

# DÜRER'S JOURNEYS

TRAVELS OF A RENAISSANCE ARTIST

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CATALOGUE SUPPLEMENT

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# HIGHLANDS IN THE LOWLANDS DÜRER'S EXCURSION TO THE NETHERLANDS



ON 12 JULY 1520, HAVING JUST TURNED 50 AND accompanied by his wife, Agnes, and their maid, Susanna, Albrecht Dürer struck out for the Netherlands. Following his travels as a journeyman the century before, two trips to Italy and a visit to Switzerland the previous year, it would be his fifth long-distance journey to date. At the time of the trip Dürer had not only been an established artist but a truly famous one for over two decades – considered without question an ingenious draughtsman and master in the graphic arts of woodcut and copperplate engraving, greatly sought after by the most prominent clients imaginable and in possession of a highly developed sense of self-confidence. Dürer was well aware from an early point that fame is not only tied to the outstanding quality of one's work. In 1492 he signed the printing block for the title woodcut of a new edition of letters from Church Father Saint Jerome, a practice that was highly unusual at this period, and in 1495 added his monogram to an engraving as a certificate of his authorship and mark of quality for the

first time.<sup>1</sup> 'Cultivating an image' – or 'branding' in today's parlance – was of central importance to the Nuremberg artist, and it worked both ways: as a means of self-inquiry and in the form of outward-looking representation in the interests of securing his own fame and posthumous reputation. The success of these efforts is also confirmed by third parties, as when, in a letter about Giovanni Bellini (about 1435–1516) dated 7 February 1506, Dürer relays that Bellini 'has praised me highly in the presence of many czentillomen [gentlemen].'<sup>2</sup> The same is true of the deliberate mention of occasions in the Netherlands at which he was explicitly fêted as an artist or welcomed with honour, as on 5 August 1520 in Antwerp, 8 April 1521 in Bruges and again on 9 April in Ghent.<sup>3</sup> What is one to make of the fact when, standing atop the spire of today's Saint Bavo's Cathedral, he noted in his journal: 'where I surveyed the extensive and impressive city in which I had already excited much attention?'<sup>4</sup> Surely this is nothing other than the artist taking stock of his own prominence, noted spontaneously following his experience of a truly superior position.

Albrecht Dürer was not really old at the time of his trip; others within his direct orbit in Nuremberg, such as the printer and publisher Anton Koberger (about 1440–1513), were over 70. Still, the question persists as to why he would abandon his daily routine for a journey that entailed considerable risk – he would suffer serious and prolonged illness, run into severe difficulties at sea and his wife would be robbed – and ultimately lasted longer than 12 months.<sup>5</sup> Following the death of Emperor Maximilian in January 1519, the immediate occasion for the trip was, without question, Nuremberg City Council’s refusal to pay either the annual pension of 100 guilders funded through imperial taxes and awarded to the artist in September 1515, or the one-time honorary sum of 200 guilders paid to Dürer in 1518. These were comparatively large sums that an artist as commercially minded as Dürer would not have been prepared to forfeit without further ado. It was at any rate a matter of some importance to Dürer that the Emperor’s successor, Charles V, should confirm the artist’s privileges, as demanded by the City Council.<sup>6</sup> Whether the risk of plague continued to be a factor here, as was likely the case when Dürer left Basel in the autumn of 1492, remains unclear, as does the possible motivation of making a good impression on a new and wealthy client in the person of Charles V. In any event, Dürer’s journey to the Low Countries can also be set within the framework of a classical pilgrimage: from the very beginning it featured explicitly religious traits, with a documented stay at the pilgrimage site of Vierzehnheiligen (Staatsarchiv, Bamberg, no. 1742, fol. 155r. R III, 452).<sup>7</sup> Decades earlier Rogier van der Weyden (about 1399–1464) travelled to Rome in the Jubilee year of 1450, possibly out of concern for his own spiritual salvation.<sup>8</sup> From this perspective, the two engravings of Saint Christopher that Dürer likely created immediately after his return from the Netherlands (Suermondt Ludwig Museum, Aachen, invs DK 621 and DK 622) represent a sort of rounding-off of the trip, even its crowning moment; after all, invoking the most prominent of the Fourteen Holy Helpers, or simply contemplating an image of Saint Christopher, was considered a way of protecting and preserving one’s life against all forms of death.

Dürer’s journal, or *Tagebuch* as he called it in German, constitutes the most important written source for the trip, a work whose ‘unique status means its value for cultural history can scarcely be overestimated’.<sup>9</sup> In addition to the journal, we have well over a hundred drawings that he partially compiled into two books: the first a sketchbook for ink drawings, which should be seen more as an item of practical use – there may even have been several – and a second, valuable silverpoint

sketchbook.<sup>10</sup> It is not necessary to determine whether the *Tagebuch* – and thus a type of text Dürer invented with this denomination<sup>11</sup> – should be designated and characterised as a ‘book of accounts’<sup>12</sup> rather than pilgrim narratives,<sup>13</sup> or simply regarded as a notebook. A work from the time of Dürer’s second Italian trip that was probably comparable in nature but has unfortunately not survived was deemed ‘notebook’ by the artist.<sup>14</sup> Much more important, however, is the fact that he recorded both written and visual impressions – and for different reasons. His journal likewise served to keep track of his income and expenses, including gifts received. Following shortly after an initial settlement on 20 August 1520 with Jobst Plankfelt, his landlord in Antwerp, on 3 September Dürer employed a system – one that he would use on multiple occasions – of leaving space in the text to add the number of meals successively, as a tally sheet.<sup>15</sup> This was presumably done with a view to the final settlement with Plankfelt and may even have been his specific requirement. As it stands, the oft-cited final balance Dürer apparently drew for the trip on 29 June 1521 in this regard – ‘In all I have done, in my living expenses, sales and other dealings in the Netherlands, in all my relationships whether with higher or lower classes of people, I have lost out...’<sup>16</sup> – need not surprise us. Who would not be irritated if he had paid his landlord frequently (five times, according to the journal) and agreed costs at the beginning of his stay, only to be presented with a considerable final bill for no fewer than 31 guilders?<sup>17</sup> Dürer certainly has the state of his accounts in mind, for shortly afterwards, immediately before his return journey, he has to borrow 100 guilders from Alexander Imhoff (1501–1546), the representative of the Nuremberg trading house in Antwerp.<sup>18</sup>

The final settlement takes into consideration two oil portraits of Jobst Plankfelt and Plankfelt’s wife; in his journal Dürer also mentions drawing the landlord and his wife.<sup>19</sup> The landlord becomes a regular customer, with Dürer selling him ‘... a Madonna painted on a small canvas ... for 2 Rhenish gulden’ at some point between 5 and 19 August 1520.<sup>20</sup> The image is probably lost, but one can develop an idea of such *Tüchlein* (paintings on supple cloth not intended for public display) – that could be painted quite quickly, and which therefore did not require workshop assistants or conditions and may well have been produced, for instance, in Plankfelt’s inn – from what is likely a Marian image of the Virgin’s head dating from around 1503 held at the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris (inv. RC-A-72083 [Rés. B-13]).<sup>21</sup> The same applies to two images of children’s heads also preserved at the Bibliothèque nationale (invs 5-7 [Rés. B-13]), which come from the same collection and may

represent the gift of a ‘canvas of a child’ to the ‘little Portuguese factor, Signor Francisco’, although in this case, the stated price of 10 guilders suggests that it would have been worked up to a higher finish.<sup>22</sup> All three cloth paintings, however, are potentially linked by a passage in Dürer’s journal, where without specifying further he notes proceeds from the sale of ‘three small canvases’ for ‘4 gulden 5 stuivers’.<sup>23</sup> In this case, in light of their early provenance Dürer would have brought the images with him from Nuremberg to the Netherlands, along with numerous other woodcuts and engravings, and financed his expenses through the sale – or more properly speaking, marketing – of his art.<sup>24</sup>

#### FOUR DRAWINGS – THREE PUZZLES: THE TWO LONDON PAGES FROM DÜRER’S JOURNAL

The original manuscript of Dürer’s journal is now lost. Two copies, dating from around 1550 (Staatsarchiv, Nuremberg, Ratskanzlei, inv. A 145 Nr. 15b) and 1600 (Staatsbibliothek, Bamberg, inv. JH.Msc.Art.1), have survived, although it is likely that neither draws directly from the original manuscript.<sup>25</sup> Two pages in London have been linked to the later version, which would make them the only extant remains of the original work (British Library, London, invs Add MS 5229, fol. 50 recto and Add MS 5229, fol. 59 recto). While it has yet to be proved whether the sheets actually belong to the original journal, the recto does also appear in the copies – albeit with the meaning distorted – and the handwriting of the annotations further resembles Dürer’s inscriptions on his pen-and-ink drawings from the Netherlands. Despite being Dürer originals, the drawings in these sheets have yet to be studied in detail.

The recto of the London sheet contains diagrams for two women’s coats, including cloth measurements – one for seven *Schuh* (feet, or 2.1 m), the other seven *Schuh* and three inches (2.2 m). Circles indicate the position of the neckline. In both cases it is a *Höcke* that is depicted: a partially or completely sewn cloak pulled on over the head and extending down to the feet. Dürer captures the striking visual impact of this garment in a magnificent drawing (Albertina, Vienna, inv. 3174), the increasingly thick white strokes concentrated at the head presenting a radiant formal contrast to the black background. Women dressed in such cloaks would have been a common sight in the Low Countries; in a detailed account of the Procession of Our Lady through Antwerp on 19 August 1520 Dürer describes them as ‘most affecting to see’.<sup>26</sup> Another passage in the Netherlandish journal can be linked quite directly to the drawing: towards the end of his first stay in Antwerp Dürer notes a gift made to his wife of cloth, ‘... fourteen ells of good thick Arras cloth

for a mantle and three-and-a-half ells of wool and linen arras for the lining’.<sup>27</sup> Thus the drawing must be none other than his attempt to design such a cloak from the gift of the fabric: even the measurements are the same, converting one ell to two *Schuh*.<sup>28</sup> The drawings are not, however, examples of the cutting patterns that became common in the second half of the sixteenth century and were compiled into ‘cutting books’ (*Schnittbüchern*);<sup>29</sup> a tailor would not really have known where to begin with Dürer’s drawings.

By contrast, neither of the drawings on the verso of the sheet can be linked directly to Dürer’s trip to the Netherlands, but serve instead as preparation for his *Unterweisung der Messung* (*Treatise on Measurement*), which appeared in print in 1525. The upper drawing investigates how surface area changes when the shape itself – in this case a square – is preserved. In the book Dürer subsequently attempts to establish how pages must be proportioned so that their contents retain a whole-number ratio – something that was not even possible to calculate at the time.<sup>30</sup> For its part, the bottom drawing develops an image for the variable method of transforming a scale with equal intervals into one that increases unevenly.<sup>31</sup> If both drawings on this side of the London sheet did actually originate in the Netherlands – as an analysis of the ink might be able to verify – it would show Dürer engaged with a subject that had occupied him for some years: geometry as the basis of painting. All four drawings on this sheet can, in any event, be defined as ‘parametrics’, a method of design that attempts to grasp and define general laws through drawing. A similar dynamic is at play in the ‘visualisations’ (*Visierungen*) of a house commissioned by Margaret of Austria’s doctor, the cost of which Dürer estimates at 10 guilders.<sup>32</sup> Such a considerable sum suggests that much more must have been involved here than floor plan, elevation and section,<sup>33</sup> the remarkably modern architectural visualisation techniques with which Dürer had evidently familiarised himself in Venice. He may also have included his design in the price.

#### SEEING ART AND MEETING ARTISTS

Throughout his journal Albrecht Dürer keeps three protagonists of early Netherlandish painting fixed firmly in his mind’s eye: Jan van Eyck (1390–1441), Rogier van der Weyden and Hugo van der Goes (1440–1482). Dürer would have encountered such art early on during his years as an apprentice, through Hans Pleydenwurff (1420–1472), for example, whose drawings were preserved in the workshop of Michael Wolgemut (1434–1519) and who copied pictorial motifs from early Netherlandish painting and drawings.<sup>34</sup> Dürer’s father

may also have owned drawings; he had after all ‘... spent a long time in the Netherlands learning from the great masters of his craft ...’, as his son notes in the family history.<sup>35</sup> Finally, the silverpoint Dürer employed as a drawing tool from early on was typical of the Netherlands and rather uncommon in Franconia at the time.<sup>36</sup> Artistic role models leave behind a decisive impression during an artist’s period of training: Dürer himself writes in the fourth sentence of his treatise *Von der Malerei* (*On Painting*) that anyone looking to become a painter ‘must first copy a great deal of the art of good craftsmen before he acquires a free hand’.<sup>37</sup> What should that relationship look like, however, when the training is already complete – and, moreover, when one is confronted with ‘early art’?

