 (fig. 176).³¹ The looser, more sketchlike handling in *Christ Taking Leave* may indicate that the relatively finished appearance of the underdrawing in the Museum's panel arose from its function as a *vidimus*, that is, an underdrawing that the patron of the painting would examine for approval at this preliminary stage of work. Despite its relatively finished appearance, the underdrawing of the *Dormition* shows refinements from this preliminary sketch to the painted layers: the young apostle holding the censer at the upper left had curly hair surrounding his face, the hair of the apostle to his left peeked out from under his hat, and Saint John's curls covered more of his forehead.

Most of *Christ Carrying the Cross* is clearly by another artist, and Metzger has suggested that this portion was painted by the Master of Engerda.³² The underdrawing here is more sketchlike, and the

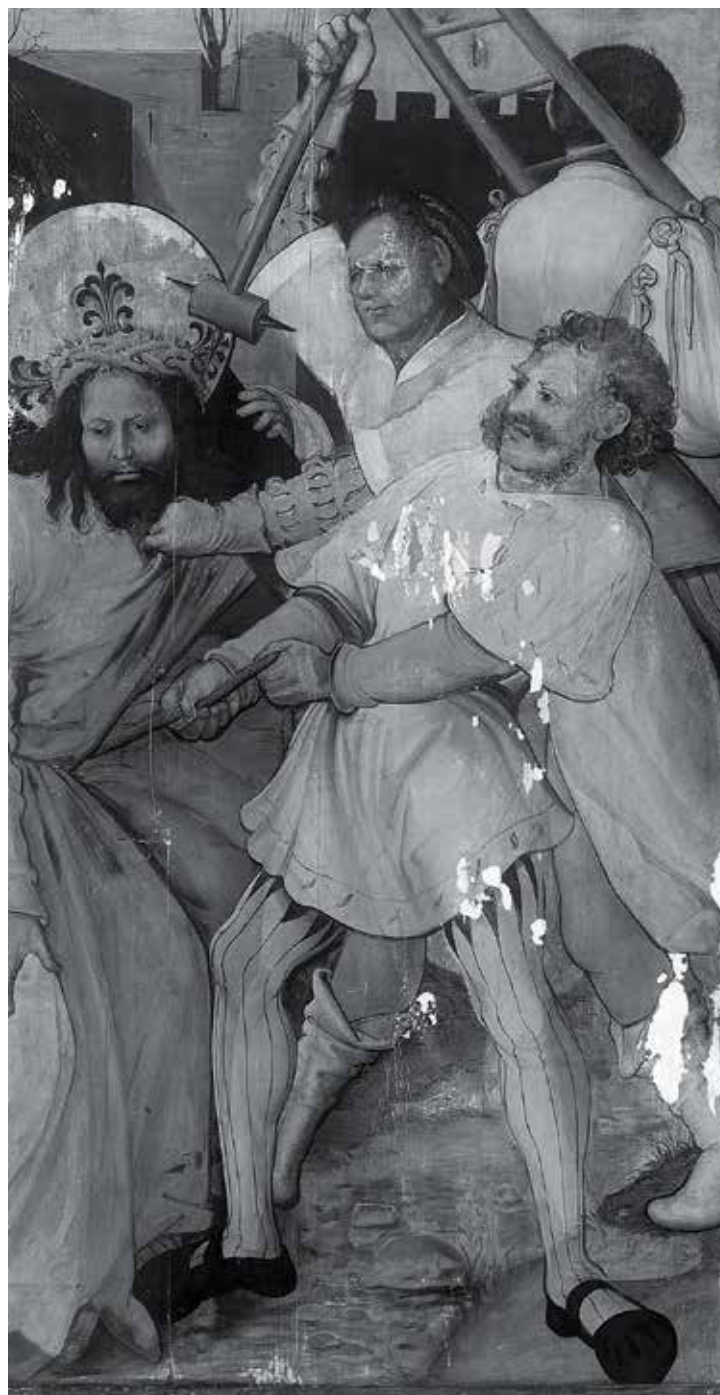


Fig. 177. Infrared reflectogram, detail of right half, cat. 50 (exterior)

figures are established minimally with little interior hatching to suggest the volume of forms or system of lighting (fig. 177). Infrared reflectography also indicated that a figure with a sword was originally placed below the tormentor pulling the rope at the right. Other features visible only in the underdrawing include rays extending from Christ's crown of thorns, trees (two barren and one leafy) in the background beyond the crenellated wall, and changes in the folds of Christ's robe where it touches the ground.

Like the underdrawing, the finished painting is relatively meager in handling and execution. However, close examination indicated



Fig. 178. Workshop of Hans Holbein the Elder. *The Dormition of the Virgin*, 1508–9. Pen, wash, and gouache on paper, 12 $\frac{1}{16}$ \times 10 $\frac{3}{16}$ in. (31.5 \times 26.2 cm). Kunstsammlung und Museen Augsburg, Graphische Sammlung (G 4675-70)

Fig. 179. Workshop of Hans Holbein the Elder. *Christ Carrying the Cross*, 1508–9. Pen, wash, and gouache on paper, 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ \times 10 $\frac{3}{16}$ in. (31.8 \times 26.2 cm). Kunstsammlung und Museen Augsburg, Graphische Sammlung (G 4676-70)

that at least the henchman dragging Christ forward with a rope is of superior quality and identical in handling and technique with the *Dormition*, even if more rapidly painted.³³ This figure was added by Schüfelein at a late stage in the painting process, without benefit of a revised underdrawing. This division of labor between artists who varied in sophistication of execution is typical of workshop production and can be further explained by Schüfelein's presence in the Augsburg atelier of Holbein the Elder, beginning about 1509.

Both compositions on the Museum's panel are based on lost works by Holbein the Elder representing the Passion of Christ and the Life of the Virgin that survive today only as workshop drawings made after the paintings (figs. 178, 179).³⁴ Yet Schüfelein's designs depart from Holbein's in remarkably creative and dynamic ways. In the *Dormition*, Schüfelein moved Mary closer to the center of the composition and rearranged the apostles to more effectively concentrate their poses and gestures in a unified expression of pathos. *Christ Carrying the Cross* is closer to the Holbein model. But even here Schüfelein has transformed the rope-pulling figure in the drawing into a threatening tormentor with a maul and has added another man in front of him who leans backward in a more active pose. The resultant dynamic, dramatic mood is heightened by the emotionally

shattered Christ, who looks out into the viewer's space rather than down at the ground. Such modifications reflect the influence on Schüfelein of Dürer's innovative woodcut compositions and their expressive emotional appeal.

Just why Schüfelein and an assistant would have taken the initiative to deviate from the designs of the master of the workshop is not entirely clear. It has been suggested that this work was completed when Holbein was traveling in Alsace and had perhaps left Schüfelein in charge of the workshop and, in particular, of this commission.³⁵ Although Schüfelein had already spent several years as an assistant to Dürer, he was not admitted as a member of the guild in Augsburg and thus had to be taken into an established workshop, that of Holbein, in order to pursue a livelihood. Recognizing Schüfelein's considerable abilities, Holbein may well have given him artistic leeway to make modifications to the standard workshop designs. The Museum's double-sided panel and the others belonging to the same altarpiece serve as important proof of Schüfelein's tenure in Holbein's workshop. The most eloquent statement of the artist's early training with both Dürer and Holbein, this splendid work demonstrates his translation of Holbein's late Gothic idiom into a modern expression influenced by Dürer's powerful example. MWA

LUDWIG SCHONGAUER

?Colmar ca. 1450–1493 / 94 Colmar

51A. *Christ before Pilate*

Ca. 1480–85

Oil on fir panel

Overall $15\frac{1}{8} \times 8\frac{1}{4} \times \frac{1}{8}$ in. ($38.4 \times 21 \times .32$ cm); painted surface $14\frac{5}{8} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$ in. (37.1×19.7 cm)

Inscriptions: none

Heraldry / emblems: none

Marks on verso: square adhesive stamp, perforated through middle both horizontally and vertically, printed with blue framing device and ZOLL stamped in center with red ink; light purplish black circular ink stamp apparently reading ZOLL / 1 · 18 / +; darker purplish black round stamp, including the notation ZA Stuttgart Hgbhf; black ink stamp reading Administration des Beaux-Arts Belgique / Circulation libre with an illegible inscription

Frame: not original

The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, 1982 1982.60.34a

51B. *The Resurrection*

Ca. 1480–85

Oil on fir panel

Overall $15\frac{1}{8} \times 8\frac{3}{8} \times \frac{1}{8}$ in. ($38.4 \times 22.2 \times .32$ cm); painted surface $14\frac{5}{8} \times 7\frac{13}{16}$ in. (37.1×19.8 cm)

Inscriptions: none

Heraldry / emblems: none

Marks on verso: on top crossbar of cradle, written in graphite, 2267

Frame: not original

The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, 1982 1982.60.34b

PROVENANCE: Paul Ackermann, Stuttgart (by 1958–65; his sale, Sotheby's, London, March 24, 1965, no. 113, to Linsky); Mr. and Mrs. Jack Linsky, New York (1965–his death 1980); The Jack and Belle Linsky Foundation, New York (1980–82)

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: The support of each painting is a single fir board, with the grain oriented vertically. Dendrochronology provided an earliest possible fabrication date of 1477 for *Christ before Pilate*.¹ The borders of unpainted wood and a *barbe* around the perimeters indicate that an engaged frame was in place when the white ground preparation was applied. The panels were thinned to .32 centimeter, and fixed cradles attached. Each panel displays a corrugated surface, many vertical splits, depressions, and a very slight concave lateral warp. X-radiography showed two narrow, tapering holes along the top edge of *Christ before Pilate* and two holes along the bottom edge of *The Resurrection*, which may indicate the location of original pegs or nails.

Infrared reflectography² of both panels revealed extensive underdrawing in a liquid medium. The black underdrawing is on top of the ground and beneath an uneven, thin, translucent white priming layer that contains a small number of red particles. Various discrepancies between the drawn and final painted images can be seen, including numerous minor shifts in perspective and placement. More significant variances from underdrawing to painting include the following, in *Christ before Pilate*: an arched doorway in the back wall was drawn opening onto a view of a hilly landscape, and the soldier urging Christ forward from behind was originally drawn—and painted—with slipperlike footwear rather than high boots. A dog drawn in the bottom left corner was not included in the painting. In *The Resurrection*, Christ's head and shoulders were moved

significantly lower, the figure in the lower right corner, originally clean-shaven, was given a full beard, and the angle of the sarcophagus was shifted slightly. Some forms seen in the underdrawing were not painted, including a waving pennant to the left of Christ's staff and a tree and some rocks in the upper left. The underdrawing appears to have been used to create shadow and form in some of the red passages, for example, the tunic of the man with the pointed hat behind Christ in *Christ before Pilate*, where the transparent lake pigment allows the black underdrawing to show through. The belt of the man pouring water into the basin at the lower right was never painted. When this passage was examined with the stereomicroscope, a thin, translucent pink priming, consisting of white with a tiny amount of red pigment, applied over the underdrawing, was apparent. The artist modeled the flesh with strokes of pink and white, allowing portions of the priming to remain visible.

Overall, the paintings are very well preserved, despite tiny paint losses along the edges of the splits. In *Christ before Pilate*, there is a series of losses along a split in the panel that extends through the figure holding the basin, from his shoulder to the back of his left knee. In *The Resurrection*, losses are found in the beard and upper chest of Christ; in a series that extends down from the midpoint of his red robe and terminates in a larger loss in his calf; in the ground between the feet of the figure in the foreground at the left; and along the split in the panel that extends from the shoulder of the figure on the right side, kneeling behind the sarcophagus, into the hat of the figure below him.

In the first of these two scenes from a Passion series, Christ, crowned with thorns and with hands bound, is presented to Pilate by a soldier and two additional captors. This treatment of the subject derives from the account in Matthew (27:19–24), the only Gospel that mentions both Pilate washing his hands and the presence of Pilate's wife, who urges her husband to extricate himself from the situation. In *The Resurrection*, the triumphant Christ, wearing a loincloth and red shroud, steps out of the sarcophagus, blessing with his right hand and carrying a cruciform staff with a red banner emblazoned with a white cross. Beyond the cross is a leafless tree, recalling the prophecy of Ezekiel (17:24), "I the Lord . . . have made the dry tree to flourish," a possible metaphor for the renewal of humanity through Christ.³ Four watchmen, two still asleep and two awakened by the event, are stationed at the corners of the open tomb. A mace rests in the foreground by one of the sleeping guards. In the distance, spires of a town emerge behind the rocky hills.

Although it cannot be confirmed by technical evidence, these two paintings most likely once formed the recto and verso of the same panel, as Guy Bauman first proposed in 1984.⁴ They probably belonged to a house altarpiece of the Passion of Christ that consisted of a central sculpture depicting the Crucifixion flanked by wings with four scenes, each painted on both sides.⁵ Two other associated scenes, a Flagellation (exterior) and a Christ Carrying the Cross (interior) formerly belonging to Kloster Salem,⁶ near Ulm, were first connected to the Linsky paintings by Bruno Bushart in 1959.⁷ Another panel of the group, representing the Taking of Christ (exterior) and the Entombment (interior), appeared at a Christie's



51A



51B

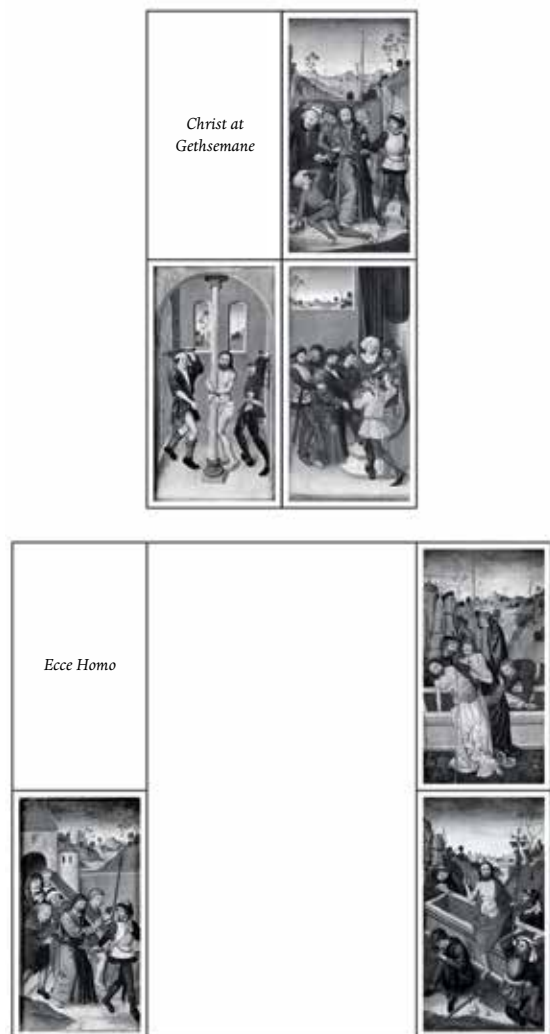


Fig. 180. Reconstruction of altarpiece attributed to Ludwig Schongauer, closed and open, ca. 1480–85. Eight scenes from the Passion of Christ, with *The Crucifixion*(?) as shrine (subjects and locations of panels given in note 9 to cat. 51A, B)

auction in 2003;⁸ it is now in a private collection. Although a fourth double-sided panel with the missing scenes of Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane and the *Ecce Homo* has not yet surfaced, the extant paintings allow for a reconstruction of the altarpiece. When Ludwig Meyer was consulted at the time of the Christie's auction, he proposed a reconstruction that takes into account the currently known panels and suggested a Crucifixion sculpture as the centerpiece (fig. 180).⁹ In his convincing arrangement, the Linsky double-sided panel would have appeared at the lower right on the exterior (*Christ before Pilate*) and interior (*The Resurrection*). A closely comparable house altarpiece, dated 1484, in the sacristy (Konrad-Sam-Kapelle) of the Münster in Ulm has painted scenes of the Passion after engravings by Martin Schongauer and a sculpture of the Crucifixion in the center.¹⁰

Like his older and better-known brother, Martin, Ludwig Schongauer was a painter, printmaker, and draftsman. Since no extant painting carries Ludwig's signature, those attributed to him



Fig. 181. Infrared reflectogram, detail, cat. 51A

have been identified on the basis of stylistic similarities with his monogrammed prints,¹¹ the most relevant of which is an engraving of the Deposition from the Cross (Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna).¹² Also important are the woodcuts in the *Geistliche Auslegung des Lebens Jesu Christi* (Ulm, ca. 1485)¹³ and several drawings, in particular *Preparations for the Crucifixion* (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett), all of which exhibit the same characteristic figures and poses as seen in the Museum's panels.¹⁴ As Fritz Koreny has noted with regard to the Metropolitan's paintings, "Landscape details such as the dry shrubs and spherical trees, as well as the proportions and physiognomies of the figures, correspond to those elements in the drawings and prints attributed to Ludwig Schongauer."¹⁵ Anna Moraht-Fromm agreed and pointed out, in particular, the similarity of these characteristic features in the Museum's panels and the Basel drawing *Preparations for the Crucifixion*.¹⁶

The compositions of the Passion scenes in the altarpiece to which our paintings belonged derive generally from Martin Schongauer's



Fig. 182. Infrared reflectogram, detail, cat. 518

widely distributed engravings¹⁷ and from the Retable of the Dominicans (Musée Unterlinden, Colmar) by Martin and his associates, one of whom was probably Ludwig.¹⁸ The Museum's paintings are not exact copies, however, and it is quite likely that Ludwig made freely adapted drawings after Martin's engravings and workshop sketches as a starting point for his own paintings. Eight such drawings convincingly attributed to Ludwig are in the Kupferstich-Kabinett, Dresden, and four additional ones are in the Museum der Bildenden Künste Leipzig.¹⁹ These scenes reduce Martin's elaborate narrative compositions to the essential figures placed in sparser settings.

The underdrawings in the present paintings (figs. 181, 182) are distinctly similar in handling and execution to the Passion drawings attributed to Ludwig. Compare, for example, the pen-and-ink drawing of *Christ before Pilate* and the underdrawing in the Metropolitan's panel of the same theme (figs. 181, 183), both of which fully work out the setting for the composition and the details of the figures. Not only are the poses and jaunty movements of the



Fig. 183. Ludwig Schongauer. *Christ before Pilate*, ca. 1480–85. Pen and ink on paper, $4\frac{1}{8} \times 2\frac{7}{8}$ in. (10.5 × 7.3 cm). Museum der Bildenden Künste Leipzig (NL. 47)

figures akin, but their characterization is also comparable: sharply delineated profiles, three-quarter views of the heads (exhibiting the same loops for eyes and parallel strokes for noses), and actively gesturing hands. Throughout both drawing and underdrawing, one finds even, parallel hatching in pen for the modeling and shading of form in the draperies as well as the suggestion of shadow in the surrounding setting.²⁰

As Koreny noted early on, these two small panels provide a point of departure for a greater understanding of Ludwig as a painter.²¹ While there have been other works attributed to this artist, the most cohesive group comprises the monogrammed prints, the drawings, and the paintings discussed here.²²

Ludwig Schongauer's presence in Ulm from 1479 to 1486 and the dendrochronology, which indicates an earliest possible fabrication date of 1477, together suggest that the artist most probably painted these panels for a small house altarpiece in that city during his time there.

MWA

BERNHARD STRIGEL

Memmingen 1460–1528 Memmingen

52. *Portrait of a Woman*

Ca. 1510–15

Oil on linden panel

Overall $15\frac{3}{8} \times 10\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{1}{8}$ in. ($39.1 \times 26.7 \times .32$ cm); painted surface $14\frac{7}{16} \times 9\frac{5}{8}$ in. (36.7×24.5 cm)

Inscriptions: none

Heraldry / emblems: none

Marks on verso: on second vertical cradle member from left, written in pencil(?), 20; on top crossbar, in black ink, 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ 49[?];¹ on center of third crossbar, illegible red-wax seal possibly applied by dealer Léon Gauchez²

Frame: not original

Purchase, 1871 71.34

PROVENANCE: ?Samuel von Festetits, Vienna;³ [Léon Gauchez, Paris, with Alexis Febvre, Paris, until 1870; sold to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett, New York, and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA)

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: The panel support is a single board of linden, with the grain oriented vertically.⁴ There are two tiny wooden repairs in the top corners of the unpainted border. The panel has been thinned to .32 centimeter and cradled.⁵ In 1936 its reverse and the cradle were thickly coated with wax.⁶

The presence of an unpainted wooden border and a *barbe* around the perimeter indicates that the white ground preparation was applied when an engaged frame was in place. When the edge of the *barbe* is examined with the stereomicroscope, a pink priming is visible on top of the ground.

Traces of gold leaf and an orange bole, extending slightly below the painting along the perimeter, are visible with magnification. These are fragments of the gilding of the original engaged frame, which was carried out before the portrait was painted.

Examination of the surface with magnification revealed underdrawing visible through the paint in the eyes, eyelashes, eyebrows, chin, and right side of the necklace. Infrared reflectography⁷ clarified some of the underdrawing, including the iris of the left eye, which was drawn slightly closer to the nose. Individual eyelashes on the lower lids were also revealed.

Overall, the painting is in good condition, although some passages exhibit slight abrasion. There are microscopic losses, particularly in the darkest portions. The artist employed a meticulous painting technique, paying close attention to details of the clothing, jewelry, and view from the window. The flesh is smoothly blended, but numerous details of the textiles and jewelry are created with crisp brushstrokes in a thicker paint that imparts a low relief. The elaborate pattern of the dress has been achieved with a solid understanding of how this fabric would wrap around a form. Some of the green glazes appear to have turned brown with age owing to a degradation commonly observed in paint containing copper-green pigments. A hint of the originally vibrant green of the brown border on the left side of the cloth in the background is preserved at its perimeter. The mottled transparent brown glazes on the red dress may also be discolored green glazes.

The veil falling from the patterned hood was painted at a late stage in the process. The thin, translucent, cream-colored paint was scumbled across the hood, shoulder, background, and window frame when those passages of paint were already dry.

A decorously composed young woman sits in front of a red damask wall hanging beside an open window. The view into the landscape features a bridge to a small tower castle, possibly the lady's residence, in the middle of a lake with mountains on the opposite shore. The sitter is luxuriously dressed in a brownish red gown (similar in pattern to the wall hanging) trimmed with black velvet. Her blouse is embroidered with a stylized deer-and-geometric motif above a band of alternating blue and red flowers. Her headdress (*Haube*) is elaborately decorated with another geometric pattern of red-and-white stars interspersed with green triangles. From the peak of her cap, covered with seed pearls, a transparent veil falls to her right shoulder, under her arm, and onto her lap. Her jewelry is as extravagant as her dress. A large ruby pendant surrounded by pearls hangs from a necklace set with alternating rubies and emeralds regularly spaced between double strands of pearls. A heavy gold chain (*Gliederkette*) disappears beneath the woman's blouse, and she wears two rings on her right hand.

This portrait was among the first paintings to enter the Metropolitan with the 1871 purchase, the foundation of the new museum's collection.⁸ At that early date, it had been attributed to Christoph Amberger and was thought to have come from the collection of Count Samuel von Festetits.⁹ In 1872, in the first, unillustrated catalogue of the Metropolitan's collection, the painting was given to Lucas Cranach the Younger.¹⁰ Subsequently, a set of etchings of the most important new acquisitions, including the *Portrait of a Woman*, was made by Jules Ferdinand Jacquemart for distribution in New York and abroad.¹¹ From this etching Robert Stiasny recognized the portrait as a work by Bernhard Strigel. He considered it a late painting, comparable to the artist's *Empress Mary of Burgundy*(?), in the Ferdinandeum, Innsbruck, and *Empress Bianca Maria Sforza*, then in a private collection in Munich.¹² The Metropolitan's portrait was mentioned in the first major article on Strigel's oeuvre, published in 1914 by Franz Weizinger,¹³ who proposed a date of between 1516 and 1528 for it. Thereafter, this attribution has remained undisputed, most scholars assigning it to the last period of Strigel's life, from about 1525 to 1528.¹⁴ Only Alfred Stange maintained an early date, around 1503, offering stylistic comparisons with *Hieronymus Haller* of the same date (Alte Pinakothek, Munich).¹⁵

Although portraits of women facing left are often matched by ones of a male sitter—a betrothed or a husband—facing right, no candidates of the proper size or with matching window views and steep windowsill angles have surfaced for this painting.¹⁶ There are two remaining examples of portrait pairs by Strigel, the *Portrait of a Man* and *Portrait of a Woman* of about 1515–17 (Liechtenstein Collections, Vaduz-Vienna) and *Margarethe Vöhl* and *Hans Roth* of 1527 (National Gallery of Art, Washington).¹⁷ These display his typical compositional presentation: a man and woman facing each other,





Fig. 184. Bernhard Strigel. *Portrait of a Nobleman*, ca. 1500. Oil on linden panel, 26 × 17 in. (66 × 43.2 cm). Staatsgalerie Stuttgart

with a continuous landscape view through a shared window opening placed at the inside center of each painting, and a richly colored brocade fabric hanging behind each figure. In these examples the placement of the windowsills parallel to the picture plane indicates a common space. In the Museum's painting, however, the sharply angled sill that would separate it optically from any pendant suggests that it may have been an independent portrait.¹⁸ Edeltraud Rettich considered another Strigel portrait with the same steeply pitched windowsill, namely the *Portrait of a Nobleman*, of about 1500, in the Staatsgalerie Stuttgart (fig. 184), also to have been an independent portrait.¹⁹ *Maximilian I* (Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid) and *Eva von Schwarzenberg* (private collection) may be added to this group.²⁰

There are unfortunately no obvious clues to the identity of the sitter, only that her elaborate and costly attire places her among the elite echelons of society. In fact, the portrait stands as an important document of German high fashion and taste in the first part of the

sixteenth century.²¹ In painting the costume, Strigel meticulously rendered the various imported Italian fabrics, notable examples of which are in the Antonio Ratti Textile Center at the Metropolitan Museum. The velvet fabric of the woman's dress as well as the silk damask of the wall hanging appear to originate from a similar pattern, one that was produced in Italy, especially Venice, at this time.²² The form of the woman's headdress was in fashion in Germany from the beginning of the sixteenth century into the 1520s, and its eight-pointed-star design is a variant of a popular motif.²³ At the woman's shoulder, on the edge of her bodice, is a ribbon trim woven or embroidered with metallic threads that bears a silk-on-linen pattern similar to that seen on fabrics also imported from Italy; an example in the Museum's collections shows a combination of stylized branches with leaves and fruits comparable to the oak leaves and nuts here.²⁴ The patterns making up the decorative bands on the woman's bodice are likewise found in contemporary pattern books: deer interspersed with foliate patterns appear in Hans Schönsperger's 1524 *Ein new Modelbuch* (fol. 12r), and the background geometric design for the embroidered flowers is illustrated in Peter



Fig. 185. Lucas Cranach the Elder. *Anna Cuspinian*, 1502-3. Oil on pine panel, 23 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 17 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (60 × 45 cm). Oskar Reinhart Collection "Am Römerholz," Winterthur, Switzerland (1925.1)

Guentel's 1529 *Eyn new Kunstlichboich* (fol. 19r).²⁵ Although some of these pattern books postdate Strigel's death in 1528, the designs they present had long been popular.

At the very least, the woman's ostentatious jewelry is a sign of her wealth and aspirations, but it could in fact signal more. Her heavy *Gliederkette* served both as an adornment and as actual currency that could be melted down in times of financial necessity.²⁶ The extravagant rubies and emeralds as well as the numerous seed pearls may have allegorical meaning. A well-known symbol of purity, pearls were also the attribute of brides and saints.²⁷ Rubies were often given to brides as an apotropaic device, to ward off lust and *tristesse*, while enhancing bodily strength and prosperity.²⁸ And emeralds, thought to splinter in response to the violation of a virgin, protected those who wore them, securing good luck, happiness, and marital success.²⁹ Given the combination of gems here, the sitter may well be a prospective bride, adorned to entice her suitor not only with her wealth and beauty but also with her virtue.

Although the Stuttgart *Portrait of a Nobleman* (see fig. 184) of about 1500 shows the same wall hanging as here, the popularity of these patterns over a long period of time requires additional criteria to be used for the dating of our portrait. Comparable attire is found in the 1502–3 portrait of Anna Cuspinian by Lucas Cranach the Elder

(fig. 185). Each sitter wears a dress with a large-scale pattern, black velvet trim, and a low-cut bodice over a blouse embroidered with a similar design. Albrecht Dürer's *Felicitas Tücher* (Kunstsammlung Weimar) of 1499 shows Felicitas with the same-shaped, although exaggerated, headdress with an overlying veil cascading over the woman's shoulder to her midsection. Hans Holbein the Younger's *Dorothea Kannengiesser* of 1516 (see fig. 112) also features the same type of dress, heavy gold chains, and *Haube* with fabric tail.

Usually dated to the first decade or two of the sixteenth century, Strigel's earlier portraits of ladies in extravagant dress positioned the sitter, as here, before a decorative brocade hanging with an open window view out to a landscape. Among these are the previously mentioned portraits of Mary of Burgundy and Bianca Maria Sforza as well as depictions of Eva von Schwarzenberg, Sibylla von Freyberg (both Alte Pinakothek, Munich),³⁰ and a lady of Freyberg (Schaffhausen).³¹ As Stephan Kemperdick has indicated, "The later portraits of the 1520s are notable for a lighter palette and a much flatter, linear rendering of the faces."³² The more richly colored palette of the Metropolitan's painting and especially the rosy flesh tones and dense, fully blended brushstrokes of the face suggest an earlier date, perhaps around 1510–15, for the portrait of this woman, whoever she may be.

MWA

WORKSHOP OR CIRCLE OF HANS TRAUT

53. *Virgin and Child*

Ca. 1500

Oil, gold, and silver on linden panel

Overall $15\frac{3}{4} \times 12\frac{3}{16} \times \frac{3}{16}$ in. ($40 \times 30.9 \times .5$ cm); painted surface $15\frac{1}{4} \times 11\frac{9}{16}$ in. (38.7×29.4 cm)

Inscriptions: none

Heraldry/emblems: none

Marks on verso: at center near top, nearly flat, damaged red-wax seal with no legible impression

Frame: not original

Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1922 22.96

PROVENANCE: James Broughton, Hillary Place, Leeds (until d. about 1887); Grosvenor Thomas, London (until 1922); [Durlacher, New York, 1922; sold to MMA]

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: The support is linden, with the grain oriented vertically.¹ The panel has been thinned to .5 centimeter and reinforced with a secondary support of thick conifer. Two horizontal strips of wood, formerly attached with large nails at the top and bottom, have been removed and the tracks rebuilt with the wood oriented vertically. The panel has a mild transverse concave warp. There is a short vertical split rising from the bottom to the right of center. The reverse is thickly coated with wax.

Incised lines mark the perimeter of the image and the locations of the window molding, foreground ledge, and cloth of honor. These lines are visible in the X-radiograph and extend to the edges of the panel.

Examination using infrared reflectography² demonstrated that the initial underdrawing derived from a transfer or tracing and that a second, liquid material was brushed on top to strengthen the design. It also revealed basic underdrawn contours for the figures, clothing, and architectural space. No underdrawing was seen in the landscape.

The window moldings and the wall behind the figures (excluding the cloth of honor) are underlaid with a laminate metal leaf composed of silver and gold, known as *Zwischgold*. This was applied over a mordant containing lead-tin yellow (type I). A glaze colored with an organic brown pigment coats the metal leaf, and small, dark strokes of paint create an undulating linear pattern. The gilded portions show a distinct microscopic crack pattern that differs from the surrounding paint.

The painting is in fair condition, with general abrasion, overall tiny losses following the wood grain, and larger losses in the shadows of the Virgin's red garments. The reserve left for the Virgin's hair is amplified by abrasion and by increased transparency of the brown paint. Her bodice now appears nearly black, although it was originally a dark blue-green. The green glazes on the cloth of honor and borders of Mary's mantle have a streaky brown appearance characteristic of the degradation commonly observed in paints containing copper-green pigments. The cloth of honor would have had a deeper, emerald

green color, while the borders were likely a brighter yellowish green. An age-related increase in the transparency of the paint has rendered the gauzy veil between the Virgin's hand and the Christ Child barely discernible.

The Virgin and Child sit in front of a hanging brocade cloth of honor in a domestic interior with gold-paneled walls. A stone parapet and a shimmering pillow placed against it separate the figures from the viewer's space. Beneath a red mantle with a green border, Mary wears a fur-trimmed red gown cinched at the waist with a decorative silver-gilt belt; the gown has a blue inset bodice and white collar. The Virgin's left hand supports the Christ Child on a diaphanous veil, her right holds his right foot as well as a rosary of translucent beads. Beyond the window, there is a charming view of a lake bordered by rocky crags, a single tree, and a wooden footbridge providing passage to the houses on the shore.

This painting is an important example of the influence of early Netherlandish masters on German painters of the second half of the fifteenth century.³ Initially, it was linked by Martin Conway to the works of the Haarlem painter Aelbert van Ouwater, specifically to the style of the figures in *The Raising of Lazarus* (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin).⁴ Tancred Borenius concurred,⁵ as did Bryson Burroughs,

with the proviso that the bright crimson and gold hues of the Metropolitan's painting are quite different from the rather cold coloring of *Lazarus*. Burroughs acknowledged that the picture should in any case be connected with the Dutch School and particularly with the works of Dieric Bouts.⁶ Otto Pächt and Max J. Friedländer brought the *Virgin and Child* closer yet to specific works by Bouts. The former referenced a Visitation and Adoration of the Magi, two of four altarpiece panels in the Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, then considered to be early Bouts, and the latter *The Salting Madonna* in the National Gallery, London (fig. 186).⁷ Citing the Prado panels, Pächt perceptively noted several similarities to our painting: the Virgin's contemplative passivity, the somewhat sculptural effect of the figures, the distinct oval shape of the Virgin's head, her loose, cascading hair, and the broad, plump features of the Child.⁸ Agreeing with these observations, Friedländer also called attention to the composition of our panel, including the cloth of honor and view to a landscape through an open window, comparing it to that of *The Salting Madonna*.⁹

Both Friedländer and Friedrich Winkler discovered that a panel with the Virgin and Child in the Museo Correr, Venice (fig. 187), is quite close in many respects to the Museum's painting. Although



Fig. 186. Dieric Bouts. *Virgin and Child (The Salting Madonna)*, ca. 1465. Oil with egg tempera on oak panel, 14 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 10 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (37.1 × 27.6 cm). The National Gallery, London, Salting Bequest, 1910 (NG2595)



Fig. 187. Master of the Habsburgs. *Virgin and Child*, ca. 1500. Oil on panel, 15 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 11 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (40 × 29 cm). Museo Correr, Venice (CL.M.0237)





Fig. 188. Infrared reflectogram, cat. 53



Fig. 189. Workshop of Hans Traut. *Landscape with a High Cliff beside a River*, 1490–1500. Pen and brown ink, brush and watercolor and bodycolor on paper, $7\frac{7}{8} \times 4\frac{3}{16}$ in. (20 × 10.6 cm). Universitätsbibliothek, Erlangen (Bock 748)

Friedländer rejected the notion that the Correr picture is from southern Germany, Winkler attributed it to a follower of Michael Pacher known as the Master of the Habsburgs, who he believed had copied the Metropolitan's panel.¹⁰ Winkler also proposed that weaknesses in our painting (such as the awkwardly painted hands) indicate that it is not the prototype but probably a copy after an early lost work by Bouts. Most of the subsequent literature from the 1920s to the 1960s continued to cite the same precedents for the style and composition of the *Virgin and Child*, namely the works of Ouwater and Bouts, as well as the connection with the Museo Correr painting.¹¹

At the same time, two scholars, both stressing the German origin of the painting, guided the direction of its attribution in helpful ways. Wilhelm Houben rejected the attribution to Ouwater in favor of Martino de Holanda, whom he identified with Martin Schongauer, an artist he supposed had studied with Netherlandish painters.¹² Winkler advanced from his view of thirty years earlier,

this time calling the *Virgin and Child* a German copy of a Netherlandish prototype executed by the Master of the Habsburgs.¹³ While acknowledging the direct connection with works by Bouts, Charles Talbot noted the specific German characteristics of our painting, especially the landscape view, which he considered reminiscent of the one in a Tirolean *Portrait of a Man* in the National Gallery of Art, Washington,¹⁴ that specifically recalls a German watercolor drawing in the Universitätsbibliothek, Erlangen (see fig. 189). He also suggested that the composition points to a Swabian or Upper Rhenish origin around 1500, but indicated the difficulty of determining whether the artist would be one of the numerous Germans emulating Bouts's style at the end of the fifteenth century (such as the Master of the Ehningen Altarpiece) or a Netherlander active in Germany.¹⁵ Taken together, these observations led to the cataloguing of the painting in 1998 as a work by a German follower of Bouts,¹⁶ a designation to which further refinements may now be made.

Undoubtedly, the composition of the Museum's *Virgin and Child* can be generally associated with models by Bouts, but the exact prototype for the figures is not known. The painting is not a precise copy of *The Salting Madonna* of about 1465 (the London Virgin nurses the Child as he sits on the parapet), nor of the *Virgin and Child* by the Master of the Benda Madonna (private collection, Geneva), to which it relates more closely in the poses of the figures.¹⁷ While reminiscent of the Virgin and Child figures in the previously mentioned *Adoration of the Magi* in the Prado, more recently dated later in Bouts's career, to about 1452–60,¹⁸ there is also no exact correspondence there.

The underdrawing of the figures in our *Virgin and Child* reveals, however, that this motif was based on a preexisting design. The rigid contour lines of this preparatory drawing on the grounded panel are characteristic of a transfer from a pattern (fig. 188).¹⁹ Here and there, remnants of pouncing have been gone over and augmented with freer drawing in overlying liquid brushwork.²⁰ Boutsian models, including *The Salting Madonna* as well as the composition of a half-length portrait before an open window (as in the very influential 1462 *Portrait of a Man* in the National Gallery, London; see fig. 205), were widely circulated in the Middle and Upper Rhine regions, not least through the engravings of Schongauer.²¹ The general assimilation of Bouts's compositions and figure style can be recognized in the works of painters such as the Master of the Benda Madonna,²² the Master of the Habsburgs,²³ Wolfgang Beurer (Master WB),²⁴ and certain Bavarian masters.²⁵

The landscape viewed through an open window, a Netherlandish compositional feature, was readily adopted by German artists, and workshop models for these views were kept at hand. Among such sheets is *Landscape with a High Cliff beside a River* (fig. 189), which Talbot called attention to in the Universitätsbibliothek, Erlangen.²⁶ Various attributed to Bernhard Strigel, the circle of Wolgemut, and most recently the workshop or circle of Hans Traut from about 1490–1500,²⁷ this watercolor drawing is very close to the landscape in the present painting. While the figures of the Virgin and Child in the Museum's picture were carefully copied, the landscape was not underdrawn but painted freehand, presumably in the habitual style of our painter. The stylistic connection of the Erlangen drawing to the landscape view here has led to the consideration of Traut as the painter of our panel. Guido Messling has convincingly pointed out

the close links between the Museum's painting and the two securely given to the Nuremberg artist and his workshop, namely the Augustinian Altarpiece of 1487 (Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg) and the *Virgin Mary with Friedrich the Wise* of 1486 (Schloss Grafenegg bei Krems).²⁸ In particular, the female heads in Traut's paintings bear a striking resemblance to our Virgin's—to such an extent that an attribution to the workshop or circle of Traut seems highly plausible.

Certain materials and techniques of the Metropolitan's painting also reflect those of the painters of Franconia. The support is linden wood, the type commonly used in this region.²⁹ Not typical for Netherlandish painting, but more often found in German painting of this period, is the effect of the shimmering gold background, in this case used for the wood paneling of the Virgin's room. Two metallic layers of a gold/silver laminate called *Zwischgold* were applied to the panel, then covered with a glaze of a warm tone and short, staccato flecks of dark paint meant to replicate wood grain.³⁰ This visual effect follows the actual practice of "gilding" wood paneling in the rooms of wealthy patrons.³¹ However, the technique used to render the cloth of honor, although intended to mimic the type of shimmering gold brocade found in Netherlandish painting, does not employ real gold, nor does it precisely follow Netherlandish painting techniques. Instead of the typical variegated strokes of lead-tin yellow finely brushed on to give the illusion of gold in those paintings, the painter here employed an assortment of ocher, pink, and white strokes executed in a uniform graphic manner that paid little attention to the fall of light on a shimmering fabric.³² The opaque white flesh tones, sharply defined drapery folds that ignore the anatomy of the body beneath, and graphically handled decorative details (such as the gold pillow with its parallel and cross-hatched strokes) reinforce a German origin for this master.

The painter of the Museum's *Virgin and Child* certainly was acquainted with Bouts's compositional models and figural types, but probably only through model drawings that had been transmitted to Germany. Judging by his materials and technique, as well as by the particular details of his handling and execution, he was not trained in the Netherlands. Like other German artists of the late fifteenth century, he appreciated and assimilated the Netherlandish style without the benefit of firsthand training.

MWA

54. *Sermon of Saint Albertus Magnus*

Ca. 1470–90

Oil on spruce panel

Overall 49½ × 27¾ × ¾ in. (125.7 × 70.2 × .5 cm)

Inscriptions: (on banderole over saint) *Furcht·got·wan[n]·die·stund·seyns·urteils·ist·zukunfftig·apock·xiiii* (Fear God, for the hour of his judgment is come. Apocalypse XIII); (the same inscription on recto of open book) *Furcht·got·wann·die·stund·seyns·urteils·ist·zu·kunfftig·apock·xiiii*; (the same passage, in Latin, on verso of open book) *Timete·deu[m]·quia·venit·hora·iudicii·eius·apock·xiiii*; (on wall) [illegible]

Heraldry / emblems: none

Marks on verso: none

Frame: not original

The Cloisters Collection, 1964 64.215

PROVENANCE: [André Seligmann, Paris; confiscated by Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg]; Hermann Göring, from February 8, 1941; Munich Central Collecting Point, restituted September 25, 1947;¹ [Julius Böhler, later Kunsthandlung Böhler, Munich; sold to MMA]

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: The support is a spruce panel, with the grain oriented vertically, that has been thinned to .5 centimeter and cradled, causing a slight corrugation on the surface.² The panel has been unevenly trimmed to an out-of-square rectangle, and the corners have been cut off at a forty-five-degree angle. While an unpainted border with a *barbe* remains on the top and bottom edges, the left side has been trimmed, leaving a *barbe* only on the upper half. On the right side the *barbe* is no longer extant. There are several splits in the panel. When the edges of small paint losses were examined under magnification, the white ground preparation was visible beneath what may be a white priming layer.

The painting is in very good condition overall, but there is abrasion in the preacher's cloak, in the background to his right, and in a few areas where the paint is raised along the wood grain. The artist employed mixtures of opaque paints blended wet in wet to create volume, followed by bold dark and light linear, "overdrawn" accents.³

Infrared photography revealed a complete underdrawing executed in a carbon-containing material with a brush.⁴ The painting follows the drawing with only minor deviations. The underdrawn facial features are more exaggerated than the faces in the final composition; for example, several noses are drawn significantly larger. Overlapping fluid lines indicate structures such as cheekbones and creases around the eyes and mouths. To the right of the inkwell, a scribe's pouch or book bag was drawn but not painted in.

In many of the garments, final glazes enrich the colors and soften strong contrasts between lights and darks. The hazy background of the saint's halo was made by distributing an opaque yellow paint with the fingers or palm of a hand. The pattern on the pulpit fall was painted as though the cloth were laid flat; only a change in tonality suggests the shape of the structure underneath.

Standing behind a wooden pulpit, Saint Albertus Magnus (ca. 1200–1280), robed in the habit of a Dominican friar, nimbed with rays of light and preaching to an assembled group, points with his right hand to a glorieole with the image of Christ in Judgment seated on a rainbow with lily and sword. The high cap that the saint wears signifies his rank of master general of the Dominican order. In the

banderole above him is a text in German from the Book of Revelation (14:7) "Fear God, [and give glory to him]; for the hour of his judgment is come." The same text appears on the right-hand page of the open book resting on a black and gold brocaded textile draped over the front of the pulpit and again, in Latin, on the left-hand page. The text on the tablet nailed to the wall is illegible, but the incipit and the length suggest it is a different one altogether. The scene is set in a hall with a compressed wooden barrel vault. An attentive gathering of seven sits at the left. On the pulpit steps at the right is a diminutive tonsured Dominican with a quill and ink, writing on a scroll draped over his right knee. An infrared photograph shows a pouch beside him that was never painted in (fig. 190). On the floor in front is a young man, likewise reduced in scale, looking up at Albertus Magnus. With a slightly raised left hand the saint gestures toward a group in the lower left corner on the floor comprising a woman in a shroud, a man half-emerged from his shroud, and a naked child white on one side and fleshy pink on the other. While the woman seems to gaze blankly, the man and the child look up at the preaching saint.

Albertus Magnus, a Dominican scholastic, bishop, Doctor of the Church, natural scientist, and philosopher, was born in Lauingen, near Nördlingen, and died in Cologne. He studied at the University of Padua and joined the Order of Preachers (Ordo Praedicatorum), or Dominicans, in 1223. He studied theology in Cologne and later in Paris, where in 1245 he became a doctor of theology, the first

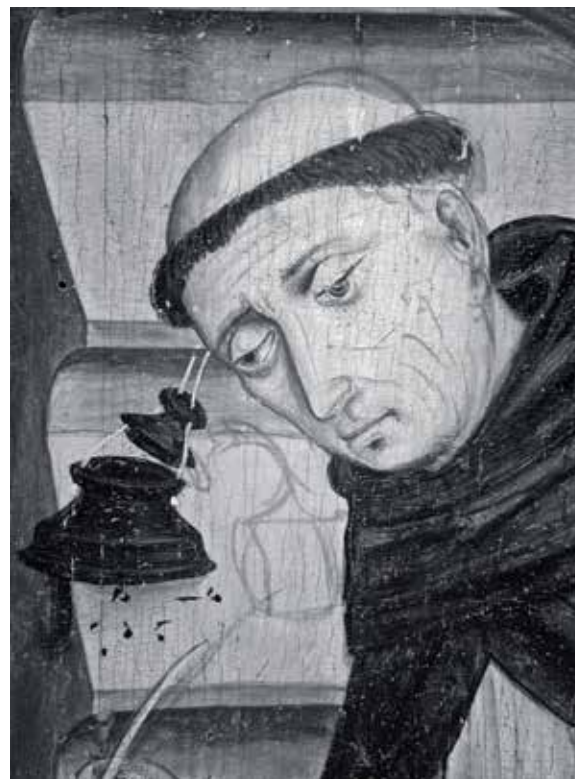


Fig. 190. Infrared photograph, detail, cat. 54





Fig. 191. Friedrich Walther. *Saint Wendelin with a Donatrix*, 1467. Oil on panel, 46 $\frac{1}{16}$ × 30 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (118.5 × 76.5 cm). Bernisches Historisches Museum (1339)

Dominican to earn the degree. He taught at Cologne, Hildesheim, Freiburg, Regensburg, and Strasbourg. In 1260 he was appointed bishop of Regensburg. His greatest scholarly achievement was the introduction of Aristotelian thought to the West through the systematic paraphrasing of the entire corpus, which he began in 1249, assisted by his student Thomas Aquinas. He was the only man of the High Middle Ages to be called “the Great.” He expounded the work of the Neoplatonists, inspired mystics such as Hildegard von Bingen, and studied the works of Dionysius the Areopagite, whose mystical theology greatly impacted the later Middle Ages. Although deeply revered in his own lifetime, particularly in Germany, he was declared a saint only in 1931.

The panel does not represent a single incident in the saint’s life, as it would initially appear; rather, it conflates a Dominican legend with a reference to the saint’s scholarly attainments. The

half-white half-pink child references a miraculous resuscitation said to have occurred in 1219 in Rome, according to the writings of Saint Dominic. A widow named Gutadonia went to San Marco to hear a sermon, and when she returned to her house she found her child had died. She brought the child to Saint Dominic at San Sisto, and through his prayers the child was brought back to life. The significance of the shrouded man and woman is unclear. As they do not appear in other representations of the resuscitated child, such as the one from the 1495 choir-screen fresco cycle by the Carnation Master in the Predigerkirche (Französische Kirche) at Bern,⁵ they may be an elaboration of the scene not supported by text or they may pertain to another event altogether. In fact, the analogous composition in Bern conflates several narratives, thus expanding the iconography of the scene.⁶ Both the present panel and the Bern fresco follow, in the main, the iconography of the resuscitated child established by the mid-fifteenth century and widely disseminated in Dominican circles—the poorly preserved painting in the Predigerkirche in Basel of about 1460 being an example.⁷ While Albertus Magnus preaching from the pulpit certainly accords with the legend of Gutadonia’s child, the text written in the book in front of him does not; rather, it is taken from one of the saint’s writings, *Enarrationes in Apocalypsim S. Joannis*, a commentary expounding the Revelation according to Saint John.⁸ The cited text does not pertain to a particular event but speaks, in general, to the learned nature and accomplishments of the saint and more specifically to the Dominican belief in preaching to disseminate learning, for, according to their faith, the contemplation of knowledge played a crucial role in attaining a deeper and more meaningful relationship with God.⁹

The Museum’s panel has traditionally been attributed to Friedrich Walther.¹⁰ Walther (before 1440–1494/95) worked in Dinkelsbühl, Nördlingen, Cannstatt, and Konstanz, where he is last documented.¹¹ In 1474 he is mentioned as a member of a workshop cooperative with Friedrich Herlin in Nördlingen, with whom he developed close stylistic affinities. His artistic identity depends largely on a panel painting in Bern depicting Saint Wendelin with the donatrix Barbara Strauss of Nördlingen that is signed *FW* and dated 1467 (fig. 191).¹² Although the Museum’s panel and the one in Bern appear to spring from a common artistic circle, they sufficiently diverge in style that two different hands may be assumed. The present panel is characterized by an engaging, if somewhat naive, narrative style employing compressed spaces, uncertain perspectives, and contradictory scales. The figures tend to be slightly wooden, enveloped in garments with deep, stiff folds that obscure the underlying forms. Their gestures are pronounced and they have rather flat broad faces coming to a point at the chin and widely spaced eyes of intent gaze. The palette is dominated by earth tones ranging from pale ocher to deep umber, relieved occasionally by red in the garments. However provincial the style may appear, the painting is executed with crisp detail and meticulous finish.

TBH

UNKNOWN PAINTER

Probably Hamburg and Lower Saxony, active 1560s–80s

55. *Christ Blessing, Surrounded by a Donor Family*

Ca. 1573–82

Paintings:

Oil and gold on oak panels

Center, overall $31\frac{3}{8} \times 37\frac{3}{4} \times \frac{1}{16}$ in. (79.7 × 95.9 × .8 cm), including later wood strips added at top and bottom, each $\frac{1}{4} \times 37\frac{3}{4}$ in. (.64 × 95.9 cm); painted surface $30\frac{3}{4} \times 37\frac{3}{4}$ (78.1 × 95.9 cm); with frame $40\frac{5}{16} \times 46\frac{7}{8}$ in. (102.4 × 119.1 cm)

Left, overall $32 \times 14\frac{5}{8} \times \frac{1}{4}$ in. (81.3 × 37.1 × .64 cm); painted surface $31\frac{1}{8} \times 13\frac{3}{4}$ in. (79.1 × 34.9 cm); with frame $40\frac{5}{16} \times 23\frac{1}{2}$ in. (103 × 59.7 cm)

Right, overall $32 \times 14\frac{5}{8} \times \frac{1}{4}$ in. (81.3 × 37.1 × .64 cm); painted surface $31\frac{1}{8} \times 13\frac{3}{4}$ in. (78.9 × 34.9 cm); with frame $40\frac{5}{16} \times 23\frac{3}{8}$ in. (103 × 59.4 cm)

Inscriptions:¹

Center (on tablets, center, left, right): *ICK LEVE, VND GY SCHO- / LEN OCK LEVEN, IOH: 14.* (Because I live, ye shall live also. John 14:19); *HERE LATH MIJ DINE / GNADE WEDERVAREN, / DINE HVLPE NA DI- / NEM WORDE, / PSAL, 118* (Let thy mercies come also unto me, O Lord, even thy salvation, according to thy word. Psalm 119:41); *HERE, WENN ICK / MEN DY HEBBE / SO FRAGE ICK NICHT / NA HEMEL VNDE / ERDE, PSALM. 73.* ([Lord,] Whom have I in heaven but thee? And there is none upon earth that I desire beside thee. Psalm 73:25); (above sitters, left to right) *ÆTA / TIS / 21; ÆTATIS 54; ÆTATIS 6.; ÆTATIS 52.; ÆTAT: / 16.*

Left (on tablet): *EINS BIDDE ICK VAN DEM / HEREN DAT HEDDE ICK / GERNE, DAT ICK IM HV- / SE DES HEREN BLIVENN / MOGE MYN LEVE / LANCK, PSAL: 27.* (One thing have I desired of the Lord, that will I seek after; that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life. Psalm 27:4); (above sitter) *ÆTATIS 33*

Right (on tablet): *HERE WENDE MYNE / OGENN AFF DAT SE / NICHT SEHEN NA VN- / NVITTER LERE, SONDER / VERQVICKE MY VP DINEM / WEGE, PSAL 119* ([Lord,] Turn away mine eyes from beholding vanity; and quicken thou me in thy way. Psalm 119:37); (above sitter) *ÆTATIS. 18.*

Heraldry / emblems: none

Marks on verso: on frames: at top left, fragmentary MMA registrar's labels; at top left of central, left, and right frame, respectively, in red, 17.190.13, 17.190.14, 17.190.15; at top left of central and left frame, in white chalk, C217

Frames: original

Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 17.190.13–15

PROVENANCE: J. Pierpont Morgan, New York (by 1908–d. 1913; his estate, 1913–17)

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: The support for this triptych is oak from western Germany. The three boards used to construct the central panel, in which the grain is oriented horizontally, originated in a single tree. The wing panels are composed of two boards each, with the grain oriented vertically. Those boards originated in a single but different tree from that of the central panel. Dendrochronological analysis indicates an earliest possible fabrication date of 1563 and a more plausible date of 1573 or later.² The frames are original and were engaged to the panels when the ground preparation was applied. In a treatment before the triptych entered the collection, the panels were removed from the engaged frames and cradled. In a subsequent treatment, the cradles were removed, and custom-made spring-tension strainers were attached.³ The wings retain the unpainted wood margin, but the unpainted borders of the central panel have been trimmed up to the very edge of the painting and wood strips .64 centimeter high were added on the top and bottom. On the inside rabbet of the frames for the wings, remnants of the fluid ground preparation that seeped between the panel and frame during the application correspond

exactly to remnants on the unpainted wood borders of both panels. This evidence confirms that the frames are original.

Throughout the composition, a full-bodied paint was applied in a distinctive manner that allows the brushwork to remain visible; working wet in wet, the artist softened contours with perpendicular, feathery strokes of paint. This personal aspect of the artist's technique is particularly apparent in the painting of the faces. After the first application of paint was dry, a very fine-tipped brush was used to apply strokes of red, brown, and black to finish the features and enhance the ruddier complexions of the two older men and the oldest woman. The directionally worked strokes of paint applied with stiff-bristled brushes, combined with a low impasto, give an impression of barely contained vitality to the serious, reserved figures. Changes were made to the scene depicted in the orb under Christ's hand during painting. In the underlying layers of paint there are, on the right, two churches and a tree; at the center, a tree; and on the left, a domed building, another building beneath the tiered structure, and a large tree (see discussion below). Christ's halo was first indicated by incising arcs with a compass after the initial paint layers of the green drapery backdrop had been laid down but before the final green glaze was applied. It was then fashioned in shell gold applied with a small brush.

The paintings are in very good condition overall. On the wings there are many small paint losses along the wood grain as well as along the panel joins caused by movement of the whole support. There are large areas of loss on the right wing in the woman's cape and cuffs. On the central panel there are localized areas of loss in the paneling, curtain, hair of Christ, and still life.

The noticeably pale skin tones of most of the figures are due to fading of red-lake pigment; the ruddier complexions of the two older men are attributable to the addition of a second opaque red pigment. Christ's cloak was originally red, but the red lake has faded nearly completely, leaving only the opaque salmon red in the darkest passages of the garment. The now pale pink blooms in the still life were originally a deeper red. In addition, the green foliage may include an organic yellow pigment that has faded, causing the leaves and stems to appear cool in tone.

The brown tone of the shadows of Christ's undergarment derives from a discolored smalt blue. Particles of an opaque red can be seen mixed in the white underpaint. Possibly Christ was originally wearing a mauve-colored garment beneath a lighter, more opaque red cloak.

The perimeters of the frames painted around the verses on the walls behind the figures are now a grayish ocher color; the combination of a coarse blue pigment and red lake was probably originally purple but is now muted by the fading of the red lake. Similarly, the green marble insets in the walls behind the figures appear to have discolored to some degree; they would originally have had a richer tonality.

Infrared reflectography carried out on all the panels revealed extensive underdrawing executed in a dry medium, probably black chalk.⁴ The underdrawing can be seen with the unaided eye below some of the thinner passages of paint. The contours of the figures were drawn with multiple lines, and shading—including half tones—was indicated with vigorous diagonal hatching, some of which is very loose and calligraphic. The handling suggests that the figures were rapidly worked up from life. Several of the heads were drawn slightly smaller than they were painted: that of the man in the left wing, the man at the far left of the central panel, the young boy, the oldest woman, and the woman in the right panel. The head of Christ was also considerably smaller in its first conception, and his hands were underdrawn with particular emphasis. Elements of the still life were indicated with loose contours and hatching, which is more limited in the flowers. The buildings within Christ's orb appear to have been very lightly underdrawn. Extensive underdrawing was seen in the walls of the room, the curtain, and the plaques. Four incised lines made with



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a straightedge served as guides for the lettering on the plaque above Christ's head. Incisions made with a compass were used to place the orb, the clasp of Christ's cloak, and, as mentioned above, the nimbus around his head.

FRAME NOTES: Although the frames of this triptych have been repainted and regilded several times, the decoration is essentially original. The method of their construction and the use of the pigments azurite and smalt, of decorative medallions, and of stamped paper ornament are in keeping with the taste of the period. All three are box frames made of oak.⁵ All were constructed with a lap joint on the back and four miters on the face to secure the corners. The sight edge and outer moldings were adhered to the plates with glue and metal sprigs. There are wood insertions on all three frames, visible on the base, sides, and outer fillets.

The central frame was at some time slightly resized, and certain modifications to its moldings and miters appear to have been undertaken in the process. It has been modified on the upper-left and lower-right inner corners where the sight-edge molding miter is stepped. It is slightly reduced in height—lower now than the unaltered wings—and its rabbet is smaller. After the central frame was disassembled and reassembled for resizing, the back was reinforced with a wood laminate. The outer molding on the central frame appears to be a replacement, for it has one more step than the outer moldings of the wings, and whereas the sight-edge molding of all three frames and the outer moldings of the wings exhibit three campaigns of gilding,⁶ the outer molding of the central frame has only the last two series of layers.

The plate on all three frames is coated with a white preparation. Sheets of stamped paper reliefs in the form of Mannerist arabesques were applied to this ground at the corners and centers. On all three frames, cast medallions made of a resinous, fibrous material were applied to the corners and centers of all four sides, adhered to the paper. The wing frames have lion-head medallions at the corners, while the center frame has grotesque medallions; all three frames have identical female medallions in the center of the four sides. On all three frames, over the white ground and stamped paper there is an azurite-containing paint layer followed by a layer of smalt.⁷ These two layers do not extend under the medallions. The gilding on the arabesque reliefs is applied over an orange preparation layer. The arabesques have been overpainted several times and regilded once. The medallions are gilded over an ochre preparation

layer and have been regilded at least once. The final regilded surface on the medallions and arabesques is identical to the final regilded surface on the moldings. There are minor losses throughout, as well as losses to the medallions.

In this triptych a family of seven gathers closely around the central figure of Christ as *Salvator Mundi*. The table at the center is strewn with cut flowers; one rose cutting each is placed before Christ and the man and woman to his immediate left and right, with various other field flowers laid in between.⁸ The books held by the man and woman, and by the younger man on the left wing, probably represent devotional texts. The one that lies on the table beneath Christ's lifted hand is distinguished from the others by its simple vellum binding and may stand metaphorically for the unadorned word of God. Its alignment with the Christ figure calls to mind the verse from the Gospel of John (1:14), "And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us," which aptly describes the intimate gathering depicted in this work.

Through the biblical verses inscribed overhead, the family engages in a dialogue with Christ on salvation and the afterlife. On the central tablet affixed to the green canopy appear Jesus's words from John 14:19, "Because I live, ye shall live also," which refer to the guarantee of eternal life through his death and resurrection. The four eldest family members respond with invocatory verses from the Book of Psalms on plaques hung from hooks on the rear wall. These express, variously, the family's desire for salvation as a gift of divine grace ("Let thy mercies [i.e., grace] come also unto me, O Lord, even thy salvation, according to thy word" [Psalm 119:41]), their absolute devotion to God ("[Lord,] Whom have I in heaven but thee? And there is none upon earth that I desire beside thee" [Psalm 73:25]),



55, central panel

their longing for communion with God in this world ("One thing have I desired of the Lord, that will I seek after; that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life" [Psalm 27:4]), and their avoidance of worldly vanities in the hope of regeneration through Christ ([Lord,] Turn away mine eyes from beholding vanity; and quicken thou me in thy way" [Psalm 119:37]).

The relationship of the man and woman on the wings to the rest of the sitters is uncertain. Their ages (his thirty-three, hers eighteen) and the woman's bonnet, which indicates that she is married, have prompted the assumption that they are a couple. Most authors maintain that he is the son and she is the daughter-in-law of the couple at the center.⁹ This would suggest that the triptych was commissioned in commemoration of their union. At the same time, however, it begs the question of why parents, siblings, and

a Salvator Mundi figure would be included in a marriage portrait, and furthermore why the inscriptions and iconography (besides the multivalent associations of the flowers) lack nuptial reference. Given the strong physiognomic resemblance of the young man and woman to their elder counterparts on the central panel, one cannot discount the alternative possibility that they are siblings, meaning that the triptych would show not an extended marriage portrait but rather a family portrait of an older couple, aged fifty-four and fifty-two, with their five sons and daughters ranging in age from six to thirty-three years. In this situation, that the married woman on the right wing could appear without her husband is certainly possible, as other instances are known from family donor portraits.¹⁰

Removing marriage as a factor allows a reassessment that places the triptych in the tradition of family epitaphs and memorial



55, left wing



55, right wing

tablets.¹¹ A memorializing function would be appropriate to the sacred associations of the triptych format and consistent with the concern for salvation that is expressed in the inscriptions and embodied by the Salvator Mundi figure. In that case, the various cut flowers could be interpreted as vanitas symbols,¹² evocative of Psalm 103:15–16: “As for man, his days are as grass: as a flower of the field, so he flourisheth. For the wind passeth over it, and it is gone; and the place thereof shall know it no more.” If the triptych had a memorial function, it might have been associated with a tomb site, where a separate inscription tablet would have identified the family.

The city depicted in Christ’s orb is Hamburg, shown in a topographically accurate view from the east.¹³ From left to right appear

the churches Sankt Katharinen, Sankt Nikolai, the Cathedral, Sankt Jacobi, Sankt Petri, and Sankt Johannis (fig. 192). Although renovation and destruction in the past four centuries have greatly altered Hamburg’s churchscape,¹⁴ the identification finds confirmation in contemporary depictions.¹⁵ Unmistakable distinguishing features are the octagonal upper stories of the tower of Sankt Nikolai,¹⁶ the four corner turrets around the spire of the Cathedral,¹⁷ the double-gabled roof of the tower of Sankt Jacobi,¹⁸ the rhomboid spire of Sankt Petri and its small exterior bell cover on the south (here left) side,¹⁹ and the ridge turret of Sankt Johannis.²⁰ The present view is painted over yet another view of the city, this time from the north, which is visible to the naked eye and in the X-radiograph (fig. 193). Most clearly discernible in the underlying view are the dome of

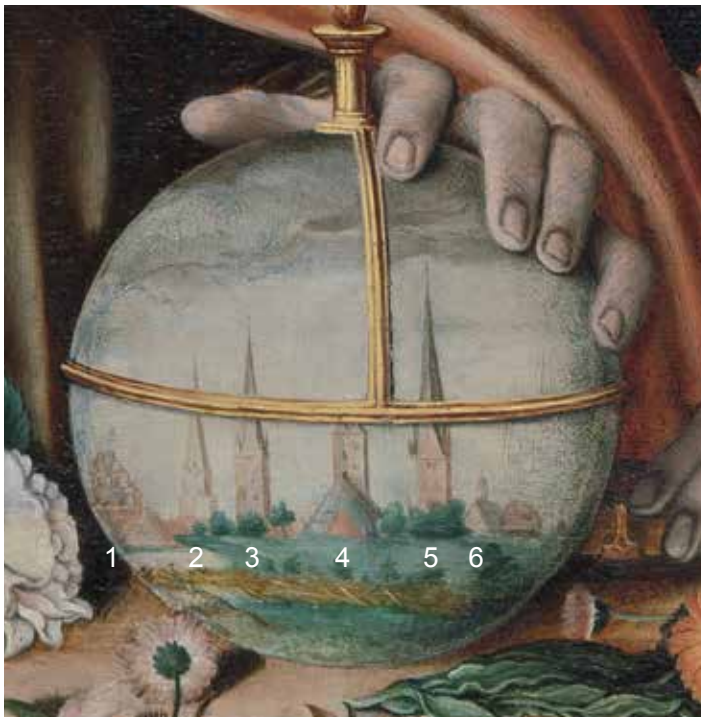


Fig. 192. Detail of orb, cat. 55. View of Hamburg's churches from the east: (1) Sankt Katharinen, (2) Sankt Nikolai, (3) Cathedral, (4) Sankt Jacobi, (5) Sankt Petri, (6) Sankt Johannis

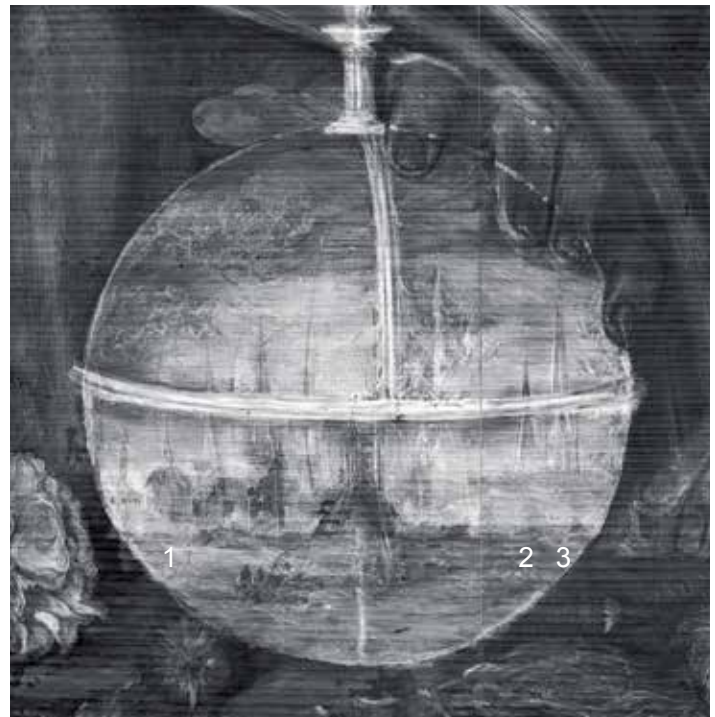


Fig. 193. X-radiograph, detail of orb, cat. 55. Underlying view of Hamburg's churches from the north: (1) Sankt Gertruden, (2) Cathedral, (3) Sankt Petri

Sankt Gertruden at the left, which is absent in the view from the east, and the spires of the Cathedral and Sankt Petri at the right.²¹ This alteration was carried out during the painting process, probably to better accommodate Hamburg's church towers within the rounded space of the orb.

That the triptych originated in Hamburg is further corroborated by Melchior Lorck's *Study of Four Women of Hamburg* of about 1571–73, which shows closely comparable female costume (fig. 194).²² Also appropriate to Hamburg is the Low German (*Niederdeutsch*) language of the inscriptions. The texts follow almost verbatim Johannes Bugenhagen's Low German edition of Martin Luther's German translation of the Bible.²³

Likely dates for the painting can be determined through the results of dendrochronological analysis and the particular form of the tower of Sankt Jacobi at the center of the orb. Analysis of the oak support indicates a plausible date of fabrication for the painting of 1573 or later. The tower of Sankt Jacobi, with its double-gabled roof, visible just beneath the orb's horizontal band, stood in this form only until 1582; from 1582 to 1587 the tower was elevated and given a proper spire.²⁴ Taken together, these data establish a probable date range of about 1573–82 for the triptych.

As Hans Ost noted, this work seamlessly integrates temporal and eternal realms by combining the genres of the secular family portrait and the devotional image.²⁵ Highly unusual—indeed almost radical in its break with traditions of the donor portrait—is the intimate, shoulder-to-shoulder proximity of the sitters to Christ and the complete absence of prayer gestures. With few exceptions,²⁶



Fig. 194. Melchior Lorck. *Study of Four Women of Hamburg*, ca. 1571–73. Pen and brown ink on paper, 8¾ × 7 in. (22.2 × 17.8 cm). Dian Woodner Collection, New York

donors before sacred figures in pre- and post-Reformation art appear in adorant poses, folding their hands in prayer and kneeling, as for example in Hans Kemmer's *Salvator Mundi Flanked by Two Kneeling Donors* of 1537 (Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum Hannover), which in other respects is comparable to the Metropolitan Museum's triptych.²⁷ The relinquishment of the traditional adorant pose makes possible a more subtle expression of the donors' reverence through the Psalm verses inscribed overhead, while also allowing the donors to engage the viewer with their arrestingly confident gazes. The closest formal antecedents for this arrangement of half-length figures on an equal level with Christ are found on predellas of late Gothic altarpieces showing the *Salvator Mundi* at the center flanked by the twelve apostles, six to each side.²⁸ Although examples were more common in southern than in northern Germany, one was in fact present in Hamburg, in the predella (now lost) of Master Franke's Altarpiece of Saint Thomas Becket (1424–26), formerly in Sankt Johannis.²⁹ Thus, the donors of the Metropolitan's triptych could well have had this iconography in mind and, as pious Lutherans, would have appreciated the analogy between themselves and Christ's immediate disciples, who enjoyed direct access to him.

The triptych's origin in Hamburg possibly helps to explain its extraordinary iconography. In the second half of the sixteenth century, Hamburg was an important center of orthodox Lutheranism.³⁰ This was due in part to the influence of Joachim Westphal, pastor of Sankt Katharinen from 1541 and church superintendent for the city from 1562 until his death in 1574.³¹ Westphal was a prominent representative of an orthodox faction of theologians now known as Gnesio-Lutherans ("genuine Lutherans," from the Greek *gnesios*), who set themselves in opposition to the milder Philippist Lutherans, so named after Luther's confidant Philipp Melancthon. Gnesio-Lutherans favored a strict interpretation of Luther's theology and opposed what they saw as the Philippists' drift toward Calvinism.³² One of the main preoccupations of these competing parties concerned the mode of Christ's presence in the Eucharist. Whereas the Philippist Lutherans, in general agreement with John Calvin, maintained that Christ is present only in spirit in the Sacrament of the Altar, the Gnesio-Lutheran position, which was defended by Westphal in an exchange of polemical pamphlets with Calvin in the 1550s, was that Christ's body and blood are actually physically present in the Communion bread and wine.

The Gnesio-Lutheran understanding of Christ's full presence in the Eucharist was officially adopted for the canonical Lutheran creed, the Formula of Concord, drawn up by a council of theologians in 1577 and published as part of the *Book of Concord* in 1580.³³ The Formula of Concord's article concerning the person of Christ, his divine and human nature, cites a well-known saying of Jesus from the Gospel of Matthew (18:20), which encapsulates what is represented in the Museum's triptych: "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them."³⁴ The article goes on to profess that Christ "can be and indeed is present where he wishes according to and with this same assumed human nature. . . .

He is not halfway present, nor is just half of him present. The entire person of Christ is present, to which belong both natures, the divine and the human."³⁵

In Hamburg, Westphal's activity as church superintendent may have laid the foundations for a broad acceptance of such views on Christ's presence among the faithful.³⁶ Those convictions are very plausibly reflected in the triptych's unconventional placement of the donors in immediate proximity to Christ, with little physical separation and no prayer gestures to suggest a division between divine and human realms. Although the passages cited above primarily concern the Sacrament of the Altar, which is not the subject of the Museum's triptych, the fundamental idea that the "entire person of Christ . . . , the divine and the human," can become manifest to believers appears to lie at the heart of this image.³⁷

No satisfactory attribution has been offered for the Metropolitan Museum's triptych. After first being ascribed to Antonis Mor,³⁸ the work was in 1914 given to Ludger tom Ring the Younger, an attribution later upheld by the tom Ring experts Karl Hölker, Max Geisberg, and Theodor Riewerts.³⁹ In his contribution to the 1955 monograph on the tom Rings, however, Paul Pieper raised the first doubts about Ludger tom Ring the Younger's authorship.⁴⁰ He tentatively ascribed the triptych to the little-known Braunschweig court painter Peter Spitzer, an idea ultimately accepted by Heinrich Zimmermann.⁴¹ Most subsequent authors retained the attribution to tom Ring.⁴² The Spitzer proposal resurfaced only in the catalogue of the 1996 tom Ring exhibition, in which Sam Segal observed the dissimilarity between tom Ring's familiar style of flower painting and the triptych's⁴³ and in which Angelika Lorenz returned to Spitzer as a possibility, dating the Museum's painting about 1571 to correspond to his death date of that year.⁴⁴

Neither the attribution to tom Ring nor the one to Spitzer withstands scrutiny. Although portraits by the former, such as *Reinhard Reiners* and *Gese Reiners, née Meier*, of 1569 (Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig), invite general comparison with this

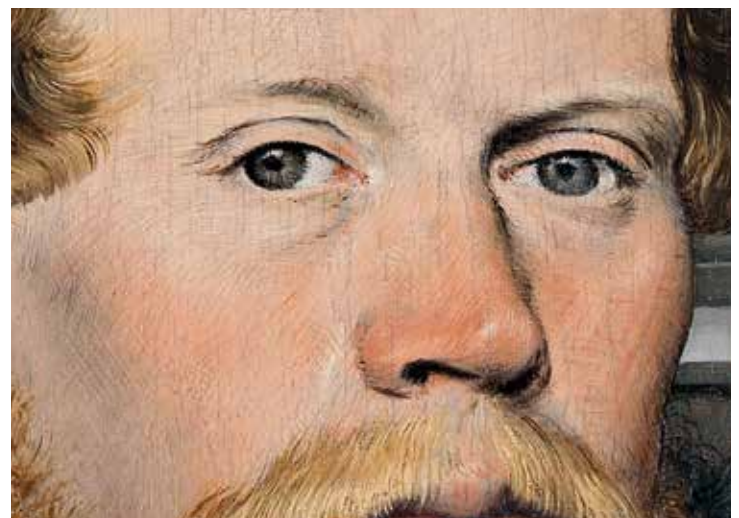


Fig. 195. Left wing, detail of face, cat. 55



Fig. 196. Infrared reflectogram, central panel, cat. 55

triptych because of their northern German costume and paneled interiors,⁴⁵ they differ significantly in handling and execution. Tom Ring's personal style is characterized by distinctly harder contours and more polished surface effects.⁴⁶ In contrast, the present work displays a more dynamic handling, in which feathery dashes of the brush crisscross throughout the surface modeling and fan out at the edges to soften transitions between forms (fig. 195). And whereas the underdrawing style of tom Ring appears to consist of carefully delineated contours and restrained hatching,⁴⁷ the Metropolitan Museum's composition is densely and vigorously underdrawn (fig. 196).

As for Spitzer, his only secured work is a 1547 woodcut view of Braunschweig, and the painted oeuvre compiled for him by Zimmermann consists of stylistically heterogeneous pictures with no demonstrable connection to the artist.⁴⁸ Moreover, Spitzer died

in 1571, before the earliest plausible date of the Museum's triptych suggested by dendrochronological analysis (1573).

Stylistic similarities to works connected with the ducal court of Braunschweig-Lüneburg in Celle, north of Hannover, strongly suggest that the painter responsible for the Metropolitan's triptych had circles of patronage that extended beyond Hamburg and into modern-day Lower Saxony. The privately owned likeness of Ernst von Reden, ducal steward (*Statthalter*) of Celle, dated 1579, is closely comparable in style and potency of expression, so much so that it can be considered almost certainly by the same hand (fig. 197).⁴⁹ Also comparable are the donor portraits of Wilhelm the Younger, Duke of Braunschweig-Lüneburg, and his wife, Dorothea of Denmark, on the wings of the altarpiece of the Lutheran Schlosskapelle in Celle (fig. 198a, b).⁵⁰ The portraits of Wilhelm and Dorothea, datable



Fig. 197. Unknown painter, probably Hamburg and Lower Saxony. *Ernst von Reden*, 1579. Oil on oak panel, 29 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 23 $\frac{3}{16}$ in. (75.5 × 59.3 cm). Private collection



Fig. 198a, b. Unknown German painter. *Wilhelm the Younger, Duke of Braunschweig-Lüneburg and Dorothea of Denmark* (interiors of wings of altarpiece), ca. 1569–76. Oil on panel, with frame, each 86 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 36 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (220 × 91.5 cm). Residenzmuseum im Celler Schloss, Schlosskapelle

to about 1569–76, belong to the campaign of refurbishment of the chapel carried out between 1565 and 1576, which is still preserved in largely original form.⁵¹ They stand out as stylistically distinct from the rest of the decoration, much of which was painted by Marten de Vos in Antwerp. Although in the Celle donor portraits the paint handling appears to be pastier and coarser than in the Museum's triptych, the overall stylistic similarities are strong enough to suggest that the paintings may have originated in a common workshop.⁵² The affinities extend even to the unusual strewn-flower motif found in both works.

Similarities between the original frames in New York and Celle add further support to the connection. The frames display closely comparable decorative schemes consisting of gilded relief medallions with alternating head motifs⁵³ flanked by ornamental strips

of vegetal patterns. Such medallions appear on frames throughout the extensive decoration of the Celle chapel. On certain frames, such as those of the *Last Judgment*, *Faith*, and *Charity* on the southern stalls, the ornamental strips between the medallions consist of applied reliefs very similar in appearance to the stamped paper reliefs on the Museum's frames.⁵⁴ This speaks for the frames in the Museum and in the chapel at Celle having originated in the same craftsman's workshop.

The associations with Celle—through the Ernst von Reden portrait and the donor portraits and frame ornaments in the Schlosskapelle—suggest finally that the identification of the donors in the Museum's triptych may eventually be found in a Hamburg family with connections to the court of Duke Wilhelm the Younger.

J P W

UNKNOWN PAINTER

Middle Rhine(?), active ca. 1470–90

56. *The Adoration of the Magi*

Ca. 1470–90

Oil and gold on beech panel

Overall $7\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{7}{8} \times \frac{3}{16}$ in. ($19 \times 17.5 \times .5$ cm); painted surface $7\frac{7}{16} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$ in. (18.3×17.2 cm)

Inscriptions: none

Heraldry / emblems: none

Marks on verso: in black paint, on dark paint covering verso, two lines of indecipherable script above the date 15.5, and below, a single indecipherable word and a flourish; in pencil, 192-28; on paper label, c12247/R. Lehman

Frame: not original

Robert Lehman Collection, 1975 1975.1.134

PROVENANCE: Robert Lehman, New York (by 1965–d. 1969; given to the Robert Lehman Foundation on his death and transferred to MMA in 1975)

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: The support for this painting is a single piece of beech, with the grain oriented vertically.¹ The panel exhibits a slight convex lateral warp. Unpainted wooden borders and a *barbe* around the perimeter indicate that an engaged frame was in place when the white ground preparation was applied. The very narrow width of the unpainted borders suggests the panel may have been trimmed slightly. The verso is coated with dark paint.

Two different grades of the pigment azurite were used to produce colors ranging from a deep cool blue to a lighter, slightly greenish blue. The extensive gold embellishment throughout the composition was achieved by mordant gilding.

Overall the painting is in excellent condition. Across the very top, the sky has darkened with age and is abraded, diminishing the legibility of the iconographic motifs painted there.

Infrared reflectography revealed extensive underdrawing in a liquid medium.² In the painted composition there are minor adjustments to some figures, including enlarging and changing the angle of the Child's head and shifting the direction of the Virgin's gaze. Additionally, alterations were made in the structure of the stable, which had been underdrawn with three narrow arches in the rear wall and set farther back; also, the ruined wall was drawn higher than it is in the final painting.

This small panel depicts the Virgin Mary and infant Jesus adored by the three wise men (*magi* in the Latin Vulgate) who, according to the Gospel of Matthew (2:1–12), came from the east, led by a star, in search of the newborn king of the Jews. The eldest magus kneels at the left and clasps the child's hand. Another kneels at the right and presents a gold box, and the standing black magus takes hold of a gold cup handed him by a page. The representation of the magi as kings, denoted here by the crown of the standing magus, originated in art of the tenth century.³ At the far left and right stand Saint Joseph and another page.

The four indistinct red shapes in the sky along the top edge, painted in a wispy ductus similar to that of the clouds, are a peculiar iconographic feature. The one just above and to the left of the star of Bethlehem appears to represent a horned and bearded bovine

animal, facing left, and thus could be the zodiacal sign of Capricorn (the Goat) associated with December and the Nativity, which would be appropriate to the subject of the painting.⁴ The crescent shape seeming to emit a flare above the right peak of the architectural ruin may represent some kind of celestial phenomenon, perhaps a comet.⁵ The two forms in the upper left and right, however, are too vague to decipher in any plausible way. Together, these celestial signs may allude to the historical understanding of the magi as Persian court astrologers.