We can only speculate. An interest in famous, long-since deceased artists and their work is at any rate conspicuous in Dürer’s journal, surfacing repeatedly and explicitly even when only in reference to having paid to see artwork, as may well have been the case with the Dombild Altarpiece by Stephan Lochner (1410–1451).<sup>38</sup> Dürer frequently takes the opportunity to see works of art that today either continue to, or could easily rank as masterpieces. Below only a handful of examples are given: in the Count of Nassau’s private chapel in Brussels, ‘I saw ... the fine picture Master Hugo painted ...’<sup>39</sup> – likely an image of the seven sacraments; at the town hall Dürer sees the four painted panels ‘which the great Master Rogier painted’;<sup>40</sup> that is, the four images of justice that constituted Rogier van der Weyden’s most significant work in both scope and fame (*The Justice of Trajan and Herkinbald*, now lost); at Saint Jacob’s Church in Bruges ‘the rich paintings by Rogier and Hugo who were both great masters’;<sup>41</sup> and finally, on a visit to Margaret of Austria’s collection in Mechelen, ‘other good things, works by Jan ...’,<sup>42</sup> possibly referring to Jan van Eyck’s *Arnolfini Portrait* (National Gallery, London, inv. NG186), Madonna at the Fountain (Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp, Belgium, inv. 411) and ‘La Belle Portugaloise’ (‘The Beautiful Portuguese Woman’, now lost). He explicitly mentions having Rogier van der Weyden’s *Saint Luke Drawing the Virgin* uncovered – for which he also paid money – which was probably on display at the time in the chapel of the Brussels painters’ guild (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, inv. 93.153).<sup>43</sup> Nothing more is said on the subject. In general, Dürer’s statements on works of art are generally restricted to terse epithets for fame such as *groß* (great), *köstlich* (exquisite) and *gut* (good),<sup>44</sup> albeit with aesthetic categories in mind. The Ghent Altarpiece alone receives somewhat more extensive treatment: ‘Then I looked at the altar of St John’s which is highly precious and

skilfully painted, and quite especially Eve, Mary and God the Father are very good’.<sup>45</sup> Dürer may have appreciated the work for its monumental figures and the heavy folds of the drapery, which brought it close to his own painting, but the altarpiece did not serve him as an artistic model.<sup>46</sup>

Finally, if one compares the words Dürer finds for early Netherlandish painting in his journal with more enthusiastic accounts, namely of the Aztec treasures housed in Brussels at the residence of the dukes of Brabant – vestiges of which are preserved today in Vienna – a clear difference immediately presents itself: ‘I have never in my life seen anything that gave my heart such delight as these things, for I saw amongst them marvellously skilful objects and was amazed at the subtle ingeniousness of people in foreign lands.’<sup>47</sup> Dürer’s ‘monstrous lust for seeing’<sup>48</sup> evidently drew distinctions. If one then compares his impressions with those of Hans Burgkmair the Elder (1473–1531) and Hans Holbein the Younger (1497/8–1543), one is struck by how much greater – and of an altogether different nature – the impact of early art was on his two contemporaries. Burgkmair prepares visual ‘reminders’ for himself: he makes a draughtsman’s study of Lochner’s *Last Judgement* (Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, inv. 100/1918), Rogier van der Weyden’s *Presentation in the Temple* (Alte Pinakothek, Munich, inv. WAF 1191) and other works from the circle of the Master of Flémalle and van der Weyden, among others, and uses them in his own compositions. For his part, Holbein unmistakably adapts Jan van Eyck’s *Van der Paele Madonna* (Groeninge Museum, Bruges, inv. 0.161.1) for his own *Solothurn Madonna* (Kunstmuseum Solothurn, inv. A 134).<sup>49</sup> In two splendid drawings dating from 1523–4 (Kunstmuseum, Basel, invs 1662.126 and 1662.125), Holbein further depicts two sculptures of the Duke of Berry and his wife created around 1416, updating them as portraits contemporary with the artist.<sup>50</sup> Burgkmair and Holbein hence tended more towards studying, taking inspiration and even quoting from earlier compositions, leaving them more tightly bound to tradition. Dürer, on the other hand, rather observed,<sup>51</sup> and for example, in comparison to Eve in the Ghent Altarpiece, his work was more progressive, better perceived.

Dürer’s ‘hunger for images’ takes contemporary art into its view as a matter of course. In his journal he mentions having seen or planning to see countless paintings. He personally met with nearly every Netherlandish artist of renown and repute, among them Joachim Patinir (1480–1524), Jan Provoost (1462/5–1529), Bernaert van Orley (1487/91–1541),

Lucas van Leyden (1489/94–1533), Dirk Vellert (1480–1547), Jean Mone (1485/90–1549/50) and Conrat Meit (1480–1550/1). To put it in terms of Dürer's own exaggerated art-theoretical claims, it is not only useful for the artist to 'see many a good image and copy from images made by the famous and good masters, but also to hear talk from and about them'.<sup>52</sup> Susanna Horenbout (1503–1554) made a particular impression on him: 'Note: Master Gerhard, the book-illustrator, has a daughter Susanna, around eighteen years old, who has illuminated a small sheet with a Saviour. I gave her 1 gulden for it. Amazing that a woman should have done something like that'.<sup>53</sup> The story itself is charming enough, but what one would not give to have the Saviour Dürer bought from Susanna preserved today; the discussion surrounding Susanna's part in her father's book painting projects, such as the *Sforza Hours* (British Library, inv. Add MS 34294), would be incomparably easier.<sup>54</sup>

If all the references to 'Joachim' in his journal refer to the artist, Dürer was evidently most closely connected with Joachim Patinir. He had scarcely arrived in Antwerp when he dined with Patinir and his colleagues, exchanged art for pigments and assistance from Patinir's colleagues – thus taking full advantage of Patinir's workshop. We know from the journal that Dürer portrayed Patinir and also that he gave him a 'portrait' (perhaps a second portrait?); he also gave Patinir 'four St Christophers on grey paper' – one depiction of the saint on dark violet-grounded paper has at any rate been preserved (British Museum, inv. SL,5218.178);<sup>55</sup> he was invited to attend Patinir's wedding to Joanna Noyts, described Patinir as a 'skilled landscape painter', and finally presented him with graphic works by Hans Baldung Grien (1484/5–1545).<sup>56</sup> This succession of events covered nearly the entire duration of Dürer's journal, from August 1520 to August 1521. Then there is the gift to Dürer made by Adrian Herbouts (died 1546), the legal advisor and secretary of Antwerp, of a work by Patinir: a 'little panel ... painted' of Sodom burning, which may be the same image held today in Rotterdam (Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, inv. 2312).<sup>57</sup> Judging by the frequency and quality of mentions, one might well speak of a true friendship between the two artists, with Dürer making an accurate assessment of Patinir's specific talent, namely that the latter invented landscape painting as a distinct genre. Dürer's use of the term 'landscape

painter', incidentally, is one of the first uses of the term.<sup>58</sup> On the other hand, Patinir, to put it in no uncertain terms, found it quite difficult to represent figures. Dürer's gift of four images of Saint Christopher should thus initially be seen as a friendly form of support. In fact the nine variations Dürer created of the giant saint, found at the top left of the magnificent study sheet in Berlin (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. KdZ 4477) – an effort that conveys not 'nine shots at a central target with the final one meeting its goal, but rather nine direct hits at nine different targets: this is the sheet's impression'<sup>59</sup> – bear conspicuous resemblance to a drawing on blue paper overwhelmingly attributed to Patinir (Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, inv. KdZ 6698).<sup>60</sup> The saint appears again on the left-hand side of the page fearlessly confronting a devil in a rarely depicted scene. Patinir, on the other hand, did not necessarily need a template for the pen-and-ink drawing preserved today in Berlin; in this case Saint Christopher acts merely as an accessory to the *Weltlandschaft* (a view of the world from an elevated perspective).

As often as Albrecht Dürer mentions artists and artworks in his journal, including quite a harsh critique of Jan Gossaert's *Descent from the Cross* in Middelburg that it was 'not as good in terms of the modelling of the heads as in its use of colour',<sup>61</sup> the absence of the *Garden of Earthly Delights* by Hieronymous Bosch (1450–1516), Joos van Cleve (1485–1541) and Quinten Massys (1465/6–1530) may come as a surprise. One may take Dürer's solitary reference to the latter that he had 'been in Master Quentin's house'<sup>62</sup> as a sign that he was quite deliberately seeking to erase the memory of such renowned artists. Friendship between artists is at times accompanied by enmity, or at least competition.

Within the virtually impenetrable thicket of literature regarding Albrecht Dürer's trip to the Netherlands, one occasionally comes across the free and easy conclusion that he took the trip as a tourist, as it were, and did not especially profit by his impressions in any artistic sense. This is, of course, sheer nonsense, if only with a view to the changes in his portraiture.<sup>63</sup> It was on his trip that Dürer first discovered a specifically Netherlandish pictorial invention: setting the crucifixion against a low horizon line. Millard Meiss coined a memorable phrase in this regard: 'Highlands in the Lowlands'.<sup>64</sup>

- 1 Schoch, Mende and Scherbaum 2001–4, vol. 3, no. 261, and vol. 1, no. 2.
- 2 Ashcroft 2017, vol. 1, p. 139, no. 29.2.
- 3 Ibid. (no. 162), pp. 555–6 and 578.
- 4 Ibid. (no. 162), p. 578.
- 5 See, for example, Schauerte 2012, pp. 208ff. See Schmid 2003, p. 473, for reference to a trip Dürer planned to England or Spain during this period.
- 6 See Sahn 2002, p. 133. The documents are in Rupprich 1956–69, vol. 1, nos 33ff., pp. 88–90 and nos 35ff., pp. 90–2. Ashcroft 2017, vol. 1, pp. 639–44, nos 165.1–4.
- 7 Documentation in Rupprich 1956–69, vol. 3, p. 452. See also Hutchison 1990, pp. 131ff., for an alternative interpretation, as well as T. Schauerte's essay in the present publication, pp. 9–14.
- 8 Dhanens 1995, pp. 109ff.
- 9 Schauerte 2012, p. 210.
- 10 See also, for example, Frankfurt 2003, p. 102, as well as A. Nesselrath in London 2021, pp. 165–204.
- 11 Poeschke 1994, p. 197.
- 12 See Sahn 2002, pp. 134, 183ff.
- 13 Ibid., pp. 135ff.
- 14 'schreib püchle', Rupprich 1956–69, vol. 1 p. 51, l. 13; Ashcroft 2017, vol. 1, no. 29.6, p. 149.
- 15 Ashcroft 2017, vol. 1, no. 162, p. 561.
- 16 Ibid., p. 586.
- 17 See also Sahn 2002, p. 139; Unverfehrt 2007, pp. 194ff., 224ff.
- 18 Ashcroft 2017, vol. 1, no. 162, p. 587.
- 19 Ibid., pp. 556, 573, 580 and 617 n. 318. See also P. van den Brink in London 2021, pp. 205–25.
- 20 Ashcroft 2017, vol. 1, no. 162, p. 556.
- 21 Anzelewsky 1991, vol. 1, cat. 77, pp. 183ff; Nuremberg 2012, pp. 357–9 (D. Hirschfelder).
- 22 Ashcroft 2017, vol. 1, no. 162, p. 573. See also Anzelewsky 1991, vol. 1, cats 78ff., pp. 184ff.
- 23 Ashcroft 2017, vol. 1, no. 162, p. 573.
- 24 See also the survey in Schmid 2003, pp. 474–9.
- 25 Rupprich 1956–69, vol. 1, pp. 178f.; Ashcroft 2017, vol. 1, no. 162, pp. 545–628. Sahn 2002, pp. 172–4. See especially Nuremberg 2017, p. 25 and cat. 34, p. 130–6 (T. Schauerte).
- 26 Ashcroft 2017, vol. 1, no. 162, p. 558.
- 27 Ibid., pp. 558–9.
- 28 The conversion in Unverfehrt 2007, p. 51, is incorrect.
- 29 See Barich and McNealy 2015. I am grateful to Arwed Arnulf for his suggestions regarding this line of interpretation.
- 30 See Schoch, Mende and Scherbaum 2001–4, vol. 3, no. 274.83.
- 31 Ibid., no. 274.31.
- 32 Ashcroft 2017, vol. 1, no. 162, p. 563.
- 33 See the image in Rupprich 1956–69, vol. 1, p. 158, ll. 129–31 (table 14, fig. 40).
- 34 Suckale 2009, vol. 1, pp. 114–28 and *passim*.
- 35 'lang im Niederland gewest bej den großen künstern', Rupprich 1956–69, vol. 1, p. 28, l. 33; Ashcroft 2017, vol. 1, no. 1, p. 31.
- 36 Frankfurt 2013, p. 94 (S. Kemperdick).
- 37 Ashcroft 2017, vol. 1, no. 51.4, p. 252.
- 38 Ibid., no. 162, p. 565. For a critique of the passage, see Wolfson 1986 and Corley 2000, pp. 133ff., 260.
- 39 Ashcroft 2017, vol. 1, no. 162, p. 560.
- 40 Ibid.
- 41 Ibid., p. 577.
- 42 Ibid., p. 584. See also D. Eichberger, 'Dürer and the Netherlands: Patterns of Exchange and Mutual Admiration', in Silver and Chipps Smith 2010, pp. 149–65, at pp. 150–2.
- 43 Ashcroft 2017, vol. 1, no. 162, p. 560. Today the image is housed in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
- 44 On the adjective 'exquisite' (*köstlich*), see A. Beyer in London 2021, p. 38.
- 45 Ashcroft 2017, vol. 1, no. 162, p. 578.
- 46 Berlin 2014, p. 42 (S. Kemperdick).
- 47 Ashcroft 2017, vol. 1, no. 162, p. 560.
- 48 Wölfflin 1984, p. 293.
- 49 See most recently Bruges 2010, pp. 84ff., 331–5 (J. von Fircks).
- 50 Basel 2006, pp. 316–20 (C. Müller).
- 51 See Strauss 1974, vol. 4, nos 1520/24, 1521/46 as well as – possibly – 1521/67 (see van den Brink 2020). For a more detailed treatment of drawings from Dürer's silverpoint sketchbook, see Bremen 2012, cat. 41, pp. 144–6, 192 (A. Röver-Kann).
- 52 Dürer 1528 (2011), p. 231.
- 53 Ashcroft 2017, vol. 1, no. 162, p. 583.
- 54 Kren 2003, p. 428.
- 55 Winkler 1936–9, vol. 4, p. 30; Unverfehrt 2007, p. 172.
- 56 For the relationship between Dürer and Patinir, see Ashcroft 2017, vol. 1, no. 162, pp. 556–7, 579, 582, 579, 585.
- 57 Ibid., no. 162, p. 576. See also Unverfehrt 2007, pp. 138–40.
- 58 Falkenburg 2007, p. 45.
- 59 Friedländer 1911, p. 86.
- 60 Madrid 2007, pp. 142ff. (S. Hautekeete).
- 61 Ashcroft 2017, vol. 1, no. 162, p. 570. In this connection, see also A. Koopstra in Weidema and Koopstra 2012, pp. 153–6, as well as Susan Foister and Peter van den Brink's introduction to London 2021, pp. 15–31, and van den Brink 2020.
- 62 Ashcroft 2017, vol. 1, no. 162, p. 556.
- 63 See Koreny 2008, pp. 166–9 (in German, pp. 335–7), as well as P. van den Brink in London 2021, pp. 205–25.
- 64 Meiss 1976, p. 36.



# ENCOUNTERS WITH HIMSELF ALBRECHT DÜRER IN AACHEN AND THE JÜLICH REGION



ALBRECHT DÜRER'S DIARY OF HIS NETHERLANDISH journey is one of the most important personal documents of the beginning of the early modern era, for its interdisciplinary approach as much as its contribution to cultural history. Yet despite its abundance of information, it provides scant satisfactory answers to some

fundamental questions. For one, considering the length of the journey, it describes the artist's activities in outline at best. The main emphasis is on expenditure and income, on gifts presented or received as well as the contacts formed thereby, often identified by first name alone – and frequently even these details are not given. Although Dürer established friendly relations with members of the Antwerp Guild of Saint Luke, he does not mention one of its most important representatives, Joos van Cleve, who was even appointed dean in 1520.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, since van Cleve had on several occasions referred to Dürer's woodcuts in his altar paintings,<sup>2</sup> we can reasonably suppose that he would have been interested in meeting the German artist. On the other hand, we should remember that Dürer wrote

down much, if not most, from memory, resulting in numerous errors and omissions.