Although the small size of the Museum's *Adoration of the Magi* suggests that it could have been part of a larger ensemble of scenes from the life of Christ or the Virgin Mary, the absence of figural or ornamental decoration on the verso probably rules out considering it a fragment of a folding altarpiece wing. Instead the back is coated with a layer of dark paint, which leaves open the possibility that this was the central panel of a small portable triptych or one half of a diptych.⁶

The history of this painting is known only back to 1965, when it was in the collection of Robert Lehman; at that time it was considered Westphalian and dated in the fifteenth century.⁷ Although the reason for that regional designation is not documented, it was based, perhaps, on perceived resemblances, which are ultimately unconvincing, to Westphalian works such as those of the Master of Iserlohn.⁸ In the latest catalogue of the Metropolitan Museum's Robert Lehman Collection, Martha Wolff noted that the present composition relies in most of its parts on the central panel of Rogier van der Weyden's Columba Altarpiece (Altarpiece of the Three Kings), named after its former location in the church of Sankt Columba, Cologne (fig. 199).⁹ The central position of the Virgin and Child, the pose and costume of Joseph, the two magi on the right, the page in white, the ruin, the position of the manger, the triangular stool supporting a gold vessel, and the central dip in the horizon are all based on the Columba Altarpiece.

To this, as Wolff also pointed out, the anonymous painter added elements from another major mid-fifteenth-century retablo in Cologne, Stefan Lochner's Altarpiece of the Patron Saints of Cologne, originally located in the Ratskapelle, next to the town hall (fig. 200).¹⁰ Now in the Cologne Cathedral (*Dom*), it is commonly referred to as the *Dombild*. The most prominent borrowing from that work is the kneeling magus to the left of Mary, garbed in red. The anonymous painter of the Lehman picture transferred to that figure the sword and shoulder strap worn by the page at the right of Lochner's composition.¹¹ Rogier also used this sword motif from Lochner, hanging it instead from the belt of his standing magus, a figure generally based on Lochner's page.¹² In the underdrawing of the Lehman *Adoration of the Magi* (fig. 201), faint traces of a sword hung from the waist of the standing magus indicate that



Fig. 199. Rogier van der Weyden. *The Adoration of the Magi* (central panel of the Columba Altarpiece), ca. 1455. Oil on oak panel, 54¹⁵/₁₆ × 60³/₁₆ in. (139.5 × 152.9 cm). Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek, Munich (WAF 1189)

the anonymous artist originally considered Rogier's formulation of the motif. Other elements of the Museum's picture traceable to Lochner's *Dombild* are the crown and upright pose of the Virgin, the fact that the two kneeling magi are bearded, and the sword held with

its tip to the ground by the page at the right edge, which mirrors the sword at the left of Lochner's painting.

Other motifs in the painting indicate sources beyond Rogier's Columba Altarpiece and Lochner's *Dombild*. The position of the arms and upper body of the page at the right edge reflect the pose of Saint George in Jan van Eyck's *Virgin of Canon van der Paele*, now in the Groeningemuseum, Bruges.¹³ The grate over the hole at the bottom left appears in more elaborate form in Rogier's Middelburg Altarpiece in the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin.¹⁴ The ox and ass are arranged not as in the Columba Altarpiece but as in Dieric Bouts's Nativity Altarpiece (*The Pearl of Brabant*) in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich, with the ass in front, its head in profile.¹⁵ These additional reflections of Netherlandish models suggest that the artist responsible for the Metropolitan's picture was in possession of a stock of drawn copies of various compositions and motifs from which he selected to create new combinations.¹⁶

The citations from two major altarpieces in Cologne led Wolff to localize the Museum's panel in that city, claiming a stylistic affinity in general to painters active there after 1450 and in particular to the Master of the Vision of Saint John, named after the *Vision of Saint John the Evangelist* now in the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne.¹⁷ On close scrutiny, however, the comparison proves tenuous. The crisp forms of the Master of the Vision of Saint John have little in common with the relatively soft style of the Museum's panel. In fact, a convincing stylistic connection to Cologne in general is lacking, and the similarities to the Columba Altarpiece and the *Dombild* need not be taken as indicative of an origin in Cologne, since many workshops in Germany and the Low Countries are known

Fig. 200. Stefan Lochner. *The Adoration of the Magi* (central panel of *Dombild*), ca. 1445. Oil and gold on oak panel, 7 ft. 9¹/₁₆ in. × 8 ft. 7⁷/₁₆ in. (238 × 263 cm). Cologne Cathedral







Fig. 201. Infrared reflectogram, cat. 56

to have incorporated elements of both of these famous pictures into their repertoires.¹⁸ As the example of Hans Memling shows, the combination in a single picture of motifs from these two altarpieces need not have been limited to a painter residing in Cologne or even Germany.¹⁹

The modest quality of the Lehman *Adoration of the Magi*, which offers only vague criteria for comparison, makes the picture especially difficult to situate. Nevertheless, certain parallels with works in, and associated with, the so-called *Medieval Housebook* (private collection, formerly Collection of the Princes of Waldburg-Wolfegg) suggest a plausible origin in the Middle Rhine region. The *Medieval Housebook* is the name-giving work of the Master of the Housebook, also known as the Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet, who according to scholarly consensus was only one of several (possibly

as many as six) hands responsible for the manuscript's illustrations executed roughly between 1470 and 1490.²⁰ Of particular relevance to the Museum's panel are the *Housebook's* scenes from courtly life, ascribed to a Master of the Genre Scenes of the Housebook (Master of the Tournaments), in which the male figures tend to be of a slender and stilted type very similar to the standing magus and the page at the far right of the painting (fig. 202).²¹ The type derives from that used by the Master of the Housebook/Amsterdam Cabinet and appears, in more elegant form, in the three depictions of the planets (Mars, Sol, and Luna) by his hand in the *Housebook* and in his famed drypoint prints.²² Also, the costumes of the standing magus and the page at the right are of the type found in, and in the milieu of, the *Housebook*: shoes with exaggeratedly elongated pointed toes, tight hose, and a coat that ends in a short skirt with so-called organ-pipe



Fig. 202. Master of the Genre Scenes of the Housebook. *Tournament: Deutsches Stechen*, from *Medieval Housebook*, ca. 1470–90, fols. 20v–21r. Private collection, Germany



Fig. 203. Attributed to the Master of the Genre Scenes of the Housebook. *Three Men in Discussion*. Pen and brown ink on paper, $6\frac{3}{8} \times 4\frac{1}{16}$ in. (16.2 × 10.4 cm). Staatliche Museen zu Berlin–Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett (kdz 4291)

pleats in the back.²³ The page's rounded hat with a narrow brim and feather recurs throughout the *Housebook's* genre scenes and in some of the planet depictions. Furthermore, the underdrawing of the Museum's panel finds certain analogues in works emanating from the artistic circle of the *Housebook*. The use of widely spaced parallel hatching (legs of the page at the right) alongside quick zigzag hatching (lower leg of Joseph, back of the kneeling magus on the right) can be found on two sheets attributed to the Master of the Genre Scenes of the Housebook: *Three Men in Discussion* (fig. 203) and the double-sided *Maximilian at the Peace Banquet in Bruges* and *Maximilian at the Peace Mass in Bruges*, both in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin.²⁴

While these comparisons of figure type, costume, and graphic style remain tentative, they do suggest an artist perhaps associated

with the Master of the Genre Scenes of the Housebook and possibly familiar with the work of the Master of the Housebook. Furthermore, knowledge of the *Housebook* illustrations and its striking astrological depictions, possibly through a workshop association, could help to explain the apparent zodiacal and celestial phenomena painted in red in the sky of the Lehman picture. Although comparison is limited by the present work's diminutive size, the paint handling and the fairly generic facial types have little in common with paintings attributed to the Master of the Housebook.²⁵ With this in mind, a tentative Middle Rhenish attribution seems most appropriate, with a dating of about 1470 to 1490 in accord with the costume and figure types found among artists associated with the *Medieval Housebook*. J P W

UNKNOWN PAINTER

Nuremberg, active ca. 1360

57. *The Bishop of Assisi, Accompanied by Saint Francis, Handing a Palm to Saint Clare*

Ca. 1360

Oil, gold, and silver on oak panel

Overall $13\frac{3}{16} \times 8\frac{1}{16} \times \frac{5}{8}$ in. ($33.5 \times 22.1 \times 1.59$ cm)

Inscriptions (on open book): *eto / m[n]es / fid / eles* (and all the faithful)

Heraldry / emblems: none

Marks on verso: none

Frame: not framed

The Cloisters Collection, 1984 1984.343

PROVENANCE: Robert von Hirsch, Frankfurt and Basel (before 1931–78; Sotheby's, London, June 21, 1978, no. 117); [Agnew, London; sold to MMA]

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: The support is a single piece of oak from southern Germany with the grain oriented vertically. Dendrochronological analysis indicated an earliest possible fabrication date of 1325 for the painting.¹ The panel was thinned to 1.59 centimeters and cradled before it entered the Museum's collection. The cradle was removed, cracks were repaired with wedges, and two curved supporting battens were attached. The panel displays an overall transverse convex warp. On the verso the remains of three embedded wooden dowels perpendicular to the panel edge on the lower left and stains from iron nails may be evidence of an early attachment. The top and side edges are original, but the bottom edge has been trimmed. X-radiography revealed a piece of plain-weave fabric glued to the panel beneath a thin off-white ground.

The burnished gold ground is characteristic of water gilding applied over a red-brown bole. A .6-centimeter-wide strip of dark red paint extends along the top of the panel, separated from the tooled border by an incised line. The lateral edges are covered with what appears to be the same dark red paint. Six different tools were employed to create the intricate punchwork in the background and on the clothing: a small circular punch .29 centimeter in diameter; two spheres, .05 and .1 centimeter in diameter; a four-lobed punch .2 centimeter wide; a six-pointed star punch .8 centimeter in diameter; and a punch with a rosette formed by six identical circles surrounding one central circle of the same size, a composite form known as a "hexacircle." A single punch was used to create the freehand tree design and the contours around the figures. Red and green glazes model the bishop of Assisi's gilded cope and collar. A diamond-shaped motif enhanced with red and blue-green paint embellishes Saint Clare's robe, which was created from a laminate metal leaf called *Zwischgold*; with magnification, the lower layer of silver and the upper layer of gold are visible. Unlike the halos of the bishop and Saint Clare, Saint Francis's halo was added over the existing punchwork; however, its appearance under magnification suggests that the addition was made at the same time or shortly after the work was created.

This picture, an early example of painting in oil, is very well preserved.² There are small flake losses in the red glazes where the latter are painted over gold leaf. Losses also occurred in the support and paint along the lower edge, and there is a minor loss on Saint Clare's cheek and several others on the white altar cloth. Infrared reflectography revealed underdrawing of the contours of the figures, their facial features, and their hands—all done confidently with a brush and a liquid medium.³

Standing behind an altar a bishop, wearing a white miter with gold-embroidered trim and a chasuble of deep red, spangled with gold stars, hands a palm bough to a young crowned woman. Wearing a red and gold surcoat edged with ermine over a green gown decorated with an overall pattern of red and gold lozenges, she reaches out to receive the palm. To the bishop's right, Saint Francis, identifiable by the stigmata on his hands, the tonsure, and the brown, cordoned habit, points to a pair of large shears grasped in his left hand. On the stone altar, covered with a white cloth with a red and green fringe, stands a large rectilinear gold ciborium (sometimes misidentified as a chalice) and an open book. The figures, all nimbed, are set against a gold ground punched with a fanciful foliate pattern of treelike forms terminating in feathery sprays. A rosette-patterned border frames the whole.⁴

This panel belongs to a group of altarpiece fragments with scenes devoted to the life of Saint Clare. They rank among the earliest German panel paintings preserved. The other panels show *The Death and Coronation of Saint Clare*, *Pope Innocent IV Confirming the Rule of the Order of Poor Clares*, and *Christ Appearing in a Ciborium to Saint Clare and Saint Francis*; all are in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg.⁵ To these may be added *Hortolana, Mother of Saint Clare*, *Kneeling before Christ*, and *Saint Clare Awakening the Dead* and (on the verso) *The Christ Child Shows Saint Clare His Manger*; both are in the Historisches Museum Bamberg.⁶ The six panels are now thought to belong to two or more dismembered altarpieces or baldachin shrines, all produced in the same workshop.⁷ The origin of the present panel or its original location is not known, but more than likely it can be associated with the Order of Poor Clares in Nuremberg. The possibility, however, that it was commissioned by the Bamberg branch of the order, which was augmented by eight nuns from Nuremberg upon its founding in 1342, cannot be precluded.⁸

Saint Clare was born of noble parents in 1194. As a young woman she heard Saint Francis deliver the Lenten sermon at the Church of San Giorgio in Assisi and, moved by his pious words, was inspired to live a life devoted to Christ. The present image illustrates an event in the early life of Saint Clare that occurred on Palm Sunday, 1212. The seventeen-year-old young woman, at the probable instigation of Saint Francis, was singled out by the bishop and handed a palm bough. This symbolic gesture heralded Clare's spiritual elevation, for shortly thereafter she fled her home to join the community of Saint Francis in Assisi. In the chapel there, she doffed the extravagant clothes she wears here in favor of penitential habit, preparing for a devout cloistered life. In a further gesture of humility, her long hair was shorn, as intimated by the shears Saint Francis holds, thus readying her to be received into the Franciscan Order. Eventually Saint Francis authorized Clare to establish her own order—the Order of Poor Clares—a closed female community of avowed poverty. The



crown worn here by Clare alludes not only to her noble birth but also to her heavenly coronation after death in parallel with the Coronation of the Virgin. In scholastic theology all saints were awarded a halo (*aurea*), but an additional higher distinction, a small golden crown (*aureola*), was conferred upon virgins, who were considered a particularly meritorious class of saints.⁹ In his *Vita Santa Clarae*, Thomas of Celano relates that just before Clare died a retinue of virgins, all with golden crowns, entered her cell to provide aid and comfort. At her death, angels placed the crown on the head of Saint Clare's departing soul, and in heaven she was formally crowned by Christ and the Virgin. These events are represented more or less literally in the Nuremberg panel on that subject. Likewise, as a palm bough was brought to the Virgin to signal the end of her life on earth, so the palm bough shown in the Museum's panel marked the end of Clare's worldly existence as she had known it.

The ciborium, as the container of the Eucharist, references not only the divine sacrament to which Clare was especially devoted

but also a dramatic event in her legend recounted in the *Vita* of Thomas of Celano. Saint Francis had relocated Clare and her companions in a convent building attached to the Church of San Damiano outside Assisi and appointed her abbess. In 1244 the armies of Emperor Friedrich II invaded the countryside and a party of his soldiers attempted to scale the walls. Though very ill, Clare stood at her window holding up a ciborium, and at the dazzling sight, the soldiers recoiled and took flight. According to the *Vita* the voice of the Christ Child came forth from the ciborium promising to protect the nuns. In another scene from this group of related panels, Clare has a vision of the Christ Child standing in a ciborium placed upon an altar and hears his voice. In a variant scene in the *Vita*, the Christ Child shows Clare, as she lies ill in her cell, a vision of his manger.

The *Vita Santa Clarae*, which was translated into German and disseminated in both prose and verse forms, became the ultimate source for the iconography of medieval cycles devoted to the saint. A monumental panel painting in the Church of Santa Chiara in Assisi executed by an Umbrian painter in the second half of the thirteenth century, only a few decades after the death of the saint (1253) and her canonization (1255), drawing on events recounted in Celano's *Vita*, established an iconographic tradition.¹⁰ The dismembered altarpiece under discussion here followed this tradition, and the scenes represented, including that of the present panel, appear in the Santa Chiara frescoes.

The crisply silhouetted and outlined figures, pronouncedly set off against the tooled gold ground, the simplistic renderings of forms, and the emphatic gestures provide the imagery with both narrative clarity and charm. As facial features are largely generalized, rich and distinctive patterns of garments and boldly delineated attributes identify individual figures. Pointing in particular to a contemporaneous manuscript now in Dresden devoted to Saint Clare, Betty Kurth concluded that the painter of the group of panels to which the present one belongs was influenced primarily by illuminated manuscripts.¹¹ Subsequently Eberhard Lutze drew attention to the close stylistic affinities between the present group of panels and two large marginal illuminations of Saint Francis and Saint Clare in a document of 1362 from the Nuremberg Convent of Poor Clares (fig. 204).¹² The figures of the saints in the document are stylistically so close to those of the present panel, particularly in the delineation of the oval eyes, arched eyebrows, pursed lips, and rosy red cheeks, that they are assuredly by the same hand.¹³ Whether any of these works were the creations, in part or in their entirety, of one or more nuns within the Convent of Poor Clares or the commissioned products of an independent workshop in Nuremberg is a matter of debate.¹⁴ While the two marginal illuminations offer the most compelling stylistic link between the Saint Clare panels and Nuremberg, others in both manuscript painting and stained glass further strengthen the attribution. For the Poor Clares of Nuremberg, this altarpiece was the focus of intense and apparently overzealous devotion, such that in the early fifteenth century their practices became the object of stringent reform.¹⁵

TBH



Fig. 204. *Saint Clare and Saint Francis*. Marginal illuminations, document dated August 28, 1362. Klarenkloster (Convent of Poor Clares), Nuremberg. Staatsarchiv, Nuremberg (1118)

UNKNOWN PAINTER

Nuremberg, active late 15th century

58. *Portrait of a Man*

1491

Oil on linden panel

Overall $18\frac{1}{8} \times 12\frac{1}{16} \times \frac{1}{4}$ in. ($46 \times 31.6 \times .64$ cm); painted surface $14\frac{5}{8} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$ in. (37.1×19.7 cm)

Dated and inscribed (at top): $\cdot 1 \cdot 4 \cdot 9 \cdot 1 \cdot / H.H.$

Heraldry/emblems: none

Marks on verso: now-lost label attached to cradle, reading, *Geparqueteerd door B.v. Bommel / Weesperzijde 69 Watergraafsmeer / 1917*;¹ on verso itself, red-wax seal obscured by wax coating

Frame: not original

Fletcher Fund, 1923 23.255

PROVENANCE: Federico Frizzoni, Villa Frizzoni, Bellagio (by 1862—at least 1872); Leonardus Nardus, Suresnes; Onnes van Nijenrode, Nijenrode Castle, Breukelen (sale, Frederik Müller, Amsterdam, July 10, 1923, no. 13, to Kleinberger); [Kleinberger, New York, 1923; sold to MMA]

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: The panel support is made of three boards of linden, with the grain oriented vertically.² On the reverse there are routed tracks 1 centimeter wide along the top and bottom. The panel has been cradled. In 1936 the panel and cradle were thickly coated with wax.³

Unpainted borders and a *barbe* around the perimeter indicate that the panel was in an engaged frame when the white ground preparation was applied. Vertical inscribed lines appear at the left along the perimeter of the painted area in the landscape, at the middle right along the perimeter, and along the bottom beneath the left hand. The preparatory layer, applied with large, sweeping brushstrokes, is visible along the top of the panel in raking light as broad horizontal strokes passing underneath the brown, cream, and blue passages. Along the entire perimeter, just outside the *barbe*, there is an opaque orange-red paint that extends slightly below the painted design. This paint contains minium and lead white.⁴ The color may be a fragment of the original decoration of the frame, and the location confirms that it was applied before the portrait was painted. Diagonal gouges in all four corners that extend into the paint film may be damage inflicted when the original frame was removed.

In the inscription, the paint used for the date has a different consistency and a slightly more yellow color than that used for the initials, which are likely a later addition.

Infrared reflectography⁵ revealed minimal underdrawing marked by an irregular line that suggests the use of a brush. The underdrawing includes the contour of the face, placed slightly to the left of the painted contour; outlines of the hands; and horizontal striations describing the decoration of the shirt that differ significantly in position from the painted lines.

The thinly applied paint has been abraded and extensively restored, particularly in the modeling and shadows of the flesh. Natural aging has contributed to an increased transparency of the paint film, which is most apparent in the shirt, where the underdrawing is now visible. The flesh and the areas painted with brown have also become more transparent.

In the view out the window, the ripples in the reflections of the buildings in the water were created by dragging a brush horizontally through the wet paint.

Like the *Virgin and Child* from the workshop or circle of Hans Traut (cat. 53), this portrait of a man ultimately derives from a composition developed by an early Netherlandish master, namely

Dieric Bouts in his 1462 *Portrait of a Man* (fig. 205).⁶ The formula initially circulated through drawings and painted versions in Middle Rhenish and Cologne School workshops before being adopted in the 1470s in the Upper Rhine region. Seen in a half-length pose and three-quarter profile, the sitter is simply dressed as a middle-class burgher in the style of the late fifteenth century.⁷ Over his curly brown shoulder-length hair, he sports a brown woolen hat with a large tassel hanging down at the side. He wears a white linen shirt beneath an open brown jerkin that is topped by a brown coat lined in black fleece and fastened at the neckline with multiple cords anchored by tiny buttons on his left shoulder. Although fingering his rosary beads, his attention is diverted toward the viewer, whom he directly addresses with a sidelong glance of his intense hazel eyes. The identity of the man is unknown, but he appears again in a copy of this painting, probably from the early sixteenth century, with a neutral background and lacking the inscription and the sitter's hands, that sold at auction in 1930.⁸

Dated 1491, this painting represents an advance in the development of contemporary portraiture in southern Germany, as seen, for instance, in Michael Wolgemut's *Levinus Memminger* of around 1485 (Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid). Max Henkel pointed out, and Max J. Friedländer concurred, that the Museum's portrait is impressive for its "lack of gothic rigidity and timidity" at such an early date.⁹ As such, it even anticipates Albrecht Dürer, whose self-portraits of 1493 and 1498 (Musée du Louvre, Paris, and Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid) popularized the new mode of showing a casually posed figure with self-assured demeanor who turns his attention to gaze toward the viewer.¹⁰

The letters *H.H.* at the top of the painting are probably a later addition (see technical notes above) and may have been added in the early sixteenth century to suggest an attribution to Hans Holbein the Elder.¹¹ Previous scholarship has rightly located the portrait in southern Germany, among painters from the Middle or Upper Rhine or Franconia.¹² As early as 1924, just after the painting was acquired by the Museum, Harry Wehle suggested a connection to Nuremberg and proposed as the artist the one responsible for the "four best scenes" of the 1487 Peringsdörffer Altarpiece, now called the Augustinian Altarpiece (Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg).¹³ This altarpiece is now considered to have been mainly the work of Hans Traut.¹⁴ But while the strongly individualized heads in some of its panels bear a general similarity to the sitter's head in the Metropolitan's portrait, Peter Strieder's more in-depth study of the altarpiece in 1993 has revealed characteristics that do not match those of our master.¹⁵

Further connecting the present work to Nuremberg is its close relationship in style and execution to the *Portrait of a Young Man* (formerly *Friedrich the Wise of Saxony*), painted around 1490 by a master in that city (fig. 206).¹⁶ Both figures are placed in the corner of a room beside a double-framed window with a view to a



Fig. 205. Dieric Bouts. *Portrait of a Man, Jan van Winckele(?)*, 1462. Oil with egg tempera on oak panel, $12\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{8}$ in. (31.8 \times 20.6 cm). The National Gallery, London, Wynn Ellis Bequest, 1876 (NG943)



Fig. 206. Nuremberg Master. *Portrait of a Young Man*, ca. 1490. Oil on linden panel, $20\frac{3}{8} \times 15\frac{1}{8}$ in. (51.8 \times 38.5 cm). Städelsches Kunstinstitut und Städtische Galerie, Frankfurt (2128)

river with bordering fortresses.¹⁷ Renewed attention to German portraiture through recent exhibitions and collection catalogues has more clearly defined the Nuremberg masters. Among them is Jakob Elsner, a painter and illuminator who began his training in the Upper Rhine, near Konstanz, and settled in Nuremberg, apparently establishing his reputation as a portrait painter by 1490. Ulrich Merkl has attributed some seventeen portraits to Elsner,¹⁸ who seems to have been one of the most important and successful predecessors of Dürer in this genre. Not all the examples listed by Merkl appear to be by the same hand, and further study is required to establish a more cohesive group. However, the *Posthumous Portrait of Kanzler Heinrich Schilther* of around 1495 (fig. 207) bears a close resemblance to our portrait—most specifically in the treatment of the boldly articulated physiognomy.¹⁹ In each of these rather broadly painted portraits, there is an application of unblended highlights near the eye at the left, at the tip of the nose, and outlining the lips. The eyes have prominent, wide lower lids, the chin is modeled with broad strokes of light and dark paint, and the neck shows strong tonal contrasts. Although Elsner is a plausible attribution for the Museum's portrait, further study is necessary to confirm this suggestion. In the meantime, an attribution to a Nuremberg painter is the most reliable.

MWA



Fig. 207. Attributed to Jakob Elsner. *Posthumous Portrait of Kanzler Heinrich Schilther*, ca. 1495. Tempera on pine panel, $11\frac{5}{8} \times 4$ in. (29.5 \times 10.2 cm). Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der Bildenden Künste, Vienna, Bequest of Count Lamberg, 1822 (GG 571)



UNKNOWN PAINTER AND SCULPTOR

Swabia, Algäu region, ca. 1490

59. House Altarpiece

Ca. 1490

Oil and gold on linden panel; metal fixtures

Overall (open) $13\frac{3}{16} \times 11\frac{7}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{16}$ in. (33.5 × 30.2 × 7.5 cm)

Inscriptions: none

Heraldry / emblems: none

Marks on verso: none

Frame: framing elements original

The Cloisters Collection, 1991 1991.10

PROVENANCE: Rudolf Braun (until 1836); Peter Vischer-Sarasin, Schloss Wildenstein, near Bubendorf, Switzerland; Peter Vischer-Passavant (1779–1851), Schloss Wildenstein; by descent to Peter Vischer-Milner-Gibson, Schloss Wildenstein (until 1989); [Christie's, London, July 6, 1990, no. 14]; [Albrecht Neuhaus Kunsthandlung, Würzburg, by 1991; sold to MMA]

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: The wings of this household shrine are linden panels with a vertically oriented grain.¹ They are prepared on both sides with a white ground and they have engaged frames. On the interior there seems to be a selectively applied white priming beneath the painted figures of Saint Catherine (left wing) and Saint Barbara (right wing). The burnished gold background, fabricated by means of the water-gilding technique, was applied over an orange bole. The somewhat muted purple hue of Saint Barbara's dress, painted with a mixture of red and blue, may be due to the fading of a light-sensitive red-lake pigment. The dull brownish green appearance of her mantle may have been caused by the oxidation of glazes containing a copper-green pigment. On the exterior wings the figures of Saint Ursula (left) and Saint Dorothy (right) seem to have been painted directly on the white ground. The blue backgrounds appear almost black: a paint containing azurite may have darkened, causing the discoloration. There are large losses in the background behind Saint Dorothy, to her right and above her head. The dull brownish green appearance of her dress may be attributable to the degradation of a copper-containing green glaze. The painting of Veronica's kerchief on the base of the shrine is in fairly good condition, but there is a horizontal loss through the proper left side of Christ's face. Here, too, the blue background has darkened and there are numerous flake losses. All things considered, however, the paintings on the shrine are very well preserved. The warm, somewhat patchy patina remaining on the surfaces is evidence that they have never been subjected to harsh cleaning.

Infrared photography revealed that the figures of Saint Ursula and Saint Dorothy were underdrawn using a fluid carbon-containing material.² Fine lines indicate the facial features, hair, and drapery folds. The lines of hatching in the shadows of the folds have a looped end, characteristic of pen and ink. No underdrawing was apparent beneath the figures of Saint Catherine and Saint Barbara.

The paint layers on the sculptures in the central shrine are in excellent condition, although the flesh tones of Saint Anne with the Virgin and the Christ Child in her arms and of the donors at her feet are marred with streaks of brown, and the paint containing azurite has darkened. The bole beneath the gold on Saint Anne's mantle is slightly brighter and redder than the one used beneath the shrine's burnished gold background, which is brown in tone. Both areas are water-gilded. The foliate pattern on the background was produced by engraving the ground, applying first the bole and then the gold, and finally burnishing the high areas of the surface, leaving the hollows matte. Gold leaf covered by a brilliant red glaze enhances the lining of the robe worn by the kneeling male donor. The lining of Saint Anne's mantle is painted with a green glaze.

This small house altarpiece (*Hausaltärchen*) consists of a predella, a central shrine, and a superstructure. The nonfigurative surfaces are all painted a deep dull red. Depicted on the predella is Veronica's kerchief, or *sudarium*, with which she wiped the face of Christ as he carried the Cross, whereupon the cloth miraculously took on the image of his face.

The shrine is flanked by two painted wings on metal hinges. When they are closed, Saint Ursula is seen on the left, holding arrows, her attribute, and wearing a white mantle over a red dress. On the right is Saint Dorothy, holding her attribute, a basket with the flowers of paradise, and wearing a red mantle over a green dress. Both appear against a dark blue ground, now much darkened. On the inner left wing is Saint Catherine, holding her attributes, a sword and a book, dressed in a blue—now darkened—gown with a red mantle, and on the right is Saint Barbara, holding her attribute, a chalice with the Eucharist, and wearing a purple dress—now faded—and a green mantle; both saints stand out against a gold ground surmounted by carved and gilded openwork relief.

Within the central shrine are sculptures in nearly full relief representing Saint Anne holding the diminutive Virgin in her left arm and in her right the naked Christ Child grasping an apple; the figure group is set against a gold ground tooled in cusped and foliated patterns. Flanking the holy group on the left is a kneeling female figure and on the right a kneeling male figure; the linings of their gold mantles are rendered in blue and red glazes, respectively, and are remarkably well preserved. Anne wears a white headcloth and a gold mantle with a broad sweeping fold cushioning her progeny that then descends below her knees. The upper opening of the shrine was fitted with a gilded screen of vegetal tracery, or *Astwerk*, all but remnants of which have broken away.

The superstructure is formed by a simple concave-sloped roof surmounted by a vertical band of *Astwerk* that has been almost completely lost. The back of the shrine is painted with a *faux-marbre* pattern. The simple hinges and latch appear to be original.

Of great rarity and appeal, this private devotional shrine replicates in miniature the soaring Gothic carved altarpiece that especially flourished across southern Germany and the Tirol in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The small scale and iconographic idiosyncrasies indicate that it was a private commission, allowing the owner to bring the awe-inspiring altarpiece of the church to the domestic setting. Although somewhat larger and later, another rare survivor of this type of house altar, of a very similar form to the present one, is preserved in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg (fig. 208).³

That the commissioner of the Museum's example was a woman is indicated by the absence of male saints and by the unorthodox placement of the female figure to the proper right of the holy group





59, closed

rather than the male figure, presumably her husband. The fact that he wears a hair shirt suggests that he was a member of a lay penitent order. Alternatively, both could have been members of a lay confraternity devoted to the cult of Saint Anne. The somewhat unconventional, but by no means unprecedented, attributes of the saints on the inner wings also suggest the personal intervention of the owner. Saint Catherine is normally depicted with a wheel, but here she holds a book along with the sword. Saint Catherine was, in fact, considered a rhetorician and scholar of exceptional abilities. Apparently the commissioner preferred to emphasize this

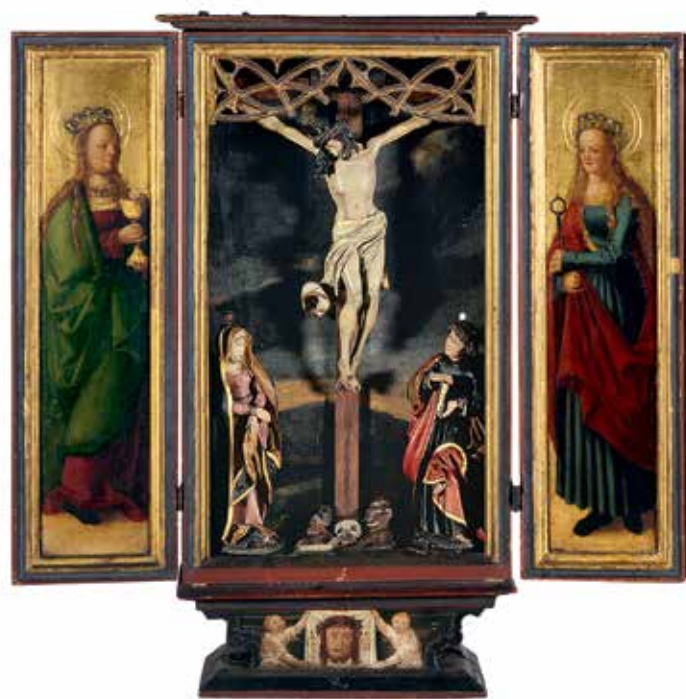


Fig. 208. Unknown artists, Nuremberg. House Altarpiece, ca. 1510–15. Shrine: *The Crucifixion*. Left wing, *Saint Barbara*; right wing, *Saint Apollonia*. Oil and gold on linden (wings and sculpture) and pine (shrine). Overall (open) 26 × 25⁹/₁₆ in. (66 × 64.9 cm). Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg (1875 GNM)

aspect of the saint rather than the gruesome means of her demise. Saint Barbara, likewise, is depicted with a chalice and the Eucharist rather than the tower in which her father locked her.⁴ In this case the commissioner apparently favored underscoring the saint's association with the redemptive value of the Eucharist rather than making reference to her earthly life. This would certainly be in keeping with the tenets of the saint's burgeoning cult and reflects the profound importance of the Eucharist in the devotional practice of the later fifteenth century. The fact that Saint Anne holds one of her progeny in each arm rather than both in one, as is the convention for the standing saint, is more difficult to account for; it may be a regional variation of the seated type with Anne supporting a figure in each hand, which flourished particularly in southern Germany.⁵ Additionally, the inclusion of donor or commissioner figures with the holy group is unusual.

In the latter part of the fifteenth century in Germany and the Netherlands, the cult of Saint Anne expanded exponentially, in large part because greater powers had been newly attributed to her. As the mother of Mary and the grandmother of Jesus, Anne was seen as the progenitor of the Redeemer of humankind, and this generative relationship, in its new interpretation, placed Anne in a powerful position to intercede on behalf of the devout in achieving salvation. The concept was expressed visually by the figure of Anne with a diminutive Mary and the Christ Child. Anne can be seated (*Anna Nikopoia*) with her progeny on one knee superimposed or one on

each knee. Or Anne can be standing (*Anna Hodegetria*) with her progeny in one arm superimposed or one in each arm. In the present work the holy group follows the latter and least common formula. However arranged, the holy group is known in German iconography as the *Anna Selbdritt* (Anne three-in-one). While the doctrine of Immaculate Conception was not explicitly associated with Anne as it was with Mary, numerous late fifteenth-century texts suggest this. In a broader sense, Saint Anne was viewed as a model of female sexual and social restraint, and, as such, she was particularly venerated in the newly burgeoning urban centers. The rapid spread of the cult of Anne, supported by the sudden publication of texts and prayers and the establishment of lay fraternities and relic shrines, is evidenced by the numbers of these images that appeared in the last quarter of the fifteenth century.⁶

The style of the painted figures generally can be localized in the Algäu-Bodensee region of Swabia, which extended roughly from

Augsburg to Konstanz. Characteristic of this regional style are elongated figures with small heads, weak chins, and thick necks; faces with high foreheads and intense eyes; and drapery that falls in long tubular folds interrupted by occasional unrealistically crumpled passages. The attenuated bodies, the facial types, and the long, parted tresses of the present figures can be associated, more specifically, with the Strigel workshop, particularly the painters Hans Strigel the Younger and, perhaps, the young Bernhard, although the simplified, plausible drapery patterns and the restrained figural style reflect the influence of Hans Holbein the Elder. While the figure of Saint Anne is stylistically similar, and bears comparison to the work of Ivo Strigel (1430–1516), the proportions are more balanced and the drapery more conventionally arranged. The Strigel Altarpiece in the Chapel of Saint George at Obersaxen, near Chur, though of much larger scale, suggests the artistic milieu from which the present *Altärchen* sprang.

TBH

UNKNOWN PAINTER

Northern Switzerland, active late 15th and early 16th century

60A. *Saint Agapitus of Praeneste in the Arena* (exterior); *The Beheading of Saint Agapitus of Praeneste* (interior)

60B. *Saint Remigius Replenishing the Barrel of Wine* (exterior); *Saint Remigius and the Burning Wheat* (interior)

Ca. 1500–1505

Oil, gold, and white metal on wood panel

Overall, each panel approx. $54\frac{1}{4} \times 30\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{1}{2}$ in. (137.8 × 77.5 × 1.27 cm), including modern frames $58\frac{1}{2} \times 34\frac{7}{8}$ in. (148.7 × 88.5 cm)

Inscriptions: none

Heraldry/emblems: none

Marks on verso (60A): at bottom, 87

Frames: not original

Purchase, 1871 71.33ab, 71.40ab

PROVENANCE: ?by descent to Martin Comte Cornet de Ways Ruart, Brussels (until d. 1870); [Étienne Le Roy, Brussels, until 1870; sold, through Léon Gauchez, Paris, to Blodgett]; William T. Blodgett, Paris and New York (1870–71; sold half share to Johnston); William T. Blodgett, New York, and John Taylor Johnston, New York (1871; sold to MMA)¹

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: The supports of these double-sided paintings are each composed of three boards with the grain oriented vertically.² When viewed from the exterior sides, both panels exhibit a slight compound

convex lateral warp. The modern engaged frames prevented examination of the perimeters. Three X-radiograph details—one of 60A and two of 60B—revealed fabric attached to one side of each panel below the ground preparation in the examined locations.

The sky in all of the paintings is decorated with elaborately tooled and burnished water gilding applied over an orange bole. The pattern was scored into the ground preparation before the gilding was carried out. The gilding on the halos is damaged and restored. The sword blade in *The Beheading of Saint Agapitus* is gilded with a white metal leaf, the hilt with gold. The low-relief pattern on the robe of the emperor in the beheading scene is a gilded and glazed wax appliqué.

The scenes are skillfully painted in a graphic style with fluid brushstrokes. In portions of the clothing, directional brushwork reinforces volume and folds, while distinctive hooked “overdrawn” lines accent folds in the fabric.³ The faces of the saints were painted in a manner different from that used to paint the faces of those witnessing the miracles and the martyrdom. The latter are painted in an idiosyncratic fashion, wet in wet, using few brushstrokes to describe features. By juxtaposing brushstrokes of pale flesh color with ones that are opaque red, brown, and pale yellow, volume and shading were created; then the faces were finished with brown, black, and red contour lines. The faces of the saints are painted in a more restrained manner, with softer blending and subtler brushwork.

In general the paintings are in good condition; most of the restoration is confined to discrete losses throughout and to abrasions in the gilding. The lower half of *Saint Agapitus of Praeneste in the Arena* is considerably restored. Much of the figure of the seated saint and many passages of the foreground, landscape, and animals are masked with broad restoration and toning. Damage in the background of *Saint Remigius and the Burning Wheat*, now restored, appears to have been caused by a small flame.

When the surface was viewed with the stereomicroscope, a white ground preparation and a white priming were visible. Infrared photography



60A, exterior



60A, interior



60b, exterior



60B, interior

documented the presence of underdrawing in a liquid black material applied with a brush.⁴ The underdrawing in all four paintings consists of basic contours, with hook-ended lines for folds in the drapery and long hatch marks for shadows. The face on the decapitated head in *The Beheading of Saint Agapitus* and the face of the saint in both Remigius paintings were carefully drawn, with hatching for shadows, but in the other figures only cursory marks such as circles and short curves indicate the placement of facial features. Minor changes, primarily related to adjustments in perspective, were found between the underdrawing and the painting in all four pictures.

These two large panels, decorated on both sides, must originally have formed the folding wings of an altarpiece. One depicts scenes from the life of Saint Agapitus of Praeneste and the other from that of Saint Remigius (Remi), bishop of Rheims (d. 533).

The first side of the Agapitus panel shows the saint seated in a walled enclosure, surrounded by lions and bears.⁵ His persecutors observe from the balcony at the upper right. According to legend, Agapitus, a youth of fifteen, was martyred at Praeneste (modern-day Palestrina) under Emperor Aurelian (r. 270–75). Thrown to lions as punishment for not renouncing his Christian faith, Agapitus was spared by the beasts. The bears on the Museum's panel are not mentioned in the hagiography.

The saint's beheading outside the walls of Praeneste appears on the other side of the panel. Wearing the same red, fur-lined cloak as in the previous scene, but with the hat now fallen off the severed head, Agapitus's body topples forward from a kneeling position, hands still joined in prayer. The executioner, wearing the striped, tight garb typical of contemporary depictions of that occupation,⁶ brandishes a sword smeared with the saint's blood. At the left, a crowned, bearded man, probably meant to be Aurelian, stands before his retinue, his tilted scepter signifying the order to kill.

On the other panel, the first scene from the life of Saint Remigius depicts an episode in which he caused a matron's empty barrel of wine to overflow by blessing it with the sign of the cross.⁷ That the cask indeed spills over is indicated by the dark streaks issuing from the bunghole at the top.

The scene on the other side is a later event from Remigius's legend. Foreseeing a poor harvest, he filled a barn with a store of wheat, only to discover later that a group of drunken peasants set fire to the provisions.⁸ The peasants' misdeed is shown in the background, where two figures wielding torches and another holding aloft a drink approach a well-stocked barn.⁹ In the foreground, Remigius stands before a heap of burning wheat and is jeered by two boors. His advancing age is indicated by more deeply etched features than in the earlier scene. The *Golden Legend* recounts that he warmed himself at the fire because he felt "the cold of age,"¹⁰ and, appropriately, he is shown with hands raised to the flames. To the peasants he proclaimed, "Fire is always good; but those who set this fire, and their posterity, will suffer from it, the men from rupture and the women from goiter!"¹¹ The boy and girl at the saint's feet are the cursed progeny to which he referred. The boy's shirt is open to reveal his belly, in allusion to hernia (rupture), and the girl's neck,

although it looks normal in its current overpainted state, originally displayed a large goiter, whose shape is clearly visible in the infrared photograph (fig. 209).

The appearance together of Saint Remigius and Saint Agapitus allows a general determination of the patronage of the lost altarpiece to which these panels belonged. The relics of Remigius were conserved at the basilica of Saint-Remi in Rheims, and its abbey (defunct since the French Revolution) was a major Benedictine foundation. The main relics of Agapitus are held at the great Benedictine abbey of Kremsmünster, Austria, having been transferred there probably by the end of the ninth century,¹² and Agapitus is that monastery's patron saint. Given the association of both saints with important Benedictine houses, it is plausible that the former altarpiece was commissioned for a Benedictine monastery church.

That the Museum's panels are gilded on both sides suggests that they were not the only set of wings on the former altarpiece. The aesthetic and liturgical inner hierarchy of winged retables required that they progress toward greater lavishness in the movement from exterior to interior. A display of gilding equally sumptuous in the fully closed and open states, as would be the case were the Museum's



Fig. 209. Infrared photograph, detail of girl, cat. 60B (interior)

panels the sole wings, would have been unusual. Thus our lost retable probably had yet another, outermost pair of folding wings without exterior gilding, which equipped the altarpiece for two openings. Fully closed, it might have displayed paintings of standing saints, as is common for exteriors. The first opening would have revealed four painted narrative scenes, all united by a shimmering gold sky: from left to right, an earlier scene from Agapitus's martyrdom, the extant *Agapitus in the Arena*, the extant *Remigius Replenishing the Barrel of Wine*, and then a subsequent Remigius scene. In the altarpiece's second opening, the *Beheading of Agapitus* and *Remigius and the Burning Wheat* would have flanked the lost center, which might have consisted of a sculptural shrine.¹³ This more elaborate configuration has the further advantage of filling in the somewhat abbreviated extant narrative program.

When the Metropolitan acquired the Agapitus and Remigius panels in 1871, they were attributed to Jacob Walen, a fictitious personality purported to have been the teacher of Michael Wolgemut.¹⁴ The Museum later considered the paintings Austrian, a designation accepted by Charles Kuhn in 1936.¹⁵ Then in 1947—based on the opinions of Otto Fischer, Paul Ganz, and Otto Benesch—Harry Wehle and Margaretta Salinger published the panels as late fifteenth-century Swiss, relating them to works by Hans Fries, Hans Leu the Elder, and the Carnation Master (Nelkenmeister) group.¹⁶ Alfred Stange dated them instead to the early sixteenth century and assigned them to a group he assembled around what he called the Master of the Legend of the True Cross (Meister der Kreuzlegende), ostensibly active in Zürich.¹⁷ Bernd Konrad rightly recognized the pronounced stylistic heterogeneity of the True Cross group and dismantled it, connecting our panels instead to works associated with Bern about 1500, namely, four small scenes from the lives of the emperors Trajan, Frederick II, and an unidentified emperor, and the wings of an All Souls Altarpiece of 1505 (all Kunstmuseum Bern).¹⁸ To this Bern group, Konrad later added panels from an altarpiece of Saint Fridolin of Säckingen (private collections), which display striking similarities to the paintings in New York.¹⁹

Indeed, the Fridolin scenes, four in all,²⁰ are so close to the Metropolitan's that they are surely by the same workshop. *Saint Fridolin and Urso Appearing in Court* (fig. 210) offers several points of correspondence: the comparable palette, the similar hand shapes, the frequently overlong arms, the tendency to extend the brow across the temple with a prominent shadow, and the drapery creases that branch off one another and terminate in gentle curves. The face of the figure at the far left of the *Beheading of Saint Agapitus* nearly matches that of the standing figure (Landolf) at the center of the court scene, except in reverse, suggesting that the same workshop pattern was used for both. Moreover, the brocade pattern of the gold background appears to correspond exactly. In the two scenes



Fig. 210. Unknown painter, northern Switzerland. *Saint Fridolin and Urso Appearing in Court*, probably 1503. Oil and gold on panel, 27 $\frac{3}{16}$ × 32 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (69 × 82.5 cm). Private collection

showing Fridolin in a landscape, the types of rock formations and fanlike depiction of leaves are the same as those found on the Museum's panels.²¹ The Fridolin cycle's likely date of 1503 (inscribed on the lectern in the court scene but hard to read)²² is good reason to date the Metropolitan's pictures about 1500–1505.

The very subject matter of the Fridolin panels is evidence for the workshop's location in northern Switzerland, since the saint is historically associated with the area.²³ The same regional assignment is suggested by the general stylistic affinity with northern Swiss painting of the final decade of the fifteenth century in various centers, including works of the later Carnation Masters active in Bern, Zürich, and Baden.²⁴ Further supporting the attribution is a probably somewhat earlier depiction of Saint Hubert and Saint Catherine of Alexandria (ca. 1490, private collection), putatively of northern Swiss origin, on which has been discovered the exact same brocade pattern in the gold background.²⁵ That panel is by a distinctly different hand; thus, possibly our master was successor to the earlier painter's workshop and inherited the pattern, or there was simply an exchange of patterns between associated workshops.²⁶ The general resemblance of the Agapitus, Remigius, and Fridolin panels to the Bernese works cited by Konrad, and to other paintings associated with Bern,²⁷ certainly raises the possibility of an origin in that city; however, in light of the still uneven state of knowledge about painting in northern Switzerland about 1500, the parallels for now seem too approximate to support a precise localization. J P W

UNKNOWN PAINTER

Southern Germany (Bavaria?), active ca. 1450

61. *The Annunciation*

ca. 1450

Oil and gold on linden panel

Overall $6\frac{3}{16} \times 4\frac{1}{8} \times \frac{3}{8}$ in. ($16 \times 10.5 \times .95$ cm)

Inscriptions (at left, on banderoles above window and door): [pseudo-Hebrew lettering]

Heraldry / emblems: none

Marks on verso: none

Frame: not original

Gift of Julie and Lawrence Salander, in honor of Keith Christiansen, 2005
2005.103

PROVENANCE: ?Milly Dominic, Perugia; sale, Finarte Semenzato, Abbazia San Gregorio, Venice, November 20, 2004, no. 37, to Salander; Julie and Lawrence Salander, New York (2004–5)

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: The linden wood support, which has a vertically oriented grain, has been thinned to .95 centimeter and cradled.¹ The panel displays a mild washboard effect in areas corresponding to the vertical cradle members. A split to the left of center extends the full height of the panel, while a shorter split to the right of center extends from the bottom edge. Tiny chip losses along the perimeter indicate that the panel was trimmed; a remnant of a scored line is found along the bottom edge.

A plain-weave fabric is adhered to the face of the panel beneath the white ground and the thin white priming layer. The gilding on Gabriel's staff, crown, and stole, on Mary's halo, and on the hems of the garments is adhered with a pale yellow mordant.

Underdrawing with a liquid black medium can be seen with the naked eye in areas of loss and through thinly painted passages. Infrared reflectography² revealed a fully realized composition with several minor differences from the painted state (see discussion below). The rear section of the double-arched window behind Gabriel initially opened onto greenery but was covered by the artist with mauve paint.

Overall, the paint layers are in good condition, although there is some abrasion in the Virgin's face. The color of Gabriel's alb was originally a deeper pink but has altered owing to fading of a red-lake pigment.

In this recently discovered diminutive painting, the Annunciation takes place in a well-appointed household at the front of a long, narrow room with a planked-wood ceiling and green tile floor. The Virgin sits on a wooden bench before a lectern and a bookcase brimming with objects that include a book, banderole, box, and cup. A large devotional book, resting on a Jewish prayer shawl, lies open on the lectern. At the far end of the room, under the window with a landscape view, is a bench covered with red brocade fabric and a matching pillow. The pseudo-Hebrew texts over the double window and door at the left are perhaps, like a mezuzah, intended to protect the inhabitants or to identify them as observant Jews.³ The archangel Gabriel, with extended wings, seems to have just appeared in the room. Wearing a pink alb with gold trim and a gold crown and stole, the archangel carries in his left hand a staff surmounted by a cross

and fluttering red banner. With his right hand, he offers the Virgin a document with three dangling red-wax seals. The Virgin, dressed in a gold-trimmed blue robe, crosses her hands over her heart in acceptance of Gabriel's message. A heavenly radiance surrounds her head, while light streams into the room and reflects off the edge of the bookcase behind her.

This rare early German panel is masterfully painted with a miniaturist's execution and an appealing palette that favors warm rose and purplish tones; the liberal gold embellishments of the garments and accouterments enhance its precious quality. The framing of the scene with columns at each side, surmounted by decoratively carved corbels, may be borrowed from contemporary engravings, such as those by Master E.S.⁴ The idiosyncratic style and rather quirky charm of the painting derive from the topsy-turvy perspective of the room, which is filled with an abundance of furniture and objects from everyday life. The underdrawing of the painting



Fig. 211. Infrared reflectogram, cat. 61





Fig. 212. Master of Flémalle. *Virgin and Child in an Interior*, before 1432. Oil on oak panel, $7\frac{3}{8} \times 4\frac{5}{8}$ in. (18.7 × 11.7 cm). The National Gallery, London, Purchase, 1987 (NG6514)

(fig. 211) indicates that many details were changed from the preparatory drawing to the final painted version: the divisions of the coffered ceiling were adjusted when painted, while horizontal divisions in its rear section were not painted at all; an arched leaded-glass window in the upper left wall was drawn but not painted; the Virgin's dress was drawn with a wider spread as it spills out from the bench and lectern; and Gabriel's wings were drawn lower and farther forward. Most important, Mary's eyes were repositioned to gaze in Gabriel's direction instead of at the viewer.

The panel exemplifies the influence of early Netherlandish painting of the first half of the fifteenth century. In particular, it recalls works attributed to the Master of Flémalle, such as the *Virgin and Child in an Interior*, dated by Lorne Campbell to before 1432 (fig. 212).⁵ The Museum's painting mimics, in its own naive way, numerous details of that panel, including the general relationship of the figures to their space, the wood-planked ceiling supported by corbels with similarly undulating carved profiles, the tipped-up perspective of the

floor tiles, a background window with shutters identically opened onto a landscape view, and the red brocade bench with rumpled red pillow.

What distinguishes this representation iconographically from Netherlandish examples is that Gabriel's annunciation is delivered in a written document with three red-wax seals dangling from it.⁶ Such images appeared in art from the mid-fourteenth to the mid-sixteenth century and were particularly common in central Europe.⁷ Klaus Schreiner has argued that the textual and visual language of the Annunciation in the late Middle Ages was heavily influenced by *Schriftwesen* (the culture of writing) and *Kanzleiwesen* (chancery affairs).⁸ The appearance of a document in the Annunciation links the event to chancery affairs and frames it in terms of a legal transaction.⁹ Thus, the document, certified by seals symbolizing the Holy Trinity, substantiates the truth of Gabriel's message and is proof of the new covenant between God and humanity.¹⁰ As portrayed in the Gospel of Luke (1:29–38), Mary's initial fear and confusion—even disbelief—at Gabriel's news eventually turns to acceptance.

Of further interest, as Joshua Waterman has pointed out, is the relationship of the language of German legal documents to the word *annunciation*. The standard German formula for the beginning of decrees and proclamations involved the expression *kund tun*, to make known or announce. The word *kund* is the stem for *verkünden*, the German for "to announce," and a variation of that, of course, is *Verkündigung*, or "annunciation." Therefore, in late medieval Germany, there was even a vernacular linguistic connection between legal documents and the Annunciation.¹¹

When this painting first appeared at auction in 2004, it was attributed erroneously to Adriaen Isenbrandt.¹² Subsequently, it became connected with German art of the Upper Rhine, and it was presented thus in 2010–11 by Till-Holger Borchert at the Bruges exhibition "Van Eyck to Dürer: The Influence of Early Netherlandish Painting on European Art, 1430–1530."¹³ In terms of its tipped-up perspective view in a narrow tunnel space, abundance of genre detail, and doll-like figures, it is stylistically quite close to the panels in Liège, Modena, and Venice that constitute part of the so-called German-Netherlandish Altarpiece, attributed to a southern German, possibly Bavarian, painter by Borchert and to the Covarrubias Master by Bodo Brinkmann.¹⁴ The Metropolitan's painting is not by the same master, who favors ruddier flesh tones and different facial types, more elaborate drapery folds, and a palette of primary hues of red and blue rather than the pink, mauve, and blue-greens seen here. However, both painters have connections with manuscript illumination—our panel's artist with the scale of miniature painting and its minutely executed brushwork, and the "Bavarian Master" with the illustration of the Turin-Milan Hours in the post-Van Eyck workshop in Bruges.¹⁵ Our painter is perhaps an itinerant artist who assimilated traits of the Netherlandish paintings he encountered, blending them with his own southern German style.

MWA

UNKNOWN PAINTER, COPY AFTER
FOLLOWER OF LEONARDO DA VINCI(?)

Germany, active first third of 16th century

62. *Portrait of an Italian Woman*

First third of 16th century

Oil on linden panel

Overall $17 \times 12\frac{7}{8} \times \frac{1}{4}$ in. ($43.2 \times 32.7 \times .64$ cm)

Signed and dated (falsely, with initials of Albrecht Dürer): (at upper right, first two digits of date original) 1506 / AD [monogram]; (on bodice) AD

Inscriptions: none

Marks on verso: none

Heraldry / emblems: none

Frame: not original

The Jules Bache Collection, 1949 49.7.27

PROVENANCE: ?kings of Württemberg; ?Wilhelm Herzog von Urach, Graf von Württemberg (until d. 1928; his estate, 1928–29; sold to Duveen); [Duveen, Paris, London, and New York, 1929; sold to Bache]; Jules S. Bache, New York (1929–d. 1944; his estate, 1944–49)

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: The support is composed of three boards of linden, with the grain running vertically.¹ The presence of unpainted wood borders and a *barbe* indicates that an engaged frame was in place when a white ground preparation containing calcium carbonate was applied. Lead white was also detected in the sample, which suggests that there may possibly be a lead-white priming as well. Close inspection of losses revealed that a very fine tow is attached to the panel beneath the ground layer. The panel has been thinned to .64 centimeter, attached to a plywood panel, and cradled.

The condition of the painting is poor. The surface is severely abraded throughout, to the degree that much of the underdrawing in the face is visible. There are numerous scratches and several losses. The first two digits of the date (15) and the small flourishes flanking it in the upper right background appear to be original and are in good condition. The fragmentary second two digits (06) and the badly damaged monogram (AD) below the date are later additions, as is the decorative pattern on the upper band of the bodice, which includes the letters A and D. The additions were all made in the same manner: a sharp, pointed instrument was first used to scratch deep into the surface of the original paint; a pale yellow or cream-colored paint was then carefully painted into the incisions, keeping the new paint in plane with the original.

Infrared reflectography² revealed a traced underdrawing of basic contours, including the facial features, several curling tendrils of hair, the outline and decoration on the clothing, and the placement and general form of the jewelry. The scrolling pattern drawn on the upper band of the bodice is distinctly different from that of the painted false decoration and letters described above.

Examination with the stereomicroscope revealed transparent red and green pigments in the background, which suggest this area may originally have represented a red-and-green moiré fabric. The present mottled dark brown may be due to the commonly observed degradation of copper-containing green pigments in combination with the fading of a transparent red-lake pigment.

Her body seen nearly in profile, which accentuates her ample bosom, a young courtesan turns her head to directly address the viewer. She rests her left hand on the ledge in the foreground and appears to stand before a moiré wall hanging. The lady is dressed in an extravagant Italian costume that includes a red gown with decoratively embroidered bodice featuring the letters A and D and a white-edged black mantle (*giornea*) showing orange brocade sleeves through the slits at the shoulders. Her red hair is bound up at the back in a black net and white fabric cap (*scuffia*); the headband (*lenza*) across her forehead has at its center a ruby surrounded by four pearls, which also decorate the large sapphire pendant at her breast.

August Mayer first published this portrait as by Albrecht Dürer in 1929,³ proposing that it was painted on the artist's trip to Venice in 1506. He supported this date by noting the Venetian style of the courtesan's costume, her distinctly Italian features, and the similarity of the painting to two famous portraits by Dürer from this time, the *Portrait of a Young Italian Woman*, dated 1505 (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna), and the *Portrait of a Venetian Woman*, of about 1506–7 (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin). In addition to the sitter's coiffure, which is comparable to that of the ladies in the Vienna and Berlin paintings, the Museum's portrait has the same style of embroidery at the upper edge of the bodice as the one in Berlin, including the initials A and D. Mayer judged the date of 1506 in the background at the upper right as original but also noted that Dürer's accompanying monogram had been uncharacteristically scratched into the surface of the painting.

Mayer's attribution gained credibility through Max J. Friedländer's support in an article of 1935 in which he indicated that the form, expression, and technique were characteristic of Dürer. Friedländer understood the portrait as influenced by the "cult of feminine grace," then at a high point in Venice, and proposed that it might be an "ideal portrait" in the style of Palma Vecchio rather than a depiction of a known individual.⁴

As early as 1930, Mayer, although still supporting the attribution to Dürer, acknowledged that the poor state of the painting had obscured the master's *Handschrift*. He also recognized the connection of the painting with an engraving that he believed had inspired the painted portrait. Known to be northern Italian and possibly Milanese, this work exists in two versions, one in the British Museum, London (fig. 213), and the other in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.⁵ In the same year, Hans Tietze published the version in Paris—attributed in 1948 by Arthur M. Hind to a follower of Leonardo da Vinci, possibly Zoan Andrea,⁶ and now simply to a follower of Leonardo—but interpreted the relationship between the print and the painting differently.⁷ He found it highly unlikely that a master such as Dürer would slavishly copy a print model as



Fig. 213. Unknown artist, northern Italy, after Leonardo da Vinci. *Portrait Bust of a Lady*, 1490–1510. Engraving, 15 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 14 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (38.4 × 37.1 cm). The British Museum, London (1845,0825,586)



a painting to which he twice added his own famous monogram. Tietze rightly realized that the painting must copy the print rather than a preparatory drawing, for it assumes the same right-facing orientation as the print. Furthermore, he considered the painting a possible Italian copy that at a later point had been “transformed” into a Dürer.

The debate over the attribution, and even the authenticity, of the Metropolitan’s portrait has continued over the years, with scholars increasingly recognizing the importance in these debates of the compromised state of the picture.⁸ However, without the benefit of a thorough technical examination of the painting, the stalemate about attribution has continued to the present day. A recent examination of the condition and technical evidence carried out for this volume has allowed us to determine more clearly how the painting originated and how it was subsequently altered with a specific purpose in mind.

Tietze was very close to being right in his appraisal of 1930, except for the possible attribution of the painting to an Italian artist. Instead, it shows all of the characteristics, in terms of materials and techniques, of a sixteenth-century German painting. Its support is linden wood, traditionally used by German painters, with tow applied to portions of the wood panel (how extensively is not clear).⁹ The ground preparation, calcium carbonate, indicates a production in northern Europe, and the other pigments found in the typical layering structure are standard for sixteenth-century German paintings.¹⁰ The black, crumbly-looking underdrawing boldly outlines all the features of the face and figure in a rigid manner that is indicative of a pattern transfer. That the painting is very similar in size and in many details to the related print by a follower of Leonardo is relevant in this regard. A digital overlay combining the infrared reflectogram assembly of the Museum’s painting and an exact-scale photograph of the British Museum print showed that the underdrawing of the painting was most likely made from a tracing of the print (fig. 214). Slight deviations in overall alignment at the right near the shoulder and bust are due to the shifting of the pattern during the transfer process.¹¹

At a certain point (and perhaps more than once), the painting was very aggressively cleaned with a strong abrasive that thinned the paint film and caused severe losses, in some places down to the wood. This was perhaps done to remove substantial, very old overpaint on the picture. Subsequently, the portrait was reworked to such an extent that at least one report—that of the restorer Helmut Ruhemann, who cleaned the picture in the late 1920s under the guidance of Friedländer in Berlin and then saw photographs of it later in the 1950s—stated that the picture had been “much embellished.”¹² Ruhemann further noted that the initials on the bodice are false and that the signature in the background is “fishy.” These observations are substantiated by Karen Thomas’s recent technical examination, which found these features to be later additions that, in the case of

Fig. 214. Infrared reflectogram, cat. 62, overlaid on engraving (fig. 213)



the initials scratched into the paint, do not agree with the preliminary underdrawing. Ruhemann's observation of the false additions appears to date from the period in which the painting was bought by Joseph Duveen. Although apparently acknowledging the portrait as an inferior work by Dürer, the dealer nonetheless sold it in 1929 to Jules S. Bache, who reportedly insisted on having "a Dürer."¹³

The print on which this painting is based was apparently popular in its own day and rather widely circulated.¹⁴ The same image also appears in a small niello print,¹⁵ in a Lombard(?) drawing in the Uffizi

Gallery, Florence,¹⁶ and on a tile possibly made in Antwerp.¹⁷ Given this varied production in different media, it is not hard to understand how the original print may have reached northern Europe, in particular Germany, in the early sixteenth century, a time in which Italian prints were prized as source material for representing new modes of ideal feminine beauty. The compromised condition of the painting prevents us from determining exactly where in Germany it was made, but whoever later turned it into a "Dürer" had an entirely different purpose in mind. MWA

UNKNOWN PAINTER, COPY AFTER LUCAS VAN LEYDEN

Germany, active ca. 1600

63. *Christ Presented to the People (Ecce Homo)*

Ca. 1600

Oil, gold, and silver on linden panel

Overall 10⁷/₁₆ × 18 × ⁵/₁₆ in. (27.6 × 45.7 × .8 cm)

Inscriptions: none

Heraldry / emblems: none

Marks on verso: two wax seals, one illegible, the other a demigriiffin issuant from a ducal coronet¹

Frame: not original

Marquand Collection, Gift of Henry G. Marquand, 1889 89.15.13

PROVENANCE: Louis François I de Bourbon, prince de Conti (until d. 1776); his son Louis François Joseph de Bourbon, prince de Conti (1776–91; sold to Carondelet); Francisco Luis Hector, baron de Carondelet, New Orleans (from 1791); Armand Hawkins, New Orleans (by 1888; sold to Marquand); Henry G. Marquand, New York (1889)

CONDITION AND TECHNICAL NOTES: The panel support is made of two boards of linden,² with the grain oriented horizontally, and displays a mild convex vertical warp. Before entering the Museum's collection, the panel was thinned to .8 centimeter (circumventing one of two red wax stamps on the verso) and trimmed. Beneath the second wax seal is a rectangle of a coarse plain-weave fabric that is adhered to the planed-down surface.

The panel is prepared with a very thin gray priming, a preparation technique that is atypical of the early sixteenth century.³

Infrared reflectography⁴ confirmed the presence of a detailed underdrawing, completed in a dry medium. The underdrawing is visible to the naked eye throughout the surface along contours and details of the final image. The near-perfect replication of the design of the associated engraving and the exacting care with which the underdrawing was rendered indicate that the engraving was available to the artist who made the painting.

The shoulder clasp on the figure walking in front of the steps and holding a child's hand is fabricated with gold leaf adhered directly onto the priming, while the garment held by the clasp is made with silver leaf, modified with a warm glaze. Christ's red robe uses silver leaf enhanced with red-lake paint, his radiating halo gold leaf.

Overall the paint layers are in fair condition, with many small losses throughout. The painting was executed with a remarkable economy of means, relying heavily on the gray ground to serve as the midtone throughout.

In this representation of the *Ecce Homo*, the emphasis is placed on the crowd of angry Jews in the foreground and their responsibility for the condemnation of Christ to death on the Cross. The bent-over, scourged, and beaten figure of Christ is relegated to the midground of the scene, where he is presented by Pontius Pilate, who utters the words *Ecce homo* (Behold the man) cited in the Gospel of John (19:5). A contemporary interpretation of the biblical text is conveyed by the setting, modeled after the town square in Leiden, and by figures in sixteenth-century attire.⁵

This painting is based on Lucas van Leyden's 1510 engraving of the same subject, an impression of which is found in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum (fig. 215). The dimensions of the engraving and the painting are nearly identical, and the painting closely follows the print in every detail. Rather than being painted over a print pasted onto the panel, the design was quite likely traced from a print with the use of an interleaving carbon-coated sheet. The technical examination of the painting with infrared reflectography revealed the somewhat rigid underdrawing typical of compositions transferred from one support to another, which results in the close correspondence in design evident between the print and our painting.

By the mid-sixteenth century, Giorgio Vasari had already praised the *Ecce Homo* as one of Lucas's three most important prints, along with *The Crucifixion* and *The Conversion of Saul*. These are the artist's largest sheets and, according to Vasari, the ones that brought him international fame.⁶ Effectively balancing an ambitious composition with a mastery of atmospheric perspective, the three are most often termed Lucas's best prints by later authors.⁷ As Ellen S. Jacobowitz and Stephanie Loeb Stepanek have pointed out, by the second decade of the sixteenth century, engravings began to be appreciated by connoisseurs and collected for reasons other than devotional purposes. Because of this, they argued, Lucas may have attempted in these large-scale prints to emulate "the compositional and iconographic complexity found in paintings."⁸





Fig. 215. Lucas van Leyden. *Ecce Homo*, 1510. Engraving, first state, sheet 11 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 17 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (28.9 × 45.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1927 (27.54.4)

It is perhaps because of these qualities that Lucas's *Ecce Homo* was deemed an appropriate composition for a painting. By the end of the sixteenth century, his prints and especially those by Albrecht Dürer started to appear in painted-over versions.⁹ Hans Georg Gmelin noted that between 1570 and 1620 Dürer's engravings were hand-colored to provide inexpensive alternatives to paintings. Not only had the master's paintings and drawings become quite rare, but there was renewed interest in his works at this time. This phenomenon, known as the Dürer Renaissance,¹⁰ reached its peak at the court of Rudolf II in Prague. In addition to his interest in Dürer, Rudolf was a particularly avid collector of Lucas's works, which he was instrumental in popularizing as well.¹¹ As an adjunct to these developments, paintings began to appear that exactly copied the most highly regarded prints.¹² It is in this context that the Museum's painting should be understood.

Our *Ecce Homo* is in fact one of two paintings that are close copies of the Lucas print; the other belongs to the Österreichische Galerie Belvedere, Vienna, and is on long-term loan to Schloss Ambras in Innsbruck.¹³ Neither painting is signed or dated, and the attribution

of the Metropolitan's picture to a German artist is based on technical and circumstantial evidence. It is on linden wood, the support preferred by German painters during the sixteenth century, whereas Netherlandish artists typically used oak panels. As mentioned in the technical notes above, its gray preparatory layer is unusual for early sixteenth-century paintings (that is, around 1510, the date of Lucas's print), and only more common in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Finally, the gold- and silver-leaf layers in the draperies of the figure holding the child's hand and in Christ's robe are not often found in either Netherlandish or German paintings of the sixteenth century, while such enhancements in the prints of Dürer and Lucas that were hand-colored around 1600 were not uncommon. A number of these landed in German collections, including that in Nuremberg of Paulus Praun, whose large holdings of Lucas's prints remained intact from about 1600 to 1801.¹⁴ Such collections reflected the renewed interest in Dürer and Lucas at the turn of the century, and the Museum's painting most likely was made in response to this phenomenon.

MWA

Appendixes A and B
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Appendix A: Changes in the Collection since 1995

Shown below are various changes that have been introduced to the collection of early German paintings since it was last published in 1995 in *European Paintings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art by Artists Born before 1865: A Summary Catalogue* by Katharine Baetjer.

ATTRIBUTION CHANGES

Cat. No.	Accession No.	Previously	Now
19	32.100.61	Workshop of Lucas Cranach the Elder	Circle of Lucas Cranach the Elder
20	1975.1.135	Lucas Cranach the Elder	Copy after Lucas Cranach the Elder
21	1975.1.136	Lucas Cranach the Elder	Lucas Cranach the Younger
22A	1982.60.35	Lucas Cranach the Elder	Lucas Cranach the Younger
22B	1982.60.36	Lucas Cranach the Elder	Lucas Cranach the Younger
24	17.190.5	Attributed to Albrecht Dürer	Albrecht Dürer
27	1982.60.37	Conrad Faber von Creuznach	Copy after Conrad Faber von Creuznach
28A, B	29.158.743	German (Rhenish) painter	Circle of Friedrich Herlin
33	1975.1.138	Hans Holbein the Younger	Hans Holbein the Younger and workshop(?)
36	14.40.637	Copy after Hans Holbein the Younger	Workshop of Hans Holbein the Younger
37	49.7.30	Style of Hans Holbein the Younger	Workshop of Hans Holbein the Younger
45	1975.1.137	Hans Maler zu Schwaz	Master A.H. or H.A.
49	1975.1.133	German (Bavarian) painter	Master of the Munich Marian Panels; additions by unknown painter
53	22.96	Follower of Dieric Bouts	Workshop or circle of Hans Traut
54	64.215	Friedrich Walther	Circle of Friedrich Walther
55	17.190.13–.15	Attributed to Ludger tom Ring the Younger	Unknown painter, probably Hamburg and Lower Saxony
56	1975.1.134	German (Westphalian) painter	Unknown painter, Middle Rhine(?)
58	23.255	German (Upper Rhenish) painter	Unknown painter, Nuremberg
60A	71.33ab	Swiss painter	Unknown painter, northern Switzerland
60B	71.40ab	Swiss painter	Unknown painter, northern Switzerland
62	49.7.27	Style of Albrecht Dürer	Unknown painter, copy after follower of Leonardo da Vinci(?), Germany
63	89.15.13	Copy after Lucas van Leyden	Unknown painter, copy after Lucas van Leyden, Germany

TITLE CHANGES

Cat. No.	Accession No.	Previously	Now
4	89.15.20	<i>Unidentified Scene</i>	<i>Joseph Interpreting the Dreams of Pharaoh</i>
60A	71.33ab	<i>A Martyr Saint in the Arena;</i> <i>The Beheading of a Martyr Saint</i>	<i>Saint Agapitus of Praeneste in the Arena</i> (exterior); <i>The Beheading of Saint Agapitus of Praeneste</i> (interior)

NEW ACQUISITIONS

Cat. No.	Accession No.	Attribution	Title
16	2006.469	Lucas Cranach the Elder and workshop	<i>Saint Maurice</i>
46A	2001.216.2	Master of the Berswordt Altarpiece	<i>The Flagellation</i>
50	2011.485ab	Hans Schäufelein and attributed to the Master of Engerda	<i>The Dormition of the Virgin</i> (interior); <i>Christ Carrying the Cross</i> (exterior)
61	2005.103	Unknown painter, southern Germany (Bavaria?)	<i>The Annunciation</i>

DEACCESSIONED

Cat.	Accession No.	Attribution	Title
	26.52ab	Master of the Holy Kinship	<i>The Adoration of the Magi;</i> (verso) <i>The Throne of Grace</i>

CHANGED NATIONALITY DESIGNATIONS

Cat.	Accession No.	Previously	Now
	1976.100.4	European painter, possibly German	European painter, region unclassified
	1982.60.40	French or German painter	Unknown painter, Spanish
	32.100.38	South German painter	Unknown painter, southern Netherlands
	32.100.39	South German painter	Unknown painter, southern Netherlands
	32.100.99	German (Augsburg) painter	Unknown painter, possibly Italian
	32.100.116	Swiss painter	Unknown painter, possibly French

NOT INCLUDED IN THE CATALOGUE

Cat.	Accession No.	Attribution	Title
	12.103	German (Strasbourg) painter	Altarpiece with Madonna and Child with Donor
	90.3.5	German (Franconian) painter	Altarpiece with Scenes from the Life of the Virgin

Appendix B: Supplementary Technical Information

Paintings were examined either in the Sherman Fairchild Center for Paintings Conservation or the Sherman Fairchild Center for Objects Conservation at The Cloisters. The majority were examined and documented with an Indigo Systems Merlin Near Infrared camera, although some were documented with infrared photography using a modified Nikon Coolpix camera. Paintings that had been examined previously with a Hamamatsu infrared vidicon were reexamined but not captured a second time if no additional information could be gained by doing so. The notes to the catalogue entries indicate which infrared-imaging technique was employed by citing the following designations:

A: Merlin / StingRay. Indigo Systems Merlin Near Infrared camera (InGaAs sensor range: 900–1,700 nanometers [nm]) with a StingRay Optics macro lens optimized for this range, in conjunction with a National Instruments IMAQ PCI-1422 frame grabber card and IRvista 2.51 software.

B: Nikon Coolpix. Nikon Coolpix 995 CCD camera (sensitive to approximately 1,000 nm), adapted by removing the infrared blocking filter, and used with an X-Nite 830 band-pass filter.

C: Merlin / Micro-Nikkor. Indigo Systems Merlin Near Infrared camera (InGaAs sensor range: 900–1,700 nm) with a Nikon Micro-Nikkor 55mm lens, in conjunction with a National Instruments IMAQ PCI-1422 frame grabber card and IRvista 2.51 software.

D: Hamamatsu Vidicon. Hamamatsu lead oxide–lead sulfide (PbO–PbS) infrared vidicon camera 2606-06 (sensitive from 500 to 2,200 nm), with a C2741 controller, and a Nikon Micro-Nikkor 55mm lens fitted with a Wrattan 87A filter, in conjunction with a Scion AG-5 digitizing board.

Visual examination was aided by the use of a binocular microscope, which allowed for digital capture of photomicrographs of pertinent details; ultraviolet illumination was also used. Whenever specific questions could not be answered by noninvasive means, samples taken for cross-section analysis were embedded in BioPlastic® or Technovit® resin and examined under a microscope with both polarized light and ultraviolet illumination.

The following analytical methods were employed by scientists at the Department of Scientific Research:

Fourier transform infrared spectroscopy (FTIR) analyses of sample scrapings were carried out in the transmission mode using a Hyperion microscope interfaced to a Bruker Vertex 70 spectrometer equipped with an MCT (mercury cadmium telluride) detector. The samples were crushed in a diamond anvil cell and a 30× objective was used. The spectra were recorded in the range between 4,000 and 600 cm⁻¹, with a 4 cm⁻¹ resolution, and 128 to 256 scans.

Attenuated total reflectance Fourier transform infrared (ATR-FTIR) measurements were performed using a Ge ATR 20× objective that

had an anvil design with an 80 µm tip. The lowest contact pressure level available (0.8 N) was used for all measurements. ATR spectra were acquired in the same spectral range and with the same spectral resolution as the measurements in the transmission mode. Between 64 and 400 scans were collected, depending on the dimensions of the area analyzed. The FTIR and ATR-FTIR analyses were conducted by Silvia A. Centeno, Research Scientist, and Julie Arslanoglu, Associate Research Scientist.

Scanning electron microscopy-energy dispersive X-ray spectrometry (SEM-EDS) analyses were performed using an Oxford Instruments INCA Energy 300 microanalysis system attached to a LEO Electron Microscopy model 1455 variable pressure scanning electron microscope, operated at an accelerating voltage of 20 kV.

Sample scrapings and sample cross sections previously treated with a conductive carbon coating were analyzed under high-vacuum conditions, while some analyses were performed on uncoated cross sections with the SEM chamber pressurized with 100 pascals of nitrogen to negate charge buildup on the nonconductive materials. The SEM-EDS analyses were carried out by Mark T. Wypyski, Research Scientist.

Qualitative noninvasive *X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy (XRF)* analyses were performed using an Artax 400 unit equipped with a rhodium (Rh) target and a 650 µm collimator. All spots were analyzed for equal live-times of 200 seconds at 40 kV and 500 µA. The XRF analyses were conducted by Silvia A. Centeno.

Raman spectra were recorded with a Renishaw Raman System 1000, configured with a Leica DM LM microscope and equipped with 785 nm and 514 nm lasers. With the aid of the attached microscope, the beam was focused on sample scrapings, on layers of sample cross sections, or on various areas of the paintings placed on the microscope stage. A 50× objective lens attached to the microscope allowed spatial resolution in the order of 3 microns. Integration times were set between 10 and 120 seconds. In order to avoid changes in the sample materials, neutral density filters were used to set the laser power at the sample to values between 0.2 and 4.0 mW. The Raman analyses were conducted by Silvia A. Centeno.

The Wood Geography chart, based mainly on identifications provided by Peter Klein, was developed by Karen Thomas in consultation with Maryan Ainsworth and Joshua Waterman. Paintings are arranged by geographical region (north to south) in which the artwork was painted, then by painter and order of appearance in the catalogue. The chart is followed by a bibliography of selected sources divided into general publications and catalogues on early German paintings that contain technical information and other publications focused on materials, techniques, and specific German artists.

	alder	beech	fir	linden	oak, western German	oak, southern German	oak, Baltic	oak, English	poplar	spruce	Swiss stone pine	Wood Geography
England							■					Holbein, Hans, the Younger, <i>Hermann von Wedigh III</i> 50.135.4
							■					Holbein, Hans, the Younger, workshop of, <i>Portrait of a Man</i> (Sir Ralph Sadler?) 49.7.28
							■					Holbein, Hans, the Younger, workshop of, <i>Lady Rich</i> (Elizabeth Jencks) 14.40.646
								■				Holbein, Hans, the Younger, workshop of, <i>Lady Lee</i> (Margaret Wyatt) 14.40.637
					■							Holbein, Hans, the Younger, workshop of, <i>Portrait of a Young Woman</i> 49.7.30*
							■					Holbein, Hans, the Younger, workshop of, <i>Edward VI</i> 49.7.31
Northern Germany, Lower Rhine, and the Low Countries							■					Holbein, Hans, the Younger, copy after, <i>Lady Guildford</i> (Mary Wotton) 20.155.4
					■							Bruyn, Barthel, the Elder, <i>Portrait of a Man</i> ; <i>Portrait of a Woman</i> 62.267.1, .2*
					■							Bruyn, Barthel, the Younger, <i>Portrait of a Woman of the Slosgin Family</i> of Cologne 32.100.50*
						■						Cranach, Lucas, the Elder, <i>Portrait of a Man with a Rosary</i> 29.100.24
					■							Master of the Berswordt Altarpiece, <i>The Crucifixion</i> 43.161
Central Germany					■							Unknown painter, probably Hamburg and Lower Saxony, <i>Christ Blessing, Surrounded by a Donor Family</i> 17.190.13–.15
				■								Cranach, Lucas, the Elder, <i>The Martyrdom of Saint Barbara</i> 57.22
	■											Cranach, Lucas, the Elder, <i>Venus and Cupid</i> 1982.60.48
	■											Cranach, Lucas, the Elder, <i>The Judgment of Paris</i> 28.221
	■											Cranach, Lucas, the Elder, <i>Samson and Delilah</i> 1976.201.11
				■								Cranach, Lucas, the Elder, <i>Judith with the Head of Holofernes</i> 11.15
	■											Cranach, Lucas, the Elder, <i>Portrait of a Man with a Gold-Embroidered Cap</i> (Lukas Spielhausen?) 1981.57.1
	■											Cranach, Lucas, the Elder, <i>Johann, Duke of Saxony</i> 08.19
				■								Cranach, Lucas, the Elder, and workshop, <i>Saint Maurice</i> 2006.469
												Cranach, Lucas, the Elder, and workshop, <i>Frederick III, the Wise, Elector of Saxony</i> ; <i>Johann I, the Constant, Elector of Saxony</i> 46.179.1, .2
	■											Cranach, Lucas, the Elder, workshop of, <i>Martin Luther</i> 55.220.2
												Cranach, Lucas, the Elder, circle of, <i>Portrait of a Man</i> 32.100.61
						■						Cranach, Lucas, the Elder, copy after, <i>Venus with Cupid the Honey Thief</i> 1975.1.135
	■											Cranach, Lucas, the Younger, <i>Nymph of the Spring</i> 1975.1.136
	■											Cranach, Lucas, the Younger, <i>Christ and the Adulteress</i> ; <i>Christ Blessing the Children</i> 1982.60.35, .36
				■								Faber von Creuznach, Conrad, <i>Portrait of a Man with a Moor's Head on His Signet Ring</i> 12.75
					■							Faber von Creuznach, Conrad, copy after, <i>Heinrich(?) vom Rhein zum Mohren</i> 1982.60.37
			■									Master of the Burg Weiler Altarpiece, <i>The Burg Weiler Altarpiece</i> 53.21
	■											Unknown painter, Middle Rhine(?), <i>The Adoration of the Magi</i> 1975.1.134
Southern Germany				■								Apt, Ulrich, the Elder, <i>Portrait of a Man and His Wife</i> (Lorenz Kraffter and Honesta Merz?) 12.115
										■		Baldung, Hans, <i>Saint John on Patmos</i> 1983.451
										■		Beham, Barthel, <i>Chancellor Leonhard von Eck</i> 12.194
				■								Brosamer, Hans (attr.), <i>Katharina Merian</i> 1982.60.38
				■								Dürer, Albrecht, <i>Salvator Mundi</i> 32.100.64
										■		Dürer, Albrecht, <i>Virgin and Child</i> 17.190.5
				■								Dürer, Albrecht, <i>Virgin and Child with Saint Anne</i> 14.40.633
	■											Herlin, Friedrich, circle of, <i>Saint George</i> ; <i>Saint Sebastian</i> 29.158.743
									■			Kulmbach, Hans Süß von, <i>Portrait of a Young Man</i> ; <i>Girl Making a Garland</i> 17.190.21
				■								Kulmbach, Hans Süß von, <i>The Ascension of Christ</i> 21.84
				■								Schäufelein, Hans, and Master of Engerda (attr.), <i>The Dormition of the Virgin</i> ; <i>Christ Carrying the Cross</i> 2011.485ab
				■								Schongauer, Ludwig, <i>Christ before Pilate</i> ; <i>The Resurrection</i> 1982.60.34ab
				■								Strigel, Bernhard, <i>Portrait of a Woman</i> 71.34
				■								Traut, Hans, workshop or circle of, <i>Virgin and Child</i> 22.96
										■		Walther, Friedrich, circle of, <i>Sermon of Saint Albertus Magnus</i> 64.215
						■						Unknown painter, Nuremberg, <i>The Bishop of Assisi, Accompanied by Saint Francis, Handing a Palm to Saint Clare</i> 1984.343
				■								Unknown painter, Nuremberg, <i>Portrait of a Man</i> 23.255
				■								Unknown painter and sculptor, Swabia, <i>House Altarpiece</i> 1991.10
				■								Unknown painter, southern Germany (Bavaria?), <i>The Annunciation</i> 2005.103†
				■								Unknown painter, copy after follower of Leonardo da Vinci, <i>Portrait of an Italian Woman</i> 49.7.27
				■								Unknown painter, copy after Lucas van Leyden, <i>Christ Presented to the People</i> (Ecce Homo) 89.15.13†
Switzerland				■								Holbein, Hans the Younger, and workshop(?), <i>Erasmus of Rotterdam</i> 1975.1.138
Austria										■		Maler, Hans, <i>Sebastian Andorfer</i> 32.100.33
				■								Maler, Hans, <i>Ulrich Fugger the Younger</i> 14.40.630
				■								Master of the Acts of Mercy, <i>The Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence</i> ; <i>Giving Drink to the Thirsty</i> 1981.365.1
				■								Master A.H. or H.A., <i>Mary of Burgundy</i> 1975.1.137
										■		Master of Eggenburg, <i>Saint Adalbert and Saint Procopius</i> ; <i>The Burial of Saint Wenceslas</i> 44.147.1,2
Northern Italy									■			Master of the Munich Marian Panels/unknown painter, <i>Virgin and Child with a Donor Presented by Saint Jerome</i> 1975.1.133†

* Wood for this painting may also have come from the Netherlands.

† Wood type was determined by visual inspection by the staff of the Department of Paintings Conservation, MMA.

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Notes, Exhibitions, and References

COLLECTING EARLY GERMAN PAINTINGS AT THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

Maryan W. Ainsworth

1. For this collection, see New York 1998–99, especially the essay by Everett Fahy, “How the Pictures Got Here” (Fahy 1998). Ongoing cataloguing of these paintings is available on the Museum’s website, <http://www.metmuseum.org> under “Collections.”
2. In arriving at this number, we considered the paintings as individual objects. Thus, in addition to the single paintings, each altarpiece and double-sided painting was counted as one work.
3. See Martin Schawe’s excellent account of the history of the formation of the Alte Pinakothek’s collection in “Zur Geschichte der Sammlung altdeutscher und altniederländischer Gemälde” (Schawe 2006, pp. 11–54, especially pp. 25–33).
4. London 1906.
5. *Ibid.*, no. 30, pl. XVIII, and no. 38, pl. XXIII.
6. New York 1928.
7. Mather 1928, especially p. 308.
8. Philadelphia and other cities 1936–37; reviewed in Friedlaender 1936.
9. Kuhn 1936. This publication was further celebrated in the same year with an exhibition of forty works from private collections and dealers at the Germanic Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge (renamed the Busch-Reisinger Museum in 1950). See Cambridge (Mass.) 1936.
10. The cataloguing of the German paintings in the Philadelphia Museum of Art was recently brought up to date by Joshua P. Waterman; the results of this research are partially available online at the PMA website (<http://www.philamuseum.org/collections>).
11. Baetjer 2004.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 213, no. 121.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 206, no. 89, and p. 205, nos. 87, 88.
14. Stijn Alsteens in New York 2012, p. ix; Freyda Spira in New York 2012, pp. 42–44, no. 18. Despite Fry’s early attempts to acquire important German examples, little was achieved in the field of drawings until 1975, when the bequest of Robert Lehman augmented what had been a spotty collection with three splendid sheets by Dürer and one each by important masters such as Martin Schongauer, Hans Baldung, Hans Schwarz, and Sebald Beham. In the last twenty years, a united effort has been made by the Department of Drawings and Prints under George R. Goldner, Drue Heinz Chairman of the department, to strengthen the German examples. More than two-thirds of the 325 central European drawings made before 1700 have been collected since 1994. Complementing our holdings in early German paintings are key examples by Hans Süß von Kulmbach, Hans Schäufelein, Hans Burgkmair, Urs Graf, and Hans Holbein the Younger. See the introduction by Stijn Alsteens in New York 2012, pp. ix–x.
15. See Wixom 1988–89; Wixom 1999; Wixom 2007.
16. MMA 16.32.183 and 17.190.185.
17. MMA 1970.137.1; 61.86; and 1975.25.
18. MMA 17.190.724 and 17.190.1734, 1735.
19. MMA 1996.14.
20. Karin Kolb, independent scholar in Dresden, was a Metropolitan Museum of Art Fellow in 2006–8, when she carried out a survey of Cranach paintings in American collections.
21. See Jeromack 2011.
22. These are Hans Holbein the Younger, *Portrait of a Man in a Red Cap* (cat. 31), and *Christ Blessing, Surrounded by a Donor Family*, attributed to an unknown painter, probably Hamburg and Lower Saxony (cat. 55).
23. Each entry in this volume provides only the essential technical images for the arguments presented in the discussion. For additional such images, especially X-radiographs and infrared reflectograms, please consult the Museum’s website under “Collections,” where these images are being continually added.

TECHNICAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE EARLY GERMAN PAINTINGS COLLECTION AT THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

Karen E. Thomas

1. The transfer of paintings from panel to canvas was a radical intervention developed in the eighteenth century for the treatment of works for which the original wood panel was considered an unstable support for the paint. After the face of the painting was secured, the wood support and sometimes the ground were removed. The paint layers were then adhered to a canvas support and the composite attached to a stretcher, as is done with a painting on canvas. Early in the twentieth century, the practice was largely discontinued, in favor of less invasive techniques.
2. Wood identification was provided by Peter Klein, Universität Hamburg; Marijn Manuels, Conservator, Department of Objects Conservation, MMA; and George Bisacca, Conservator, Department of Paintings Conservation, MMA. Dendrochronology was undertaken by Peter Klein. See individual entries and Appendix B for further details.
3. Dendrochronology can provide a terminus post quem for the fabrication of a wood panel by measuring the tree rings visible on the panel, comparing those measurements to known data sets, and taking into account seasoning times for various tree species.
4. Gunnar Heydenreich has developed a categorization of standard sizes for the works of Lucas Cranach the Elder (see Heydenreich 2007b, p. 43); these have been included in the catalogue entries for paintings associated with this artist.
5. The exception is one panel of the Bielefeld Altarpiece (cat. 46b), which has a tongue-and-groove join.
6. The use of vegetal fibers to reinforce panel joints was common throughout Europe. See Uzielli 1998; Véliz 1998; Wadum 1998.
7. Unless questions of origin were raised, ground materials were not sampled for identification. The only analyzed ground material that was found to use gypsum (calcium sulfate, generally associated with works made in southern Europe) rather than chalk (calcium carbonate) was taken from the *Virgin and Child with a Donor Presented by Saint Jerome* by the Master of the Munich Marian Panels, with additions by an unknown painter (cat. 49). See also P. Noble 2004, p. 330, and cat. 36, note 18, in this volume.
8. Foister, Wyld, and Roy 1994, pp. 8–9; London 1997–98; Strolz 2004.
9. Although not from the same altarpiece, two Kulmbach panels in the collection of the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, are also documented as having yellow-toned priming: *Saint Cosmas* (GM 186) and *Saint Damian* (GM 185), both from about 1507–8. These are described as having a “gelbliche Imprimitur” in Löcher 1997, p. 289. All three panels are believed to have been produced in Kulmbach’s Nuremberg studio, during the same period in his career, prior to his work in Cracow, where he produced an altarpiece for the Pauline church. See also Lübbecke 1991, pp. 280, 411.
10. Dunkerton and Spring 1998.
11. Discussed in detail in Heydenreich 2007b.
12. Spring 2000; Richter, Hahn, and R. Fuchs 2001; Spring 2008.
13. Billinge et al. 1997.
14. Ainsworth 1987.
15. A. Koch 1995; Westhoff et al. 1996; Monnas 2008.
16. Frinta 1963; Westhoff et al. 1996; I. Geelen and Steyaert 2011, pp. 65–72.
17. Bio-Plastic™ is a blend of polyester and methacrylate monomers in a styrene solvent. A methyl-ethyl-ketone peroxide catalyst is used to speed curing time. Technovit® 2000LC is a light-curing methacrylate resin.

Cat. 1 Ulrich Apt the Elder

Portrait of a Man and His Wife (Lorenz Krafft and Honesta Merz?)

1. Wood identification by Peter Klein, Universität Hamburg (report, April 3, 2006, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). Dating of the wood was not possible.
2. Report, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA.
3. IRR carried out with configuration A; see p. 276.
4. For the most recent discussions, see Lucy Whitaker in Heard and Whitaker 2011, pp. 128–31, no. 56; Christof Metzger in Vienna and Munich 2011–12, pp. 256–57, no. 164.
5. Metzger in Vienna and Munich 2011–12, p. 256. Metzger came to this proposed identification when he recognized that these portraits had been used as models for two others depicting Barbara Bäsinger and her son Ulrich Fugger the Rich, both ancestors of the Fugger family, in the *Ancestor Gallery of the Fugger Family* of about 1600 by an unknown painter in the Schloss Babenhausen (Fugger-Museum), Hesse. Examining the circle of associates of the Fugger family in 1512 led Metzger to the identification of Krafft and Merz.
6. L. Campbell 1990, pp. 193–225; A. Dülberg 1990, p. 119. Whitaker in Heard and Whitaker 2011, p. 128, suggested that this is a marriage portrait, 1512 being the date of the nuptials.
7. On the genealogical importance of portraits, see Hinz 1974, p. 153; L. Campbell 1990, pp. 211–13; Klingen 1996, p. 80.
8. A. Dülberg 1990, p. 190, no. 47. For an example, see the portrait of Hieronymus Holzschuher with its sliding cover (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin) illustrated in Vienna and Munich 2011–12, p. 246, fig. 2.
9. Although separated in modern times, these two panels, representing a man and his wife, once formed a unit. Hinz 1974, p. 146, no. 5; L. Campbell 1990, pp. 53–54; de Vos 1994, pp. 115, 358–59, no. 14, p. 370, n. 10; Till-Holger Borchert in Madrid, Bruges, and New York 2005, pp. 155–56; B. G. Lane 2009, pp. 261–62, no. 7.
10. Löcher noted that couple portraits on one or two panels were most prevalent in Nuremberg, Augsburg, and other Middle and North German regions (Löcher 1985a, p. 34). For other couple portraits on a single panel, see Vienna and Munich 2011–12, pp. 76–77, no. 37 (entry by Metzger), pp. 326–27, no. 210 (entry by Karl Schütz).
11. Hinz 1974, p. 162; Klingen 1996, p. 80, no. 4; Stephan Kemperdick in Brinkmann and Kemperdick 2002, pp. 372–73; Dagmar Hirschfelder and Kemperdick in Nuremberg 2012, pp. 346–49, no. 62, ill. p. 352.
12. De Vos 1994, p. 115.
13. Löcher 1985a, p. 41.
14. Geelhaar 1992, p. 41. Other examples, especially those by Bernhard Strigel, are in Davenport 1948, vol. 1, p. 389, no. 1031, p. 390, no. 1034.
15. Woltmann 1872, p. 58. See also von Zahn 1873, p. 211; Law 1898, pp. 223–24. For the confusion concerning the versions, see the “Painting Report Form,” pp. 1–2, for the present version (curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
16. Feuchtmayr 1928, pp. 104–5. Feuchtmayr clearly did not know of the painting when he published his first article on the Apt family in 1921 (Feuchtmayr 1921, pp. 30–61). Supporting the attribution to Ulrich Apt the Elder are “Accessions” 1912, p. 150; Kuhn 1936, p. 65; Wehle and Salinger 1947, p. 198; Stange 1934–61, vol. 8 (1957), p. 54; Löcher 1967b, p. 79, n. 42; von der Osten and Vey 1969, p. 108; Stange 1967–78, vol. 2 (1970), p. 159.
17. Whitaker in Heard and Whitaker 2011, p. 129. Although Metzger (in Vienna and Munich 2011–12, p. 256) agreed that the Schroder version is the best preserved, he noted that the Museum’s example shows the most extensive underdrawing and therefore might take precedence over the other two.
18. For archival information on Ulrich Apt the Elder, see Wilhelm 1983, pp. 392–96. *The Adoration of the Magi* in the Louvre once bore the “Apt” signature in the golden bowl on the step in front of the Virgin Mary, as Feuchtmayr reported (Feuchtmayr 1928, p. 100).
19. See Feuchtmayr 1928, p. 44; Wilhelm 1983, pp. 389, 392–97; Schneckenburger-Broschek 1997, p. 31; Schawe 1999–2000; Schawe 2001, pp. 31, 34–36, 76–77; print in curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA.
20. In terms of sensitive rendering and psychological intensity, the face of the man in the Metropolitan painting is closely paralleled by that of the sitter in Apt’s *Portrait of a Man* (Museo Lázaro Galdiano, Madrid, no. 3018; see Kurt Löcher in Vienna and Munich 2011–12, pp. 290–91, no. 187). Of a different type—and with a far more graphically described physiognomy—is another painting attributed to Apt, the *Portrait of an Old Man* (Liechtenstein Collections, Vaduz–Vienna, no. GE 718; see Stephan Kemperdick in Basel 2006a, pp. 62–65, no. 6). The variation in the treatment of these portraits appears to be an aspect of Apt’s art, as is evident from the grouping of the kings and the accompanying figures in the Louvre *Adoration of the Magi*.

21. This is suggested by Whitaker in Heard and Whitaker 2011, p. 129.
22. My sincere thanks to Lucy Whitaker and Nicola Christie of the Royal Collection for sharing with me the results of the technical examination of the Royal Collection and Schroder Collection versions of this composition on July 15, 2010 (report and images, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
23. For the Rehlinger Altarpiece and examples of the underdrawing, see Schawe 2001, pp. 31, 34–36, 76–77, and illustrations on pp. 66–67, figs. 64, 65, pp. 93–95, figs. 75–79.
24. Schawe 2001, p. 77.

EXHIBITIONS: Little Rock 1963, p. 12

REFERENCES: Von Zahn 1873, p. 211 (confused with Schroder Collection version); Law 1898, pp. 223–24 (confused with Schroder Collection version); “Accessions” 1912, p. 150, ill.; Feuchtmayr 1928, pp. 104–5 (confused with Schroder Collection version); Baker 1929, p. 3; Kuhn 1936, pp. 65–66, no. 275, pl. LVI; Wehle and Salinger 1947, p. 198, ill.; Buchner 1953, p. 89, n. 1 (confused with Schroder Collection version); Stange 1934–61, vol. 8 (1957), p. 54; Löcher 1967b, p. 79, n. 42; Hinz 1969, pp. 13–14, 81, n. 41; von der Osten and Vey 1969, p. 108; Stange 1967–78, vol. 2 (1970), p. 159, no. 739; Hinz 1974, p. 207, n. 49, fig. 28; Boerlin 1982, p. 36, fig. 7; Wilhelm 1992, p. 590; Teget-Welz 2008, pp. 133–34; Lucy Whitaker in Heard and Whitaker 2011, pp. 128–31, under no. 56; Christof Metzger in Vienna and Munich 2011–12, pp. 256–57, under no. 164

Cat. 2 Hans Baldung, called Grien

Saint John on Patmos

1. Wood identification and dendrochronological analysis by Peter Klein, Universität Hamburg (report, May 29, 2012, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). Klein’s dendrochronological analysis indicated an earliest felling date of 1497 and an earliest possible fabrication date of 1499.
2. IRR carried out with configuration C; see p. 276.
3. For basic literature on this issue, see Réau 1955–59, vol. 2, pt. 2 (1955), pp. 74–85, 146–48; Levi d’Ancona 1957.
4. C. Koch 1951, pp. 62–64; C. Koch 1953, p. 297. François-Georges Pariset (1934) first published the Museum’s painting along with the Washington painting as works by Baldung and suggested that they could be the wings of a triptych. Before the Cleveland painting was identified as part of the altarpiece, Werner Zimmermann (in Karlsruhe 1959, p. 42, no. 15), Ernst Brochhagen (in Karlsruhe 1959, pp. 346–47, no. XXI, ill.), Gerhard Tolzien (1964, pp. 182–88), and Rolf Fritz (1967, n.p., no. 1) thought the wings belonged to a carved shrine.
5. Letter from Carl Koch, Berlin-Dahlem, May 24, 1958, to Cleveland Museum of Art (curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
6. Von der Osten 1977, pp. 51–61, especially pp. 52–53. The Archives Départementales du Bas-Rhin, Strasbourg (no. H2158), contains records of payment to Baldung for “die tafel” and “für altar” (which may refer to an altarpiece, not a single panel) in the accounts of the Order of Saint John, under the heading, “Uff die Kirch”: “It. X G[ulden] meister Hans baldung dem maler vff die tafel zu malen. It. XIII G[ulden] meister Hans baldung dem maler von dem für altar zu malen.” Von der Osten 1977, p. 52.
7. No. H2232, manuscript by “F. Francisco Josepho Ignatio Goetzman, Ermelten Hausses Custode,” *Inventarium über Alle des Ritterlichen St. Johann Ordens Hauses in Strassburg Custorey oder Kirchen Schatz*, p. 149, no. 25, is the Metropolitan’s painting: “Item ein schier viereckige zaimlich grosse taffel S. Joannis in Insula Patmos, in der Sacristey.” Von der Osten 1977, p. 53.
8. Previously, during the Thirty Years’ War, the Order of Saint John at Strasbourg had to vacate its buildings; in 1633 the church at Grünen Wörth was destroyed and its contents likely moved elsewhere for safekeeping. Subsequently, in 1687, the order moved into the cloister of Sankt Marx in Strasbourg, remaining there until the French Revolution (for further discussion of the history of the commandery of the Johannites at Grünen Wörth, see Heck 1992, p. 97, n. 5). It is here that the three panels are listed separately in the 1741 inventory, probably having been dismantled during the troubled times at Grünen Wörth.
9. C. Koch 1951, pp. 62–64.
10. Von der Osten 1977, pp. 55–56; von der Osten 1983, pp. 72–73. For Perault and Grünen Wörth, see Gass 1899.
11. Heck 1992, p. 86.
12. Grünen Wörth (The Green Isle), founded in 1367 by the merchant banker and writer Rulman Merswin, was a lay monastery. It was later incorporated as part of

- the Order of Saint John of the Knights Hospitaller and became a thriving center for the literati of southern Germany.
13. Heck 1992, pp. 88–92 and pp. 92–96.
 14. Sally Mansfield noted that all three panels concern visionary imagery (Mansfield in Hand 1993, p. 18); this would explain the anachronism in the Washington painting, in which John the Baptist is depicted as an adult, even though according to the Bible and historical records, he and Christ were born around the same time.
 15. Heck 1992, p. 87.
 16. Von der Osten 1983, p. 74.
 17. Von der Osten 1977, pp. 51–61. This theory has been accepted by Pariset (1979); Jean Kubota Cassill in Cleveland Museum of Art 1982, pp. 161–62; Mary Sprinson de Jesús in Metropolitan Museum 1984b, p. 64; Guy Bauman in New York and Nuremberg 1986, pp. 375–79; Heck 1992, pp. 85–99; Hand 1993, pp. 12–21. In support of the notion of stationary wings for the triptych, Guy Bauman (in New York and Nuremberg 1986, p. 376) noted that the backs of the wings were not painted. However, none of the three paintings retains its original back: the Cleveland panel was thinned, transferred to Masonite, veneered on the reverse, and cradled; the Washington panel was thinned to a veneer and marouflaged to hardboard in 1953 (see Hand 1993, p. 13); and the New York panel was previously thinned and cradled.
 18. Letter from Max Hasse to Gert von der Osten, May 13, 1978 (cited in von der Osten 1983, p. 72).
 19. Letter from Walter Hugelshofer to Gert von der Osten, June 1978 (cited in von der Osten 1983, p. 74).
 20. Hand 1993, pp. 16, 18.
 21. Baldung's *Saint John on Patmos* must have been influential locally in Strasbourg, for it seems to have inspired a strikingly similar woodcut by Hans Wechtlin (*Illustrated Bartsch* 1978–, vol. 13 [1981], p. 79, no. 1 [484], under Master Hans Knobloch, but now attributed to Hans Wechtlin), who was active there beginning in 1514. In addition, the comparable painting that formed the right interior wing of the Schnewlin Altarpiece, initially considered a forerunner of the Museum's, was correctly identified by von der Osten (1983, pp. 256–59, no. W97) as a workshop copy after Baldung, an opinion that was accepted by Sibylle Gross (1991; Sibylle Gross in Freiburg 2001–2, pp. 303–11).
 22. Washington and New Haven 1981, p. 161, no. 32.
 23. Carol Schuler in *ibid.*, pp. 133–35, no. 22.

EXHIBITIONS: Amsterdam 1955; Werner Zimmermann in Karlsruhe 1959, p. 42, no. 15, fig. 7; New York 1984; Guy Bauman in New York and Nuremberg 1986, pp. 375–79, no. 179b, ill.; New York 2008–9

REFERENCES: Pariset 1934, fig. 3; O. Fischer 1939, pp. 9, 20; Pariset 1939, p. 19, n. 3; Perseke 1941, pp. 49, 66–67, fig. 9; C. Koch 1951, pp. 62–64; C. Koch 1953, p. 297; Ernst Brochhagen in Karlsruhe 1959, p. 346, under no. XXI; Möhle 1959, p. 128; Tolzien 1964, pp. 182–88; Fritz 1967, n.p., no. 1, ill.; Sotheby's 1971, no. 28; Eisler 1977, pp. 29–30, fig. 8; von der Osten 1977, pp. 51–53, 58–61, figs. 5, 7, 8; Pariset 1979, p. 2; Jean Kubota Cassill in Cleveland Museum of Art 1982, pp. 161–62; von der Osten 1983, pp. 66–69, 72–74, no. 12b, pp. 257–58, pls. 33, 34; Gurewitsch 1984; Mary Sprinson de Jesús in Metropolitan Museum 1984b, p. 64, ill.; von Borries 1985, p. 98; James Snyder in Metropolitan Museum 1987, p. 15; Metropolitan Museum 1987, p. 102, pl. 70; Heck 1992, pp. 85–86, 91–92, 96–97, figs. 1, 4; Karlsruhe 1992, p. 76, fig. 79; Hand 1993, pp. 12–21; Sibylle Gross in Freiburg 2001–2, p. 309

Cat. 3 Barthel Beham

Chancellor Leonhard von Eck

1. Wood identification by Peter Klein, Universität Hamburg (report, April 27, 2006, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). Dating of the wood was not possible.
2. IRR carried out with configuration C; see p. 276.
3. Spring 2000; Richter, Hahn, and R. Fuchs 2001.
4. MMA 18.90.2.
5. For more biographical details, see Segl 1981.
6. Löcher (1967b, p. 50) noted that von Eck's character is especially well represented in both the print and the painted portrait.
7. Moxey 1989, esp. p. 27.
8. Accepted by the following: von Seidlitz 1885, p. 313; Pauli 1905, pp. 41, 44; Waldmann 1910, p. 77; Max J. Friedländer (letter to R. Langton Douglas, March 3, 1912, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA); Lepke's 1912, p. 26, no. 57;

- Schaeffer 1912, p. 76; Mayer 1933, p. 1; Tietze 1935, p. 339, pl. 210; Waldmann 1937, pp. 299, 303; Wehle and Salinger 1947, pp. 192–93; von der Osten and Vey 1969, p. 231; Strieder 1993, p. 155; Christiane Andersson (letter to Katharine Baetjer, October 27, 1996, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA); Stewart 1996, p. 507. Friedländer (1895a, p. 274) originally questioned the attribution, but changed his mind in 1912 (see Friedländer to Douglas, March 3, 1912, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
9. Löcher 1999, p. 71. Löcher further noted, “die Zweifel an der Autorschaft Barthel Behams [werden sich] nicht ganz ausräumen lassen” and “[d]ie verblasene malerische Erscheinung weckt Zweifel an der Eigenhändigkeit.” Löcher 1999, pp. 72, 187, no. 6.
 10. See the Condition and Technical Notes section above; I am grateful to Karen Thomas for numerous discussions on this subject.
 11. Térey (1925, pp. 308–9, 314) and Tietze (1935, p. 339); see also Gisela Hopp in Hamburg 1983, p. 74, no. 19.
 12. Löcher 1999, p. 71.
 13. Tietze 1935, p. 339; Orenstein in Boorsch and Orenstein 1997, p. 49.
 14. Stewart 1996, p. 507.
 15. See Basel 2006a, especially illustrations on pp. 46, 50, 58, 59, 63, leading to the 1531 portrait of Duke Ludwig X of Bavaria (pp. 89–90).

EXHIBITIONS: none

REFERENCES: Von Seidlitz 1885, p. 313; Friedländer 1895a, p. 274; Lepke's 1897, p. 8, no. 50, frontispiece ill.; *Sammlung Weber* 1898, pl. 61; Pauli 1905, pp. 41, 44; Woermann 1907, p. 54, no. 57; Pauli 1909, p. 192; Waldmann 1910, p. 77; Pauli 1911a, p. 58, under no. 94; Lepke's 1912, p. 26, no. 57, pl. 24; Schaeffer 1912, p. 76; Térey 1925, pp. 308–9, 314; Burroughs 1931, p. 13; Mayer 1933, p. 1; Tietze 1935, p. 339, pl. 210; Kuhn 1936, p. 57, no. 216; Waldmann 1937, pp. 300, 302–3, ill. p. 299; Tietze 1939, p. 323, pl. 210; Baldass 1940, p. 258; Wehle and Salinger 1947, pp. 192–93, ill.; Davenport 1948, vol. 1, p. 388, no. 1029, ill. p. 389; J. Müller 1958, p. 18, under no. 75; Löcher 1967a, p. 122; Löcher 1967b, p. 50; von der Osten and Vey 1969, pp. 231–32, pl. 215; von der Osten 1973, p. 251, fig. 207; Sutton 1979, p. 423, fig. 25; Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, p. 8, ill. vol. 2, p. 300; Segl 1981, cover ill.; Gisela Hopp in Hamburg 1983, p. 74, under no. 19, fig. 14; Lübbecke 1991, p. 404; Rainhard Riepertinger in Straubing 1992, pp. 96–97, no. 65, ill.; Strieder 1993, pp. 155, 280–81, no. 162, fig. 605; Löcher 1994, p. 289; Baetjer 1995, p. 223, ill.; Stewart 1996, p. 507; Nadine M. Orenstein in Boorsch and Orenstein 1997, p. 49; Löcher 1999, pp. 71–72, 187–88, no. 6, fig. 69

Cat. 4 Attributed to Jörg Breu the Younger

Joseph Interpreting the Dreams of Pharaoh

1. Martyn 1766, vol. 2, p. 36.
2. The inscriptions in fragmentary Latin on the costumes of the figures to the left and right of Pharaoh, to the extent that they are legible, do not appear relevant to the subject matter.
3. The correct identification first in Colvin 1877, p. 83; then, tentatively, in Burroughs 1914, p. 164. Other interpretations: Christ before Pilate (Martyn 1766, vol. 2, p. 36; London 1877, p. 26, no. 141; New York 1888–89, p. 9, no. 6; Metropolitan Museum 1894, p. 79, no. 296); “Joseph's Coat,” a misidentification referring to an earlier episode in the Joseph story, Gen. 37:31–33 (Metropolitan Museum 1897, p. 89, no. 293; Bernath 1911, p. 295); Tiburtine Sibyl Interpreting the Dream of the Senators (letter from Erwin Panofsky, on the advice of Charles de Tolnay and Lothar Freund, to Harry G. Wehle, dated Hamburg, September 11, 1933, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA); Justice of Trajan (Wehle and Salinger 1947, pp. 225–27; von der Osten and Vey 1969, p. 216); unidentified (Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, p. 18; Baetjer 1995, p. 228).
4. For instance, the large painted roundels by the Master of the Story of Joseph (Friedländer 1969, p. 80, no. 79) or the tapestry series designed by Bronzino, Pontormo, and Salviati (New York 2002, pp. 497–98, 521–25); further examples listed in Réau 1955–59, vol. 2, pt. 1 (1956), pp. 158–59.
5. See Bosshard 1982; Heydenreich 2007b, pp. 231–40 (with references to earlier literature).
6. In his *Schilder-boeck*, Karel van Mander noted a cycle of “watercolour canvases” by Lucas van Leyden in a brewer's house in Delft (coincidentally, on the story of Joseph) that had already become “ravaged and ruined” by the damp; van Mander 1604/1994–99, vol. 1, pp. 113–14. Colvin cited this passage as evidence for ascribing the New York *Tüchlein* to Lucas van Leyden (Colvin 1877, p. 83; see also Bernath 1911, p. 295).

7. Rainer Schoch in Schoch, Mende, and Scherbaum 2001–4, vol. 2 (2002), pp. 49–52, no. 106, ill.
8. Ibid., pp. 197–99, no. 160, ill. (*Christ Carrying the Cross*), and pp. 194–96, no. 159, ill. (*Ecce Homo*). The reverse citation from *Christ Carrying the Cross* explains the atypical placement of the figure's sword on the right hip instead of the left.
9. Anna Scherbaum in ibid., pp. 251–53, no. 176, ill.
10. See Gemäldegalerie (Berlin) 1996, p. 259, fig. 807.
11. The shared source (a lost print?) may have reflected a design by Marco Zoppo. *Three Warriors*, a drawing by Zoppo in the British Museum, London, contains a strikingly similar figure; see Dodgson 1923, p. 14, pl. XVr; Popham and Pouncey 1950, pp. 162–63, no. 260.
12. Hind 1938–48, vol. 1 (1938), pp. 66–67, no. A.II.9, vol. 2 (1938), pl. 94. I thank Ashley West for directing my attention to the Baldini.
13. See Aikema and Martin 1999; on Augsburg up to 1525, see Baer 1993. For the Museum's painting, a derivation from Paduan models has been suggested by reference to the frescoes attributed to Gian Antonio Corona in the Scuola del Carmine (see Aikema and Martin 1999, p. 333). The processional frieze with an elephant on the rear architrave suggests knowledge of Andrea Mantegna's Triumphs of Caesar, probably through engravings (see Hind 1938–48, vol. 5 [1948], pp. 22–23, no. 14; vol. 6 [1948], pl. 508). The foliate decoration of the pillars and the friezes with sea creatures at the top and center of the wall on the right could have been inspired by engraved ornamental panels from Italy. The statue mounted on the right wall is reminiscent of the standing figures with which Jacopo Bellini decorated the praetorium of Pontius Pilate in his *Flagellation of Christ* drawing now in the Musée du Louvre, Paris (see P. F. Brown 1996, p. 116, fig. 123).
14. The two pictures are now in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich. They were part of the famous cycle of history paintings for the Munich Residenz commissioned by Wilhelm IV, Duke of Bavaria. See Greiselmayer 1996, pp. 115–20, 101–14; Goldberg 2002, pp. 25–29, 33–37, ill.; Schawe 2006, pp. 88, 109, ill.
15. Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1936, p. 135. For the Lucas van Leyden attribution, dating at least from the picture's time in the Methuen Collection, see Martyn 1766, vol. 2, p. 36; Colvin 1877; London 1877, p. 26, no. 141; Bernath 1911; Burroughs 1914, p. 164.
16. The Tietzes also claimed certain (implausible) affinities with the style of Jörg Breu the Elder and therefore dated the painting before 1534, the year in which the younger Breu took over the workshop from his father. On the Eton manuscript, see Dodgson 1934; Augsburg 2011b.
17. Letter from Dodgson to Margaretta Salinger, dated London, October 25, 1936 (curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
18. Wehle and Salinger 1947, p. 227. *Judith and Holofernes*, the woodcut whose landscape background they compared with the *Tüchlein*, is no longer attributed to Breu; it is the work of Heinrich Vogtherr the Elder (see Messling 2008, vol. 2, under "Rejected Prints") and offers only a loose comparison.
19. Aikema and Martin 1999, p. 333.
20. For the Lucretia and Romulus illuminations, see Augsburg 2011b, pls. 10, 11. On the further extensive manuscript production of the Breu workshop, see Augsburg 2011b, passim; Augsburg 2011a, pp. 96–101, 116–19, with references to earlier literature.
21. See Messling 2008, vol. 2, pp. 198–99, no. 4, ill.; for example, the floor and ceiling of the throne canopy at the left or the drastically skewed architrave at the right. That this design may have been begun by Jörg Breu the Elder (the two left blocks) and finished by the younger Breu (the two right blocks) is a separate matter, since spatial inconsistencies are present in both halves.
22. Messling 2008.
23. Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 206–7, no. 8, pp. 204–5, no. 7, ill.
24. Ibid., pp. 196–97, no. 3, ill.
25. Ibid., pp. 200–201, no. 5, ill. The work had previously been assigned to the elder Breu.
26. Ibid., pp. 210–11, no. 10, ill.
27. The variations discernible in Breu's production probably resulted from combined issues of workshop participation and the use of different stylistic modes. On the latter point, a similar tendency is recognizable in the work of Breu's father, with whom he trained. Jörg Breu the Elder's alternately stringent and loose application of classicizing motifs and rational spatial principles is exemplified in the differences between the above-mentioned *Story of Lucretia* in Munich and the *Samson and the Philistines* in the Kunstmuseum Basel (on this difference, and for further consideration of stylistic alternatives employed by the elder Breu, see Morrall 2001, pp. 218–25).
28. Being unfinished, it cannot be identified as the "tuch" for which Breu received payment from Pfalzgraf Ottheinrich in 1536 (see Röttinger 1909, p. 80).
29. The documented, fragmentary wall paintings of 1536–37 at Jagdschloss Grünau near Neuburg an der Donau do not clarify the matter; neither does the attributed panel painting dated 1535 in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich, nor the attributed fresco of 1544 formerly in Augsburg (destroyed). On what little is known of Jörg

Breu the Younger's activity as a wall- and easel painter, see Röttinger 1909, pp. 79–82. On the Grünau frescoes, see Horn and W. Meyer 1958, pp. 478, 491, fig. 453; Burmeister 1974, p. 76, figs. 61, 62; Stierhof 1977, p. 41, fig. 3; Burmeister 1980, p. 110; Genischen 2007, pp. 335–37. Bernrieder 1990 was unavailable to me. On the Munich panel, the *Capture of Rhodes by Artemisia*, see Salm and Goldberg 1963, p. 210, ill. p. 292; Greiselmayer 1996, pp. 179–84, pl. XV. On the lost Augsburg fresco with scenes from Roman history, see Haemmerle 1935, pp. 195–200, ill.; Löcher 1980, pp. 24–25, ill.

EXHIBITIONS: London 1877, p. 26, no. 141; New York 1888–89, p. 9, no. 6

REFERENCES: Martyn 1766, vol. 2, p. 36; Colvin 1877; Metropolitan Museum 1894, p. 79, no. 296; Metropolitan Museum 1897, p. 89, no. 293; Bernath 1911; Burroughs 1914, p. 164; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1936, ill.; Wehle and Salinger 1947, pp. 225–27, ill.; von der Osten and Vey 1969, p. 216; Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, p. 18, ill. vol. 2, p. 302; Baetjer 1995, p. 228, ill.; Aikema and Martin 1999, p. 333, ill. p. 334

Cat. 5 Attributed to Hans Brosamer

Katharina Merian

1. The label was probably attached to the painting when it was put up for sale on December 7–9, 1932. It was indeed consigned by Higgs, but the lot number was 26.
2. Lehner 1871, p. 16, no. 54; Lehner 1883, p. 18, no. 54.
3. Frankfurt 1928, p. 8, no. 13.
4. Wood identification by Peter Klein, Universität Hamburg (report, July 27, 2007, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). Dating of the wood was not possible.
5. IRR carried out with configuration C; see p. 276.
6. The dating of this intervention can be inferred from Lehner 1871, p. 16, no. 54; Lehner 1883, p. 18, no. 54.
7. Lehner expressed this hypothesis in the 1883 edition of the catalogue (Lehner 1883, p. 18, no. 54). The briefer entry in the 1871 catalogue notes only the presence of the inscription on the verso (Lehner 1871, p. 16, no. 54).
8. The cradle is first mentioned in Kende 1942, p. 37, no. 35, where the claim is made that the inscription is present beneath the cradle, which is highly unlikely. As Katharine Baetjer noted (in Metropolitan Museum 1984a, p. 108), Gustav Pauli's supposition (Pauli 1911b, p. 66) that the inscription was cut off the front is not supported by the physical evidence, since the painting retains the original edges at the top and bottom and appears to have undergone only slight trimming at the sides.
9. Reflecting a convention of the time, the last name given in the inscription was most likely the woman's maiden name. The likelihood that the portrait originated in Nuremberg, discussed below, does not exclude the possibility that she could have come from Basel, with which city the Merians were associated by this time, and moved to Nuremberg because she married. Her likely date of birth in 1485/86 puts her in the generation of the children of Theobald (Diebold) Merian (ca. 1465–1544), the founder of the older of the two Basel lines, who gained citizenship in Basel in 1498 (see *Historisch-biographisches Lexikon* 1929, p. 82).
10. Kühnel-Kunze 1960, pp. 72–79. For the Otthera portrait, see Kühnel-Kunze 1941, pp. 236–37, fig. 31; Kühnel-Kunze 1960, pp. 72–73, fig. 14; Dreiheller 1970, pp. 144, 196, n. 1. Otthera was chancellor to the abbot of Fulda. Also signed with an HB, but with the addition of a griffin-head emblem, is a group of portraits and religious and mythological paintings dated between 1528 and 1550 that Irene Kühnel-Kunze assigned to a Master HB with the Griffin Head (see Kühnel-Kunze 1941; Kühnel-Kunze 1960). Stylistically distinct from the Brosamer portraits, they must be by a different hand, although Kühnel-Kunze contemplated the possibility that Brosamer could have altered his style according to the wishes of patrons (Kühnel-Kunze 1960, p. 79). Such a drastic change in style is, however, not especially plausible. That the Master HB with the Griffin Head may nevertheless have been related to Brosamer is suggested by his apparent knowledge of jewelry designs that Brosamer published in his *Ein new Kunstbüchlein* (Nuremberg, 1538) pattern book (see Kühnel-Kunze 1960, pp. 67–70).
11. Pauli 1911b, p. 66, and all later references.
12. Pauli 1911b; Kühnel-Kunze 1941, p. 233; Kalden-Rosenfeld 1996. The portraits in question are *Hans Pirkel*, 1520, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; *Wolfgang Eisen*, 1523, Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe; *Wolf Fürleger*, 1527, private collection (Sotheby's, London, July 7, 2011, no. 148); *Sebald Haller von Hallerstein*, 1528, North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh; and *Christoph Haller*, 1529, location unknown, formerly Pannwitz Collection, Heemstede.
13. Kühnel-Kunze 1941, p. 233.
14. Lauts 1966, vol. 1, pp. 66–67, vol. 2, p. 24, ill.
15. Löcher 1997, pp. 407–10, ill.

16. Zander-Seidel 1990, p. 131.
17. Löcher 1967a, pp. 120–21. Also according to Löcher (Löcher 1997, p. 407), the Merian portrait offers a precedent for the conspicuous display of jewelry worn by Straub, which was unusual in Nuremberg portraiture of the time.

EXHIBITIONS: Frankfurt 1928, p. 8, no. 13

REFERENCES: Lehner 1871, p. 16, no. 54; Lehner 1883, p. 18, no. 54; Pauli 1911b, p. 66; Rieffel 1924, p. 64, fig. 59; Schwabacher 1928, pp. 455–56; Wertheim 1930, p. 9, no. 42, pl. 42; American Art Association and Anderson Galleries 1932, p. 9, no. 26, ill.; Kuhn 1936, p. 90, no. 410; Kühnel-Kunze 1941, pp. 233–36, fig. 28; Kende 1942, p. 37, no. 35, ill.; Kühnel-Kunze 1960, pp. 74, 77–78; Löcher 1967a, pp. 120–21, fig. 5; Löcher 1977, pp. 87, 88, fig. 6; Katharine Baetjer in Metropolitan Museum 1984a, pp. 107–8, no. 39, ill.; Zander-Seidel 1990, p. 131, fig. 121; Baetjer 1995, p. 228, ill.; Kalden-Rosenfeld 1996, p. 385; Löcher 1997, p. 409

Cat. 6A, B Barthel Bruyn the Elder

A. *Portrait of a Man*, B. *Portrait of a Woman*

1. The name written on the verso of each panel may refer to Franciszek Kraszewski (1843–?), son of the novelist Józef Ignacy Kraszewski (1812–1887), who inherited his father's collection of books and manuscripts. The 1888 catalogue of the Kraszewski Collection lists a few paintings as well, but none matches the present ones; see Pawlik 1888.
2. Wood identification and dendrochronological analysis by Peter Klein, Universität Hamburg (report, July 27, 2007, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). Klein's dendrochronological analysis indicated an earliest felling date of 1513, an earliest possible fabrication date of 1515, and a plausible fabrication date of 1525 or later.
3. IRR carried out with configuration C; see p. 276.
4. See Berlin 1915, p. 9, nos. 20, 21; Plietzsch 1915, p. 214 (where the dates are misread as 1535). Cassirer and Helbing 1930 (n.p., nos. 2, 3) cited Max J. Friedländer's endorsement of the attribution. See also Cologne 1955, pp. 17–18, nos. 19, 20 (not exhibited); Westhoff-Krummacher 1965, p. 115, nos. 25, 26 (where the former owner Marcus Kappel is referred to mistakenly as "H. Kappel").
5. Westhoff-Krummacher 1965, pp. 9–11.
6. See especially *The Departure of Saint Helena* and *The Delivery of the Relic of the True Cross*, ill. in Tümmers 1964, pp. 196–99, nos. A98, A99, and details.
7. See, for example, *Gerhard Pilgrim* and *Anna Pilgrim, née Strauss* (Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne), 1528; *Portrait of a Man* (location unknown) and *Portrait of a Woman with Two Carnations* (Jagdschloss Grunewald, Berlin), 1530; *Portrait of a Man* and *Portrait of a Woman* (formerly Freiherr von Ketteler-Harkotten Collection, Schloss Schwarzenraben, Lippstadt-Bökenförde), 1531; *Portrait of a Man* and *Portrait of a Woman* (rectangular format; Gemäldegalerie, Berlin), 1534; and *Portrait of a Man with a Rosary* and *Portrait of a Woman with a Carnation* (Anhaltische Gemäldegalerie Dessau), ca. 1528. For these five pairs, see Westhoff-Krummacher 1965, nos. 9–10, 16–17, 21–22, 29–30, 82–83, respectively.
8. See Westhoff-Krummacher 1965, pp. 47–48, 49–51.
9. Wurmback 1932, p. 88; Westhoff-Krummacher 1965, p. 130, under nos. 43, 44.
10. On betrothal symbolism, see Wolffhardt 1954, pp. 191–96. Hildegard Westhoff-Krummacher (1965, p. 66), following Ingvar Bergström (1958), claimed that all carnations in Bruyn's paintings, even the marriage and betrothal portraits, signify the Passion of Christ to the exclusion of other meanings.
11. Westhoff-Krummacher 1965, nos. 9–10; A. Dülberg 1990, pp. 252–53, no. 220; Zehnder 1990, pp. 36–38, figs. 4–6.
12. The original frame of the *Portrait of a Woman with Two Carnations* (Jagdschloss Grunewald, Berlin) has cutouts for hinges on the left side, and the verso shows a vanitas scene (see A. Dülberg 1990, p. 253, no. 222, ill., with frame cropped out). The *Portrait of a Man* (Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne), of about 1534, has notches for hinges on the right side of the original frame (see Zehnder 1990, pp. 57–58, fig. 25, with most of frame cropped out).
13. The frames were removed before 1915. In Plietzsch 1915, p. 210, fig. 12, the male portrait is illustrated in a modern frame (no longer preserved).
14. The black coating on the portrait versos appears to have been applied directly to the wood, and it does not overlap the cuts at the panel edges, which indicates that it was in place before the frame moldings were cut away. On the criteria for distinguishing between pendants and diptychs, and on types of diptychs, see Hand, Metzger (Catherine A.), and Spronk 2006–7a; Hand, Metzger (Catherine A.), and Spronk 2006–7b.

EXHIBITIONS: Berlin 1915, p. 9, nos. 20 (cat. 6A), 21 (cat. 6B)

REFERENCES: 6A: Plietzsch 1915, p. 214, ill. p. 210, fig. 12; Cassirer and Helbing 1930, n.p., no. 2, pl. II; "Kappel and Castiglioni Lots" 1930, ill.; Cologne 1955, pp. 17–18, no. 19 (not in exhibition); Westhoff-Krummacher 1965, p. 115, no. 25, ill. p. 118; Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, p. 21, ill. vol. 2, p. 301; Baetjer 1995, p. 225, ill.

6B: Plietzsch 1915, p. 214; Cassirer and Helbing 1930, n.p., no. 3, pl. III; "Kappel and Castiglioni Lots" 1930, ill.; Cologne 1955, pp. 17–18, no. 20 (not in exhibition); Westhoff-Krummacher 1965, pp. 25, 66, 115, no. 26, ill. p. 118; Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, p. 21, ill. vol. 2, p. 301; Baetjer 1995, p. 225, ill.

Cat. 7 Barthel Bruyn the Younger

Portrait of a Woman of the Slosgin Family of Cologne

1. The fire-kindling fans (*Feuerwedel*) on the coat of arms have also been described as brooms (*Besen*), teasels (*Weberkarden*), and horse brushes (*Ross-Kämme*); see, respectively, von Oidtman 1992–99, vol. 7 (1994), p. 265; von der Ketten 1983–86, vol. 4 (1986), p. 419; Fahne 1848–53/1965, vol. 1, p. 390.
2. This and the following owner are mentioned on a label formerly attached to the verso of the panel (curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
3. Wood identification and dendrochronological analysis by Peter Klein, Universität Hamburg (report, July 27, 2007, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). Klein's dendrochronological analysis indicated an earliest felling date of 1539, an earliest possible fabrication date of 1541, and a plausible fabrication date of 1551 or later.
4. IRR carried out with configuration C; see p. 276.
5. First recognized by Wilhelm Baumeister in a letter to Margaretta M. Salinger, dated Cologne, January 7, 1933 (curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). For Slosgin coats of arms on other paintings and monuments, see the Master of the Legend of Saint George, Altarpiece of Saint George, ca. 1460, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne (Zehnder 1990, pp. 250–58, fig. 171; alliance coat of arms of Peter Kannegiesser and Cristina Slosgin); and the decorations, largely destroyed during World War II, of the Salvatorkapelle (Hardenrathkapelle) erected in 1466 in Sankt Maria im Kapitol, Cologne (W. Schmid 1994, pp. 337–57, figs. 73, 82, 86; coat of arms of Sibylle Slosgin, wife of Johann Hardenrath).
6. See Wurmback 1932, p. 88; Westhoff-Krummacher 1965, p. 130, under nos. 43, 44.
7. A fourth daughter, Gudula, was a nun and thus can be ruled out; see von der Ketten 1983–86, vol. 4 (1986), pp. 419–21. For referral to this source, I am grateful to Franz-Dietrich, Freiherr von Recum (email to the author, dated April 2, 2012, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
8. Von der Ketten 1983–86, vol. 4 (1986), pp. 420–21.
9. Ibid. On Krufft Crudener, see *ibid.*, vol. 3 (1985), pp. 339–40.
10. Ibid., vol. 4 (1986), pp. 420–21. On Helman, see *ibid.*, vol. 2 (1984), pp. 503, 506, 508.
11. Max J. Friedländer, unpublished opinion, dated Berlin, January 6, 1912 (on verso of photograph, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA); Friedländer in "Friedsam Collection" 1928, p. 147. See also Wehle and Salinger 1947, pp. 231–32; Held 1949, p. 140; Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, p. 21; Baetjer 1995, p. 229; Dunbar 2005, pp. 103–4.
12. Tümmers 1970, pp. 116, 120, no. 2.
13. Löw 2002, p. 119.
14. For the Weinsberg *Crucifixion*, see Tümmers 1970, pp. 114–15, 117–19; Löw 2002, p. 200, fig. 2; R. Wagner 2006, p. 61, no. 139. For the Ulmer portrait, see Tümmers 1970, pp. 114, 123–27, no. 4, figs. 88–90; Löw 2002, p. 200, fig. 3.
15. For an extensive discussion of the style of Barthel Bruyn the Younger, see Löw 2002, pp. 119–20.
16. See, for example, the hands in the donor portraits of the wing panels *Arnold II von Siegen with His Son Arnold III and Saint Peter* and *Catharina von Siegen, née Kannegiesser, with Saint Anne and the Virgin and Child* of about 1565–70 in the John G. Johnson Collection at the Philadelphia Museum of Art (Philadelphia Museum of Art 1994, p. 164, ill.; for my identification of the donors in 2010, see the Johnson Collection curatorial files).
17. See Westhoff-Krummacher 1965, p. 196. More common in the first half of the century and seen frequently in female portraits by Barthel Bruyn the Elder are shorter collars and wide, embroidered belts. Earlier bonnets in Cologne were more evenly rounded, as in the Metropolitan Museum's 1533 *Portrait of a Woman* by the elder Bruyn (cat. 6B). This change in bonnet form is discussed in Löw 2002, pp. 117–18.
18. Löcher 1997, pp. 102–8, ill.
19. Philadelphia Museum of Art 1994, p. 165, ill. The Philadelphia Museum's portrait probably dates to 1561, the year of Römer's marriage to Joannes von Salm. The

- identification of the sitter is thanks to Franz-Dietrich, Freiherr von Recum (email to the author, dated March 10, 2010, curatorial files, John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia Museum of Art).
20. Bruyn more commonly placed such highlights down the center of the forearm. For the Toledo Museum portraits, see Toledo Museum of Art 1976, p. 388, ill.
 21. See Westhoff-Krummacher 1965, nos. 59, 60, 71, 72, 86, 87.

EXHIBITIONS: New York 1932–33

REFERENCES: Max J. Friedländer in “Friedsam Collection” 1928, p. 147; Wehle and Salinger 1947, pp. 231–32, ill.; Davenport 1948, vol. 1, pp. 408–9, no. 1088, ill.; Held 1949, p. 140; Tümmers 1970, pp. 116, 120, no. 2, fig. 83; Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, p. 21, ill. vol. 2, p. 302; Baetjer 1995, p. 229, ill.; Löw 2002, p. 119; Dunbar 2005, pp. 103–4, fig. 6–7

Cat. 8 Lucas Cranach the Elder

Portrait of a Man with a Rosary

1. Wood identification and dendrochronological analysis by Peter Klein, Universität Hamburg (report, April 27, 2006, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). Klein’s dendrochronological analysis indicated an earliest felling date of 1500, an earliest possible fabrication date of 1502, and a plausible fabrication date of 1508 or later.
2. Heydenreich 2007b, p. 43.
3. IRR carried out with configuration A; see p. 276.
4. Friedländer 1916, col. 132.
5. Friedländer 1919, p. 84.
6. Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1932, p. 39. For the most recent affirmation of the attribution to Cranach, see Bodo Brinkmann in Frankfurt and London 2007–8, p. 138, nos. 12, 13; Guido Messling in Brussels and Paris 2010–11, p. 138, no. 60.
7. Koepplin, unpublished opinion, August 12, 1966 (curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). Koepplin published this observation in 1972, p. 347, and was later supported by Angelica Dülberg (1990, pp. 85, 261). As early as 1919, Friedländer had proposed (p. 85) that the Zürich portrait was linked to one of a man as part of a diptych or the wings of a triptych, but he had not yet identified the exact pendant. The 1978 edition of Friedländer and Rosenberg unfortunately did not take into account Koepplin’s discovery that the Zürich and New York panels are pendants; it dated the former as about 1508–10 and the latter as about 1510–12 (Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 74, no. 27).
8. The background of the Metropolitan’s portrait is now a duller, darker green than that of the Zürich portrait, which is a cooler shade of the same color. This has likely resulted from differences in the preservation and conservation of the paintings after they were separated at an early date.
9. Efforts to discover the central panel have not been successful. Koepplin (in Basel 1974, vol. 2, p. 682) suggested as a possible model the half-length holy figures of the Virgin, Christ, and Saint John in Rogier van der Weyden’s Braque Triptych (Musée du Louvre, Paris).
10. Koepplin (in Basel 1974, vol. 2, pp. 682–83) related the grisaille images to figures in a woodcut from the 1509 *Wittenberger Heiltumsbuch* (see Basel 1974, vol. 1, p. 417, fig. 233) and to saints from the wings of the Martyrdom of Saint Catherine Altarpiece of 1506 (National Gallery, London; middle panel in Gemäldegalerie, Dresden).
11. Maryan W. Ainsworth in New York 1993, p. 55.
12. Wehle and Salinger 1947, p. 200.
13. Heydenreich 2007b, p. 48. Heydenreich also pointed out that the wide beveling on the reverse corresponds to that found on many sixteenth-century “Dutch” panels (Heydenreich 2002, vol. 1, p. 35 and n. 46) and cited Wadum 1998, pp. 160–61.
14. Scheidig’s assertions are based on evidence in the Weimar Staatsarchiv. See Scheidig 1972, p. 301. The Netherlands trip is known mainly because of Dr. Christoph Scheurl’s dedicatory epistle to Cranach in his oration of December 16, 1508, subsequently published in 1509 (for a German translation of the Latin original, see Lüdecke 1953, p. 51). Scheidig doubted, however, that Cranach produced any paintings on this trip (Scheidig 1972, p. 302). On the trip itself, see also Koepplin 2003b, sec. 4.2, “Warum reiste Cranach 1508 in die Niederlande?,” especially pp. 60–67; Schade 2007; Borchert 2010a.
15. See Duverger 1970, p. 9; Schade 1974, pp. 28, 404, no. 52. The document is to be found in Lille, Départementales du Nord, Namelijk van de Rekeningen van Margareta van Oostenrijk, Gehouden door haar Tresorier Diego Florès, B 19167 Bl. 53.

16. Schade saw this influence especially in prints after 1509 and in the grisaille wings of the Torgau Altarpiece, which was painted in Wittenberg in 1509 (Schade 1980, p. 28), and suspected that Cranach may have met Hieronymus Bosch and even more likely Quentin Metsys in Antwerp (Schade 1980, p. 30). Koepplin recognized the influence of Jan Joest’s Kalkar Altarpiece on Cranach’s 1509 woodcut *The Betrayal of Christ* (Koepplin in Basel 1974, vol. 2, pp. 472–73). Although he compared the Last Judgment triptychs of Bosch and Cranach, Dirk Bax did not specifically discuss Cranach’s trip to the Netherlands (see Bax 1983). Jozef Duverger doubted any diplomatic purpose for Cranach’s trip (see Duverger 1970, esp. pp. 8–13). According to Franz Matsche (1996, p. 38, n. 39), the idea that Cranach served as a diplomat for Friedrich the Wise came from Heinrich Lilienfein (1942, p. 21).
17. Brinkmann in Frankfurt and London 2007–8, p. 138, nos. 12, 13.
18. Examples include the diptych *Johann the Constant and His Son Johann Friedrich* (National Gallery, London), *Christoph Scheurl* (private collection, Nuremberg), and *Georg Spalatin* (Museum der Bildenden Künste Leipzig), the latter two damaged and heavily restored.
19. Friedländer 1919, p. 84.

EXHIBITIONS: New York 1930, p. 8, no. 41; Palm Beach 1951, no. 15; Maryan W. Ainsworth in New York 1993, pp. 54–55, pl. 56; Bodo Brinkmann in Frankfurt and London 2007–8, pp. 138–39, no. 12, ill.; Guido Messling in Brussels and Paris 2010–11, p. 138, no. 60, ill. pp. 138, 172 (shown in Brussels only)

REFERENCES: Friedländer 1916, col. 132; Friedländer 1919, p. 84, ill. p. 82; “Havemeyer Collection” 1930, ill. p. 35; “Sammlung Havemeyer” 1930, ill. p. 216; Burroughs 1931, p. 75; *Havemeyer Collection* 1931, p. 14, ill.; Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1932, p. 39, no. 49, ill.; Tietze 1935, p. 339, pl. 204; Kuhn 1936, p. 37, no. 89; Tietze 1939, p. 323, pl. 204; Wehle and Salinger 1947, pp. 199–200, ill.; Rouchès 1951, pl. 20; Galerie Fischer 1958, p. 140, under no. 2767; *Havemeyer Collection* 1958, p. 33, no. 183; Havemeyer 1961, p. 20; Koepplin 1972, p. 347; Schade 1974, pp. 54, 384, nn. 383, 384, p. 460, pl. 61; Dieter Koepplin in Basel 1974, vol. 2 (1976), pp. 682–83, pls. 333, 335; Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 80, no. 56, ill.; Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, p. 36, ill. vol. 2, p. 295; Schade 1980, pp. 54, 384, nn. 383, 384, p. 459, pl. 61; Weitzenhoffer 1982, p. 166, n. 7; Weitzenhoffer 1986, p. 255; A. Dülberg 1990, pp. 85, 261, no. 241, figs. 328, 331; Havemeyer 1993, pp. 20, 310, n. 38; S. A. Stein 1993, p. 264; Tinterow 1993, p. 10; Wold 1993, p. 321, no. A168; Baetjer 1995, p. 219, ill.; Anzelewsky 1999, pp. 136, 144, n. 36; Heydenreich 2002, vol. 1, p. 35 and n. 46, p. 152; Heydenreich 2007b, pp. 48, 332, n. 49, fig. 23; Borchert 2010a, p. 27

Cat. 9 Lucas Cranach the Elder

The Martyrdom of Saint Barbara

1. See Siebmacher 1605–9, pt. 1 (1605), pl. 207; Siebmacher 1856–1967 (ed.), vol. 2, pt. 1 (1856), p. 105, pl. 128; Rietstap 1950/1972, vol. 2, p. 540; E. Zimmermann 1970, no. 4232. The Hebrew word *reem* means “wild ox.”
2. Wood identification by Peter Klein, Universität Hamburg (report, April 3, 2006, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). Dating of the wood was not possible.
3. IRR carried out with configuration C; see p. 276.
4. *Der Heiligen Leben* of 1488 (Nuremberg: Anton Koberger), or a later version of it, was likely the edition of the lives of the saints that informed Cranach’s depiction of Saint Barbara’s life, as the earlier ones do not include her story.
5. My thanks to Dirk H. Breiding, Assistant Curator, Department of Arms and Armor, MMA, for his comments on the armor worn by the figures in this painting (email to Maryan Ainsworth, March 27, 2012, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
6. Ibid.
7. Lepsius 1855, p. 151.
8. In the paint layers, the eyes of the man in the yellow damask robe were shifted toward the judge, whereas in the underdrawing they were directed toward Dioscorus.
9. The location of this drawing is currently unknown. Although scholars (Theo Ludwig Girshausen and Jakob Rosenberg) have considered it a workshop production, possibly even a counterproof, with Dioscorus standing with sword raised behind rather than in front of Barbara, the drawing represents a design stage previous to the solution reached in the Metropolitan’s painting. The handling and execution of the drawing appear labored and weak. However, if it eventually reappears, a careful examination of it in relation to Cranach’s underdrawings may be helpful in regard to the question of attribution. See Girshausen 1937, no. 128; J. Rosenberg 1960, p. 35, no. A7; Hofbauer 2010, p. 462.

10. Hofbauer 2010, pp. 122–23, no. 16582. A comparison of the execution and handling of this drawing with that of the underdrawing in Cranach's painting shows the same artist at work, as evidenced by the short dashes describing the features of the face, the bold, free contours of the exterior and interior drapery forms, and the quick, nervous scribble connoting landscape and setting.
11. This detail is specifically mentioned in *Der Heiligen Leben*, Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1488, fol. cclxiii verso, col. 1: "warf sie ynhalb auff einen berg."
12. This detail is from the translation of the legend by William Caxton (1483) and is not found in the editions published in Germany before around 1510, such as those in Nuremberg (1488), Cologne (1479), Augsburg (Zainer of 1475). I have not been able to see the Ulm 1488 version.
13. Sturm 1844, quoted in Lepsius 1855, p. 149.
14. Christian Schuchardt also noted that the painting was in poor condition and had been restored (Schuchardt 1851–71, vol. 2 [1851], p. 68). In 1883 M. B. Lindau agreed that the *Saint Barbara* woodcut was a "study" for the painting in Goseck, which he considered a workshop product or by a follower of Cranach, similar in style to the altarpiece wings in the east choir of Naumburg Cathedral (Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 158, no. Sup 1F, attributed to the Master of the Pflock Altarpiece; Sandner 1993, p. 302, reassigned to the Cranach workshop). Lindau 1883, p. 242.
15. Lepsius 1855, pp. 151–52 and 149, 156.
16. Grünsteudel, Hägele, and Frankenberger 1998, p. 742.
17. Lepsius 1855, p. 152. Lepsius constructed a purely hypothetical provenance for the painting in order to explain its journey from Augsburg to Goseck (Lepsius 1855, pp. 153–56).
18. Unaware of Christian Schuchardt's publication, Friedrich Eduard Keller (1853, p. 361) attributed the painting to Michael Wolgemut and again referred to the subject as the Sacrifice of Jephthah's Daughter. Karl August Gottlieb Sturm repeated his assertion of 1844 that the subject is the Sacrifice of Jephthah's Daughter and agreed with Keller that it is by Wolgemut. He also verified the provenance of the work (Sturm 1861, p. 113). Heinrich Bergner (1909, p. 125) attributed the painting to Cranach but called the subject the Execution of Saint Catherine. Friedrich Hoppe (1930, p. 99) repeated the information in Lepsius 1855, p. 151, and referred to the work only as a large painting representing an Old Testament theme.
19. Buchner, unpublished opinion, Munich, June 18, 1956 (curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
20. Buchner's proposal is possible, since both Rem and Cranach were in Antwerp from November 10 to 17, 1508 (Buchner, unpublished opinion, Munich, June 18, 1956, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA); Rem 1494–1541/1861, pp. 10, 108, n. 290; Scheidig 1972, p. 301.
21. Schade 1972a, pp. 149–50; Schade 1974, p. 46; Schade 1980, p. 46; Erichsen 1994, pp. 181, 185, n. 8.
22. Koeplin in Basel 1974, vol. 2, pp. 550, 552; Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 72, no. 21, ill.
23. Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, pp. 69–70, no. 16.
24. Rem 1494–1541/1861.
25. Metsys: Altarpiece of the Trinity with the Virgin and Child (Alte Pinakothek, Munich); Joachim Patinir and/or workshop: *Assumption of the Virgin* (Johnson Collection, Philadelphia Museum of Art); *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (Mrs. G. Kidston Collection, Bristol, England); *Saint Jerome in Penitence* (Ca' d'Oro, Venice). For other members of the Rem family who may have commissioned the painting, see notes by Alice Hoppe-Harmoncourt and Joshua Waterman (painting report form, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
26. Anna Ehem was raised by a Barbara von Dynheim, and her maternal grandmother was Barbara Gres(s)ler (Rem 1494–1541/1861, pp. 2–3, 46, 52, 56).
27. One fragment of similar size, style, and date is a single female figure, a Saint Margaret. Joshua Waterman investigated the possibility that this panel could have been the right inside wing joined to *Saint Barbara* as the central panel, as suggested by its dimensions (93 × 62.5 cm, although cut at the bottom). However, the sky of the Saint Margaret is yellow at the horizon, and thus a poor match for the blue sky of the Museum's painting. For an illustration, see Weschenfelder 2003, pp. 71–72, no. 9, ill. p. 49, fig. 32.
28. See Gunnar Heydenreich in New York 2009, n.p., no. 1, Workshop of Lucas Cranach the Elder, 1511–1514, *The Martyrdom of Saint Barbara*. One panel, at Lawrence Steigrad Fine Arts, New York, measures 49 × 38.9 cm and was previously owned by D. Heinemann, Munich, 1936; possibly Victor D. Spark, New York, 1971; anonymous sale, Christie's, New York, January 9, 1981, no. 180; Bob Guccione, New York, until 2007. The other smaller version, possibly from the Cranach workshop, measures 38 × 29 cm and was in the Collection Busch, Mainz, and then subsequently in the Collection Eduard Götzschel, Frankfurt am Main.
29. Erichsen noted that the stance of Dioscorus in the painting appears to have been borrowed from the print (Erichsen 1994, p. 181).
30. *Illustrated Bartsch* 1978–, vol. 9, pt. 1 (1981), p. 366, no. 9.
31. Heydenreich, unpublished opinion, May 22, 2002 (curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
32. Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, pp. 78–79, nos. 46, 47, p. 75, no. 30.
33. *Ibid.*, pp. 68–70, nos. 11, 14, 18.
34. Dated about 1505 by Schade (1980, p. 459) and Ingo Sandner (in Eisenach 1998, pp. 87, 103–5), about 1507 by Friedländer and J. Rosenberg (1978, pp. 69–70, no. 16), and about 1505–9 by Iris Ritschel (see Eisenach 1998, p. 87, n. 15).
35. Heydenreich 2007b, p. 108, figs. 90, 91.
36. See Hofbauer 2010, nos. 27, 24, 23, respectively.
37. Heydenreich 2007b, p. 201.
38. Sandner 1994, p. 188; Heydenreich 2007b, p. 200 (referring to Sandner 1994).

EXHIBITIONS: none

REFERENCES: Sturm 1844, pp. 10–11; Schuchardt 1851–71, vol. 2 (1851), p. 68, no. 314; Keller 1853, p. 361; Lepsius 1855, pp. 149–57; Sturm 1861, p. 113; Lindau 1883, p. 242; Bergner 1909, pp. 125–26, no. 2; Hoppe 1930, p. 99; "Additions to the Collections" 1957, p. 63, ill. p. 42; J. Rosenberg 1960, p. 35, under no. A7; Schade 1972a, pp. 149–50; Schade 1974, pp. 46, 382, n. 274; Dieter Koeplin in Basel 1974, vol. 2 (1976), pp. 550, 552, under no. 413; Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 72, no. 21, ill.; Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, p. 36, ill. vol. 2, p. 295; Schade 1980, pp. 46, 382, n. 274; Metropolitan Museum 1987, p. 106, pl. 74; Faure et al. 1993, p. 95, ill. p. 77 (detail); Erichsen 1994, pp. 181, 185, n. 8; Baetjer 1995, p. 219, ill.

Cat. 10 Lucas Cranach the Elder

Venus and Cupid

1. Wood identification by Peter Klein, Universität Hamburg (report, July 27, 2007, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). Dating of the wood was not possible.
2. IRR carried out with configuration C; see p. 276.
3. Koeplin in Basel 1974, vol. 1, pp. 275–80, 295, 296–97, nos. 177–78, 182–83, 184, 185, 186, pl. 9, and figs. 139–41, 143–50, vol. 2, pp. 642, 775–76, n. 78. The following examples are known: *The Fall of Man*, 1525, Kurpfälzisches Museum, Heidelberg; *Judith with the Head of Holofernes and Two Attendants*, 1525, Gustav Rau Collection, UNICEF Germany, on deposit in the Arp Museum Bahnhof Rolandseck, Remagen; *Virgin and Child*, 1525, Wittelsbacher Ausgleichsfonds, Schloss Berchtesgaden (Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 101, no. 158); *Martin Luther and Katharina von Bora*, 1525, Kunstmuseum Basel (Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 107, nos. 187–88, 189A, B, E, 190A, B, E); *Friedrich III, the Wise*, 1525, and *Johann I, the Constant*, 1525, Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe (Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 105, nos. 179D–E); *Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg*, 1526, private collection; *Ideal Portrait of a Woman*, 1527 (date perhaps altered from 1525; see note 5 below), Staatsgalerie Stuttgart (Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 104, no. 174); *Nymph of the Spring*, ca. 1525–27, Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg, Coburg (Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 116, no. 232C); *Lucretia*, ca. 1525–27, formerly Grigori Stroganov Collection, Rome (Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 117, no. 240E); *Ideal Portrait of a Woman*, ca. 1525–27, Musée Granet, Donation J.-B. de Bourguignon, Aix-en-Provence (Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 104, no. 171B).
4. Koeplin in Basel 1974, vol. 1, pp. 276, 278, vol. 2, p. 654, under no. 566; Schwarz-Hermanns 2007, pp. 128–30. On Cranach's probably direct knowledge of Italian plaquettes, see Armin Kunz and Guido Messling in Brussels and Paris 2010–11, pp. 151–53, nos. 85–88 (with references to earlier literature). A circular plaquette attributed to Moderno on the theme of Venus and Cupid exists (see Bange 1922, no. 501, ill.; Koeplin in Basel 1974, vol. 2, p. 654, no. 566), but it did not supply the composition that Cranach used for the New York roundel. On Hans Schwarz, see Kastenholz 2006. For discussions of the rise of medals and small relief sculpture in Germany, see Grottemeyer 1957; J. C. Smith 1994, pp. 270–303, 321–57; J. C. Smith 2004. On collecting them, see J. C. Smith 1994, pp. 303–16; Lewis 2008, pp. 129–35. Douglas Lewis kindly suggested to the author (email, February 14, 2008, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA) that the stone plinth motif could derive from the bronze plaquette *Sleeping Cupid* by the Vicentine Master of 1507, on which see Lewis 2008, pp. 130–32, fig. 3.
5. The date 1527 inscribed on the *Ideal Portrait of a Woman* in the Staatsgalerie Stuttgart may have been altered from 1525; see Koeplin in Basel 1974, vol. 1, pp. 296–97, no. 184; Rettich, Klapproth, and Ewald 1992, pp. 95–96, ill.
6. The date of about 1530 given in Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 119, no. 249, is too late.

7. Such marks are present on other roundels in the group, for example, the *Nymph of the Spring* in Coburg (image under CDA ID/Inv. No. DE_KSVC_M161, in Cranach Digital Archive, <http://www.lucascranach.org/digitalarchive.php> [accessed May 2, 2012]) and the *Lucretia* formerly owned by Grigori Stroganov (photograph in Sperling File, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
8. See Jeremy Warren in *Compton Verney* 2010, p. 56, no. 25, ill.
9. Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 72, no. 22, ill.; Bierende 2002, pp. 217–19.
10. See Heydenreich 2007b, pp. 207–8.
11. For the woodcut, see Hollstein 1954–, vol. 6 (1959), p. 81, no. 105; Koeplin in Basel 1974, vol. 1, pl. 15, vol. 2, pp. 644–50, no. 555; Armin Kunz in Brussels and Paris 2010–11, pp. 187–88, no. 96, ill. The 1506 date on the woodcut is generally agreed to be a predating meant to claim priority in the invention of the chiaroscuro technique used for some of the impressions.
12. “Pelle cypridines toto conamine lxxvs/Ne tua possideat pectora ceca venvs” (cited in Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 72, no. 22).
13. For the Stockholm panel, see Koeplin in Basel 1974, vol. 2, pp. 654–55, no. 567, fig. 320; Görel Cavalli-Bjorkman in Stockholm 1988, p. 66, no. 50, ill. For the one in Berlin, see Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, no. 241, ill.
14. The first example of many is the *Venus and Cupid the Honey Thief* (*Cupid Complaining to Venus*) of about 1526 in the National Gallery, London (Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 119, no. 246L; Caroline Campbell in London 2007, pp. 80–83, no. 2, ill.). Mary Sprinson de Jesús (in Baetjer et al. 1986, p. 159) noted that Cupid’s raised arm in the Museum’s roundel may have been transposed from a honey-thief composition in which Cupid lifts his arm to shoo away bees.

EXHIBITIONS: New York 2008–9

REFERENCES: Davis 1965, p. 872, fig. 4; Sotheby’s 1965, p. 60, no. 100, ill.; “Works of Art” 1966, p. 4, fig. 3; Dieter Koeplin in Basel 1974, vol. 1, pp. 278, 280, 297, under no. 184, fig. 148, vol. 2 (1976), pp. 642, 654, under no. 566, p. 776, n. 78 (entry for fig. 148); Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 119, no. 249, ill.; Mary Sprinson de Jesús in Baetjer et al. 1986, pp. 159–61, no. A2; Faure et al. 1993, p. 95, ill. p. 85; Baetjer 1995, p. 220, ill.; Charles Talbot in Sterling et al. 1998, p. 52

Cat. 11 Lucas Cranach the Elder

The Judgment of Paris

1. Wood identification and dendrochronological analysis by Peter Klein, Universität Hamburg (report, April 27, 2006, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). The skewed joints reflect an efficient use of flat-cut boards that taper at one end because of narrowing of the tree trunk; the boards are cut in two lengthwise, and one section is inverted to form a roughly complementary angle. Klein indicated an earliest felling date of 1525; the earliest possible fabrication date, based on the manufacturing methods of beech panels, is 1526.
2. Verbal communication, Gunnar Heydenreich, July 2011.
3. IRR carried out with configuration C; see p. 276.
4. Heydenreich 2007b, p. 107.
5. Some nineteenth-century scholars thought the subject of this painting was the Anglo-Saxon legend of the knight Albonack presenting his daughters to King Alfred III of Mercia. For this legend, see M. Rosenberg 1930, pp. 91–96. R. Förster (1899, pp. 265–73, pl. 10) refuted this interpretation for the Museum’s painting.
6. Frazer 1966. For a survey of the transformations of this story in art, see M. Rosenberg 1930. See also R. Förster 1899, pp. 267–69.
7. See Colonne 1936 (ed.); Colonne 1970 (ed.); Colonne 1974 (ed.).
8. Perhaps from the 1502 Wittenberg edition of Dares the Phrygian’s *Bellum Troianum*.
9. R. Förster 1899, pp. 267–69.
10. Lucian’s telling of the tale, for example, has Paris as a shepherd. See Lucian 1921 (ed.), p. 393.
11. Colonne 1974 (ed.), p. 60.
12. Lehrs 1908–34, vol. 4 (1921), nos. 90, 91. For another engraving of *The Judgment of Paris* by the Master of the Banderoles, see Dieter Koeplin in Basel 1974, vol. 2, pp. 624–25.
13. Koeplin attributed this print to an anonymous Erfurt or Wittenberg artist and discussed it as the basis for Cranach’s 1508 woodcut. See Koeplin in Basel 1974, vol. 1, p. 211, vol. 2, pp. 622–24, no. 528a, ill. vol. 1, p. 213, fig. 116.
14. Ferrari 2006, pp. 120–21, no. 9. See also Bierende 2002, pp. 209–12.
15. My thanks to Dirk H. Breiding, Assistant Curator, Department of Arms and Armor, MMA, for discussing with me the details of the armor worn by Paris and Mercury.
16. Inge El-Himoud-Sperlich (1977, pp. 54–55) claimed that Mercury wears the fantastic clothing of a herald in contemporary theater; it has been noted (in Metropolitan

- Museum 1987, p. 109) that Mercury’s dress is “appropriate to the Nordic messenger god Wotan [sic].”
17. Bodo Brinkmann noted this in relation to the Kimbell Art Museum version (Brinkmann in Frankfurt and London 2007–8, p. 326, no. 101).
18. R. Förster (1899, p. 272) claimed that the goddess at the left is Juno, because she appears “somewhat more mature and restrained than the others,” while the one at the right is Minerva, who chastely turns away from the viewer. Biedermann also identified the goddess with the hat as Venus in the closely related drawing in Braunschweig (fig. 49; Biedermann 1981, p. 312, fig. 7).
19. J. Rosenberg 1960, p. 23, no. 46; Thöne 1965, ill. pp. 78–79; du Colombier 1966; Dieter Koeplin in Basel 1974, vol. 2, p. 494, no. 345; Biedermann 1981, p. 312 (who dates the drawing earlier, to about 1525). Michael Hofbauer (2010, pp. 384–85, no. 189) attributed the drawing to Cranach the Younger.
20. Other variants include the following: listed by Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, now Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, ca. 1512–14 (no. 41); Seattle Art Museum, ca. 1516–18 (no. 118); Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen, dated 1527 (no. 252); Kunstmuseum Basel, dated 1528 (no. 253); Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe, dated 1530 (no. 255); Anhaltische Gemäldegalerie Dessau (lost in 1945), ca. 1535 (no. 256); Steiermärkisches Landesmuseum Joanneum, Graz, ca. 1530–35 (no. 257); Saint Louis Art Museum, ca. 1537 (no. 258); Schloss Museum Gotha, after 1537 (no. 409); Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Hampton Court Palace, after 1537 (no. 409a); Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, after 1537 (no. 409a); Museum zu Allerheiligen, Schaffhausen (not in Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978).
21. El-Himoud-Sperlich 1977, pp. 56, 63.
22. This drawing is most closely related to a painting of the Three Graces formerly in an English private collection (Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 119, no. 251A); see Brinkmann in Frankfurt and London 2007–8, p. 292, no. 85. See also Hofbauer 2010, pp. 168–69, no. 52.
23. R. Förster 1899, p. 267. Förster may not have seen these because of overlying restoration.
24. Woermann in Dresden 1899, pp. 78–79, no. 121.
25. Friedländer 1899, p. 246; Flechsig 1900, p. 282, no. 121.
26. Friedländer, cable to the Metropolitan Museum, October 24, 1928 (curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
27. Wehle 1929–30.
28. Ibid., p. 9; repeated by Wehle and Salinger 1947, p. 201.
29. Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1932, p. 68, no. 209; Kuhn 1936, p. 38, no. 98; Posse 1943, p. 61, no. 86; Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 120, no. 254.
30. Dunbar 2005, p. 85.
31. Koeplin in Basel 1974, vol. 2, pp. 613–31.
32. Matsche 1996, pp. 59–67.
33. Poulsen 2003, p. 140. This interpretation lacks the support of texts about the Paris myth written by sixteenth-century theologians.
34. Marschalk 1503/1967, p. 37.
35. Ibid., p. 41; see also Koeplin in Basel 1974, vol. 2, p. 616.
36. See Koeplin in Basel 1974, vol. 1, p. 211, vol. 2, pp. 622–24, no. 528a. The accompanying woodcut also appeared in an edition of Dares the Phrygian’s *Bellum Troianum* published in Wittenberg in 1502 (see Bierende 2002, pp. 205–6; see also discussion and note 13 above).
37. See Fabius Planciades Fulgentius, *Mitologiarum libri tres* (in Fulgentius 1898 [ed.], pp. 3–80), for his moralizing, allegorical interpretation of the Paris myth; Koeplin in Basel 1974, vol. 2, p. 622. For a different theory, based on the Ficinian notion of the difficulty of moral decision-making and the necessity of making errors, see Matsche 1994; Matsche 1996.
38. Hinz 1994, p. 179; see also Hinz 2005.
39. Hinz 1994, pp. 177–78.
40. Bierende (2002, p. 384, n. 84) rejects Hinz’s point of view.
41. El-Himoud-Sperlich 1977, pp. 72–73. In support of her theory, El-Himoud-Sperlich argued that Cupid in the Museum’s painting is aiming his arrow at the leftmost goddess, whom she identified as Venus (although clearly Cupid aims at the center goddess, who is more likely Venus). She thus regards Venus’s apparent covering of her pudenda from Paris’s view as a sign of chaste courtship.
42. Koeplin 2003b, p. 52.
43. Ibid., p. 54.
44. Nickel (Helmut) 1981, pp. 123–27, 129.

EXHIBITIONS: Karl Woermann in Dresden 1899, pp. 78–79, no. 121; Bennington College, Bennington, Vermont, 1937 (no catalogue); New York 1949; New York 1952–53, p. 227, no. 102, ill.; New York 1956, suppl., n.p., no. 196; New York 1970–71, p. 231, no. 233

REFERENCES: R. Förster 1899, pp. 267–73, pl. 10 (between pp. 272 and 273); Friedländer 1899, p. 246; Flechsig 1900, p. 282, no. 121; Ameseder 1910, p. 70; Germanisches Nationalmuseum 1922, p. 56; Frederik Muller 1928, p. 18, no. 51, ill.; Mayer 1928, p. 452, ill. p. 448; McMahon 1929, p. 14; “Museum Acquisitions” 1929, p. 19, cover ill.; Wehle 1929, pp. 86, 88, ill. p. 87; Wehle 1929–30, ill. facing p. 1; Burroughs 1931, p. 75; Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1932, p. 68, no. 209, ill.; Rogers 1932, p. 30; Kuhn 1936, p. 38, no. 98; Posse 1943, pp. 32, 61, no. 86, ill.; Wehle and Salinger 1947, pp. 200–202, ill.; von Bothmer 1949, p. 212, ill. p. 213 (detail); Rouchès 1951, pl. 42; Rodney 1952, pp. 63–64, ill. p. 61; Jahn 1953, p. 72; Brion 1959, p. 54; J. Rosenberg 1960, p. 23, under no. 46; Werner 1964, pp. 28, 43, no. 15, ill. (slide no. 15); Thöne 1965, p. 6, ill. p. 79; du Colombier 1966; Dieter Koepplin in Basel 1974, vol. 1, p. 160, vol. 2 (1976), p. 767, n. 131; Nikulin 1976, p. 18; El-Himoud-Sperlich 1977, pp. 37–38, 45–46, 55–56, 59, 61–62, 75, 102, 163, fig. 43; Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 120, no. 254, ill.; Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, p. 36, ill. vol. 2, p. 296; Hibbard 1980, pp. 260–61, 262, no. 470, ill.; Biedermann 1981, pp. 312–13, fig. 7; Nickel (Helmut) 1981, figs. 1, 2 (detail); Silver 1982, p. 35, fig. 15; James Snyder in Metropolitan Museum 1987, p. 15; Metropolitan Museum 1987, p. 109, pl. 75; Warner 1990, p. 23, fig. 4; Damisch 1992, ill. p. 134; Baetjer 1995, p. 220, ill.; Damisch 1996, p. 174, fig. 44; Matsche 1996, p. 50, n. 82, p. 66, nn. 153, 154, p. 67, n. 160, p. 68, n. 164, fig. 9; Stepanov 1997, fig. 133; Charles Talbot in Sterling et al. 1998, pp. 52, 54, n. 25; Dunbar 2005, pp. 85, 88, fig. 4e; Foucart-Walter 2011, p. 16, fig. 30

Cat. 12 Lucas Cranach the Elder

Samson and Delilah

1. A now-missing section of the strip of paper glued along the vertical center of the panel was inscribed “Lucas granach” (historical photograph, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
2. The painting’s lot number in the 1961 sale.
3. Wood identification and dendrochronological analysis by Peter Klein, Universität Hamburg (report, April 27, 2006, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). Klein’s dendrochronological analysis indicated an earliest felling date of 1524, on which the earliest possible fabrication date of 1525 is based.
4. Heydenreich 2007b, p. 43.
5. IRR carried out with configuration C; see p. 276.
6. Heydenreich 2007b, p. 107.
7. The motif, common in visual representations, of Delilah doing the cutting herself, as opposed to calling upon a Philistine to take up the shears in accord with the biblical narrative, may derive from Flavius Josephus’s *Jewish Antiquities* 5.313 (see Kahr 1972, p. 287).
8. Kahr 1972, pp. 287–88, offers a similar interpretation of tree symbolism in the *Samson and Delilah* by Andrea Mantegna.
9. Koepplin in Basel 1974, vol. 2, p. 574, under no. 471.
10. See S. L. Smith 1995; Bleyerveld 2000; Bleyerveld 2010; on Samson and Delilah in particular, see Kahr 1972.
11. Eissengarten 1985, pp. 23–30, ill.
12. Koepplin in Basel 1974, vol. 2, p. 573, under no. 471; on such “ennoblement” as a guiding principle for Cranach, see Koepplin 2003a.
13. Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 111, no. 212, ill.; see also Koepplin in Basel 1974, vol. 2, pp. 573–74, no. 471, fig. 295; Schawe 2001, pp. 38, 70, 82, fig. 69.
14. Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 140, no. 357E; see also Koepplin in Basel 1974, vol. 2, p. 574, no. 472, fig. 297; Karin Kolb in Chemnitz 2005–6, pp. 218–23, no. 4, ill.
15. Sotheby’s 1961, p. 47, no. 107.
16. Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 111, no. 213; a view repeated by H. Hoffmann 1990, p. 60, under no. 19.
17. Koepplin in Basel 1974, vol. 2, p. 574, under no. 471; Koepplin 2003a, pp. 147, 162, n. 23.
18. Messling in Brussels and Paris 2010–11, p. 217, no. 124, ill. The Lucas van Leyden woodcut is in Filedt Kok 1996, p. 157, no. 176.
19. See Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, p. 36; Metropolitan Museum 1987, p. 109; Baetjer 1995, p. 221.
20. See Koepplin in Basel 1974, vol. 2, pp. 573–74, no. 471.
21. For the work in Vienna, see Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 110, no. 206, ill.; see also Karl Schütz in Vienna 1972, pp. 21–22, no. 8, fig. 7. For the one in a private collection, see Bernard Aikema in Rome 2010–11, pp. 247–48, no. 38, ill.
22. “Wer nit kan schwygen heymlichkeyt / Vnd syn anschlag eyndern seyt / Dem widerfert, rüw, schad, vnd leydt” (Brant 1494/2004, p. 125; noted in H. Hoffmann 1990, p. 60).
23. “Hettestu verswigen dein heimkeit so were dir nit geschen leid” (noted by Koepplin in Basel 1974, vol. 2, p. 574, under no. 471).
24. This interpretation of the Augsburg picture was intimated by Eckhard von Knorre in Bushart 1967, p. 60; see also Jachmann 2008, p. 122.