Nowhere in his journal does Dürer mention why he left Nuremberg with his wife and maid in the summer of 1520 for more than a year, to make his home in distant Antwerp.<sup>3</sup> A strong motivation might have been his oft-cited efforts to secure the continuation of the annual pension granted to him by Emperor Maximilian in 1515: amounting to the considerable sum of 100 florins,<sup>4</sup> this would have been enough for him to live comfortably for a year.<sup>5</sup> As with all imperial privileges, this had to be ratified after the death of Maximilian in January 1519 by his successor, Charles V. This would normally have occurred in the period around 23 October 1520, when Charles was crowned Holy Roman Emperor in Aachen cathedral. Although Dürer was present at the ceremony, this would not have had an impact on the ruler's decision since no personal contact took place. However, barely a week after Dürer's departure from Aachen, on 4 November 1520 two letters were sent from Charles V

in Cologne, one to the artist himself (Staatsarchiv Nürnberg, inv. S. I, L, 73, no. II, fol. 15. R I, 90) and the other to the Council of Nuremberg (Staatsarchiv Nürnberg, inv. S. I, L, 79, no. 15, fasc. 4. RI, 91-2), ceremoniously confirming the artist's life pension.<sup>6</sup> All those who had signed and authenticated these letters had been present in Aachen, not least the two imperial secretaries Matthes Püchler and Niklas Ziegler, with whom Dürer was personally acquainted.<sup>7</sup>

Dürer writes unambiguously of the renewal of his pension as the result of 'much effort and travail'.<sup>8</sup> This effort may have consisted of motivating various people close to the court, above all highly placed intercessors. Chief among these was the imperial arch-chancellor Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg, whose portrait Dürer had drawn in Augsburg in 1518 and would engrave the following year (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. RP-P-OB-1275).<sup>9</sup> Brandenburg's significant role in the difficult election of the new emperor may have added weight to his advocacy of Dürer's request; indeed, the preserved documents carry his signature.<sup>10</sup> However, Dürer could have accomplished all of this without leaving Nuremberg: it did not require the immense effort of a journey to the Netherlands and to the coronation in Aachen. Apart from that, it remains uncertain to what extent Dürer's trip to Aachen should even be considered in connection with his pension renewal, since it was the firm belief in Nuremberg that Charles V would adhere to the Golden Bull of 1356, which decreed that the first imperial Diet after the coronation (that is, in 1521) would meet in Nuremberg.<sup>11</sup> This would have given Dürer a second chance to submit his request at that time. The fact that as a result of the Reformation this convention would never be observed again, either by Charles or any other emperor, was something that Dürer could not have anticipated.

Thus we should ask to what extent, beyond Charles V's coronation, the imperial city on the Lower Rhine constituted a desired travel destination for Dürer and what he possibly could have known about it. In this context two relevant Nuremberg publications show a surprising lack of information. First, the *Bäderbuch* (*Bathing Booklet*) by the Nuremberg lyricist Hans Folz (1437–1513), published in 1491, lists baths in antiquity, the thermal springs in Germany, Italy, France and even Castile, but not those in Aachen.<sup>12</sup> Secondly, and even more surprisingly, Hartmann Schedel (1440–1514) in his famous *Weltchronik* (*World Chronicle*) of 1493 mentions the Aachen thermal baths but only marginally refers to the city itself in his life of Charlemagne.<sup>13</sup> These parenthetic remarks may have been motivated by the competition between the two cities with regard to royal

coronations: on the one hand these took place in Aachen cathedral, while on the other, the imperial regalia had been held in Nuremberg since 1424. Among them, the crown, sword, sceptre and orb were indispensable at every coronation and had to be accompanied by a Nuremberg delegation to Aachen – as happened in 1520.<sup>14</sup> This rivalry is also apparent in Dürer's only official commission from his home town: the larger than life-size idealised portraits of Charlemagne and Emperor Sigismund, completed in February 1513. Until 1525 these constituted the wings of the shrine in the Schopper House, where the regalia were kept during the annual display of relics on the main market square. But here, too, none of the inscriptions mention Aachen as the place where the coronations took place.<sup>15</sup>

However, this apparently intentional concealment of Aachen in three important late fifteenth-century Nuremberg sources should be balanced against three positive evaluations, all from Dürer's closest circle, considered in this context here for the first time. The first of these is to be found, surprisingly, in Hartmann Schedel's handwritten compendium of Roman antiquities.<sup>16</sup> Here he praises above all the preferential position of the famous cathedral church of Saint Mary as the site of coronations as well as the tomb of Charlemagne, at the cultural crossroads of the German and French parts of the empire. He also mentions the holy relics, revealed once every seven years, and the numerous thermal baths, which Charlemagne had already used in 'astonishing excess'.<sup>17</sup> This is followed by a few lines, quoted by Schedel from a text known in transcription by none other than Conrad Celtis (1459–1508), prominent German humanist and Dürer's one-time close companion.<sup>18</sup> Included in his *Epodes*, published posthumously in 1513, Celtis's lines poetically praised the city's merits.<sup>19</sup> In addition, in his compendium Schedel transcribes an inscription in golden letters, supposedly found at the entrance to Aachen imperial palace.<sup>20</sup> The third source also originates from Dürer's immediate circle, the famous *Ship of Fools* by Sebastian Brant (1457–1521). In the passage about the Antichrist in one of the final chapters, illustrated by Dürer, the Strasbourg humanist criticises the decreasing value of indulgences, remarking sarcastically that people will eventually wish for them again and will ultimately be willing to travel beyond Aachen to attain one.<sup>21</sup> Brant's illustrator, Dürer, must have known that the journey to Aachen cathedral was a popular means of securing a large indulgence. Thus the artist was no doubt full of curiosity when, on a Sunday in October 1520, he entered the city for the first time.

### THREE WEEKS AT A GLANCE

The important details of Dürer's visit to Aachen were carefully gathered by Curtius in 1887.<sup>22</sup> Furthermore, Dürer's 13 recorded drawings made in Aachen, of which five have survived and a further eight are documented in his journal entries, were also known at that time.<sup>23</sup>

Dürer stayed in and around Aachen for 20 days, from 7 to 26 October 1520. When he left Antwerp the exact date of the coronation was a matter of speculation – for the artist as for the entire European diplomatic community. Indeed, the date was only announced a few days before the event took place on 23 October.<sup>24</sup> This is confirmed by the account submitted to the City Council of Nuremberg on 19 December 1520 by the official delegation that had accompanied the regalia to Aachen. Consisting of the patricians Lienhard Groland, Hans Ebner and Niklas Haller, the group only arrived in Aachen on 21 October.<sup>25</sup> It is not immediately apparent what Dürer had hoped to achieve by arriving in the city 14 days earlier. Bearing in mind his main purpose, at least he was able to use his time to present three pieces of art ('3 Stuckh Kunst') to Etienne Lullier, chamberlain to Margaret of Austria, aunt of the future emperor.<sup>26</sup> He also made a portrait of Caspar Sturm (1475–1552; Musée Condé, Chantilly, inv. DE893-verso),<sup>27</sup> who, as the 'servant' of Albrecht of Brandenburg, had travelled to Aachen ahead of time. He was named Imperial Herald 'Germania' on 27 October 1520.<sup>28</sup>

In Dürer's journal the itemisation of the various stages of his journey is followed by a description of his visit to the famous church of Saint Mary (now Aachen cathedral), where German Holy Roman Emperors were crowned. Paying scant attention to its general appearance, he focuses instead on the architectural details of the columns transferred there by Charlemagne as spoils from Rome, their proportions following Vitruvian theories.<sup>29</sup> This short note is accompanied by the famous silverpoint drawing of the view Dürer had of the entire north face of the church from an elevated viewpoint in the town hall (British Museum, London, inv. 1895,0915.982).<sup>30</sup> Thereafter the diary seamlessly continues with a record of purchases and two presumably lost portraits of Hans Ebner.

Dürer's accounts of his acquisitions, as well as small and even tiny expenditures, constitute roughly half of the notations in the Aachen part of the journal, as they do in the Netherlandish segment. Thus his other Aachen view, of the town hall (Musée Condé, Chantilly, inv. DE893-recto), merely merits a brief entry with the remark that he paid the attendant a tip for viewing the great building.<sup>31</sup> It is noteworthy how imprecise in its detail his view of the town hall is, an observation already made by Curtius in comparison with the earliest representation of

the same building by another artist (Stadtarchiv Aachen, inv. H 137).<sup>32</sup> That Dürer explored the cathedral and the town hall would have been useful to the Nuremberg delegation accompanying the imperial regalia with regard to the ceremony, security and the placement of the members at the coronation banquet. Perhaps it is under this premise that we should view the fact that Dürer – himself a member of the 'Äußerer Rat'<sup>33</sup> – dined in Aachen at the cost of the delegation and even stayed at the house of the previous mayor, Peter von Enden.<sup>34</sup>

In his free time in Aachen no doubt Dürer would have visited the other churches and monasteries flourishing in the city at that time: the collegiate church of Saint Adalbert, the monastery of the Crusaders of the Red Star (Kreuzherren) the four parish churches, the three churches of the medicant orders and the women's convents.<sup>35</sup> He would also have been interested in the Cistercian convent in neighbouring Burtscheid, and would probably have made the two-hour trip to Kornelimünster, where world-famous reliquaries were displayed annually, like the ones in Aachen. In addition to these sightseeing activities and the hours spent drawing, Dürer seems to have had enough free time to occasionally enjoy the thermal baths and, last but not least, gambling, although without any success: no fewer than nine entries testify to the loss of money.<sup>36</sup> This adventure might have had something to do with the fact that his wife had stayed behind in Antwerp.

In contrast to these pastimes – thus paying heed to Sebastian Brant's verses – we should remember that Aachen was one of the most important pilgrimage sites in the Holy Roman Empire from the Middle Ages until the eighteenth century. Among the city's relics Dürer was shown Charlemagne's arm as well as the shirt and girdle of the Virgin Mary.<sup>37</sup> He may have participated in the display of the relics, a procession that normally took place every seven years (so would not have been due until 1524) but was instead performed in the presence of Charles V two days after his coronation. In the absence of Dürer's own record of the event, we may turn to an important contemporary manuscript to reconstruct his experience. This is the lively account written by a merchant from Metz, Philippe de Vigneulles (1471– about 1527/8), who had travelled to Aachen in July 1510.<sup>38</sup> He describes how the crowd even interfered with the liturgy itself, and when the relics were finally presented to the elated crowds at the various stations of the procession, the houses had their windows so full of people that they had to be propped up with beams. Whenever a new relic – and especially the main relic, Mary's cloak – were shown, a rapturous cheer went up, accompanied by the shrill sounds of the *Achhorn* (a type of pipe).<sup>39</sup>

As in the case of the display of the relics, when it comes to the coronation of Charles V, the high point of Dürer's days in Aachen, we are only able to reconstruct his observations indirectly. His journal merely states that he had seen things that no-one in Germany had seen before: '... as it has all since been described in print'.<sup>40</sup> With this blanket reference to the numerous accounts of the event, he is relieved not only from providing his own description but also his personal impressions.<sup>41</sup>

#### DÜRER AND ANTWERP RETABLES IN THE JÜLICH REGION

An almost negligible text passage, virtually hidden between the daily notes made in Aachen and apparently left incomplete even in the original manuscript, is now lost: 'I left 7 silver pence for tips to the household, and travelled from Aachen to Jülich and from there to ... I spent 4 stuivers for a pair of spectacles...'.<sup>42</sup> The exact date of this note cannot be determined. However, the journey to Jülich could not have been part of Dürer's onward travel to Cologne since that took him via Düren, where he was shown a highly revered relic in the church of Saint Anne: the head of the Virgin Mary's mother.<sup>43</sup>

None of Dürer's contacts in Antwerp or Aachen indicates a connection to the small country town of Jülich. There was no market place, no significant church or pilgrimage site, no great monastery and no princely residence that would have held any attraction.<sup>44</sup> Yet the lively trade between Antwerp and nearby Cologne, whose routes crossed the duchy of Jülich via the towns of Düren, Titz and Linnich,<sup>45</sup> had brought considerable wealth to the region, effectively turning it into the hinterland of the two commercial metropolises.<sup>46</sup> Thus by this time the Jülich region could already claim the 13 Antwerp carved retables of about 1520 that still exist today, even if many are now only in fragments.<sup>47</sup> The region became a focal point of this art-historically important Antwerp export: of the original 200 retables delivered by the Guild of Saint Luke to Scandinavia, the Baltic states and even as far as Spain, judging by the 36 whole or fragmentary surviving works (of which the aforementioned 13 are located in the vicinity of Jülich), the majority went to the neighbouring Rhineland.<sup>48</sup> Art-historical interest in these imposing and, despite their detailed sumptuousness, overpowering objects has always been lively, but research has only been systematically pursued for the Rhineland over the last few years.<sup>49</sup> Recently the Jülich Historical Society (Jülicher Geschichtsverein) has begun to pay attention to its historical heritage with monographs on the high altar in the parish church of Saint Martinus in Linnich<sup>50</sup> and the altar in the church of Saint Gereon in Boslar, which most likely originated in the monastery of Schwarzenbroich.<sup>51</sup>

Dürer's interest in these artistic and technical marvels, which were very different from German altarpieces in their serial, highly rationalised production process, might have been inspired a few weeks earlier in Antwerp.<sup>52</sup> When he writes in his journal entry of 5 August 1520 that he had been invited by the local painters 'to their hall' ('auff ihr stuben'), we should remember that this refers to their guildhall, 'De Bontemantel'.<sup>53</sup> This was the centre of Antwerp's retable production, combining all participating artists and craftsmen in one guild. The building was a former warehouse located together with other guild houses on Antwerp's main square. Dürer himself gives an account of a visit to the artists' house, taken by his host Jobst Plankfelt, after he had paid '2 stuivers to the joiners in the painter's warehouse'.<sup>54</sup> He then continues: 'Furthermore, my landlord took me into the Antwerp painter's workshop, in the warehouse where they are setting up the triumphal entrance through which King Charles is to process'.<sup>55</sup> Together with the guild and parish church of Saint Jacob and the Church of Our Lady, home of the altarpiece of the Guild of Saint Luke by Quinten Massys, the warehouse formed the boundary of the artistic centre of Antwerp. Here were workshops, sales premises and the facilities of various craftsmen, such as polychromers, cabinet makers and ornament carvers.<sup>56</sup> On this particular evening Dürer not only met members of Antwerp's artistic elite, he also encountered, at the moment of its own greatest flowering, a highly productive and effective art industry. This supplied half of Europe with precious retables displaying workmanship that was widely different from comparable Nuremberg products. Dürer may have been especially conscious of this difference because from 1486 to 1490 he had spent his apprenticeship in the large workshop of Michael Wolgemut in a town without guilds. Yet this workshop was also capable of producing, delivering and assembling huge double-winged retables, as still demonstrated today by the impressive altarpieces in Schwabach and Zwickau.<sup>57</sup>

While the works mentioned above were all traditional commissions, we encounter in the Netherlands and especially in Antwerp from around 1400, public art markets offering for sale panel paintings and sculptures – and even complete altarpieces.<sup>58</sup> Towards the end of the century – and presumably of particular interest to Dürer – prints were added to the supply. These biannual fairs, which took place before Pentecost and after the Feast of the Assumption (15 August) in the area around Antwerp's main square, were supplemented by a permanent counterpart. The Pand of Our Lady (Onze-Lieve-Vrouwepand) was close to the painters' guildhall, near the Groenkerkhofstraat by the churchyard south of the Church of Our Lady. This veritable year-round 'shopping centre' provided an

important source of income for the cathedral, which was only completed in 1521 with the help of rental from the stalls. The four gallery walls of the large structure enclosed an interior courtyard<sup>59</sup> with around a hundred rented pitches. Besides sculptures and panel paintings, these offered for sale complete altarpieces of any size, as well as books and prints<sup>60</sup> – so that one could almost speak of an art fair *avant la lettre*.