25. The Morgan Library & Museum, New York (see Winkler 1936–39, vol. 4 [1939], p. 92, no. 921, ill.; Barbara Drake Boehm in New York and Nuremberg 1986, pp. 329–30, no. 146, ill.).
26. Bauch 1894, pp. 424–25; Koepplin in Basel 1974, vol. 2, p. 563; Arnulf 2004, pp. 558–61.
27. See Kolb in Chemnitz 2005–6, pp. 218–35, nos. 4 (*Samson and Delilah*), 5 (*David and Bathsheba*), 6 (*Solomon’s Idolatry*), ill.
28. Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 97, no. 140, ill.; H. Hoffmann 1990, pp. 28–29, no. 8, ill. In my opinion, the dating about 1520–25 maintained by Friedländer and Rosenberg and by Hoffmann is too early. A smaller version is in a private collection (Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 97, no. 140A; see also Koepplin in Basel 1974, vol. 1, pl. 20, vol. 2, p. 607, no. 514).
29. The juxtaposition had already appeared in medieval power of women iconography, for example, in the Malterer Embroidery in Freiburg cited above and a southern German tapestry fragment of about 1420–30 in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg (Bleyerveld 2000, fig. 6).

EXHIBITIONS: Huntington 1963, n.p.; Guido Messling in Brussels and Paris 2010–11, pp. 217, 243, no. 124, ill. (shown in Brussels only)

REFERENCES: Sotheby’s 1961, p. 47, no. 107, ill.; Dieter Koepplin in Basel 1974, vol. 2 (1976), p. 574, under no. 471; Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 111, no. 213, ill.; Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, p. 36, ill. vol. 2, p. 296; James Snyder in Metropolitan Museum 1987, p. 15; Metropolitan Museum 1987, p. 109, pl. 76; H. Hoffmann 1990, p. 60, under no. 19; Baetjer 1995, p. 221, ill.; Santesso 1999, p. 519, n. 29; Koepplin 2003a, pp. 147, 162, n. 23

Cat. 13 Lucas Cranach the Elder

Judith with the Head of Holofernes

1. Wood identification by Marijn Manuels, Conservator, Department of Objects Conservation, MMA (report, April 18, 2012, files, Department of Paintings Conservation, MMA). Dating of the wood was not possible.
2. The skewed joints reflect an efficient use of flat-cut boards that taper at one end because of narrowing of the tree trunk; the boards are cut in two lengthwise, and one section is inverted to form a roughly complementary angle.
3. Heydenreich 2007b, p. 43.
4. Ibid., p. 69.
5. Bisacca 1998.
6. IRR carried out with configuration D; see p. 276.
7. *Book of Judith* 1972 (ed.).
8. Straten (1983, pp. 38–39) stressed that Judith’s clothing was also meant to emphasize her gentility and virtue.
9. During the Reformation, as Friedrich Hottenroth noted, a lady’s unbound hair connoted virginity and was the fashion of brides, while married women wore their hair tied up and covered with a *calotte* and beret (Hottenroth 1891, p. 534).
10. H. Zimmermann 1969, p. 284. According to Millia Davenport (1948, vol. 1, p. 392), the plumed beret went out of fashion in the second third of the sixteenth century. See also Hottenroth (1891, pp. 532–33, figs. 121, 122, 124), who noted that a *Kleiderordnung* of 1530 sought to limit the extravagant decoration of the *calottes* that appeared under the hat (see especially p. 516).
11. Warner 1990.
12. Ibid., p. 26.
13. The Stuttgart *Judith* is no. 643 (Guido Messling in Brussels and Paris 2010–11, pp. 212–13, no. 114, ill. p. 238).
14. Those scholars supporting a date in the 1530s are Max J. Friedländer and Jakob Rosenberg (1932, p. 65, no. 190e; Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 115, no. 230E), between 1526 and 1537; Charles Kuhn (1936, p. 38, no. 100), between 1530 and 1535; and Harry Wehle and Margaretta Salinger (1947, p. 202), about 1530.
15. See Heydenreich on Cranach’s workshop production (Heydenreich 2007b, especially pp. 289–301). There are two smaller, inferior copies of the Museum’s painting: one in São Paulo (18.5 × 15.5 cm; photograph in curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA) and the other in the Goudstikker Collection (21 × 15.5 cm, returned to the Goudstikker heirs as of 2006).
16. Robert Allerton Parker called the Museum’s painting “predominantly a portrait” (R. A. Parker 1927, p. 17). Karl Schütz (in Vienna 1972, p. 24) understood the Vienna and Stuttgart versions as “historically disguised portraits,” although Heinrich Zimmermann saw them only as Judiths in contemporary dress (H. Zimmermann 1969, p. 284). Helmut Börsch-Supan (1974, p. 418) even suggested that the Vienna and Stuttgart portraits represent the same woman, who is also depicted in *Portrait of a Woman* (Waldemar von Zedtwitz Collection, New York).

17. Oldfield 1987, pp. 9, 10, n. 4.
18. In characterizing the Metropolitan's painting as "predominantly a portrait," Parker noted the lack of emotional expression in the figure (R. A. Parker 1927, pp. 17, 24).
19. For the view of Judith in the Middle Ages through the end of the fourteenth century, see Schreyll 1990b, pp. 195–203.
20. Rudloff-Hille 1953, p. 35.
21. Schade 1972b, p. 374; Schade 1974, p. 58; Schade 1980, p. 58.
22. Berlin 1983, p. 304, nos. E 17.1, E 17.2.
23. H. Börsch-Supan 1974, p. 417. *Judith with the Head of Holofernes and Two Attendants of 1525* (Gustav Rau Collection, UNICEF Germany, on deposit in the Arp Museum Bahnhof Rolandseck, Remagen [GR 1.691]; Basel 1974, vol. 1, p. 227, fig. 143) would be an exception to this theory.
24. Koepplin in Basel 1974, vol. 2, p. 578; Gorsen 1980, p. 74.
25. For Schade's opinions, see Gotha 1994, p. 23, under no. 1.4. Kristin Eldyss Sorensen Zapalac rejected Schade's supposition, suggesting instead that Lucretia had become the symbol of the Protestant cause (Zapalac 1994, pp. 57–58; see also Zapalac 1990, pp. 120–26, 128). It must be admitted that no known contemporary document identified Judith as a *Schutzpatron* of the Protestant position.
26. Schneckenburger-Broschek 1997, pp. 70, 73–74.
27. See especially Baltzer 1930; Seibert 1970; Strumwasser 1979, pp. 107–13; Straten 1983, pp. 19–21; Bernadine Ann Barnes in Washington 1990–91, pp. 60–73; Zapalac 1994; Löcher 1999, p. 32.
28. Lähnemann 2010.
29. *Ibid.*, pp. 251–52.
30. On Cranach's depictions of the *Weibermacht* and *Weiberlisten* themes, see Koepplin in Basel 1974, vol. 2, pp. 562–85; Straten 1983, pp. 30–33, 34–35, 41–45, 46–50; Barnes in Washington 1990–91, pp. 60–73; Zapalac 1994; Hammer-Tugendhat 1997; Aikema 2010; Véronique Bücken in Brussels and Paris 2010–11, pp. 54–65; Joachim Jacoby in Rome 2010–11, pp. 224–33, nos. 29–31.
31. Sometimes mentioned in this regard is a 1507 description of Schloss Wittenberg in which such scenes are reported as hanging in the bedroom of Johann, Duke of Saxony (see Basel 1974, vol. 2, p. 563; published in Bauch 1894, pp. 431–32). However, Peter Strieder (2005) argued that the 1507 source may be largely fictional.

EXHIBITIONS: Wooster 1944, p. 9; Dallas 1947, n.p., ill.; Iowa City 1948; Bloomington 1948; Louisville 1948–49; Madison 1949, n.p., ill.; Palm Beach 1950, no. 24; Lexington (Va.) 1950–51, no. 2; Georgia Museum of Art, University of Georgia, Athens, 1951 (no catalogue); Poughkeepsie 1956; New York 1963, no. 118; Constance Loewenthal in Leningrad and Moscow 1975, pp. 45–46, no. 14, ill.

REFERENCES: American Art Association 1911, n.p., no. 107, ill.; "Judith and Holofernes" 1911, ill.; Metropolitan Museum 1905/1911, n.p., addenda, May–June 1911, gallery 34; R. A. Parker 1927, pp. 17, 24, ill. p. 25; Burroughs 1931, p. 75; Lentaglio 1931, p. 140, ill. p. 132; Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1932, p. 65, no. 190e; Kuhn 1936, p. 38, no. 100, pl. XX; Wehle and Salinger 1947, pp. 202–3, ill.; Davenport 1948, vol. 1, p. 392, no. 1042, ill.; Cuttler 1968, p. 377, fig. 493; Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 115, no. 230E; Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, p. 36, ill. vol. 2, p. 296; Straten 1983, p. 64, no. 24; Warner 1990, pp. 23–24, 27, n. 14, fig. 5; McConnell 1991, p. 75, ill. p. 74; Baetjer 1995, p. 220, ill.

Cat. 14 Lucas Cranach the Elder

Portrait of a Man with a Gold-Embroidered Cap (Lukas Spielhausen?)

1. See Siebmacher 1856–1967 (ed.), vol. 6, pt. 12 (1907), p. 84, and pl. 66 (Spielhausen family, Saxony and Thuringia).
2. Wood identification and dendrochronological analysis by Peter Klein, Universität Hamburg (report, May 2, 2006, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). Klein's dendrochronological analysis indicated an earliest felling date of 1530, on which the earliest possible fabrication date of 1531 is based.
3. Heydenreich 2007b, p. 43.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 192.
5. Infrared imaging carried out with configurations B and D; see p. 276.
6. The green is faded and difficult to discern.
7. Helbing 1916, vol. 1, p. 154, no. 1042.
8. H. Zimmermann 1925, p. 111; Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1932, p. 79, no. 273; Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 136, no. 339. See also Garner 1926, pp. 54–55 (erroneous identification of the sitter as Duke Johann Friedrich the Magnanimous); Heyck 1927, pp. 96, 119; Kuhn 1936, p. 43, no. 132; Lilienfein 1942, p. 70; H. Zimmermann 1962, p. 10.
9. See Mary Sprinson in Metropolitan Museum 1981, p. 43.

10. Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 136, no. 340 (formerly Buenos Aires), ill., no. 340A (Hamburg), no. 341 (Nuremberg), ill. For an illustration of the Hamburg portrait, see most recently Ahuis 2011, fig. 4.
11. Described in Löcher 1997, p. 150; illustrated in Eisenach 1998, p. 134, fig. 15.3a.
12. See Siebmacher 1856–1967 (ed.), vol. 6, pt. 12 (1907), p. 84, and pl. 66. The painting may formerly have borne an inscription in the upper right giving the sitter's name. An illegible inscription is visible in the illustration in Helbing 1916, vol. 2, pl. 142. By 1924, however, it had been excised; see Kleykamp 1924, no. 7, ill.
13. Eichbaum 2005, p. 14, no. 12660; I thank Gustaf-Götz Eichbaum for kindly providing biographical information based on his research (email to the author, October 24, 2007, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). The black and orange color scheme of the costume may allude to the black and yellow heraldic colors of Saxony, suggesting that the sitter was a ducal official, as was Spielhausen. As Helmut Nickel noted in regard to the question of orange versus yellow, the costume's orange could have been regarded as *rotes Gold* (red gold), a contemporary expression for gold, which in heraldic terms is equivalent to yellow; see Helmut Nickel, email to Mary Sprinson de Jesús, September 19, 2006 (curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). For examples of *rotes Gold* standing for *Gold*, see J. Grimm and W. Grimm 1854–1971/1998–, s.v. "Gold," sec. 3, I, A., 1, a" (accessed April 23, 2012).
14. According to Gustaf-Götz Eichbaum, on information from the Stadtarchiv Weimar, in 1609 the Weimar city council ordered a posthumous portrait of Spielhausen from the painter Martin Lamprecht, but whether this work still exists is unknown (email to the author, December 18, 2007, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
15. David, mayor of Salzgungen near Eisenach, was the son of Lukas's son David Daniel, who died in 1587; this information was kindly provided by Jan Lekschas, Bernau (email to the author, December 8, 2008, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). David and David Daniel Spielhausen are not recorded in Eichbaum 2005. David Spielhausen's date of death can be inferred from the title page of a 1607 publication referring to him as deceased: *Gamelia in honorem nuptiarum Praestantiss. variarumque rerum usu peritissimi viri Dn. Georgii Fulden . . . sponsi cum . . . Virgine Regina . . . Dn. Davidis Spielhausen, olim quaesturae Saltzungenensis praefecti fidelissimi, p. m. relicta filia, sponsa* (Jena, 1607). A Spielhausen six-of-hearts seal dating from 1582 with the initials DS, thus perhaps belonging to David Spielhausen, is described by a Freiherr von Ledebur in *Der Deutsche Herold* 38, no. 5 (1907), p. 92.
16. Eichbaum 2005, p. 14, nos. 12660, 12661 (Margaret Zahn).

EXHIBITIONS: Berlin 1925, p. 20, no. 85; New York 1929, p. 7, no. 20; Charles L. Kuhn in Cambridge (Mass.) 1936, p. 9, no. 10; George Henry McCall in New York 1939a, p. 29, no. 57; New York 1951, n.p., no. 3; New York 1960, n.p., no. 5

REFERENCES: Helbing 1916, vol. 1, p. 154, no. 1042, vol. 2, pl. 142; Kleykamp 1924, n.p., no. 7, ill.; H. Zimmermann 1925, p. 111, ill. between pp. VI and 1; Garner 1926, pp. 54–55, ill.; Heyck 1927, pp. 96, 119, colorpl. 62; Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1932, p. 79, no. 273, ill.; Kuhn 1936, p. 43, no. 132; Lilienfein 1942, p. 70, colorpl. 13; Davenport 1948, vol. 1, p. 396, no. 1054, ill.; H. Zimmermann 1962, p. 10; Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 136, no. 339, ill.; Mary Sprinson in Metropolitan Museum 1981, p. 43, ill.; Baetjer 1995, p. 220, ill.

Cat. 15 Lucas Cranach the Elder

Johann, Duke of Saxony

1. The Kleinberger gallery stock number.
2. See Schuchardt 1851–71, vol. 2 (1851), p. 88, nos. 338, 340 (as belonging to Stadtrat Baumgärtner, Leipzig). The full identification of the owner, who was a city councillor (*Stadtrat*) in Leipzig from 1839 to 1848, is thanks to Carla Calov, Stadtarchiv Leipzig (email to the author, September 25, 2007, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
3. According to Kleinberger stock card, no. 7665 (curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
4. Wood identification by Peter Klein, Universität Hamburg (report, April 3, 2006, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). Dating of the wood was not possible because the end grain is inaccessible. The dimensions of the panel do not correspond to any of the standard formats for Cranach's work, as categorized by Gunnar Heydenreich (2007b, p. 43).
5. Heydenreich 2007b, p. 93.
6. IRR carried out with configuration C; see p. 276.
7. The house of Wettin split into two lines—one Ernestine, the other Albertine—when Elector Ernst (r. 1464–86) and his brother Duke Albrecht the Bold

- (r. 1464–1500) partitioned their jointly held territories in 1485. To the Ernestine branch, which retained the Saxon electoral dignity until 1547, belonged Friedrich the Wise (r. 1486–1525), Johann the Constant (r. 1525–32), and Johann Friedrich the Magnanimous (r. 1532–47), prominent supporters of Martin Luther and the chief patrons of Lucas Cranach the Elder (see cat. 17A–C). On Albertine Wettin patronage of the artist, which is less well studied, see Thümmel 2002.
8. The sitter was correctly identified when the painting was first published (Schuchardt 1851–71, vol. 2 [1851], p. 88, no. 340), but this was forgotten by the time the Museum acquired the picture in 1908, and only rediscovered and reaffirmed in Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1932, p. 92, no. 341b.
 9. Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek/Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Handschriftensammlung, Mscr. Dresd. R3, fol. 93v. On this manuscript, see Lippert 1891; Torgau 2004, vol. 1, p. 279, no. 436.
 10. Karl Schütz in Vienna 1972, p. 54, no. 78, fig. 45.
 11. The inscription reads, *IOHANNES DUX / SAX [ONIAE], GEORGH F[ILIUS].* In the portrait of Johann by Hans Krell (after 1551) in the Stadtgeschichtliches Museum, Altes Rathaus, Leipzig, and in the stone model for a medallion by Tobias Wolff (1575) in the Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, he is shown with a more youthful countenance but with a similar sagging of the cheeks and protrusion of the lower jaw (see Löcher 2007, p. 40, figs. 10, 11). He is also depicted, albeit with very generalized features, on his tomb effigy in the ducal chapel of Meissen Cathedral (see Donath 2004, p. 403, ill).
 12. Schuchardt 1851–71, vol. 2 (1851), pp. 88–89, no. 340; “Accessions” 1908, p. 62; Fry 1908; “German Paintings” 1908, p. 234; Metropolitan Museum 1905/1911, n.p., addenda, March–June 1908, gallery 24; Burroughs 1914, p. 52; R. A. Parker 1927, p. 17; Burroughs 1931, p. 74; Kuhn 1936, pp. 42–43, no. 131; Wehle and Salinger 1947, p. 204; Held 1949, p. 140; New York 1956, suppl., n.p., no. 197; Karl Schütz in Vienna 1972, p. 54, under no. 78; Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, p. 36, vol. 2, p. 296; James Snyder in Metropolitan Museum 1987, p. 15; Metropolitan Museum 1987, p. 111; Baetjer 1995, p. 220; Löcher 2007, p. 40.
 13. Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1932, p. 92, no. 341b; Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 155, no. 424B. On Lucas Cranach the Younger’s style, see Friedländer, “Introduction,” in Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 25.
 14. Friedländer, “Introduction,” in Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, pp. 23, 25. The documentary find, in which Lucas Cranach the Younger in 1550 expresses his reluctance to take a commission in the absence of his father, is presented in Erichsen 1997, pp. 49–50; see also Heydenreich 2007b, pp. 294–95.
 15. Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1932, p. 92, no. 341c; Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 155, no. 424C; Martin Schawe in Munich 2011, p. 133, ill. (attributed to Lucas Cranach the Younger). The bust-length version is less accomplished in execution than the present work and appears to be based on it or on a common model.
 16. H. Zimmermann 1942, p. 4. The attribution to Lucas Cranach the Younger is repeated in Brochhagen et al. 1964, p. 43; Montout 1994, p. 53; Martin Schawe in Aschaffenburg 2007, p. 289, under no. 29.
 17. For a discussion of Lucas Cranach the Younger’s portrait style, see Schade 1974, pp. 99–107. On possible youthful works of the younger Cranach dating from 1533 to 1535, see Dieter Koeplin in Basel 1974, vol. 2, pp. 700–701, 710, nos. 624, 628.
 18. For a detailed discussion of the wide variety of techniques used by Cranach and his workshop, see Heydenreich 2007b, pp. 177–217.
 19. It should be noted that the cradle on the verso of the present work somewhat over-emphasizes the whites down the center of the face in the X-radiograph.
 20. Heydenreich 2007b, pp. 207–8.
 21. Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 113, no. 219B; Guratzsch 1995, p. 34. Much of the date’s last digit (center right) is trimmed off, but the remnants suggest a 4 or possibly a 5.
 22. The dimensions of Georg’s portrait are 63.8 × 43.3 cm; thus, like the present work, it also falls between the standard panel formats C and D, according to the categorization by Gunnar Heydenreich (see Heydenreich 2007b, p. 43).
 23. Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, pp. 136–39, nos. 342, 346, 347, 349, ill., no. 349A. On cast shadows in portraits of that year, which Dieter Koeplin thought might reflect an effort at innovation by Hans Cranach and Lucas Cranach the Younger, see Koeplin in Basel 1974, vol. 2, p. 705, under no. 625.
 24. Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 138, no. 349A; see also Koeplin in Basel 1974, vol. 2, p. 710, under no. 628; Martin Schawe in Munich 2011, pp. 56, 134, no. 3, ill.
 25. P. Klein 1994, p. 197; Heydenreich 2007a, pp. 30–31; Heydenreich 2007b, p. 48.

EXHIBITIONS: New York 1956, suppl., n.p., no. 197

REFERENCES: Schuchardt 1851–71, vol. 2 (1851), pp. 88–89; “Accessions” 1908, p. 62; Fry 1908, ill.; “German Paintings” 1908, p. 234; Metropolitan Museum 1905/1911, n.p., addenda, March–June 1908, gallery 24; Burroughs 1914, p. 52; R. A. Parker 1927, p. 17, ill.

p. 24; Burroughs 1931, p. 74; Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1932, p. 92, no. 341b; Kuhn 1936, pp. 42–43, no. 131, pl. XXIV; H. Zimmermann 1942, p. 4; Wehle and Salinger 1947, p. 204, ill.; Held 1949, p. 140; J. Rosenberg 1960, p. 31; Brochhagen et al. 1964, p. 43; Karl Schütz in Vienna 1972, p. 54, under no. 78; Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 155, no. 424B; Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, p. 36, ill. vol. 2, p. 296; James Snyder in Metropolitan Museum 1987, p. 15; Metropolitan Museum 1987, p. 111, pl. 77; Montout 1994, p. 53; Baetjer 1995, ill. p. 220; Löcher 2007, p. 40

Cat. 16 Lucas Cranach the Elder and workshop

Saint Maurice

1. Wood identification by Marijn Manuels, Conservator, Department of Objects Conservation, MMA, thin-section analysis (report, March 11, 2008, files, Department of Paintings Conservation, MMA). Dating of the wood was not possible.
2. The cradle was removed by George Bisacca. See file report cited in note 1 above and Bisacca 1998.
3. IRR carried out with configurations D and C; see p. 276.
4. Heydenreich 2007b, p. 107.
5. Ibid., p. 177.
6. Hamann 2006, p. 291. Later accounts are found in the writings of Gregory of Tours and Alcuin and in the *Anno Lied* (1080), the twelfth-century *Chronicle* of Otto of Freising, and various texts of the thirteenth century, including *The Golden Legend*, the *Lower Saxon World Chronicle* of Eike of Repgow, and the *World Chronicle* of Jansen Enikel (Herzberg 1936/1981, pp. 10–13).
7. Seiferth 1941, pp. 371–72; Suckale-Redlefsen 1987, p. 29.
8. Herzberg 1936/1981, pp. 74–75; Suckale-Redlefsen 1987, pp. 31–33; Hamann 2006, p. 294.
9. Hamann 2006, p. 312. See also Devisse 2010.
10. Suckale-Redlefsen 1987, p. 83.
11. Miedema 2006, pp. 277–78.
12. For a reconstruction of the altarpieces in situ, based on extant panels and on preparatory drawings of the now-lost panels, see Halle an der Saale 2006, vol. 1, p. 29; Tacke 2006, especially the illustration on p. 194.
13. A reliquary calendar of about 1450, which matches a relic of a saint with each day of the year, came into Albrecht’s collection at the beginning of the sixteenth century. See Anne Schaich in Halle an der Saale 2006, vol. 1, p. 96, no. 29, ill. p. 98.
14. One complete copy of the 1520 *Heiltumsbuch* has survived (Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, R 16 Vor 1; 122 pages with 237 woodcuts by Wolf Traut from Nuremberg and possibly two other anonymous artists) in addition to two incomplete exemplars (Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Hof 135Q, and Halle, Marienbibliothek, Schw 7Q). See Cárdenas 2006, p. 240.
15. Hofbibliothek Aschaffenburg, Sign. Ms. 14.
16. *Liber ostensionis*, 1526–27, with later additions; 428 parchment folios with colored full-page illustrations of the objects.
17. The *Saint Maurice* was exhibited only once, in Berlin in 1906. After its sale at a Parke-Bernet auction in 1946, it disappeared from view until it surfaced again in 2004 in the Eva Kollman Collection in New York.
18. The illumination of the Saint Maurice reliquary statue is on folio 227v, with a descriptive text on folio 228r (Suckale-Redlefsen 1987, pp. 89–91; Nickel [Heinrich L.] 2001, p. 253; Ursula Timann in Halle an der Saale 2006, vol. 1, pp. 92–94, no. 27, ill.). Jean Louis Sponsel noted that a wooden model had to have been made for the reliquary statue and suggested that Peter Flötnier produced this. He also theorized that since the statue was executed between 1522 and 1526, Melchior Baier, a master in Nuremberg by 1525, may have made it (Sponsel 1924, pp. 172–73). The silver reliquary statue was melted down in 1540 in Nuremberg to pay off some of Albrecht of Brandenburg’s substantial debts (mentioned by Albrecht in a letter of May 15, 1541, to the chapter of Magdeburg; Redlich 1900, appendix 36a, p. 157).
19. Gude Suckale-Redlefsen (1987, pp. 221–22) alternatively believed that the Metropolitan painting served as the model both for the drawing of the reliquary statue in the *Hallesches Heiltumsbuch* and for the painting of the figure in the Marktkirche in Halle. The Marktkirche *Saint Maurice* is usually attributed to Simon Franck (see Tacke 1992, pp. 41–71, especially p. 49; J. C. Smith 2006, pp. 30–31).
20. “Your Eminence must also know that in the tall silver Maurice, which stands in the choir in a tabernacle before the high altar, there is a multitude of relics, too many to enumerate.” *Hallesches Heiltumsbuch*, fol. 228r.
21. Suckale-Redlefsen 1987, pp. 61–63; Nickel (Heinrich L.) 2001, p. 352, fol. 3v; Cárdenas 2006, pp. 264–67.

22. Albrecht had helped to procure the election of Charles and served as his loyal associate. In return, the emperor supported Albrecht's opposition to the Reformation. The town of Halle and the Neues Stift were placed under the emperor's protection and further endowed with their own coat of arms and generous stipends.
23. Examples are illustrated in Halle an der Saale 2006, vol. 1, pp. 166–67, no. 79 (entry by Thomas Schauerte), ill. p. 169, and pp. 173–76, no. 84 (entry by Andreas Tacke).
24. For example, the half-armor by Christian Schreiner the Younger (active 1499–1529), Austrian (Innsbruck), ca. 1505–10, MMA 1991.4, may be compared with that in the *Saint Maurice* painting, with regard to the fluting on the breastplate, the general (i.e., square) outline of the tassets, and the *Klammerschnitt* or *fauld* (the decorative cut on the waist defense). See also the following suits of armor in the Hofjagd- und Rüstkammer, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna: that of Eitel Friedrich II, Count of Hohenzollern, possibly by Kolman Helmschmid, German (Augsburg), ca. 1510, no. A 240; that of Andreas, Count of Sonnenburg, by Helmschmid, ca. 1505–10, no. A 310; and that of Bishop Matthäus Lang von Wellenburg, attributed to Konrad Seusenhofer, Austrian (Innsbruck), probably 1511, no. A 244. I am extremely grateful to Dirk H. Breiding, Assistant Curator, Department of Arms and Armor, MMA, for calling my attention to these examples and for discussing issues relating to the arms and armor in *Saint Maurice* in detail over a period of months. A future publication by Breiding will elaborate on the details of the armor depicted and the implications of these observations.
25. For an illustration, see Nienholdt 1961, p. 39, fig. 31.
26. J. C. Smith 2006, p. 30.
27. A drawing of Emperor Maximilian I in armor (formerly in the W. Baillie-Grohman Collection, Schloss Matzen, Tirol, but whereabouts currently unknown) is inscribed on the reverse, according to Hermann Warner Williams Jr. (1941), *Maximilianus I Imperator* and below, *Visierung Kaysz M[.] / silbern Harnasch* (Drawing Emp[eror] M[aximilian] / Silver Armor). The armor depicted in the drawing is contemporary with and similar to Saint Maurice's. However, there are also differences, and Dirk Breiding believes that the drawing may have been for a lifesize statue of Maximilian I, a theory that he is developing further for publication.
28. Parke-Bernet 1946, p. 20, no. 36B. Jean Devisse mentioned the Metropolitan painting as a replica of the Marktkirche example (Devisse 2010, p. 283, n. 286).
29. Suckale-Redlefsen 1987, pp. 221–22, no. 105.
30. Tacke 2006, p. 211.
31. On this specific issue, see Schölzel 2005; Heydenreich 2007b, pp. 289–318, 323–27.
32. Sandner in Eisenach 1998, pp. 83–95.

EXHIBITIONS: Berlin 1906, p. 12, no. 20

REFERENCES: Parke-Bernet 1946, p. 20, no. 36B, ill.; *World Collectors Annuary* 1950, p. 155, no. 2033; Suckale-Redlefsen 1987, pp. 91–92, 218, 221–22, no. 105, ill. p. 93; Tacke 1992, pp. 90–91; Tacke 2006, p. 211, fig. 11; Maryan W. Ainsworth in "Recent Acquisitions" 2007, p. 20, ill.; Devisse 2010, p. 283, n. 286

Cat. 17A, B Lucas Cranach the Elder and workshop; Cat. 17C Workshop of Lucas Cranach the Elder

A. Friedrich III, the Wise, Elector of Saxony, B. Johann I, the Constant, Elector of Saxony, C. Johann I, the Constant, Elector of Saxony

1. Missing letters in damaged areas are supplied in brackets, based on comparison with intact inscriptions on other elector portraits and on published transcriptions.
2. Possibly a reference to Georg the Bearded, Duke of Saxony (r. 1500–39; Albertine line), a committed opponent of Martin Luther's religious reforms (see Christensen 1992, p. 45, n. 12).
3. In 1519, after the death of Emperor Maximilian I, Friedrich had enough votes to become emperor but declined his own candidacy and instead encouraged the election of Charles V.
4. The label on 17c gives the V in the correct orientation.
5. A reference to the German Peasants' War, 1524–26.
6. A reference to various sects, such as the Anabaptists, that made up what is now designated the Radical Reformation.
7. A reference to Johann's support of the Augsburg Confession presented at the 1530 Diet of Augsburg.
8. Saxony opposed the election of Archduke Ferdinand as king of the Romans (the designated successor to the imperial throne) based on conditions of the election, which, Saxony claimed, contravened the Golden Bull, the 1356 decree that specified procedure for imperial elections (see Kohler 1982, pp. 171–81).
9. Heinemann nos. 18141, 18142; see Galerie Heinemann Online 2010– (accessed May 16, 2012).

10. Ibid.
11. Provenance established in Baetjer 2004, appendix 1A, p. 206, no. 89, and passim.
12. Heydenreich 2007b, p. 126.
13. Wood identification and dendrochronological analysis by Peter Klein, Universität Hamburg (reports, July 27, 2007, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
14. Heydenreich 2007b, p. 43.
15. Ibid., p. 88.
16. IRR carried out for both portraits with configuration C; see p. 276.
17. See note 13 above. Klein's dendrochronological analysis indicated an earliest felling date of 1531, on which the earliest possible fabrication date of 1533 is based. Five of the other paintings are in the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin: *Johann Ernst, Duke of Saxony* (no. II 55), *Martin Luther* (no. 617), *Philipp Melanchthon* (no. 619), *The Ill-Matched Lovers* (no. 1606), and *Lucretia* (no. 1832). The others are *Martin Luther* (Würth Collection, Schwäbisch Hall, no. 6553 [formerly Fürstenbergssammlungen, Donaueschingen]), *Electors of Saxony* (left and right wings, Hamburger Kunsthalle, no. 606), *Eve* (Art Institute of Chicago, no. 1935.295), *The Parting of the Apostles* (boards II, III; Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, no. 254), *Portrait of a Man* (boards I and II; Nelson-Atkins Museum, Kansas City, no. 31-112), *Philipp Melanchthon* (private collection).
18. Klein's dendrochronological analysis (see note 13 above) indicated an earliest felling date of 1524, on which the earliest possible fabrication date of 1526 is based.
19. Heydenreich 2007b, p. 126.
20. Ibid., p. 43.
21. IRR carried out with configuration C; see p. 276.
22. Schuchardt 1851–71, vol. 1 (1851), p. 88; Christensen 1992, p. 39.
23. Weimar, Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Weimar, Ernestinisches Gesamtarchiv, Reg. Bb 4361, fol. 44r: "109 gulden 14 gr[oschen] Lucas [Cranach] Malhern inhalt seiner quitantz 60 par teffelein daruff gemalt sein die bede churfursten selige und lobliche gedechtnus, sonnabents nach Jubilate. Includ[ive]. 3 gr[oschen] vor ein schrein dartzu" (transcribed in Schuchardt 1851–71, vol. 1 [1851], p. 88; Schade 1974, p. 435, no. 276; Heydenreich 2007b, p. 425, no. 171). The second item indicates payment of 3 groschen for a crate to hold the 120 panels.
24. In addition to the three portraits from the elector series in the Metropolitan Museum, the following examples in other collections are known to the author as of 2013. Later copies not made within the Cranach workshop are omitted. Unless otherwise noted, the dates of the pairs are found on the portraits of Friedrich.

Portrait pairs dated 1532: Brighton Museum & Art Gallery, Brighton and Hove, England, nos. FA000105, FA000106; Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, nos. 1341 (lower text removed), 1340; Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art, Hartford, nos. 1941.597, 1941.598 (upper texts removed; lower text fields cut off); Kurpfälzisches Museum, Heidelberg, nos. G 62, G 63 (upper and lower text fields reworked in paint); Schlossmuseum Weimar, nos. G 7, G 8; Sotheby's, London, July 8, 2004, no. 113 (dated and signed on the Johann portrait); Christie's, London, December 11, 1981, nos. 26, 27 (previously Lempertz, Cologne, November 20–22, 1980, no. 18; the portrait of Johann separately at Tajan, Paris, December 13, 2005, no. 10); Piasa, Paris, December 6, 2000, no. 37; Sotheby's, London, December 6, 2007, no. 136 (upper texts removed; lower text fields cut off; authentic date and insignia on Friedrich portrait; Johann portrait dated and signed by later hand); Sotheby's, New York, November 29, 1961, no. 9 (previously Lepke's, Berlin, February 20–22, 1912, nos. 42, 43, ex coll. Weber, Hamburg; lower text fields cut off); location unknown (formerly private collection, Berlin, before 1937, Foto Marburg photograph nos. 145.709, 145.710); location unknown (formerly John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota, nos. SN309, SN310; both stolen February 3, 1951).

Portrait pairs dated 1533: Uffizi Gallery, Florence, nos. 1150, 1149 (Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 136, no. 338B); Sotheby's, London, December 12, 1990, no. 19.

Portrait pairs datable to ca. 1532–33: Musée d'Art Thomas Henry, Cherbourg-Octeville (part of lower text fields cut off); Sotheby's, London, April 24, 2008, no. 14 (upper texts removed; lower text fields cut off).

Now-isolated portraits of Friedrich dated 1532: Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, no. 636 (upper text removed; lower text field cut off); Kunstmuseum Bern, no. 591; Musée du Louvre, Paris, no. 1181 (lower text field cut off); Carnegie Museum of Art, Pittsburgh, no. 64.11.11 (lower text field cut off); Národní Galerie, Prague, no. DO 4573; Historisches Museum, Regensburg, no. WAF 184, on loan from the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen; Lutherhaus, Wittenberg, no. G22 (lower text field cut off); Lempertz, Cologne, June 5, 1975, no. 34 (upper text field painted over in black and inscribed with name of sitter; lower text field cut off); Sotheby's, London, April 19, 1967, no. 20 (upper text removed; lower text field cut off).

Now-isolated portraits of Friedrich dated 1533: Musée Galliéra, Paris, March 23, 1968, no. 39 (upper text field inscribed in paint; lower text field cut off); location

- unknown (formerly Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden, no. 1922; missing since 1945; lower text field cut off).
- Now-isolated portrait of Johann dated 1532: Sotheby's, London, December 8, 1993, no. 187 (lower text field cut off).
- Now-isolated portraits of Johann datable to ca. 1532–33: Schleswig-Holsteinisches Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte, Schloss Gottorf, Schleswig, on loan from private collection (texts hand-lettered in gold over black paint covering paper labels); Christie's, London, December 8, 2005, no. 36 (Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 136, no. 338D).
25. Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, pp. 135–36, no. 338, ill., no. 338A.
 26. See mainly Szusza Urbach in Berlin 1983, pp. 333–35, under nos. E 44, E 45; Peter-Klaus Schuster in Hamburg 1983, pp. 204–5, under nos. 79, 80; Horst Rabe in Nuremberg 1983a, pp. 448–49, under no. 619; H. Hoffmann 1990, pp. 48–49, under no. 15a, b; Christensen 1992, pp. 39–47.
 27. Schuchardt 1851–71, vol. 1 (1851), p. 88; Christensen 1992, p. 39.
 28. Although their authorship is seldom discussed, both poems have been attributed to Luther (Flehsig 1900, p. 256; Ludolph 1984, pp. 18–19; Christensen 1992, p. 40) and are included in the authoritative Weimar edition of Luther's works (Luther 1883–2005 [ed.], Schriften, vol. 35, pp. 587–90). The poem about Friedrich exists in a manuscript version, with corrections putatively in Luther's hand, in the literary remains of the humanist Georg Spalatin, Luther's friend and Elector Friedrich's adviser (Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Chart. A 122, fol. 28r–v, on which see Ehwald 1918; Ehwald 1918–19). According to a note by Spalatin, Luther wrote the verses concerning Friedrich in 1525, after the elector's death, to accompany a portrait that hung in the castle at Lochau (now Annaburg). As printed for the 1532–33 portrait series, the poem about Friedrich contains minor differences in wording and four additional lines (7–8, 13–14). The poem for the portrait of Johann lacks documentary evidence of authorship. It was surely composed after Johann's death in 1532, which is referred to in line 29, and its association with Luther presumably follows from the more secure attribution of the earlier poem.
 29. Matthias Mende in Schoch, Mende, and Scherbaum 2001–4, vol. 1 (2001), pp. 236–37, no. 98, ill.; on Cranach's reliance on Dürer here, see Schuster in Hamburg 1983, p. 205, under no. 80.
 30. The 1522 portrait, now lost, was formerly in the collection of the Schlossmuseum Gotha (Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 100, no. 151, ill.); for the examples from 1525 and shortly thereafter, see Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 105, no. 179, ill., nos. 179A–F, 180, ill.
 31. Black bars appear in at least three other portraits of Friedrich from the series: the one in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence, and those for sale at Sotheby's, London, December 12, 1990, and July 8, 2004 (cited in note 24 above).
 32. The label texts contain minor variations, which indicate that they were not printed in a single run. For example, in the pair belonging to the Schlossmuseum Weimar (H. Hoffmann 1990, pp. 48–51, no. 15a, b, ill.), the labels in the upper corners omit the sitters' titles and are in a typeface different from the one usually encountered. Yet another different typeface was used for the poem on the Weimar portrait of Johann, and in the same example two words in lines 17 and 34 that appear in other versions with inverted letters (*besunder*, *vnnerdorben*) are correctly printed (*besunder*, *vverdorben*). Also, in line 18 of the poem about Johann on the example in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence, and on one of the examples in the Metropolitan Museum (178), the first letter is inverted (*And* instead of the correct *Vnd*). For the printing, Cranach probably engaged a local press in Wittenberg; those of Luftt, Rhau, Rhau-Grunenberg, and Schirlentz were available. Cranach's own press, which he ran with Christian Döring, was in business only from 1523 to 1526.
 33. See the discussion of this phenomenon in Heydenreich 2007b, p. 88.
 34. Listed in note 24 above (Annette Frese and Annette Kurella kindly confirmed the presence of the marks on the Heidelberg pair and the Regensburg portrait, respectively; emails to the author, June 20, 2007, and May 16, 2007, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). Such fasteners were also used in the production of other small portraits painted in series; their marks are present, for example, along the borders of *Martin Luther* of 1533 in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg (Löcher 1997, pp. 149–50, ill.) and *Erasmus of Rotterdam* of 1536 in the Kunstmuseum Bern (H. Wagner 1977, pp. 205–7, ill.).
 35. Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 136, under no. 338. The participation of Cranach's sons Hans (b. 1513/14) and Lucas (b. 1515) is of course a possibility (see Schuchardt 1851–71, vol. 1 [1851], p. 89; Flehsig 1900, p. 257; Urbach in Berlin 1983, p. 334, under no. E 44; Claus Grimm in Kronach and Leipzig 1994, p. 31, caption for fig. A13).
 36. See Gunnar Heydenreich's suggestion (Heydenreich 2007b, p. 298) that often in the Cranach workshop "master and journeymen were active to differing degrees in various stages and areas of the picture."
 37. On criteria for distinguishing pendants, diptychs, and the various types of diptychs, see (using early Netherlandish examples) Hand, Metzger (Catherine A.), and Spronk 2006a; Hand, Metzger (Catherine A.), and Spronk 2006b.
 38. The coat of arms is similar to the one pasted to the verso of a small 1532 portrait of Johann Friedrich (private collection; see A. Dülberg 1990, p. 189, no. 42, fig. 458). The Saxon coat of arms that is known to be on two other portraits of Friedrich from the 1532–33 series (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin; Kunstmuseum Bern; see A. Dülberg 1990, pp. 189–90, nos. 43, 44) is of a different type: it is the large electoral Saxon coat of arms, surrounded by putti and branches, made for the 1509 *Wittenberger Heiltumsbuch*. Angelica Dülberg proposed that the Berlin and Bern portraits of Friedrich also were originally joined to portraits of Johann.
 39. Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 71, no. 19, ill.; Bodo Brinkmann in Frankfurt and London 2007–8, pp. 150–53, no. 18, ill.
- EXHIBITIONS: 17A: Baltimore 1954, p. 26, no. 32
 17B: none
 17C: none
- REFERENCES: 17A: Kuhn 1936, p. 43, no. 133 (with 46.179.2), pl. XXV; Taylor, Jayne, and Harrison 1947, p. 22; Wehle and Salinger 1947, pp. 205–6, ill.; Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, p. 37, ill. vol. 2, p. 298; Urbach 1991, p. 78; Christensen 1992, p. 40, n. 10; Claus Grimm in Kronach and Leipzig 1994, p. 31, under caption for fig. A13, p. 335, under no. 180b, fig. A11; Baetjer 1995, p. 221, ill. p. 222; C. Grimm 2002, fig. 36 (detail); Fastert 2007, p. 149, n. 55; Heydenreich 2007b, pp. 88, 126, 337, nn. 55, 56, fig. 102
- 17B: Kuhn 1936, p. 43, no. 133 (with 46.179.1), pl. XXV; Taylor, Jayne, and Harrison 1947, p. 22; Wehle and Salinger 1947, pp. 205–6, ill.; Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, p. 37, ill. vol. 2, p. 298; Urbach 1991, p. 78; Christensen 1992, p. 40, n. 10; Claus Grimm in Kronach and Leipzig 1994, p. 335, under no. 180b; Baetjer 1995, p. 222, ill.; Heydenreich 2007b, pp. 86, 88, 126, 337, nn. 55, 56, figs. 74 (detail), 102
- 17C: Metropolitan Museum 1872, p. 39, no. 89; "German Paintings" 1908, p. 234; Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, p. 37, ill. vol. 2, p. 298; Urbach 1991, p. 78; Christensen 1992, p. 40, n. 10; Claus Grimm in Kronach and Leipzig 1994, p. 335, under no. 180b; Baetjer 1995, p. 222, ill.; Baetjer 2004, pp. 172, 182, appendix 1A, pp. 197, 206, no. 89, appendix 3, p. 244, ill. p. 206

Cat. 18 Workshop of Lucas Cranach the Elder

Martin Luther

1. Wood identification by Peter Klein, Universität Hamburg (report, April 27, 2006, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). Dating of the wood was not possible.
2. Heydenreich 2007b, p. 43.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 177.
4. IRR carried out with configuration C; see p. 276.
5. See especially Martin Warnke (1984) on this subject. See also Hess and Mack 2010.
6. Warnke 1984, p. 62; Karin Kolb in Chemnitz 2005–6, pp. 474–79, ill. Other examples of these pendants are found in the State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg (nos. Г98600 and Г98601); the Uffizi Gallery, Florence (nos. 472, 512); and the Fürstenbergssammlungen Donaueschingen (nos. 727, 728). There are also various single, unmatched portraits of these two sitters (curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
7. No known pendant of the Melanchthon portrait can be definitively linked to the Museum's *Luther*.
8. See Gemäldegalerie (Berlin) 1986, nos. 617, 619. This particular pose and close-up view of Luther enjoyed even wider circulation through the prints of Heinrich Aldegrever and Hans Brosamer. Aldegrever joined his *Luther* with a portrait of Melanchthon (Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg [nos. K305, K306]), and Brosamer joined his with a portrait of Katharina von Bora (Hollstein 1954–, vol. 4 [1957], pp. 260–61, nos. 596, 597).
9. Löcher 1995, p. 371.
10. Löcher 1997, p. 149.
11. *Ibid.*
12. Löcher 1995, p. 371.
13. Kokoska 1995a, p. 9.
14. Kokoska 1995b, p. 16.
15. Löcher 1995, p. 371. See also John Oliver Hand, Catherine A. Metzger, and Ron Spronk in Washington and Antwerp 2006–7, pp. 116–21, no. 16.
16. Löcher 1995, p. 371.
17. Scribner 1981, pp. 247–48.

18. I am grateful to Joshua Waterman for his research and discussions with me regarding these interpretations.
19. Max J. Friedländer, unpublished opinion, Berlin, March 6, 1927 (on verso of photograph; copy in curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
20. Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1932, p. 75, no. 252k; Kuhn 1936, pp. 44, no. 143; Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, pp. 130–31, no. 314F; Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, p. 37; Baetjer 1995, p. 223.
21. The Cranach insignia on the Christie's version is somewhat suspect. The serpent's wings appear to be lowered, but they still show little spikes pointing upward at the top ridge of the wing. This is either an uncommon raised-wing serpent, which would be typical of the 1532 date, or an unusual lowered-wing serpent, which would raise doubt about a dating before 1537, when the workshop changed from the raised- to the lowered-wing sign.
22. Schade 1980, p. 53.

EXHIBITIONS: New York 1928, p. 18, no. 31; on loan to Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts, 1942–43; New York 1946a, no. 2; Fisk University, Nashville, 1961 (no catalogue)

REFERENCES: "German Exhibition" 1928, p. 5; Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1932, p. 75, no. 252k; Kuhn 1936, p. 44, no. 143, pl. XXXVI; Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 131, no. 314F; Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, p. 37, ill. vol. 2, p. 297; Baetjer 1995, p. 223, ill.

Cat. 19 Circle of Lucas Cranach the Elder

Portrait of a Man

1. The last few numerals in the first line and all those in the second are heavily abraded. The first line gives the date of the painting, the second probably the sitter's age of forty-five.
2. According to Kleinberger gallery stock card, no. 15,912 (curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
3. Wood identification by Peter Klein, Universität Hamburg (report, July 27, 2007, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). Dating of the wood was not possible.
4. Heydenreich 2007b, p. 43.
5. FitzHugh 1997, p. 56.
6. Gunnar Heydenreich's extensive study of paintings associated with the Cranach workshop mentions only one analyzed painting in which orpiment was detected, *Elector Friedrich III, the Wise* (Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg); Heydenreich 2007b, p. 133. Unusual features of the support of the Nuremberg painting and other factors suggest that it was not produced by the Cranach workshop but is rather a later copy.
7. IRR carried out with configuration A; see p. 276.
8. The date of 1537 given in Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 162, no. Sup 17, omits the last numeral in the abraded date inscription. On the sitter's age, see note 1 above.
9. For other examples of portraits with mirror-image initials on signet rings, see Bernhard Strigel, *Hans Roth*, 1527, National Gallery of Art, Washington (Hand 1993, pp. 167–73, fig. 1); and Barthel Bruyn the Elder, *Peter Heyman*, ca. 1540–45, Städel Museum, Frankfurt (Bodo Brinkmann in Brinkmann and Kemperdick 2005, pp. 85–92, figs. 64, 70).
10. See, for example, the initials *HSD* (for Heinrich Stromer, Doctor) on the background and, in mirror image, on the signet ring of *Heinrich Stromer*, a portrait of 1527 by the same artist (private collection; Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 162, no. Sup 16; See also Dieter Koepplin in Basel 1974, vol. 2, p. 693, no. 617).
11. See Kepetzi 2011, especially p. 138.
12. For a portrait pair with an orange held by the male sitter, see Bernhard Strigel, *Hans Roth* and *Margarethe Vöhlin*, 1527, National Gallery of Art, Washington (Hand 1993, pp. 167–73, ill.).
13. New York 1928, p. 18, no. 32; New York 1929, p. 8, no. 23. The opinions (Max J. Friedländer, Berlin, April 29, 1927, and Berlin, February 16, 1928; Wilhelm R. Valentiner, Detroit, March 8, 1928) are preserved on the backs of old photographs (curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
14. Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1932, p. 98, no. 367; Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 162, no. Sup 17. The four other portraits are Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1932, p. 98, nos. 365 (two paintings), 366, 368 (Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, pp. 161–62, no. Sup 15, 15A, 16, 18). The attribution is repeated in Kuhn 1936, p. 44, no. 144. For the name paintings of the Master of the Masses of Saint Gregory now in the Staatgalerie Aschaffenburg and the Stiftskirche, Aschaffenburg (Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, inv. nos. 6270, 6271), see Friedländer and J. Rosenberg

- 1978, p. 161, nos. Sup 11, Sup 12, ill.; Martin Schawe in Aschaffenburg 2007, pp. 270–71, 273, 306–8, nos. 14, 51, ill.
15. Wehle and Salinger 1947, pp. 206–7; Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, p. 37; Baetjer 1995, p. 223.
16. Tacke 1992, pp. 62–63.
17. Lübbeke 1991, p. 64.
18. *Portrait of a Woman Aged Twenty-Six*, 1525, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid (Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 161, no. Sup 15A); *Portrait of a Man Aged Twenty-Nine*, 1526, private collection (Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 161, no. Sup 15, ill., showing state before strip cut off bottom, removing hands; Sotheby's, London, July 6, 2000, no. 4; Koller, Zürich, March 27, 2009, no. 3008); *Portrait of a Man Aged Thirty-Six*, 1526, Suermondt-Ludwig-Museum, Aachen (Lübbeke 1991, p. 64, n. 2); *Heinrich Stromer*, 1527, private collection (Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 162, no. Sup 16, ill.); *Portrait of a Man with a Floral Diadem*, 1527, private collection (Christie's, London, July 8, 2008, no. 11); *Portrait of a Woman Aged Twenty-Two*, 1528, Scottish National Gallery, Edinburgh (Lübbeke 1991, p. 64, fig. 1); *Portrait of a Man Aged Fifty-Seven*, 1541, *Portrait of a Woman Aged Thirty-Nine*, 1538, a pair, State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg; *Portrait of a Man Aged Forty-One*, 1543, private collection (Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 162, no. Sup 18, ill.); *Portrait of a Man Aged Thirty-Nine*, *Portrait of a Woman Aged Twenty-Eight*, 1544, a pair, private collection (Sotheby's, London, July 6, 2000, no. 11; formerly Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne); *Portrait of a Woman Aged Twenty-Six*, 1548, private collection (London 1906, no. 4, pl. XXIV; acquired by the Metropolitan Museum in 1922, acc. no. 22.60.48, and deaccessioned in 1933). The portraits are of nearly the same size, with the exception of the female likeness in Madrid, which is somewhat taller and narrower than the rest.
19. See note 10 above.
20. On Heusler and other Cranach pupils, see Emmendorffer 1998, pp. 219–22 and passim, with references to earlier literature.

EXHIBITIONS: New York 1928, p. 18, no. 32, ill. p. 23; New York 1929, p. 8, no. 23; New York 1932–33

REFERENCES: "German Exhibition" 1928, p. 5; "German Paintings" 1928, p. 1, ill. p. 2; Mather 1928, p. 310; Freund 1929b, p. 333, ill. p. 326; Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1932, p. 98, no. 367, ill.; Kuhn 1936, p. 44, no. 144; Wehle and Salinger 1947, pp. 206–7, ill.; Davenport 1948, vol. 1, p. 396, no. 1055, ill.; Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 162, no. Sup 17, ill.; Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, p. 37, ill. vol. 2, p. 297; Lübbeke 1991, p. 64, n. 2; Tacke 1992, pp. 62–63; Baetjer 1995, p. 223, ill.

Cat. 20 Copy after Lucas Cranach the Elder

Venus with Cupid the Honey Thief

1. Neumann 1909, pp. 19–21, no. 26. See also letter from Mrs. Albert E. Goodhart to Ethelwyn Manning, Frick Art Reference Library, dated New York, December 20, 1934 (Frick Art Reference Library Central Correspondence—Private Collections—New York City; The Frick Collection / Frick Art Reference Library Archives); Upeniec 2005.
2. According to Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1932, pp. 67–68, no. 204e.
3. See letter cited in note 1 above; see also Duveen Brothers, "Items removed from the apartment of the late Mrs. A. E. Goodhart," dated September 19, 1952 (Duveen Brothers Records, box 157, folder 1, Special Collections and Visual Resources, Research Library, Getty Research Institute for the History of Art and the Humanities, Los Angeles).
4. Wood identification and dendrochronological analysis by Peter Klein, Universität Hamburg (report, May 12, 1997, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). Klein's dendrochronological analysis indicated an earliest felling date of 1568, an earliest possible fabrication date of 1570, and a plausible fabrication date of 1580 or later.
5. Heydenreich 2007b, p. 43.
6. Infrared imaging carried out with configurations C and B; see p. 276.
7. The present discussion serves as an addendum to the entry by Charles Talbot in the 1998 catalogue of the Robert Lehman Collection (Sterling et al. 1998, pp. 43–47, no. 9). It offers bibliographical updates and a new assessment of the attribution and dating.
8. See the listing of known variants in Herrmann Fiore 2010, pp. 111–12. The earliest surviving example, now in the National Gallery, London, dates about 1526; see Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 119, no. 246L; Caroline Campbell in London 2007, pp. 80–83, no. 2, ill. For broader considerations of the subject, see Dieter Koepplin in Basel 1974, vol. 2, pp. 655–56, under no. 569; Koepplin 2003b, pp. 37–51; Pérez d'Ors 2007, pp. 85–88; Herrmann Fiore 2010, all with references to earlier literature.

9. Theocritus 1952 (ed.), vol. 1, p. 147: "A cruel bee once stung the thievish Love-god as he was stealing honey from the hives, and pricked all his finger-tips. And he was hurt, and blew upon his hand, and stamped and danced. And to Aphrodite he showed the wound, and made complaint that so small a creature as a bee should deal so cruel a wound. And his mother answered laughing, 'Art not thou like the bees, that art so small yet dealest wounds so cruel?'"
10. For Sabinus's authorship, see Bath 1989, pp. 66–69 (based on Hutton 1941, p. 1041, n. 16; Hutton 1980, p. 112, n. 16), and the emendations of Pérez d'Ors 2007, pp. 87–88, 91–95. The quatrain was published in Sabinus's *Poemata* (Strasbourg, 1538), fol. L6v (and later editions). As Charles Talbot noted in Sterling et al. 1998, p. 44, the inscription on the Museum's painting contains the textual variants "sedvla pvnxit" and "moritvra" in place, respectively, of the usual "cvspide fixit" and "peritvra."
11. See Bath 1989, pp. 68–69; Pérez d'Ors 2007, pp. 87–88. Koeplin 2003b, pp. 37–38, has proposed both Melanchthon and the electoral Saxon secretary and court historiographer Georg Spalatin as likely iconographical advisers.
12. These first two lines Sabinus borrowed and modified from Ercole Strozzi's Theocritus translation published in 1513 (see Leeman 1984, p. 275).
13. Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 72, no. 22, ill.; Bierende 2002, pp. 217–19. The Latin text of the inscription: "Pelle cvpidineos toto conamine lvxvs / Ne tua possideat pectora ceca venvs."
14. Talbot in Sterling et al. 1998, pp. 43–47, no. 9. This is the traditional opinion; see also Neumann 1909, pp. 19–21, no. 26; Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1932, pp. 67–68, no. 204e; V. Campbell 1957, p. 29; Charles Sterling in Paris 1957, pp. 7–8, no. 9; Cincinnati 1959, p. 20, no. 120; New York 1960, n.p., no. 15; Descargues 1961, p. 59; Russoli 1962, pl. 163; Szabó 1975, p. 90; Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, pp. 118–19, no. 246E; Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, p. 36; Hutton 1980, p. 131; Görel Cavalli-Bjorkman in Stockholm 1988, pp. 133–35; Baetjer 1995, p. 220; Bettina Back in Cologne and Antwerp 2000–2001, pp. 280–81, no. 25; Back in Munich 2001, pp. 152–53, no. 11; Pérez d'Ors 2007, p. 86, n. 1; Herrmann Fiore 2010, p. 111.
15. Koeplin in Basel 1974, vol. 2 (1976), p. 787, n. 1.
16. See note 4 above.
17. For discussion of the various techniques for painting flesh tones used by the Cranach workshop, see Heydenreich 2007b, pp. 193–207. Contrary to the statement of Charles Talbot in Sterling et al. 1998, p. 47, there is no evidence of extensive retouching in the face of Venus.
18. Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 118, no. 246B; Bodo Brinkmann in Frankfurt and London 2007–8, pp. 352–53, no. 112, ill.
19. Stockholm 1966, p. 513, no. 1289; Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 118, no. 246D; sold, Christie's, London, November 30, 1979, no. 71, ill. (ex-Count Carl Björnstjerna). I thank Gunnar Heydenreich for sharing his firsthand knowledge of this painting.
20. Koeplin in Basel 1974, vol. 2, p. 787, n. 1.
21. See, for example, the costume of Ceres in Bartholomäus Spranger, *Sine Cerere et Baccho Friget Venus* (Without Ceres and Bacchus, Venus Freezes), ca. 1590, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (Kaufmann 1988, p. 265, no. 20.48, ill.).
22. Report by Ian Tyers, Dendrochronological Consultancy Limited, Sheffield, August 2010 (copy, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
23. The putative Rudolfine provenance of the ex-Björnstjerna picture suggests that its painter had connections to Emperor Rudolf II (r. 1576–1612), a major collector of early sixteenth-century German painting who is known, for example, to have commissioned the court artist Joseph Heintz the Elder to copy a Cranach (Heintz's *Salome with the Head of John the Baptist*, ca. 1601–2, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; see Kaufmann 1988, p. 191, no. 7.28, ill.).
24. Dated (spuriously) 1530, oil on wood, 35 × 21.5 cm (information from photographs, Sperling File, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
25. See Koeplin in Basel 1974, vol. 2, p. 787, n. 1, fig. 360; Talbot in Sterling et al. 1998, p. 47.

EXHIBITIONS: Charles Sterling in Paris 1957, pp. 7–8, no. 9; Cincinnati 1959, p. 20, no. 120, ill.; New York 1960, n.p., no. 15; Bettina Back in Cologne and Antwerp 2000–2001, pp. 280–81, no. 25, ill.; Back in Munich 2001, pp. 152–53, no. 11, ill.

REFERENCES: Neumann 1909, pp. 19–21, no. 26, ill.; Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1932, pp. 67–68, no. 204e; V. Campbell 1957, p. 29, ill.; Descargues 1961, p. 59; Russoli 1962, pl. 163; Szabó 1975, p. 90, pl. 71; Dieter Koeplin in Basel 1974, vol. 2 (1976), p. 787, n. 1, fig. 361; Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, pp. 118–19, no. 246E; Eberle 1979, p. 21, n. 1, no. 3; Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, p. 36, ill. vol. 2, p. 296; Hutton 1980, p. 131, ill. p. 113; Görel Cavalli-Bjorkman in Stockholm 1988, pp. 133–35, fig. 29; Baetjer 1995, p. 220, ill.; Charles Talbot in Sterling et al. 1998, pp. 43–47, no. 9, ill.; Upeniece 2005, p. 17; Pérez d'Ors 2007, p. 86, n. 1; Herrmann Fiore 2010, p. 111

Cat. 21 Lucas Cranach the Younger

Nymph of the Spring

1. Kleinberger gallery stock card, no. 7932 (curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
2. Ibid. The painting was not offered at the Simon sale, Frederik Muller & Cie, Amsterdam, October 25–26, 1927.
3. According to an invoice from A. S. Drey to Robert Lehman, dated New York, April 9, 1928 (curatorial files, Robert Lehman Collection, MMA).
4. According to Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1932, p. 89, no. 324b, which also supplies the date of 1927.
5. Wood identification by Peter Klein, Universität Hamburg (report, April 23, 1998, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). Dating of the wood was not possible because of an insufficient number of growth rings.
6. Heydenreich 2007b, p. 43.
7. Infrared imaging carried out with configurations D and B; see p. 276.
8. The present discussion offers updates to the entry by Charles Talbot in the 1998 catalogue of the Robert Lehman Collection (Sterling et al. 1998, pp. 48–54, no. 10).
9. See Matsche 2007, p. 195; S. Dittrich and L. Dittrich 2005, s.v. "Papagei, II, E.," and "Rebhuhn / Steinhuhn, II, H."
10. See Talbot in Sterling et al. 1998, p. 53.
11. Talbot in *ibid.*, p. 49; a listing is provided in Hand 1993, pp. 38–39, n. 12.
12. Schade 1974, pls. 97, 93; Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 93, nos. 119, 119A; Elke Werner in Berlin 2009–10, pp. 197–98, no. III.16, ill. (Berlin version).
13. First in a drawing of about 1525 formerly in the Kupferstich-Kabinett, Dresden (J. Rosenberg 1960, p. 22, no. 40, ill.; missing since World War II). An exception is the version dated 1534 in the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool (Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 121, no. 259, ill.), which shows a fountain basin instead of a spring. For fuller discussions of the iconographic changes, see Dieter Koeplin in Basel 1974, vol. 2, pp. 635–36; Lübbecke 1991, pp. 207–9; Talbot in Sterling et al. 1998, pp. 51–52; Matsche 2007, pp. 190–95.
14. See Talbot 1967, pp. 81–84; Koeplin in Basel 1974, vol. 2, p. 635; Matsche 2007, pp. 202–3; Werner in Brussels and Paris 2010–11, p. 196, under no. 112.
15. Matsche 2007, pp. 202–3. Learned viewers may also have drawn parallels with the nine Muses, the goddesses of intellectual pursuits who were originally protectresses of inspiration-giving springs. Furthermore, that Cranach's nymphs do not actually sleep, but instead appear to be caught in a state of reverie, suggests that they were meant to evoke the notion of contemplative inspiration. For discussion of these matters, including the combination of frank eroticism with humanist moral and intellectual concerns, see Lübbecke 1991, pp. 206–7; Pataki 2005, vol. 1, pp. 294–303; Matsche 2007, pp. 192, 200–201.
16. For the dating, see Pataki 2005, vol. 1, pp. 39–40. The attribution to Campano was made by the Florentine humanist Bartolomeo della Fonte, who, in the earliest known record of the epigram (in a compilation of 1464–70), noted: "Romae recens inventum. Campani est" (Recently invented in Rome, it is by Campano); see MacDougall 1975, p. 358; Pataki 2005, vol. 1, pp. 32–33, vol. 2, p. 335, no. 1; Matsche 2007, p. 170. As MacDougall, Pataki, and Matsche noted, "inventum" and "Campani est" may alternatively be interpreted as "found" and "It belongs to Campano," which would suggest that Campano merely discovered the epigram, presumably as an ancient inscription carved in stone. Nevertheless, the general consensus is that Campano devised it.
17. See MacDougall 1975, pp. 358–59; Pataki 2005, vol. 1, p. 45.
18. See MacDougall 1975, pp. 357, 358–59; with several corrections, Pataki 2005, vol. 1, pp. 45–64, vol. 2, pp. 336–37, no. 3.
19. Aided by the work of the historian Ágnes Ritoók Szalay (Ritoók Szalay 1983/2002), Zita Ágota Pataki (see Pataki 2005, vol. 1, pp. 45–64) maintained that Ferrarinus, who was not a traveler, could have learned of the fountain from the antiquarian Felice Feliciano, who probably visited Hungary in 1479.
20. Wuttke 1968, p. 306; Matsche 2007, pp. 167–68.
21. Winkler 1936–39, vol. 3 (1938), p. 79, no. 663, ill.; Kurz 1953, pp. 171–72.
22. Koeplin in Basel 1974, vol. 1, p. 428.
23. Matsche 2007; Pataki 2005, vol. 1, pp. 74–83. Matsche and Pataki based their studies on the historical groundwork in Ritoók Szalay 1983/2002.
24. "Fontis nympha sacri, somnum ne rumpe, quiesco. / Dormio dum blandae sentio murmur aquae"; Matsche 2007, p. 177. Jordanus's note was not, as Matsche claimed, published in a historical chronicle in 1585; rather, it is a handwritten entry of about 1569 on the flyleaf of Jordanus's copy of Gáspár Heltai's *Historia incltyi Matthiae Hvmnyadis, Regis Hungariae* (Claudiopolis [Cluj-Napoca], 1565); see Pataki 2005, vol. 1, pp. 49–50, vol. 2, p. 342, no. 14.
25. Pataki 2005, vol. 1, pp. 50, 275–76.

26. Namely, via Conrad Celtis or the Hungarian Thurzó family. See *ibid.*, pp. 74–83.
27. As first noted in Liebmann 1968, pp. 435–37. See also Koepplin in Basel 1974, vol. 2, p. 639, no. 549, fig. 238; Matsche 2007, pp. 160–63, fig. 2; Werner in Brussels and Paris 2010–11, pp. 195–96, no. 110, ill.
28. Hind 1938–48, vol. 5 (1948), p. 225, no. 1, vol. 7 (1948), pl. 807; Koepplin in Basel 1974, vol. 2, p. 637, under no. 544; Matsche 2007, pp. 186–90, fig. 6; Werner in Brussels and Paris 2010–11, pp. 195–96, no. 111, ill. Cranach's earliest use of the bow and quiver motif was in a drawing of a fountain nymph of about 1525 formerly in the Kupferstich-Kabinett, Dresden (J. Rosenberg 1960, p. 22, no. 40, ill.; missing since World War II).
29. The proposed sources are Giorgione and Titian's *Sleeping Venus*, ca. 1508–10, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden (Glaser 1921, pp. 100–102; Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 93, under no. 119; Talbot in Sterling et al. 1998, p. 50; Evans [Mark] 2007, p. 56); a lost Giorgione depicting a reclining Venus or nymph after the hunt (Kurz 1953, p. 176; Evans [Mark] 2007, p. 56); the ancient Roman *Sleeping Ariadne* statue installed in the Belvedere court of the Vatican in 1512 (Koepplin in Basel 1974, vol. 1, p. 428); and the above-mentioned drawing of a fountain nymph by Dürer in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (Koepplin in Basel 1974, vol. 1, p. 428). Edgar Bierende (2002, pp. 226–34) maintained that the theme was connected with legends of an ancient miracle-working spring near Meissen.
30. Talbot in Sterling et al. 1998, pp. 48–54, no. 10, especially pp. 52–53. This attribution had already been proposed in Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1932, p. 89, no. 324b; H. Börsch-Supan 1977, p. 21; Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 150, no. 403B. Earlier Lehman Collection and Metropolitan Museum cataloguing gave the picture to Lucas Cranach the Elder; see Szabó 1975, pp. 89–90; Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, pp. 36–37; Baetjer 1995, p. 221.
31. The panel sizes are generally consistent with the standard Cranach panel format A (18.5–22.5 × 14–16 cm), according to the categorization in Heydenreich 2007b, p. 43.
32. Karin Kolb in Chemnitz 2005–6, pp. 236–45, no. 7, ill. (Dresden); Schade 1974, pl. 212 (Braunschweig).
33. Schneckenburger-Broschek 1997, pp. 88–94, no. 58, ill.
34. Kurt Löcher in Münster 2003, pp. 30–32, no. 11, ill.
35. Lauts 1966, vol. 1, pp. 94–95, ill. vol. 2, p. 33; Holger Jacob-Friesen in Bremen 2009, pp. 33–34, no. 34, ill.

EXHIBITIONS: New York 1928, p. 16, no. 27, ill. p. 21; George Henry McCall in New York 1939a, p. 29, no. 58; New York 1939b, p. 13, no. 5, ill.; Charles Sterling in Paris 1957, pp. 9–10, no. 10, pl. XXVII; Cincinnati 1959, p. 20, no. 119, ill.; New York 1960, n.p., no. 7, ill.

REFERENCES: "German Exhibition" 1928, p. 5; Mather 1928, p. 310; Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1932, p. 89, no. 324b; "Classics of the Nude" 1939, p. 5, ill.; Frankfurter 1939, pp. 9–10, ill.; Jewell 1939; Sweeney 1939, p. 19, ill.; "Venus Pictrix" 1939; Kurz 1953, p. 176, n. 2; Heinrich 1954b, p. 222; "Cranach at Duveen's" 1960, ill.; Preston 1960, p. 272; Lauts 1966, vol. 1, pp. 94–95, under no. 895; Talbot 1967, pp. 80, 87, nn. 28, 29; Szabó 1975, pp. 89–90, pl. 72; H. Börsch-Supan 1977, p. 21; Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 150, no. 403B; Hollander 1978, ill. p. 97; Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, pp. 36–37, ill. vol. 2, p. 297; Damisch 1992, p. 136, ill.; Hand 1993, pp. 38, 39, nn. 12, 20; Baetjer 1995, p. 221, ill.; Damisch 1996, p. 177, fig. 51; Schnackenburg 1996, vol. 1, p. 97; Schneckenburger-Broschek 1997, pp. 92–94, under no. 58, fig. 60; Charles Talbot in Sterling et al. 1998, pp. 48–54, no. 10, ill.; Kurt Löcher in Münster 2003, p. 30, under no. 11; Matsche 2007, p. 160, n. 3; Holger Jacob-Friesen in Bremen 2009, p. 33, under no. 34; Elke Anna Werner in Brussels and Paris 2010–11, p. 196, under no. 112.

Cat. 22A, B Lucas Cranach the Younger

A. *Christ and the Adulteress*, B. *Christ Blessing the Children*

1. Wood identification by Peter Klein, Universität Hamburg (report, April 3, 2006, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). Dating of the wood was not possible because the edges of the panel are inaccessible.
2. Heydenreich 2007b, p. 43.
3. IRR carried out with configuration C; see p. 276. On undermodeling of this sort, see Heydenreich 2007b, pp. 177–78.
4. Wood identification by Peter Klein (see note 1 above). The tangential cut of the wood made dendrochronological analysis impossible.
5. IRR carried out with configuration C; see p. 276. On the undermodeling, see Heydenreich 2007b, pp. 177–78.
6. The accounts in Matthew and Luke refer to Christ touching but not actually holding the children.

7. On loan from the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich (Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 95, no. 129, ill.; Michael Henker in Kronach and Leipzig 1994, p. 333, no. 155, ill.; Sabine Engel in Brussels and Paris 2010–11, pp. 228–29, no. 145, ill.). The original background of the Kronach picture is covered by an architectural backdrop added during the seventeenth century. For other examples of the subject, see Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, pp. 111, 141–42, nos. 216, 364, 364A–G, 365, ill. (nos. 216, 364, 365).
8. Ringbom 1984, pp. 190–91, fig. 158; Engel in Brussels and Paris 2010–11, p. 228, no. 144, ill.
9. Koepplin in Basel 1974, vol. 2, p. 516, under no. 364; Engel in Brussels and Paris 2010–11, p. 228, under no. 145. Alternatively, Helga Hoffmann suggested that Cranach, relying on the example of late Gothic predellas with half-length figures, could have arrived independently at this format (H. Hoffmann 1990, p. 83).
10. See, for example, the depiction on Michael Pacher's Altarpiece of Saint Wolfgang (1471–81; Kahsnitz 2005, pl. 37) and the early woodcuts and engravings cited by Koepplin (in Basel 1974, vol. 2, p. 516, under no. 365), in which Christ and the adulteress stand opposite one another.
11. See Koepplin in Basel 1974, p. 517, under no. 366. Kibish 1955, pp. 196–97, cites examples in manuscripts from the eleventh through the fourteenth century.
12. Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 141, no. 362 (Hamburg), ill., no. 362A (Dresden); respectively, Sitt 2007, pp. 98–99, ill.; Karin Kolb in Chemnitz 2005–6, pp. 302–11, no. 17, ill. These may be preceded by a few years by the undated picture in the Städel Museum, Frankfurt (ca. 1535–40; Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 112, no. 217A; Bodo Brinkmann in Brinkmann and Kemperdick 2005, pp. 226–34, ill.).
13. For the current tally, see Kolb in Chemnitz 2005–6, p. 308. On Johann Friedrich's orders, documented in 1539, 1543, and 1550, see Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 112, under no. 217.
14. Andersson 1981, p. 53.
15. Werner Schade in Gotha 1994, pp. 53–54, nos. 1.22, 1.23, ill. The recorded provenance of the Gotha pair reaches back to 1721. Guy Bauman (in Metropolitan Museum 1984a, pp. 103–4) knew the Gotha panels only from an old description and mistakenly considered them to be the ones now in New York.
16. The common theme has not gone unrecognized: Werner Schade (1974, p. 74) characterized both subjects as "examples of the Lutheran doctrine of election by grace" (*Beispiele evangelischer Gnadenwahl*).
17. Cited in Christensen 1979, p. 132.
18. Cited in *ibid.*, p. 133. See also Preuss 1926, pp. 181–82; Andersson 1981, pp. 51–53.
19. Johannes Bugenhagen, *Der XXIX. Psalm ausgelegt* (Wittenberg, 1542), fol. Err, "Hie haben wir ein gnaden vrteil, sicher vnd gewiss, Lasset die Kindlein zu mir komen etc. . . . Das heisset nicht Gottes heimliches gericht vnd finster wahn, sondern Gottes gnedige zusage, das vnser Kinder das Himmelreich eigen ist, so Christo werden zugebracht."
20. See Kibish 1955, pp. 199–200. Scholarship since Kibish tends to concede the possible anti-Anabaptist sentiment behind the initial appearance of the theme while seeking broader explanations for its later proliferation, such as the appreciation of family and parenting, the value placed on childlike faith in God, and the emphasis on divine grace found in other Lutheran writings (see Koepplin in Basel 1974, vol. 2, p. 518, under no. 366; Christensen 1979, p. 136; Andersson 1981, p. 55; Gottfried Seebass in Nuremberg 1983a, p. 270, under no. 349; Peter-Klaus Schuster in Hamburg 1983–84, p. 241, under no. 114; B.-J. Noble 1998, pp. 243–44; Brinkmann in Brinkmann and Kemperdick 2005, pp. 230–32; Kolb in Chemnitz 2005–6, pp. 310–11—all preceded by the seminal discussion in Preuss 1926, pp. 181–82).
21. Bauman in Metropolitan Museum 1984a, p. 104. Charles L. Kuhn (1936, p. 36, nos. 82, 83) attributed them to Lucas Cranach the Elder and proposed a date of about 1520. For the Braunschweig picture, see Schade 1974, pl. 212.
22. Kolb in Chemnitz 2005–6, pp. 236–45, no. 7, ill. (Dresden); Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, pp. 156–57, no. 433, ill.; Löcher 1997, pp. 164–66, ill. (Nuremberg).
23. The panel sizes are generally consistent with the standard Cranach panel format A (18.5–22.5 × 14–16 cm), according to the categorization in Heydenreich 2007b, p. 43.
24. Christie's, New York, sale cat., January 30, 2013, no. 112, ill.
25. Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 156, no. 432, ill.; see also Scharf 1929; Koepplin in Basel 1974, vol. 2, p. 510, under no. 355.
26. *The Adoration of the Shepherds* (private collection; see Christie's, Monaco, sale cat., June 22, 1991, no. 114, ill.; Galerie Fischer, Lucerne, sale cat., December 2, 1993, no. 2155, ill.); *The Baptism of Christ* (Cleveland Museum of Art; see Jean Kubota Cassill in Cleveland Museum of Art 1982, p. 165, no. 67, fig. 67); *Saint John the Baptist and Virgin of the Apocalypse* (Museo Poldi Pezzoli, Milan; see Koepplin in Basel 1974, vol. 2, p. 510, under no. 355; Schade in Hamburg 2003, p. 178, no. 60a–b, ill.); and *Law and Gospel* (Lutherhaus, Wittenberg; see Koepplin in Basel 1974, vol. 2, p. 510,

- no. 355, fig. 275; Strehle 2001, p. 94, ill.; Martin Treu in Joestel 2008, p. 134, ill. p. 135); the latter, at 19 × 25.5 cm, is somewhat larger than the rest.
27. Koeplin in Basel 1974, vol. 2, p. 510, under no. 355.
 28. Pen, black and brown ink, and black wash on laid paper; image: 22.9 × 17.1 cm; Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, The Edith A. and Percy S. Straus Collection, no. 44.547. The inscription reads, “*Pinxit haec Lucas, Lucae Cranachii filius, Ducum Saxoniae quodam [quidam?] pictor*” (Lucas, son of Lucas Cranach, a certain painter to the dukes of Saxony, painted this).
 29. But Scharf 1929, p. 698, and Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978, p. 156, no. 432, take the inscription as proof.
 30. This notwithstanding the reluctance that Lucas the Younger expressed in 1550 to take a commission in the absence of his father, on which see Erichsen 1997, pp. 49–50; Heydenreich 2007b, pp. 294–95.

EXHIBITIONS: 22A: Cambridge (Mass.) 1936, p. 9, no. 8, pl. 3; New York 1960, n.p., no. 16, ill.

22B: Cambridge (Mass.) 1936, p. 9, no. 9; New York 1960, n.p., no. 8

REFERENCES: 22A: Petit 1906, p. 48, no. 3, ill.; Lepke’s 1911, p. 38, no. 81, pl. 29; American Art Association 1928, p. 68, no. 108; Kuhn 1936, p. 36, no. 82, p. 91, no. 417, pl. XVIII; F. Schmid 1958, col. 798; Guy C. Bauman in Metropolitan Museum 1984a, pp. 101–4, no. 36, ill.; Bauman in Metropolitan Museum 1984b, pp. 57–58, ill.; Baetjer 1995, p. 221, ill.

22B: Kuhn 1936, p. 36, no. 83; Andersson 1981, p. 59, n. 57; Guy C. Bauman in Metropolitan Museum 1984a, pp. 102–4, no. 37, ill.; Bauman in Metropolitan Museum 1984b, pp. 57–58, ill.; Baetjer 1995, p. 221, ill.