At the same time, it must have been of special interest to Dürer that between 1505 and 1530 it was a printer, Claus van Gorchem, who presided over the Pand and that during this time books and especially woodcuts dominated the market.<sup>61</sup> We might speculate that it is in this context that Dürer met Adriaen van Overbeke (active 1508–29), the creator of the Saint Anne Altarpiece in Kempen, the high altar in the church of Saint Victor in Schwerte and Saint Petri Church in Dortmund, the latter being the monumental main work of the whole genre. If only because of his generally good contacts at the Antwerp Guild of Saint Luke, it is likely that Dürer is referring to van Overbeke when he writes at the end of September 1520 that he has ‘made a charcoal portrait of Master Adrian.’<sup>62</sup> Rupprich’s identification of this man with Adrian Herbouts, the city clerk of Antwerp, is not compatible with the title ‘Master’, which Dürer only uses for artists and craftsmen but not for lawyers.<sup>63</sup> Furthermore, a meeting with van Overbeke would be all the more likely since he regularly used Dürer’s prints.<sup>64</sup> As noted by Catheline Périer-d’Ieteren, Dürer’s prints were passed from workshop to workshop, renewing the respective repertoire of each.<sup>65</sup>

These observations may help to reconstruct the motives that led to Dürer’s detour to Jülich. It is indeed true that the painted wings of Antwerp altarpieces repeatedly show the influence of his woodcuts, especially those from his Passion and Life of the Virgin series, which were part of the stock of models in painters’ workshops even before he arrived in the city.<sup>66</sup> This also applies to the largest and most magnificent altar in the Jülich region, still today in the choir of the church of Saint Martinus in Linnich, accompanied by two smaller side altars of the same Antwerp provenance. Linnich is about two hours from Jülich; since 2012 the high altar in its church has become one of the most extensively researched works in the region. Created in about 1516, it may be attributed to the Master of the Antwerp Adoration, whom Dürer probably met during his visit.<sup>67</sup> Maria Krämer lists no fewer than 24 painted scenes on the wings of the Linnich altarpiece based on woodcuts by Dürer. These are not true copies but rather a combination of physiognomies, poses, garments and compositional arrangements suggested by Dürer’s printed oeuvre, transferred into the formal

language of ‘Antwerp Mannerism.’<sup>68</sup> Thus Dürer’s woodcut of *Christ’s Entry into Jerusalem* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv. 19.73.176) is echoed in the Linnich altarpiece, with Christ riding towards the city gate, set at an oblique angle, his hand raised in a gesture of blessing; in front of him a man spreads a cloth on the ground. However, within this format there are considerable variations. Firstly, the upright woodcut had to be transposed into a horizontal composition; secondly, character types and drapery folds are different, although in this case a direct transfer would have had practical aspects in particular.

Dürer had every reason to be interested in the new altarpieces around Jülich, possibly also those in Cologne, since he was familiar with their place of production and the masters who created them.<sup>69</sup> But above all he found himself in the unique position of encountering the transformation of his own woodcuts into panel painting, completely independent of his own involvement. That the former apprentice in a large workshop had acquired a high degree of technical knowledge of the division of labour in the production of large altarpieces can be witnessed by his pragmatic references to Jakob Heller (1460–1522) regarding the construction of his own altarpiece in the Barfüßerkirche in Frankfurt.<sup>70</sup> Whether Dürer was willing to offer such collegiate assistance to the Antwerp workshops delivering altarpieces to churches around Jülich remains an open question – indeed one that has hardly been addressed by scholars.<sup>71</sup>

Since the petition for the renewal of his annual pension did not require Dürer’s presence in Aachen, the actual reason for his visit to the city still remains unclear. Thus he comments in his journal about his activities and encounters during his 20-day visit to the city leave room for interpretation. He clearly enjoyed spending leisure time at the baths, without the inhibiting presence of his wife. Furthermore, besides the coronation of Charles V and the display of the relics, Aachen offered several buildings of cultural and historical significance, such as the town hall and the cathedral. Dürer’s agenda also may have included the richly furnished churches and monasteries of the region’s flourishing pilgrimage sites. Indeed, the encounter with the Antwerp altarpieces in the Jülich region may well be the only plausible reason for the otherwise puzzling excursion to such an insignificant country town. Some of these works had just arrived from Antwerp, ready to be constructed on site, while others may still have been at the decision-making or planning stage. It is tempting to see Dürer the expert here in the position of mediator and adviser, an aspect that may encourage further research. It is clear that his Netherlandish journey, despite having been extensively researched, may yet yield new insights.

- 1 Van den Brink 2011, p. 13.  
2 Hand 2004, pp. 38, 52, 56.  
3 This was noted by Curtius 1887, p. 147. Apparently this excellent essay has not been sufficiently evaluated in the art-historical literature. On Dürer's stay in Aachen, see most recently Schauerte 2016.  
4 The city of Nuremberg also demanded affirmation of the 200 florins of the imperial honorarium that was still owed to Dürer.  
5 For comparison: Dürer's house at Tiergärtner Tor had cost 275 florins in 1509, to which should be added over 300 florins in mortgage payments up to 1526; see Schauerte 2015c, p. 20.  
6 Ashcroft 2017, vol. 1, nos 165.3–165.4, pp. 642–4.  
7 On Püchler: Ashcroft 2017, vol. 1, no. 162, pp. 565, 605–6 n. 159. On Ziegler: *ibid.*, pp. 563, 589 and 603 n. 137.  
8 *Ibid.*, no. 162, p. 566.  
9 The drawings of 1518 and 1519 (preparatory to the engraving) are today in the Albertina, Vienna, and the Kunsthalle, Bremen; see Strauss 1974, vol. 1, nos 1518/23 and 1519/3 respectively. See also E. Michel in Vienna and Munich 2011, pp. 236–7, no. 152; A. Röver-Kann in Bremen 2012, pp. 164–5, no. 49.  
10 Ashcroft 2017, vol. 1, nos 165.3–165.4, pp. 642–4.  
11 This finds support in the effort and expense spent in 1520/21 on the refurbishment of the town hall, following Dürer's iconographic programme with Maximilian's *Triumphal Chariot* at its centre to remind Charles of the city's connection with the House of Habsburg; see Nuremberg 1979, pp. 71–2.  
12 H. Folz, *Dises puchlein saget vns von allen paden die von natur heiß sein*, Nuremberg about 1491.  
13 H. Schedel, *Liber chronicarum*, Nuremberg 1493, fol. 168r.  
14 For the complete inventory of the objects after their return to Nuremberg by the delegates, see Will 1864, pp. 369–70.  
15 Anzelewsky 1991, nos 123–4; Nuremberg 1997, pp. 203–10.  
16 On Schedel, see Hernand 2008 and most recently, Munich 2014, no. 3.4 (K. Hajdú).  
17 Schedel, *clm.* 716, fol. 316v f.: '... Sunt ibi terme Aque calide ... Quibus Karolus mirum immodum oblectabatur'.  
18 See most recently in more detail: Schauerte 2015b.  
19 Adel 1960, p. 61.  
20 H. Schedel, 'Liber antiquitatum cum epitaphiis et epigrammatibus', MS *clm.* 716, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, 1512, fol. 317r.  
21 'Und würt im darzū kumen doch / Er reicht in ferrer dann zū Och', Sebastian Brant, *Daß Narrenschiff ad Narragoniam*, Basel 1494, fol. 141v.  
22 Curtius 1887, p. 147; see most recently Schauerte 2016.  
23 Briefly discussed in Unverfehrt 2007, pp. 95–114 (without considering Curtius 1887).  
24 Rothhoff-Kraus 2000, p. 579.  
25 Will 1864, p. 370.  
26 Ashcroft translates '3 Stuckh Kunst' as 'three prints'. Ashcroft 2017, vol. 1, no. 162, p. 565.  
27 *Ibid.*, p. 564.  
28 At the same time, Sturm was paid by Nuremberg as an informant and messenger; see A. Barthelmeß, 'Der Reichsherold Caspar Sturm und Nürnberg', in Arndt 1984, pp. 186–7.  
29 According to Rupprich (1956–69, vol. 1, p. 187 n. 281), the columns actually originated in Ravenna, although Ashcroft contradicts this statement, stating that not all of them came from there: Ashcroft 2017, vol. 1, pp. 603–5 n. 147.  
30 Dürer mentions the view briefly; see Ashcroft 2017, vol. 1, no. 162, p. 564. The window from which he viewed the cathedral was closed during the repainting in the nineteenth century; see Schüller 1928, pp. 155–6.  
31 Ashcroft 2017, vol. 1, no. 162, p. 564.  
32 Curtius 1887, pp. 158–60.  
33 The imperial city of Nuremberg was then ruled by the Council, which was divided into the 'Great Council' ('Äußerer Rat') and the 'Inner Council' ('Innerer Rat'). The former was composed of respected members of the urban society, while the members of the Inner Council belonged to the patrician families of Nuremberg.  
34 Ashcroft 2017, vol. 1, no. 162, p. 564.  
35 See the descriptions in P. von Beeck and J. Nopp, *Aacher Chronick, das ist, Eine Kurtze Historische Beschreibung alleredenkwürdigen Antiquitäten & Geschichten ... deß ... H. Röm. Reichs Statt Aach ... biß ... 1630*, Cologne 1632, pp. 74–98.  
36 Altogether Dürer lost 14.5 stuber and 2 Weißpfennig, that is 0.75 Rhenish guilders.  
37 Ashcroft 2017, vol. 1, no. 162, p. 564. In the journal he erroneously identifies this as the arm of Emperor Henry II.  
38 Vigneulles 2005; Teichmann 1900; see most recently Schauerte 2016, pp. 101–2.  
39 Schauerte 2016, p. 102.  
40 Ashcroft 2017, vol. 1, no. 162, p. 565.  
41 For a good survey, see Fromm 1895, who considers in particular Willem Vorsterman's booklet *Kroenung Karl V*, Antwerp 1520 (Fromm no. 4) and the accounts by the Nuremberg delegates (Fromm no. 15; fully in Will 1864).  
42 Ashcroft 2017, vol. 1, no. 162, p. 565.  
43 *Ibid.* On the pilgrimage route between Aachen and Düren was situated the former monastery of Schwarzenbroich, which contained two Antwerp altarpieces; see Krämer and Peek-Horn 2018, p. 6.  
44 Jülich acquired the position of 'Residenzstadt' only after the destruction of Burg Nideggen in 1543 and the construction of the citadel.  
45 See the road map in Schaden 2000, p. 347; Herborn 1984, pp. 35–6.  
46 Herborn 1984, p. 33.  
47 See Krämer 2012, p. 11, and map p. 10: three altarpieces in Linnich; more in Aldenhoven, Jülich-Barmen, Jülich-Güsten and Jülich-Mersch, Müntz, Rödingen, Titz, Süggerath, Siersdorf, Langerwehe and Boslar. Peter van den Brink (2007, p. 177) recently reconstructed a further large altarpiece by the Master of the Antwerp Adoration for a location near Linnich.  
48 With regard to the federal state of Nordrhein-Westfalen, see G. Hoffmann, 'The Workshop of Adrian Van Overbeck', in van de Velde 2005, pp. 207–37, at p. 207.  
49 Of special interest is the research of C. Schaden (2000), who investigated all six altarpieces in the Dekanat Zülpich. On Brabantine altarpieces in the Lower Rhine region in general, see also G. Hoffmann in van de Velde 2005 (see note 48); Schauerte 2016.  
50 Krämer 2012.  
51 The fragmented altarpiece in Goslar is dated about 1525. The Schwarzenbroich origin finds support in the fact that its mother monastery in Cologne (see below) had also acquired such an altar around 1520; see Krämer 2018, pp. 5–6.  
52 Antwerp shrines often show multi-figure crucifixions, whereas German shrines consist of three or more large sculptures of church patrons.  
53 Ashcroft 2017, vol. 1, no. 162, p. 555 and p. 593 n. 28.  
54 *Ibid.*, no. 162, p. 556.  
55 *Ibid.*  
56 Gliemann 2011, pp. 26–7.  
57 See Strieder 1981; D. Hirschfelder, 'Wolgemut und seine Mitarbeiter. Werkstattstruktur und Arbeitsteilung', in Nuremberg 2019, pp. 59–70.  
58 Ewing 1990, p. 560.  
59 *Ibid.*, pp. 561–2.  
60 *Ibid.*, p. 563.  
61 *Ibid.*, p. 564.  
62 Ashcroft 2017, vol. 1, no. 162, p. 563. This identification is found without further explanation, but with question marks also in Gliemann 2011, p. 27.  
63 Rupprich 1956–69, vol. 1, p. 158, ll. 139–40 and p. 186 n. 266. Ashcroft 2017, vol. 1, no. 162, pp. 563 and 603 n. 139.  
64 Hansmann and Hoffmann 1998, p. 125.  
65 Périer-d'Ieteren 1993, p. 61.  
66 Goddard 2006, pp. 124–7; Krischel 2016, pp. 73–8. But the prints of other German masters were also widely distributed, since the Netherlands and Flanders did not have a noteworthy print production (Goddard 2006, pp. 127–8).  
67 This master, too, occasionally went back to Dürer's woodcuts; see van den Brink 2007, p. 172.  
68 Krämer 2012, pp. 58–60, 69, 72, 74 and elsewhere.  
69 The Agilolphus Altar of about 1520, today in Cologne cathedral and one of the largest Antwerp retables, would also have been within Dürer's reach. Originating from the demolished church of Saint Maria ad Gradus behind the choir of Cologne cathedral, it remains to be fully researched (see Lambert 1996). There existed a further altarpiece of about 1520, of Brabantine manufacture, whose wings have survived (*ibid.*, p. 69). The provenance of the impressive Saint George Altarpiece in Antwerp cathedral is uncertain. Since the provost of Saint George's church in Cologne may also have been the patron of the high altar of Saint Victor in Schwerte (see G. Hoffmann in van de Velde 2005 [note 48], p. 223), Saint George's church is a possibility. The surviving painted wings of the large Passion Altarpiece of the Crusaders (Kreuzbrüder) of about 1620 by the Master of the Antwerp Adoration also incorporates motifs from Dürer woodcuts (see Gliemann 2007; van den Brink 2007, pp. 162–3, 177; Krischel 2016).  
70 Technical artistic issues are also touched upon in the fragments of Dürer's treatise on painting; see Gombrich 1997, pp. 26–7. For Dürer's letters to Heller, see Ashcroft 2017, vol. 1, no. 47, pp. 208–27.  
71 The fact that production, transportation, assembly, maintenance and repair of altarpieces required the master's on-site inspection is shown by the example of Adriaen van Overbeke; see G. Hoffmann in van de Velde 2005 (note 48), p. 232; van den Brink 2007, p. 175; see also Huth 1967, pp. 127–32. Such research would have to be conducted initially in local archives in Belgium and the Rhineland.

## LUCAS VAN LEYDEN AND ALBRECHT DÜRER



**I**N HIS JOURNAL IN JUNE 1521, ALBRECHT DÜRER wrote, ‘Master Lukas invited me to be his guest, he is the engraver, a little chap born in Leiden in Holland, who was here in Antwerp’.<sup>1</sup> Breaking his journey through the Low Countries, the Nuremberg artist spent several months in Antwerp, at that time the economic and artistic centre of the Netherlands. His fame had preceded him and Lucas van Leyden must have made the trip there especially to meet his great exemplar in person. Dürer’s work had been a constant source of inspiration for the much younger artist from an early age. Unlike many of his contemporaries, such as Israel van Meckenem (1445–1503) and Marcantonio Raimondi (1480–1534), who copied Dürer’s work accurately, Lucas van Leyden was one of the few to transform the examples into new compositions of his own.<sup>2</sup> The personal meeting with his idol in 1521 must have acted as a catalyst for Lucas. The crowning moment in his lifelong admiration of the universally celebrated artist, it was an artistic stimulus that would have been inconceivable without this face-to-face encounter.

## THE YOUNG LUCAS

When he made his pilgrimage to Antwerp, the 27-year-old Lucas van Leyden was likewise famous far beyond the country’s borders.<sup>3</sup> His earliest biographers, Giorgio Vasari (1511–1574) in 1568 and Karel van Mander (1548–1606) in 1604, described him as a child prodigy whose virtuoso engravings made an instant and enduring impression.<sup>4</sup> His prints circulated throughout Europe in the same way as did those of Dürer, who was at least 23 years his senior, and even served as models for many an Italian artist.<sup>5</sup> In 1520, after visiting the Frankfurt Messe, an admiring Johann Cochlaeus (1479–1552) wrote to Dürer’s friend Willibald Pirckheimer (1470–1530): ‘I am astonished however that his prints are so rarely to be found here, whereas Lucas the Dutchman’s engravings were there in abundance at this year’s trade fair’.<sup>6</sup>

The influence of the celebrated German artist is evident in the earliest prints by the young Lucas. His *Naked Youth with a Wind Instrument* and two dancing putti of around 1507 (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam,

inv. RP-P-OB-1740) is typical of his approach. Lucas would have seen the classical subject and wooded background in work by Dürer, who had in turn borrowed them from prints by Italian artists such as Andrea Mantegna (about 1431–1506) and Jacopo de' Barbari (active 1500; died 1516). It was not, however, simply a matter of paraphrasing. Lucas lifted the boy's pose and the position of his hands on the instrument directly from Dürer's *Satyr Family* (Suermondt-Ludwig-Museum, Aachen, inv. DK 616), and the swinging hips of the putto on the left were a literal quote from Dürer's *Three Putti with Shield and Helmet* (Kunstsammlungen Veste Coburg, inv. I, 17,70).<sup>7</sup> The result was an image with specific elements taken directly from Dürer, but a concept that demonstrated individual inventiveness. In Lucas's hands, the ominous atmosphere of the wood and the underlying erotic charge in Dürer's print were transformed into a much more light-hearted Arcadian scene. At the bottom of his engraving Lucas placed a tablet containing his monogram, a capital 'L', which every connoisseur would have recognised as an implicit allusion to the famous Dürer, who usually signed – as he did his *Satyr Family* – with a similar tablet bearing his familiar 'AD' monogram.<sup>8</sup>

Just how effectively Lucas could reflect Dürer's example and still place his own stamp on a work can be seen again in his engraving of *The Standard Bearer* of around 1510 (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. RP-P-OB-1725). The landsknecht (mercenary soldier) with his billowing flag and the rural setting are taken virtually wholesale from Dürer's example (KBR, Brussels, inv. S.I. 14002).<sup>9</sup> At the same time, the differences between the two engravings perfectly illustrate the artistic distinction between their creators. In the landsknecht's well-defined musculature and *contrapposto* stance, Dürer demonstrates his thorough knowledge of classical sculpture and Italian painting; Lucas, however, is not able to convincingly convey this unmistakably classical pose. He even moves his landsknecht's right leg back a little, so that he appears to be walking. It is conceivable that Lucas, living as he was in a backwater like Leiden, was unaware of the basic classical principles that were self-evident to an artist like Dürer, who had spent considerable periods in Italy; it was not until 1528 that Lucas began seriously to apply himself to mythological subjects and classical design fundamentals. But the difference between the two artists lies in more than style alone. Unlike Dürer's always highly controlled and regular handling of line in contrasting light and dark, Lucas's engravings are executed in a more nuanced, varied technique that is often described as 'silvery'.

It was Lucas van Leyden's large folio engravings that caused the greatest sensation. The five unusually large

sheets, measuring approximately 290 × 400 mm, were universally praised for their extraordinarily refined engraving technique, the large number of distinct figures grouped in landscapes, the narrative nature of the scenes and the seemingly inexhaustible variety of poses, expressions and costumes. According to Karel van Mander, one of the most fervent admirers of Lucas's work, the highly sought-after folio impressions fetched as much as a gold florin each.<sup>10</sup> Lucas used a horizontal format in all his folio engravings in order to give his landscape settings full scope. Despite considerable differences, in the concept of the compositions the dialogue with Dürer remained as it had been before.<sup>11</sup>

In his *Calvary* of 1517 (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. RP-P-OB-1652) Lucas paraphrased Dürer's drawing of the same subject, which is vertical (Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. 1890 n. 8406).<sup>12</sup> Although it is unlikely that Lucas ever saw the drawing himself, he would have known it from the numerous painted or drawn copies circulating in Leiden and Antwerp.<sup>13</sup> It is clear that he was familiar with the composition from his *Soldiers giving Christ a Drink*, an iconographically rare work dating from around 1512, which is borrowed from one of the many scenes in the *Calvary*.<sup>14</sup> Other similarities between Lucas's folio engraving and Dürer's *Calvary* are not difficult to identify. In both works a group of soldiers in the foreground fight and cast lots for Christ's garment. The most striking device that Lucas adopted, however, is the positioning of the principal scene, the Crucifixion, in the background rather than in the foreground as usual. But where Dürer's vertical *Calvary* is an overcrowded, stacked composition, Lucas recreates his horizontal version as a wide, spacious whole. And where Dürer incorporated seven scenes from the Passion story in his *Calvary*, Lucas confined himself to the Crucifixion alone. For the rest, the vista is occupied by a great crowd, grouped in clusters, who as extras in the scene appear wholly unconcerned by the dramatic events unfolding in the distance. With scrupulous care, Lucas devoted himself to their distinctive clothes, attitudes and expressions.

In his folio engraving of *The Return of the Prodigal Son* of 1510 (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. RP-P-OB-1656), Lucas again fills the horizontal space with gossiping bystanders grouped around the main scene – the prodigal son's return to his forgiving father. The narrative character of the composition, with its elegantly dressed extras, appears at first glance to be a far cry from Dürer's internalised interpretation of the subject (Victoria and Albert Museum, London, inv. E.584-1940), which focuses on the remorseful figure of the destitute young man as he sits among the swine he



has been forced to tend, before finally returning home. Lucas van Leyden must have been well aware of his diametrically opposed view of the subject, making the slightest of allusions to Dürer's print: like him, he closes the composition with the rear end of a cow walking out of the picture plane – a subtle homage to the artist he so admired.

In the same year Lucas produced what is perhaps his best-known folio engraving, *The Milkmaid* (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. RP-P-OB-1748), in which an identical cow is the primary motif and a second beast ambles placidly out of the picture. In the raggedly dressed farmhand and the milkmaid flanking their cow, Lucas appears to be drawing on Dürer's many engravings of peasants and other figures from the lower classes. The bucolic theme continued to fascinate Lucas after his trip to Antwerp. In the three small engravings titled *The Surgeon* (1523), *Old Couple making Music* (1524) and *The Stone-Cutter* (1524), in contrast to Dürer, the satirical aspect is unmistakable.<sup>15</sup>

In the early years of his professional life, Lucas van Leyden had concentrated on narrative compositions and paid no attention to portraiture.<sup>16</sup> It was 1520 before he ventured to tackle the genre, choosing – interestingly – not to depict a contemporary 'from life', but Maximilian I, Holy Roman Emperor and ruler of the Netherlands, who had died the previous year (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. RP-P-1927-909). It was long thought that Lucas engraved the portrait on the occasion of the emperor's triumphal entry into Leiden in 1508, when the artist was about 14.<sup>17</sup> However, it is clear that Lucas based the features of his posthumous portrait on Albrecht Dürer's 1519 woodcut (Albertina, Vienna, inv. DG1934/486). Dürer had met the emperor in person in Augsburg the previous year. There are four known variants of this portrait, each with a different section of text, indicating that the sheet was intended as a pamphlet for wide circulation.<sup>18</sup> Lucas van Leyden had something different in mind. He prepared his print with an unusually detailed and finished model drawing (Fondation Custodia, Collection Frits Lugt, Paris, inv. 5140), done in pen and ink and wash in shades of black and grey. He opted for a much less static and formal likeness of the monarch, as if it had been made from life. The emperor holds a document in one hand, while the other rests casually on a balustrade to enliven the scene. The balustrade is covered with a brocade tapestry bearing the double eagle of the Habsburg Empire, and in the background an archway opens on to a courtyard. On a wall closing off part of the view stands a statue of a fool with a dog under his feet. In the finished print (Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich, inv. 1986:

11D) Lucas followed his preparatory drawing quite closely, leaving out the relief with the female figure on the left side and adding the year and his monogram – '1520' and a capital 'L' – in the tablet at the top.

For his version of the portrait Lucas abandoned the woodcut in favour of a technically highly ingenious process, in which he etched the composition on to the copper plate and engraved the fine lines of the face separately. He completed the work by reinforcing the outlines of the etched hands, clothes and architectural background with a burin.<sup>19</sup> The extremely careful preparation and unusually complex technique suggest that it was designed as a collector's piece for knowledgeable enthusiasts. Albrecht Dürer was one such. It is conceivable that Lucas made it especially in preparation for his proposed meeting with his artistic hero, who would be uniquely able to evaluate the print on its technical merits. Here we see the follower demonstrating his competitive ambition.

#### ANTWERP

Albrecht Dürer and Lucas van Leyden met, as we learn from Dürer's Netherlandish journal, on or shortly after 8 June 1521. They were evidently pleased with their encounter for they came together again a few days later. 'I sketched Master Lukas of Leiden with the silverpoint', noted Dürer without further elaboration.<sup>20</sup> The portrait drawing he mentions (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille, inv. Pl. 918), which was first identified by Hymans in 1877, shows the young Leiden artist, elegantly dressed, his hat standing out effectively against the blank background.<sup>21</sup> Unlike most of Dürer's metalpoint portraits, which he drew in a small notebook for his own use, this was probably made as a personal gift.<sup>22</sup> Measuring 265 × 187 mm, it is almost twice the size of most of his portraits in metalpoint, and for that reason alone was a significant compliment to his fellow artist. Regrettably, it is impossible to establish whether Lucas drew Dürer's portrait on this occasion, as maintained by Karel van Mander.<sup>23</sup>

It was probably during his stay in Antwerp that Lucas made his first large drawings from life – studies of figures in the street and, particularly, portraits, all drawn in black chalk like the ones Albrecht Dürer produced virtually every day during his trip.<sup>24</sup> Just how closely the portraits made by the two artists at this time resembled one another is evident from Dürer's *Portrait of a Man* (British Museum, London, inv. 1910,0212.103), which was long regarded as a self portrait by Lucas on the basis of a false monogram rendering the well-known capital 'L' in the lower left corner.<sup>25</sup> In his seven portrait drawings, all made in or around 1521, Lucas explored for the first

time a genre that he would go on to develop as a painter on his return to Leiden.<sup>26</sup> Painting individual portraits was virtually unknown in Leiden at that time, and it was unquestionably Dürer who showed Lucas the way.<sup>27</sup>

While he was in Antwerp, Lucas undoubtedly seized the opportunity to admire Dürer's painting of *Saint Jerome in his Study* (Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon, inv. 828 Pint), just completed for the Portuguese trade ambassador Rodrigo Fernandes de Almada.<sup>28</sup> In response to the powerful panel, Lucas probably drew his own version of the subject (Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, inv. WA1953.119), dated 1521, while he was still in Antwerp. Again, he sought to rival the German master. In a departure from his earlier work, here Lucas abandons any narrative context and, like Dürer, shows us a figure with highly individual features. As in Dürer's painting, Lucas's Jerome points emphatically at a skull – a reference to human mortality. Like Dürer, he portrays the Church Father with a biretta, the headgear worn by scholars at that time.<sup>29</sup> Notable omissions from the two artists' works are the cardinal's hat and the lion, both customary attributes of the saint. It is likely that Lucas learned through Dürer of Erasmus's commentary on Jerome, where it was argued that while Jerome had indeed been an advisor to Pope Damasus I, he had never been elevated to the status of cardinal, and that the lion belonged in the hagiography of Saint Gerasimus, not Saint Jerome.<sup>30</sup> An essential difference between Lucas's Jerome and Dürer's is that the former does not confront us with a challenging look, but, frowning in thought, focuses on the crucifix in the crook of his arm; his hand rests on the desk, whereas Dürer's saint supports his head on one hand – a symbolic reference to the melancholy that is the key theme in Jerome's vivid writings.<sup>31</sup> In facial type and the position of the hand, the drawing bears a greater resemblance to *Saint Jerome in his Study* by the Antwerp painter Quinten Massys (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, inv. 965), which Lucas was able to see during his stay in Antwerp.<sup>32</sup> As he had done in his portrait of Emperor Maximilian, it seems that Lucas again wanted to demonstrate his superiority in his *Jerome*. He used an unusual and extremely sophisticated drawing technique, working both with a pen and a brush, and applying the ink in two shades of brown and grey over black chalk, finishing with white highlights to animate the image.<sup>33</sup>

It is likely that other meetings followed the two recorded by Dürer. The contacts between the like-minded artists ultimately resulted in a transaction. Businesslike as ever, Dürer noted in his journal that he had exchanged 8 guilders' worth of his own prints for all of Lucas van Leyden's print oeuvre.<sup>34</sup> The deal

sealed the mutual recognition of the two greatest printmakers of the age. When he returned to Nuremberg later in 1521, Dürer based his two engravings of *Saint Christopher with the Christ Child* (Suermondt-Ludwig-Museum, Aachen, invs DK 621 and DK 622) directly on Lucas's engraving of the same name (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. RP-B-OB-1690).<sup>35</sup> For Lucas, it was new study material on which he would draw extensively.