Cat. 23 Albrecht Dürer

Salvator Mundi

1. I am extremely grateful to Joshua Waterman for carrying out extensive research on the provenance of this painting, clarifying many thorny issues. His fuller detailed explanations of the provenance may be found in the curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA.
2. Wood identification by Peter Klein, Universität Hamburg (report, August 8, 1996, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). See also report by Marijn Manuels, Conservator, Department of Objects Conservation, MMA (curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). Dating of the wood was not possible.
3. Note, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA.
4. IRR carried out with configuration C; see p. 276.
5. The third painting by Dürer in the Museum’s collection, the *Virgin and Child* (cat. 24), is a very small and heavily damaged work, thereby diminished in its importance compared with these two other examples.
6. Inventory of Willibald Imhoff Collection, 1573–74, Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Amb. 66.4, fol. 27r: *Laus Deo* 1573 [. . .] no. 2. The connection between the Museum’s painting and the Imhoff inventory was made by Heller 1827–31, pt. 1 (1827), p. 79; Sighart 1862, p. 626; von Eye 1869, p. 455, and appendix, p. 632. See also Pohl 1992, p. 80.
7. Hauser cleaned the painting when it was in the possession of the dealer Gustav Finke. See von Eye and Börner 1880, p. 140; *Kunsthistorische Gesellschaft* 1895, n.p., no. 2.
8. *Kunsthistorische Gesellschaft* 1895, n.p., no. 2.
9. Campbell Dodgson claimed that Deschler’s repaints had been removed (Dodgson in London 1906, p. 96); see also Ricketts 1906, p. 267. In 1939 Stephen Pichetto of the Museum’s Conservation Department removed repaints from the flesh areas.
10. Robert Vischer (1886, p. 221) suspected that the painting was by Hans Süss von Kulmbach (refuted by Koelitz 1891, p. 71), and the 1897 Leipzig exhibition catalogue attributed it to Jacobo [sic] de’ Barbari (Leipzig 1897, p. 166, no. 1113).
11. Hess and Mack 2012, p. 180.
12. For the underdrawing in the *Self-Portrait*, see Goldberg, Heimberg, and Schawe 1998, pp. 315, 319, 321, 323, figs. 6.5, 6.9, 6.11. Dürer’s *Adam and Eve* (Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid) also shows an extremely worked-up underdrawing. See Madrid 2006, ill. pp. 49, 55; see also Garrido 1997. Most recently on Dürer’s underdrawing, see Hess and Mack 2012, pp. 174–82.
13. Strauss 1974, vol. 2, nos. 1503/8, 1508/22, ill.
14. No. OP 2148 and no. 90, respectively (Anzelewsky 1991, vol. 1, pp. 191–202, no. 93, and pp. 206–10, no. 98, vol. 2, pls. 104–13 and 114).
15. Albertina, Vienna, nos. 3103, 3104, 26328, 26329 (Winkler 1936–39, vol. 2 [1937], nos. 392, 406, 389, 390, ill.; Strauss 1974, vol. 2, nos. 1506/13–1506/15, 1506/36, ill.;

- Heinz Widauer in Vienna 2003, pp. 332–34, nos. 100–103, ill.); Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, nos. Hz 5481, Hz 5482 (Winkler 1936–39, vol. 2 [1937], nos. 405, 407, ill.); Strauss 1974, vol. 2, nos. 1406/37, 1506/35, ill.; Widauer in Vienna 2003, pp. 350–54, nos. 107, 108, ill.
16. Studies including drapery from the same period are at the Morgan Library & Museum, New York, no. i.257c (Winkler 1936–39, vol. 2 [1937], no. 384, ill.; Strauss 1974, vol. 2, no. 1506/18, ill.; Widauer in Vienna 2003, pp. 330–31, no. 99, ill.), and at the Albertina, Vienna, nos. 3105, 3107 (F. Winkler 1936–39, vol. 2 [1937], nos. 383, 409, ill.; Strauss 1974, vol. 2, no. 1506/33, ill.; Widauer in Vienna 2003, pp. 354–56, no. 110, ill.).
 17. Hans Tietze and Erika Tietze-Conrat first noted the connection with the print by Master E.S. (Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1928–38, vol. 1 [1928], p. 72, no. 244). For Master E.S., see Alan Shestack in Washington 1967–68, nos. 4–16, especially no. 16.
 18. Max J. Friedländer was among the first to recognize the influence of de’ Barbari (1897a, pp. 413–14; and again in Friedländer 1921, p. 98), followed by Justi (1898, pp. 354, 452, n. 22); Zucker (1900, pp. 114, 167, n. 1 to p. 60); Ricketts (1906, p. 267); de Hevesy (1928, p. 35, comparing the Museum’s painting to his Dresden *Salvator Mundi*); Panofsky (1943, vol. 1, p. 94, vol. 2, p. 9, no. 18); Anzelewsky (1971, pp. 185–86); Nuremberg 1971 (pp. 110, 112, no. 192); Ainsworth (in Vienna 2003, pp. 298, 300, comparing it to both the Dresden and Weimar paintings).
 19. Ferrari 2006, pp. 93–94, no. 8, pp. 95–96, no. 9.
 20. 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.
 21. When completed, the saints probably would have had the same pale tonality and paint layer structure as seen in the wings of the 1503–4 Jabach Altarpiece, especially in *Job and His Wife* (Städelsches Kunstinstitut und Städtische Galerie, Frankfurt) and *Two Musicians* (Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne), the latter of which includes a self-portrait of Dürer. See Anzelewsky 1991, vol. 1, pp. 178–83, nos. A72, A73, vol. 2, pls. 71, 72; Bodo Brinkmann in Brinkmann and Kemperdick 2005, pp. 257–72, ill. p. 259.
 22. Flechsig 1928–31, vol. 1, pp. 400–403.
 23. Flechsig’s proposal was found “worthy of attention” by Hans Tietze and Erika Tietze-Conrat (1928–38, vol. 1 [1928], p. 72, no. 244). Others supporting his idea were Burroughs and Wehle (1932, pp. 29–30); Tietze (1932–33, p. 92; Tietze 1933, p. 263); Panofsky (unpublished opinion, February 11, 1933, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA); Kuhn (1936, p. 54, no. 200); Wehle (1942, pp. 157, 162, accepting the reconstruction but maintaining that the *Salvator Mundi* was worked on before, and the Bremen panels during, the 1506 trip to Italy); Musper (1953, p. 174; and again in Musper 1966, p. 88); Anzelewsky (1971, pp. 185–86; Anzelewsky 1980, p. 123); Mende (1971, p. 165); Ruggeri (1979, caption to pl. 11); Höper (1990, p. 124); Kutschbach (1995, p. 99); Wolf (2010, pp. 250–51, no. 24, ill.).
 24. Panofsky 1943, vol. 2, p. 12, no. 42. Further doubt about the reconstruction was raised by Strieder (1981, p. 297, ill. pp. 298–99); Löcher (in New York and Nuremberg 1986, p. 290, no. 118); and Röver-Kann (in Bremen 2004, pp. 25–26).
 25. For *Oswolt Krel*, see Goldberg, Heimberg, and Schawe 1998, pp. 254–55, and Schawe 2006, p. 128, with alternate suggestions for the Krel “triptych,” namely that the “wings” were a cover for a box that held the portrait. The drawing of the Vera Icon is found in a letter of about 1600 from Friedrich von Falkenburg to Archduke Friedrich of Austria; see Koerner 1993, pp. 92–93, fig. 46, pp. 170–71, fig. 86.
 26. For the early provenance of the *Salvator Mundi* in the Imhoff Collection, see the provenance above. A copy of the *Salvator* is in the Sebaldskirche, Nuremberg, “auf der Tafel der Familie Kress von 1640–1767” (Anzelewsky 1991, vol. 1, p. 190). The Bremen panels were from the Paulus Praun Collection, which, after the Imhoff Collection, was the most important and extensive private collection in Nuremberg in the sixteenth century. See Anne Röver-Kann’s comments in Bremen 2004, pp. 12–13.
 27. *John the Baptist* had been missing since World War II, when it was taken from its safekeeping location in the Karnzow Castle in Brandenburg. It was returned to the Kunsthalle Bremen only in the fall of 2003 and was first discussed by Röver-Kann in Bremen 2004. A technical examination of all three paintings was carried out at The Metropolitan Museum of Art on January 4, 2005. We are most grateful to Anne Röver-Kann, former Curator of Prints and Drawings at the Kunsthalle Bremen, for facilitating this research and bringing the Bremen panels to New York. The results of this investigation were presented in exhibitions at the Metropolitan Museum (January 11–March 27, 2005) and at the Kunsthalle Bremen (April 19–July 17, 2005).
 28. Based on an understanding that the panel is poplar, Jill Dunkerton (1999, p. 101) stated that the Metropolitan painting must have been made in Venice. However, a technical investigation of the wood support by Peter Klein and Marijn Manuels (see note 2 above) as well as George Bisacca, Conservator, Department of Paintings Conservation, indicated that it is linden (report, March 26–27, 2003, conservation files, Department of Paintings Conservation, MMA). Furthermore, the ground

- preparation is calcium carbonate, also a likely indicator of production in the North. Both linden wood and calcium carbonate were available in Venice, and some Italian artists did use these materials (information provided by Cecilia Frosinini, Istituto Centrale per il Restauro at the Fortezza da Basso, Florence), but other evidence points more conclusively to production in Germany. Imhoff's collection, the earliest provenance of the *Salvator Mundi*, was the eventual repository of the works left in Dürer's workshop in Nuremberg upon his death (Budde 1996, pp. 142–44). In addition, the closest parallels for Dürer's work are de' Barbari's paintings of Christ made about 1503, while he was working in Germany.
29. In 1957 Friedrich Winkler had already noted differences between the underdrawing in the *Salvator Mundi* and that in the Bremen panels (Winkler 1957, p. 138).
 30. The saints' panels were scanned with a high-resolution BetterLight Digital Scanning camera Super 8K-HS model, and the image was manipulated digitally in order to make the underdrawing more easily visible. We are grateful to Barbara Bridgers, General Manager for Imaging and Photography, for the use of this equipment, on temporary loan to The Photograph Studio at the Metropolitan Museum.
 31. See Röver-Kann in Bremen 2004, pp. 24–25, figs. 30–32, for suggestions of possible altarpiece configurations that would have employed tall, thin panels such as these.
 32. See note 12 above. For a recent discussion, see Hess and Mack 2012, pp. 174–75, 185, 192–93.
 33. For the Lentulus Letter, see Maas 1910. Dürer depicted himself as blond in his painted self-portraits in the Musée du Louvre, Paris (no. RF 2382; Anzelewsky 1991, vol. 1, pp. 124–36, no. 10, vol. 2, pl. 14), and in the Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (no. p. 2179; Anzelewsky 1991, vol. 1, pp. 154–56, no. 49, vol. 2, pls. 53, 55; Matthias Mende in Vienna 2003, pp. 226–28, no. 51, ill.).
 34. Koerner 1993, chaps. 2 and 4, especially pp. 77–78.
 35. Thomas Eser (2011) presents a pragmatic interpretation, that Dürer's "hyper-quality" self-portraits were made as "masterpieces" in order for him to garner business as a portrait painter.
 36. Hess and Mack (2012, p. 193) noted that "Dürer was prepared to go to any lengths to demonstrate his artistic prowess in his self-portraits."
 37. Jürgens 1983–84, pp. 181–82.
 38. See Röver-Kann in Bremen 2004, pp. 11–12.
 39. For an example of a portrait with a sliding cover, see Dürer's *Hieronymus Holzschuher* of 1526 (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin), illustrated in Vienna and Munich 2011–12, p. 246, fig. 2.

EXHIBITIONS: Munich 1869, p. 22, no. 60; Vienna 1873, p. 50, no. 190; Leipzig 1897, p. 166, no. 113; London 1906, p. 96, no. 38, pl. XXIII; London 1907, p. 6, no. 7; London 1909–10, p. 67, no. 73; Indianapolis 1950, n.p., no. 21, ill.; Nuremberg 1971, pp. 110, 112, no. 192; New York and Nuremberg 1986, p. 290, no. 118, ill. p. 291 and p. 290, fig. 129 (reconstruction of the altarpiece); Maryan W. Ainsworth in Vienna 2003, pp. 298–302, 542–43, no. 84, ill. p. 298 (infrared reflectogram [detail]) and pp. 80, 299, 301 (overall and details); New York 2005; Maryan W. Ainsworth in New York 2012, pp. 19–22, no. 8, ill.

REFERENCES: Willibald Imhoffs Kunstinventar, 1573–74, Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, fol. 27r, no. 2 (published in Pohl 1992, p. 80, as "der Salvator, so Albrecht Dürer nit gar ausgemacht hat, kost mich selbst fl 30"); Testament of Willibald Imhoff, January 26, 1580, Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Sammlung Merkel ("ain Salvator von Albrecht Dürers hand . . . soll forthin immerdar bey dem hauß unzertrent und unvertailt bleiben"; published in Budde 1996, p. 142); Nachlaßinventar Willibald Imhoff, 1580, Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Historisches Archiv, no. 2 (published in Pohl 1992, p. 298); Anna Imhoff, letter to Emperor Rudolf II, December 30, 1588, no. 2, as "Ein Salvator, ist das letzte Stück, so er gemacht hat" (published in Heller 1827–31, pt. 1 [1827], p. 79); Johann Hauer, list of paintings by Dürer, undated (before 1660), no. 19, "Salvator, noch nicht absolvirt" in the collection of Hans Imhoff the Elder, Nuremberg (published in Will 1764; von Murr 1787, p. 101, as "Salvator, welcher noch nicht fertig"); Heller 1827–31, pt. 1 (1827), pp. 75, 79, 229; von Eye 1860, p. 455 and appendix; "Dürer-Funde" 1862; "Neu aufgefundenes Gemälde" 1862; von Eye 1862, col. 47; Sighart 1862, pp. 626–27, ill. (woodcut); von Eye 1869, pp. 455, 532, and appendix; W. Schmidt 1869, pp. 357–58; Eisenmann 1874, pp. 155–56; Thausing 1876, p. 225; von Eye and Börner 1880, p. 140; Ephrussi 1882, p. 360, no. 2; Thausing 1884, pp. 304–5; Vischer 1886, p. 221; Koelitz 1891, p. 71; *Kunsthistorische Gesellschaft* 1895, n.p., no. 2, ill.; Friedländer 1897a, pp. 413–14; Justi 1898, pp. 354, 452, n. 22; Zucker 1900, pp. 114, 167, n. 1 to p. 60; Scherer 1904, pp. 17, 382, ill.; Friedländer 1906, p. 586; Ricketts 1906, p. 267; Friedländer 1914, p. 69; Petit 1914, pp. 12–13, no. 8, ill.; Waldmann 1916, p. 87, pl. 32; Friedländer 1921, p. 98; "Friedsam Buyer of Dürer" 1921, p. 1, ill. p. 6; "Masterpieces" 1921; du Colombier 1927, pp. 66–67, 173; Flechsig 1928–31, vol. 1 (1928), pp. 400–403; Max. J. Friedländer in "Friedsam Collection" 1928, p. 131; de Hevesy 1928, p. 35, ill.; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1928–38, vol. 1 (1928), pp. 72, no. 244, ill. p. 202; Burroughs and Wehle 1932, pp. 29–30, no. 44; Tietze 1932–33, p. 92; Tietze 1933, p. 263, fig. 20;

Waetzoldt 1935, p. 295; Kuhn 1936, p. 54, no. 200, pl. XXXVII; Waldman 1941, pl. 3; Wehle 1942, ill. pp. 156, 158, 160 (overall and details); Panofsky 1943, vol. 1, p. 94, vol. 2, p. 9, no. 18, p. 12; Panofsky 1947, p. 63, n. 13; Wehle and Salinger 1947, pp. 180–82, ill.; Musper 1953, p. 174; Winkler 1957, p. 138; Musper 1966, pp. 24, 88, ill. p. 89; Ottino della Chiesa 1968, p. 100, no. 100, ill.; Anzelewsky 1971, pp. 39, 70, 89, 185–86, no. 83, pls. 91 (reconstruction of the altarpiece), 93; Mende 1971, p. 165, ill. p. 171; Strieder 1976, p. 183, no. 25, ill.; Ruggeri 1979, pp. 32, 34, pl. 11; Anzelewsky 1980, p. 123; Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, p. 50, ill. vol. 2, p. 294; Hibbard 1980, pp. 260, 263, no. 472, ill.; Strieder 1981, p. 297, ill. p. 299; Jürgens 1983–84, pp. 181–82, 189, nn. 68, 71, 72; H. Brown 1984, pp. 62, 94–96, ill. pp. 62, 63; Jürgens 1985, pp. 158–59; Höper 1990, p. 124; Anzelewsky 1991, vol. 1, pp. 37, 70, 90, 189–90, no. 83, vol. 2, pls. 88, 89; Pohl 1992, pp. 80, 298; Baetjer 1995, p. 219, ill.; Kutschbach 1995, p. 99; Löhr 1995, p. 83; Budde 1996, pp. 118, 136, 142–44, 338, no. G/3; Rebel 1996, pp. 164–65, fig. 47; Dunkerton 1999, p. 101, and n. 46; C. Grimm 2002, p. 51, figs. 78, 79; David Bomford in London 2002–3, pp. 11–12, fig. 5; Luber 2003, pp. 81, 84, 85; Heinz Widauer in Vienna 2003, p. 478, under no. 167; Akinsha 2004, ill.; Anne Röver-Kann in Bremen 2004, pp. 7, 23, 25, 26, 30, nn. 76, 89, p. 31, nn. 91–95, fig. 33; Judith Zander-Seidel in Nuremberg 2004–5, pp. 59, 61; Luber 2005, pp. 8, 9, 17–18, 36–37, 84, 130, 190, n. 25, p. 208, n. 26, figs. 1, 7, 8 (overall and infrared reflectograms [detail and assembly]); Heydenreich 2007a, pp. 44, 46, fig. 37; Heydenreich 2007b, p. 211; Böckem 2012, p. 64; Grosse 2012, p. 242; Hess 2012, p. 130; Hess and Mack 2012, pp. 172, 180, 181, 185, 192

Cat. 24 Albrecht Dürer

Virgin and Child

1. Wood identification by Peter Klein, Universität Hamburg (report, April 3, 2006, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). Dating of the wood was not possible.
2. IRR carried out with configurations D and C; see p. 276.
3. Very pale in tone, the monogram and date are likely in lead-tin yellow. The craquelure runs through the numbers and monogram and is integral with the original paint layers. The pale yellow paint used for the inscription appears to be of the same hue and fabric as that used for the halos of the figures.
4. Friedländer 1928, p. 11; Winkler 1928, pp. 416, 444, 450.
5. Glück 1909–10, p. 16; Glück 1909–10/1933, pp. 235–36; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1928–38, vol. 2, pt. 2 (1938), p. 79; Panofsky 1943, vol. 2, p. 11, no. 33.
6. Among those doubting the attribution to Dürer were Kuhn 1936, pp. 54–55; Musper 1953, p. 224; and, in part, Winkler 1957, p. 262, n. 1. Other scholars favoring the attribution included Flechsig 1928–31, vol. 1, p. 434; Wehle and Salinger 1947, pp. 184–86; Anzelewsky 1971, pp. 238–39, 245; Strieder 1976, p. 185. Although Fedja Anzelewsky (1971, pp. 238–39, no. 127) accepted the painting as by Dürer, he called it one of the master's "gemeine Gemäll," likening it to those prints that can be categorized as "schlichtes Holzwerk," less proficient, more quickly dashed-off works. Wolf (2010, pp. 279–80, no. FW 12, ill.) noted the "underpainting, executed in fine cross-hatching" by Dürer, the rest by a workshop member.
7. Philipp Zitzlsperger (2008, p. 82) referred to the chiaroscuro of the painting but not to its damaged state.
8. Friedländer 1936, p. 44.
9. The 1947 catalogue by Harry B. Wehle and Margaretta Salinger stated that the picture had been recently cleaned (p. 184). The painting was cleaned in August 1945 by Murray Pease (report, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). A copy after the painting, similar in size (28.5 × 19.5 cm), was formerly in the Carl Anton Reichel Collection, Grossgmain and Schloss Bürglstein bei Salzburg (Glück 1909–10, p. 16, fig. 12; von Frimmel 1913–14, vol. 2, p. 544). The location of this picture, which is missing the last digit of the date and is also poorly preserved, is unknown (Anzelewsky 1991, vol. 1, p. 244, fig. 125).
10. See Strauss 1974, vol. 3, nos. 1412/13, 1420/21, 1606/7.
11. Rainer Schoch in Schoch, Mende, and Scherbaum 2001–4, vol. 1 (2001), pp. 161–62, no. 66.
12. Anzelewsky 1991, vol. 1, pp. 177–78, no. 71, vol. 2, pl. 70.
13. For more on this interpretation, see Steinberg 1996.
14. While the foreshadowing of Christ's Passion at his infancy has no specific biblical source, the theme is found in numerous images from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. For further discussion, see Acres 2005, especially p. 261, n. 58, for the literature on this subject.
15. Schoch in Schoch, Mende, and Scherbaum 2001–4, vol. 1 (2001), p. 161. Further evidence of the link in Dürer's mind between these three specific figures and Christ's death is found in his 1513 drawing of the Lamentation (formerly Kunsthalle Bremen), in which they are again featured in the background. See Anne Röver-Kann in Bremen 2012, pp. 131–33, no. 36.

EXHIBITIONS: London 1906, p. 91, no. 30, pl. XVIII; Nuremberg 1928, p. 87, no. 109; New York 1972

REFERENCES: Friedländer 1906, p. 586; Ricketts 1906, p. 267; Glück 1909–10, p. 16, fig. 12; Glück 1909–10/1933, pp. 235–36, fig. 99; Friedländer 1914, p. 69; von Frimmel 1913–14, vol. 2 (1914), p. 544; “Morgan Gift” 1918, p. 17; du Colombier 1927, p. 175; Flechsig 1928–31, vol. 1 (1928), p. 434; Friedländer 1928, p. 11, ill. p. 9; Winkler 1928, pp. 416, 444, 450, ill. p. 63; Burroughs 1931, p. 107; Flechsig 1928–31, vol. 2 (1931), p. 587, no. 953; Tietze 1932–33, p. 94; Tietze 1933, p. 264, fig. 19; Waldmann 1933, p. 138, pl. 139; Friedländer 1936, p. 44; Kuhn 1936, pp. 54–55, no. 203; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1928–38, vol. 2, pt. 2 (1938), p. 79, no. A196, ill. p. 218; Panofsky 1943, vol. 2, p. 11, no. 33; Wehle and Salinger 1947, pp. 184–86, ill.; Panofsky 1948, vol. 2, p. 11, no. 33; Musper 1953, p. 224; Winkler 1957, p. 262, n. 1; Ottino della Chiesa 1968, p. 110, no. 149, ill.; Anzelewsky 1971, pp. 238–39, 245, no. 127, pl. 156; Stechow 1974, p. 261; Strieder 1976, p. 185, no. 47, ill.; Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, p. 51, ill. vol. 2, p. 294; Anzelewsky 1991, vol. 1, pp. 244–45, 250, no. 127, vol. 2, pl. 153; Baetjer 1995, p. 219, ill.; Mende 2001, p. 301; Zitzlsperger 2008, p. 82; Wolf 2010, pp. 279–80, no. FW12, ill.

Cat. 25 Albrecht Dürer

Virgin and Child with Saint Anne

1. Ernstberger 1954, p. 168; Grote 1969, pp. 76–77, where subsequent Tucher ownership is also discussed.
2. Grote 1969, p. 77, where the inventory of Paul Tucher's estate is said to list this picture as number 1604, with a value of 24 gulden.
3. Ernstberger 1954, p. 169; Grote 1969, pp. 76–77. A Nuremberg wine merchant named Rössler or Rösslen is discussed, instead of Furtenbach, as the intermediate owner between Gabriel Tucher and Maximilian in Becker 1857; Bayersdorfer 1910, p. 146.
4. Ernstberger 1954, p. 169; Grote 1969, p. 77; Bachtler, Diemer, and Erichsen 1980, pp. 192, 227, no. XII,6; Diemer 1980, p. 164.
5. The picture may have spent some time in storage in Schloss Lustheim on the Schleissheim grounds; see E. Förster 1854a, p. 251; Waagen 1854b, p. 437; Entres 1858 (or later), pp. 3–4.
6. See the sale record “Versteigerungs-Protocoll. Schleissheim, 1851 [sic],” p. 4, no. 128 (Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Bibliothek, Sch-B/851/1). I thank Nina Schleif for providing scans from this source in 2005. It has not been possible to locate a copy of the printed sale catalogue.
7. Reichensperger 1867, p. 286.
8. Earlier literature on the painting refers to the Kurisses variously as Jean de Couriss / Ivan Izaklevitch de Kuriss and Mme A. de Couriss / Loubov de Kurissova. Information on their biographies and collecting is now available in Mikhailchenko and Sivirin 2005. For referring me to that source, I thank Professor Nadiya Yeksareva, Odessa (email, November 21, 2008, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA), and for transliterations and translations I am grateful to Stijn Alsteens, Curator, Department of Drawings and Prints, MMA.
9. Wood identification by George Bisacca, Conservator, Department of Paintings Conservation, MMA, and Antoine Wilmering, former Conservator, MMA (report, January 10, 1989, curatorial files, Department of Paintings Conservation, MMA). Dating of the wood was not possible.
10. According to records describing the treatment by Anton Deschler of Augsburg, his work was completed by December 5, 1854; see note 23 below.
11. Kirby, Saunders, and Spring 2006.
12. IRR carried out with configurations D and A; see p. 276.
13. *Selbdritt* is an archaic form of *zu dritt*, meaning “as a threesome.”
14. Examples appeared as early as the thirteenth century. See Kleinschmidt 1930, especially pp. 138–60, 217–51; Nixon 2004, especially pp. 136–61; Buchholz 2005, especially pp. 34–55.
15. For this and the three other basic configurations (Anne holding Mary, who in turn holds Jesus; Anne and Mary seated, with Jesus between them; and the three figures in loose arrangement), see Emminghaus 1973.
16. See Julien Chapuis in Washington and New York 1999–2000, pp. 226–28, no. 15, ill.
17. On the innovative aspects of this work, see Grote 1969, p. 83.
18. On the motif in general and in Bellini paintings, see Firestone 1942; Goffen 1975, p. 503. On its prefiguration of Christ's death in the present work, see Kurt Löcher in New York and Nuremberg 1986, p. 328, under no. 144.
19. Grote 1969, p. 86; Gohr 1974, p. 250.
20. See Demmler 1930, p. 191, no. 2298, ill.
21. Ernstberger 1954, pp. 168–69; Grote 1969, pp. 76–77. The provenance of the painting from Leonhard Tucher to Elector Maximilian was ascertained from the

correspondence of Lukas Friedrich Behaim, who facilitated the sale to Maximilian. Behaim claimed to have learned from the Tuchers that they possessed documents concerning the commission and that Leonhard Tucher listed the painting as a Dürer in the inventory of his *Kunstammer*. The documents and that inventory are not known to have survived.

22. “ist etwas Zweifel ob es durchauß von deß Dürers handt”; Diemer 1980, p. 164. See also von Reber 1892, p. 44.
23. On the cleaning by Anton Deschler of Augsburg, see the invoice, dated December 5, 1854, and the note from the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, no. 53, 1854, suppl., reprinted in Entres 1858 (or later), pp. 12–13. For press reactions, see “Deutschland” 1854; *Neue Münchener Zeitung* 1854; Entres 1858 (or later), pp. 9–11, 13–14.
24. Entres 1858 (or later), pp. 5–6. Although this undated publication has traditionally been assigned to 1854 or 1855, the date of May 28, 1858, cited on page 6 for the visit of Émilien de Nieuwerkerke, offers a terminus post quem. In 1868, possibly on the request of the painting's new owner, Ivan Iraklievich Kuris, Entres compiled a new list of favorable quotations by numerous “Kunstnotabilitäten” (art-world celebrities), which remained with the painting and was passed down to subsequent owners (document signed by Entres and dated Munich, December 29, 1868, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). Entres's handwritten list was published in Wustmann 1910, p. 56.
25. See E. Förster 1854b; Waagen 1854c; see also E. Förster 1854a; Waagen 1854b. C. Becker (1857) joined Waagen in considering the picture a copy. The attribution controversy is mentioned in von Eye 1860, pp. 400–401; von Eye 1869, pp. 400–401.
26. The smaller Schleissheim version is listed in the “Versteigerungs-Protocoll” (note 6 above), p. 4, no. 149; and featured in the debate between Waagen and Förster.
27. For mention of the painting during its time in Odessa, probably mainly based on earlier descriptions, see Thausing 1876, pp. 384–85; Thausing 1884, vol. 2, pp. 135–36; Ephrussi 1882, p. 173; Eckenstein 1902, pp. 203, 259 (misidentifies subject matter); Friedländer 1906, p. 587; Heidrich 1906, p. 128, n. 2.
28. Biermann and Voss 1909; Wustmann 1910, pp. 52–56; see also Droese 1911, pp. 76–77.
29. Letter from Max J. Friedländer to Joseph Duveen, dated Berlin, December 23, 1911 (curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). In 1909, Hugo von Tschudi attempted to acquire the painting for the Alte Pinakothek; see Goldberg 1996, pp. 24–25.
30. See Friedländer 1921, pp. 170–71; Flechsig 1928–31, vol. 1 (1928), p. 435; Winkler 1928, pp. 444, 451, no. 1043; Flechsig 1928–31, vol. 2 (1931), p. 591, no. 1043; Tietze 1932–33, pp. 92, 94; Tietze 1933, pp. 263–64; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1928–38, vol. 2, pt. 1 (1937), pp. 137–38, no. 736; Waldmann 1937, p. 298; Winkler 1936–39, vol. 3 (1938), p. 38, under no. 574; Panofsky 1943, vol. 1, p. 201; Wehle and Salinger 1947, pp. 186–88; Musper 1953, p. 224; Winkler 1957, p. 261; Grote 1965, pp. 105, 107; Benesch 1966, p. 136; Grote 1969; Anzelewsky 1971, pp. 37, 47, 52, 90, 97–98, 102, 254–55, no. 147; Strieder 1976, pp. 142, 186, no. 58; Löcher in New York and Nuremberg 1986, pp. 326–28, no. 144; Anzelewsky 1991, vol. 1, pp. 35, 45, 52, 71–72, 91–92, 99–100, 103, 259–61, no. 147.
31. Friedländer 1921, p. 170; Winkler 1957, p. 261.
32. C. Grimm 2002, pp. 52, 54, with the suggestion that it was executed by Georg Pencz. Grimm's opinion is accepted in Wolf 2010, p. 282, no. FW 18, ill.
33. Winkler 1936–39, vol. 3 (1938), p. 38, no. 574, ill.; Heinz Widauer in Vienna 2003, pp. 478–80, no. 167. The date and monogram are on a square of paper applied with glue. The drawing was discussed in connection with the painting as early as 1854 (see “Replik” 1854; Waagen 1854c, p. 203); but also later (Ephrussi 1882, p. 173).
34. Winkler 1936–39, vol. 4 (1939), pp. 20–21, no. 780, ill.; Matthias Mende in Vienna 2003, pp. 496–98, no. 173, ill.
35. For the engraving, see Anna Scherbaum in Schoch, Mende, and Scherbaum 2001–4, vol. 1 (2001), p. 213, no. 86, ill.
36. Winkler 1936–39, vol. 3 (1938), pp. 30–31, no. 562, ill.; Hans Mielke in Anzelewsky and Mielke 1984, pp. 81–82, no. 78, ill.
37. It is equally unlikely that the 1515 portrait drawing of a girl in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (Winkler 1936–39, vol. 3 [1938], p. 30, no. 561, ill.; Widauer in Vienna 2003, p. 482, no. 169, ill.), was a model for the Museum's painting, contrary to the suggestion of Fedja Anzelewsky (1991, vol. 1, p. 260).
38. For the drawing (Winkler 1936–39, vol. 3 [1938], pp. 39–40, no. 577, ill.), which has been frequently discussed in connection with the Museum's painting (for example, Flechsig 1928–31, vol. 2, p. 466; Winkler 1957, p. 262; Anzelewsky 1991, vol. 1, p. 260; Mende in Vienna 2003, p. 480, no. 168), see Petra Roettig in Prange 2007, vol. 1, pp. 152–53, no. 296. The later date and different direction of light rule out its having been a preparatory study for the painting. For the engraving, see Scherbaum in Schoch, Mende, and Scherbaum 2001–4, vol. 1 (2001), pp. 226–27, no. 91, ill. Dürer's approach to those forms—the strongly upturned nose, the parted lips, the bulbous cheeks and chin—was already developed by the time of the 1506 chalk drawing

- Cherub Gazing Upward* formerly in the Kunsthalle Bremen (Winkler 1936–39, vol. 2 [1937], p. 93, no. 386, ill.; Anne Röver-Kann in Bremen 2012, pp. 96–98, no. 26, ill.).
39. Winkler 1936–39, vol. 3 (1938), p. 39, no. 576, ill.; Rowlands 1993, vol. 1, p. 98, no. 215, vol. 2, pl. 143. For a similar distribution of highlights in a near-contemporary painting by Dürer, see the X-radiograph of the 1516 *Virgin and Child with the Carnation* in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich, reproduced in Goldberg, Heimberg, and Schawe 1998, p. 433, fig. 11.3.
 40. As noted, the Saint Anne in the Museum's painting was modified from Agnes Dürer's features. It has been proposed (Rowlands 1993, vol. 1, p. 98, under no. 215) that the British Museum's drawing is a proportional construction possibly elaborating a cursory, unidentified likeness of a woman recorded in the artist's sketchbook from the Netherlandish journey.
 41. Poor condition is claimed in Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1928–38, vol. 2, pt. 1 (1937), pp. 137–38, no. 736; and by Löcher in New York and Nuremberg 1986, p. 328, no. 144. Also, the painting has not been transferred to canvas, as stated in Wehle and Salinger 1947, p. 187, and repeated in subsequent literature.
 42. Anzelewsky 1991, vol. 1, pp. 252–53, no. 138, vol. 2, pl. 151. Much the same is true of the *Suicide of Lucretia* of 1518 (Alte Pinakothek, Munich), which, however, as a full-length figure in a bedchamber, occupies a less compressed space (Anzelewsky 1991, vol. 1, pp. 251–52, no. 137, vol. 2, pl. 150; Goldberg, Heimberg, and Schawe 1998, pp. 440–61, no. 12, ill.).
 43. Anzelewsky 1991, vol. 1, pp. 263–65, no. 162, vol. 2, pl. 160; Mende in Vienna 2003, pp. 503–10, no. 177, ill.
 44. Anzelewsky 1991, vol. 1, p. 265, no. 163, vol. 2, pl. 162; Manfred Sellink in Bruges 2010–11, pp. 428–29, no. 239, ill.
 45. See Heimberg 1998, p. 45; Hess and Mack 2012, pp. 183–85.
 46. Eight are listed in Anzelewsky 1991, vol. 1, p. 260. The two noted there as being in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich, are now in the Staatsgalerie Burghausen and the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich (see Goldberg, Heimberg, and Schawe 1998, p. 562). In addition, see the following: Zbigniew and Janina Carroll-Porczyński Foundation, Warsaw, formerly in the Cook Collection, Richmond (Brockwell 1915, pp. 115–16, no. 483, ill.; Plazewska 1991, p. 185, no. 5, ill.); Strossmayer Gallery, Zagreb (Zlamalik 1982, p. 292, no. 139, ill.); Dorotheum, Vienna, June 12, 2001, no. 73; Lempertz, Cologne, November 15, 2003, no. 1010 (as by Paul Bonnacker; see Stüwe 1998, text vol., p. 190). Bayersdorfer 1910, p. 145, n. 6, noted that copies could have been produced as a condition of sale during the transactions that led to Elector Maximilian's acquisition of the work.

EXHIBITIONS: Odessa 1884, no. 12; Odessa 1888, p. 20, no. 294; New York 1952–53, p. 227, no. 103, ill.; New York 1970–71, p. 231, no. 232, ill.; Kurt Löcher in New York and Nuremberg 1986, pp. 326–28, no. 144, ill. (exhibited in New York only)

REFERENCES: Von Weizenfeld 1775, p. 38, no. 137; von Mannlich 1805–10, vol. 3 (1810), p. 35, no. 1535; Weise 1819, p. 96; Heller 1827–31, pt. 1 (1827), p. 195; von Dillis 1831, p. 25, no. 136; "Berichtigung" 1854; "Deutschland" 1854; E. Förster 1854a; E. Förster 1854b; *Neue Münchener Zeitung* 1854; "Replik" 1854; Waagen 1854b; Waagen 1854c; Becker 1857; Entres 1858 (or later); von Eye 1860, pp. 400–401; Sighart 1862, p. 624, n. 2; Reichensperger 1867, p. 286; von Eye 1869, pp. 400–401; Thausing 1876, pp. 384–85; Ephrussi 1882, p. 173; Thausing 1884, vol. 2, pp. 135–36; von Reber 1892, pp. 17, 44; Eckenstein 1902, pp. 203, 259; Friedländer 1906, p. 587; Heidrich 1906, p. 128, n. 2; Biermann and Voss 1909; Bayersdorfer 1910, pp. 142, 144–47; Wustmann 1910, pp. 52–56, ill. opp. p. 49; Droese 1911; "Altman Collection" 1913, pp. 236–37, ill.; Friedländer 1914, p. 69; Metropolitan Museum 1914, pp. 50–52, no. 32; Brockwell 1915, pp. 115–16; Pauli 1915, p. 76, ill. p. 73 (detail); Burroughs 1916, p. 82; Waldmann 1916, p. 90, pl. 64; Errera 1920–21, vol. 1 (1920), p. 79; Friedländer 1921, pp. 170–71, ill.; Monod 1923, pp. 195–96; du Colombier 1927, pp. 126, 173; Flechsig 1928–31, vol. 1 (1928), p. 435; Metropolitan Museum 1928, pp. 30–32, no. 7; Winkler 1928, pp. 444, 451, ill. p. 64; Flechsig 1928–31, vol. 2 (1931), p. 591, no. 1043; Tietze 1932–33, pp. 92, 94; Tietze 1933, pp. 263–64, fig. 18; Waldmann 1933, p. 138, pl. 149; Tietze 1935, p. 338, pl. 201; Buchner 1936, p. XLIII; Kuhn 1936, p. 55, no. 204, pl. XXXIX; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1928–38, vol. 2, pt. 1 (1937), pp. 137–38, no. 736, ill. p. 298; Waldmann 1937, p. 298, ill. opp. p. 297; Winkler 1936–39, vol. 3 (1938), pp. 26, 38, under no. 574; Tietze 1939, p. 323, pl. 201; *Duven Pictures* 1941, n.p., no. 218, ill.; Waldmann 1941, pl. 36; Shoolman and Slatkin 1942, p. 505, pl. 461; Panofsky 1943, vol. 1, p. 201, vol. 2, p. 11, no. 36; Wehle and Salinger 1947, pp. 186–88, ill.; Musper 1953, p. 224; Ernstberger 1954, pp. 157–58, 161, 168–69; Rousseau 1954, ill. p. 19; Winkler 1957, pp. 261–62, pl. 131; Grote 1961, p. 78; Martin 1963, p. 24; Grote 1965, pp. 105–7, ill.; Benesch 1966, p. 136; Musper 1966, pp. 26, 27, 122, ill. p. 123; Ottino della Chiesa 1968, p. 110, no. 156, ill. p. 110 and colorpls. LI–LIII; Grote 1969, fig. 1; von der Osten and Vey 1969, p. 82; Tomkins 1970, p. 171; Anzelewsky 1971, pp. 37, 47, 52, 90, 97–98, 102, 254–55, no. 147, pl. 175; Bongard and Mende 1971, pp. 80, 94; "Dürer" 1971, pp. 60–61, ill.; Gohr 1974, pp. 243, 249–52, fig. 93; Strieder 1976, pp. 142, 186, no. 58, ill.

pp. 143–45, 186; Strieder 1978, pp. 142, 186, no. 58, ill. pp. 143–45, 186; Ruggeri 1979, p. 52, colorpl. 35; Westrum 1979, p. 97, ill. p. 96; Anzelewsky 1980, p. 195, no. 184, ill. p. 197; Bachtler, Diemer, and Erichsen 1980, p. 227; Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, p. 50, ill. vol. 2, p. 294; Diemer 1980, pp. 139, 150, 164, ill.; Goldberg 1980, pp. 133, 152, nn. 43, 44; Hibbard 1980, pp. 260, 263, no. 471, ill.; Strieder 1981, pp. 20, 22, 33, ill. p. 32; Zlamalik 1982, p. 292, under no. 139; Mittelstädt 1986, n.p., no. 33, ill.; James Snyder in Metropolitan Museum 1987, p. 14; Metropolitan Museum 1987, p. 97, pl. 63; Anzelewsky 1991, vol. 1, pp. 35, 45, 52, 71–72, 91–92, 99–100, 103, 259–61, no. 147, vol. 2, pl. 158; Baetjer 1995, p. 218, ill.; Goldberg 1996, pp. 24–25, fig. 8; Goldberg, Heimberg, and Schawe 1998, p. 562; Schawe 1998a, p. 21, fig. 1.41; Schawe 1998b, pp. 26, 31; Stüwe 1998, text vol., p. 190; Mende 2001, p. 301; C. Grimm 2002, pp. 52, 54, figs. 84, 85, 87; Heinz Widauer in Vienna 2003, p. 478, under no. 167, ill.; Matthias Mende in Vienna 2003, p. 480, under no. 168; Secrest 2004, p. 430; Mikhilchenko and Sivirin 2005, p. 101, no. 12, pp. 104, 290; Schawe 2006, p. 47, fig. 24; Eichberger 2007, pp. 74–75, 485, fig. 3.11; Wolf 2010, p. 282, no. FW 18, ill.

Cat. 26 Conrad Faber von Creuznach

Portrait of a Man with a Moor's Head on His Signet Ring

1. Wood identification by Peter Klein, Universität Hamburg (report, April 3, 2006, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). Dating of the wood was not possible.
2. IRR carried out with configuration C; see p. 276.
3. Christie's 1911, p. 13, no. 66.
4. See Braune 1909.
5. Burroughs 1912, where it is noted that the painting had been ascribed to Albrecht Dürer; this was presumably during its time in the Dering Collection.
6. Brinkmann and Kemperdick 2005, pp. 294–301, figs. 248, 249.
7. The following date the picture about 1535: Beard 1931, p. 397; Kuhn 1936, p. 51, no. 184; Brücker 1963, p. 57 (ca. 1535–36); and implicitly, by comparison with the 1535 Holzhausen portraits, Auerbach 1937, p. 23; von der Osten 1966, p. 421. The date of about 1525 proposed in Wehle and Salinger 1947, p. 193, is surely too early, as is demonstrated by the earlier stage of stylistic development evident in the 1526 portraits *Johann Stralenberg* and *Margarete Stralenberg, née Stalburg* in the Städel Museum (Brinkmann and Kemperdick 2005, pp. 328–29, figs. 270, 271).
8. Bodo Brinkmann in Brinkmann and Kemperdick 2005, pp. 302–6, fig. 253.
9. Friedländer 1913, p. 150, no. 32. Beard 1931, p. 397; Brücker 1963, pp. 56, 187.
10. Beard 1931, p. 397. Hartmann Schedel's sons were, from the first marriage, Hartmann (1481–1552), and from the second marriage, Georg Schedel (1488–after 1514), Anton (1490–1535), Erasmus (1492–1550), and Sebastian Maria (1494–1541); see F. Fuchs 2005, p. 600. The assertion of Albert Gümbel (1927) that Sebastian Maria Schedel is the sitter in Albrecht Dürer's *Portrait of a Man* in the Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, has not been accepted; see Anzelewsky 1991, vol. 1, p. 267, no. 165.
11. Brücker 1963, pp. 56–57, 187; Zülch 1935, p. 310.
12. See Munich 1990, p. 36, fig. 5; and, for the Tucher coat of arms, Grote 1961, figs. 1, 2, 7, 8, and passim.
13. Citing the manuscript "Wappenbuch Frauenstein," p. 72 (Institut für Stadtgeschichte, Frankfurt am Main), and von Lersner 1706–34, vol. 2, pt. 1 (1734), under the year 1551, Brücker (1963, p. 187) described the Schwarzkopf coat of arms as a shield of gold charged with a Moor's head with a red headband and silver neckband. The entry in Siebmacher 1856–1967 (ed.), vol. 5, pt. 6 (1901), p. 32, describes a red headband but no neckband. That the headband is red in these sources but silver in the painting should for now not rule out the Schwarzkopf identification as a possibility.
14. Zülch 1935, p. 310; Brücker 1963, p. 187. Here it must be noted that the 1544 date of Jakob Schwarzkopf's marriage suggests that he may have been too young to be the man depicted in this portrait probably of the mid-1530s, for which a lost pendant with the sitter's wife is also likely. Jakob's brother Nikolaus (d. 1560) married in 1553 and, as noted already by Brücker, is thus even less likely. On the Schwarzkopfs, see Hansert and Stoyan 2012, s.v. "Schwarzkopf" (accessed September 18, 2012).
15. Von der Osten 1966, p. 418, fig. 259; Brücker 1963, p. 165, no. 12, fig. 13. The verso bears the modern inscription "N. v. d. Horst" ("Nicolaus v. d. Horst," according to von der Osten). Although Brücker thought this might refer to a previous owner, and von der Osten saw a possible identification of the sitter, the inscription probably reflects a former attribution to the Flemish portrait painter and draftsman Nicolaus van der Horst (see Thieme and Becker 1907–50, vol. 17 [1924], pp. 534–35).
16. For the 1533 pendants, see Brücker 1963, pp. 48–50, 177–80, nos. 23, 24, figs. 23, 24; Christof Metzger in Vienna and Munich 2011–12, pp. 301–2, no. 196, ill.
17. Brücker 1963, pp. 56–57. Only three other identifications have been proposed, namely, by Beard, who suggested Munich, and by Waldmann, who thought that the city could be Passau or Zürich (see Beard 1931, p. 397; Waldmann 1937, p. 298). Wehle and Salinger called the city an invention (Wehle and Salinger 1947, p. 193).

18. Schedel 1493/2001, fols. XCIXv–Cr; Braun and Hogenberg 1572–1617/2008, ill. pp. 90, 175.
19. See the map of the city illustrated in Dehio 1999, pp. 678–79.
20. Brücker 1963, p. 57, did not consider that possibility and instead saw topographical inaccuracy in the missing castle.

EXHIBITIONS: none

REFERENCES: Christie's 1911, p. 13, no. 66; Burroughs 1912, ill.; Friedländer 1913, pp. 143, 150, no. 32, fig. 1; Burroughs 1914, p. 79; K. Simon 1915, p. 149; Beard 1931, ill.; Burroughs 1931, p. 115; Zülch 1935, p. 310; Kuhn 1936, p. 51, no. 184, pl. XXXIII; Auerbach 1937, p. 23; Waldmann 1937, pp. 298, 300, ill.; Wehle and Salinger 1947, pp. 193–94, ill.; Davenport 1948, vol. 1, p. 396, no. 1056, ill.; Kende 1950, p. 34, under no. 23; Brücker 1963, pp. 13, 53, 56–57, 125, nn. 180–82, pp. 146, 186–87, no. 31, fig. 31; von der Osten 1966, pp. 418, 421, fig. 260; Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, p. 55, ill. vol. 2, p. 307; Baetjer 1995, p. 228, ill.

Cat. 27 Copy after Conrad Faber von Creuznach

Heinrich(?) vom Rhein zum Mohren

1. Auerbach 1937, p. 15, n. 1, pl. 1B.
2. Letter from Hans-Joachim Ziemke to Katharine Baetjer, dated Frankfurt, December 19, 1983 (curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
3. Brücker 1963, p. 156, no. 4b.
4. Wood identification and dendrochronological analysis by Peter Klein, Universität Hamburg (report, July 4, 2007, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). Klein's dendrochronological analysis indicated an earliest felling date of 1510, an earliest possible fabrication date of 1512, and a plausible fabrication date of 1522 or later.
5. IRR carried out with configuration C; see p. 276.
6. Brücker 1963, pp. 154–56, no. 4, fig. 6 (54 × 37 cm).
7. Ibid., pp. 156–57, no. 4c, fig. 52; Bodo Brinkmann in Brinkmann and Kemperdick 2005, pp. 338–41, ill. (55.8 × 39.6 cm).
8. See Brinkmann in Brinkmann and Kemperdick 2005, p. 338.
9. Brücker 1963, pp. 23–24, 155, 157.
10. See *ibid.*, p. 157.
11. See *ibid.*; see also Hansert and Stoyan 2012, s.v. "vom Rhein" (accessed September 18, 2012). Heinrich's first daughter, Agnes (d. before 1533), married Johann Frosch (1509–1541/44), presumably in the late 1520s; his second daughter, Margaretha (1512–1541), married Georg Weiss von Limpurg zum Weissenfels (1506–1551) in 1531.
12. See Brücker 1963, p. 155; Brinkmann in Brinkmann and Kemperdick 2005, p. 341.
13. Baetjer in Metropolitan Museum 1984a, p. 106. A photograph from the Lee Collection is preserved in an undated album of Lee Collection paintings in the Department of European Paintings, MMA (a copy of the photograph is in the curatorial files). The Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, made overall and detail photographs in 1949, when the painting was owned by N. M. Friberg, and sent prints to the Städel Museum for evaluation; Bodo Brinkmann kindly provided the author with digital scans of the photographs at the Städel in August 2007. Those images allow comparison on a level of detail impossible with the illustrations published in Auerbach 1937, pl. 1B; Kende 1950, p. 35. In the Friberg sale catalogue (Kende 1950, p. 34, no. 23) and in Brücker 1963, pp. 24, 156, nos. 4a, 4b, the Lee and Friberg pictures are said to be two separate paintings; however, Baetjer showed this to be highly unlikely (in Metropolitan Museum 1984a, p. 106). Comparison with the old photographs leaves no doubt that the present work, the painting owned by Friberg, and the painting owned by Lee are one and the same.
14. Baetjer in Metropolitan Museum 1984a, p. 106.
15. Brücker 1963, p. 24.
16. X-radiographs of the Frankfurt pictures illustrated in Brinkmann and Kemperdick 2005, figs. 267, 252, 260, 255.
17. Ibid., pp. 334–37, fig. 278 (X-radiograph).
18. For Faber's scant use of underdrawing, see the technical notes in Brinkmann and Kemperdick 2005, pp. 295, 302, 307, 310, 321, 327.
19. This information was kindly provided to the author by Véronique Bücken, Brussels (email, November 9, 2007, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
20. The portrait on conifer is the full-length likeness of Philipp, Graf von Solms-Lich, in the Hohenlohe-Museum, Neuenstein (Brücker 1963, pp. 190–92, no. 34). The portraits known to be on linden are the nine in the Städel Museum, Frankfurt (Brinkmann and Kemperdick 2005, pp. 294–333), the three in the National Gallery, Dublin (Oldfield 1987, pp. 19–24), two in the collection of the Fürst zu Stolberg-Wernigerode, Luisenlust bei Hirzenhain (Brücker 1963, pp. 165–66, no. 12;

- H. Hoffmann 1990, p. 100, no. 33 [formerly in Weimar]), and pendants in the Staatsgalerie Bamberg and a private collection (Brücker 1963, pp. 177–80, nos. 23, 24).
21. Brücker 1963, pp. 30, 155.

EXHIBITIONS: none

REFERENCES: Auerbach 1937, p. 15, n. 1, pl. 1B; Kende 1950, pp. 34–35, no. 23, ill.; Brücker 1963, pp. 24–25, 112, nn. 79–81, pp. 146, 148, 156, nos. 4a, 4b, fig. 51; Katharine Baetjer in Metropolitan Museum 1984a, pp. 105–6, no. 38, ill.; Baetjer 1995, p. 228, ill.; Bodo Brinkmann in Brinkmann and Kemperdick 2005, pp. 340–41, fig. 282

Cat. 28A, B Circle of Friedrich Herlin

A. *Saint George*, B. *Saint Sebastian*

1. This is the erroneous death date of Friedrich Herlin (see, for example, Nagler 1835–52, vol. 6 [1838], p. 120, s.v. "Herlin, Friedrich"), which is now known to be 1500.
2. Burkhart 1911, p. 68: "Der jetzige Besitzer [Röhrer] erstand sie anlässlich einer Auktion bei Maurer-München von einem Antiquitätenhändler" (The current owner [Röhrer] acquired them at an auction held by Maurer in Munich, to which they had been consigned by an antiques dealer).
3. The panels were exhibited in Berlin in 1915 (see Berlin 1915, p. 14, no. 56), and according to Paul Drey (letter, dated November 21, 1945, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA), A. S. Drey in Munich possibly acquired them from a Dr. Pinder in Berlin. It is unlikely that the person in question was the art historian Wilhelm Pinder, who taught in Darmstadt in 1915 and was based in Berlin only after 1935 (see Halbertsma 1992, p. 11).
4. Wood identification and dendrochronological analysis by Peter Klein, Universität Hamburg (report, July 27, 2007, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). Klein's dendrochronological analysis provided an earliest felling date of 1473, on which the earliest possible fabrication date of 1475 is based.
5. W. Schmidt 1910, p. 143.
6. IRR carried out with configuration C; see p. 276.
7. On the dress and attributes, see Braunfels 1974, cols. 376–78.
8. On the dress and attributes, see Assion 1976, cols. 318–20.
9. This reconstruction was already suggested in Burkhart 1911, p. 62.
10. W. Schmidt 1910, p. 143.
11. Both W. Schmidt 1910, p. 143, and Burkhart 1911, p. 68, remark on the modern intervention here.
12. W. Schmidt 1910, p. 143.
13. Burkhart 1911, pp. 78–82, 85–86, 89–93, 111–12. The attribution was repeated in Berlin 1915, p. 14, no. 56; Plietzsch 1915, p. 214.
14. Buchner 1923, pp. 48–49; Stange 1934–61, vol. 8 (1957), p. 101; Stange 1967–78, vol. 2 (1970), pp. 232–33, no. 1026. At the time Buchner's publication appeared the anonymous painter was called the Master of the Maihingen Crucifixion, as the eponymous work was then in Maihingen.
15. Letter from Charles L. Kuhn to Hermann Williams, dated Cambridge, Massachusetts, September 30, 1937 (curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
16. Krüger 2005, pp. 174–75.
17. Wehle and Salinger 1947, pp. 169–70; repeated in Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, p. 70; Baetjer 1995, p. 214. Another alternative attribution was offered by Jan Lauts, who suggested a painter in the circle of the Augsburg Master of 1477 (letter to Margareta Salinger, dated Karlsruhe, March 4, 1953, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
18. See Kahsnitz 2005, pls. 8–11, 19–22; Krüger 2005, pp. 38–83, 88–120. The painted wings of the Nördlingen altarpiece are now in the Stadtmuseum Nördlingen.
19. Stange 1967–78, vol. 2 (1970), p. 226, no. 989; Kugler and Nebel 2000, pp. 55–57, ill.
20. Stange 1967–78, vol. 2 (1970), p. 227, no. 993; Kugler and Nebel 2000, pp. 53–54, ill.
21. Kahsnitz 2005, pl. 11.
22. See Frankfurt and Strasbourg 2011–12, p. 229, figs. 6e.1, 6e.3. The connection was noted by Krüger (2005, p. 175). For hypotheses on the Herlin workshop's collaboration in polychroming Gerhaert's sculptures in Nördlingen, see Theiss 2011, pp. 90–91.
23. Susan Marti in Bern and Strasbourg 2000–2001, pp. 178–79, no. 39, ill.; Stange and Konrad 2009, no. 1003, ill.
24. Buchner 1923, p. 48, figs. 28, 29; Stange 1967–78, vol. 2 (1970), p. 232, no. 1024; Krüger 2005, pp. 135–39, 170–71, figs. 33, 34; Stange and Konrad 2009, no. 1024, ill.
25. Stange 1967–78, vol. 2 (1970), p. 229, no. 1001; Krüger 2005, pp. 171–73, fig. 49; Stange and Konrad 2009, no. 1001, ill. Emmendingen near Freiburg has been this altarpiece's location only since the nineteenth century; the earlier provenance has not

- been clarified. The first to note connections between the Museum's panels and the Emmendingen altarpiece was Burkhart 1911, p. 80.
26. Gröber and Horn 1940, p. 322, fig. 362; Stange 1967–78, vol. 2 (1970), p. 233, no. 1028; Stange and Konrad 2009, no. 1028, ill. I thank Andrea Kugler, Stadtmuseum Nördlingen, for arranging new color photography that was used for comparison in 2012.
 27. Dirk H. Breiding, Assistant Curator, Department of Arms and Armor, MMA, kindly noted that the armor, although generically rendered, is consistent with the style of the last quarter of the fifteenth century (communication of April 12, 2007, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).

EXHIBITIONS: Berlin 1915, p. 14, no. 56

REFERENCES: W. Schmidt 1910, p. 143, pls. 9, 10; Burkhart 1911, pp. 57–97, III–12, 123; Plietzsch 1915, p. 214, figs. 13, 14; Buchner 1923, pp. 48–49; Wehle and Salinger 1947, pp. 169–70, ill.; Stange 1934–61, vol. 8 (1957), p. 101; Stange 1967–78, vol. 2 (1970), pp. 232–33, no. 1026; Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, p. 70, ill. vol. 2, p. 290; Baetjer 1995, p. 214, ill.; Krüger 2005, pp. 174–75, 188, fig. 50; Stange and Konrad 2009, no. 1026, ill.

Cat. 29 Hans Holbein the Younger

Benedikt von Hertenstein

1. The fifth line is heavily abraded and lacks the ruled guidelines of the lines above it.
2. Described by Theodor von Liebenau as “[I]m rothen Felde ein weisses Hirschgeweih, zwischen dessen Stangen ein goldener Löwe aufgerichtet steht.” Von Liebenau 1888, p. 18.
3. According to Paul Schnyder von Wartensee (quoted in newspaper clipping included in letter to Francis Henry Taylor, June 16, 1949, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA), the portrait remained in the possession of the Hertenstein family until 1819; he also noted that it then passed into the collection of Daniel Burckhardt. The last owner in the family—one “Hauptmann [Captain] von Hertenstein”—was probably Franz Ludwig von Hertenstein (1792–1826).
4. Letter from Alois Hauser the Younger, Berlin, to Colnaghi and Company, July 10, 1906 (present whereabouts unknown; English translation in curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
5. Curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA.
6. IRR carried out with configurations D and C; see p. 276.
7. I am grateful to Stefano Carboni, former Curator of Islamic Art at the Metropolitan Museum, for discussing this detail with me.
8. Responding in a letter of November 20, 1906, to an inquiry from the Metropolitan Museum, Rudolf Riggensbach of the Kunstmuseum Basel wrote (possibly to Roger Fry) that Paul Ganz, then a curator at Basel, had identified the coat of arms as that of the Hertenstein family (curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). Ganz was no doubt working from photos of the painting.
9. Ganz 1909, p. 599.
10. Letter of April 30, 1909, from Mabel McIlvaine to Roger Fry (curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
11. Chamberlain 1913, vol. 1, p. 73. Schnyder von Wartensee later reported (1949) that he was able to identify the crest on the signet ring in 1941, when he studied the portrait and before it disappeared as the result of a restoration. He also mentioned (letter of June 16, 1949, to Francis Henry Taylor, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA) that the crest Josephine Allen described in 1944 (see Allen 1944) was illegible in 1946, when he himself visited the Museum. Furthermore, Murray Pease (letter of June 20, 1949, to Schnyder von Wartensee, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA) noted that during a restoration in 1946 a gilt reinforcement of the coat of arms was removed. As a result, the coat of arms became less easily discernible to the naked eye. Pease claimed, however, that a “quite positive” identification of the coat of arms was possible under magnification.
12. Roger Fry suggested in 1906 that the portrait represented Ambrosius, who worked in Basel in 1517 and was twenty-two at the time (Fry 1906, pp. 48, 53). Mabel McIlvaine thought she recognized a resemblance between the Museum's portrait and the image of Hans in the 1511 silverpoint drawing of Hans and Ambrosius (Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin) and Hans's self-portrait of about 1542 in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence (letter of April 30, 1909, to Roger Fry, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
13. Christian Müller in Basel 2006b, pp. 174–77.
14. These drawings after selected interior decorations by Hans Holbein the Elder were done by Jakob Schwegler. The originals are kept at the Zentral- und Hochschulbibliothek Luzern, Ct. fol. 160 (see Rowlands 1985, p. 218). Schwegler was not the only one employed to make a visual record of the decorations; on this, see von Liebenau 1888, pp. 132–33.

15. Müller in Basel 2006b, pp. 176–77, nos. 28, 29.
16. Ganz 1909, p. 599.
17. Christian Müller (1991, p. 26) noted that for the frieze in this portrait, Holbein used the motif of the horse tamers from the *Dioscuri* sculpture in the Piazza di Monte Cavallo, Rome. He suggested that Holbein may have known that work through an ornamental print by Nicoletto da Modena.
18. Buck 1999, pp. 19–20.
19. Ganz 1909, p. 600; Gronert 1996, p. 49; Wilson 1996, p. 62.
20. Holbein employed paper as the primary support of some of his other oil paintings, including the *Adam and Eve* of 1517 and the *Portrait of the Artist's Family* of 1528–29 (both Kunstmuseum Basel). Exactly why he followed this procedure is still open to question.
21. See Jochen Sander in Basel 2006b, pp. 164–67, no. 25.
22. Gronert 1996, pp. 51–52; C. Müller 2001, pp. 26–27. Holbein experimented with the manipulation of space and perspective in a series of drawings executed in 1519–20 (see C. Müller 2001; Müller in Basel 2006b, pp. 202–12, nos. 42–45).
23. C. Müller 2001, p. 26.
24. Bächtshmann and Griener 1994, pp. 636–38. These scholars also noted the interest of sixteenth-century humanists such as Heinrich Bullinger, Beatus Rhenatus, and Christoph Scheurl in Pliny's discussion of the use of the imperfect tense in artists' signatures.
25. Ibid.
26. Von Borries 1999, p. 158.
27. Dürer used it at least ten times, and Cranach the Elder, Baldung, and Holbein's father each used it once. Von Borries 1999, p. 156.

EXHIBITIONS: Indianapolis 1950, n.p., no. 33, ill.; New York 1956, suppl., n.p., no. 198; Erwin Treu in Basel 1960, pp. 177–78, no. 145, fig. 60; New York 1967, n.p., no. 38, ill.; Maryan W. Ainsworth in Basel 2006b, pp. 178–80, no. 30, ill.; Jochen Sander in Vienna and Munich 2011–12, pp. 148–51, no. 79, ill. pp. 138 (detail), 149

REFERENCES: Christie's 1905, p. 10, no. 50; Fry 1906, pp. 48, 53, ill. p. 52; Roger Fry to Helen Fry, April 3 and November 1, 1906 (published in Fry 1972 [ed.], vol. 1, p. 262, letter no. 185, p. 270, letter no. 199); Metropolitan Museum 1905/1907, n.p., addenda, November 1906, gallery 24, ill.; “Neuer Holbein” 1906; “New Holbein” 1906; “Portrait by Holbein” 1906, pp. 150, 153, ill. p. 151; “Sammlungen” 1906, col. 120; Fröhlicher 1909, pp. 19, 26, 31, 80, n. 51, pl. 5; Ganz 1909, pp. 598–99, 609; Hes 1911, p. 18; Bernath 1912, p. 60, fig. 55; Ganz 1912, pp. XIV, 233, 255, ill. p. 15; Chamberlain 1913, vol. 1, pp. 72–74, 86, 162, pl. 24, vol. 2, pp. 278, 347; Burroughs 1914, pp. 113–14; Knackfuss 1914, p. 25; K. Cox 1917, p. 148, ill. p. 151; Ganz 1917, pp. 222, 224; Gantner 1921, n.p.; Ganz 1921a, p. 196; Ganz 1921b, p. 221; Suida 1921, pp. 15, 28; Bernhart 1922, pp. 27–28; Reinach 1905–23, vol. 6 (1923), p. 51, no. 2, ill.; Schulte 1923, vol. 1, pp. 232–33; Christoffel 1924, p. 60; Ganz 1924, p. 99, pl. 58; H. A. Schmid 1924, pp. 337, 338; Ganz 1925–27, p. 174; Vaughan 1927, p. 22; Hugelshofer 1929, n.p.; W. Stein 1929, pp. 44, 46, pl. 17; Cohn 1930, pp. 2, 52, 97; Baldass 1931; Burroughs 1931, pp. 162–63; Tietze 1935, p. 339, pl. 213; Kuhn 1936, p. 79, no. 348, pl. LXXI; Reinhardt 1938, p. 16; Waetzoldt 1938, pp. 48, 50, 52, 112, 222, pl. 16; Tietze 1939, p. 324, pl. 213; Brändly 1941, p. 331; Gantner 1943, p. 11; Allen 1944, ill. facing p. 176, cover ill. (detail); Wehle and Salinger 1947, pp. 213–14, ill.; Boom 1948, p. 27; H. A. Schmid 1945–48, text vol. 1 (1948), p. 68; Held 1949, p. 140; Hugelshofer 1949, pp. 60, 62, 64, 66, 67, fig. 4; Schnyder von Wartensee 1949, n.p.; Christoffel 1950, p. 27; Ganz 1950, p. 225, no. 27, pl. 61; Pinder 1951, pp. 69, 71; Schmoll gen. Eisenwerth 1952, pp. 354, 366, n. 42, fig. 14; Reinhardt 1954, p. 16; Grohn 1955, pp. 14–15; Gantner 1958, pp. 79–80; G. Schmidt 1960, n.p., ill.; Baldass 1961, p. 87, fig. 2 (detail); Lauber 1962, pp. 30, 53–55, 63–64, n. 19, ill.; Benesch 1966, p. 157; Ruhmer 1966, pp. 273–74, 283, ill. p. 272; von der Osten and Vey 1969, p. 102; Hans Werner Grohn in Salvini and Grohn 1971, p. 88, no. 18, ill. p. 89; Denys Sutton in Fry 1972 (ed.), vol. 1, p. 25, fig. 31; Reinhardt 1972, p. 516; von der Osten 1973, p. 111; Hendy 1974, p. 120; Strong 1979, p. 20, no. 16, ill.; Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, p. 86, ill. vol. 2, p. 303; Hibbard 1980, pp. 261, 268, no. 479, ill.; Spalding 1980, p. 91; Fredericksen 1982, p. 31, fig. 11; Rowlands 1985, pp. 29–30, 126, no. 6, pl. 7; James Snyder in Metropolitan Museum 1987, p. 15; Metropolitan Museum 1987, p. 117, pl. 83; Christian Müller in Basel 1988, p. 12; Bächtshmann 1989, p. 2, fig. 6; Ainsworth 1990, p. 175 and nn. 20, 21, figs. 3, 4 (infrared reflectogram [detail]); C. Müller 1991, p. 26; N. H. J. Hall 1992, pp. 27, 131; Horat 1992, p. 89, ill.; Baer 1993, p. 198, n. 48; Cuttler 1993, p. 372; Hermann and Hesse 1993, p. 179; C. S. Wood 1993, pp. 143, 145; Bächtshmann and Griener 1994, pp. 636–38; Baetjer 1995, p. 225, ill.; Gronert 1996, pp. 48–52, fig. 5; Lorenz 1996, p. 94, fig. 15; Wilson 1996, pp. 61–63; Bächtshmann and Griener 1997, pp. 24–25, 46, 68, fig. 20; Buck 1997, pp. 157–58, 160, 326–27, fig. 29; Klinger and Hötter 1998, p. 88, no. 6, ill. p. 89 and colorpl. 4; Charles Sterling and Maryan W. Ainsworth in Sterling et al. 1998, p. 24, n. 6; von Borries 1999, p. 156; Buck 1999, pp. 19–20, fig. 18; Nuechterlein 2000, pp. 241–43, fig. 5.8; Buck 2001a, pp. 61, 63, fig. 9; C. Müller 2001, pp. 26–27, fig. 12; Quentin Buvelot in The Hague 2003, p. 167, n. 24; Foister 2004a, p. 171, fig. 177; Wolf 2004, p. 23, ill. p. 31;

D. R. Smith 2005, pp. 498, 506, n. 104, fig. 15; Stefan Kemperdick in Basel 2006b, p. 172, under no. 27, p. 192, under no. 30; Christian Müller in Basel 2006b, p. 214, under nos. 47, 48, p. 264, under no. 68; Jochen Sander in Basel 2006b, p. 294, under no. 88; Bättschmann 2006, p. 115; Häberli 2006, p. 11; N. Meier 2006, p. 62; Sander 2006, p. 15; Nuechterlein 2011, p. 154, fig. 79; Sander 2011, p. 139

Cat. 30 Hans Holbein the Younger

Hermann von Wedigh III

1. Documentation in the Department of European Paintings, MMA, states that the last number in 9/7/2[. . .] is a 2, but a second 2 is not really visible; a 3 would make more sense, since the panel left the Schönborn Collection in 1923. The CA 876, which appears twice on the verso, is a number assigned by the Knoedler gallery.
2. Wood identification and dendrochronological analysis by Peter Klein, Universität Hamburg (report, April 27, 2006, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). Klein's dendrochronological analysis indicated an earliest felling date of 1523, an earliest possible fabrication date of 1525, and a plausible fabrication date of 1531 or later.
3. IRR carried out with configurations D and C; see p. 276.
4. Mark Roskill and Craig Harbison believed that the book resting on the table is an account book and that the man is holding bills or invoices, not gloves, in his left hand (Roskill and Harbison 1987, p. 23).
5. Email, Scott H. Husby to Joshua Waterman, November 14, 2007 (curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
6. On the Hanseatic portraits, see, most recently, Foister 2004a, pp. 206–14; Petter-Wahnschaffe 2010. On the Hanseatic League, see Dollinger 1970; Jörn 2000.
7. Foister 2004a, p. 206; Petter-Wahnschaffe 2010, *passim*.
8. See Petter-Wahnschaffe 2010, pp. 94–95, for the question of the relationship between the two men.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 79–100.
10. Von Reber and Bayersdorfer (1889–1900, vol. 1 [1889], p. XIV, no. 94) alone thought this to be the self-portrait of Holbein at the age of twenty-nine. See also the discussion in Petter-Wahnschaffe 2010, pp. 80–85.
11. The coat of arms has been erroneously identified as that of the Trelawny family of Cornwall, England (Privy Councilor Dieltz in J. Meyer 1883, p. 207). This suggestion was repeated by Wilhelm Bode (1887, p. 442) and again in the 1898 catalogue of the Königliche Museen zu Berlin (p. 141, under no. 586C, in a discussion of the Museum's portrait and its supposed pendant in Berlin), and by Gerald Davies (1903, p. 216). Arthur Chamberlain (1913, vol. 2, pp. 15–18) laid to rest this connection with the Trelawny family by noting that its motto is different from the one on this painting (p. 16).
12. As noted by Thomas Holman (1979, p. 145), Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I granted this coat of arms on July 18, 1503, to a "Rheinlander" named Heinrich von Wedig. See Siebmacher 1856–1967 (ed.), vol. 5, pt. 4 (1890), p. 46 and pl. 55; see also W. Geelen 1917, pp. 173, 176.
13. Von Frimmel 1887. The identification as a member of the Wedigh family was confirmed by J. J. Merlo (1887) on the basis of the family tree published in Fahne 1848–53/1965, vol. 1, p. 445. Merlo read *HER . . . WID* as an abbreviation for Her(mann) Wed(igh), a name that appears in all generations of the Cologne Wedigh family in various forms (Weddigh, Wedig, Widigh, Wedich).
14. Thanks to Dorothy Mahon, Conservator, Department of Paintings Conservation, MMA, for calling attention to these initials. Most likely, the initials are in reverse to reflect the function of a signet ring, that is, to stamp the coat of arms and initials on official documents and letters.
15. W. Geelen 1917, p. 179. Holman (1979, p. 145) noted that the letter W is also found on a seal in another Steelyard portrait, namely that of Hans of Antwerp (Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Windsor Castle), and since it does not relate in that instance to the sitter's initials, it is likely to indicate a professional association with the Windeck in both the Wedigh and Hans of Antwerp portraits.
16. Susan Foister in London 2006–7, p. 64. Nicholas Pickwood observed that such initials on the cover of a book usually denoted the owner, but the orientation of the letters—parallel to the spine—is unusual for a book of vertical format. He suggested that this placement possibly showed "artistic license" on the part of the painter. Moreover, he noted that the lettering on the fore edge could also identify the owner or represent a title. Email from Nicholas Pickwood to Maryan Ainsworth, December 1, 2007 (curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
17. See Höhlbaum 1896–1903, vol. 1, pp. 61, 73, 92. Petter-Wahnschaffe (2002, pp. 7–10, 15; Petter-Wahnschaffe 2010, pp. 86–87) rejected the Metropolitan's portrait as belonging to the Steelyard group because of the lack of documentary evidence

that Hermann von Wedigh was in London at the Steelyard in the 1530s. The documents indicate an indirect relationship to the Steelyard two decades after the portrait was made. She instead believed that it was painted in Cologne in 1532 before Holbein came to London (Petter-Wahnschaffe 2010, pp. 87–88); this would allow for Hermann Hillebrandt von Wedigh to have seen it and commissioned his 1533 portrait (see fig. 115). Conversely, the two portraits could have been made in London and later brought back to Cologne, where the Metropolitan's portrait became a model for a portrait by Barthel Bruyn the Elder in 1539.

18. W. Geelen 1917, pp. 179–80; Holman 1979, p. 145.
19. W. Geelen 1917, p. 179. See D. Martens 2005 for a triptych by Barthel Bruyn the Younger (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille) commissioned by Hermann von Wedigh III about 1560, at the end of his life. The missing donor wings are reconstructed in a nineteenth-century drawing (D. Martens 2005, pp. 56, 58, nn. 29, 30, fig. 18). However, the more general nature of the drawing and the advanced age of the donor make it difficult to see the resemblance between the sitter of the Museum's portrait and the donor of the Lille triptych.
20. For the relationship of Holbein's portrait drawings to his panel paintings, see Ainsworth 1990.
21. Quentin Buvelot in The Hague 2003, p. 80.
22. Woltmann 1866–68, vol. 2, p. 230; Woltmann 1872, pp. 358–59.
23. Buvelot in The Hague 2003, pp. 80–82; Foister 2004a, p. 208; Foister in London 2006–7, p. 64. See also the discussion in Petter-Wahnschaffe 2010, p. 83.
24. Buvelot in The Hague 2003, p. 82.
25. Phone conversation, Thomas Kren, J. Paul Getty Museum, Manuscript Department, and Maryan Ainsworth, November 14, 2007; email, Paul S. Needham to Maryan Ainsworth, November 15, 2007; email, John Bidwell to Maryan Ainsworth, November 27, 2007 (emails, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
26. As suggested by Seymour de Ricci, Paris, unpublished opinion, quoted in a letter to the London office of Duveen Brothers, October 9, 1923 (copy in curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). This theory seems unlikely in light of the presence on the page ends of the guild mark of the Windeck (of which Wied was not a member), the initials *HH* on the book cover, and the signet ring with the Wedigh coat of arms.
27. I am grateful to Joshua Waterman for researching Wied's writings in connection with this entry.
28. I am very grateful to John Bidwell, Astor Curator of Printed Books and Bindings, The Morgan Library & Museum, New York, for help in this matter; email to Maryan Ainsworth, November 27, 2007 (curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). In Bidwell's opinion, the clasps suggest a devotional book rather than a humanist text, and the fact that the latches are on the front cover and the catches on the back cover indicates an English binding, although the ornamental design of the clasps looks Dutch. The style of the binding suggested a date earlier than the 1540s to him. Bidwell further noted that fore edges usually show titles and shelfmarks but sometimes exhibit the name or initials of the recipient of a dedication copy. Nicholas Pickwood stated that the goffered decoration on the edges is related to an example in the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel (shelfmark C22), an edition of Erasmus's *Paraphrasis* printed in Paris in 1523, which is in a binding from Basel (email to Maryan Ainsworth, December 1, 2007, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). From other observations, he concluded that the binding is not English or German but probably French or Swiss.
29. See Wehle and Salinger 1947, p. 215.
30. Holman 1979, p. 145.
31. In fact, Erasmus commented on these words in his famous *Adagia*, which was published in a third edition in Basel by Ambrosius Frobenius in 1515. This edition included further reflections on the moral and social applications of such phrases and made links to political and economic situations. See Gronert 1996, p. 47; Quentin Buvelot in The Hague 2003, p. 80.
32. Petter-Wahnschaffe (2010, p. 83) also believed that the quotation alludes to Wedigh's humanist education.
33. The *Adagia* identification was suggested in an email of November 15, 2007, from Paul S. Needham to Maryan Ainsworth (see note 25 above). See also note 31 above.
34. Theodor von Frimmel (1887) believed that the inscription could be attributed to Aretino, who would thus be the author of the book. Wilhelm Geelen (1917, pp. 178–80, 194) suggested that the quotation was a motto of the Wedigh family, and de Ricci agreed (letter from Paris to the London office of Duveen Brothers, October 9, 1923, copy in curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
35. It is perhaps notable that none of Holbein's other Steelyard portraits have inscriptions that make reference to the religious controversies of the day. For all the inscriptions on the portraits, see Holman 1979, pp. 152–58. See also Fudge 2007, especially chapter 2, which convincingly refuted the notion that the Continental Reformation came into English society through the interests and actions of foreign

merchants. Specifically, Fudge noted that, as late as 1526, the English authorities had attempted to accuse German residents at the Steelyard of distributing reformist literature to local heretics, but that this charge was based on little foundation and was more likely a case of scapegoating.

EXHIBITIONS: Dresden 1871, p. 39, no. 327; Chicago 1924; Chicago 1933, p. 4, no. 20; George Henry McCall in New York 1939a, p. 95, no. 197, pl. 43; London 1950–51, p. 17, no. 9, pl. 4; New York 1952–53, pp. 227–28, no. 107; New York 1956, suppl., no. 199; Boston 1970, p. 50, ill.; New York 1970–71, p. 232, no. 234, colorpl. 50; Quentin Buvelot in The Hague 2003, pp. 80–83, 166–67, no. 12, ill. (overall and detail); Susan Foister in London 2006–7, pp. 64–65, 165, 176, no. 62, ill.

REFERENCES: *Beschreibung* 1746, n.p., no. 31, first series; Perger 1854, p. 82; Parthey 1863–64, vol. 1 (1863), p. 608, nos. 21, 22; Waagen 1866–67, vol. 1 (1866), pp. 313–14; Woltmann 1866–68, vol. 2 (1868), pp. 230–31; W. Bürger 1869, p. 16; von Lützow 1871, p. 350; Woltmann 1872, pp. 358–59; Woltmann 1874–76, vol. 1 (1874), p. 369, vol. 2 (1876), p. 155, no. 262; J. Meyer and Bode 1878, p. 167, under no. 586C; Mantz 1879, p. 191; J. Meyer 1883, p. 207, under no. 586C; Bode 1887, p. 442; von Frimmel 1887; Merlo 1887; von Frimmel 1888; von Reber and Bayersdorfer 1889–1900, vol. 1 (1889), p. XIV, no. 94, ill.; von Frimmel 1896, pp. 41–43, no. 41; Königliche Museen zu Berlin 1898, p. 141, under no. 586C; Freytag 1899, p. 108, n. 1; Knackfuss 1899, p. 132, fig. 118; Davies 1903, p. 216; Benoit 1905, p. 159; *Katalog . . . Schönborn-Buchheim* 1905, p. 5, no. 41; Königliche Museen zu Berlin 1906, pp. 177–78, under no. 586B; Reinach 1905–23, vol. 2 (1907), p. 317, fig. 2 (engraving); Königliche Museen zu Berlin 1911, p. 55, under no. 586B; Ganz 1912, pp. 240, 257, ill. p. 97; Chamberlain 1913, vol. 2, pp. 15–18; Knackfuss 1914, p. 127, fig. 126; W. Geelen 1917, pp. 178–80, 194, ill. p. 177; Ganz 1923; Christoffel 1924, p. 96; “Loan Collection” 1924, p. 90; H. A. Schmid 1924, p. 349; “Summer Loan Exhibitions” 1924, ill.; Bentz 1927; Vaughan 1927, pp. 23–24, ill.; W. Stein 1929, pp. 226, 228, fig. 86; “Century of Progress Art Exhibition” 1933, ill. p. 84; “Century of Progress Exhibit” 1933, p. 4; Rich 1933, p. 372, ill. p. 375; Ganz 1934, p. 85; Kuhn 1936, p. 81, no. 360, pl. LXXIV; Waetzoldt 1938, p. 174, pl. 83; Wescher 1941, p. 187, ill. p. 151; Leroy 1943, p. 170; Wehle and Salinger 1947, pp. 214–16; H. A. Schmid 1945–48, text vol. 1 (1948), p. 84, text vol. 2 (1948), pp. 357, 367; Christoffel 1950, pp. 40–41, fig. 185; Ganz 1950, p. 240, no. 65, pl. 103; “Harkness” 1951, p. 83 and cover ill.; “Notes” 1951; Pinder 1951, p. 88; Rousseau 1951, p. 29, ill. p. 31; Grohn 1955, p. 31; Westhoff-Krummacher 1963, pp. 181, 184, n. 10, pp. 185–88, 190, fig. 161; Westhoff-Krummacher 1965, pp. 38–40, 125, under no. 38, fig. 23; Ruhmer 1966, pp. 278, 283; von der Osten and Vey 1969, p. 229; Hans Werner Grohn in Salvini and Grohn 1971, p. 100, no. 70, ill. p. 99; von der Osten 1973, p. 250; Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz 1975, p. 205, under no. 586B; Markow 1978, p. 40, fig. 1; Holman 1979, pp. 139, 144, 146, 155–56, figs. 4, 16 (detail); J. Roberts 1979, p. 67, no. 56, ill.; Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, p. 86, ill. vol. 2, p. 303; Hibbard 1980, pp. 261, 263, 266, no. 477, ill.; Ross 1980, p. 429; Fletcher and Cholmondeley Tapper 1983, p. 93, fig. 10; Löcher 1985b, pp. 674, 676–77, 679, fig. 8; Rowlands 1985, p. 137, no. 37, p. 139, under no. 41, pl. 71; James Snyder in Metropolitan Museum 1987, p. 16; Metropolitan Museum 1987, p. 119, pl. 84; Roskill and Harbison 1987, pp. 23–24; Ainsworth 1990, p. 186; Baetjer 1995, p. 226, ill.; Foister 1996, p. 671; Gronert 1996, pp. 42–47, 172, 180, fig. 4; Lorenz 1996, p. 93, fig. 12; Buck 1997, pp. 30, 280, fig. 88; Susan Foister, Ashok Roy, and Martin Wyld in London 1997–98, pp. 82–83, pl. 96; Asmus and Grosshans 1998, p. 106, ill.; Klinger and Höttler 1998, p. 156, no. 40, ill. p. 157 and colorpl. 26; Buck 1999, p. 95; Roy and Wyld 2001, pp. 104, 106; Petter-Wahnschaffe 2002, pp. 7–10, 15, fig. 3; Bentley-Cranch 2004, p. 160, n. 45; Foister 2004a, pp. 10, 12, 36, 206–8, 253, frontispiece ill. (detail) and fig. 211; Foister 2004b, p. 51; Secrest 2004, p. 449; Löcher 2005, pp. 30, 39, n. 23, fig. 5; D. Martens 2005, pp. 56, 58, nn. 29, 30, fig. 18; J. Roberts 2005, pp. 26, 99, ill. p. 98 and pl. 60; Sander 2005, p. 29, n. 12, pp. 305, 345, fig. 278; Petter-Wahnschaffe 2010, pp. 79–92, 347–49, no. 6, ill. p. 81

Cat. 31 Hans Holbein the Younger

Portrait of a Man in a Red Cap

1. The presence of a primary support attached to the wood panel was detectable in the X-radiograph, in which the distinct edge of the parchment was visible. The identification of parchment was based on visual observation, since no samples were taken for analysis. A mottled and stippled texture in the X-radiograph was visually consistent with animal skin, and microscopic examination of losses in the paint film and ground revealed a golden-colored fibrous layer characteristic of parchment or paper.
2. Compare Chamberlain 1913, vol. 2, p. 71, which stated that the present owner bought the panel in Paris, and Ganz 1921c, p. 263, which mentioned that it was previously in a private collection in Paris; see also Ganz 1950, p. 244, no. 80.
3. IRR carried out with configuration A; see p. 276.