#### RETURN TO LEIDEN

Back in Leiden, Lucas threw himself with renewed vigour into reworking Dürer's prints, most of which he probably now had to hand. Again he tackled the subject of Saint Jerome, in an engraving dated 1521 (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. RP-P-OB-1696).<sup>36</sup> Here, moving away from the drawing influenced by Dürer and Massys, he combined two themes, the saint pointing in warning at the skull, and the Church Father in his study devoting himself to reading and writing. Bright light shines on the wall through the round leaded window in the background, a novelty he must have encountered in Dürer's 1514 *Saint Jerome in his Study* (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. RP-P-OB-1224).<sup>37</sup> Lucas also carefully appropriated the head of Dürer's dozing lion, with his half-closed eyes and round ears, but in his work the faithful animal licks his protector's toes. For the position of Jerome with his strangely crossed legs, Lucas made a preparatory drawing of a *Seated Man with a Book* (Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. 8705 S), executed in metalpoint on prepared paper.<sup>38</sup> He must have seen this technique, new to him, for the first time in Dürer's work while he was in Antwerp.<sup>39</sup>

A second metalpoint drawing by Lucas – an allegorical image of *Two Nude Allegorical Figures seated Back-to-Back on a Globe* (British Museum, London, inv. 1892,0804.9) – has an unmistakable feeling of Dürer. Lucas made the drawing around 1515, like the study for the *Seated Man* referred to above, in or shortly after 1521.<sup>40</sup> The drawing shares with that sheet not only the metalpoint technique, but also the combination of an extremely finely finished drawing in which just a few outlines are indicated and a contrived pose, in both cases with crossed legs. The subject has been interpreted as an allegory of labour, artistic endeavour and fortune. This was the first time that Lucas, whose work was always so anecdotal and narrative, ventured upon an allegorical composition with such pronounced intellectual, classically inspired content. One can perhaps see here a reflection of Dürer's allegorical *Nemesis* (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. RP-P-OB-1241), also known as *The Large Fortune*, from which Lucas may have borrowed the blanket of clouds and the globe as symbols of fate.<sup>41</sup>

The face of the man at the front has been identified as a self portrait by Lucas because of its resemblance to Dürer's 1521 metalpoint portrait (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille, inv. Pl. 918).<sup>42</sup>

Lucas's 1521 *Passion of Christ* was an extraordinarily ambitious undertaking, which he pictured in 16 small engravings. His model was Dürer's *Engraved Passion*, a series of engravings of Passion scenes made between 1507 and 1512.<sup>43</sup> Lucas took 12 of the subjects from Dürer's series and paraphrased them in his usual manner.<sup>44</sup> He rearranged the most important pictorial elements to create a new composition, making the necessary adjustments to poses, gestures and attributes;<sup>45</sup> in only four engravings in his Passion series did Lucas depart wholly from Dürer's subjects. To replace Dürer's first scene, a devotional picture of *Christ as the Man of Sorrows with the Virgin and Saint John*, which does not appear in the Gospels, Lucas chose *The Last Supper* (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. RP-P-OB-1620), with which the biblical narrative of the Passion begins. As a visual source Lucas used Dürer's 1510 woodcut of the same subject (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. RP-P-OB-1295), which is part of the *Large Passion* that appeared as a series in 1511. The scene in the foreground, with Saint Peter pouring wine, is an anecdotal detail that Lucas adapted for his own work; he left out the vaulting and placed a balustrade in the foreground. Lucas replaced the fifth scene in Dürer's engraved *Passion*, *Christ appearing before Pilate*, with a less static composition of *The Mocking of Christ*. He omitted Dürer's last scene, *Saint Peter and Saint John healing a Cripple*, because, like *The Man of Sorrows* in the first scene, it does not occur in the Passion story. Thus Lucas paraphrased 12 scenes in Dürer's *Passion* engravings but adjusted the composition of his own series for the sake of textual correctness and exegetic sequence. Using the same logic, Lucas chose to finish his series with *The Resurrection of Christ*.

Following in Albrecht Dürer's wake, from the outset Lucas devoted considerable attention to the Virgin Mary, who as the mother of Jesus is the most important Christian saint. In his early *Virgin and Child on the Crescent Moon* of 1510–14 (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. RP-P-OB-1658),<sup>46</sup> Lucas took his bearings from Dürer's 1508 version of the subject (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. RP-P-OB-1189), borrowing the striking aureole but abandoning the Virgin's elegant classical *contrapposto* pose. In 1523, scarcely two years after his meeting with Dürer, he returned to the subject (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. RP-P-OB-1660); now, with Dürer's complete oeuvre to hand, he took a wholly eclectic approach.<sup>47</sup> From Dürer's 1508 version he took

the angular folds and the Virgin's flowing hair, from the 1514 sheet (Suermondt-Ludwig-Museum, Aachen, inv. DK1831) the position of the Christ Child, and from that of 1516 he took the continuous double aureole and the sceptre symbolising the Virgin's status as Queen of Heaven (Regina Coeli).

Since his return from Antwerp Lucas had also developed a reputation as a painter. Apart from a few small paintings of figures playing cards and chess made in his early years and a single portrait (National Gallery, London, inv. NG3604), he had not received any commissions for religious scenes – unlike his teacher, Cornelis Engebrechtsz., who supplied countless devotional works, large and small, in Leiden and ran a sizeable workshop. It is possible that work by the older Engebrechtsz. had meanwhile come to be regarded as old fashioned, and the fact that Lucas had met the great Dürer in Antwerp probably enhanced his reputation among potential clients with more 'modern', Italianate tastes.

The *Virgin and Child with Mary Magdalene and a Donor* of 1522 (Alte Pinakothek, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich, inv. 742) gave Lucas the ideal opportunity to showcase his skill as a contemporary painter. The work was originally a diptych, which Karel van Mander described in 1604 as a 'sluytend kasken' (a cupboard or casket that closed).<sup>48</sup> Before 1627, however, the two arched panels were joined together and corners added to create the current rectangular shape; the carpenter's tools in a bag on the donor's back are overpaints to make him look like Saint Joseph.<sup>49</sup> The throne with the gilded canopy on which the Virgin sits is Renaissance in style, while Mary Magdalene, dressed in the height of fashion, seems to be directly derived from the work of Antwerp masters such as Joos van Cleve and Quinten Massys. The distant landscape with houses and a rock formation is reminiscent of Joachim Patinir, whose work Lucas would also have seen in Antwerp. Compared with the lifelike saints, the portrait of the donor, like the drawn portraits of 1521 (see Klassik Stiftung Weimar, Museum, inv. KK 1558; Museum de Lakenhal Leiden, inv. S 245), looks rather formal and impersonal. This was Lucas's last portrait commission.<sup>50</sup>

It was in the *Annunciation* (Alte Pinakothek, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich, inv. 7713), originally the outside of the same diptych, that Lucas again turned to Dürer for his inspiration. The principal colours of pastel blue, green and pink recall the palette of Dürer's painted work, which Lucas had encountered for the first time in Antwerp.<sup>51</sup> As a direct source, he applied the by now familiar formula and drew on Dürer's woodcut of *The Annunciation* from the *Small*

*Passion* of around 1510 (Suermondt-Ludwig-Museum, Aachen, inv. DK3989). Replacing the Holy Spirit descending in a ray of light, Lucas painted a playful putto holding up Gabriel's cloak.

In the last years of his career, Lucas van Leyden received commissions for large altarpieces that are regarded to this day as supreme masterpieces of the Dutch Renaissance: *The Last Judgement* of 1527 (Museum De Lakenhal, Leiden, inv. S 244), the *Worship of the Golden Calf* of around 1530 (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. SK-A-3841) and *Christ healing the Blind Man of Jericho* of 1531 (Hermitage, St Petersburg, inv. GE

407). Although Dürer's example no longer explicitly resonates, these masterpieces could never have been accomplished without Lucas's skills as a printmaker, for which Dürer had been the enduring model. It was only in the prints of his last years that Lucas displayed a liking for the human nude and subjects in which mythological eroticism came to the fore. Albrecht Dürer had died, and Lucas's focus now shifted to his successful contemporary Jan Gossaert, said to be a friend of his.<sup>52</sup> Yet it was because of rather than despite his steadfast reflection of the consummate talent of Albrecht Dürer that Lucas had risen to join the ranks of the greatest artists of his time.

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- 1 Ashcroft 2017, vol. 1, no. 162, p. 585 and p. 626 n. 370.
- 2 For the many contemporary copyists of Dürer, see Nuremberg 1978.
- 3 Lucas's presumed year of birth, 1494, is taken from Van Mander's 1604 *Schilder-boeck*, fol. 211v. Pelinck (1949) thought that this was a misunderstanding and suggested 1489. See also Koning 1959, p. 85; Friedländer 1963; Gibson 1979, p. 98. For further discussion, see Bangs 1979, p. 94; J.P. Filedt Kok in Leiden 2011, p. 198.
- 4 For the meeting between Lucas van Leyden and Albrecht Dürer, see Vasari 1568, fol. 125, and van Mander 1603–4, fol. 211v, ll. 6–17.
- 5 Van Dijk 2008.
- 6 Letter from Johannes Cochlaeus to Willibald Pirckheimer, Frankfurt, 5 April 1520. See Ashcroft 2017, vol. 1, p. 540, no. 156. The original letter is held in the Nuremberg Stadtbibliothek.
- 7 See also H. Leeftang in Leiden 2011, p. 239, cat. 34a and b.
- 8 For further examples in which Lucas van Leyden borrowed motifs from Dürer's prints before 1520, see Beets 1912; Washington 1983, p. 50; van Dijk 2008, p. 50.
- 9 See also W. Kloek in Leiden 2011, p. 251, cat. 49a and c.
- 10 Van Mander 1603–4, fol. 212v, ll. 14–17.
- 11 The comparison between Dürer's and Lucas's prints was first touched on by Vasari 1568, fol. 125.
- 12 For Dürer's *Calvary*, see J. Rutgers's essay in the present publication, pp. 32–5.
- 13 See also Filedt Kok 1996.
- 14 Bartsch 73.
- 15 For these prints in relation to Dürer, see H. Leeftang in Leiden 2011, pp. 258–60, cats 57–8.
- 16 For the portrait drawing in Dürer and Lucas van Leyden, see P. van den Brink in London 2021, pp. 205–25.
- 17 Van Mander 1603–4, fol. 214r, ll. 25–9.
- 18 See further D. Eichberger in London 2021, pp. 119–27.
- 19 For a technical analysis of the print, see further J.P. Filedt Kok in Leiden 2011, pp. 286–7, cat. 79 a and b.
- 20 Ashcroft 2017, vol. 1, no. 162, p. 585.
- 21 Hymans 1877, p. 178. See C. Vogelaar in Leiden 2011, p. 279, cat. 77.
- 22 For Dürer's sketchbook of silverpoint drawings see A. Nesselrath in London 2021, pp. 165–83.
- 23 Karel van Mander, himself a fervent admirer of and expert on Lucas van Leyden's work, recorded in his *Schilder-boeck* that 'Albert Durer in Nederlandt is ghecomen, en te Leyden by Lucas wesende, heeft hy Lucas, en Lucas hem, op een Tafel geconterfeyt nae t'leven, en hebben hun t'samen met malcanders teghenwoordicheyt in aller vriendelijckheyt vermaect' ('Albert Durer came to the Netherlands, and being with Lucas in Leiden, he drew Lucas and Lucas drew him from life on a tablet, and they enjoyed one another's company most cordially'), van Mander 1603–4, fol. 212v, ll. 29–32.
- 24 See P. van den Brink in London 2021, pp. 205–25.
- 25 Wouter Kloek in Leiden 2011, p. 298, cat. 91c. An engraved seventeenth-century reproduction not only bore the misleading inscription 'Effigies Lucae Leidensis propria manu incidere' ('the face of Lucas van Leyden engraved by his own hand'), but also had the familiar Lucas monogram and the date 1525. See Lawton Smith 1992, p. 271.
- 26 See T.-H. Borchert in London 2021, pp. 77–101.
- 27 For the earliest-known individual portraits from Leiden, dated 1518, see Vogelaar 2013.
- 28 For the background to the creation of Dürer's *Saint Jerome* and the impact the painting must have had, see A. Harth and M.P.J. Martens in London 2021, pp. 253–65.
- 29 Cf. Dürer's *Portrait of Erasmus*. See P. van den Brink in London 2021, p. 216, fig. 120.
- 30 See W. Kloek in Leiden 2011, pp. 287–8, cats 80–1.
- 31 For the interpretation of the gesture, see Koerner 1993, esp. chapter 1 (Prosopopoeia), pp. 3–33, with a discussion of the Jerome on p. 21.
- 32 It can be deduced from the Netherlandish journal that Massys invited Dürer to his home at least once; see Ashcroft 2017, vol. 1, no. 162, p. 556.
- 33 The clear blue background, painted in bodycolour with azurite as the principal component, appears to be original, because the saint's hair has been drawn over it (see the report of the Conservation Department at the Ashmolean Museum dated 30 December 2012). The gilded inscriptions 'ST. HIERONEMUS' on the left and 'ABD' as the monogram of Albrecht Dürer lower centre appear to be later additions.
- 34 'Note: For the complete prints of Lukas I traded 8 gulden worth of my own prints': Ashcroft 2017, vol. 1, no. 162, p. 586.
- 35 For the comparison see H. Leeftang in Leiden 2011, pp. 255–6, cat. 53a and b.
- 36 W. Kloek in Leiden 2011, pp. 288–9, cat. 81a.
- 37 Ibid., cat. 81c.
- 38 Ibid., cat. 81b.
- 39 See A. Nesselrath in London 2021, pp. 165–83.
- 40 Kloek 1978, pp. 450–1, no. 20; Vos 1978, p. 194, no. 225; H. Leeftang in Leiden 2011, p. 300, cat. 94.
- 41 *Nemesis* was one of the most bought and sold sheets during Dürer's trip through the Netherlands and must therefore have been part of the exchange with Lucas. It can be deduced from his journal that Dürer had brought at least ten impressions of *Nemesis* with him for sale. In this work Dürer combined the image of *Nemesis* as the goddess of divine vengeance with that of *Fortuna*; the print has consequently also acquired the title *The Large Fortune*.
- 42 See H. Leeftang in Leiden 2011, cat. 94. For Lucas van Leyden's self portraits, see Lawton Smith 1992, 'Lucas van Leyden's Appearance', pp. 269–72.
- 43 See further H. Leeftang in Leiden 2011, pp. 280–6, cat. 78a and b.
- 44 Vasari 1568, fol. 125, judged that as a printmaker Lucas was inferior to Albrecht Dürer, comparing Dürer's engraved *Passion* series with Lucas's *Passion* series of 1521, which he described as 'not so well engraved or designed'.
- 45 For a complete overview of both series see H. Leeftang in Leiden 2011, pp. 280–6, cats 78a and b.
- 46 Bartsch 80.
- 47 Bartsch 84.
- 48 Van Mander 1603–4, fol. 213v.
- 49 Lawton Smith 1992, pp. 115–16.
- 50 See C. Vogelaar in Leiden 2011, pp. 40–1, for the identification of the donor as Jacob de Ridder, a priest and titular bishop from Kalkar, who had awarded commissions to the painter Jan Joest there and in 1522 was the rector of the Dominican Convent of the White Nuns in Leiden.
- 51 There are numerous references in Dürer's journal, which suggest that the artist must have made paintings while he was in Antwerp; Unverfehrt 2007, p. 210, counts no fewer than 20.
- 52 See further L. Silver in London 2021, pp. 103–15.

## ALBRECHT DÜRER AND DIRK VELLERT



DÜRER'S WORK MADE A PROFOUND AND LASTING impact on the prominent Antwerp artist Dirk Jacobsz. Vellert, the leading designer of stained glass in the Netherlands during the first half of the sixteenth century. Dürer recorded in his Netherlandish journal three direct interactions with 'Master Dietrich the glass painter' in Antwerp. In the autumn of 1520 he noted that Vellert had sent him a special red colour 'that you find in Antwerp in the new bricks', and in January 1521 he presented Vellert with sets of his *Apocalypse* and *Six Knots* woodcuts.<sup>1</sup> In May of that year the wealthy Vellert hosted an impressive banquet in the German artist's honour: 'On the Sunday after Ascension Day, Master Dirik, the glass painter here in Antwerp, invited me and many others in my honour ... and we enjoyed a rich meal and I was greatly esteemed.'<sup>2</sup>

Beginning in the early 1520s, Vellert engaged with Dürer's prints and drawings in a variety of media and for various purposes, never slavishly copying but rather revising and interpreting his model. A case in point is

Vellert's drawing of a nude female *Bather* – or bathhouse attendant – signed with his monogram, a five-pointed star flanked by his initials, 'DV' (Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. 18804). While some scholars have assumed that this seemingly informal drawing was sketched from life, Julius Held established that it was based on a proportion study by Dürer, perhaps the one in the British Museum, London (inv. SL,5218.184).<sup>3</sup> Vellert apparently derived his figure from the nude drawn on the verso and then traced onto the recto of Dürer's sheet. He followed the general pose and the left leg on the recto of Dürer's drawing, while for the right leg he used the position of the alternate left leg on the verso.<sup>4</sup> Vellert's use of short and curving pen strokes for modelling is also comparable to Dürer's recto drawing.<sup>5</sup> However, with a touch of whimsy, Vellert transformed Dürer's academic study into a more genre-like image, providing his female nude with a brush, bucket and bathing cap. Contemporaries including Dürer and Jan Gossaert depicted bathhouse scenes filled with nudes in various, often erotic, poses, but Vellert removed his figure from a specific narrative setting, creating an isolated, more

ambiguous image.<sup>6</sup> Held dated the drawing to the early 1520s, comparing the monogram to those on Vellert's prints from this period.<sup>7</sup> The drawing may have been executed during Dürer's stay in Antwerp or shortly thereafter. One of the very few independent works in Vellert's oeuvre, unrelated to a glass panel or a print, this sheet may well have been made in homage to and in dialogue with Dürer.<sup>8</sup>

Soon after Dürer's visit Vellert began to produce highly innovative etchings and engravings. These include extremely small prints of unusual subjects such as *Eve and Cain* of 1522 (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. RP-P-1908-3647X) and the tankard-gazing pedlar inaccurately known as the *Drunken Drummer* of 1525 (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. RP-P-H-Z-226), as well as religious scenes such as the 1524 *Saint Bernard*, modernised with antique ornamental motifs (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. RP-P-1955-450) and, from one year earlier, the delicate and complex *Calling of Saints Peter and Andrew* (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. RP-P-OB-2151). Vellert did not generally use Dürer's compositions as models for his prints, although the German artist's success with intaglio printmaking undoubtedly influenced his interest in the medium. An exception may be the landscape in Vellert's enigmatic *Man with a Fish* (possibly Melikertes/Palaemon)<sup>9</sup> of 1522 (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. RP-P-OB-2159), which derives from Dürer's *Standard Bearer* of about 1501 (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. RP-P-OB-1254): comparable in the two prints are the mound and tree stump in the left foreground, the mountains on the horizon and the ships sailing on the water in the distance.

Some of Vellert's most significant works are designs for small-scale painted glass roundels. This art form became increasingly popular in the 1520s and 1530s as glazing for wealthy homes, town halls, cloisters and other spaces more intimate than the large church wall.<sup>10</sup> In 1532 Vellert adapted Dürer's *Life of the Virgin* woodcut series (1502–6) into a set of roundel designs, including *The Flight into Egypt* executed in glass (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. Bk-NM-12969).<sup>11</sup> Here Vellert adjusted the composition to a round format, altered the Virgin's pose, changed the setting from a dense forest to the edge of a city and added subsidiary scenes of the Massacre of the Innocents and the Fall of the Pagan Idol. He included a leafless tree with spiky branches, one of his signature motifs, to help define the middle ground at the left, and half-length angels, also typical of his work, in the sky. While not by Vellert's own hand, the roundel was produced by an accomplished glass painter in his immediate circle. We can speculate that this may have been Jacop Vellert, who was very likely Dirk Vellert's son

and probably identical to both the 'Jacop Dierickssone, gelaesmaker' who registered in 1536 as a master in the Antwerp guild, and the glass painter Jacop Vellert, identified as aged 53 and a citizen of Antwerp in a court case in 1569.<sup>12</sup> *The Flight into Egypt* closely resembles in execution other painted roundels that can be ascribed to Vellert's workshop, such as *Saint George taking leave of the King of Selene* (Victoria and Albert Museum, London, inv. C.352-1930), and may be by the same hand.<sup>13</sup>

Dürer's dazzling *Six Knots* woodcuts (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, invs RP-P-OB-1486 and RP-P-OB-1487), probably executed around 1507, soon after his return from Venice, must have appealed to Vellert for their intricate interlacing patterns as well as for their associations with Italy, as they adapt Italian engravings after ornamental designs believed to be by Leonardo da Vinci.<sup>14</sup> One might even imagine that Vellert requested the woodcuts from Dürer, since he did receive them from the German artist in January 1521. Vellert explored decorative line and ornate forms throughout his career, for instance in the antique columns, grotesques and other motifs in drawings and prints such as the early drawing of the *Trinity flanked by Peter and Moses in an Ornamental Frame* dated 1520 (Musée du Louvre, Paris, Collection Edmond de Rothschild, inv. 587 DR) and his *Saint Bernard*, in the embellished armour in roundels such as *Gideon and the Fleece* (Fondation Custodia, Paris, inv. 8579) after a drawing dated 1523,<sup>15</sup> and even in the patterns of delicate lines formed by both leafless and leafy trees that recur in his roundels, roundel designs and prints, including *The Flight into Egypt*, *The Man with a Fish*, *The Calling of Saints Peter and Andrew*, *Gideon and the Fleece* and *The Return of the Holy Family from Egypt* (dated 1523; British Museum, London, inv. 1923,0113.3). Ornamental forms continue to characterise his later glass panels, such as the larger-scale *Antiochus punishing the Seven Maccabee Brothers* of about 1540 (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv. 17.120.12).<sup>16</sup>

Vellert's *Apocalypse* drawings of 1525 emphatically assert their relationship with Dürer's 1498 woodcut series of the subject, which the younger artist had received years before from Dürer himself, along with the *Six Knots*.<sup>17</sup> Vellert's *Apocalypse* presents a commentary on its predecessor, created more than 25 years earlier, which had by now achieved the status of a canonical work. Many of Vellert's compositions closely follow Dürer, while others depart significantly from their famous source. Vellert modified not only the compositions but also the format of his model. The 18 known sheets in his series, which is probably incomplete, compare with the first eight woodcuts of Dürer's set of 15, but illustrate only eight of the episodes in the woodcuts, reverting to

an older tradition of devoting more than one sheet to subjects – such as the unleashing of the four horsemen (Musée du Louvre, Paris, invs 589 DR and 594-596 DR) or the trumpeting of the angels (Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. 602-605 DR) – which Dürer had combined on a single page. Moreover, Vellert added the appropriate biblical chapter and verse and inscribed Flemish texts, comprising two columns of four lines each, at the bottom of each sheet. By making such changes he maintained the independence of his series from its source, while at the same time entering into a dialogue with it.

His sheet *The Lamb opens the Book* (Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. 593 DR) clearly derives from Dürer's woodcut from the *Apocalypse* series (Städel Museum, Frankfurt am Main, inv. 31502) while adapting the scene to a round format. Vellert lifts out the upper part of the woodcut, which already has a circular shape, to focus on the figures, eliminating details in the woodcut such as the open doors on either side and the landscape below. *The Opening of the Sixth Seal: The Great Earthquake* (Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. 598 DR) also closely follows Dürer (Städel Museum, Frankfurt am Main, inv. 31503) but with numerous compositional changes, such as the expanded landscape that occupies more than half the scene. One change may also signal a new focus in meaning: while Dürer represents a small figure wearing the papal crown immersed in the crowd on the right, Vellert highlights the Pope among the sinners by moving him forward, now prominently placed in the centre foreground. One wonders whether this choice presents a deliberately anti-papal message, significant in the 1520s when Reformist ideas were taking hold in Antwerp and elsewhere in the Netherlands.<sup>18</sup>

The most dramatic departures from Dürer occur in the first and last scenes of Vellert's cycle. In *John boiled in Oil* (Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, inv. 3363), which opens the series, Vellert turns from the woodcuts to use imagery closer to another, more local work of art: the wing depicting John boiled in oil in Quinten Massys's Saint John Altarpiece, which had been installed in the Church of Our Lady, Antwerp, by 1511 (Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp, inv. 245-249).<sup>19</sup> In both the altarpiece and drawing, the Emperor Domitian appears on horseback, presiding over John's ordeal before the Porta Latina, while crouching executioners stoke the fire beneath the cauldron. By shifting the compositional formula to one reminiscent of Massys, Vellert drew particular attention to this persecution scene displayed prominently in Antwerp itself.

*The Sounding of the Fourth Trumpet*, the last drawing in Vellert's series, also departs significantly from Dürer

(Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. 605 DR, and Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. RP-P-OB-1383 respectively). Dürer followed both the Vulgate text and medieval convention by illustrating John's vision of an eagle: 'And I beheld, and heard an eagle flying through the midst of heaven, saying in a loud voice, Woe, woe, woe, to those who inhabit the earth' (Revelation 8:13). Instead of the eagle Vellert depicted a lamenting angel in the sky, directly below the angel blowing the fourth trumpet. The ultimate source for this strange heavenly figure is found in the New Testament translation by Martin Luther (1483–1546), first published in September 1522, in which Luther replaced the eagle of John's vision with an angel (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv. 63.705.7). However, Vellert did not need to consult Luther's version directly, since many subsequent Apocalypse illustrations, both Protestant and Catholic, also adapted the angel for this scene.

His reference to Luther's imagery raises the question of Vellert's intended audience, especially since his drawing cycle dates from 1525, when interest in Reformist ideas was becoming widespread in the Netherlands. Whether this link to Luther represents the sympathies of the patron or of the artist is impossible to say. Catholic bibles sometimes employed Protestant imagery at this time as a visual model, without the need to share its ideology. However, elements beyond the Luther angel point to Vellert's *Apocalypse* as Reformist in view. Moreover, as Dürer maintained a Lutheran network seemingly everywhere he went, albeit barely visible, his repeated interactions with Vellert throughout his Netherlandish journey suggest that the Flemish artist may have also belonged to the Lutheran camp. That Dürer presented his *Apocalypse* woodcuts to Vellert as a gift in 1521 may also support this connection, in light of Luther's and other Reformers' preoccupation with and preaching about the end times during this period. Inspired by Dürer and likely in homage to him and to their shared beliefs, Vellert reworked the German artist's earlier, pre-Lutheran woodcuts into drawings with a new, evangelical message.

The texts inscribed below the scenes on Vellert's drawings provide compelling evidence for this. The texts repeatedly refer to 'the word', a concept at the heart of the Reform movement, of which the foundation was the biblical word. In many of Vellert's drawings, references to 'the word' occur repeatedly when they are not part of the corresponding biblical texts. In *The Sounding of the First Trumpet* (Revelation 8:7) the inscription reads: 'The word of God blows through a trumpet, the world is greatly troubled by this' (Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. 602 DR). The drawing of Wormwood, the burning star that poisons the waters on earth (Revelation 8:10–11), is inscribed: 'The simple word troubles also the great learned

doctors, they avoid it as a falling star, far and wide they embitter the waters of scripture with false doctrine' (*The Sounding of the Third Trumpet*, Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. 604 DR).