4. This has been suggested by the following: Petit 1921, p. 25, no. 18; Hans Werner Grohn in Salvini and Grohn 1971, p. 103, no. 91; Klinger and Höttler 1998, p. 180, no. 55; Susan Foister in London 2006–7, p. 50.
5. Foister in London 2006–7, p. 139, no. 151, ill. See also A. Dülberg 1990, figs. 654, 655, pl. 252.
6. Ganz 1921c, p. 263; Petit 1921, p. 25, no. 18; Ganz 1925b, vol. 1, p. 124; Baetjer 1999, p. 5; Foister 2004a, p. 274, no. 177.
7. Basel 1897–98, p. 16, no. 101, as on loan from the collection of Mr. F. Engel-Gros, Basel.
8. Roy Strong and Claus Virch, unpublished opinion, October 22, 1963 (curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA); Grohn in Salvini and Grohn 1971, p. 103, no. 91.
9. Graham Reynolds, unpublished opinion, 1978 (curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA); Rowlands 1985, p. 141, no. 52, pl. 85; Klinger and Höttler 1998, p. 180, no. 55; Foister 2004a, p. 34; Foister in London 2006–7, pp. 41, 49–50, 175, no. 43.
10. Three of Holbein’s miniatures on vellum are in the Metropolitan’s collection: Thomas Wriothesley, *First Earl of Southampton* (25.205) and *William Roper and His Wife, Margaret More* (50.69.1, 50.69.2). For full references, see the MMA website under “Collections”; see especially Reynolds 1996.
11. Foister in London 2006–7, p. 50.
12. Basel 1897–98, p. 16, no. 101.
13. Ganz 1912, p. 242; Ganz 1921c, p. 263. See also Chamberlain 1913, vol. 2, p. 71; Grohn in Salvini and Grohn 1971, p. 103, no. 91.
14. Ganz 1912, p. 242.
15. Chamberlain 1913, vol. 2, p. 70; see also Grohn in Salvini and Grohn 1971, p. 103.
16. Ganz 1921c, p. 266; “Holbein” 1921; Ganz 1925b, vol. 1, p. 125.
17. For the most recent discussion of the identity of these sitters, see Foister in London 2006–7, p. 47, nos. 39, 40. See also Foister 2004a, p. 15.
18. Petit 1921, p. 25, no. 18; “Holbein” 1921; Zürich 1921, p. 21, no. 87; Paris 1924, p. 28, no. 91; New York 1946c, n.p., no. 8; Grohn in Salvini and Grohn 1971, p. 103, no. 91.
19. H. A. Schmid 1945–48, text vol. 2 (1948), p. 32, no. 86; Ganz 1950, p. 244, no. 80; Klinger and Höttler 1998, p. 180, no. 55. The notion is rejected by Goodison and Sutton 1960, pp. 203–4, nn. 2, 3; Rowlands 1985, p. 96.

EXHIBITIONS: Basel 1897–98, p. 16, no. 101; Zürich 1921, p. 21, no. 87; Paris 1924, p. 28, no. 91; New York 1946c, n.p., no. 8, ill.; Susan Foister in London 2006–7, pp. 41, 49–50, 175, no. 43, ill.

REFERENCES: Ganz 1912, pp. 241–42, ill. p. 115; Chamberlain 1913, vol. 2, pp. 70–71, 353; Ganz 1921c, pp. 263–66, 268, ill.; “Holbein” 1921, ill.; Petit 1921, p. 25, no. 18; Ganz 1925b, vol. 1, pp. 124–25, 139, no. 32, vol. 2, p. 7, pl. 77; Long 1929, p. 215; H. A. Schmid 1945–48, plate vol. (1945), p. 32, no. 86, ill.; Ganz 1950, p. 244, no. 80, pl. 120; “Harkness” 1951, p. 85; Rousseau 1951, pp. 29–30; Goodison and Sutton 1960, pp. 203–4, nn. 2, 3, under no. 537; Hans Werner Grohn in Salvini and Grohn 1971, p. 103, no. 91, ill. p. 102; Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, p. 86, ill. vol. 2, p. 304; Rowlands 1985, pp. 96, 141, no. 52, pl. 85; Baetjer 1995, p. 226, ill.; Klinger and Höttler 1998, p. 180, no. 55; Baetjer 1999, pp. 5–7, ill.; Foister 2004a, pp. 34, 274, no. 177; Evans (Mark) 2005, pp. 244, 251, n. 156

Cat. 32 Hans Holbein the Younger

Derick Berck of Cologne

1. Although we have no corroborating sources for Berck’s merchant mark (Elmhirst [1959, p. 9, line 11, no. 98] identified it solely from its appearance in this portrait), the practice of putting the addressee’s mark on the outside of a letter can be confirmed from the portrait of the Steelyard merchant Georg Gisze (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin), in which three letters addressed to Gisze bear his mark, which is known from archival sources and in which the seal resting on the table also bears Gisze’s mark (see Holman 1979, pp. 143–44).
2. IRR carried out with configurations D and C; see p. 276.
3. Another inscription giving the date and the age of the sitter “in schmutziger Goldschrift” was formerly visible at the upper right edge and could still be seen in some early reproductions of the painting (Woltmann 1866–68, vol. 2, p. 213; Ganz 1911, p. 32, ill. p. 33). Paul Ganz (1912, p. 241, ill. p. 107) noted that the lower inscription is authentic, though reinforced, and that the upper one is a later addition. The upper inscription was probably removed during the transfer of the painting from panel to canvas (when it passed through Duveen to Bache in 1928–29). The illustration in the Bache Collection catalogue shows the painting without this inscription (*Collection of Jules S. Bache* 1929, n.p., ill.).

4. On the Steelyard, see Jörn 2000 (with bibliography).
5. Elmhirst 1959, p. 9, line 11, no. 98.
6. Averdunk and Ring 1927, p. 212; Averdunk and Ring 1949, p. 192.
7. Letter from Günther von Roden to Claus Virch, April 19, 1963 (curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA); von Roden 1975, vol. 1, pp. 156, 322.
8. Apparently, all three were in arrears to the Duke of Suffolk for £600 worth of lead already received. As a result, the Borns, but not Berck, were expelled from the Steelyard. Höhlbaum 1896–1903, vol. 1, p. 20, no. 268, as in Holman 1979, p. 150, n. 71. See also Jörn 2000, pp. 228–29.
9. Höhlbaum 1896–1903, vol. 1, p. 27, no. 362, as in Holman 1979, p. 150, n. 72; see also Jörn 2000, p. 392, 423.
10. Foister 2004a, pp. 206–14, and associated literature. Most recently, see Petter-Wahnschaffe 2010, pp. 65–67.
11. See Ainsworth 1990, and cats. 34–39 in this publication.
12. Wornum 1867, pp. 288–89. It is instructive to compare the Berck portrait with that of Hermann von Wedigh III (cat. 30), also in the Museum's collection. The extraordinarily fine condition of the Wedigh portrait offers a glimpse of what the Berck image must once have looked like in terms of quality of handling and execution.
13. Petter-Wahnschaffe (2010, pp. 73–74) instead suggested that the pose of Berck's right hand is a rhetorical gesture and indicates familiarity with Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*.
14. Woltmann 1866–68, vol. 2, p. 213.
15. Markow 1978, p. 44.
16. Holman 1979, p. 150. Mark Roskill and Craig Harbison (1987, p. 16) suggested that the quotation refers to "Holbein's own capacity to supply a likeness memorializing a living person in a way that can serve as an effective substitute for, or counter to, the mere remembrance of his appearance." While this may generally be the case with Holbein's masterful handling and technique, this theory does not take into account the context of Virgil's quotation and thus is less likely as an interpretation.
17. Petter-Wahnschaffe 2010, p. 70.
18. Kallendorf 1983; Petter-Wahnschaffe 2010, pp. 70–71.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 73.
20. Ganz 1911, p. 32; Foister 2004a, p. 210. This possibility was also mentioned by Holman 1979, p. 150.
21. Löcher 1985b, p. 679.
22. Ganz 1911, p. 32; Wehle and Salinger 1947, pp. 217–18; Ganz 1950, p. 246; Schmoll gen. Eisenworth 1952, p. 366; Markow 1978, p. 44.
23. Wornum 1867, pp. 288–89.
24. The German inscription on the letter was transcribed in January 2006 by Joachim Deeters, formerly of the Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln, and Manfred Huiskes, also at the Archiv (letter from Joachim Deeters to Joshua Waterman, January 26, 2006, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). Theirs is the most accurate transcription to date. *Befelt dem Boden* is, in New High German, *Befiehlt dem Boten*, with *Bote* presumably meaning *Briefbote* (postal carrier); Deeters and Huiskes noted that they had not encountered this formula elsewhere. The Deeters and Huiskes transcription is especially important for correcting the reading proposed by Ganz in 1911 and modifies that suggested by Wornum in 1867.
25. Arthur Chamberlain was the first to propose the latter theory (Chamberlain 1913, vol. 2, pp. 22–23). Löcher (1985b, pp. 678–79) further observed that the Steelyard portraits are of different sizes, have various backgrounds, and even in some cases lack any reference to the Steelyard at all—indications that they did not form a unified series to be hung in the guildhall of the group. See also Dollinger 1970, pp. 267–69, on the function of the portraits. *Derick Berck* is the only one of the Steelyard portraits that exists in a copy (Staatsgalerie im Hohen Schloss Füssen). However, Gisela Goldberg noted that the copy dates from the nineteenth century and its maker and purpose remain unknown (Goldberg 1987, p. 62, no. 39; see also Petter-Wahnschaffe 2010, pp. 67–68).

EXHIBITIONS: London 1822, no. 7; London 1880, p. 36, no. 172; Cambridge (Mass.) 1936, p. 10, no. 16, pl. VII; Hartford 1937, n.p., no. 7, ill.; George Henry McCall in New York 1939a, pp. 95–96, no. 198, pl. 44; New York 1943a, n.p., no. 29, ill.; Toronto 1944, p. 25, no. 35, ill. p. 28; Leningrad and Moscow 1975, pp. 47–48, no. 15, ill.

REFERENCES: British Institution 1824, pp. 140–41; Waagen 1854a, vol. 3, pp. 32, 41–42; Wornum 1867, pp. 288–89; Woltmann 1866–68, vol. 2 (1868), p. 213; Woltmann 1872, p. 344; Woltmann 1874–76, vol. 1 (1874), p. 410, vol. 2 (1876), p. 149, no. 241; Mantz 1879, p. 186; Davies 1903, p. 219; Ganz 1911, p. 32, ill. p. 33; Ganz 1912, pp. 241, 257, ill. p. 107; Chamberlain 1913, vol. 2, pp. 4, 22–23, 351, pl. 5; Graves 1913–15, vol. 2 (1913), pp. 531, 536; Baker 1920, pp. 57–58, no. 160, ill.; Christoffel 1924, p. 96; Averdunk and Ring 1927, p. 212; *Collection of Jules S. Bache* 1929, n.p., ill.; Singleton 1929, pp. 246, 248, ill. p. 247; W. Stein

1929, pp. 235–36; Cortisoz 1930, p. 260; Mayer 1930a, p. 542; Tietze 1935, p. 340, pl. 216; Kuhn 1936, p. 82, no. 367, pl. LXXVI; *Bache Collection* 1937, n.p., no. 30, ill.; Waetzoldt 1938, pp. 174–75; Tietze 1939, p. 324, pl. 216; *Duveen Pictures* 1941, no. 220, ill.; Wehle 1943, p. 288; Wehle and Salinger 1947, pp. 217–18, ill.; H. A. Schmid 1945–48, text vol. 2 (1948), pp. 367, 371; Averdunk and Ring 1949, p. 192; Held 1949, p. 140; Christoffel 1950, p. 40; Ganz 1950, p. 246, no. 87, pl. 130; Pinder 1951, p. 88; Schmoll gen. Eisenwerth 1952, p. 366, n. 42, fig. 14; Grohn 1955, p. 37; Elmhirst 1959, p. 19, no. 98, and p. 9, line 11, no. 98; Westhoff-Krummacher 1963, pp. 181, 192; Hans Werner Grohn in Salvini and Grohn 1971, p. 104, no. 100, ill.; von Roden 1975, vol. 1, pp. 156, 322, pl. 12; Markow 1978, p. 44, fig. 3; Holman 1979, pp. 139, 149, 150, 158, figs. 10, 18 (detail); Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, p. 86, ill. vol. 2, p. 304; Löcher 1985b, pp. 675–76, 677, 679, fig. 14; Rowlands 1985, p. 143, no. 57, pl. 94; Goldberg 1987, p. 63; Roskill and Harbison 1987, p. 16; James Snyder in Metropolitan Museum 1987, p. 16; Metropolitan Museum 1987, p. 116, pl. 82; Ainsworth 1990, p. 186; J. Wood 1994, p. 322, n. 177; Baetjer 1995, p. 226; Klinger and Höttler 1998, p. 189, no. 60, ill.; Jörn 2000, pp. 228–29; Petter-Wahnschaffe 2002, pp. 7, 9, 10, 15, 16, fig. 8; Secrest 2004, p. 449; Foister 2004a, pp. 36, 206, 210, 252, fig. 212; Petter-Wahnschaffe 2010, pp. 65–74

Cat. 33 Hans Holbein the Younger and workshop(?)

Erasmus of Rotterdam

1. See Colvin 1909, p. 67, for both inscriptions. Ganz 1950, fig. 15, reproduces a photograph of the recto inscription in still partially readable form. The inscription on the verso must have been written on a piece of paper that was removed when the panel was thinned and cradled; see Robert Lehman Collection Files, MMA, and Ganz 1950, p. 238, no. 57.
2. For details of this provenance, see L. Campbell 1999, p. 687.
3. M. Knoedler and Co. invoice, September 28, 1943, curatorial files, Robert Lehman Collection, MMA.
4. Wood identification by Peter Klein, Universität Hamburg (report, April 23, 1998, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). Dating of the wood was not possible.
5. IRR carried out with configurations A and C; see p. 276.
6. Rowlands 1985, pp. 129–30, no. 15, pl. 28. A nearly identical image of approximately the same size, painted in oil on paper and mounted on pinewood, is in the collection of the Kunstmuseum Basel (Rowlands 1985, p. 130, no. 16, pl. 29). The Basel painting was perhaps the preparatory model for the oil on panel in the Louvre.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 128, no. 13, pl. 26. The latter portrait, a three-quarter view facing left, was most likely the one that Erasmus sent to William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, in a gesture of thanks for his support. Foister 2004a, p. 174, and illustrated in color on p. 173, fig. 178.
8. Brunin 1968, p. 150, D, fig. 4, lists thirty-eight examples, although originally there must have been dozens more.
9. The examples with an open book, all by followers of Holbein, are in the Galleria Nazionale, Parma (no. 355), dated 1530, and in the Pinacoteca, Turin (no. 303); a similarly sized version with a closed book is in a private collection in Zürich. The Parma and Zürich examples are illustrated in van der Coelen 2008, figs. 11, 12, and Rotterdam 2008–9, p. 81, no. 8 (colorplate).
10. John Rowlands lists five in this group: Rowlands 1985, pp. 135–36, nos. 34 and 34a–d, one of which (34b) is now in the Kunstmuseum Basel and one (34d) in the Morgan Library & Museum, New York. Occasionally, other later versions appear on the art market, such as at Sotheby's, London, December 7, 2006, no. 117.
11. Rowlands 1985, pp. 66, 135, no. 33.
12. For the Cranach copies, see Dieter Koeplin in Basel 1974, vol. 1, pp. 293–94, no. 174; H. Wagner 1977, pp. 205–7; Gotha 1994, p. 70, no. 1.37–6; van der Coelen 2008, fig. 16; and one recently on the market at Sotheby's, New York, June 9, 2011, no. 1 (currently with Derek Johns Ltd., London). For the copies by Pencz, see Gmelin 1966, pp. 93–94, no. 39, fig. 34, and nos. 39a–e; Lucy Whitaker in Heard and Whitaker 2011, pp. 126–27, no. 55.
13. Colvin 1909, p. 67, and illustration of the Vorsterman print on p. 70. See also Colvin's dismissal as hearsay and unprovable the inscription on Vorsterman's print stating that it was the portrait described by Erasmus in a letter to Sir Thomas More as the one he preferred to the likeness of him made by Albrecht Dürer (p. 71).
14. Sander 2005, p. 38, fig. 15. The *Cosmographia* was first published in 1544, with some forty editions printed until 1628.
15. Colvin 1909, pp. 67–68. See also Charles Talbot's discussion in Sterling et al. 1998, p. 58.
16. L. Campbell 1999, p. 687.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 687, n. 9.
18. Colvin 1909, p. 67. David Piper listed twenty-two paintings in Lord Lumley's collection that had such labels added to them, including one on Holbein's *Portrait of*

- Christina of Denmark, Duchess of Milan* (National Gallery, London) that was later removed. See Piper 1957 and Talbot in Sterling et al. 1998, p. 58, who further discusses the provenance of the Lehman painting.
19. In addition to Colvin's 1909 discussion, see Talbot in Sterling et al. 1998, p. 58.
 20. Ganz 1935, p. 19.
 21. Ainsworth 1990, pp. 177–78, fig. 6; Talbot in Sterling et al. 1998, pp. 59–60.
 22. Only Wilhelm Waetzoldt (1938, p. 46), early on, suggested that it was by another hand.
 23. Foister, email exchange with Larry Kanter, then Curator of the Lehman Collection, July 5–6, 2006 (copy, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA); Foister in London 2006–7, p. 25, no. 14; Sander 2005, pp. 38, 242; Kemperdick in Basel 2006a, p. 418, under no. 149.
 24. See Rowlands 1985, pp. 135–36, nos. 34 and 34a–d.
 25. This is similar to the freehand underdrawing in the Holbein roundel portrait of Erasmus in the Kunstmuseum Basel. My thanks to Peter Berkes, Conservator at the museum, for this information.
 26. The versions in the Rothschild Collection and the Ball College Art Gallery, Eunice, Michigan, have not to my knowledge been investigated from a technical point of view. See Rowlands 1985, p. 136, no. 34a, c.
 27. The Lehman portrait also served as a model for examples produced by Cranach and his workshop, as mentioned above. A tracing of the portrait placed over the Sotheby's example mentioned in note 12 above reveals an exact alignment of the contours of the sitters, but the underdrawing of the Sotheby's work shows evidence of tracing instead of pouncing. This suggests that the design did not originate from the pounced cartoon produced in Holbein's workshop, but more likely came from a tracing made from a finished painting by Holbein and his workshop.
 28. For example, a drawing in the Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Windsor Castle, made by Holbein for his portrait of Sir Thomas More (Frick Collection, New York), is also pricked for transfer, and there is pouncing found on the ground preparation of the autograph painting. See K. T. Parker 1945, p. 36, no. 3; see also the Ainsworth study of the Frick Collection painting in 1985, published in Ainsworth 1990, pp. 176–77.
 29. Wilson 1996, p. 184.
 30. See Sander 2005, p. 33, n. 123. Sander suggested that the Metropolitan's portrait is the one praised by the humanist John Leland in a poem. See also Foister in London 2006–7, p. 25, no. 14.

EXHIBITIONS: London 1890, p. 212, no. 1094; on loan from J. P. Morgan to the Metropolitan Museum, 1909–17; New York 1941, pp. 13–14, no. 9, ill.; New York 1943b, p. 6, no. 2, ill. no. 5; Charles Sterling in Paris 1957, pp. 19–21, no. 25, pl. XXVIII; Cincinnati 1959, p. 20, no. 123, ill.; New Haven 1960, p. 5, no. 3, ill.; Bart Fransen in Salamanca 2002–3, p. 200, ill.; Susan Foister in London 2006–7, p. 25, no. 14, ill.; Rotterdam 2008–9, p. 80, no. 7, ill.

REFERENCES: Wornum 1867, pp. 141, 144; Colvin 1909, ill. facing p. 65; "Recent Loan" 1909, ill.; M. L. Cox 1911, p. 286; Cust 1912, pp. 256–57, no. 16; Ganz 1912, p. 239, ill. p. 91; Chamberlain 1913, vol. 1, pp. 177–79, vol. 2, pp. 65, 347, 381; Tietze-Conrat 1920, p. 13; Vaughan 1927, p. 23; Ganz 1935, p. 19, fig. 11; Giese 1935, p. 270; Ganz 1936a, pp. 264–65, n. 11; Kuhn 1936, p. 80, no. 356; Waetzoldt 1938, p. 46; "Morgan Estate" 1943, p. 14, ill.; H. A. Schmid 1945–48, plate vol. (1945), p. 30, under no. 68, text vol. 2 (1948), pp. 314–15; Ganz 1950, pp. 235, 238, no. 57, fig. 15; Indianapolis 1950, n.p., under no. 35; Heinrich 1954b, p. 222; Isarlo 1957; Piper 1957, p. 228, no. 9; Basel 1960, p. 214, under no. 184; Brunin 1968, p. 150, D, fig. 4; Boveri 1971, p. 13; Hans Werner Grohn in Salvini and Grohn 1971, p. 99, no. 64, ill.; Szabó 1975, pp. 84–85, pl. 73; Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, p. 96, vol. 2, ill. p. 303; Hibbard 1980, p. 263; Reinhardt 1981, p. 60; Rowlands 1985, pp. 79, 135, no. 34, pl. 65; Elisabeth Landolt in Basel 1986, p. 179, under no. E3; Landolt 1986, p. 20; Hartford, New York, and Fort Worth 1987, p. 203; Metropolitan Museum 1987, p. 119, pl. 85; Ainsworth 1990, pp. 177–78, fig. 6; Baetjer 1995, p. 225, ill.; Gronert 1996, pp. 75, 77, 83, 103–8, 115, fig. 17; Wilson 1996, p. 184; Klinger and Höttler 1998, p. 148; Charles Talbot in Sterling et al. 1998, pp. 55–60, no. 11, ill. p. 57 and figs. 11.1 (infrared reflectogram), 11.2 (X-radiograph); L. Campbell 1999, p. 687; Sander 2005, pp. 38, 342, fig. 16; Stephan Kemperdick in Basel 2006a, p. 418, under no. 149; Sotheby's 2006, p. 29, under no. 117; van der Coelen 2008, pp. 65, 69; Finocchio 2008, p. 93, fig. 23; Alexandre Vanautgaerden in Anderlecht 2010–11, p. 109

Cat. 34 Workshop of Hans Holbein the Younger

Portrait of a Man (Sir Ralph Sadler?)

1. Wood identification and dendrochronological analysis by Peter Klein, Universität Hamburg (report, April 27, 2006, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). Klein's dendrochronological analysis indicated an earliest felling

- date of 1524, an earliest possible fabrication date of 1526, and a plausible fabrication date of 1532 or later.
2. IRR carried out with configurations D and C; see p. 276.
3. See Ainsworth 1990.
4. Norgate 1919 (ed.), p. 73; Ganz 1937, p. XX; K. T. Parker 1945, pp. 24, 28. See also Foister 2004a, pp. 51–65.
5. Ainsworth 1990.
6. Held (1949, p. 143); Rowlands (1985, p. 232, no. R. 22); Ainsworth (1990, p. 183); Foister (most recently, in London 2006–7, p. 114, no. 125). Supporting the attribution of the Museum's painting to Holbein himself are Ganz (1921–24, pp. 294–96); W. Stein (1929, p. 254); Götz (1932, pp. 125–27); Jane Roberts (in Toronto 1988–89, p. 70); and Graham Reynolds (unpublished opinion, December 5, 1989, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
7. Foister in London 2006–7, p. 114.
8. Gray 1992, pp. 6–9; Foister in London 2006–7, p. 114. Foister noted the match with Sadler's birth date by consulting the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* and omitting clerics and those living far from London. She also examined Sadler's will (Public Record Office, The National Archives, prob/11/70), which, like most wills of the time, does not mention any paintings (email to Maryan Ainsworth, May 29, 2007, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
9. Gray 1992, pp. 6–9; Foister in London 2006–7, p. 114. Ganz (1921–24, pp. 294–96) thought the costume that of a Frenchman and, without any substantive evidence, proposed one of the brothers of the diplomat Jean de Dinteville as the sitter.
10. Gray 1992, illustrations on pp. 6 and 8; Alistair Laing, email to Maryan Ainsworth, December 19, 2003 (curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).

EXHIBITIONS: New York 1928, p. 28, no. 45, ill.; New York 1943a, n.p., no. 28, ill.; New York 1983a, n.p., sec. IIA, no. 7, ill., and sec. II, under no. 28; Susan Foister in London 2006–7, p. 114, no. 125, ill.

REFERENCES: Ganz 1911–26, pts. 31–35 (1921), n.p., under no. XXXIII 10; Ganz 1921–24, pp. 294–96, pl. VII; Ganz 1921–26, vol. 7 (1924), under no. XXXIII 10; Ganz 1925a, p. 327; Borenus 1926b; Vaughan 1927, p. 27, ill.; Freund 1928, p. 797, ill.; *Collection of Jules S. Bache* 1929, n.p., ill.; Freund 1929a, p. 286; W. Stein 1929, p. 254; Cortisoz 1930, p. 260; Mayer 1930a, p. 542, ill. p. 541; Götz 1932, pp. 125–27, fig. 89; Kuhn 1936, p. 82, no. 366; *Bache Collection* 1937, n.p., no. 29, ill.; *Duveen Pictures* 1941, n.p., no. 219, ill.; Wehle 1943, p. 288; Levy n.d. (after 1943), pp. 17, 36; K. T. Parker 1945, p. 45, under no. 33, fig. XV; H. A. Schmid 1945–48, plate vol. (1945), p. 32, under no. 91; Wehle and Salinger 1947, pp. 216–17, ill.; H. A. Schmid 1945–48, text vol. 2 (1948), p. 371; Held 1949, p. 143; Ganz 1950, p. 246, no. 86, pl. 128; Hans Werner Grohn in Salvini and Grohn 1971, p. 103, no. 97, ill. p. 104; London 1978–79, p. 77, under no. 42; J. Roberts 1979, p. 89, under no. 79; Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, p. 86, ill. vol. 2, p. 304; Foister 1983, pp. 18–19, 21, 42, under no. 33, fig. 35; Rowlands 1985, pp. 114, 232, no. R. 22, ill.; Jane Roberts in Toronto 1988–89, p. 70, under no. 18, ill.; Ainsworth 1989, pp. 17–18, figs. 17, 19; Ainsworth 1990, p. 183, figs. 21, 22, and cover ill.; Gray 1992, p. 6; Roberts in Edinburgh, Cambridge, and London 1993–94, p. 60, under no. 18, ill.; Baetjer 1995, p. 227, ill.; Secrest 2004, p. 449; J. Roberts 2005, p. 119

Cat. 35 Workshop of Hans Holbein the Younger

Lady Rich (Elizabeth Jenks)

1. Wood identification and dendrochronological analysis by Peter Klein, Universität Hamburg (report, April 3, 2006, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). Klein's dendrochronological analysis indicated an earliest felling date of 1468, an earliest possible fabrication date of 1470, and a plausible fabrication date of 1476 or later.
2. IRR carried out with configurations D and C; see p. 276.
3. For the advice Lady Rich received on the selection of cloth for her attire, see Hayward 2009, p. 236.
4. W. Stein 1929, p. 302; Hayward 2007, p. 171.
5. The subject of the scene has not yet been identified. It may show three or four people standing over a sleeping figure or corpse (Woltmann 1874–76, vol. 1, p. 425; Monod 1923, p. 197). Similar brooches appearing in other female portraits represent classical themes or mythological subjects (Held 1949, p. 140; Jane Roberts in Toronto 1988–89, p. 98, no. 31; Jane Roberts in Edinburgh, Cambridge, and London 1993–94, p. 78). The subject may have been one that was easily recognized by contemporaries but is not now clear (W. Stein 1929, p. 302; Ganz 1937, p. 18, under no. 76; Yvonne Hackenbroch, unpublished opinion, 1977, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA; London 1978–79, p. 116, under no. 76; Roberts in Toronto 1988–89, p. 110).

6. Identified as such when the painting was first shown at the South Kensington Exhibition in 1866 (London 1866, p. 14, no. 74), even though the catalogue entry also mentioned the Windsor Castle drawing inscribed "Lady Rich."
7. Woltmann 1866; Wornum 1867, pp. 296–97.
8. After Woltmann corrected the sitter's identity, it was never questioned again (Woltmann 1866–68, vol. 2, p. 288; Woltmann 1872, p. 402; Benoit 1905, p. 158; "Altman Collection" 1913, p. 237; Metropolitan Museum 1914, pp. 55–56, no. 35; Monod 1923, p. 197; Vaughan 1927, p. 94; Tietze 1935, p. 339, pl. 214; Kuhn 1936, p. 84, no. 375; *Duveen Pictures* 1941, n.p., no. 221; Baetjer 1995, p. 227; Secrest 2004, p. 449).
9. Chamberlain 1913, vol. 2, p. 212.
10. Fifteen children according to Pollard 1909, p. 1012. Three sons and nine or ten daughters, according to Carter 2012.
11. Foister 2004a, pp. 25, 32; see also Carter 2012.
12. See Carter 2012.
13. K. T. Parker 1945, p. 57, no. 80, pp. 50–51, no. 55. The preliminary drawing for *Lady Rich* does not include the brooch featured in the painting, which was likely worked out in a separate sketch that has not survived. In addition, the hands in the drawing are indicated with metalpoint alone and not augmented with chalk. The painting follows the drawing closely, but excludes the hairy wart on Lady Rich's chin, which Holbein faithfully recorded.
14. Arthur Chamberlain claimed that a portrait of Sir Richard was destroyed in a fire in Knepp Castle in 1904 (Chamberlain 1913, vol. 2, p. 212; followed by Metropolitan Museum 1914, p. 56; Wehle and Salinger 1947, p. 221; Ganz 1950, p. 254; London 1978–79, p. 10; Rowlands 1985, p. 234).
15. Interestingly, both versions had a common provenance in the seventeenth century with the Croft family at Croft Castle, Hereford, and subsequently with the Moseley family at Buildwas Park, Salop, until 1912, when the pictures went their separate ways. See above for the provenance of both paintings until 1912. After that date, the other version has the following provenance: Mr. Norbert Fischman, London, 1939; Schaeffer Galleries, New York, until about 1940; Nathan Katz Gallery, Saint-Moritz; privately owned until 1965; West Germany (according to Ganz 1937, p. 18, no. 76); exhibited on loan to the Städtische Kunstsammlungen Augsburg from 1979; Georg Schäfer Collection, Schweinfurt, Germany, on loan to Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg (letter from Bruno Bushart to Maryan Ainsworth, January 24, 1996, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
16. London 1866, p. 14; Wornum 1867, p. 297; Woltmann 1866–68, vol. 2, p. 288; Woltmann 1872, p. 402; Woltmann 1874–76, vol. 2, p. 121; Cust 1891, p. 108; Benoit 1905, p. 158; Max J. Friedländer, letter to Joseph Duveen, October 8, 1912 (curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA); "Altman Collection" 1913, p. 237; Chamberlain 1913, vol. 2, p. 212; Metropolitan Museum 1914, p. 55; Ganz 1911–26, pts. 26–30 (1921), n.p., under no. XXVII 9; Monod 1923, p. 197; Vaughan 1927, p. 94; Metropolitan Museum 1928, p. 32; W. Stein 1929, p. 302; Tietze 1935, p. 339, pl. 214; Tietze 1939, p. 324, pl. 214; Kuhn 1936, p. 84, no. 375; *Duveen Pictures* 1941, n.p., no. 221.
17. Ganz 1937, p. 18, under no. 76.
18. Ganz initially thought both versions were copies, but changed his view upon firsthand study of the one then in the Nathan Katz Gallery (now Georg Schäfer Collection, on loan to Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg). Paul Ganz, unpublished opinion, October 24, 1939 (curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA); Ganz 1950, p. 254, no. 117. See also Hans Werner Grohn in Salvini and Grohn 1971, p. 107, no. 125.
19. Harry Wehle, unpublished opinion, February 2, 1940 (curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA); Wehle and Salinger 1947, p. 221. The most recent discussion of the Schäfer Collection appears in Thomas Schauerte in Coburg 2010, p. 162, no. 1.1.27, ill. p. 161.
20. See K. T. Parker 1945, p. 51, under no. 55, fig. XXI; H. A. Schmid 1945–48, text vol. 2 (1948), p. 378; London 1978–79, p. 116; Foister 1983, p. 44; Susan Foister in K. T. Parker 1945/1983, p. 157, under no. 55; Rowlands 1985, p. 234; Roberts in Toronto 1988–89, p. 110; Ainsworth 1990, p. 183; Foister 2004a, p. 227; Secrest 2004, p. 449.
21. Currently on loan to the Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg (correspondence between Bruno Bushart and Maryan Ainsworth, March 17, 1992–January 24, 1996, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
22. For the Museum's portrait, 44.5 × 34 cm, and for the Schäfer portrait, 44 × 34 cm. The latter has added strips (perhaps to accommodate a later frame), which make the current measurements 45.6 × 35.5 cm.
23. For the Museum's painting, see the technical reports summarized above (and Karen Thomas's more extensive report in the curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA); for the Schäfer Collection painting, see the report by Bruno Heimberg, Doerner Institut, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, February 2, 1993 (curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
24. Ainsworth 1990, p. 183.
25. Photographs of the infrared-reflectography results from the Doerner Institut (see note 23 above) were kindly sent to Maryan Ainsworth by Bruno Bushart (curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
26. Foister 1983, p. 21; Roberts in Toronto 1988–89, p. 110; Ainsworth 1990, p. 183; Ainsworth 1991, p. 12; Foister 2004a, pp. 65–71.
27. Foister 2004a, pp. 11–12; Susan Foister in London 2006–7, pp. 113–23.
28. The dendrochronology is not of immediate help in this respect, as the earliest felling date of the tree that produced the panel was 1468, and the painting could have been made at any time after that. See note 1 above for Peter Klein's report.
29. Ganz 1911–26, pts. 26–30 (1921), n.p., under no. XXVII 9; again Ganz, unpublished opinion, October 24, 1939 (curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA); also Friedländer, letter to Joseph Duveen, October 8, 1912 (curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
30. Wornum 1867, p. 297; Metropolitan Museum 1914, p. 56; *Duveen Pictures* 1941, n.p., no. 221.
31. Monod 1923, p. 198. Chamberlain regarded as more probable an execution in the last years of Holbein's activity, between 1540 and 1543 (Chamberlain 1913, vol. 2, p. 212).
32. Vaughan 1927, p. 94; W. Stein 1929, pp. 302, 305; Wehle and Salinger 1947, p. 221. A date about 1540 is supported by Tietze 1935, p. 339, pl. 214; Kuhn 1936, p. 84; Ganz 1950, p. 254, under no. 117.

EXHIBITIONS: London 1866, pp. 14–15, no. 74

REFERENCES: Woltmann 1866; Wornum 1867, pp. 296–97, 412; Woltmann 1866–68, vol. 2 (1868), pp. 288–89; Woltmann 1872, p. 402; Woltmann 1874–76, vol. 1 (1874), p. 425, vol. 2 (1876), p. 121, no. 128; Cust 1891, p. 108; Benoit 1905, p. 158; "Holbein's Portrait of Lady Rich" 1912, p. 9; "Altman Collection" 1913, p. 237; Chamberlain 1913, vol. 2, p. 212; Metropolitan Museum 1914, pp. 55–56, no. 35; de Ricci 1914, p. 107; Ganz 1911–26, pts. 26–30 (1921), n.p., under no. XXVII 9; Monod 1923, pp. 197–98, ill.; Ganz 1921–26, vol. 6 (1924), n.p., under no. XXVII 9; H. A. Schmid 1924, pp. 352–53; Vaughan 1927, p. 94, ill. p. 68; Metropolitan Museum 1928, pp. 32–33, no. 8; W. Stein 1929, pp. 302, 305; Burroughs 1931, p. 163; Tietze 1935, p. 339, pl. 214; Kuhn 1936, p. 84, no. 375, pl. LXXIX; Ganz 1937, p. 18, under no. 76; Tietze 1939, p. 324, pl. 214; *Duveen Pictures* 1941, n.p., no. 221, ill.; K. T. Parker 1945, p. 51, under no. 55, fig. XXI; Wehle and Salinger 1947, pp. 221–22, ill.; Davenport 1948, vol. 1, p. 433, no. 1160, ill.; H. A. Schmid 1945–48, text vol. 2 (1948), p. 378; Held 1949, p. 140; Ganz 1950, p. 254, under no. 117; Haskell 1970, p. 279; Hans Werner Grohn in Salvini and Grohn 1971, p. 107, under no. 125; Fowles 1976, p. 77; London 1978–79, p. 116, under no. 76; Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, p. 87, ill. vol. 2, p. 305; Foister 1983, pp. 21, 36, 44, fig. 38; Susan Foister in K. T. Parker 1945/1983, p. 157, under no. 55; Rowlands 1985, pp. 120, 234, no. R. 26 (b), pl. 236; Jane Roberts in Houston 1987, p. 110; Roberts in Toronto 1988–89, p. 98, under no. 31, p. 110, under no. 37, ill.; Ainsworth 1990, p. 183, figs. 24 (infrared reflectogram), 25; Ainsworth 1991, p. 12, pls. 1, 3 (infrared reflectogram); Roberts in Edinburgh, Cambridge, and London 1993–94, p. 78, under no. 27; Baetjer 1995, p. 227, ill.; Foister 2004a, pp. 69, 227, 324; Secrest 2004, p. 449

Cat. 36 Workshop of Hans Holbein the Younger

Lady Lee (Margaret Wyatt)

1. Metropolitan Museum 1914, p. 54, states that there are records of the portrait in the Palmer family archives dating from the time of Charles I.
2. *Duveen Pictures* 1941, n.p., no. 223, wrongly lists Captain H. R. Moseley, Buildwas Park, Shropshire, among the owners of the portrait of Lady Lee. The error seems to derive from Monod 1923 (p. 198, nn. 1, 2); there is no evidence that the portrait passed through Duveen.
3. Wood identification and dendrochronological analysis by Peter Klein, Universität Hamburg (report, May 3, 2006, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). Klein's dendrochronological analysis indicated an earliest felling date of 1508, an earliest possible fabrication date of 1515, and a plausible fabrication date of 1525 or later.
4. IRR carried out with configurations D and C; see p. 276.
5. Perhaps this was of the type recorded in Catherine Howard's wardrobe and described as having been given to her by Francis Dereham and bought from "a little woman in London . . . skilled in making all sorts of silk flowers." Hayward 2007, p. 184.
6. London 1907, p. 8, no. 13.
7. Cust in London 1909, p. 101, no. 64.
8. Sotheby's 1933, p. 22, no. 54.
9. Ganz 1912, p. 245; Metropolitan Museum 1914, p. 53; Allen 1945, p. 161; Hans Werner Grohn in Salvini and Grohn 1971, p. 107, no. 124.
10. Ganz 1950, p. 253, no. 12; Grohn in Salvini and Grohn 1971, p. 107, no. 124; Rowlands 1985, p. 120.

11. Rowlands 1985, pp. 236–37, no. R. 39.
12. Allen 1945; H. A. Schmid 1945–48, plate vol. (1945), p. 35, no. 114. Ganz first suggested a date of about 1540 (Ganz 1912, p. 245; see also Ganz 1950, p. 253, no. 112), followed by Vaughan (1927, p. 68) and Kuhn (1936, p. 83, no. 374).
13. For an excellent discussion of the role of images of Lucretia in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century portraits, see Penny 2004, pp. 74–91.
14. Jane Roberts in Edinburgh, Cambridge, and London 1993–94, p. 74.
15. Holbein designed a metal book cover with the Wyatt initials, a woodcut portrait of Sir Thomas Wyatt, and several other family portraits, including the following: a painting of Sir Henry Wyatt and a drawing of Sir Thomas Wyatt (Foister 2004a, p. 29; Strong 2006, p. 48); a drawing of an unknown lady with the Wyatt coat of arms on the verso (K. T. Parker 1945, p. 53, no. 63; Foister 2004a, p. 199); a number of portraits of Thomas Wyatt the Younger, for which several drawings are known (see Jane Roberts's discussion in Houston 1987, pp. 128–29, no. 45); and one painting that has recently appeared (Strong 2006).
16. Fry 1909, pp. 74–75.
17. Holman, unpublished opinion, August 20, 1976 (curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
18. The unusual reddish tone was also mentioned in the early literature (Hervey 1909, p. 151; Chamberlain 1913, vol. 2, p. 82; K. Cox 1917, p. 148). Vaughan (1927, p. 68) explained this aberration in style as an artistic experiment. A pinkish priming has also been found by Petria Noble, Conservator, Mauritshuis, The Hague, in some Holbein and Holbein workshop paintings but not to the exaggerated extent apparent in the MMA painting. (See P. Noble 2004, p. 330; email, Petria Noble to Maryan Ainsworth, May 2, 2008, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA.)
19. Conway in Conway and Cust 1909, p. 159; Ganz 1912, p. 245; Ganz 1950, p. 253, no. 112. The attribution to Holbein himself was also supported by Burroughs 1931, p. 163; Kuhn 1936, p. 83, no. 374; Wehle and Salinger 1947, p. 219; von der Osten and Vey 1969, p. 230; John M. Fletcher to John Pope-Hennessy, memorandum, January 13, 1982 (curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA); Edward Speelman, unpublished opinion, November 15, 1982 (curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). Ganz's attribution was cited by Monod 1923, p. 198; Vaughan 1927, p. 67; Grohn in Salvini and Grohn 1971, p. 107, no. 124.
20. "Holbein Portrait Sold" 1912; see also "Aus der Sammlerwelt" 1912.
21. Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, p. 87; Rowlands 1985, p. 120; Ainsworth 1990, p. 185; Baetjer 1995, p. 227.
22. Strong in Washington 1985–86, p. 85. Gert von der Osten and Horst Vey concur with this view (von der Osten and Vey 1969, p. 230; von der Osten 1973, p. 250).
23. Strong 2006, p. 51.
24. See Davenport 1948, vol. 1, p. 428, no. 1144; H. A. Schmid 1945–48, text vol. 2 (1948), pp. 364, 366, 378, 385; Grohn in Salvini and Grohn 1971, p. 107, no. 124.
25. Ainsworth 1990.
26. On whether a Holbein workshop existed, see Foister 2004a, pp. 65–71; Susan Foister in London 2006–7, p. 113.

EXHIBITIONS: London 1907, p. 8, no. 13; Lionel Cust in London 1909, p. 101, no. 64, pl. 22

REFERENCES: Martin Conway in Conway and Cust 1909, p. 159; Fry 1909, pp. 74–75; Hervey 1909, p. 151, ill. opp. p. 135; "Aus der Sammlerwelt" 1912; Ganz 1912, p. 245, ill. p. 143; "Holbein" 1912; *Holbein le Jeune* 1912, p. 245, ill. p. 143; "Holbein Portrait Sold" 1912, ill.; "Altman Collection" 1913, p. 237; Chamberlain 1913, vol. 2, pp. 82–83, 348, pl. XV; Metropolitan Museum 1914, pp. 52–55, ill.; K. Cox 1917, p. 148, ill. p. 151; Monod 1923, p. 198; H. A. Schmid 1924, p. 352; Vaughan 1927, p. 68, ill. p. 63; Metropolitan Museum 1928, pp. 28–30, no. 6, pl. 6; W. Stein 1929, pp. 300, 302; Evans (Mary) 1930, ill. p. 137; Burroughs 1931, p. 163; Kuhn 1936, p. 83, no. 374, pl. LXXIX; Waldmann 1937, ill. p. 303; Lester and Oerke 1940, p. 24, pl. VII; *Duveen Pictures* 1941, n.p., no. 223, ill.; Allen 1945, ill.; Luce, Stillwell, and Robinson 1945, p. 597; H. A. Schmid 1945–48, plate vol. (1945), p. 35, no. 114; Wehle and Salinger 1947, pp. 219–20, ill.; Davenport 1948, vol. 1, p. 428, no. 1144, ill.; Held 1949, p. 140; Evans (Mary) 1950, p. 137, fig. 92; Ganz 1950, p. 253, no. 112, pl. 151; von der Osten and Vey 1969, p. 230; Tomkins 1970, p. 171; Hans Werner Grohn in Salvini and Grohn 1971, p. 107, no. 124, ill. p. 107 and pl. LIII; von der Osten 1973, p. 250; Hendy 1974, p. 124; Schaff 1979, pp. 51–52, fig. 21; Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, p. 87, ill. vol. 2, p. 305; Rowlands 1985, pp. 120, 149, under no. 81, pp. 236–37, no. R. 39, pl. 247; Roy Strong in Washington 1985–86, p. 85; Ainsworth 1990, p. 185; Baetjer 1995, p. 227, ill.; Secrest 2004, p. 448; Strong 2006, p. 51, fig. 14

Cat. 37 Workshop of Hans Holbein the Younger

Portrait of a Young Woman

1. Wood identification and dendrochronological analysis by Peter Klein, Universität Hamburg (report, July 14, 2007, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). Klein's dendrochronological analysis indicated an earliest felling date of 1520, an earliest possible fabrication date of 1522, and a plausible fabrication date of 1532 or later.
2. IRR carried out with configurations D and C; see p. 276.
3. Yvonne Hackenbroch, former Curator in the Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts, MMA, noted that this pendant is very close in design to those made by Holbein and its jewels may represent diamonds that at the time were backed by black foil for a mirror effect (unpublished opinion, 1977, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). Although many of Holbein's designs for such hanging pendants have survived, none exactly matches this one. For examples, see London 1980–81, pp. 118–19, no. Gro; Susan Foister in London 2006–7, pp. 82–83, nos. 87, 88, which are among those in the collection of the British Museum, London. Hackenbroch also identified the cameo as probably ancient Roman, and the setting as English (unpublished opinion, 1977, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
4. All the early literature refers to the sitter as unidentifiable (Waagen 1866–67, vol. 1, pp. 336–37; Ganz 1912, p. 245; Chamberlain 1913, vol. 2, p. 211; Reinach 1905–23, vol. 4 [1918], p. 10, no. 3; *Collection of Jules S. Bache* 1929, n.p.; Heil 1929, p. 4; Mayer 1930a, p. 542; Wortham 1930, p. 354).
5. James and Franco 2000, p. 124, fig. 10. Roy Strong (in London 1983, no. 37, pp. 52–53) believed the sitter to be the princess Elizabeth.
6. For illustrations, see London 1983, figs. 48, 49. More recently, Susan James identified Lady Margaret Douglas as the sitter for the miniature in the Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Windsor Castle (James 1998).
7. John Rowlands identified the sitter for the paintings simply as a member of the Cromwell family. Rowlands 1985, p. 146, no. 69, fig. 109.
8. For a discussion of these costume details, see Hayward 2007, pp. 184–87.
9. Waagen 1866–67, vol. 1, pp. 336–37; Dresden 1871, p. 39, no. 329; Woltmann 1872, p. 400; *Palais Lanckoroński* 1903, p. 6; Ganz 1912, p. 245; Chamberlain 1913, vol. 2, pp. 211–12; Reinach 1905–23, vol. 4 (1918), p. 10, no. 3; Max J. Friedländer (English translation of letters to Mr. Loeb, Duveen Brothers, January 24, 1927, and to Mr. Lowengard, Duveen Brothers, April 21, 1927, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA); Heil 1929, p. 4 and ill. p. 9; Wortham 1930, p. 354, fig. V; Kuhn 1936, p. 84, no. 376; Wehle and Salinger 1947, pp. 220–21.
10. Woltmann 1874–76, vol. 1, p. 424, vol. 2, p. 154.
11. Von Frimmel 1913–14, vol. 2, pp. 487–88. Roy Strong (letter to Elizabeth Gardner, June 16, 1965, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA) thought it belonged to the "Clouet ambience."
12. Rowlands (1985, p. 238) believed it was based on the *Portrait of a Lady* in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (no. 847). This was followed by Katharine Baetjer (memorandum to Everett Fahy, May 21, 1990, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
13. Baetjer (1980, vol. 1, p. 86), to Holbein workshop; Ainsworth 1990, p. 185, and James and Franco 2000, p. 124, to Holbein or his workshop.
14. Baetjer 1995, p. 227.
15. For examples that show the typical workshop methods, see the discussions of *Portrait of a Man (Sir Ralph Sadler?)*, *Lady Rich*, and *Lady Lee* (cats. 34–36).
16. Ainsworth 1990.
17. For other examples from the Holbein workshop in which the head is transferred from a preparatory drawing and the hands and draperies are more freely indicated in the underdrawing, see cats. 34–36. For this practice in portraits by Holbein himself, see Ainsworth 1990.
18. See, for example, *Lady Guildford* (cat. 39), which is smaller in scale than both the associated preliminary drawing and Holbein's original painting.

EXHIBITIONS: Dresden 1871, p. 39, no. 329; New York 1943a, n.p., no. 30, ill.

REFERENCES: Waagen 1866–67, vol. 1 (1866), pp. 336–37; Woltmann 1866, p. 162; Woltmann 1872, p. 400; Woltmann 1874–76, vol. 1 (1874), p. 424, vol. 2 (1876), p. 154, no. 260; *Palais Lanckoroński* 1903, p. 6; Ganz 1912, p. 245, ill. p. 144; Chamberlain 1913, vol. 2, pp. 211–12, 349; von Frimmel 1913–14, vol. 2 (1914), pp. 487–88, 494; Reinach 1905–23, vol. 4 (1918), p. 10, no. 3, ill.; *Collection of Jules S. Bache* 1929, n.p., ill.; Heil 1929, p. 4, ill. p. 9; W. Stein 1929, p. 302; Cortissoz 1930, p. 260; Mayer 1930a, p. 542; Wortham 1930, p. 354, fig. V; Kuhn 1936, p. 84, no. 376; *Bache Collection* 1937, n.p., no. 31, ill.; *Duveen Pictures* 1941, n.p., no. 222, ill.; Shoolman and Slatkin 1942, p. 508, pl. 466; Wehle 1943, p. 288; Levy n.d. (after 1943), pp. 21, 36; Wehle and Salinger 1947, pp. 220–21, ill.; Held

1949, p. 140; Ganz 1950, p. 253, no. 110, pl. 149; Hans Werner Grohn in Salvini and Grohn 1971, p. 107, no. 126, ill.; Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, p. 86, ill. vol. 2, p. 304; Rowlands 1985, p. 238, no. R. 45, pl. 252; Ainsworth 1990, p. 185; Baetjer 1995, p. 227, ill.; James and Franco 2000, p. 124, fig. 22; Secrest 2004, p. 448

Cat. 38 Workshop of Hans Holbein the Younger

Edward VI

1. Wood identification and dendrochronological analysis by Peter Klein, Universität Hamburg (report, April 3, 2006, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). Klein's dendrochronological analysis indicated an earliest felling date of 1543, an earliest possible fabrication date of 1545, and a plausible fabrication date of 1551 or later. The inscription gives Edward's age as six, thus dating the painting to 1543, also the earliest possible felling date of the tree used for the panel. This means either that there was a very short seasoning period for the wood or that the painting was made slightly later but based on an earlier model.
2. IRR carried out with configurations D and C; see p. 276.
3. K. T. Parker 1945, p. 58, no. 85, ill., not by Holbein.
4. See Loach 1999, pp. 11–16.
5. On the portrait types of Edward VI, see Strong 1969, vol. 1, pp. 91–93.
6. Hand 1993, pp. 83–91.
7. Loach 1999, pp. 144–45.
8. Bodo Brinkmann in Brinkmann and Kemperdick 2005, pp. 430–41; Strong 2006.
9. Rowlands 1985, p. 95.
10. Ganz (1921–24, p. 294; reiterated in Ganz 1925a; Ganz 1950, pp. 256–57, no. 128); in letters to Viscount Lee, an owner of the picture from 1923 to 1928, from Arthur Chamberlain (July 23, 1924) and Max J. Friedländer (June 25, 1925) (copies of both, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA); Götz (1932, pp. 126–27, 148, n. 123); George Henry McCall (in New York 1939a, pp. 96–97, no. 200); Wehle and Salinger (1947, pp. 222–23); Grossmann (1951, p. 113).
11. Paul Ganz, opinion dated September 7, 1923, published in Borenus 1923, n.p., no. 44; George Henry McCall (in New York 1939a, pp. 96–97, no. 200) and Harry Wehle and Margaretta Salinger (1947, pp. 222–23) repeated this claim. The Windsor Castle drawing (K. T. Parker 1945, p. 58, no. 85) is of meager execution, and the right-handed shading is uncharacteristic of Holbein. Some apparent rubbed double contours in the costume indicate that it might have been the result of a transfer from the original drawing. K. T. Parker 1945, p. 58; Foister 1983, p. 46; Ainsworth 1990, pp. 185–86. F. G. Grossmann suggested that the Windsor Castle drawing could be by Guillim Stretes (a.k.a. Guillim Scrots) (Grossmann 1951, p. 113, n. 27).
12. W. Stein (1929, p. 310); Kuhn (1936, p. 84, no. 379); K. T. Parker (1945, p. 58, under no. 85); Ellis K. Waterhouse (letter of October 9, 1959, to Colin Eisler, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA); Roy Strong (letter of June 16, 1965, to Elizabeth Gardner, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA; Strong 1967, pp. 701–2, no. IV; Strong 1969, vol. 1, p. 93); Foister (1983, p. 46, under no. 85); Rowlands (1985, pp. 235–36, no. R. 35); Simpson (1986a, pp. 209–10, 295); Strong (in London 1995, n.p., under no. 7).
13. For Holbein's method of transferring the features of the portrait drawing onto the grounded panel, see Foister 1983, pp. 13–25; Ainsworth 1990.
14. For the portrait of Simon George, see Ainsworth 1990, p. 180; Brinkmann in Brinkmann and Kemperdick 2005, pp. 430–41. Many thanks to Katherine Ara, Conservator of Katherine Ara Ltd., London, who kindly sent the technical documentation of the Wyatt portrait while it was undergoing restoration in 2006.
15. Strong 1967, pp. 701–2; Strong 1969, vol. 1, p. 93.
16. The letter is in the curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA.
17. Borenus 1923, n.p., no. 44.
18. I am especially grateful to Karen Thomas for investigating this matter with me.
19. On Scrots, see Strong 1969, vol. 1, pp. 69–74; Macleod 1990. None of the other possible candidates for the painter of the Museum's *Edward VI*—John Bettes, Master John, or Gerlach Flicke—can be considered, for their works differ too much in technique, handling, and execution. See Jones 1995, pp. 231–35; Karen Hearn in London 1995–96, pp. 45–52. See also Hearn in *Compton Verney* 2010, p. 81, no. 41.
20. The anamorphic portrait reportedly bore on its frame the inscription “Guilhelmus pingebat” until at least 1713, and on this basis it is given to Scrots. The inscription on a painting at Somerset House thought to be this one was recorded by George Vertue (London, British Museum, Add. 21111 and Add. 23068; see Vertue 1713–21 / 1929–30, p. 54).
21. An inventory taken around the time of Henry VIII's death in 1547 lists among the items at Westminster or Whitehall, in the “study near the old bedchamber,” “Item a booke of paternes for phisionaymes” (Foister 2004a, p. 23).

22. In December 2006 Carol Willoughby, Paintings Conservator at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, studied the portrait of Edward at Compton Verney, Warwickshire (record number CVCS:0337.B), along with several others of him. She found that they were all based on a common pattern of Edward's profile that matches the Museum's painting in scale and profile design. I am grateful to her and to the staff of Compton Verney for sharing the findings of this investigation (forthcoming).

EXHIBITIONS: London 1925, no. 32; New York 1928, n.p., no. 46A; Toronto 1929, p. 18, no. 8; George Henry McCall in New York 1939a, pp. 96–97, no. 200; New York 1943a, n.p., no. 31, ill.; Saint Louis 1947, pp. 60–61, no. 23, ill.; London 1950–51, no. 14, ill. p. 9

REFERENCES: Borenus 1923, n.p., no. 44, ill.; Ruth Lee, journal entry of January 26, 1923 (published in “*Good Innings*” 1974, p. 235); *Catalogue of the Pictures* 1924, p. 94; Ganz 1921–24, p. 294; Ganz 1925a, ill.; Paul Ganz in Borenus 1926a, n.p., between nos. 98, 99, frontispiece ill.; Borenus 1926b; *Catalogue of the Pictures* 1926; Tatlock 1928, p. 4, ill. facing p. 3; *Collection of Jules S. Bache* 1929, n.p., ill.; Freund 1929a, p. 286, ill. facing p. 287; W. Stein 1929, p. 310; Cortisoz 1930, p. 260, ill. p. 259; Mayer 1930a, p. 542; Wortham 1930, p. 354, fig. 5; Hendy 1931, p. 186; Götz 1932, pp. 126–27, 148, n. 123, fig. 90; Kuhn 1936, p. 84, no. 379, pl. LXXX; *Bache Collection* 1937, n.p., no. 32, ill.; *Duveen Pictures* 1941, n.p., no. 224, ill.; Ganz 1943, p. 272; Levy n.d. (after 1943), pp. 21, 36; K. T. Parker 1945, p. 58, under no. 85; Wehle and Salinger 1947, pp. 222–23, ill.; Davenport 1948, vol. 1, p. 431, no. 1155, ill.; Ganz 1950, pp. 256–57, no. 128, pl. 169; Grossmann 1951, p. 113; Strong 1967, pp. 701–2, no. IV, figs. 57 (X-radiograph), 58; Strong 1969, vol. 1, p. 93; D. Hall 1971, pp. 12–13, fig. 8; Hans Werner Grohn in Salvini and Grohn 1971, p. 110, no. 146, ill. and pl. LXI; Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, p. 86, ill. vol. 2, p. 304; Foister 1983, p. 46, under no. 85; Rowlands 1985, pp. 235–36, no. R. 35, pl. 243; Simpson 1986a, pp. 209–10, 295; Simpson 1986b, p. 128, ill. p. 127; Ainsworth 1990, p. 182, n. 52, pp. 185–86; Baetjer 1995, p. 227, ill.; Roy Strong in London 1995, n.p., under no. 7; Secrest 2004, p. 449

Cat. 39 Copy after Hans Holbein the Younger

Lady Guildford (Mary Wotton)

1. Wood identification and dendrochronological analysis by Peter Klein, Universität Hamburg (report, April 24, 2006, Department of European Paintings, MMA). Klein's dendrochronological analysis indicated an earliest felling date of 1538, an earliest possible fabrication date of 1540, and a plausible fabrication date of 1546 or later.
2. IRR carried out with configuration A; see p. 276.
3. A drawing in ink and colored wash by Holbein for a similar pendant (with only one suspended pearl) is in the British Museum, London (see Brooke and Crombie 2003, p. 39, fig. 23.1).
4. The Medusa head has variously been interpreted as Holbein's intentional “contemplation of the magic of the portrait” (Bätschmann and Griener 1997, pp. 169–72) or as an indicator of ironic distance between the sitter and the painter (Buck 1999, pp. 59–65).
5. See London 1880, p. 36, no. 171, Stephens 1880, p. 93, and “Fiftieth Anniversary Exhibition” 1920, p. 184 (grapevines); Woltmann 1874–76, vol. 2, p. 138 (fig tree); Holman 1979, p. 148 (hybrid). This motif appears as well in other Holbein portraits, where it may also have symbolic meaning, including the *Darmstadt Madonna*, about 1526 (Johanniterkirche, Schwäbisch Hall); *A Lady with a Squirrel and a Starling* (Anne Lovell?), about 1526–28 (National Gallery, London); and the portraits of William Reskimer, 1532, and Derich Born, 1533 (both Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Windsor Castle).
6. Roskill and Harbison 1987, p. 22, and Roskill 2001, pp. 179–80 (happiness, prosperity, and security); Holman 1979, p. 148 (medical benefits).
7. These pendants have been extensively discussed in the recent literature (Foister 2004a, especially pp. 231–32, 244–46; Jochen Sander in Basel 2006b, pp. 385–87, no. 126; Susan Foister in London 2006–7, pp. 26–28, nos. 16–18; Kate Heard in Heard and Whitaker 2011, pp. 162–65, nos. 70, 71, all including pertinent bibliography).
8. Dockray 2004.
9. Foister 2004a, pp. 121–28.
10. Peter van der Ploeg in The Hague 2003, p. 64.
11. H. A. Schmid 1924, p. 344; Foister 1996, p. 668.
12. Buck 1999, p. 59.
13. Woltmann 1874–76, vol. 1, p. 344; “Paintings Lent by Vanderbilt” 1907; H. A. Schmid 1930, p. 25; Ganz 1932, n.p.; Elizabeth TenEyck Gardner (letter to Robert O. Parks, August 17, 1950, copy in curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA;

- undecided but noted that most scholars believed the Saint Louis version to be the original pendant); Indianapolis 1950, n.p., under no. 34; Katharine Baetjer (letter to Susan Foister, March 27, 1980, copy in curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA); Klinger and Höttler 1998, p. 128; Sander 2005, p. 290.
14. H. R. Forster 1848, p. 163; London 1868, p. 134; Woltmann 1872, p. 314; Woltmann 1874–76, vol. 1, p. 344; London 1880, p. 36, no. 171; Stephens 1880; Davies 1903, p. 219; “Paintings Lent by Vanderbilt” 1907; Chamberlain 1913, vol. 1, p. 320; Ganz 1925c, pp. 113–14; Ganz 1932, n.p.; Waetzold 1938, p. 206.
 15. Sotheby’s sale of George Folliott’s collection, under the mistaken title “Flemish School Dame Elizabeth Bullen” (Sander 2005, p. 309). As early as 1924, Max J. Friedländer doubted the attribution (unpublished opinion, December 1924); followed by W. Stein 1929, p. 151; H. A. Schmid 1930, pp. 25, 75; Wilhelm R. Valentiner (unpublished opinion, November 8, 1930); Paul Ganz (unpublished opinion, 1932); Alan Burroughs (unpublished opinion, February 1933); Bryson Burroughs (unpublished opinion, August 1933); Nagel 1935, p. 41; Friedländer 1936, p. 44; Kuhn 1936, p. 80; Ganz (unpublished opinion, 1937); Harry B. Wehle (letter to Herbert E. Winlock, Director, MMA, December 13, 1937; letter and unpublished opinions, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA); Wehle and Salinger 1947, p. 224; Indianapolis 1950, n.p., under no. 34; Ainsworth 1990, p. 178, n. 132; Baetjer 1995, p. 227; Sander 2005, p. 305.
 16. Foister, Wyld, and Roy 1994, p. 10.
 17. Ainsworth and Faries 1986, pp. 23–37; Ainsworth 1990, p. 178, n. 32.
 18. In a technical report of 1933, Bryson Burroughs had already noted that the panel was originally destined for another design, the traces of which could be seen in an X-radiograph (report of February 1933, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).

EXHIBITIONS: London 1868, pp. 134–35, no. 659; London 1880, p. 36, no. 171; New York 1920, p. 8; New York 1958

REFERENCES: Walpole 1828, vol. 1, pp. 137, 139, 159; H. R. Forster 1848, p. 163, no. A16; Woltmann 1872, p. 314; Woltmann 1874–76, vol. 1 (1874), p. 344, vol. 2 (1876), p. 138, no. 206; Stephens 1880; Davies 1903, p. 219; “Paintings Lent by Vanderbilt” 1907; Cust 1912, pp. 256, 258; Ganz 1912, pp. 227, 253 (note to p. 227); Chamberlain 1913, vol. 1, pp. 320–21, vol. 2, p. 348; Graves 1913–15, vol. 2 (1913), p. 536; Cust 1917–18, p. 26; “Accessions and Loans” 1920, p. 282; “Fiftieth Anniversary Exhibition” 1920, p. 184; “Vanderbilt Bequest” 1920, p. 268, ill.; Hervey 1921, p. 482; H. A. Schmid 1924, p. 344; Ganz 1925c, pp. 113–14; Valentiner 1926, p. 28; W. Stein 1929, p. 151; Evans (Mary) 1930, ill. p. 136; H. A. Schmid 1930, pp. 25, 75–76, pl. 10; Burroughs 1931, p. 163; Ganz 1932, n.p., ill.; Nagel 1935, p. 41; Friedländer 1936, p. 44; Ganz 1936b, p. 156; Kuhn 1936, p. 80, no. 353, pl. LXXIII; Waetzoldt 1938, p. 205, pl. 105; Nagel 1943, p. 7; “Portrait of Lady Guildford” 1943, p. 70; Wehle and Salinger 1947, pp. 223–24, ill.; Davenport 1948, p. 428, no. 1143, ill.; H. A. Schmid 1945–48, text vol. 1 (1948), pp. 83, 118, text vol. 2 (1948), pp. 282, 289, 291, 300; Evans (Mary) 1950, p. 136, fig. 91; Ganz 1950, p. 232, under no. 45; Indianapolis 1950, n.p., under no. 34; Hans Werner Grohn in Salvini and Grohn 1971, pp. 96–97, no. 54, ill.; Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, p. 87, ill. vol. 2, p. 305; Rowlands 1985, p. 133, under no. 26; Ainsworth 1990, p. 178, n. 132; Baetjer 1995, p. 227; Klinger and Höttler 1998, p. 128; Sander 2005, p. 309, no. 103

Cat. 40A, B Hans Süss von Kulmbach

A. *Portrait of a Young Man*, B. *Girl Making a Garland*

1. Ownership of the Santangelo Collection was transferred from Nicola to his brother Michele in 1847.
2. In a letter to Guy Bauman, January 24, 1986 (curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA), Donald Garstang noted that this owner of the painting could have been Sir Dominic Ellis Colnaghi, Dominic Colnaghi’s son, who was a diplomat in Italy. However, Sir Dominic had been knighted by the time of the 1906 exhibition at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, London, and it would be very unusual for his title not to appear in its catalogue; still, his father had died in 1879.
3. Wood identification provided by Peter Klein, Universität Hamburg (report, April 3, 2006, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). Dating of the wood was not possible.
4. The underdrawing could not be imaged using infrared reflectography, which was carried out with configuration A (see p. 276), but its legibility was enhanced by digitally manipulating a high-resolution image made with the Better Light Digital Scanning Back camera Super 8K-HS model.
5. Because of the damaged state of the portrait and the more appealing nature of *Girl Making a Garland*, the latter became the more favored side in modern times. In

- its own day, the portrait would certainly have been considered the primary side. See Winkler 1930a, p. 452; Strieder 1966, p. 777; Schenk zu Schweinsberg 1972, p. 33.
6. Simone Ferrari (2006, pp. 89–91, no. 6) dated this painting to 1500–1504, which overlapped in part the time that Jacopo was working for Friedrich the Wise (1503–5). Dagmar Korbacher (in Berlin and New York 2011–12, pp. 374–76, no. 168) dated it earlier, from 1497 to 1500.
 7. Illustrated as a questionable attribution in von der Osten 1983, pp. 267–68, no. F105, pls. 195, 196. See also Heck and Moench-Scherer 1990, n.p., no. 670, pls. 47, 48 (no. 87.1.1). For other such examples, the paintings on the recto and verso may have been later split apart, as in the case of *Portrait of a Man and Lucretia*, formerly attributed to Jan Gossart (Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Massachusetts).
 8. Winkler 1930a, p. 452; Schenk zu Schweinsberg 1972, p. 33.
 9. Strieder 1966, p. 777.
 10. For comparison, see Dürer’s *Nuremberg Patrician Woman in Her Dancing Dress*, a drawing of about 1500 (Kupferstichkabinett, Basel) and the related 1503 engraving, *Shield with a Skull* (Albertina, Vienna; Alice Hoppe-Harnoncourt in Vienna 2003, pp. 200–201, no. 39).
 11. Lauffer 1930, p. 28; New York and Nuremberg 1986, pp. 343–44; S. Dittrich and L. Dittrich 2005, p. 259. Friedrich Winkler noted that the generalization of the woman was typical of Kulmbach (Winkler 1959a, p. 56). When the painting was attributed to Dürer, the woman was considered a possible portrait of the artist’s wife (Celano 1858, p. 690; *Pinacoteca dei Marchesi Santangelo* 1876, pp. 15–16).
 12. Lauffer 1930, p. 26; Müller-Christensen 1934, p. 29.
 13. Lauffer 1930. The wreath sometimes appears in double portraits as a symbol of emotional engagement and courtship (Lyman 1992, p. 11).
 14. S. Dittrich and L. Dittrich 2005, p. 259.
 15. Schenk zu Schweinsberg 1972, p. 33; Lyman 1992, p. 11. Banderoles appear in well-known examples by Israhel van Meckenem and Master E.S., and most notably in representations of the *Liebesgarten*, or Garden of Love, a popular late medieval theme. A more suggestive example, in which a woman glances flirtatiously at the viewer and holds out a flower, is Dürer’s *Young Woman Offering a Carnation*, of about 1495 (Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg; Christiane Andersson in Detroit, Ottawa, and Coburg 1981–82, pp. 90–91, no. 19).
 16. Rauch 1907, p. 79; Stadler 1936, p. 54; Kutschbach 1998, p. 86 and fig. 13.
 17. J. Grimm and W. Grimm 1854–1971/1998–, s.v. “binden,” sections 7 and 13 (accessed February 8, 2013); *binden* can signify a legal bond (in wills) but especially a marital one. I am especially indebted to Dorothea Seissinger, former Slifka Foundation Interdisciplinary Fellow in the Department of European Paintings at the Museum, for her detailed research on the text of the banderole; this section is based on her findings.
 18. J. Grimm and W. Grimm 1854–1971/1998–, s.v. “Vergiszmeynlich” (accessed February 8, 2013).
 19. New York 1968, p. 28. For a contemporary anonymous love song illustrating the common theme and combination of these motives, see Heilfurth et al. 1959, no. 9. The seriousness of the promise symbolized by the wreath is expressed by the narrator, who says that it binds him as tightly as a rope and that no one can untie him.
 20. Romanelli 1815, vol. 3, p. 92; Celano 1858, p. 690; *Pinacoteca dei Marchesi Santangelo* 1876, p. 15.
 21. Thausing 1884, vol. 1, p. 366, n. 1.
 22. Metropolitan Museum 1905/1911, n.p., addenda, October–December 1909, gallery 11. Discussed also in F. T. Schulz 1939, p. 352; Oehler 1973, p. 40; Butts 1985, p. 77.
 23. London 1906, p. 97. Christian Rauch (1907, p. 79) is the only one to identify a forger’s hand in certain parts of the verso (the girl’s hands, the cat, and the frame).
 24. Friedländer 1906, p. 587.
 25. Those continuing to support the attribution to Traut saw strong connections between *Girl Making a Garland* and figures in his altarpieces, drawings, and woodcuts (see Rauch 1907, pp. 78–79; Metropolitan Museum 1905/1911, n.p., addenda, October–December 1909, gallery 11; “Morgan Gift” 1918, p. 17; Burroughs 1919, p. 310; F. T. Schulz 1939, p. 352).
 26. Winkler 1930a, p. 452; F. T. Schulz 1939, p. 351; Oehler 1973, p. 40.
 27. Letter from Friedrich Winkler to Bryson Burroughs, March 26, 1929 (curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
 28. Indianapolis 1950, n.p. (introduction by Julius Held), and no. 42. Supporting the attribution to Kulmbach are Buchner 1928a, p. 138; Friedrich Stadler (postcard to The Metropolitan Museum of Art, March 18, 1935, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA); Tietze 1935, p. 309, pl. 206; Kuhn 1936, p. 56; Stadler 1936, pp. 54, 129, nos. 118a, 118b; Ernst Holzinger (unpublished opinion, February 1937, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA); Wehle and Salinger 1947, pp. 190–91; Strieder 1966, pp. 777, 780; Schenk zu Schweinsberg 1972, p. 33; Walther 1981, pp. 6–7; Butts 1985, p. 77; Kurt Löcher in New York and Nuremberg 1986, pp. 343–44; Butts 1996/2013a.

29. Butts 2006, pp. 130, 162, no. A9.
30. Kulmbach used brown ink for most of his drawings on paper. If he also employed it for the underdrawings in his paintings, this would explain why the drawings disappear with conventional infrared reflectography, in which brown pigments become transparent. See note 4 above.
31. Stadler 1936, p. 54; Wehle and Salinger 1947, p. 190; Schenk zu Schweinsberg 1972, p. 33; Butts 1985, p. 77.
32. For the most recent bibliography on the Vienna portrait, see Ferrari 2006, pp. 103–4, no. 14.
33. That this portrait was produced in Germany and not in Italy is further supported by its linden-wood support (Kunsthistorisches Museum 1965, p. 6, no. 428).
34. Wilde 1938, p. 43, ill. p. 42.
35. Winkler 1930a.
36. Butts 2006, pp. 129, 132.
37. Domenico Romanelli (1815, vol. 3, p. 92) accepted the inscribed monogram and date but misread the latter as 1518. Lisa Oehler (1973, p. 40) discussed the appearance of the Dürer monogram on works by his pupils, which led her to ascribe the Museum's panel to Traut, because of the similarity in form of the monogram with the signature that appears on a secured work by the artist, the woodcut *Christ Taking Leave of His Mother*. To confirm that Dürer's pupils—particularly Traut, Baldung, and Kulmbach—used the monogram as the trademark of his workshop, a technical study should be carried out on all the examples that Oehler considered part of this phenomenon (see Oehler 1973). For more on Dürer's monogram on Kulmbach's works, especially his drawings, see Winkler 1942, pp. 20, 39; Oehler 1973, pp. 40, 43; Christiane Andersson in Detroit, Ottawa, and Coburg 1981–82, pp. 51–52, 55, n. 2; Butts 2006, p. 210, n. 24.
38. Strieder 1993, pp. 131–33.
39. Winkler 1959a, p. 56, pls. 32, 33; Strieder 1966, p. 780; Lübbecke 1991, p. 411.
40. Nickel (Helmut) 1992.

EXHIBITIONS: London 1906, p. 97, nos. 39, 39A; Indianapolis 1950, n.p., no. 42, ill. (*Girl Making a Garland*); New York 1968, p. 28, no. 20; Kurt Löcher in New York and Nuremberg 1986, pp. 343–44, no. 162, ill. (both sides)

REFERENCES: Romanelli 1815, vol. 3, p. 92; Celano 1858, p. 690; *Pinacoteca dei Marchesi Santangelo* 1876, pp. 15–16, no. 33; Thausing 1884, vol. 1, p. 366, n. 1; Friedländer 1906, p. 587; Rauch 1907, pp. 78–79, pl. 24 (*Girl Making a Garland*); Metropolitan Museum 1905/1911, n.p., addenda, October–December 1909, gallery 11; Burroughs 1914, p. 259; Burroughs 1917, p. 297; “Morgan Gift” 1918, p. 17; Burroughs 1919, p. 310; Burroughs 1922a, p. 304; Winkler 1930a, ill. (both sides); Tietze 1935, p. 339, pl. 206 (*Girl Making a Garland*); Kuhn 1936, p. 56, no. 214; Stadler 1936, pp. 54, 129, nos. 118a, 118b, pl. 58 (both sides); Waldmann 1937, p. 304, ill.; F. T. Schulz 1939, p. 352; Tietze 1939, p. 339, pl. 206 (*Girl Making a Garland*); Wehle and Salinger 1947, pp. 190–91, ill. (both sides); Indianapolis 1950, n.p. (introduction by Julius S. Held); Myers 1955, p. 291; Winkler 1959a, p. 56, pls. 32, 33; Strieder 1966, pp. 777, 780 (*Girl Making a Garland*); Schenk zu Schweinsberg 1972, ill. (both sides); Oehler 1973, pp. 40, 77–78, n. 7, figs. 5 (*Girl Making a Garland*), 33 (detail of signature); Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, p. 102, ill. vol. 2, p. 300; Walther 1981, pp. 6–7, pl. 2 (*Girl Making a Garland*); Butts 1985, pp. 76–78, figs. 57, 58; A. Dülberg 1990, pp. 16, 148, 243, no. 196, figs. 198, 199; Nickel (Helmut) 1992, pp. 183, 185, 187, nn. 2–4, figs. 2, 3; Strieder 1993, pp. 131–32, 250, no. 124, figs. 154, 494; Baetjer 1995, p. 218; S. Dittrich and L. Dittrich 2005, pp. 259, 266, n. 70; Lata 2005, p. 361, no. X-58; Bacigalupo 2011, pp. 144, 202, n. 791, pl. VIII (*Girl Making a Garland*)

Cat. 41 Hans Süss von Kulmbach

The Ascension of Christ

1. Brandl 1984–85, passim. The earliest record of the dispersal of the altarpiece's panels dates from 1828, when King Ludwig I of Bavaria acquired the *Nativity* (now Staatgalerie Bamberg) from Prince Oettingen-Wallerstein (see Lübbecke 1991, p. 283).
2. See inscription on the panel's verso. According to documents of the Schweinfurt registration office (*Einwohnermeldeamt*), in 1882 Ottilie Dorner, widow of Professor Johann Baptist Dorner (d. 1881), moved from Regensburg to Schweinfurt to live with her son, Anton Dorner. She probably brought with her this panel and two others also from the Kulmbach altarpiece (see note 4 below). In 1890, she and her son moved from Schweinfurt to Amberg (information kindly provided by Bernhard Strobl of the Stadtarchiv Schweinfurt, email of January 24, 2012, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
3. Anton Dorner's death date is recorded in Höfler 1917.

4. In a letter dated Amberg, February 10, 1918, Fränzl Weinberger (brother of Anton Dorner's widow, Frau Baurat Dorner) offered this *Ascension* and two other panels, *The Adoration of the Magi* (now Allentown Art Museum, Pennsylvania) and *The Death of the Virgin* (now Staatgalerie Bamberg), to Friedrich Dörnhöffer, Director of the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich (curatorial files, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich; information kindly provided by Martin Schawe, Munich, email of January 28, 2012; copy of the letter, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). In Lübbecke 1991, p. 283, the letter is misread as an offer from Anton Dorner, when it was in fact his widow who was in possession of the paintings.
5. The painting was offered at Galerie Helbing alongside the Kulmbach *Death of the Virgin* (no. 108) and *Adoration of the Magi* (no. 110).
6. Wood identification and dendrochronological analysis by Peter Klein, Universität Hamburg (report, April 3, 2006, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). Klein's dendrochronological analysis indicated an earliest felling date of 1494 and an earliest possible fabrication date of 1496.
7. Undated report, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA.
8. IRR carried out with configuration A; see p. 276.
9. A. A. Schmid 1970, cols. 274–75.
10. “Accessions” 1921, pp. 133–34; Eric Schneider in Schoch, Mende, and Scherbaum 2001–4, vol. 2 (2002), pp. 340–41, no. 220, ill.
11. In addition to the engraving by Israel van Meckenem (Lehrs 1908–34, vol. 9 [1934], p. 132, no. 116, ill.), there are numerous anonymous woodcuts similarly composed (see, for example, *Illustrated Bartsch* 1978–, vol. 80 [1981], p. 350, no. 1475/327, vol. 81 [1981], p. 53, no. 1476/216, p. 253, no. 1477/196, vol. 82 [1981], p. 164, no. 1478/588, and vol. 162 (1989), pp. 179–83, nos. 579, 579-1, 580-1, 581, 582, 582-1, 583).
12. Schreyll 1990a, vol. 1, p. 88, no. 384, vol. 2, fig. 384; Hollstein 1954–, vol. 43 (1996), p. 127, no. 735, ill.; from Ulrich Pinder's *Speculum passionis domini nostri Ihesu Christi* (Nuremberg, 1507).
13. The footprints left behind by Christ are discussed in the chapter on the Ascension in the *Golden Legend* (see de Voragine 1993 [ed.], vol. 1, p. 292).
14. Helbing 1919, p. 10, no. 109.
15. Buchner 1928b, pp. 93–94; Stadler 1936, pp. 19–20, 116, no. 63f.
16. See Peter Strieder in Nuremberg 1961, p. 100, 102–3; and subsequently Knappe 1961, p. 252; Winkler 1961, p. 266; Oberhuber 1962; Strieder 1966, p. 776.
17. Brandl in Nuremberg 1983b, pp. 137–39; Brandl 1984–85.
18. Von Murr 1778, p. 32 (2nd ed., von Murr 1801, p. 57): “Auf dem rechten Altare, wenn man vom Chore in die Kirche gehet, ist die Krönung der heil. Jungfrau in uralter Bildhauerarbeit schön vergoldet. Auf dem rechten Flügel umarmet Maria ihre Freundinn Elisabeth, auf dem linken gehen Heilige eine Treppe hinauf, oben unter der Thüre steht eine Person mit einem Buche. Was dieses sagen soll, ist mir unbekannt. [In the 2nd ed., the preceding sentence is replaced with ‘Aus der Legende von der heil. Elisabeth.’] Aus dem XV Jahrhunderte. Unten ist die heilige Jungfrau vortreflich von Hanns Kulmbach 1513 gemalt. Sie giebt eben den Geist auf. Viele Heilige stehen um sie herum, einer davon hält einen Sprengwedel zum Weihwasser in der Hand” (On the right altar, when one goes from the choir into the church [i.e., the nave], is a Coronation of the Holy Virgin in very old, finely gilt sculpture. On the right wing Mary embraces her friend Elizabeth, on the left saints ascend a stairway, above under a doorway a person stands holding a book. What the meaning is, is not known to me. From the fifteenth century. Below is the Holy Virgin, superbly painted by Hanns Kulmbach in 1513. She gives up the ghost. Many saints stand around her, one of whom holds in his hand a sprinkler for holy water [translation in Brandl 1984–85, p. 39]).
19. Brandl 1984–85, p. 39.
20. Ibid., p. 62; Lübbecke 1991, pp. 286–87.
21. Brandl 1984–85, pp. 40–43, fig. 1. The sculptor was possibly Hanns Heberlin of Augsburg, as suggested by an inscription on the back of the relief (see Brandl 1984–85, pp. 61–62). Walter Josephi (1910, p. 143, under no. 269) was the first to propose that this work could be identical with the one described by Murr. The relief is markedly retrograde in style compared to Kulmbach's paintings. Löhr 1995, pp. 46–47, speculates that frugality could have caused the (unknown) patron to choose a relief in a simple, somewhat antiquated style.
22. Brandl 1984–85, pp. 51–54.
23. Ibid., p. 51.
24. Brandl first arranged the exterior wing scenes in chronological order moving counterclockwise from the upper left (see Brandl in Nuremberg 1983b, p. 135, fig. 93) but then revised the arrangement to read left to right from the upper left (see Brandl 1984–85, p. 57, fig. 19).
25. Stadler 1936, p. 20, questioned by Strieder in Nuremberg 1961, pp. 100, 102–3; Winkler 1961, p. 266; Strieder 1966, p. 776; Eisler 1977, p. 31.
26. Stadler 1936, pp. 19–20.
27. Löcher in New York and Nuremberg 1986, p. 349, under no. 166.

28. Lübbecke 1991, pp. 280–87.
29. The thicknesses, according to Lübbecke 1991, pp. 283, 286: *Birth of the Virgin*, 1–1.5 centimeters; *Nativity*, at least 1 centimeter; *Adoration*, 1.2 centimeters; *Pentecost*, .6–1.2 centimeters (partially thinned but not split off); *Annunciation*, .6 centimeter; *Visitation*, .6–.8 centimeter; *Appearance of Christ to His Mother*, .5 centimeter; *Ascension*, .5–.8 centimeter.
30. Lübbecke 1991, p. 283. Brandl 1984–85, p. 54, also noted the significance of the knot.
31. Lübbecke’s reconstruction is accepted by Strieder 1993, pp. 135, 259–60; Löhrr 1995, p. 45.
32. Lübbecke 1991, p. 286.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 283.
34. Bermann 1922, pp. 61, 66; Buchner 1928b, pp. 93–94; Lutze and Wiegand 1936–37, vol. 1 (1936), p. 76, no. 1112; Stadler 1936, pp. 19–20; Knappe 1961, p. 252; Strieder in Nuremberg 1961, pp. 100, 102–3; Strieder 1966, p. 776.
35. Lübbecke 1991, p. 286.

EXHIBITIONS: Peter Strieder in Nuremberg 1961, pp. 100, 102–3, no. 161d; Little Rock 1963, p. 12; Kurt Löcher in New York and Nuremberg 1986, pp. 348–50, no. 166b, ill.

REFERENCES: Helbing 1919, p. 10, no. 109, pl. 1; “Accessions” 1921; “Accessions and Loans” 1921, p. 138; Bermann 1922, pp. IV–VI, 61, 66; Burroughs 1922a, pp. 165–66; Buchner 1928b, pp. 93, 94; Burroughs 1931, p. 201; Kuhn 1936, pp. 55–56, no. 207, pl. XL; Lutze and Wiegand 1936–37, vol. 1 (1936), p. 76, under no. 1112; Stadler 1936, pp. 19–20, 116, no. 63, pl. 24; Wehle and Salinger 1947, pp. 189–90, ill.; Winkler 1959a, p. 69; Knappe 1961, p. 252; Winkler 1961, p. 266; Oberhuber 1962; Strieder 1966, p. 776; Eisler 1977, p. 31; Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, p. 102, ill. vol. 2, p. 300; Rainer Brandl in Nuremberg 1983b, pp. 137–39; Brandl 1984–85, figs. 13, 19; Butts 1985, pp. 73–75, fig. 49; Lübbecke 1991, pp. 282–83, 286–87, fig. 2; Strieder 1993, pp. 135, 259–60, no. 132, fig. 531; Baetjer 1995, p. 217, ill.; Löhrr 1995, p. 42, n. 119, p. 44–47, fig. 27; Löcher 1997, pp. 293–94; Gąsior 2011, p. 167

Cat. 42 Hans Maler

Sebastian Andorfer

1. For Friedrich von Toggenburg’s ownership, see Kleinberger stock card and letter from Paul Drey to Mrs. A. TenEyck (Elizabeth E.) Gardner, dated New York, November 29, 1945 (curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). Drey also explains that a “member of the [Toggenburg] family took residence near Frankfurt for a time and brought these two [Andorfer] pictures along with him from his castle near Bolzano.” The recent biographical handbook on the Toggenburg family (Weber and Stäheli 1997, pp. 82–83) does not clarify whether the person residing near Frankfurt was Friedrich von Toggenburg (d. 1956) himself or a relative. On the other Andorfer portrait mentioned by Drey, see below.
2. Wood identification by Peter Klein, Universität Hamburg (report, May 2, 2006, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). Dating of the wood was not possible.
3. S. Krause 2008, pp. 130–31.
4. Undated report (curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
5. IRR carried out with configurations D and A; see p. 276.
6. See the similar wording on Hans Holbein the Younger’s *Benedikt von Hertenstein* (cat. 29). On verse inscriptions of this kind, see Buchner 1953, pp. 20–21.
7. It is possible that Jörg Andorfer hailed from Antwerp (Andorf/Antorf) and was drawn to Schwaz because of opportunities afforded by the mining industry (see Egg 1953, p. 11; S. Krause 2008, p. 24, n. 112; S. Krause forthcoming).
8. For the translation as “refiner of silver,” preferred here over “smelter” to reflect the prestige of the position, see Agricola 1556/1950, p. 78, n. 1; A. Tolhausen and L. Tolhausen 1902.
9. Westermann 1988, pp. 37, 60, 129. Egg 1953, p. 11, gives 1476 as the beginning of Jörg Andorfer’s tenure as *Silberbrenner*.
10. Egg 1953, p. 11.
11. Erich Egg in Schwaz 1990, p. 131. The broader responsibilities of the *Silberbrenner* are examined in Westermann 1988, pp. 37–51.
12. Max J. Friedländer, unpublished opinion, dated Berlin, July 24, 1924 (on verso of photograph, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA); also Friedländer in “Friedsam Collection” 1928, p. 148. His fundamental articles on Maler are Friedländer 1895b and Friedländer 1897b.
13. Habich 1929–34, vol. 2, pt. 1 (1932), p. XCVI. For the beardless version, see von Mackowitz 1960, p. 80, no. 11; S. Krause 2008, pp. 141–42, no. 3; S. Krause forthcoming.
14. Benesch 1933, pp. 246–48; Benesch 1933/1972, pp. 292–93, 444, n. 14. Benesch described the bearded Andorfer as showing “the guise of the Tirolean forests and valleys” (*Tiroler Wald- und Bergtalerscheinung*).

15. Von Mackowitz 1960, p. 54; von der Osten and Vey 1969, p. 217; von der Osten 1973, p. 241.
16. The portrait of Siegmund von Dietrichstein in the Schlossmuseum Weimar may be earlier. Formerly placed in the mid-1520s, it has in recent studies been dated about 1515 (H. Hoffmann 1990, pp. 113–14, no. 40) and about 1517 (S. Krause 2008, pp. 139–40, no. 1).
17. S. Krause 2008, p. 88; see also S. Krause forthcoming.
18. S. Krause 2008, p. 89; S. Krause forthcoming.
19. Westermann 1988, p. 9. For more on Schwaz’s mining industry, see Egg in Schwaz 1990, pp. 37–40, 126–36; Palme and Ingenhaeff-Berenskamp 1993. Lacking the aid of later clarifications (e.g., Egg 1953; Westermann 1988), Benesch confused the office of *Silberbrenner* with the job of the common smelter and misrepresented Andorfer’s duties, calling him a mine shareholder (which he was only until 1502) and mistakenly suggesting that Andorfer was in competition with the likes of the Fugger firm (see Benesch 1933, pp. 246–48).
20. Egg 1953, p. 12.
21. Although children are not documented, it seems likely that Christoph Andorfer, who was *Silberbrenner* in Schwaz from 1538 to 1543 and in Rattenberg from 1550 to 1558 (see Westermann 1988, p. 49, n. 175), was Sebastian’s son. Erich Egg (1953, p. 12) reported that a Stefan Andorfer, possibly a brother of Sebastian, lived in Stans, near Schwaz, and had a son named Bernhard.
22. The annual tallies of silver production overseen by Andorfer show that in both 1515 and 1516, he logged total quantities of refined silver weighing more than 50,000 Viennese marks (50,146 and 51,691 marks, respectively; see Westermann 1988, pp. 95–96). This boundary had been crossed only once before, by Andorfer’s father in 1486, with 52,663 marks (see Westermann 1988, p. 77). But there is scant justification for linking this achievement, if it was perceived as such, to the commission of portraits.
23. See Torgau 2004, vol. 1, p. 125, under no. 161.
24. See Dill 1998, especially pp. 250–55. The clean-shaven portrait was lost or never carried out, but Amerbach’s drafts of an epigram for it document his intentions for its appearance and meaning. Jochen Sander (Sander 2005, p. 126) has proposed that the Andorfer portraits influenced the composition of Holbein’s portrait of Amerbach.
25. See S. Krause 2008, pp. 141–42, no. 3.
26. Jack Kilgore, New York, kindly made the privately owned picture available for study at the Metropolitan Museum on October 7, 2005.
27. The inscriptions were painted with different pigment mixtures. The letters on the bearded portrait are visible in the X-radiograph; those on the other are not.
28. Mylar tracings, Department of Paintings Conservation, MMA.

EXHIBITIONS: New York 1932–33

REFERENCES: Max J. Friedländer in “Friedsam Collection” 1928, p. 148; Burroughs and Wehle 1932, pp. 30–31, no. 45, ill. p. 29; Habich 1929–34, vol. 2, pt. 1 (1932), p. XCVI; Benesch 1933, pp. 247–48, fig. 3; Benesch 1933/1972, pp. 293, 444, n. 14, fig. 314; Kuhn 1936, p. 64, no. 264; Wehle and Salinger 1947, pp. 194–95, ill.; Egg 1953, p. 12; von Mackowitz 1960, pp. 14, 15, 53–54, 80, no. 10, fig. 35; Brückner 1963, pp. 74–75, 199–200, no. 1; Stange 1966, pp. 83, 91, 96, 98, fig. 60; Löcher 1967b, p. 77, n. 19; Stange 1967, pp. 262, 264; von der Osten and Vey 1969, p. 217; Egg 1970–72, vol. 2 (1972), p. 130; von der Osten 1973, p. 241; Egg 1974, p. 67, fig. 64; Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, p. 112, ill. vol. 2, p. 299; New York 1983b, p. 20, under no. 19; Egg 1986, ill. p. 135; Erich Egg in Schwaz 1990, ill. p. 135; Lübbecke 1991, p. 412; Baetjer 1995, p. 223, ill.; Löcher 1996, p. 191; Dill 1998, p. 259, n. 84; Egg 2001, p. 118, ill.; Kranz 2004, pp. 236, 250–51, n. 83, p. 274, n. 179; Sander 2005, pp. 125–26, 142, nn. 41, 42, 46, fig. 80; Stephan Kemperdick in Basel 2006a, p. 194, under no. 38; S. Krause 2008, pp. 8, 14, 67–68, 88–89, 101, 105, 141, no. 2, ill. p. 206; S. Krause forthcoming

Cat. 43 Hans Maler

Ulrich Fugger the Younger

1. The text, written in a script described by Max J. Friedländer as “alte, schöne Antiqua” (old, handsome Antiqua), was planed off when the cradle was applied; Friedländer 1895b, p. 416, no. 14.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Wood identification by Peter Klein, Universität Hamburg (report, April 3, 2006, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). Dating of the wood was not possible.
4. IRR carried out with configurations D and A; see p. 276.
5. For the other version, see Friedländer 1895b, p. 416, no. 13; Lieb 1958, p. 324, no. 3; von Mackowitz 1960, p. 85, no. 36; S. Krause 2008, pp. 167–68, no. 33; S. Krause forthcoming.

6. They include an engraving by Dominicus Custos (see D. Custos, *Fuggerorum et Fuggerarum . . . Imagines* [Augsburg, 1593], pl. 6, copy in the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, call no. F 1 Geom. 2° [available online at <http://diglib.hab.de/?grafik=f-1-geom-2f-00007>; accessed November 7, 2012], and later editions), an anonymous late sixteenth-century canvas in the Fugger-Babenhausen Collection, Schloss Wellenburg, Augsburg-Bergheim (see Lieb 1958, p. 324, no. 4, fig. 5), and carved game pieces in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich, and the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (see Lieb 1958, p. 325, no. 6, figs. 9, 10). For an earlier likeness of Ulrich Fugger, see Hans Holbein the Elder's drawing of about 1515–16 in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (K. Krause 2002, fig. 193). The representation of Ulrich in the genealogical manuscript "Ehrenbuch der Fugger" (1545–49) by the workshop of Jörg Breu the Younger is not an accurate likeness (see Rohmann 2004, vol. 1, pp. 180, 223, vol. 2, p. 69). The portrait of Ulrich on his tombstone in Schwaz is mostly rubbed away, but a broad beard style similar to that found in this portrait by Maler is still discernible (see Lieb 1958, fig. 7).
7. C. Meyer 1878; Lieb 1958, p. 3.
8. He made trips to Cracow in 1513, Worms in 1521, and Nuremberg in 1523–24 (see Lieb 1958, p. 3).
9. S. Krause 2008, p. 56.
10. Ibid.
11. For the tombstone and epitaph, see Lieb 1958, pp. 7–9, 326–27, figs. 7, 13.
12. Friedländer 1895b, p. 416, no. 14.
13. Ibid., no. 13.
14. See Wehle and Salinger 1947, pp. 195–96; Lieb 1958, p. 4; von Mackowitz 1960, p. 47; Bruno Bushart in Augsburg 1980, vol. 1, p. 143, under no. 34. Only Franz Weizinger (1914, p. 145, no. 20) put the privately owned portrait first. Hans Tietze (1935, p. 339; also Tietze 1939, p. 323) misconstrued the Museum's picture as a study for a portrait by Maler in the collection of Count Thun, failing to recognize that the latter, most recently kept at the castles at Mnichovo Hradiště and Děčín (see S. Krause 2008, pp. 155–56, no. 18; S. Krause forthcoming), depicts Anton Fugger, not Ulrich.
15. Our panel (40.3 × 32.9 cm overall) is somewhat smaller than the privately owned example (42 × 35 cm), possibly because the edges have been trimmed to a greater degree.
16. A digital scan of the X-radiograph of the privately owned picture was kindly provided by Monika Strolz, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (email to the author, January 14, 2009, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
17. Tracings, Department of European Paintings, MMA. The privately owned picture was kindly traced by Markus Graf Fugger-Babenhausen in 2000, when it was still in his family's collection.
18. Infrared reflectogram assembly, Department of Paintings Conservation, MMA.
19. This information was kindly provided by Monika Strolz, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (email to the author, December 12, 2008, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). According to Strolz, the changes in the upper left contour of the cap, visible with infrared reflectography, appear to belong completely to the painting stage.
20. On the Fuggers and Schwaz, see S. Krause 2008, p. 50, and S. Krause forthcoming (with references to earlier literature).
21. S. Krause 2008, pp. 52–59, 155–56, 169–70, 172–73, nos. 18, 35–37, 40–41.
22. Ibid., pp. 52, 57–58, 170–71, no. 38.
23. Ibid., pp. 62–63, 91–96, 171, no. 39. The 1529 portrait of the Fugger bookkeeper Wolfgang Ronner in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich (Schawe 2006, p. 187, ill.), often attributed to Maler, but also maintained to have been begun by Maler and completed by Christoph Amberger (see Kranz 2004, pp. 233–38, no. 1, fig. 43), has been rejected from Maler's oeuvre by Stefan Krause (S. Krause 2008, p. 21).
24. On portraits of Ulrich and Anton Fugger in inventories of the belongings of Georg Hörmann (Fugger agent in Schwaz from 1522 to 1550) and of Raymund Fugger the Younger, see S. Krause 2008, pp. 123–24; S. Krause forthcoming.
25. S. Krause 2008, pp. 57, 123.

EXHIBITIONS: none

REFERENCES: Friedländer 1895b, p. 416, no. 14; "Altman Collection" 1913, p. 237; Metropolitan Museum 1914, pp. 57–58, no. 36; Weizinger 1914, p. 145, no. 20; Burroughs 1916, p. 117; Monod 1923, pp. 196–97, ill.; Metropolitan Museum 1928, pp. 21–22, no. 1; Hammer 1929; Tietze 1935, p. 339, pl. 209; Kuhn 1936, p. 64, no. 268, pl. LIV; Tietze 1939, p. 323, pl. 209; Wehle and Salinger 1947, pp. 195–96, ill.; Davenport 1948, vol. 1, pp. 395–96, no. 1053, ill. (reversed); Egg 1952, n.p., ill.; Egg 1955, n.p., ill.; Lieb 1958, pp. 4–5, 293, 296, 324, no. 2, p. 465, fig. 1; von Mackowitz 1960, pp. 47–48, 85, no. 37, fig. 26; Stange 1966, pp. 92, 98; Stange 1967, pp. 262, 264; Haskell 1970, p. 260, fig. 3; Egg 1970–72, vol. 2 (1972), p. 130; Egg 1974, pp. 57, 67, fig. 66; Bruno Bushart in Augsburg 1980, vol. 1, p. 143, under no. 34; Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, p. 113, ill. vol. 2, p. 299; Egg 1986, ill. p. 131; Baetjer

1995, p. 223, ill.; Löcher 1996, p. 191; Egg 2001, p. 118, ill. p. 117; Kranz 2004, pp. 58, 117, n. 5, p. 139, n. 128, pp. 236, 247; S. Krause 2008, pp. 15, 47, 51, 56, 89, 98, n. 567, pp. 120, 123, 131, 168, no. 34 and under no. 33, ill. p. 225; S. Krause forthcoming

Cat. 44 Master of the Acts of Mercy

The Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence; Giving Drink to the Thirsty

1. The date by which Lindpaintner must have owned the panel can be gathered from Buchner 1959, p. 11. That Lindpaintner was the consignor at the 1955 sale was confirmed by Alexander Strasoldo, Lempertz, Cologne (fax, April 28, 2000, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
2. Wood identification by Peter Klein, Universität Hamburg (report, July 27, 2007, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). Dating of the wood was not possible.
3. IRR carried out with configuration C; see p. 276.
4. See de Voragine 1993 (ed.), vol. 2, pp. 63–74.
5. Ibid., p. 70.
6. Schweicher 1968, col. 245; van Bühren 1998, pp. 25–26.
7. See J. Höfler 2007, vol. 1, pp. 67–69, 209, nos. 175–85, vol. 2, figs. 175–85.
8. See the speculation in Buchner 1959, p. 13; Albin Rohrmoser in Salzburg 1972, p. 117.
9. As suggested by Ralf van Bühren in correspondence with Bärbel Schulte, Stadtmuseum Simeonstift, Trier, summer 2011 (kindly communicated to the author by Dr. Schulte).
10. Munich 1954, p. 58, nos. 493, 493a. The work was sold the next year with the same attribution and date (Lempertz 1955, p. 10, no. 37).
11. Buchner 1959, pp. 12–13; see also Dieck 1960, p. 24; Rohrmoser in Salzburg 1972, pp. 117–18, nos. 90–91, pl. 44, colorpl. VIa; Ahrens 1986, pp. 53–56, figs. 33, 34, 36a–b, 37; Le Magadure 2010, pp. 39–42, figs. 7–10.
12. Buchner 1959, pp. 12–13. In parallel with Buchner, Alfred Stange recognized the association of the New York and Trier panels; however, Stange situated them not in Salzburg but in the Bavarian Oberland region, which lies between Munich and Innsbruck, and dated them in the early sixteenth century; see Stange 1934–61, vol. 10 (1960), p. 96.
13. Buchner 1959, pp. 10–11, 13–15; see also Rohrmoser in Salzburg 1972, pp. 116–17, 119, nos. 89, 93, pls. 42, 43 (Nonnberg Crypt Altarpiece), 45a–b (Burghausen panel); Le Magadure 2010, pp. 38–41, figs. 2, 3 (Burghausen panel), 6 (Nonnberg Crypt Altarpiece).
14. Le Magadure 2010, pp. 36–39, fig. 1; noted also by Lübbecke 2003, p. 268. Évelyne Le Magadure (2010, pp. 43–44, fig. 15) also rightly brought to light a lost *Visitation*, known only in an old reproduction, as a potential addition to the master's works.
15. Rohrmoser in Salzburg 1972, p. 117; see also Ahrens 1986, pp. 53, 56; Ahrens and Simmich 1998, pp. 27–33.
16. Koller Auktionen 2011, pp. 10–13, no. 3008, ill.
17. At present, only minimal evidence for a reconstruction can be gained from the edges of the panels, as those in the Metropolitan and the Stadtmuseum Simeonstift are concealed by immovable modern frames. The privately owned panel (photographs kindly supplied by Koller Auktionen, Zürich, September 29, 2011) appears to have been trimmed along all four edges, leaving only narrow wood margins beyond the painted area. The proposal that the altarpiece displayed only four Acts of Mercy (discussed as a possibility in Koller Auktionen 2011, p. 10, under no. 3008) is doubtful, four being an arbitrary number in light of the biblical core of six.
18. As noted by Frank G. Hirschmann in Trier 2011, p. 359, under no. 52.
19. Stange 1934–61, vol. 10 (1960), p. 26, ill. no. 51; Kunstmuseum Basel 1966, p. 23, ill. Similarly proportioned is the South Tirolean *Crucifixion* (206 × 101 cm) in the Diözesanmuseum, Freising, attributed by Stange to Jakob von Seckau (see Stange 1934–61, vol. 10 [1960], p. 158, ill. no. 251).
20. Lübbecke 1991, pp. 338–47, no. 79, ill.
21. For the Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza's panel, see the discussion of the possibilities (altarpiece wing, independent epitaph, or central panel of a triptych) in *ibid.*, p. 341.
22. Wörner 1887, pp. 129–30, fig. 58; Stange 1967–78, vol. 2 (1970), p. 111, no. 497; Stange and Konrad 2009, no. 497, ill.
23. Rohrmoser in Salzburg 1972, p. 117.
24. Le Magadure 2010, pp. 44–46.
25. The *Visitation* (known only in reproduction) recently brought forth by Le Magadure as a tentative addition to the oeuvre has a landscape background and is therefore dated by Le Magadure in the first half of the 1470s (*ibid.*, pp. 43–44, fig. 15).

EXHIBITIONS: Munich 1954, p. 58, nos. 493, 493a, fig. 65 (exterior); on loan to the Kunsthalle, Munich, 1954–55; Albin Rohrmoser in Salzburg 1972, p. 118, no. 92

REFERENCES: Lempertz 1955, p. 10, no. 37, pl. 1; Buchner 1959, pp. 11–14, 15, figs. 17–19; Stange 1934–61, vol. 10 (1960), p. 96; Schweicher 1968, col. 251; Albin Rohrmoser in Salzburg 1972, pp. 79, 80–81, 115, 117; Baetjer 1995, p. 213, ill.; Ahrens and Simmich 1998, pp. 27, 32, figs. 5, 6; Le Magadure 2010, pp. 39, 42, 43, 44, 45, figs. 11, 12, 14; Koller Auktionen 2011, p. 10, under no. 3008, ill. pp. 12–13; Frank G. Hirschmann in Trier 2011, p. 359, under no. 52.

Cat. 45 Master A. H. or H. A.

Mary of Burgundy

- These labels were documented in a photograph taken in 1988 before the black paint covering the Virgin was removed (files, Department of Paintings Conservation, MMA).
- Wood identification by Peter Klein, Universität Hamburg (report, July 27, 2007, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). Dating of the wood was not possible.
- IRR carried out with configurations D and A; see p. 276.
- The painter of the Graz portrait is not known. The Kreuzlingen painting, which was considerably altered from its first state, has been attributed by Giorgio Bonsanti and Friedrich Kisters to Michael Pacher (see, most recently, Friedrich Kisters in Bern, Bruges, and Vienna 2008–10, p. 354, no. 166). Although previously attributed to Hans Maler, the two Vienna portraits are now linked with Niklas Reiser, an older artist also documented in Schwaz (see Karl Schütz in Bern, Bruges, and Vienna 2008–10, pp. 354–55, no. 167; Karl Schütz in Vienna 2012–13, pp. 136–37, no. 3).
- Kisters in Bern, Bruges, and Vienna 2008–10, p. 354, no. 166.
- According to Mayer 1930b, p. 118.
- Ring (1949, p. 218, no. 154), who also published Friedländer's opinion.
- Sterling in Paris 1957, pp. 32–33, no. 39; Berger 1963, pp. 144–45, pl. 152; Robert L. Wyss in Bern 1969, p. 327, under no. 216; Szabó 1975, p. 85, pl. 70; Baetjer 1995, p. 223.
- Geschäft von Hof*, 1500, fol. 107; quoted in Schönherr 1884, p. XLIX, no. 621.
- Geschäft von Hof*, 1500, fol. 107; quoted in Schönherr 1884, p. XLIX, no. 997.
- Glück 1906–7.
- Stange 1966, p. 84.
- For purposes of comparison, see the two portraits by Maler in the Metropolitan Museum (cats. 42, 43). See also S. Krause 2008. Maler used the profile view in only three portraits: two of Ferdinand I of about 1525 (Accademia Concordi, Rovigo, and Uffizi Gallery, Florence) and one of Jacob Fugger of about 1525 (private collection, the Netherlands); these are numbers 29, 28, and 30, respectively, in S. Krause 2008.
- Talbot in Sterling et al. 1998, pp. 37–42, no. 8.
- Comparable Spanish and Italian images of the Virgin can be found in Stratton 1994, especially figs. 67, 69, 70.
- The severe profile, prominent chin, pouty lips, and sharply angled upper eyelid bear some resemblance to features seen in the portrait of Huldrych Zwingli (Kunstmuseum Winterthur, no. 133) by Hans Asper, a painter who worked in Zürich. However, Asper's monogram, unlike that in the Lehman painting, does not superimpose the letters *H* and *A*. Furthermore, that artist's monogram appears the same on the 1524 portrait of Johannes Müller (Kunsthau Zürich, no. 159) and the 1531 portrait of Zwingli. It did not change its form in 1528, the year the Lehman panel was painted. On Hans Asper, see Zürich 1981, especially pp. 46–47, nos. 3, 4 (entries by Marianne Naegeli and Urs Hobi).
- Ann Roberts also suggested a related political motive, arguing that the portraits were used to make claims to the legitimacy of Maximilian's attempts to sell Mary's jewelry to fund his military campaigns. The depiction of Mary's famous gems in her portraits showed the wealth that was transferred through marriage and, by extension, the legitimacy of Maximilian's use of this wealth for his own purposes. A. M. Roberts 2008.

EXHIBITIONS: Colorado Springs 1951–52, p. 29; Charles Sterling in Paris 1957, pp. 32–33, no. 39; Cincinnati 1959, p. 20, no. 128, ill.

REFERENCES: Lehman 1928, n.p., no. XCIV, ill.; Mayer 1930b, p. 118, ill. p. 115; Ring 1949, p. 218, no. 154; Berger 1963, pp. 144–45, pl. 152; Robert L. Wyss in Bern 1969, p. 327, under no. 216; Innsbruck 1969, p. 17, under no. 33; Szabó 1975, p. 85, pl. 70; Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, p. 112, ill. vol. 2, p. 299; Bonsanti 1983, p. 21, fig. 12a; Baetjer 1995, p. 223, ill.; Charles Talbot in Sterling et al. 1998, pp. 37–42, no. 8, ill.; A. M. Roberts 2008, p. 60

Cat. 46A, B Master of the Berswordt Altarpiece

A. *The Flagellation*, B. *The Crucifixion*

- See Pfeiffer 2001, p. 35; Pfeiffer 2005, pp. 129, 131–32; Pfeiffer 2009, p. 22.
- Verzeichnis . . . Krüger* 1848/1951, p. 88, no. 1.6. Then still attached to two other scenes, *The Betrayal of Christ* and *The Crowning with Thorns*.
- Still joined to *The Betrayal of Christ* and *The Crowning with Thorns*.
- Jacobs 1983, p. 215.
- See letter from Walter Liedtke to Hertha Katz, dated New York, July 17, 1981 (curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
- When *The Crucifixion* was catalogued in the Krüger Collection (*Verzeichnis . . . Krüger* 1848/1951, p. 87, no. 4), it was still attached to two other scenes, *Christ before Pilate* and *Christ Carrying the Cross*, as it was when purchased by Hermann at the 1857 Christie's sale (no. 8).
- Spanish Art Gallery, stock book, n.d., vol. 1, p. 204 (Witt Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, London); date according to Jacobs 1983, p. 214.
- Jacobs 1983, p. 214.
- Ibid.*
- Wood identification and dendrochronological analysis by Peter Klein, Universität Hamburg (report, April 3, 2006, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
- For further discussion of dowels in the structure of the Bielefeld Altarpiece, see Herpers 2001, pp. 100–11.
- Coatings of lead white are present on the versos of all the extant panels that were part of the altarpiece; see Kemperdick 2010, p. 168.
- Identical crossbars are found on panels still in the collection in Bielefeld. See Herpers 2001, p. 114.
- Dendrochronological analysis by Peter Klein (see note 10 above) indicated an earliest felling date of 1340, an earliest possible fabrication date of 1342, and a plausible fabrication date of 1352 or later.
- See the results assembled in Pfeiffer 2009, p. 246, where the board with the latest date (central panel, board 5) is calculated to have an earliest felling date of 1371, an earliest possible fabrication date of 1373, and a plausible fabrication date of 1391 or later—the last figure, however, based on an estimated seasoning time of ten years, instead of the two years used in the analysis cited above (note 14), which would give a plausible fabrication date of 1383 or later for the altarpiece.
- Nadolny 2006.
- Analysis of a paint sample by FTIR microspectroscopy indicated that the binding medium contained protein and lipids, indicative of an egg-based binder. The presence of calcium oxalate and metal carboxylates prohibited the unambiguous description of the binder as a mixture of egg and oil.
- Analysis of three other panels from the same altarpiece confirm the use of a “fatty” tempera, in which the binder is a mixture of egg yolk and oil. See Herpers 2001, p. 110.
- Ibid.*, p. 112.
- IRR carried out with configuration A; see p. 276.
- Ingo Sandner mentions the use of a hard instrument with some brushed lines of correction in the Bielefeld panels; see Sandner 2002, p. 257. The painting by the Master of the Berswordt Altarpiece in the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, has been described as underdrawn with “very fine, sharp lines that do not appear very supple and have a metallic shimmer under the microscope,” possibly silverpoint (Kemperdick 2010, p. 168). Iris Herpers (2001, p. 111) remarks in reference to the panels from the altarpiece that still remain in Bielefeld that underdrawing, probably executed with red chalk and brush, was detectable in paint losses and through thin paint layers but not by examination with infrared reflectography.
- Pfeiffer 2009, pp. 18–21, presents the full evidence for the retable's location on the high altar. The designation *Neustädter* refers to the church's location in the city's Neustadt district.
- Ibid.*, p. 18. Three independent firsthand accounts—by Christian Gottfried Daniel Stein in 1823–25 (see C. G. D. Stein 1827–29, vol. 2 [1827], p. 235), Leopold von Ledebur in 1824 or 1825 (see von Ledebur 1825/1934, pp. 125–26), and Gustav Friedrich Waagen in 1833–34 or 1839 (see Waagen 1850, p. 308), all predating the altarpiece's disassembly—record a date of 1400. Waagen's account is the most informative; he noted a date in roman numerals of M°CCCC° inscribed “unten” (below), suggesting that the date was located on the bottom molding of the lost frame.
- For the calculation of the dimensions, see Pfeiffer 2009, p. 17; see also Jacobs 1983, p. 208.
- Pfeiffer 2009, pp. 37–38; see also P. J. Meier 1931, p. 44, with corrections by Fritz 1932, p. 11. The subjects and current locations are as follows (see Pfeiffer 2009, pp. 37–70, 247–48). Central panel (Marienkirche, Bielefeld), main scene: Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints Peter, Paul (left of throne), John the Baptist, John the

- Evangelist (right of throne), Liborius, Anthony the Great, George, Barbara, Catherine of Alexandria, Margaret of Antioch, and Dorothy (seated, left to right); flanked by small scenes, top row: Meeting at the Golden Gate, Birth of Mary, Presentation of Mary, Marriage of Mary and Joseph; middle row: Baptism of Christ, Entry into Jerusalem, Last Supper, Agony in the Garden; bottom row: Deposition, Entombment, Descent into Limbo, Resurrection. Left wing, top row: God Warns Adam about the Tree of Knowledge, Temptation, Expulsion from the Garden of Eden (Oetker Collection, Bielefeld); middle row: Adoration of the Magi (Oetker Collection, Bielefeld), Presentation in the Temple (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin), Flight into Egypt (Oetker Collection, Bielefeld); bottom row: Christ before Pilate (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford), Carrying of the Cross (Oetker Collection, Bielefeld), Crucifixion (MMA, New York). Right wing, top row: Annunciation (Marienkirche, Bielefeld), Visitation (lost), Nativity (lost); middle row: Betrayal of Christ (Oetker Collection, Bielefeld), Crowning with Thorns (lost), Flagellation (MMA, New York); bottom row: Ascension, Pentecost, Last Judgment (Marienkirche, Bielefeld).
26. See Herpers 2001, p. 111. Traces of the internal framing elements remain only on the central panel in Bielefeld.
 27. Fritz 1932, p. 11; Pfeiffer 2009, p. 17.
 28. Pfeiffer 2009, pp. 21–23.
 29. E. Förster 1847, p. 21; *Verzeichnis . . . Krüger* 1848/1951, pp. 87–88, nos. I.2–I.7. By the time of Förster’s description, *The Visitation* and *The Nativity* had been separated from *The Annunciation* and, though noted by Förster, were no longer in the Krüger Collection. Neither *The Visitation* nor *The Nativity* appears in the 1848 catalogue. See also Pfeiffer 2009, p. 23.
 30. For current locations, see note 25 above.
 31. See Schweicher 1970.
 32. See Zehnder 1990, pp. 116–20, fig. 85 (where dated 1370–80). Pfeiffer (2009, p. 56) raised doubt about the originality of the hillock; however, microscopic examination of this area suggests that it is an authentic part of the composition, integral to the original paint layers.
 33. Pfeiffer 2009, p. 57.
 34. *Ibid.*, pp. 60, 224, n. 375, with reference to the classical gesture *amechania*; against Eckert 1956, p. 68, who saw it in relation to *penthos*, the gesture of grief, which as Pfeiffer points out would require the hand against the cheek, supporting the head.
 35. Pfeiffer 2009, p. 60.
 36. The copious scholarship on the Bielefeld Altarpiece is carefully documented in Pfeiffer’s recent monograph on the Master of the Berswordt Altarpiece, to which the reader should turn for detailed discussion of points only touched on here and below (Pfeiffer 2009, pp. 11–14, 17–37, and *passim*; but see also Jacobs 1983, pp. 20–25, 80–163, 207–17; Menzel 2001a; Zupancic and Schilp 2002, especially pp. 165–214). On the Berswordt Altarpiece, see Jacobs 1983, pp. 15–20, 26–80, 207; Corley 1996a, pp. 218–20; Zupancic and Schilp 2002, *passim*; Pfeiffer 2009, pp. 77–90, 249. Paintings also included in the master’s oeuvre are the destroyed (1944) panels of an altarpiece with the twelve apostles and twelve prophets, and Moses, Saul, and David formerly in Sankt Marien, Osnabrück (Jacobs 1983, pp. 174–90, 217–18; Pfeiffer 2009, pp. 90–111, 250–51; Andrea Zupancic in Zupancic and Schilp 2002, pp. 215–21). Joseph Nordhoff (1880, pp. 84–87) was the first to recognize the altarpieces in Bielefeld, Dortmund, and Osnabrück as a stylistically unified group.
 37. See Corley 1996a, pp. 216–17, in which the master is credited with the central scene, *The Deposition*, and *The Resurrection*, and the rest is assigned to workshop assistants; see also Corley 2005, pp. 451–52, 467.
 38. Jacobs 1983, p. 162.
 39. Rüthing 2001, pp. 18–20.
 40. Pfeiffer 2009, pp. 26–37, especially p. 28. The two definite commissions of Wilhelm and Anna’s that Pfeiffer has attributed to the Master of the Berswordt Altarpiece—the designs for the stained-glass west window of Altenberg Cathedral and for the tomb slab of their son, Rupert von Berg (d. 1394), in Paderborn Cathedral—help to substantiate a connection between those rulers and the Bielefeld Altarpiece (see Pfeiffer 2009, pp. 28–30, 30–31, 111–22, 123–30). Daniel Parelo (2005, p. 492, n. 21) alternatively proposes that the Altenberg window design and the Virgin Annunciate on the Berswordt Altarpiece are merely based on a common model and are not by the same artist.
 41. For example, in Corley 1996a, pp. 218, 220; Corley 2004, p. 41.
 42. See the discussion in Pfeiffer 2009, pp. 11–14, 207–8, and *passim*.
 43. *Ibid.*, pp. 135–60, 163–72, 172–203, with references to earlier literature.

EXHIBITIONS: 46A: London 1923, p. 35, no. 54, pl. 27

46B: Buffalo 1942; Lexington (Va.) 1950–51; Georgia Museum of Art, University of Georgia, Athens, 1951 (no catalogue); Paul Pieper in Münster 1964, pp. 71–74, no. 93, ill.; Ingeborg Eckert in Bielefeld 1964, p. 29, no. 10, ill. p. 38

REFERENCES: 46A: E. Förster 1847, p. 21; *Verzeichnis . . . Krüger* 1848/1951, p. 88, no. I.6; Christie’s 1857, p. 6, no. 7; Nordhoff 1880, pp. 86–87, n. 1; Ludorff 1906, p. 13, n. 4, pl. 11 (tracing); P. J. Meier 1921, pp. 31, 60–61; P. J. Meier 1931, pp. 44, 46, 47, 49; Fritz 1932; Kornfeld 1933, pp. 161–65, pl. 2, fig. C; Stange 1934–61, vol. 3 (1938), pp. 42–45; Salinger 1945, p. 139; Wehle and Salinger 1947, p. 165; Dortmund 1950, n.p., no. 23; Fritz 1950a, p. 194, pl. 94; Fritz 1951, pp. 88, no. 6, p. 95; Eckert 1956, pp. 22, 62, ill. pp. 29, 63; Levey 1959, p. 113; Manchester 1961, p. 9; Ingeborg Eckert in Bielefeld 1964, pp. 6–7, 40, no. 16, ill. p. 43 (not exhibited); Stange 1967–78, vol. 1 (1967), pp. 137–38, no. 447e; Koenig 1974, p. 61, pl. 79; Jacobs 1983, pp. 7–8, 10, n. 4, pp. 20–25, 113–14, 147, 161–62, 209, 211, 215–16, figs. 20, 52; Pieper-Rapp-Frick 1993, p. 307–11, 341–42; Corley 1996a, pp. 78–82, 216–17; Menzel 2001b, ill. p. 7; Pfeiffer 2001, pp. 33–40, 78, pl. 20; Mary Sprinson de Jesús in “Recent Acquisitions” 2001, p. 21, ill.; Andrea Zupancic in Zupancic and Schilp 2002, pp. 165–66, 189, 213–15, ill.; Kristina Bitzan in Münster 2003, p. 16, n. 3; Corley 2005, pp. 451–52, 467; Iris Grötecke in B. Klein 2007, pp. 433–34, no. 174; Pfeiffer 2009, pp. 11–12, 14, 17–19, 22–23, 26–28, 37–38, 56–57, 245–46, 248, n. 353, figs. 4, 23, 24, colorpls. 17, 31, and ill. (color) in reconstruction insert

46B: E. Förster 1847, p. 21; *Verzeichnis . . . Krüger* 1848/1951, p. 87, no. I.4; Hotho 1855, vol. 1, pp. 261–63; Christie’s 1857, p. 6, no. 8; Nordhoff 1880, p. 86–87, n. 1; Ludorff 1906, p. 13, n. 4, pl. 10 (tracing); P. J. Meier 1921, pp. 31, 60–61; P. J. Meier 1931, pp. 44, 46, 49; Fritz 1932; Kornfeld 1933, pp. 161–65; Stange 1934–61, vol. 3 (1938), pp. 42–45; *Gallery Notes* 1942, n.p.; Salinger 1945, pp. 137–41, ill. p. 140; Wehle and Salinger 1947, pp. 164–65, ill.; Held 1949, p. 141; Dortmund 1950, n.p., no. 26, fig. 26; Fritz 1950a, p. 194, pl. 96; Fritz 1950b, p. 189; Fritz 1951, p. 87, no. 4, p. 95; Eckert 1956, pp. 23, 68, ill. pp. 28, 69; Levey 1959, p. 113; Manchester 1961, p. 9; Ingeborg Eckert in Bielefeld 1964, pp. 6–7, 12; Paul Pieper in Münster 1964, pp. 17–18; Stange 1967–78, vol. 1 (1967), pp. 137–38, no. 447h; Koenig 1974, p. 61, pl. 76 (tracing); Robertson 1978, p. 162, n. 2; Jacobs 1983, pp. 7–8, 10, n. 4, pp. 20–25, 115–16, 149–50, 156–59, 161–62, 208, 210, 214–15, figs. 20, 57; Metropolitan Museum 1987, p. 86, pl. 55; Pieper-Rapp-Frick 1993, pp. 307–11, 343–44; Corley 1996a, pp. 78–82, 216–17; Corley 1996b, p. 630; Gmelin 1997, p. 10; White 1999, p. 85, n. 3; Menzel 2001b, ill. p. 6; Pfeiffer 2001, pp. 33–40, 84, pl. 23; Mary Sprinson de Jesús in “Recent Acquisitions” 2001, p. 21; Andrea Zupancic in Zupancic and Schilp 2002, pp. 165, 192, 213–15, 240, ill. p. 193; Kristina Bitzan in Münster 2003, p. 16, n. 3; Corley 2005, pp. 451–52, 467, fig. 7; Iris Grötecke in B. Klein 2007, pp. 433–34, no. 174; Pfeiffer 2009, pp. 11–12, 14, 17–19, 22–23, 26–28, 37–38, 60–61, 139, 149, 153, 166, 170, 173, 245–47, figs. 4 and 28, colorpls. 20, 30, and ill. (color) in reconstruction insert

Relevant discussion of altarpiece but no explicit mention of 46A or 46B: von Ledebur 1825/1934, pp. 125–26; C. G. D. Stein 1827–29, vol. 2 (1827), p. 235; Passavant 1841, p. 415; Waagen 1850, p. 308; Lübke 1853, p. 343; Schnaase 1874, p. 431; Otte and Wernicke 1883–84, vol. 2 (1884), p. 630; Aldenhoven 1902, pp. 112, 396, n. 211a; Schmitz 1906, p. 137; F. Burger 1913, p. 404; Drexel-Brauckmann 1918, pp. 28–30, 32; Hölker 1921, p. 43; B. Martens 1929, vol. 1, pp. 160–61; Steinbart 1946, p. 41; Pieper 1950, p. 148; Stange 1962; Eckhardt 1964, p. 318; Troescher 1966, vol. 1, pp. 158, 282–83; Corley 2001, p. 243; Lüttenberg 2001; Corley 2004, pp. 36–38; Gast 2005, p. 440; Pfeiffer 2005, pp. 128–32; Kemperdick 2010, pp. 168–73

Cat. 47 Master of the Burg Weiler Altarpiece

The Burg Weiler Altarpiece (Altarpiece with the Virgin and Child and Saints)

1. All the Ns in the inscriptions are written backward.
2. The bill of sale from Thomas Agnew & Sons, London, to “The Cloisters Museum” (curatorial files, Department of Medieval Art, MMA) states that the altarpiece “[p]assed in 1934 from Baron Weiler to Mr. Werner Lüps of Dusseldorf,” but this appears to be erroneous.
3. On February 16, 2002, Dietrich Freiherr von und zu Weiler stated in a letter addressed to whom it might concern (curatorial files, Department of Medieval Art, MMA) that the altarpiece had originally been in Burg Lichtenberg, one of the baron’s family residences, and had been moved to Burg Weiler about 1850. The statement is otherwise unsubstantiated, and the Freiherr’s other misstatements of fact cast doubt on the assertion.
4. A letter dated February 19, 2002, from Julius Böhler Kunsthändler, Munich, to Julien Chapuis (curatorial files, Department of Medieval Art, MMA) states that the triptych was bought from Ernest Bauer on October 21, 1937, and sold on April 26, 1938, to Werner Lüps of Hamburg. (Böhler’s original ledger gives the name as Dauer, but in later correspondence it appears as Bauer.) The ledger entry also gives the date of sale as August 13, 1938, which is considered more reliable.
5. The letter of February 19, 2002, from Böhler and the original ledger entry (see note 4 above) give the date of sale to Thomas Agnew & Sons as April 15, 1953;

- Agnew's records, however, indicate that the painting was bought in January 1953. The Metropolitan Museum's recommended purchase form for the altarpiece is dated January 5, 1953.
6. The date on the bill of sale to MMA (see note 2 above) is January 1953.
 7. Wood identification by Peter Klein, Universität Hamburg (report, July 27, 2007, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). Klein identified the wood from a sample removed from one of the frames. It is likely that fir was also used for the panel supports, judging from the visible wood grain. Dating of the wood was not possible.
 8. Infrared photography carried out with configuration B; see p. 276.
 9. According to a note in the files of Julius Böhler Kunsthandlung, Munich. The information was conveyed to the Museum in a letter of February 19, 2002; see note 5 above.
 10. Heinrich 1954a, p. 326. The left wing represents the Annunciation on the exterior and the Birth of the Virgin on the interior; the right wing, the Visitation and the Death of the Virgin on the exterior and interior, respectively (Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe; nos. 806a, 806b). The wings are generally considered Swabian, possibly made at Ulm, and the interior right wing is dated 1489.
 11. Stange 1934–61, vol. 9 (1958), pp. 92–93.
 12. Unpublished opinion, 1976, curatorial files, The Cloisters.
 13. Susie Nash in New York 2011–12, pp. 88–97, no. 6.

EXHIBITIONS: none

REFERENCES: Heinrich 1954a, ill.; Stange 1934–61, vol. 9 (1958), pp. 92–93, ill. no. 201; Bushart 1959, p. 154; Rorimer 1963, p. 161; Stange 1967–78, vol. 3 (1978), p. 114, no. 268; Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, p. 118, ill. vol. 2, p. 290; Baetjer 1995, pp. 213–14, ill.; Susie Nash in New York 2011–12, pp. 94–97, under no. 6, figs. 10, 12, 14, 16 (overall and details)

Cat. 48A, B Master of Eggenburg

A. *Saint Adalbert and Saint Procopius*, B. *The Burial of Saint Wenceslas*

1. The panels may have already been in the United States by 1930, when Wilhelm Valentiner, then Director of the Detroit Institute of Arts, attributed them to an Austrian painter (unpublished opinion, dated 1930 on verso of old photograph, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
2. Wood identification by Peter Klein, Universität Hamburg (report, July 27, 2007, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). Dating of the wood was not possible.
3. M. Koller 1972–73, p. 144, fig. 127.
4. Infrared imaging carried out with configurations D and B; see p. 276.
5. Letter from Alfred Stange, April 1, 1953 (curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
6. Poche 1976.
7. Poche 1973, col. 26. I thank Prof. Dr. Maria Theisen, Art History Department of the University of Vienna, an expert in the texts of the legend of Saint Wenceslas, for confirming that the two saints represented in the Metropolitan's panel are Adalbert, the bishop, and Procopius (email correspondence with Maryan Ainsworth, June 8, 2012, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
8. Letter from Otto Benesch to Margaretta Salinger, February 5, 1945 (published in Benesch 1932, p. 27), and letter from Betty Kurth to Margaretta Salinger, March 4, 1945 (both, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
9. Dubravus 1552.
10. I am grateful to Prof. Dr. Maria Theisen for her opinion and information with regard to this episode (email correspondence with Maryan Ainsworth, June 8, 2012, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
11. Wehle and Salinger 1947, p. 168. Thanks again to Prof. Dr. Maria Theisen for her confirmation of this matter (email correspondence with Maryan Ainsworth, June 8, 2012, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
12. These are, respectively, nos. o 11908 (70 × 45.8 cm), o 11909 (68 × 44.5 cm), o 1483 (68.5 × 42.5 cm), o 1257 (69.7 × 43.5 cm), o 1484 (68 × 44 cm), and o 1256 (69 × 43.5 cm). See Kotková 2007, pp. 106–9, no. 57.
13. Sotheby's, London, April 16, 1997, no. 36; bought by the dealer Sam Fogg, London; sold to Robert McCarthy, London.
14. See Krása 1958; *Gothic Art in Bohemia* 1977, pp. 76, 78., ill. nos. 227–30.
15. Kotková 2007, p. 106.
16. See also Dvornik 1929; *Lives of the Saints* 1956, vol. 3, pp. 663–64; Dvořáková et al. 1964; Parrott 1966; Petrů 1997; Andreas Fingernagel and Monika Kieger-Griensiedl in Vienna and Prague 2009–10.

17. Other earlier or contemporary Saint Wenceslas cycles include the following.
Murals:
Church of Saint Wenceslas, Žďár, near Blovice, Czech Republic. Two presbytery walls, ca. 1350, twenty-eight scenes left (Dvořáková et al. 1964, pp. 147–48, ill. nos. 45, 46).
Karlštejn Castle, near Prague. Staircase, combined with Ludmila cycle, after 1360, commissioned by Charles IV (Dvořáková et al. 1964, p. 137, ill. nos. 164–75).
Illuminations:
Vesislus Bible (Prague, National Library, Ms. XXIII C124, fols. 180r–188r). According to Karel Stejskal, this combination of Saint Ludmila and Saint Wenceslas stories follows the tenth-century text of the *Crescente fide christiana* (fol. 180r, upper illustration text: “Crescente . . . fide in diebus illis dux bohemiorum nomine bosnoy”). (Facsimile edition, *Velislai Biblia Picta* 1970 [ed.], commentary by Stejskal, pp. 17–29).
Liber depictus (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 370, fols. 32r–44r; facsimile ed., *Krumauer Bildercodex* 1967 [ed.]). The comment volume contains Latin and German translations of the texts written next to the scenes from the Saint Wenceslas and Saint Ludmila legends (fols. 32r–49r).
Matthias Hutský of Křivoklát, miniature copy of murals in Saint Vitus Cathedral, Prague, 1585. Twenty-four scenes from life of Saint Wenceslas (*Icones Historici* 1997, with commentary by Karel Stejskal and Eduard Petrů).
Altarpieces:
Aachen Cathedral, Retable of Saint Wenceslas Altar, before 1457. This mid-fifteenth-century commission by King Ladislaus the Posthumous presents various saints but no narrative scenes (Hilger 1973, figs. 1–5).
18. Kotková 2007, p. 106.
19. This painting was originally termed “oberdeutsch (böhmisch),” second half of the fifteenth century, in Tietze 1911, pp. 39–40, until Benesch identified it as by the Master of Eggenburg (Benesch 1932).
20. For which, see Bodo Brinkmann in Brinkmann and Kemperdick 2002, pp. 272–81.
21. Benesch 1932, p. 27; Benesch 1932/1972, pp. 208–9.
22. Brinkmann in Brinkmann and Kemperdick 2002, p. 280, fig. 251; Kotková 2007, p. 106.
23. Earlier unpublished opinions (curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA; mentioned in Wehle and Salinger 1947, p. 169) concerning the attribution include Valentiner, who ascribed the panels to an Austrian artist, about 1480 (1930); Wilhelm Suida, who attributed them to a follower of the Master of Herzogenburg (1945); and Maria Velte of the Mittelrhein-Museum of Koblenz, who considered them Tirolean, around the time of Pacher (unpublished opinion, October 5, 1965, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). In the collection catalogue of the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool, the Metropolitan's panels are given as an example of Austrian painting at the end of the fifteenth century (Walker Art Gallery 1963–66, vol. 1 [1963], p. 11).
24. Thanks to the kindness of Sam Fogg, *Saint James Minor and Saint Vitus and Saint Wenceslas and Saint Ludmila* were sent to the Department of Paintings Conservation at the Metropolitan Museum in 2001 for technical examination (X-radiography, infrared reflectography, and microscope study). The author studied the panels in the Národní Galerie in Prague. I am most grateful to Olga Kotková and to Adam Pokorný for providing technical information on these paintings.
25. See Karen Thomas's description of the artist's technique (report, May 16, 2011, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
26. Benesch 1932, pp. 24–27; Benesch 1932/1972, pp. 206–7.
27. Stange 1934–61, vol. 7 (1955), p. 118, vol. 11 (1961), p. 56; Brinkmann in Brinkmann and Kemperdick 2002, p. 280.
28. Brinkmann in Brinkmann and Kemperdick 2002, p. 280 and fig. 248, and p. 277, fig. 246, respectively.
29. Kotková 2007, pp. 104–5.
30. Brinkmann in Brinkmann and Kemperdick 2002, p. 280.
31. Kotková (2007, p. 106) also agreed with a date in the 1490s for the Saint Wenceslas Altarpiece.

EXHIBITIONS: 48A: Pasadena Art Institute, 1952 (no catalogue)

48B: Minneapolis 1952

REFERENCES: Benesch 1932, p. 27; Benesch 1932/1972, p. 209, figs. 232, 233; Wehle and Salinger 1947, pp. 168–69, ill.; Thieme and Becker 1907–50, vol. 37 (1950), p. 85; Stange 1934–61, vol. 11 (1961), p. 56, ill. no. 56 (*Saint Adalbert and Saint Procopius*); Walker Art Gallery 1963–66, vol. 1 (1963), p. 11, under no. 1229, p. 12, n. 2; Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, p. 6, ill. vol. 2, p. 291; Baetjer 1995, pp. 214–15, ill.; Schawe 2001, p. 91; Bodo Brinkmann in Brinkmann and Kemperdick 2002, pp. 280–81, n. 17; Kotková 2007, p. 16

Cat. 49 Master of the Munich Marian Panels

Virgin and Child with a Donor Presented by Saint Jerome

1. Lehner 1877, col. 65; Lehner 1883, p. 71, no. 213.
2. Winkler 1959b, p. 85, n. 36.
3. Wendland moved from Paris to Berlin after the outbreak of World War I and was living in Basel by 1920 (see "ALIU Detailed Interrogation Report: Hans Wendland, 18 September 1946," at <http://www.lootedart.com/MFV7J127611> [accessed September 6, 2011]). This painting was among his possessions that remained in Paris.
4. Wood identification (visual analysis) by George Bisacca, Department of Paintings Conservation, Metropolitan Museum of Art (report, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). Dating of the wood was not attempted.
5. IRR carried out with configurations D and A; see p. 276.
6. Observing certain overlapping areas of paint, Charles Talbot (in Sterling et al. 1998, p. 33) claimed that the beard and white surplice of Jerome were added some time after the completion of the painting "to change a cardinal into a Saint Jerome." This is doubtful. Instead, the painter merely appears not to have left reserve areas for the beard and for portions of the white garment.
7. Although F. A. Lehner (1877, col. 66) reckoned a total of twelve figures (eight on the front and two each on the left and right ends), and thus proposed that they represent the apostles, the front appears to have space for only six; however, another six can be imagined on the back, for a total of sixteen, including the four on the ends, which corresponds to the sixteen major and minor prophets of the Old Testament.
8. Talbot in Sterling et al. 1998, p. 32; see also E. Börsch-Supan 1970, cols. 78–79; Daley 1986.
9. The olive was mistakenly identified as plum by Joshua P. Waterman in Bruges 2010–11, p. 373, no. 191. Although Lehner (1877, col. 65) called the central tree an orange, the color of the fruit, green tinged with red, is closer to apple; Lehner also misidentified the fig as oak.
10. Translation from the Douay-Rheims Version. Outside the Roman Catholic tradition, the verse takes the number 24:14.
11. The plants' locations in the painting: shepherd's purse (*Capsella bursa-pastoris*), on the wall, far left; hoary plantain (*Plantago media*), on the wall, to the immediate left of the olive tree, and beside the bench, bottom right corner; red clover (*Trifolium pratense*), on the wall, center, and beneath the wall, far left; wood sorrel (*Oxalis acetosella*), on the wall, far right, and near the donor's foot, bottom left corner; strawberry (*Fragaria*), to the immediate right of the donor, bottom edge; and dandelion (*Taraxacum*), beneath the Virgin's robe, bottom center.
12. For strawberry, clover, and dandelion, see Kretschmer 2008, pp. 107, 219, 270, respectively; for plantain, see Mundy 1981–82, pp. 213–14.
13. See Marzell 1938, pp. 96–97.
14. Either is iconographically possible, and the representation is not precise enough to distinguish.
15. Talbot in Sterling et al. 1998, p. 32.
16. Lehner 1877, cols. 67–68; also Lehner 1883, p. 71, no. 213.
17. Drouot 1921, p. 7, no. 12; New York 1928, n.p., no. 9; Kuhn 1936, p. 24, no. 7, respectively.
18. Buchner 1955, pp. 83–84.
19. Sterling in Paris 1957, pp. 24–25, no. 30; Sterling 1957, p. 137.
20. Winkler 1959b, pp. 80–81, 85–87, 88, 89, 95, 97, 98, 103, 104; Stange 1934–61, vol. 10 (1960), pp. 58–59. However, Winkler's contention that the Master of the Munich Marian Panels can be identified as Jos Ammann of Ravensburg, the painter responsible for the 1451 Annunciation fresco in Santa Maria di Castello in Genoa, is unacceptable (on that fresco, see, recently, Rohlmann 2007).
21. Winkler 1959b, p. 85.
22. Ibid.
23. Szabó 1975, pp. 86–87; Talbot in Sterling et al. 1998, pp. 30–34, no. 6.
24. I.-S. Hoffmann 2007, pp. 208, 212; Weniger 2010, p. 347; Waterman in Bruges 2010–11, p. 373, no. 191.
25. On the occasion of the exhibition Bruges 2010–11.
26. See the robes of Gabriel and the Virgin in *The Annunciation* and of Joseph in *The Nativity* and all the red garments in the Museum's panel.
27. On the coherence of the Marian and Passion scenes in Zürich with the *Crucifixion* in Munich, and on the distinction between the Master of the Munich Cathedral Crucifixion and the Master of the Munich Marian Panels, see Munich 1935, pp. 20–22; Buchner 1955; Winkler 1959b, pp. 77, 80; Stange 1934–61, vol. 10 (1960), pp. 57–60; Liedke 1982, pp. 91–100; Hans Ramisch in Ramisch and Steiner 1994, pp. 207–8; Möhring 1997, pp. 184–86; I.-S. Hoffmann 2007, pp. 211–12; Klemm et al. 2007, p. 24; Weniger in Bruges 2010–11, pp. 370–71, under no. 189. The reasonable doubts raised

by Steiner 1982, pp. 117–20, about whether the wing panels in Zürich belong to the *Crucifixion* in Munich have not been widely accepted (although see Goldberg 1999, p. 76).

28. A color illustration of *The Crucifixion* is available in Goldberg 1999, p. 75; for *The Agony in the Garden* and *The Entombment of Christ*, see Klemm et al. 2007, p. 25, ill.
29. To Lehner's mind (Lehner 1877, cols. 67–68) the Italianisms were so pronounced that he offered a Florentine attribution. Buchner (1955, p. 84) wrote of a "southern inspiration," a view recently affirmed by Matthias Weniger (2010, p. 347), and Winkler (1959b, p. 88) proposed that the German artist might have painted the panel in Italy.
30. For the works by Gentile and Jacopo, see Christiansen 2006, pp. 27, 30, figs. 10, 11, respectively.
31. That the painting might have remained in Italy into the nineteenth century is suggested by its provenance from the dealer Mathias Munk in Augsburg, about whom we have only scant information, but who appears to have specialized in early Italian pictures. Of the thirteen paintings Munk is known to have sold to the Fürst von Hohenzollern, Sigmaringen, nine were catalogued as early Italian (see Lehner 1883, pp. 57–58, nos. 181, 182, 185, pp. 61–62, nos. 188, 189, pp. 71–73, nos. 213 [the Metropolitan's painting], 214, 215, 217), two as icons (Lehner 1883, p. 67, nos. 203, 204), and only two as German (Lehner 1883, pp. 72–73, no. 216, p. 77, no. 226). I thank Bernd Konrad for kindly making available his unpublished study of the provenances of the paintings in the Hohenzollern Collection, Sigmaringen.
32. Alternatively, Talbot (in Sterling et al. 1998, p. 32) saw the angels as derived from the style of Rogier van der Weyden.
33. See Hind 1938–48, vol. 1 (1938), pp. 25–26, 30–31, 98, nos. A.I.1, A.I.14, A.V.1 (2), vol. 2 (1938), pls. 2, 14, 160, respectively. Lehner (1877, cols. 67–68) also cited for comparison what he thought was an Italian engraving, *Christ in the Wilderness, Surrounded by Six Angels* (Lehrs 1908–34, vol. 6 [1927], p. 27, no. 5), which at the time was attributed to Master Gherardo. It is in fact by the Monogrammist IE, a German follower of Martin Schongauer, and is not especially comparable in style.
34. The Munich Marian panels and the Crucifixion Altarpiece to which they belong have been dated variously about 1445–50 (I.-S. Hoffmann 2007, p. 211; Klemm et al. 2007, p. 24), 1450 (Möhring 1997, p. 186; Katharina Georgi in Basel 2011, pp. 362–65, nos. 99, 100), 1450–55 (Munich 1935, p. 21), 1455 (Winkler 1959b, p. 80), and 1450–60 (Weniger in Bruges 2010–11, pp. 370–71, no. 189).
35. Other German painters in Italy of note in this period are the Munich painter Gabriel Angler the Elder (Master of the Tegernsee Altarpiece), who traveled to Venice about 1432–33 (Möhring 1997, pp. 15, 187–89); Giovanni d'Alemagna (d. 1450), the brother-in-law and collaborator of Antonio Vivarini in Venice and Padua (De Nicolò Salmazo 1992); and Jos Ammann of Ravensburg, who left a fresco dated 1451 in Genoa (on which, see note 20 above).

EXHIBITIONS: New York 1928, n.p., no. 9; Charles Sterling in Paris 1957, pp. 24–25, no. 30, pl. XXVI; Cincinnati 1959, p. 20, no. 121, ill.; Joshua P. Waterman in Bruges 2010–11, p. 373, no. 191

REFERENCES: Lehner 1877, cols. 65–68, no. 1; Lehner 1883, p. 71, no. 213; Drouot 1921, p. 7, no. 12; "Berichte" 1928, p. 618, ill. p. 615; "German Exhibition" 1928; "German Paintings" 1928, ill. p. 7; Mather 1928, p. 308; Freund 1929a, p. 285, fig. 5; Kuhn 1936, p. 24, no. 7; Buchner 1955, pp. 83–84; Isarlo 1957; Sterling 1957, pp. 136–37, fig. 3; Winkler 1959b, pp. 80–81, 85–87, 88, 89, 95, 97, 98, 103, 104, fig. 28; Stange 1934–61, vol. 10 (1960), pp. 58–59, ill. no. 91; Szabó 1975, pp. 86–87, pl. 69; Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, p. 69, ill. vol. 2, p. 289; Metropolitan Museum 1987, p. 87, pl. 56; Baetjer 1995, p. 212, ill.; Möhring 1997, p. 184; Charles Talbot in Sterling et al. 1998, pp. 30–34, no. 6, ill.; I.-S. Hoffmann 2007, pp. 208–9, 212, fig. 52; Weniger 2010, p. 347; Katharina Georgi in Basel 2011, p. 364, n. 1, under nos. 99, 100

Cat. 50 Hans Schäufelein and attributed to the Master of Engerda

The Dormition of the Virgin; Christ Carrying the Cross

1. The present frame was probably designed in the nineteenth century by Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin, who previously owned the panel.
2. Wood identification by Marijn Manuels, Conservator, Department of Objects Conservation, MMA. The layer of very thin lead-white priming was identified by inspection of the X-radiograph and was detected in several cross sections. However, it could not be confirmed by SEM-EDS analysis in all samples because a layer containing lead white was present on top of it. Dating of the wood was not attempted.
3. M. Koller 1972–73, pp. 144–45, fig. 127.
4. For the use of such gold decoration in fifteenth-century Germany, see M. Koller 1990; Hartweg 2010, pp. 130–31. For examples of the technique in twelfth- and

- thirteenth-century Byzantine paintings at the Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, see New York 1997, pp. 372–75, 377–79, nos. 244–46, 248 (entries by Annemarie Weyl Carr), pp. 376–77, no. 247 (entry by Kathleen Corrigan); New York 2004, pp. 353–54, no. 212 (entry by Elka Bakalova), pp. 362–63, no. 220 (entry by John Cotsonis).
5. IRR carried out with configuration A; see p. 276.
 6. Analysis of a paint cross section revealed an opaque green lower layer containing lead white and a copper-green pigment, most likely verdigris, finished with a copper-containing glaze. A thick brown unpigmented natural resin is present over these two layers. The fragmentary remains of the repainting contain mainly verdigris and lead white.
 7. Kirby, Saunders, and Spring 2006.
 8. The scapular of the apostle holding the holy-water bucket is painted with a layer of azurite over a layer of vermilion; both layers also contain particles of red lake. Darkening of the paint in combination with the fading of the red-lake pigment most likely contributed to the color change.
 9. The unpigmented translucent layers observed in the cross section were apparently organic but were not thick enough for ATR-FTIR analysis.
 10. The Dormition of the Virgin is found under the heading “119. The Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary” (de Voragine 1993 [ed.], vol. 2, pp. 79–81).
 11. In the ecclesiastical calendar, the Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin have traditionally been celebrated along with the Dormition on August 15.
 12. For an extant example of the girdle book in the Bibliothek, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg (Hs. 17 231), see Rainer Schoch in Washington and Nuremberg 2005–6, pp. 193–95, no. 51.
 13. Illustrated in Field 1965, no. 105.
 14. Richard S. Field in Washington and Nuremberg 2005–6, pp. 104–5, no. 18, ill.
 15. See, for example, the following paintings by Hans Holbein the Elder, in whose workshop Schäußelein participated from about 1509 to 1513: the Kaisheim Altarpiece (Alte Pinakothek, Munich), the Saint Afra Altarpiece (Kunstmuseum Basel), and *The Death of Mary* (Kunstmuseum Basel).
 16. See Field in Washington and Nuremberg 2005–6, p. 150, no. 33, for examples.
 17. See Török 1973.
 18. Sonja Weih-Krüger suggested a painted or sculpted Assumption of the Virgin as the centerpiece, and Metzger agreed in light of the markedly sculptural aspect of the figures in Schäußelein’s paintings. For discussions of the reconstruction of the altarpiece, see Weih-Krüger 1986, pp. 103–4; Metzger (Christof) 2002, pp. 287–88; Daniela Roberts and Elsbeth Wiemann in Stuttgart 2010–11, p. 380.
 19. Metzger (Christof) 2002, p. 288. For additional illustrations of the Sterzing Altarpiece, see Tripps 1969, figs. 208, 209, 229–32, and pp. 263–70; Söding 1991, p. 13, fig. 7. For the Würzach Altarpiece, see Tripps 1969, pp. 86–125, figs. 151–70.
 20. Metzger (Christof) 2002, p. 286; Christof Metzger, email correspondence with Maryan Ainsworth, August 19, 2011 (curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
 21. Metzger (Christof) 2002, p. 288; Roberts and Wiemann in Stuttgart 2010–11, p. 386.
 22. On Schäußelein in Dürer’s workshop, see Metzger (Christof) 2002, pp. 32–37, 91–106.
 23. For illustrations, see Anzelewsky 1991, vol. 1, pp. 156–58, 188–89, nos. 50 and 82, vol. 2, pls. 48, 85.
 24. The close stylistic connection of the interior paintings of the altarpiece with the work of Dürer explains why the Staatsgalerie Stuttgart and Metropolitan Museum panels were attributed to him when they hung together in Pugin’s collection in the nineteenth century.
 25. See especially the three self-portraits, in black chalk, charcoal, and oil on parchment, respectively (formerly art market, New York; Nationalmuseum, Stockholm; and Museum der Bildenden Künste Leipzig), and two versions of *Head of a Bearded Man*, in tempera on paper and tempera on parchment (Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, and Národní Galerie, Prague), all illustrated in Metzger (Christof) 2002, figs. 125, 126, 212–14. See also the red chalk *Portrait of a Man* (MMA 2002.123; Freyda Spira in New York 2012, pp. 32–34, no. 14).
 26. Hollstein 1954–, vol. 43 (1996), nos. 710–38, especially no. 736.
 27. John Rowlands in London 1988, pp. 200–202, no. 170.
 28. See Ainsworth 1987. The identical underdrawing styles of the Staatsgalerie Stuttgart *Adoration* and the Metropolitan painting confirm that Schäußelein himself made the preparatory sketches at least on these two paintings of the series. I am extremely grateful to Dr. Elsbeth Wiemann, Curator at the Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, and Prof. Dr. Christoph Krekel, Head of Conservation at the Akademie der Bildenden Künste, Stuttgart, for exchanging the IRR documentation of our two paintings. The paintings in Hamburg and Gateshead have yet to be investigated with IRR. The underdrawings of the *Dormition* and *Adoration* are also very similar in style and execution to that in Schäußelein’s Ober Sankt Veit Altarpiece (Diözesanmuseum, Vienna). I am very grateful to Dr. Franz Mairinger for sharing his unpublished IRR results of this altarpiece with me in April 2006.
 29. The similar drawing styles of the two masters are discussed by Metzger (Christof) 2002, pp. 91–106; Koreny 2004.
 30. See the discussion in Ainsworth 1987.
 31. Goldner 1988, pp. 300–301, no. 34.
 32. The artist is named after an altarpiece in the Pfarrkirche, Engerda (Thuringia). See Metzger (Christof) 2002, pp. 76–77, 288; Roberts and Wiemann in Stuttgart 2010–11, p. 386. Helga Hoffmann (2000) first suggested the connection between Schäußelein and the Master of Engerda, but not within the context of Hans Holbein the Elder’s workshop. See note 28 above for the exchange of IRR documentation with the Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, which also showed that the Staatsgalerie’s exterior scene, *The Flagellation of Christ*, was underdrawn by the same hand as the Museum’s *Christ Carrying the Cross*.
 33. Further confirmation of the connection of this figure with Schäußelein can be found in a closely similar figure at the far right in the inner left wing (also a *Christ Carrying the Cross*) of the Ober Sankt Veit Altarpiece, which Schäußelein finished about 1507 in Dürer’s workshop (for an illustration, see Metzger [Christof] 2002, fig. 167). The sensitively painted heads of Christ and the tormentor wielding the spiked maul may also have been interventions by Schäußelein, as these heads are superior in execution to those of the same figures in *The Flagellation* in Stuttgart. However, considerable restoration of the head of the henchman in *The Flagellation* makes comparison difficult.
 34. Roberts in Stuttgart 2010–11, pp. 306–9, nos. 68–70.
 35. Metzger (Christof) 2002, p. 288; Roberts and Wiemann in Stuttgart 2010–11, p. 386. On Holbein’s trip to Alsace, see K. Krause 2002, pp. 135, 366, n. 112.
- EXHIBITIONS: Daniela Roberts and Elsbeth Wiemann in Stuttgart 2010–11, pp. 376–87, no. 124, ill.
- REFERENCES: Buchner 1927, p. 71; Strieder 1961a; Strieder 1961b; Pevsner and Wedgwood 1966, p. 112; Falk 1976, p. 16; Baur 1983, p. 100; Weih-Krüger 1986; Weih-Krüger 1988, p. 60; Strieder 1990, pp. 262ff.; Edeltraud Rettich in Rettich, Klapproth, and Ewald 1992, pp. 383–86; Altmann 1993; Baer 1993, pp. 169ff.; Hand 1993, p. 164, n. 13; Strieder 1993, p. 146; Butts 1996, p. 58; Metzger (Christof) 2002, pp. 43–44, 73, 76–77, 106, 108–11, 278–90, nos. 17d and 17h, pp. 516–17, figs. 196, 200, 287, pls. 137, 138; Elsbeth Wiemann in Stuttgart 2010–11, p. 263, under no. 52; Daniela Roberts in Stuttgart 2010–11, p. 306, under nos. 68–70.

Cat. 51A, B Ludwig Schongauer

A. *Christ before Pilate*, B. *The Resurrection*

1. Wood identification and dendrochronological analysis by Peter Klein, Universität Hamburg (report, April 28, 2006, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). Klein’s dendrochronological analysis indicated an earliest felling date of 1475 and an earliest possible fabrication date of 1477.
2. IRR carried out with configuration D; see p. 276.
3. Guy Bauman in Metropolitan Museum 1984a, p. 100.
4. Bauman in *ibid.*, p. 99.
5. Bauman in *ibid.*, p. 100; Moraht-Fromm 2001, p. 36.
6. Formerly belonging to the Margrave of Baden-Baden, sold at Sotheby’s in Baden-Baden, October 10, 1995, no. 2278.
7. Bushart 1959, pp. 140–41.
8. Christie’s 2003, pp. 82–83, no. 41, ill.
9. Letter from Ludwig Meyer to Joshua Waterman, February 12, 2004 (curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA), including reconstruction dated July 29, 2003. The subjects and present locations of the panels are as follows. Above (closed state): left wing, *Christ at Gethsemane*, *The Flagellation* (both location unknown); right wing, *The Arrest of Christ* (private collection), *Christ Before Pilate* (cat. 51A). Below (open state): central panel, *The Crucifixion*(?); left wing, *Ecce Homo*, *Christ Carrying the Cross* (both location unknown); right wing, *The Entombment* (private collection), *The Resurrection* (cat. 51B).
10. The four paintings on the exterior of the wings are missing, and the altarpiece has not been assigned to a particular hand. Alfred Stange attributed it to the Schongauer School in his *Kritisches Verzeichnis* (Stange 1967–78, vol. 2 [1970], p. 41, no. 108). Although Daniela Müller (1994, p. 312) considered the wings of this *Schongaueraltärchen* nineteenth-century copies, Dietmar Lüdtké rightly realized that the wings and the predella are authentic but from different workshops and were assembled in their present form in the nineteenth century; he dated them between

- 1480 and 1500 (Lüdtke in Karlsruhe 2001–2, pp. 353–56, no. 199, ill.). A similar, but more modest, Upper Rhenish house altar with an Annunciation (exterior) and Passion scenes (interior) as well as a sculpture of the Suffering Christ between the Virgin Mary and Saint John is dated 1484 (Historisches Museum Basel; see Anna Moraht-Fromm in Karlsruhe 2001–2, pp. 357–58, no. 201).
11. For the problems related to this methodology and to attributions to Ludwig Schongauer in general, see D. Müller 1994; Moraht-Fromm 2001; Moraht-Fromm in Karlsruhe 2001–2, pp. 243–49.
 12. Illustrated in Colmar 1991, pp. 432–33, no. L1; see also Moraht-Fromm in Karlsruhe 2001–2, p. 244, no. 137. Bushart (1959, pp. 139–40) pointed out the close similarity of the facial types of the sleeping guard at the left of center and the awakened guard at the right in the Metropolitan's *Resurrection* to those of the Saint John and the figure on the ladder, respectively, in Ludwig's Deposition engraving. Bauman noted that the spatial compression and "close-knit" physiognomies of the figures appear in both works. He also remarked on the similarity between the distinctive profiles of the heads in the two Metropolitan panels and the profile of the man in *The Elephant with Its Master* (Kupferstichkabinett, Albertina, Vienna). Bauman further noted that the dog in the underdrawing of the Museum's *Christ before Pilate* has a "reversed counterpart" in Ludwig's print *Two Dogs* (Bauman in Metropolitan Museum 1984a, p. 100). For illustrations of these prints, see Hollstein 1954–, vol. 49 (1999), pp. 11, 12.
 13. Bushart observed that the modeling with dashes and the facial types in the present panels parallel similar characteristics found in the woodcuts that he attributes to Ludwig Schongauer (Bushart 1959, pp. 139–40).
 14. Illustrated in Colmar 1991, pp. 434–36, no. L2 (additional drawings attributed to Ludwig Schongauer are found on pp. 438–49, nos. L3–L8). See also Moraht-Fromm in Karlsruhe 2001–2, pp. 245–46, no. 138, ill.
 15. Koreny 1996, p. 145.
 16. Especially similar, she observed, are "the physiognomies and proportions of the figures, their slenderness as well as their gestures, but also the landscape details such as the bushes and trees." Moraht-Fromm 2001, p. 36.
 17. See *Illustrated Bartsch* 1978–, vol. 8, pt. 1 (1996), pp. 74–108, nos. .019–.030 (B.9–B.20 [124–27], pp. 222–33).
 18. See Châtelet 1991, pp. 74–79.
 19. Nos. C1–20 (Dresden) and nos. N1 46–9 (Leipzig). Mehnert noted especially that the Metropolitan's two panels echo the Passion drawings in Leipzig (Karl-Heinz Mehnert in Ihle and Mehnert 1972, p. 107).
 20. Infrared reflectography has also been carried out on two other paintings in the altarpiece group, *The Taking of Christ* and *The Entombment*. The underdrawing in these displays the same handling and execution of landscape details and figures as found in the underdrawing of the Museum's *Resurrection*. My sincere thanks to the owner of the paintings, and to Christina Currie at the Koninklijk Instituut voor het Kunstpatrimonium / Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique, Brussels, for carrying out this research in 2006.
 21. Koreny 1996, p. 145.
 22. Two additional satellite groups with related paintings are sometimes attributed to Ludwig Schongauer, but are more likely by Upper Rhenish or Swabian masters influenced by Ludwig. One of these includes works in the Philadelphia Museum of Art (*Nativity*), the Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt (*Visitation, Adoration of the Magi*), the Musée Unterlinden, Colmar (*Circumcision*), and a private collection (the ex-Sarre *Annunciation*, last sold at Christie's, London, July 7, 2010, no. 1). Bushart considered that the style of the Metropolitan's panels placed them slightly less firmly among Ludwig's attributed works than this group, about which he had no hesitation (Bushart 1959, pp. 139–40). Moraht-Fromm noted that the attribution of this group to Schongauer is uncertain (Moraht-Fromm in Karlsruhe 2001–2, pp. 246–47, no. 139). The other group that also has a problematic attribution to Schongauer comprises four panels of the Life of the Virgin in the Ulmer Museum, Ulm (Moraht-Fromm in Karlsruhe 2001–2, pp. 248–49, no. 140).

EXHIBITIONS: Stuttgart 1958–59, p. 78, nos. 182, 183

REFERENCES: Bushart 1959, pp. 140–41, figs. 10, 11; Sotheby's 1965, p. 68, no. 113; Stange 1967–78, vol. 2 (1970), p. 131, no. 603; Karl-Heinz Mehnert in Ihle and Mehnert 1972, p. 107; Guy Bauman in Metropolitan Museum 1984a, pp. 98–100, nos. 34, 35, ill.; Baetjer 1995, p. 214, ill.; Heck 1996; Koreny 1996, p. 145, figs. 39, 40; Moraht-Fromm 2001, p. 36, figs. 9, 10; Christie's 2003, p. 83, under no. 41; Schmitt 2004, pp. 19, 21, n. 75, p. 14, n. 101, pp. 27–28, n. 126, pp. 31, 41–43, 60, 65–66, 91, 108; Heinrichs 2007, p. 440, n. 90

Cat. 52 Bernhard Strigel

Portrait of a Woman

1. As indications of dimensions, these numbers are proportionally impossible. They are more likely some type of dealer identification numbers, such as an inventory number or price code, or notations written by the cradle maker.
2. Gauchez sold many of the paintings included in the Museum's Founding Purchase of 1871, of which the present painting was a part.
3. As Robert Stiasny (1892, p. 257) and Theodor von Frimmel (1913–14, vol. 1, pp. 352ff.) have noted, the portrait was not in the auction catalogue of the Samuel von Festetics Collection (Artaria and Altmann, Vienna, March 7 and April 11, 1859, and following days). Despite the fact that the Metropolitan Museum Archives purchase file for the 1871 acquisition mentions Count Samuel von Festetics as the former owner of the painting, this cannot be verified.
4. Wood identification by Peter Klein, Universität Hamburg (report, April 3, 2006, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). Dating of the wood was not possible.
5. Museum records indicate that the cradle was attached in 1871 by Paul Kiewert, who worked in Paris.
6. Record, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA.
7. IRR carried out with configuration A; see p. 276.
8. Baetjer 2004, p. 173, appendix 1A, p. 213, no. 121, ill. p. 213 and fig. 27.
9. See note 3 above.
10. Metropolitan Museum 1872, p. 48, no. 121. The attribution to Cranach was reiterated in subsequent publications, including *Harper's Monthly Magazine* ("Metropolitan Museum" 1880, ill. p. 869) and Fritz Harck's announcement of new information on collections in the *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* (Harck 1888, p. 73).
11. Baetjer 2004, p. 173. See Jacquemart 1871, pl. 8.
12. Stiasny 1892, p. 257. For illustrations of these paintings, see Otto 1964, figs. 130 (no. 62) and 131 (no. 64).
13. Weizinger 1914, pp. 129, 144, no. 39.
14. Dating the painting to the last years of Strigel's life were Kuhn (1936, p. 63, no. 257), Baum (1938, p. 189), Wehle and Salinger (1947, p. 197), Otto (1964, p. 77), and Rettich (1965, p. 96, n. 9).
15. Stange 1934–61, vol. 8 (1957), p. 147. Two other publications by Stange reinforced a relatively early date (Stange 1965, p. 77 [ca. 1510]; Stange 1967–78, vol. 2 [1970], p. 211, no. 929). For *Hieronymus Haller*, see Otto 1964, p. 103, no. 72, fig. 138; Stange 1967–78, vol. 2 (1970), pp. 210–11, no. 927; Schawe 2006, p. 278.
16. Stiasny (1892, p. 260, n. 1) suggested that Strigel's *Portrait of a Man*, formerly in Vienna, but today in the Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid (no. 1934.26), could be the counterpart. This notion was readily rejected by Gertrud Otto (1967, pp. 77, 106, no. 82) and Isolde Lübbecke (1991, p. 376, n. 3), the latter noting that the measurements of the two paintings do not match and that they are of a different character.
17. For illustrations and discussion of these examples, see, respectively, Stephan Kemperdick in Basel 2006a, pp. 58–62, and Hand 1993, pp. 167–73.
18. A forerunner for such a composition can be found in Dürer's 1497 *Portrait of a Young Woman* (called Katharina Fürleger; Gemäldegalerie, Berlin), illustrated in Anzelewsky 1991, vol. 2, pl. 40; see also vol. 1, pp. 147–49, no. A46.
19. Rettich in Rettich, Klapproth, and Ewald 1992, p. 417.
20. Otto 1964, p. 102, no. 60, fig. 128, and p. 105, no. 79, fig. 146.
21. Both Millia Davenport (1948, vol. 1, p. 390, no. 1034) and Kathleen Epstein (1994, fig. 6) selected the Museum's painting to illustrate features of costume design in the sixteenth century. I am extremely grateful to Melinda Watt, Associate Curator in the Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts, MMA, for discussing the various patterns with me and helping to identify their sources. Angélique Wille, Slifka Foundation Interdisciplinary Fellow, 2011–12, Department of European Paintings, MMA, researched the specific patterns in the early German pattern books housed at the Museum.
22. See Markowsky 1976. For comparisons with the background silk damask, see MMA 09.50.2433, an Italian early sixteenth-century silk damask. See also Westhoff et al. 1996, pp. 268, 272. Since versions of this pattern appear in different colors in several of Strigel's paintings, he probably had a length of the fabric or a stencil of a design and used it repeatedly. On the workshop practice of using stencils to copy textile patterns, see Monnas 2008, especially chapters 2 and 3.
23. This stylized star, known as the *Venedigischer Stern*, was used frequently in many variations in sixteenth-century German and Italian pattern books; originating in the Mediterranean area, it was imported through Venice to northern Europe (Epstein 1994, p. 7). See, for example, *Ein new getruckte model Büchli . . .*, published by Hans Schönsperger in 1529, folio 13v (MMA 18.66.2). For an embroidered example

- of this pattern in our collection, see MMA 38.185.19. See also MMA 38.185.22, a woven linen piece (Italy, sixteenth century) in the Antonio Ratti Textile Center.
24. MMA 08.48.131. Several examples exist in Nicolas Bassée's *New Modelbuch*, a pattern book that was published in 1568 in Frankfurt am Main. See also Epstein 1994, p. 6, with further examples.
 25. These books can be found in the Museum's collection as 29.71 and 20.50.2, respectively.
 26. See von Wilckens 1985.
 27. Castelli 1977, p. 337, no. 214, p. 339, no. 217. See also Woods-Marsden 2001, p. 67. My thanks to Yassana Croizat-Glazer, Assistant Curator in the Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts, MMA, for calling my attention to these references.
 28. Lightbown 1988, p. 130.
 29. Castelli 1977, pp. 345–46, no. 226.
 30. Schawe 2006, p. 279.
 31. For illustrations, see Otto 1964, figs. 130 (no. 62), 131 (no. 64), 140 (no. 74), 141 (no. 75), 146 (no. 79).
 32. Kemperdick in Basel 2006a, p. 60.

EXHIBITIONS: New York 1946b, n.p., no. 52

REFERENCES: Jacquemart 1871, pl. 8; Metropolitan Museum 1872, p. 48, no. 121; "Metropolitan Museum" 1880, ill. p. 869; Harck 1888, p. 73; Stiassny 1892, pp. 257, 260, n. 1, ill. p. 259; Bode 1895, p. 18; Metropolitan Museum 1905, p. 164, no. 69; "German Paintings" 1908, p. 234; Weizinger 1914, pp. 129, 144, no. 39; Kuhn 1936, p. 63, no. 257, pl. LI; Baum 1938, p. 189; Wehle and Salinger 1947, p. 197; Davenport 1948, vol. 1, p. 390, no. 1034, ill.; Stange 1934–61, vol. 8 (1957), p. 147; Otto 1964, pp. 77, 106, no. 82, fig. 149; Rettich 1965, pp. 16, 96, n. 9; Stange 1965, ill. p. 77; Stange 1967–78, vol. 2 (1970), p. 211, no. 929; Lübbecke 1991, p. 376, n. 3; Epstein 1994, fig. 6; Baetjer 2004, p. 173, appendix 1A, pp. 197, 213, no. 121, ill. p. 213 and figs. 27, 35 (the painting on view at the Metropolitan Museum in 1946)

Cat. 53 Workshop or circle of Hans Traut

Virgin and Child

1. Wood identification by Peter Klein, Universität Hamburg (report, July 27, 2007, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). Dating of the wood was not possible.
2. IRR carried out with configuration C; see p. 276.
3. For the most recent study of this phenomenon, see Bruges 2010–11.
4. Conway 1922.
5. Letter from Tancred Borenius to vicomte Bernard d'Hendecourt, January 22, 1922 (curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
6. Burroughs 1922b.
7. Pächt 1922; Friedländer 1925, pp. 61, 112, no. 36.
8. Pächt (1922) called for further stylistic comparisons, but in the meantime he recommended that the Berlin *Raising of Lazarus* (considered by Borenius as the connection to Ouwater) and the Prado panels both be attributed to another master, yet to be identified.
9. Friedländer 1925, p. 61.
10. Friedländer, letter of January 4, 1923 (curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA); Winkler 1926, pp. 49–50. See also Guido Messling in Bruges 2010–11, p. 411, no. 225.
11. Among these attributions are a follower of Ouwater (Wehle and Salinger 1947, pp. 52–53); neither Ouwater nor Bouts (Pächt 1922; F. Dülberg 1929, p. 76); a follower of Bouts and Ouwater (Panofsky 1953, p. 494, n. 3; Snyder 1960, pp. 43–44; Snyder 1996, p. 590); an unknown follower of Bouts (Friedländer 1925, pp. 61, 112; Conway 1926, p. 30; Winkler 1926, pp. 49–50; Baldass 1932, pp. 80–81, 114; Schöne 1938, pp. 6–7, 23, 25, 30, 136–38; Kauffmann 1942/1950, p. 131; Wilhelm R. Valentiner, unpublished opinion, April 11, 1946, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA; Held 1949, p. 142; Gerson 1950, p. 14; Amsterdam 1958, p. 45, no. 11; Friedländer 1968, pp. 36, 64; Châtelet 1979, pp. 770–71; Châtelet 1981, pp. 78, 212, no. 54; Snyder 1985, p. 145); a Swiss follower of Konrad Witz (J. Reder of Brussels, unpublished opinion, September 20, 1939, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA); and a provincial work, more Netherlandish than German (John Oliver Hand, unpublished opinion, July 22, 1981, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
12. Letter from Wilhelm Houben, Hamburg-Wellingsbüttel, to Harry B. Wehle and Margareta Salinger, March 15, 1948 (curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
13. Friedrich Winkler, unpublished opinion, April 10–11, 1956 (curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).

14. Illustrated and discussed in Hand 1993, pp. 181–86.
15. Talbot noted the "draftsman's (or engraver's) conventions of the painting. The highlighted strands of hair are accentuated by line in a way uncommon to Bouts; and the crosshatching on the drapery at the bottom does not seem Netherlandish to me." (Letter from Charles Talbot, San Antonio, to Mary Sprinson, March 9, 1979, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). Christiane Andersson concurred with Talbot's opinion (letter from Andersson, Bucknell College, Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, to Katharine Baetjer, August 9, 1991, with additional handwritten notes, September 3, 2001, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
16. Mary Sprinson de Jesús in New York 1998–99, p. 232, no. 53.
17. Friedländer 1968, p. 75, no. Supp. 107, pl. 18.
18. Until recently, the Prado panels were considered early works by Bouts, related to Ouwater and the Haarlem style. However, new information from dendrochronology has revealed that they are later (around 1460) and possibly not all executed by the master's own hand. That is to say, they date around the time of the London *Salting Madonna*. Pèrier-d'Ieteren 2006, pp. 301–13.
19. It has not yet been determined whether the Museo Correr *Virgin and Child* derives from the same pattern. Both paintings, however, may perhaps be based on a model-book drawing (A. Simon 2002, p. 313).
20. See, for example, along the left edge of the Virgin's mantle, the drapery fold line below the Child's right toe, and the upper edge of the parapet. The possibility that this design originated as a pounced cartoon was first suggested by Jeffrey Jennings (1993, p. 242).
21. Especially Schongauer's *Madonna with the Parrot* of the early 1470s (Lehrs 2005, pp. 166–68, no. 37), which derived from Bouts's London *Virgin and Child*; see also Kemperdick 2004, pp. 41–44.
22. See the *Virgin and Child* (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, no. A613; Stange 1934–61, vol. 7 [1955], p. 26, ill. no. 48).
23. For example, the *Virgin and Child* in the Museo Correr, Venice; see Madersbacher 2003, p. 405, fig. 18. See also A. Simon 2002, pp. 312–13.
24. Bodo Brinkmann in Brinkmann and Kemperdick 2005, pp. 346–57.
25. Stephan Kemperdick in Basel 2006a, pp. 48–51, no. 3.
26. Letter from Charles Talbot, San Antonio, to Mary Sprinson, March 9, 1979 (curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
27. E. Bock 1929, p. 182, no. 748; Otto 1964, p. 108, no. 102, fig. 170; Ursula Timann in Kronach and Leipzig 1994, p. 290, no. 106; Messling in Dickel 2009, pp. 273–76, no. 95; Messling in Bruges 2010–11, p. 410, no. 224.
28. Messling in Bruges 2010–11, pp. 411–12. For the Augustinian Altarpiece, most of which is now attributed to Traut (Messling in Bruges 2010–11, p. 410), see Strieder 1993, pp. 87–96, especially pp. 88–89, 91.
29. The support was previously identified as pear wood (New York 1998–99, p. 232). Recent microscopic examination of a sample taken by Peter Klein revealed that it is linden; for report, see note 1 above.
30. This cheaper alternative to a solid gold layer is discussed in Nadolny 2006; Nadolny 2008. See also Heydenreich 2007b, pp. 122–23.
31. An invoice of 1538 lists work carried out by Lucas Cranach and his workshop at Schloss Hartenfels, Torgau, including payment for the gilding of wooden paneling with *Zwischgold*. I am grateful to Gunnar Heydenreich for this information (email to Maryan Ainsworth, November 14, 2007, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). The document is found in the Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Weimar, Ernestinisches Gesamtarchiv, Reg. S. fol. 289, nr. 12, fol. 155r; invoice in connection with the building of Schloss Hartenfels at Torgau (see Schuchardt 1851–71, vol. 3 [1871], p. 279).
32. Similar effects in the brocade hangings in the *Virgin and Child* by the Master of the Benda Madonna (see note 22 above) and the *Portrait of an Architect* by a Bavarian master (see Kemperdick in Basel 2006a, p. 49, no. 3) are also poorly understood and rendered.

EXHIBITIONS: Amsterdam 1958, p. 45, no. 11; Mary Sprinson de Jesús in New York 1998–99, pp. 232–33, no. 53, ill.; Guido Messling in Bruges 2010–11, pp. 411–12, no. 226, ill.

REFERENCES: Burroughs 1922b, ill.; Conway 1922, p. 120, ill. p. 106; Pächt 1922; Friedländer 1925, pp. 61, 112, no. 36, pl. XLIX; Conway 1926, p. 30; Winkler 1926, pp. 49–50, pl. 5; F. Dülberg 1929, p. 76; Baldass 1932, pp. 80–81, 114; Schöne 1938, pp. 6–7, 23, 25, 30, 136–38, no. 22a, pl. 50b; Kauffmann 1942/1950, p. 131; Wehle and Salinger 1947, pp. 52–53, ill.; Held 1949, p. 142; Gerson 1950, p. 14, pl. 16; Panofsky 1953, p. 494, n. 3; Châtelet 1960, pp. 66, 77, 78, n. 3; Snyder 1960, pp. 43–44, n. 23, fig. 4; Friedländer 1968, pp. 36, 64, no. 36, pl. 53; Châtelet 1979, pp. 770–71; Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, p. 18, ill. vol. 3, p. 333; Châtelet 1981, pp. 78, 212, no. 54; Snyder 1985, p. 145; Jennings 1993, p. 242, pl. 99; Baetjer 1995, p. 250, ill.; Snyder 1996, p. 590; A. Simon 2002, p. 313; LeZotte 2008, pp. 138–42; Guido Messling in Dickel 2009, pp. 275–76, under no. 95, fig. 2

Cat. 54 Circle of Friedrich Walther

Sermon of Saint Albertus Magnus

1. Yeide 2009, pp. 113, 330, no. A749.
2. Wood identification by Peter Klein, Universität Hamburg (report, July 27, 2007, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). Dating of the wood was not possible.
3. On such “overdrawn accents,” see Ainsworth 1987.
4. Infrared photography carried out with configuration B; see p. 276.
5. See Gutscher-Schmid 2007, pp. 92–93, fig. 6.14.
6. Ibid., p. 93, which relies on Stammeler 1906, pp. 1–17.
7. Gutscher-Schmid 2007, p. 93 and n. 60.
8. Magnus 1899 (ed.), especially pp. 683–85.
9. The strained attempts of Albert Fries (1965, pp. 251–53) to link the three shrouded figures with the biblical text are not convincing.
10. As it changed hands during the 1940s, the painting was considered variously Rhenish, Netherlandish, and French (see Yeide 2009, p. 330, no. A749). Alfred Stange first proposed the attribution to Walther (unpublished opinion, Tutzing, September 5, 1963, curatorial files, Department of Medieval Art, MMA), which was retained in later scholarship (see Stange 1967–78, vol. 2 [1970], pp. 229–30, no. 1004; Stange and Konrad 2009, no. 1004, ill.).
11. For a more comprehensive biographical discussion, see Baum 1943/1957.
12. Stange 1967–78, vol. 2 (1970), p. 229, no. 1003. See also Susan Marti in Bern and Strasbourg 2000–2001, p. 178, no. 39.

EXHIBITIONS: none

REFERENCES: Fries 1965, ill.; Stange 1967–78, vol. 2 (1970), pp. 229–30, no. 1004; Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, p. 194, ill. vol. 2, p. 290; Baetjer 1995, p. 214, ill.; Gutscher-Schmid 2007, pp. 91–94, fig. 6.16; Stange and Konrad 2009, no. 1004, ill.; Yeide 2009, pp. 113, 330, no. A749, ill.

Cat. 55 Unknown painter, probably Hamburg and Lower Saxony

Christ Blessing, Surrounded by a Donor Family

1. Abbreviations indicated with macrons in the original have been resolved.
2. Wood identification and dendrochronological analysis by Peter Klein, Universität Hamburg (report, July 5, 1996, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). Klein’s dendrochronological analysis indicated an earliest felling date of 1561, an earliest possible fabrication date of 1563, and a plausible fabrication date of 1573 or later.
3. On such strainers, see Bisacca 1998, pp. 355–57.
4. IRR carried out with configuration A; see p. 276.
5. The wood was identified by visual inspection by George Bisacca, Conservator, and Cynthia Moyer, Associate Conservator, Department of Paintings Conservation, MMA (report, Departments of European Paintings and Paintings Conservation, MMA). Dating of the wood was not attempted.
6. The first campaign is composed of a white preparation layer beneath an orange opaque layer, followed by a gold layer. The second is composed of an ochre preparation layer beneath a gold layer. The third is composed of a white preparation layer beneath an alligatored transparent orange mordant beneath a very fragmented gold layer. The outer fillet and sides are painted with a white ground layer followed by three campaigns of black paint with a dark gray as the second layer.
7. The frames have been overpainted at least four times with various shades of opaque light blue. Examination with the stereomicroscope showed that the smalt, which has discolored, was originally applied over an azurite underlayer to achieve a translucent deep blue in rich contrast to the gilding.
8. Sam Segal (1996, p. 147, n. 129) identified the flowers as follows, from left to right, omitting repetitions: *Rosa gallica* (French rose), *Calendula officinalis* (pot marigold), *Ranunculus acris* (meadow buttercup), *Bellis perennis* (daisy), *Matthiola incana* (stock), *Dianthus caryophyllus* (clove pink), *Dianthus plumarius* (feathered pink), *Agrostemma githago* (common corncockle), *Rosa × alba* (alba rose), *Borago officinalis* (borage), *Silene latifolia* (white campion). The fading of red-lake pigment in many of the flowers has decreased the intensity of the reds and pinks.
9. See Wehle and Salinger 1947, p. 230; Paul Pieper in Riewerts and Pieper 1955, p. 120, no. 138; Angelika Lorenz in Münster 1996, vol. 2, p. 644. Only Theodor Riewerts in Riewerts and Pieper 1955, p. 49, saw her as the daughter and him as the son-in-law.
10. See, for example, Barthel Bruyn the Elder, Passion Altarpiece of the Siegen Family, ca. 1540, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg (Löcher 1997, pp. 102–8, ill.), whose right wing shows the family’s matriarch with four daughters, two of whom

are married, as indicated by their headdresses. The young men on the left wing are brothers.

11. From the extensive literature on this topic, see the following selections: Pilz 1967, especially cols. 925–27; Schoenen 1967, especially cols. 890–906; Oexle 1984, especially pp. 418–34; Harasimowicz 1991; Utrecht 1999–2000; Brine 2008.
12. M. Schmidt 2000, p. 99.
13. I thank both Gisela Jaacks and Hermann Hipp for confirming the identification (emails to the author, August 5, 2005, and July 18, 2011, respectively, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). This appears to be the earliest extant view of Hamburg from the east; more common in the period were views from the south (see Hipp 1999, pp. 236–37, 240). Hamburg was first mentioned in connection with this triptych by Heinrich Zimmermann, yet the lead was not pursued until now, presumably because Zimmermann was not identifying the city but only observing a stylistic parallel with a separate painted depiction of Hamburg (letter from Heinrich Zimmermann to Claus Virch, dated Tutzing, March 2, 1970, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). The various previous attempts at identification, all invalid, are: Lübeck (Max J. Friedländer, unpublished opinion, December 1924, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA), Soest (Waldmann 1937, p. 297; Schwartz 1955–62, vol. 1 [1955], pp. 54–56; Brauen 1964, p. 45), Bremen, Braunschweig, and Lüneburg (Lorenz in Münster 1996, vol. 2, p. 644).
14. On which see Plagemann 1995, pp. 56–65, 151–56, 214–17, 231–33, 339–50, with references to earlier literature.
15. View from the south on the epitaph of Franz Oldehorst, after 1565 (Stadtkirche, Wittenberg; see C. Schellenberg 1939, p. 119, ill.; Schulze 2004, p. 185, ill.); view from the south on Melchior Lorck’s map of the Elbe River, 1568 (Staatsarchiv, Hamburg; see Bolland 1964, p. 35, ill.; Gobert and Wiek 1968, pl. 2; E. Fischer 2009–, vol. 1, p. 26, no. 1568 [1], ill.); view from the south and bird’s-eye view in Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (vol. 1 [1572] and vol. 4 [1588]; see G. Braun and Hogenberg 1572–1617/2008, ill. pp. 84–85, 312–13; see also Gobert and Wiek 1968, pls. 4, 5); and view from the north in an engraving by Daniel Frese, 1587 (see Gobert and Wiek 1968, pl. 3).
16. See Gobert and Wiek 1968, pl. 3.
17. See *ibid.*, pl. 10.
18. See *ibid.*, pls. 2, 4.
19. See *ibid.*, pls. 10–13.
20. See *ibid.*, pls. 3, 4. The short spire visible between the towers of Sankt Jakobi and Sankt Petri may be the ridge turret of Sankt Marien-Magdalenen. Two red triangles just above the grass line (left and center) probably represent roofs of Hamburg’s fortification towers.
21. For the dome of Sankt Gertruden, see the far left of Frese’s view (Gobert and Wiek 1968, pl. 3).
22. E. Fischer 2009–, vol. 1, p. 31, no. 1571–73 (4), ill.
23. Comparison with the editions of Lübeck 1534 (Dietz) and Wittenberg 1541 (Lufft) and 1561 (Rhau), all consulted at the New York Public Library, revealed only one notable difference—in Psalm 27, where the triptych’s inscription uses *eins* and *leve lanck* for Bugenhagen’s *einerley* and *lëuedage*. The connection with the Bugenhagen translation was made by Brauen 1964, pp. 34–36, and more recently by the late Jutta Held (letter from Jutta Held to Maryan Ainsworth, dated Osnabrück, November 13, 2000, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). On Bugenhagen’s translation, see Schröder 1991.
24. I thank Gisela Jaacks for bringing this to my attention (email to the author, August 5, 2005, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). On the tower extension in these years, see Gobert and Wiek 1968, p. 165.
25. Ost 1980, p. 138.
26. See, for example, the triptych wings attributed to Maarten van Heemskerck in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (central panel in the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam), in which one of the male donors turns away from the Entombment scene at the center to address the viewer directly (Truus van Bueren in Utrecht 1999–2000, pp. 117, 118, 277, 278, nos. 69, 93, fig. 108).
27. See Wolfson 1992, pp. 88–89, no. 27, ill.
28. See, for example, the predellas of the high altarpieces of the Jakobskirche, Rothenburg ob der Tauber, completed 1466, and the Klosterkirche, Blaubeuren, completed 1494 (Kahsnitz 2005, pls. 12, 90, respectively).
29. The lost predella is illustrated in the fourth volume (1731) of Nicolaus Staphorst’s *Hamburgische Kirchen-Geschichte* (see Hamburg 1999–2000, p. 142, fig. 1). The remaining parts of the altarpiece are now in the Hamburger Kunsthalle.
30. Lutheran reform was officially introduced to Hamburg by the city council in 1528.
31. See Dingel 2003. Serving as acting superintendent from 1562, Westphal was officially elected to the post in 1571.
32. See Nestingen 1996. I am grateful to Mark T. Lindholm for introducing me to these aspects of Lutheran intra-confessional strife.

33. See Kolb 1996.
34. Formula of Concord, art. 8, par. 76, in *Book of Concord 1580/2000*, p. 631. Pieper in Riewerts and Pieper 1955, p. 121, was the first to note the triptych's connection with this verse from Matthew.
35. Formula of Concord, art. 8, par. 78, in *Book of Concord 1580/2000*, p. 631.
36. On Hamburg and the *Book of Concord*, see Hauschild 2004; Mager 2004.
37. For further consideration of Gnesio-Lutheran perspectives in connection with the visual arts, see Koerner 2004, pp. 274–81.
38. Metropolitan Museum 1905/1911, n.p., addenda, January–February 1908, gallery 24; suggested by Cornelis Hofstede de Groot (unpublished opinion, September 2, 1908, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
39. Burroughs 1914, p. 222; Hölker 1927, pp. 49, 86, no. 90; Geisberg 1931, p. 48; Hölker 1934, p. 364; Riewerts in Riewerts and Pieper 1955, pp. 48–50. The tom Ring attribution is also found in Burroughs 1931, pp. 303–4; Kuhn 1936, p. 34, no. 73; Waldmann 1937, p. 300; Wehle and Salinger 1947, pp. 229–31; Boström 1952, p. 54.
40. Pieper in Riewerts and Pieper 1955, pp. 120–21, no. 138.
41. See Zimmermann's initial disagreement with Pieper recorded in "Kunsthistorikertag" 1954, p. 290; and his later concurrence in two letters to Claus Virch, dated Tutzing, February 16, 1970, and March 2, 1970 (curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
42. See Schwartz 1955–62, vol. 1 (1955), pp. 54–56; Gottlieb 1960, p. 332, n. 40; Brauen 1964, pp. 51–54; Langemeyer 1979, p. 226; Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, pp. 155–56; Ost 1980, pp. 137–38, 141; E. de Jongh in Haarlem 1986, pp. 36, 63, n. 5; Hughes 1986, p. 36, n. 38; McConnell 1991, pp. 26, 82; Baetjer 1995, p. 228; Gmelin 1996; Schulze 2004, p. 186.
43. Segal 1996, p. 134.
44. Lorenz in Münster 1996, vol. 2, pp. 644–45, cat. raisonné no. 202; the same attribution is in Hahn-Woernle 1996, pp. 79, 81, n. 25.
45. Lorenz in Münster 1996, vol. 2, pp. 620–21, nos. 155, 156, ill.
46. See also, for example, Ludger tom Ring the Younger's 1568 portrait of Hermann Huddaeus (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin; Lorenz in *ibid.*, pp. 619–20, no. 154, ill.).
47. According to Hildegard Kaul's infrared reflectography report on the Reiners' portraits in Braunschweig, dated January 24, 2000, kindly made available by Jochen Luckhardt (curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
48. Zimmermann included the following paintings in his tentative Spitzer oeuvre (see H. Zimmermann 1953–54; "Kunsthistorikertag" 1954, p. 289): three memorial panels in the Stadtkirche, Wittenberg (*Epitaph for Sara Cracov*, 1565; *Epitaph for Melchior Fendt*, 1569; *Epitaph for Franz Oldehorst*, after 1565 [Steinwachs 2000, pp. 50, 61, ill.; Schulze 2004, p. 185, ill.]); and the donor portraits in the Schlosskapelle, Celle, ca. 1569–76 (on which see below). Also on Spitzer, see H. Zimmermann 1971.
49. Traditionally attributed to Ludger tom Ring the Younger; see Pieper in Riewerts and Pieper 1955, p. 129, no. 160; José Kasler in Lemgo 1989, vol. 1, pp. 411–12, no. 709, pl. 13; Lemgo 1996, p. 246, ill.; Lorenz in Münster 1996, vol. 2, pp. 478–79, no. 122, ill., p. 631, cat. raisonné no. 174.
50. These frequently have been attributed to Ludger tom Ring the Younger but the connection is tenuous; see Zweite 1980, pp. 90–91, 124–25, fig. 21; Otten and Zweite 1991, p. 20, ill. p. 5; B. Bock 2003, pp. 46–47, fig. 3; K. Schellenberg 2012, pp. 90–92, figs. 8, 9. For an overview of the history of attributions, see Zweite 1980, pp. 124–25, n. 22; Paetzold 2000, p. 178, n. 59.
51. On the renovation of the chapel in those years, see Zweite 1980, pp. 87–90; Lass 2012, pp. 25–35.
52. The connection has been noted before: Cornelis Hofstede de Groot, unpublished opinion, September 2, 1908 (see note 38 above); Pieper in "Kunsthistorikertag" 1954, p. 290; Heinrich Zimmermann, letter to Claus Virch, dated Tutzing, March 2, 1970 (see note 41 above). I am grateful to Wolfgang Mittlmeier of the Niedersächsisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege, Hannover, for kindly providing color detail photography of the Celle donor portraits for study in 2008. For detail illustrations, see Schmiegitz-Otten 2012, pp. 182, 224–26, 230–33.
53. On the Museum's frames, women and grotesques (center panel), and women and lions (wing panels); on the Celle Schlosskapelle frames (Schmiegitz-Otten 2012, ill. p. 57), women and probably angels. I thank Juliane Schmiegitz-Otten for information on the Celle frames, which currently are not directly accessible (email, June 7, 2012; curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
54. See Schmiegitz-Otten 2012, ill. pp. 158–60.

EXHIBITIONS: New York 1956, suppl., n.p., no. 201

REFERENCES: Metropolitan Museum 1905/1911, n.p., addenda, January–February 1908, gallery 24; Burroughs 1914, p. 222; "Morgan Gift" 1918, p. 17; Hölker 1927, pp. 48, 49, 86, no. 90, pls. XXIV, XXV; Burroughs 1931, pp. 303–4; Geisberg 1931, p. 48; Hölker 1934, p. 364; Kuhn 1936, p. 34, no. 73; Waldmann 1937, p. 300, ill. p. 297 (detail); Wehle and Salinger

1947, pp. 229–31, ill.; Davenport 1948, vol. 1, p. 413, nos. 1104–6, ill.; Boström 1952, p. 54; "Kunsthistorikertag" 1954, p. 290; Theodor Riewerts in Riewerts and Pieper 1955, pp. 48–50; Paul Pieper in Riewerts and Pieper 1955, pp. 120–21, no. 138, p. 130, under no. 162, pls. 121–24 (overall and details); Schwartz 1955–62, vol. 1 (1955), pp. 54–56, ill. (detail); Gottlieb 1960, p. 332, n. 40; Brauen 1964, pp. 1–93, figs. 1a–1c (overall and details); Langemeyer 1979, p. 226, ill. p. 224; Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, pp. 155–56, ill. vol. 2, p. 306; Ost 1980, pp. 131, 137–38, 141, fig. 6; E. de Jongh in Haarlem 1986, pp. 36, 63, n. 5, fig. 31; Hughes 1986, p. 36, n. 38; McConnell 1991, pp. 26, 82, ill. pp. 27, 82–83 (overall and detail); Baetjer 1995, p. 228, ill. p. 229; Gmelin 1996; Hahn-Woernle 1996, pp. 79, 81, n. 25, ill.; Angelika Lorenz in Münster 1996, vol. 2, pp. 644–45, cat. raisonné no. 202, ill., p. 610, under cat. raisonné no. 139; Segal 1996, pp. 134, 147, nn. 128, 129; Schulze 2004, p. 186

Cat. 56 Unknown painter, Middle Rhine(?)

The Adoration of the Magi

1. Wood identification by Peter Klein, Universität Hamburg (report, May 13, 1997, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). Dating of the wood was not possible.
2. IRR carried out with configuration C; see p. 276.
3. See Weis 1968, cols. 541, 543.
4. For an example of zodiacal signs used in connection with the coming of Christ, see Jan van Eyck's *Annunciation* in the National Gallery of Art, Washington (on which see John Oliver Hand in Hand and Wolff 1986, p. 80).
5. The comet in Giotto's *Adoration of the Magi* in the Arena Chapel, Padua, is a well known example; see Massing 1987.
6. In the absence of the original frame, there is no evidence for or against the attachment of other panels.
7. New York 1965–66, n.p., no. 15; repeated in Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, p. 70, and Baetjer 1995, p. 216.
8. For example, the name paintings of about 1440–50 in the Obere Stadtkirche, Iserlohn (see Karrenbrock 2010, p. 43, fig. 38).
9. Martha Wolff in Sterling et al. 1998, pp. 34–36, no. 7. For the altarpiece by Rogier van der Weyden, see de Vos 1999, pp. 276–84, no. 21, ill.
10. Wolff in Sterling et al. 1998, pp. 35–36. For Lochner's altarpiece, see Chapuis 2004, pp. 58–66, pl. 21.
11. A similar transfer of the page's sword and shoulder strap to a kneeling magus in red was realized, in mirror image, by the Master of the Life of the Virgin in the *Adoration of the Magi* of about 1470 now in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg (on loan from the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich; see Köllermann 2010, p. 73, fig. 71).
12. A. M. Schulz 1971, pp. 67–69; Köllermann 2010, pp. 71–72.
13. Dhanens 1980, pp. 212–31, ill.
14. De Vos 1999, pp. 242–47, no. 15, ill.; Antje-Fee Köllermann in Frankfurt and Berlin 2008–9, pp. 337–40, no. 33, ill.
15. Périer-d'Ieteren 2006, pp. 314–23, no. A2, ill. (attributed to Bouts and workshop); Schawe 2006, p. 300, ill.
16. On this function of drawings, see Buck 2001b, pp. 25–29, 34–37; Koreny and Zeman 2002, pp. 13–15; Messling 2010, pp. 97–101.
17. Wolff in Sterling et al. 1998, p. 36, fig. 7.2. On the *Vision of Saint John the Evangelist*, which, at 130 × 160 cm, is considerably larger than the present work, see Zehnder 1990, pp. 330–34, fig. 212.
18. See Kemperdick 2003; Köllermann 2010.
19. Kemperdick 2003, pp. 71–72, in reference to the Nativity scene in Memling's *Seven Joys of the Virgin* in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich.
20. For the Master of the Housebook/Amsterdam Cabinet and his circle, see Amsterdam 1985; Hess 1994; König 1997 (all with references to extensive earlier literature). An important recent discussion of the Master's painted oeuvre, on the basis of the *Resurrection* in the Städel Museum, Frankfurt, is available from Stephan Kemperdick in Brinkmann and Kemperdick 2002, pp. 317–24.
21. For the genre scenes, see the facsimile edition *Medieval Housebook* ca. 1470–90/1997, vol. 1, fols. 18v–24r; see also Amsterdam 1985, pp. 224–28, 241–42, under no. 117. On the Master of the Genre Scenes (called the Master of the Tournaments in Amsterdam 1985, following a distinction made by Rüdiger Beckmann in 1968), see Hess 1994, pp. 45–57. For an overview of the literature concerned with the distinction of hands in the illustrations of the *Housebook*, see Hess 1994, p. 139.
22. For the Master's depictions of the planets, see *Medieval Housebook* ca. 1470–90/1997, vol. 1, fols. 13r, 14r, 17r; Amsterdam 1985, ill. pp. 223, 225. Examples of his drypoints are the *Falconer and Companion* and *Two Men in Discussion* in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam (Lehrs 1908–34, vol. 8 [1932], pp. 149–50, nos. 75, 76; Amsterdam 1985, nos. 70, 71, ill.).

23. See Madou 1985, especially p. 289.
24. Hess 1994, pp. 49–52; Holm Bevers in Washington 1999–2000, pp. 58–62, nos. 16, 17, ill.
25. The paintings are here understood to comprise the so-called Speyer Altarpiece and related works, on which see Kemperdick in Brinkmann and Kemperdick 2002, pp. 309–24. Alternatively, Hess 1994, pp. 69–110, assigned the Speyer Altarpiece to a separate hand and argued for the *Pair of Lovers* in the Schlossmuseum, Schloss Friedenstien, Gotha, as representative of the Housebook Master's painting style.

EXHIBITIONS: New York 1965–66, n.p., no. 15

REFERENCES: Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, p. 70, ill. vol. 2, p. 293; Baetjer 1995, p. 216, ill.; Martha Wolff in Sterling et al. 1998, pp. 34–36, no. 7, ill.

Cat. 57 Unknown painter, Nuremberg

The Bishop of Assisi, Accompanied by Saint Francis, Handing a Palm to Saint Clare

1. Wood identification and dendrochronological analysis by Peter Klein, Universität Hamburg (report, July 14, 2006, Department of European Paintings, MMA). Klein's dendrochronological analysis indicated an earliest felling date of 1323, an earliest possible fabrication date of 1325, and a plausible fabrication date of 1339.
2. Samples were analyzed for both protein and oil using MethPrep analysis. Results indicated a drying-oil binding medium, probably linseed oil.
3. IRR carried out with configuration A; see p. 276.
4. The punched six-lobed floral pattern in the border appears in five related panels on the theme of Saint Clare (see below) as well as in the Crucifixion scene of the Altarpiece of the Order of Teutonic Knights (*Deutschordensaltar*) in the Jakobskirche, Nuremberg, and in the *Mengot Epitaph*, dated 1370, in the Heilsbronn Münster (former abbey church of the Cistercian monastery). See Frinta 1998, p. 486, L53.
5. Nos. 1161, 1187, and 1217.
6. Nos. 38 and 39. A note in the curatorial files of the Department of European Paintings, MMA, says there is an additional panel, representing a kneeling figure, in a private collection in Regensburg. The statement, which is repeated by William D. Wixom (in New York 1999, p. 154), is apparently based on the catalogue entry for the *Death and Coronation of Saint Clare* panel in Paris 1950, p. 32, no. 15, which states that there is another panel "à Ratisbonne (*Ange de l'Annonciation*, transformé par la suite en *saint Barthélémy*)."
7. Stephan Kemperdick in Bonn and Essen 2005, p. 509.
8. See Peter Strieder in Nuremberg 1982, p. 83.
9. E. Hall and Uhr 1985, especially pp. 596–97.
10. For the Santa Chiara panel, see *Santa Chiara d'Assisi* 1954, pp. 201–12; *Bollettino dell'Istituto Centrale de Restauro* 23–24 (1955), pp. 191–97, figs. 115–20.
11. Kurth 1929, especially pp. 41–53. The manuscript Kurth found especially relevant is in Dresden, Zentrale Kunstbibliothek, Ms. M 281.
12. Lutze 1930–31, pp. 10–13. The 1362 document is Nuremberg Staatsarchiv, no. 1118. See Lutze 1930–31, p. 10, pls. 2, 4; Stephan Kemperdick in Frankfurt 2002, pp. 33–37, fig. 23; Robert Suckale in Bonn and Essen 2005, pp. 514–15, no. 460.
13. See Suckale in Bonn and Essen 2005, p. 514.
14. See Kemperdick in *ibid.*, p. 510; Suckale in *ibid.*, p. 514.
15. See Hamburger 1998, pp. 387–88.

EXHIBITIONS: Nuremberg 1931, no. 33f.; Peter Strieder in Nuremberg 1982, pp. 83–84, no. 61b; Kurt Löcher in New York and Nuremberg 1986, pp. 122–23, no. 8a, ill.; William D. Wixom in New York 1999, pp. 154–55, no. 181, ill.; Stephan Kemperdick in Bonn and Essen 2005, pp. 509–12, no. 458b, ill.

REFERENCES: Lutze 1930–31, p. 10–13, pl. 35; H. Zimmermann 1930–31, pp. 24–25, 50, pl. 35; Stange 1934–61, vol. 1 (1934), pp. 201–3, ill. no. 210; Lutze and Wiegand 1936–37, vol. 1 (1936), p. 116; Paris 1950, p. 32, under no. 15; Musper 1961, pp. 135–37; Musper 1970, p. 33, fig. 25; Stange 1967–78, vol. 3 (1978), pp. 20–21, no. 8; Sotheby's 1978, p. 180, no. 117, ill. p. 188; William D. Wixom in Metropolitan Museum 1985, p. 13, ill.; Strieder 1993, pp. 20–23, 166–67, no. 4, ill. pp. 21, 22; Baetjer 1995, p. 212, ill.

Cat. 58 Unknown painter, Nuremberg

Portrait of a Man

1. The curatorial files in the Department of European Paintings, MMA, note the presence of such a label when the painting entered the collection.

2. Wood identification by Marijn Manuels, Conservator, Department of Objects Conservation, MMA (report, July 2005, files, Department of Paintings Conservation, MMA). Dating of the wood was not possible.
3. Documentation of the label and wax application is located in the curatorial files of the Department of European Paintings, MMA.
4. Pigments were identified by X-ray diffraction by J. H. Frantz, formerly of the Department of Objects Conservation, MMA (report, June 8, 1973, files, Department of Paintings Conservation, MMA).
5. IRR carried out with configuration C; see p. 276.
6. L. Campbell 1998, pp. 46–51.
7. For comparable costumes of similar date, see Upper Rhenish Master, *Portrait of a Young Man*, ca. 1490 (Augustinermuseum, Freiburg, no. M64/1; Zinke 1990, pp. 44–45), and Jacob Elsner(?), *Portrait of a Boy with a Red Hat*, ca. 1500 (Museum im Roselius-Haus, Bremen, no. B322; Stamm 2003, pp. 44–47, no. 9).
8. Lepke's 1930, p. 44, no. 35. For the relationship between the two versions of this portrait, see Friedrich Winkler, letter to Harry Wehle, February 3, 1930 (curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA); Winkler 1930b, p. 79.
9. Henkel 1923, p. 687; Friedländer, letter to Wehle, January 15, 1924 (curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
10. Other examples, both from 1497, are Dürer's *Portrait of a Young Woman* (called Katharina Fürleger; Gemäldegalerie, Berlin) and *The Painter's Father* (National Gallery, London). For illustrations of these works, see Anzelewsky 1991, vol. 2, pls. 10, 43, and 40, 44, respectively.
11. The likely later addition of the letters, noted in Wehle and Salinger 1947, p. 175, was more recently supported by technical examination of the painting at the Metropolitan Museum.
12. Supporting a Middle or Upper Rhenish attribution were Erwin Panofsky (unpublished opinion, February 11, 1933, and letters to Margaretta Salinger, December 1, 1940, and November 14, 1942, all in curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA) and Nuremberg 1971, pp. 99–101. Favoring the Franconian region were August L. Mayer (letter to Wehle, January 21, 1924, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA), Bryson Burroughs (1931, p. 234), Gustav Pauli (unpublished opinion, February 2, 1935, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA), Hans Tietze (1935, p. 338, pl. 199), and Charles L. Kuhn ("probably a Nuremberg painter"; Kuhn 1936, p. 53, no. 194). Juan Zocchi (1944, pl. 16) alone assigned the portrait to Matthias Grünewald, while Ernst Buchner (1953, pp. 133–34, 210, no. 148) attributed it to the Master of the Darmstadt Passion. Alfred Stange (1934–61, vol. 7 [1955], p. 27; also Stange 1967–78, vol. 2 [1970], pp. 44–45) thought that the portrait could be by the Master of the Benda Madonna.
13. Wehle 1924, pp. 61–62, and reiterated as the Master of the Augustinian Altarpiece in Wehle and Salinger 1947, pp. 174–75. This was supported by Ernst Holzinger (unpublished opinion, March 9, 1937, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA) and Westrum (1979, pp. 61–62).
14. See Guido Messling in Bruges 2010–11, pp. 410–12, nos. 224, 226.
15. See Strieder 1993, pp. 87–93, 221–28, nos. 73, 74, colorplates on pp. 88–89.
16. Stephan Kemperdick in Brinkmann and Kemperdick 2002, pp. 368–74.
17. The general similarity of the two river views to that in the *Virgin and Child* attributed to the workshop or circle of Hans Traut (cat. 53) again locates the Museum's portrait in Nuremberg (see Messling in Bruges 2010–11, pp. 410–12, nos. 224, 226).
18. See Merkl 1999, pp. 58–62, especially pp. 60–62.
19. Anna Moraht-Fromm in Vienna and Munich 2011–12, pp. 283–84, no. 181. Other portraits similar to the present work include *Portrait of a Man*, formerly Gitmann Collection (Christie's, Amsterdam, May 13, 2003, no. 27), and *Portrait of a Young Man* (*Jörg Ketzler*) (Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg). The latter bears an inscription on the reverse that identifies the sitter, the date (1499), and the painter (Elsner). This portrait, in far better condition than the Museum's painting, shows a more subtly blended modeling of the flesh tones, which may indicate the artist's increasingly mature handling and execution some eight years later.

EXHIBITIONS: New York 1947, n.p., no. 12; Nuremberg 1971, pp. 99–100, no. 167, ill. p. 102

REFERENCES: Charles Lock Eastlake, Notebook, National Gallery Archives (NG 22 / 30), National Gallery, London, no. 30, fol. 10r (entry of September 1, 1862; published in Avery-Quash 2011, vol. 1, p. 596, vol. 2, p. 27, fig. 30.9 [sketch by Eastlake]); Frederik Muller 1923, p. 7, no. 13, ill.; Henkel 1923, p. 687; "Dans les galeries" 1924, p. 136, ill. p. 137; Wehle 1924, ill.; Lepke's 1930, p. 44, under no. 35; Winkler 1930b, p. 79; Burroughs 1931, p. 234, ill. facing p. 241; Tietze 1935, p. 338, pl. 199; Kuhn 1936, p. 53, no. 194, pl. XXXVI; Tietze 1939, p. 322, pl. 199; Zocchi 1944, pl. 16; Wehle and Salinger 1947, pp. 174–75, ill.; Davenport 1948, vol. 1, p. 340, no. 891, ill.; Buchner 1953, pp. 133–34, 210, no. 148, pl. 148; Stange 1934–61, vol. 7 (1955), p. 27, ill. no. 49; Stange 1967–78, vol. 2 (1970), pp. 44–45, no. 133;

Westrum 1979, pp. 61–62, ill.; Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, p. 70, ill. vol. 2, p. 293; Baetjer 1995, p. 216, ill. p. 217

Cat. 59 Unknown painter and sculptor, Swabia

House Altarpiece

1. Wood identification by Peter Klein, Universität Hamburg (report, July 27, 2007, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). Dating of the wood was not possible.
2. Infrared photography carried out with configuration B; see p. 276.
3. See Löcher 1997, pp. 352–54. The sculptures are later and, along with the background, have been overpainted.
4. Saint Barbara was frequently depicted with a chalice rather than a tower in southern German art of the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, for example, the Nuremberg house altarpiece in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum illustrated here (fig. 208).
5. See, for example, Hans Greif's reliquary statue of Saint Anne (1472, Musée National du Moyen Age, Paris) and Tilman Riemenschneider's *Seated Anna Selbdritt* (1490–95, Mainfränkisches Museum, Würzburg).
6. For a full discussion of the cult of Saint Anne and the *Anna Selbdritt*, see Nixon 2004.

EXHIBITIONS: Timothy B. Husband in New York 1999, pp. 191–92, no. 232, ill.

REFERENCES: Christie's 1990, p. 30, no. 14, ill.; Baetjer 1995, p. 215, ill.; Nixon 2004, pp. 146–47, fig. 27

Cat. 60A, B Unknown painter, northern Switzerland

A. *Saint Agapitus of Praeneste in the Arena / The Beheading of Saint Agapitus of Praeneste*, B. *Saint Remigius Replenishing the Barrel of Wine / Saint Remigius and the Burning Wheat*

1. Provenance established in Baetjer 2004, appendix 1A, p. 205, nos. 87, 88, and passim.
2. Wood identification was not possible because the modern attached frames could not be removed in order to examine the panel edges.
3. On such overdrawn lines, see Ainsworth 1987.
4. Infrared photography carried out with configuration B; see p. 276.
5. On Agapitus of Praeneste (not to be confused with Pope Agapetus I), see Kellner 1930, especially pp. 404–11; Sauser 1973. The saint on this panel long went unidentified, but the youthful features, the ordeal in the arena, and the beheading are all compatible with Agapitus. For previous attempts at identification, see Kuhn 1936, p. 74, no. 325 (Saint Thecla; erroneous because female); Wehle and Salinger 1947, pp. 170–73 (Saints Agapitus, Eleutherius, or Torpes of Pisa; the latter two erroneous, respectively, because of details of the martyrdom and the rarity of the cult outside Tuscany and Provence); Held 1949, p. 140 (Saint Pantaleon; erroneous because of the method of execution); and Stange 1934–61, vol. 7 (1955), p. 59 (Saint Vitus; erroneous because, after undergoing various tortures, he died a peaceful death on a riverbank).
6. See Mellinkoff 1993, vol. 1, p. 25.
7. See de Voragine 1993 (ed.), vol. 1, p. 86. Remigius was first correctly identified by Eric R. D. MacLagan in a letter to Roger Fry, dated London, October 22, 1906 (curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
8. De Voragine 1993 (ed.), vol. 2, p. 217.
9. Coincidentally, there are what appear to be actual burn marks in the paint layers below the doorway to the left of Remigius's hands. They may have been caused by a viewer holding a candle too close to the panel.
10. De Voragine 1993 (ed.), vol. 2, p. 217.
11. Ibid.
12. Kellner 1930, p. 414.
13. My proposal for the arrangement of the Museum's panels follows chronological order in the determination of exterior and interior. The placement of Agapitus on the left and Remigius on the right makes compositional sense, given the angle of the orthogonals in *Saint Remigius Replenishing the Barrel of Wine* and the disposition of figures, landscape, and sky in the second opening. Alfred Stange (1934–61, vol. 7 [1955], p. 79; Stange 1967–78, vol. 2 [1970], p. 83, no. 355) misunderstood the distribution of images and thought that each panel bore one Remigius and one Agapitus (Vitus, according to Stange) scene.
14. Metropolitan Museum 1872, p. 39, nos. 87, 88. The name is a corruption of "Jakob Walch," which was a German sobriquet for the Venetian painter Jacopo de' Barbari

- ("Walch" is equivalent to *der Welsche*, "the Italian"). Based on confused readings of early biographical sources, certain nineteenth-century authors stylized "Jakob Walch" as a native of Nuremberg and the teacher of Wolgemut, and the misconception became widespread. For a summary of this historiography, see Eduard Koloff, "Jacopo de' Barbari," and the appended editorial comment by Hermann Lücke, in Nagler 1872–85, vol. 2 (1878), pp. 706–8. The unusual name form associated with the Metropolitan's paintings may have its source in Villot 1852, pp. 303–4, under no. 564 (and later editions), where "Walch" was printed as "Walen."
15. New York 1906, p. 27, no. 44; Kuhn 1936, p. 74, nos. 325, 326.
 16. Wehle and Salinger 1947, pp. 170–73; Otto Fischer, letter dated Basel, August 10, 1935; Paul Ganz, unpublished opinion, December 17, 1937; Otto Benesch, unpublished opinion, December 20, 1940 (letter and unpublished opinions, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
 17. Stange 1934–61, vol. 7 (1955), p. 79; repeated in Stange 1967–78, vol. 2 (1970), p. 83, no. 355 (expanding a group established in Hugelshofer 1928, pp. 38–39; although, contrary to the note in Konrad 1989, p. 88, under no. XV, Hugelshofer does not cite the Metropolitan's panels).
 18. Konrad 1989, pp. 88–90, nos. XVa–d. For the emperor scenes, see H. Wagner 1977, ill. pp. 52–55, and Gutscher-Schmid 2007, p. 173, figs. 10.45–10.48; and, for the All Souls Altarpiece, H. Wagner 1977, ill. pp. 69–73, and Peter Jezler in Bern and Strasbourg 2000–2001, pp. 204–5, no. 62, ill.
 19. Konrad in Zürich and Cologne 1994, pp. 249–50, no. 63, and n. 3; noted also by Jezler in Bern and Strasbourg 2000–2001, p. 205, under no. 62.
 20. They are *Fridolin Founding Säkingen Abbey*, *Fridolin Starting to Build the Abbey*, *Fridolin Waking Urso from the Dead*, and *Fridolin and Urso Appearing in Court* (Stange and Konrad 2009, no. NW355-2, ill.).
 21. See *ibid.*, no. NW355-2, ill.
 22. See Konrad in Zürich and Cologne 1994, p. 249, no. 63.
 23. Säkingen Monastery, of which he was the putative founder, lies just over the Rhine River from the canton of Aargau, and the monastery had major landholdings in the canton of Glarus, said to have been donated by Fridolin's supporter Urso (see Reinle 1974).
 24. For the Bern Carnation Masters, see Gutscher-Schmid 2007, *passim*, and especially pp. 58–152 for the period after 1490. For the Altarpiece of Saint Michael, the main work of the Zürich Carnation Master identified as Hans Leu the Elder, see Klemm 2007, pp. 28–29, ill.; Klemm et al. 2007, p. 28. For the Baden Carnation Masters, see, for example, two panels in the Würth Collection, Schwäbisch Hall (formerly Fürstenbergsammlungen, Donaueschingen; C. Grimm and Konrad 1990, pp. 134–35, no. 21A–B, ill.; Schwäbisch Hall 2004–5, pp. 56–59, nos. 2a, 2b, ill.), and another in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Angers (Gutscher-Schmid 2007, p. 145, fig. 9.05).
 25. See Till-Holger Borchert in New York 2011–12, pp. 164–75, where the panel is ascribed to the circle of the Carnation Masters, possibly Aargau or Zürich.
 26. On the use of the same brocade patterns on altarpieces of different workshops, see Westhoff and Hahn 1996, pp. 33–34. There is the additional possibility, also discussed by Westhoff and Hahn, that actual textile patterns served as common sources for completely unallied workshops.
 27. Other general correspondences in figure types and landscapes can be found, for example, in works of the Bern Master of Saint John the Baptist (Gutscher-Schmid 2007, pp. 69–74, figs. 5.04–5.10) and on two panels with scenes of Saints Crispin and Crispinian (Schweizerisches Landesmuseum, Zürich) whose production Gutscher-Schmid has localized in Bern (Gutscher-Schmid 2007, pp. 147–50, figs. 9.12, 9.13).

EXHIBITIONS: New York 1906, p. 27, no. 44; Lexington (Va.) 1950–51 (not in catalogue; these works remained on loan to Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Virginia, until February 14, 1952); Staten Island 1952–53, no. 3 (60A only); New York 1974 (60B only)

REFERENCES: Metropolitan Museum 1872, p. 39, nos. 87, 88; Kuhn 1936, p. 74, nos. 325, 326, pl. LXIV (60A, exterior); Wehle and Salinger 1947, pp. 170–73, ill.; Held 1949, p. 140; Stange 1934–61, vol. 7 (1955), p. 59, ill. no. 169 (60B, exterior); Stange 1967–78, vol. 2 (1970), p. 83, no. 355; Nitz 1976, col. 263 (60B); Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, pp. 181–82, ill. vol. 2, p. 292; Konrad 1989, pp. 88–90, nos. XVa–d, figs. 46–49; Mellinkoff 1993, vol. 1, p. 25, vol. 2, fig. I.59; Bernd Konrad in Zürich and Cologne 1994, p. 250, n. 3, under no. 63; Baetjer 1995, p. 216, ill. p. 216; Peter Jezler in Bern and Strasbourg 2000–2001, p. 205, under no. 62; Baetjer 2004, appendix 1A, p. 205, nos. 87, 88, ill.; Stange and Konrad 2009, no. 355; Till-Holger Borchert in New York 2011–12, pp. 172–73, fig. 10 (60A, exterior)

Cat. 61 Unknown painter, southern Germany (Bavaria?)

The Annunciation

1. Wood identification, by visual inspection, was carried out by George Bisacca, Conservator, Department of Paintings Conservation, MMA (report, Departments of European Paintings and Paintings Conservation, MMA). Dating of the wood was not attempted.
2. IRR carried out with configuration A; see p. 276.
3. The letters were initially read as the Hebrew word *beterem*, meaning “before” (Maryan W. Ainsworth in “Recent Acquisitions” 2005, p. 15), and therefore thought to be connected with John 8:58 (“Before Abraham was, I am”). However, further consultation with experts on such texts in Netherlandish and German painting indicated that this was probably not the case. Thanks to Gary Schwartz, who shared his list of pseudo-Hebrew examples in early German paintings as well as the conclusions he has drawn from this sample so far (“Schwartzlist 309: Pseudo-Semitism,” October 23, 2010, and emails, November 23, 2010, all in curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). I am also grateful to Jacob Wisse and Ruth Kozodoy for discussions of the inscriptions.
4. See, especially, L. 9 (Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, Oxford); J. Höfler 2007, vol. 2, no. 9.
5. L. Campbell 1998, pp. 83–91.
6. I am extremely grateful to Joshua Waterman for researching the issue of the Annunciation document for this painting. See Kalinowski 1981, p. 163. Till-Holger Borchert (in Bruges 2010–11, p. 287, no. 123) has noted other examples of the document-delivered Annunciation with red seals in early German painting, including the Albrecht Altarpiece (Stift Klosterneuburg), painted by the Vienna Albrecht Master around 1439; *The Annunciation* by the Master of the Munich Marian Panels (fig. 168), and *The Annunciation* of Stefan Lochner’s *Dombild* of about 1445 (with just a single seal). Additional ones may be found by the Master of Saint Leonard (Filiakirche, Salzburg), and the Master of the Eggelsberg Altarpiece (Schlossmuseum, Linz).
7. Kalinowski 1981.
8. Schreiner 1990, especially “Die Macht der Bilder: Bilder als Abbilder Zeitgebundener Einstellung und Träger normativer Erwartungen,” pls. XVI, XVII, figs. 26–29, and pp. 364–67.
9. Wenzel 1993, especially p. 44.
10. Cf. Kalinowski 1981, p. 165; Wenzel 1993, p. 42.
11. For further information on this fascinating subject, see Joshua Waterman’s memo “The Document in the Annunciation” (curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
12. Finarte Semenzato 2004, p. 61, no. 37.
13. Stephan Kemperdick, letter to Maryan Ainsworth, May 31, 2005 (curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). Kemperdick noted that an old entry concerning the panel in the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague, was classified as Upper Rhenish and that the painting belonged at that time to a “Dominici Milly” [Milly Dominic] in Perugia. See also Borchert in Bruges 2010–11, p. 287, no. 123.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 374–76, nos. 192–96. The paintings are in the Université de Liège, Collection Wittert (no. 12037); the Galleria Estense, Modena (nos. 226 and 221); and the Museo Correr, Venice (on loan from the Galleria dell’Accademia; nos. 193 and CLI. 155). See also Brinkmann 2000; Bodo Brinkmann in Brinkmann and Kemperdick 2002, pp. 226–43.
15. See van Buren, Marrow, and Pettenati 1996; König 1998; Brinkmann 2000; Brinkmann in Brinkmann and Kemperdick 2002, pp. 226–43.

EXHIBITIONS: Till-Holger Borchert in Bruges 2010–11, pp. 287, 526, no. 123, ill.

REFERENCES: Finarte Semenzato 2004, p. 61, no. 37, ill.; Maryan W. Ainsworth in “Recent Acquisitions” 2005, p. 15, ill.; Borchert 2010b, p. 27

Cat. 62 Unknown painter, copy after follower of Leonardo da Vinci(?), Germany

Portrait of an Italian Woman

1. Wood identification by Peter Klein, Universität Hamburg (report, April 3, 2006, curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA). Dating of the wood was not possible.
2. IRR carried out with configuration A; see p. 276.
3. Mayer 1929, p. 249, color ill. facing p. 249.

4. Friedländer 1935, pp. 45–46, ill. p. 40.
5. Mayer 1930a, p. 542.
6. See Hind 1938–48, vol. 5 (1948), pp. 83–85, 91–92, no. 15, pl. 622. See also *Illustrated Bartsch* 1978–, vol. 25 (commentary) (1984), pp. 284–85, no. .026. More recently, Suzanne Boorsch has pointed out that Andrea was not an engraver and that ZA was the monogram used by Giovanni Antonio da Brescia, a follower of Mantegna. As the *Portrait of a Lady* is no longer among the prints attributed to Giovanni Antonio, it is more appropriate to call the author of this engraving simply a follower of Leonardo. See Boorsch 1992.
7. Tietze 1930, pp. 239–40, fig. 6.
8. Published opinions particularly noting the poor state of the painting were Mayer 1930a, p. 542; J. W. Lane 1938, p. 39; Siple 1938; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1928–38, vol. 2, pt. 2 (1938), p. 78, no. A194, ill. p. 218; Levy n.d. (after 1943), pp. 21, 36. Published opinions questioning the authenticity of the painting were Panofsky 1943, vol. 2, p. 20, no. 104; Wehle and Salinger 1947, pp. 182–84; Kurz 1961, p. 46, fig. 21; Ottino della Chiesa 1968, p. 106, no. 127; Simpson 1986a, pp. 214–15. A sensationalized account of Duveen’s involvement with the painting is found in Secrest 2004, pp. 256–60, 429–30.
9. Tow was applied to panels from northern as well as southern Europe during the Renaissance period. On the use of tow in early German paintings, see Heydenreich 2007b, pp. 69–73.
10. See Karen Thomas’s technical discussion above and her more extensive report of July 2, 2008 (curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
11. I am most grateful to Mark McDonald, Curator of Prints at the British Museum, for comparing the Mylar tracing with the print in the Museum’s collection.
12. Ruhemann, correspondence with Theodore Rousseau Jr., November 14, 1950 (curatorial files, Department of European Paintings, MMA).
13. See Levy n.d. (after 1943), pp. 21, 36; Simpson 1986a, pp. 214–15; see especially the discussion by Secrest 2004, pp. 256–60, 429–30.
14. A. L. den Blaauwen in Amsterdam 1986, p. 211, no. 89, noted that the image had also influenced the figure of a sitting woman in the foreground of *The Church Sermon* by the Master of the Church Sermon and a Mary Magdalen by Jan van Scorel (both Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam).
15. Hind 1938–48, vol. 5 (1948), p. 92. See also *Illustrated Bartsch* 1978–, vol. 24 (commentary), pt. 1 (1993), p. 9, no. .017 (B.17 [56]), ill. in vol. 24 (plates) (1980), p. 14.
16. Falsely inscribed as a portrait of Beatrice d’Este by Leonardo (Uffizi no. 209F), this corresponds to the engraving in reverse and might have been Zoan Andrea’s (or Giovanni Antonio da Brescia’s) model (Hind 1938–48, vol. 5 [1948], p. 91; the portrait drawing is illustrated in Malaguzzi Valeri 1913, p. 48).
17. Den Blaauwen in Amsterdam 1986, p. 211, no. 89 (with bibliography; illustrated in English summary edition of catalogue, p. 53, fig. 77).

EXHIBITIONS: New York 1943a, n.p., no. 27 (as *A Portrait of a Lady*, by Dürer), ill.

REFERENCES: “Bache Buys Dürer Portrait” 1929, ill.; *Collection of Jules S. Bache* 1929, n.p., ill.; Mayer 1929, p. 249, ill. facing p. 249; Cortisoz 1930, pp. 259–60, ill. p. 250; Mayer 1930a, p. 542; Tietze 1930, pp. 239–40, fig. 5; Wortham 1930, p. 354; Tietze 1932–33, pp. 95, 99–100, fig. 63; “Dürer in Amerika” 1933; Alfred Scharf in Glück 1933, p. 337; Tietze 1933, pp. 267–68, fig. 22; Friedländer 1935, pp. 45–46, ill. p. 40; Friedländer 1936, p. 44; “Bache” 1937, p. 7; *Bache Collection* 1937, no. 28, ill.; “Bache Collection Opened” 1937, p. 29; Comstock 1937, p. 33; J. W. Lane 1938, p. 39; Siple 1938; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1928–38, vol. 2, pt. 2 (1938), p. 78, no. A194, ill. p. 218; *Duveen Pictures* 1941, n.p., no. 217, ill.; Shoolman and Slatkin 1942, p. 505, pl. 460; Davidson 1943, p. 7; Panofsky 1943, vol. 2, p. 20, no. 104; Wehle 1943, p. 288; Levy n.d. (after 1943), pp. 21, 36; Wehle and Salinger 1947, pp. 182–84, ill.; Kurz 1961, p. 46, fig. 21; Ottino della Chiesa 1968, p. 106, no. 127, ill.; Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, p. 51, ill. vol. 2, p. 294; Simpson 1986a, pp. 214–15, 294; Simpson 1986b, p. 130, ill.; Baetjer 1995, p. 219, ill.; Secrest 2004, pp. 256–60, 429–30, ill.

Cat. 63 Unknown painter, copy after Lucas van Leyden, Germany

Christ Presented to the People (Ecce Homo)

1. The latter, a crest and not a proper coat of arms, is most likely from the eighteenth or nineteenth century. I am grateful to Theo Margelony, Associate Administrator, Department of Medieval Art, MMA, for his help in this identification.
2. Visual wood identification by George Bisacca, Conservator, Department of Paintings Conservation, MMA (report, Departments of European Paintings and Paintings Conservation, MMA). Dating of the wood was not attempted.
3. See van Hout 1998. While Nico van Hout cited a handful of paintings after 1530 that employ pigmented material in the panel preparation, he noted that Rubens

- (1577–1640) was one of the first to use “*imprimatura* systematically as a neutral ‘middle’ tone between highlights and shadows” (van Hout 1998, p. 205). Petria Noble also pointed out that the tone of ground layers becomes darker (that is, darker than white, cream, or beige) quite a bit later, from the 1650s onward. Prior to this time, colored preparatory layers are generally found as *imprimaturas* atop light grounds or as part of a double ground, with the light layer closest to the support. P. Noble 2004, pp. 329–30.
4. IRR carried out with configuration A; see p. 276.
 5. Ellen S. Jacobowitz and Stephanie Loeb Stepanek in Washington and Boston 1983, p. 96, no. 30.
 6. Vasari 1568/1878–85, vol. 5 (1880), p. 402.
 7. Cornelis and Filedt Kok 1998, pp. 28–29.
 8. Jacobowitz and Stepanek in Washington and Boston 1983, p. 96, no. 30.
 9. Detroit, Ottawa, and Coburg 1981–82, especially nos. 123, 134, 145, 156, as well as the following prints by Lucas van Leyden that were hand-colored: Bartsch 34, 36, 72, 73, 79, 81, 82, 86–99, 100–103, 116, and 118; Cornelis and Filedt Kok 1998, pp. 26–27. See also Dackerman 2002, pp. 37–38.
 10. Gmelin 1983.
 11. Silver 2006.
 12. See Katherine Crawford Luber in Baltimore and Saint Louis 2002–3, pp. 268–70, no. 61. A number of painted copies after Dürer prints are in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich. See Goldberg, Heimberg, and Schawe 1998, pp. 560–65. Among the painted copies of Lucas’s prints are those in the Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest (no. 4323, *Solomon’s Idolatry*; no. 51.774, *At the Dentist*); the Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle, County Durham (no. B.M. 220, *Susannah and the Elders*); and the Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp (no. 203, *David Playing the Harp for Saul*).
 13. No. 947. I am grateful to Nathaniel Prottas, Slifka Foundation Interdisciplinary Fellow, 2010–11, Department of European Paintings, MMA, for discovering the whereabouts of this painting. The painting originally came from Pressburg (today Bratislava, Slovakia), where it appeared in the 1781 inventory as no. 118, “*Ecce Homo Bild, Lucas van Leyden*.” The painting was in the imperial collection by 1772 and was probably part of the collection of Marie Christine of Habsburg and her husband, Albert von Sachsen-Teschen in Pressburg.
 14. Cornelis and Filedt Kok 1998, pp. 26–27.

EXHIBITIONS: New York 1888–89, p. 10, no. 26; University of California at Los Angeles, 1955 (no catalogue)

REFERENCES: Metropolitan Museum 1905, p. 105, no. 250; New York 1998–99, p. 408, ill.

Artists' Biographies

Ulrich Apt the Elder

Augsburg ca. 1460–1532 Augsburg

Ulrich Apt trained with his father, Peter, and established his own workshop in 1481 in Augsburg, where he was a member of the Guild of Painters, Glaziers, Carvers, and Gilders. His three sons worked with him, and Apt also trained several other Augsburg artists in an active workshop. Although most of his commissions were for religious paintings and portraits of Augsburg's elite citizens, he also developed a considerable reputation as a mural painter. Probably his most important civic commission was a no-longer-extant group of fresco paintings for the Augsburg Rathaus, which he worked on in 1516 with the assistance of Jörg Breu the Elder. His few reliably autograph works include *Portrait of an Elderly Man* (Liechtenstein Collections, Vaduz-Vienna) and two wings of an altarpiece documented by archival sources and dated 1510, *The Adoration of the Shepherds* (Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe) and *The Adoration of the Magi* (Musée du Louvre, Paris).

Literature: Wilhelm 1992

Hans Baldung, called Grien

Schwäbisch Gmünd 1484/85–1545 Strasbourg

First recorded in Schwäbisch Gmünd, Swabia, Hans Baldung's notably well educated family moved in the 1490s to Strasbourg, where the artist probably received his training. In 1503 he entered the Nuremberg workshop of Albrecht Dürer and remained there until 1507, when he moved to Halle to undertake two altarpieces for the archbishop of Magdeburg, Ernst II of Saxony. In 1509 Baldung was back in Strasbourg. There he joined the Guild "zur Steltz," which comprised goldsmiths, painters, printers, and glaziers. The years 1512–17 took him to Freiburg im Breisgau to paint the famous high altarpiece of the Münster there. A markedly original artist, Baldung was also known for his versatility in various media, including painting, printmaking, drawing, and stained-glass design. He is particularly noted for introducing new themes to the art of his time, especially supernatural and erotic subjects. His nickname "Grien" may have been acquired during his time in Dürer's atelier and perhaps reflects his preferential use of the color green.

Literature: Von der Osten 1983; Mende 1992; Andersson 1996/2013

Barthel Beham

Nuremberg ca. 1502–1540 Bologna

Barthel Beham and his older sibling Sebald were members of a family of artists who worked in Nuremberg. The brothers, who were mainly known as portrait painters and printmakers, have come to be called *Kleinmeister* (Little Masters) because of the small size of their engravings and etchings. Most strongly influenced by the works of Albrecht

Dürer, they also found inspiration in Italian sources, namely, Raphael and Marcantonio Raimondi, through widely circulated engravings. Under the influence of the radical reformers Andreas Karlstadt and Thomas Müntzer, they were briefly expelled from Nuremberg in 1525 for professing heretical and antiauthoritarian beliefs. Barthel subsequently moved to Munich to work for the Bavarian court, and there he entered the service of Duke Wilhelm IV. In addition to his paintings for the court and the elite of Munich society, Beham produced portraits of Emperor Charles V and his brother King Ferdinand of Hungary in 1530. He became well known for his designs for woodcuts, engravings, and etchings. He died during a trip to Italy.

Literature: Löcher 1994; Stewart 1996/2013; Löcher 1999

Jörg Breu the Younger

Augsburg ca. 1510–1547 Augsburg

Jörg Breu the Younger was trained by his father and took over the latter's workshop in Augsburg in 1534. Although little of his painted oeuvre survives, the younger Breu was noted for his works on a large scale, both panel paintings and frescoes. He was also a designer of stained glass and woodcuts. Perhaps the Breu workshop was most famous for its illustrations in important manuscripts, including various genealogical and historical works for the Fuggers, Herwarts, and Habsburgs, as well as the illuminations in Hans Tirol's *Antiquitates* (Eton College Library).

Literature: Däubler-Hauschke 1996; Krämer 1996/2013

Hans Brosamer

Fulda ca. 1495–ca. 1554 Erfurt

Several painted likenesses of prominent Nuremberg citizens that bear the monogram *HB* and a date in the 1520s are the basis for the assumption that Hans Brosamer—painter, draftsman, engraver, and woodcut designer—spent part of that decade in Nuremberg, before establishing himself in Fulda. His paintings and engravings from the 1530s include portraits of important citizens of Fulda, one of which, *Chancellor Johann von Otthera* (1536; private collection, Switzerland), is signed with Brosamer's full name. A group of paintings signed with an *HB* monogram and a griffin's head, which in the past were occasionally attributed to Brosamer, are by a different hand. Brosamer is perhaps best known for his engravings of Christian, mythological, and classical themes as well as woodcuts made especially to illustrate German Protestant books. After 1540 the artist moved to Erfurt.

Literature: J. Höfler 1996/2013; Kalden-Rosenfeld 1996

Barthel Bruyn the Elder

Wesel or Cologne 1493–1555 Cologne

Barthel (Bartholomäus) Bruyn's place of birth is unknown, but surely he originated in the Lower Rhine region, possibly in Wesel or, more probably, in Cologne. About 1505 he entered the workshop of Jan Joest van Kalkar, where he trained alongside Joos van Cleve, whose significant influence is apparent in Bruyn's earliest known works, which date from 1515. His initial activity in Cologne, beginning about 1512, was probably in the workshop of the Master of Saint Severin. Later inspired by the Italianate style of Jan van Scorel and Maarten van Heemskerck, Bruyn developed a true Renaissance mode, as exemplified by the altarpieces he made for the cathedrals in Essen (1525) and Xanten (1529–34). Bruyn served on Cologne's city council in 1549 and 1553. He is perhaps best known for his lively portraits of the patricians of Cologne.

Literature: Tümmers 1964; Westhoff-Krummacher 1965; Caswell 1996/2013a; Tümmers 1996a

Barthel Bruyn the Younger

Cologne ca. 1530–1607/10 Cologne

Like his painter-father, with whom he trained, Barthel (Bartholomäus) Bruyn the Younger was active in Cologne and is known mainly for his portraits. About 1547 he joined his father and his older brother, Arnt, in the execution of fifty-seven scenes from the New Testament for Cologne's Karmelitenkloster. The diptych *Peter Ulner* and *Christ Carrying the Cross* (1560; Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn) is his only signed work. Upon his father's death in 1555, Bruyn inherited the family workshop and continued to serve the same clientele. Like his father, Barthel the Younger was also active in the civic affairs of Cologne, and he served on the city council from 1579 onward. He gave up painting about 1590 because of failing eyesight.

Literature: Tümmers 1970; Caswell 1996/2013b; Tümmers 1996b

Lucas Cranach the Elder

Kronach 1472–1553 Weimar

Born Lucas Maler (also Moller), Cranach trained with his father before traveling as a journeyman. From 1502 to 1504 he worked in Vienna, where he occupied himself not only with painting but also with printmaking, and his art appears to have contributed to the emergence of the Danube School style. In 1505 he was summoned to Wittenberg by Friedrich the Wise, Elector of Saxony, to succeed Jacopo de' Barbari as court painter. For several decades Cranach headed a large and productive workshop there, in the service of subsequent Saxon electors, but also ran a pharmacy and participated in Wittenberg's municipal government. Cranach formed important friendships with Protestant reformers in Wittenberg, including Martin Luther and Philipp Melancthon. He supplied prints and paintings in support of their cause, but even after the Reformation began, he continued to accept the patronage of important Roman

Catholic rulers and clerics, notably Archbishop-Elector Albrecht of Brandenburg. In 1550 Cranach joined his patron Elector Johann Friedrich I of Saxony in Augsburg, where the latter was in captivity after the battle of Mühlberg (1547), and in 1552 he followed Johann Friedrich to the new ducal residence in Weimar.

Literature: Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1932; Friedländer and J. Rosenberg 1978; Hinz 1993; Talbot 1996/2013a; Hinz 1999a; Heydenreich 2007b

Lucas Cranach the Younger

Wittenberg 1515–1586 Wittenberg

Lucas Cranach the Younger was trained as a painter and as a designer of woodcuts by his illustrious father in Wittenberg. When the elder Cranach moved to Augsburg in 1550 for two years, Lucas assumed management of the family workshop, which he inherited upon his father's death in 1553. In addition, he held several important civic positions in Wittenberg, including that of mayor.

Literature: Schade 1974; Talbot 1996/2013b; Hinz 1999b

Albrecht Dürer

Nuremberg 1471–1528 Nuremberg

After training with Michael Wolgemut, Dürer immersed himself in the works of Martin Schongauer. He may have traveled to Italy as early as 1494/95, before setting up his own workshop in Nuremberg about 1503. There he trained Hans Schäufelein, Hans Baldung, and Hans Süß von Kulmbach. He became a supreme master printmaker and was no less well known as a painter of religious subjects and portraits, including a number of remarkable self-portraits. On a trip to Venice in 1506, Dürer became newly aware of and proficient in nature studies and observed and assimilated the particular characteristics of the Venetian colorists. Later on, before his trip to the Netherlands in 1520, Dürer interested himself in theoretical aspects of the proportions of the human body, in classical forms, and in representations of the human temperaments. His theoretical studies of human proportions were published posthumously.

Literature: Panofsky 1943/2005; Hutchison 1990; Rebel 1996; Mende 2001; W. Schmid 2003; J. C. Smith 2012

Conrad Faber von Creuznach

?Bad Kreuznach ca. 1500–1552/53 Frankfurt am Main

Nothing is known of Faber's early training. He is first recorded in Frankfurt in 1524 and by 1526 was working alongside the painter Hans Fyoll. In 1538 he gained citizenship in Frankfurt. Shortly before his death he designed a monumental woodcut depicting the 1552 siege of that city. Faber specialized as a portraitist of Frankfurt's patrician class. Until his name was definitively linked with a large group of such works in 1909, this artist was known as the Master of the Holzhausen Portraits, after his series of likenesses of the Holzhausen family.

Literature: Brücker 1963; Rönsch 2003

Hans Holbein the Younger

Augsburg 1497/98–1543 London

After training with his father, Hans the Elder, and his uncle, Sigmund, Holbein moved with his brother, Ambrosius, to Basel. There he established himself as a painter, especially of portraits. In 1524 Holbein made a short visit to France and then in 1526 to England, where, through the good offices of a friend in Basel, Erasmus of Rotterdam, he was introduced to Sir Thomas More and began to work for wealthy courtiers in London. Holbein spent little time back in Basel with his wife and children; instead, in 1532 he returned to England and by 1536 had become settled more permanently in London as the principal painter at the court of Henry VIII. Until his death, Holbein produced portraits for the king and his retinue as well as for the wealthy German merchants who lived at the Steelyard (Stahlhof).

Literature: Foister 1996/2013; Buck 2012

Hans Süß von Kulmbach

?Kulmbach ca. 1485–1522 Nuremberg

According to Johann Neudörfer (1547), Kulmbach was a pupil of Jacopo de' Barbari; he may have encountered the Venetian painter in Nuremberg, or in Wittenberg at the court of Elector Friedrich the Wise. About 1507 Kulmbach entered the workshop of Albrecht Dürer, where he must have been in contact with Hans Baldung and Hans Schäufelein. After becoming a Nuremberg citizen in 1511, he opened his own workshop and began to produce altarpieces and other devotional paintings as well as designs for stained glass and woodcuts. Kulmbach may have resided in Cracow in 1511 while working on an altarpiece made for the Church of the Pauline Fathers there.

Literature: Butts 1985; Butts 1996/2013a; Gašior 2011

Hans Maler

Ulm ca. 1480–1526/29 ?Schwaz

Maler probably received his early training in the Ulm workshop of Bartholomäus Zeitblom, and he was further influenced by Bernhard Strigel of Memmingen. By 1517 he had moved to the prosperous Tirolean silver-mining town of Schwaz, where he painted portraits of officials and merchants in the mining business, chief among them members of the Fugger family. In the first half of the 1520s, he also worked for the nearby Habsburg court in Innsbruck, painting portraits of Archduke Ferdinand I and his wife, Anna of Hungary, and of Queen Mary of Hungary. Although Maler is known mainly for portraits, several altarpiece panels by him also survive.

Literature: Löcher 1996/2013; S. Krause 2008; S. Krause forthcoming

Master of the Acts of Mercy

Salzburg, active ca. 1460–70

The artist is named after a set of panels depicting the six biblical acts of mercy and scenes from the martyrdoms of Saint John the Baptist and Saint Lawrence (cat. 44; Stadtmuseum Simeonstift Trier; private collection), around which a small oeuvre has been assembled. His localization in Salzburg is supported by the Nonnberg Crypt Altarpiece, putatively made for the Nonnberg Convent there.

Literature: Buchner 1959, pp. 10–16; Albin Rohrmoser in Salzburg 1972, pp. 115–19; Le Magadure 2010

Master A.H. or H.A.

Austria, Tirol(?), active late 1520s

This master is named after a single painting, a portrait of Mary of Burgundy, in the Lehman Collection at the Museum that is monogrammed and dated 1528 (cat. 45). The painter most likely worked in the Tirol region.

Master of the Berswordt Altarpiece

Westphalia, active ca. 1390–1400

The artist takes his name from the Crucifixion Triptych in the Marienkirche, Dortmund, which bears the coat of arms of the Berswordt family. The only dated work by him is a dispersed retable of 1400 from the high altar of the Neustädter Marienkirche, Bielefeld (see cat. 46A, B). The artist's relationship to Conrad von Soest—whether as a predecessor or as a follower—is controversial, but most scholars now consider the Master of the Berswordt Altarpiece to be the earlier of the two and place his activity mainly in the final decade of the fourteenth century. A location of his workshop in Westphalia has long been postulated on the basis of the concentration of his commissions in that region.

Literature: Corley 1996a, pp. 75–82, 84, 217; Corley 1996b/2013; Zupancic and Schilp 2002; Pfeiffer 2009

Master of the Burg Weiler Altarpiece

Northern Swabia, active ca. 1470

The Master of the Burg Weiler Altarpiece is named after the triptych originally from the castle chapel in Weiler, near Heilbronn, and now in The Cloisters collection at the Museum (cat. 47). This artist was probably active in the northern reaches of Swabia, bordering Franconia, possibly with a workshop in Heilbronn, about 1470.

Literature: Heinrich 1954a; Bushart 1959, pp. 154–55; Susie Nash in New York 2011–12, pp. 89–97

Master of Eggenburg

Lower Austria, active fourth quarter of 15th century

Otto Benesch first established the small painted oeuvre of this master around the *Death of the Virgin* that was commissioned for the Lower Austrian Redemptoristenkloster in Eggenburg. His other extant paintings are from altarpieces devoted to Saint Wenceslas and to Saint John the Baptist. The master's origins are unknown. He may have assisted or, more likely, merely known the work of the Master of Herzogenburg, a late fifteenth-century painter from northern Lower Austria, who worked in 1491 in Gars am Kamp, Waldviertel.

Literature: Benesch 1932/1972; Bodo Brinkmann in Brinkmann and Kemperdick 2002, pp. 272–81

Master of Engerda

Augsburg, active ca. 1510–20

This master is named after his participation in the painted portions of an altarpiece shrine in the Evangelische Pfarrkirche, Engerda (Thuringia). A small group of additional works has been assigned to him by Christof Metzger. Although the origins of this painter are not known, he apparently worked alongside Hans Schäufelein in the Augsburg workshop of Hans Holbein the Elder in the 1510s.

Literature: Metzger (Christof) 2002, pp. 76–77, 278–90

Master of the Munich Marian Panels

Bavaria, probably Munich, active mid-15th century

The artist is named after the *Annunciation* and *Nativity* wing panels now in the Kunsthau Zürich, which probably belonged to a Crucifixion altarpiece whose central panel (itself attributed to a collaborator) is in the Frauenkirche, Munich. The putative location of his workshop in Munich is supported by stylistic similarities between his paintings and the contemporary work of the Master of the Polling Panels, who counted among his patrons Duke Albrecht III of Bavaria-Munich. He appears to have traveled in Italy.

Literature: Buchner 1955; I.-S. Hoffmann 2007, pp. 211–13; Matthias Weniger in Bruges 2010–11, pp. 346–47, 370–71

Hans Schäufelein

Upper Rhine 1482/83–1539/40 Nördlingen

In 1503 or 1504 Schäufelein (also spelled Schäufelin) entered the workshop of Albrecht Dürer, becoming such an important associate that when Dürer left for Venice in December 1505 he entrusted Schäufelein with the painting of the Ober Sankt Veit Altarpiece (Diözesanmuseum, Vienna), a major commission for the workshop.

After 1507 Schäufelein left for Tirol and then Augsburg, where he spent a period of time in the workshop of Hans Holbein the Elder. By 1513 at the latest, he had established his own workshop in Nördlingen. There he produced many altarpieces and devotional works, and in the 1520s he also expended considerable effort on print-making, especially woodcuts that show the influence of Dürer.

Literature: Butts 1996/2013b; Metzger (Christof) 2002; Metzger (Christof) 2010

Ludwig Schongauer

?Colmar ca. 1450–1493/94 Colmar

This artist was probably born in Colmar into a family of goldsmiths, painters, and printmakers, and he most likely apprenticed with Caspar Isenmann. Schongauer became a citizen of Ulm in 1479 and of Augsburg in 1486, and he returned to Colmar in 1491, after the death of his more renowned brother, Martin. His small oeuvre comprises paintings, prints, and a group of drawings of the Passion of Christ. The attribution of those works is based on his signed engravings.

Literature: Heck 1996/2013

Bernhard Strigel

Memmingen 1460–1528 Memmingen

Strigel came from a family of artists that had been settled for two generations in Memmingen. He was first influenced by the works of the Ulm School and especially by Bartholomäus Zeitblom, with whom he collaborated on the high altarpiece of the Klosterkirche at Blaubeuren (1494). Later, about 1500, he absorbed the influence of Netherlandish painters, as well as that of Hans Holbein the Elder of Augsburg. In his work for Maximilian I, he specialized in portraiture, producing memorable paintings of the emperor and his family. Maximilian summoned him to Vienna in 1515, and a second visit followed in 1520, by which time Strigel had taken the post of imperial court painter and been ennobled.

Literature: Rettich 1996/2013

Hans Traut

Nuremberg, active 1477–probably 1516

Traut originated in the Middle Rhine region and became a citizen of Nuremberg in 1477. There he was responsible for the decorative scheme of the Augustinian convent, and his major work, the Augustinian Altarpiece, dated 1487, is today in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg.

Literature: Rauch 1907; Lahusen 1957

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