The language of Vellert's inscriptions recalls polemical writing of the 1520s. In Dürer's Netherlandish journal, for instance, the 'Lament for Luther', written in May 1521 when rumours were circulating in Antwerp about Luther's arrest, employs similar wording to express fear that the Church would continue in a man-made path, avoiding the word of God:<sup>20</sup>

And beyond all else, for me the very hardest to bear is that God may perhaps intend us to remain subject to their *false, blind doctrine*, which those men they call Fathers of the Church concocted and imposed, ensuring that the *divine word* has on many points been *falsely interpreted or withheld from us* altogether [my italics].<sup>21</sup>

Vellert opens the series with a reference to the word: the first sheet, representing John immersed in a cauldron, is inscribed: 'the chosen apostle of God, through the anger of the Emperor Domitian is here boiled in hot oil without pain for the word of God'.<sup>22</sup>

Clearly based on another woodcut from Dürer's *Apocalypse* series (Suermondt-Ludwig-Museum, Aachen, inv. DK 676), Vellert's third sheet, *John sees the Seven Candlesticks* (Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. 592 DR), depicts God with seven stars in his right hand and a double-edged sword issuing from his mouth, as described in Revelation 1:12–17. Vellert added the phrase 'Verbum Dei' on the blade of the sword, alluding to Hebrews 4:12: 'For the word of God is living and active, sharper than any two-edged sword'. The text below the scene includes yet another reference to 'the word' and elaborates on the candlesticks and stars: 'Seven candles and seven stars are the holy universal church. She is punished and criticised by the cutting word of God and also comforted, strengthened, and at times made joyful.'

Vellert adapted Dürer's scene to a circular format by filling the empty space formed by the curve at the far right with the subsequent moment in the *Apocalypse* narrative (not illustrated by Dürer), when John falls at God's feet. This small subsidiary scene is not merely a filler, but directs the reader to the biblical text to which the inscription refers (Revelation 1:17–19). After John falls, God places his right hand on him (Vellert shows the stars still suspended in the air as God reaches to touch John) and instructs him to write down what he sees: 'The mystery of the seven stars which thou sawest in my right hand and the seven golden candlesticks.

The seven stars are the angels of the seven churches, and the seven candlesticks which thou sawest are the seven churches' (Revelation 1:20). As with Dürer's images, Vellert adapts and interprets the biblical text rather than simply quoting it. He enigmatically alludes to the word of God as double-edged in that it condemns the Church – considered corrupt by the Reformers – while it also comforts and strengthens it.

In the last drawing of the series, illustrating Luther's grieving angel, the inscription explains: 'Sun, moon, and stars are the states of the church, these are partially blinded by the punishments of truth, therefore the heavenly voice calls without reprieve, Woe, woe, woe, they are stepping out of the proper path.'

Vellert's inscriptions – which, ironically, alter the very scriptural words they extol – dwell on themes of persecution and celebrate the reward of vengeance for the righteous.<sup>23</sup> That these texts express Reformist sympathies seems evident, although it is admittedly difficult to distinguish Catholic from Reformist imagery in Netherlandish art of the first half of the sixteenth century. Vellert's texts could be interpreted by either cause, Orthodox or Reform.<sup>24</sup> Throughout his series, the texts on the drawings refer to those who 'are stepping out of the proper path', who 'embitter the waters of scripture with false doctrine' – to the Catholics these were the heretical Reformers who abandoned the one true Church, and to the Reformers the representatives of a Church in urgent need of repair.<sup>25</sup>

Repressive measures against the Reform movement in the Netherlands were set in place very quickly after the introduction of Luther's ideas. In October 1520 Charles V issued an edict in Antwerp directing that Lutheran books be burned. In April 1522 he launched an inquisition in the Netherlands, and in July the following year two Antwerp Augustinians became the first Lutheran martyrs when they were executed in Brussels.<sup>26</sup> Many of Antwerp's citizens were compelled to renounce Lutheran ideas, including, in a hearing in May 1522, the prominent humanist and ardent Lutheran Cornelis Grapheus (1482–1558), with whom Dürer established contact during his Netherlandish stay. In a letter to Dürer of 23 February 1524, Grapheus reported: 'Here in Antwerp, a great persecution ... arises because of the Gospel, about which these Brothers will tell you about more openly' (Houghton Library, Harvard University, inv. MS Typ 134). He refers to these 'Brothers' – the couriers delivering the letter who were friars, undoubtedly of the Augustinian order – as 'the best of Christians', a code phrase for 'Protestants'.<sup>27</sup> With this repressive climate in mind, one wonders if Vellert intended to draw parallels with events in his own city by opening his *Apocalypse* with an image of John's persecution, recalling



not the foreign visitor, Dürer, but Massys's altarpiece in the Antwerp Church of Our Lady.

The function of Vellert's *Apocalypse* drawings is not clear.<sup>28</sup> If they were to be realised as glass windows, they could not then be easily packed away like prints. Thus we can imagine that their Reformist ideas would be expressed more subtly and might be fully decipherable only to the initiated, perhaps to the patron's circle alone. If they do allude to the Reform movement, as is likely, these drawings represent very early examples of Lutheran imagery in Netherlandish art.<sup>29</sup>

As Dürer's *Apocalypse* woodcut series struck a chord in the religious mood of the late fifteenth century, Vellert's cycle transformed this canonical cycle into a new context. Previous art historians have viewed Vellert's *Apocalypse*

drawings as mere copies, without exploring their differences from Dürer.<sup>30</sup> In this series, which is very likely subversive in content, Vellert deliberately evoked older, familiar imagery not because he lacked imagination, but as a strategy to link his work with the authority, power and comfort of the great German artist's revered woodcuts. The new Reformist message thus emerged from its renowned predecessor. Vellert chose to manipulate the texts attached to the drawings, rather than invent an entirely new pictorial formula, to transform the meaning of his model and vitalise his own work. Thus in his various reworkings of Dürer – his *Apocalypse* sheets and other drawings, prints, and glass designs – Vellert propelled the great German artist's images well into the next century and into the changing landscape of the sixteenth-century Netherlands.

1 Ashcroft 2017, vol. 1, pp. 562, 573.

2 Ibid., pp. 579–80. Dürer noted among the dinner guests 'in particular Alexander the goldsmith, a man of wealth and substance'. That Vellert was host to Dürer and other prominent guests indicates that he enjoyed significant status in Antwerp at the time. He had already served as dean of the city's painter's guild in 1518, and was to serve again in 1526.

3 Held 1931, pp. 92–4.

4 J.O. Hand in Washington and New York 1986, no. 113, p. 289; Rowlands 1993, vol. 1, pp. 70–1, no. 149; vol. 2, plates 96–7; London 2002, pp. 137–8, no. 70. The contour lines of Vellert's figure have a rigid quality and appear to have been traced, as suggested in Meder 1978, vol. 1, p. 308 n. 82, and vol. 2, p. 70, no. 78, pl. 78. It may have been traced from an intermediary drawing after Dürer; see Konowitz 1990–1.

5 J.O. Hand in Washington and New York 1986, pp. 288–9.

6 See Dürer's 1496 drawing of a *Women's Bath* (Kunsthalle, Bremen, inv. KL 57; A. Röver-Kann in Bremen 2012, pp. 59–63, no. 12) and his 1490s woodcut *Men's Bath* (discussed in Wolfthal 2010, pp. 124–5, 138–9), and Gossart's *Women's Bath* (British Museum, London, inv. 1924.0512.1; see S. Alsteens in New York and London 2010, pp. 375–7, no. 98). For a discussion of these and other bathhouse scenes, see Wolfthal 2010, pp. 120–53. Particularly comparable to Vellert's sheet is Dürer's 1493 drawing of a single, standing *Bath Attendant* (Musée Bonnat-Helleu, Bayonne, inv. N11272 A1674). Depictions of a single female bather appear earlier in Northern art, for instance in Jan van Eyck's lost painting of a woman at her bath in a domestic interior (Wolfthal 2010, p. 150). Bathing was viewed in both a positive and a negative light in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: it could be considered either as health-giving or as fostering illicit sensual behaviour. See J.O. Hand in Washington and New York 1986, p. 289, and Wolfthal 2010, pp. 120–53. Linda Hults has associated Dürer's *Bath Attendant* in Bayonne with prostitution (Hults 2016, p. 108).

7 Held 1931, p. 93.

8 J.O. Hand (in Washington and New York 1986, p. 289) suggests that Vellert may have copied a proportion study to help understand Dürer's theoretical approach.

9 The story of the Ancient child hero Melikertes/Palaemon is told in numerous sources, including Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. He was a mortal infant whose mother, Ino, escaped her husband – who was driven insane by a vengeful Hera – by throwing herself and her child off a cliff into the sea. A dolphin carried the child's body to shore and placed him under a pine tree. Neptune resurrected Melikertes into the immortal Palaemon, god of the harbour and guardian of ships, who the Romans identified with Portunus, the god of safe harbours. Vellert's print includes a cliff, a tree whose bare branches are coming back to life, and a bird that may represent Hera's angry peacock. This story would be especially appealing in Antwerp, which was the major port of the North at this time.

10 Konowitz 1990–1; New York 1995; E. Konowitz, 'Dirk Vellert and the making and marketing of painted-glass roundels', in Manderyck, Lecocque and Bemden 2018, pp. 105–10.

11 E. Konowitz in New York 1995, pp. 150–3, nos 72–6. See also D. Preisig's essay in the present publication, pp. 26–30.

12 See Konowitz 2021, chapter 1; Rombouts and van Lerijs 1961, vol. 1, p. 128; Antwerp city archives, Certificatieboeken, inv. VII.76.1569, fol. 45v.

13 Victoria and Albert Museum, London, inv. C.352-1930. Also comparable is the roundel of *Saint John boiled in Oil*, Ickworth Church, Suffolk. I thank Peter van den Brink for these suggestions.

14 London 2002, pp. 161–2, no. 103. For the dating of Dürer's *Six Knots*, see J. Zaunbauer in Vienna 2019, p. 316.

15 The drawing by Vellert is in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, inv. 4346.

16 For this window and the two others that form a typological cycle with it, see Konowitz 2021. The other two windows represent the *Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace* (Victoria and Albert Museum, London, inv. C.289-1928) and *Christ before Pilate* (Saint Mary's church, Prittlewell, Southend-on-Sea).

17 E. Konowitz in New York 1995, pp. 147–9, no. 71. The drawing of *St John boiled in Oil* is dated on the verso 1525, the probable date of the entire series.

18 By the 1520s members of the Reform movement – including Martin Luther and Philip Melancthon (1497–1560) – were increasingly

concerned that the end of the world was imminent and would be initiated by the fall of the Pope-Antichrist in Rome. Luther and others maintained that it was by spreading the true gospel that the papacy would be overthrown, signalling Christ's return. Cohn 1970, p. 243.

19 Dürer's woodcut shows Domitian enthroned before a low wall, among other differences.

20 See J. Stumpel in London 2021, pp. 229–39.

21 Ashcroft 2017, vol. 1, p. 580.

22 E. Konowitz in New York 1995, pp. 147–9.

23 The inscriptions also refer to evangelism, a term Luther used for his cause; see the text on the drawing of the *Opening of the Fifth Seal*: 'With robes of glory they are clothed, those here for the evangelical sake contempt, persecuted, killed ...'.

24 See Eisler 1979, pp. 13, 61, for similar language used in France by Roman Catholics in the 1520s to condemn the new Reform movement.

25 Many of the drawings have inscriptions that condemn false teaching. For Vellert's entire series and discussions of their texts, see E. Konowitz in New York 1995; Konowitz 1992, pp. 39–47 and 172–95, cats 26–43; Konowitz 2021.

26 See J. Stumpel in London 2021, pp. 229–39.

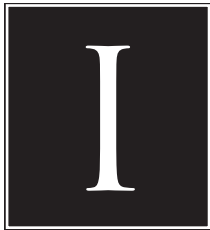
27 Ashcroft 2017, vol. 2, pp. 721–3. The Augustinian house in Antwerp, established by friars from Saxony, was expelled for its Lutheran sympathies in 1522. Dürer established contact with the friars in Antwerp, recording that he dined with them four times in June 1521.

28 The drawings have been described as glass designs but their format is not typical of Vellert's glass, although some smudges may possibly be traces of silver stain used in painting on glass. The drawings are not known to have been executed in glass. It is possible that they may be independent drawings, perhaps to be kept together in a book. I thank Stijn Alsteens and Jeff Chipps Smith for this suggestion.

29 One of the major early documents of the Reform movement in the Netherlands, the Liesveldt Bible, a text that directly depends on Luther's version, dates from 1526, the year after Vellert's drawings.

30 For instance, Held 1931, pp. 92–4.

# THE INFLUENCE OF DÜRER'S PRINTS ON NETHERLANDISH ART



IN A DISSERTATION COMPLETED AT THE UNIVERSITY of Freiburg in 1931, Julius Held first turned his attention to the reception of Dürer in the Netherlands. Held's research, which examined important aspects of the influence of Dürer's prints on various Netherlandish artists, extended into the mid-sixteenth century and covered primarily painting and prints; he cited only one example of sculpture.<sup>1</sup> Later research criticised this one-sided perspective on Dürer, which neglected the fact that in this era – primarily in Antwerp – prints by other German artists, such as Martin Schongauer (active 1469; died 1491), Lucas Cranach the Elder (1472–1553) and Hans Burgkmair the Elder, were circulating as well as northern Netherlandish prints.<sup>2</sup> This essay will also take up a focused perspective in its examination of Dürer, concentrating on the influence of his prints on painting and sculpture. His impact on the graphic medium, which is attested to throughout the Netherlands, and which ranges from borrowed motifs to faithful copies of entire prints, cannot be adequately

explored here.<sup>3</sup> The majority of painted transformations can be found in Antwerp. Sculpture from Antwerp also reveals evidence of Dürer's influence. Not only did the three Passion print cycles, as well as the *Life of the Virgin Mary*, find their way into Netherlandish workshops, especially those in Antwerp, but various individual prints by Dürer also circulated, some of them already long before his trip to the Netherlands.

## THE COPPERPLATE ENGRAVING ADAM AND EVE AND DÜRER'S NEW APPROACH TO FIGURES

An individual Dürer print well known in the Netherlands was the 1504 copperplate engraving *Adam and Eve*. This image transmitted to northern Europe a new, idealised approach to human figures inspired by ancient sculpture.<sup>4</sup> In several instances Netherlandish artists drew upon this figural representation, which was spreading rapidly, since it presented a modern view of the human figure unlike anything in the Netherlands at the time. Thus Antwerp-based artist Jan Gossaert (1478–1532), originally from Mabeuge, adhered closely to Dürer's image for his altarpiece,

produced in about 1510, now in the Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza in Madrid (inv. 1930.26).<sup>5</sup> Several years later Gossaert would create more full-figured bodies for his 1516 painting *Neptune and Amphitrite* (Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. 648), in which he again made recourse to Dürer's model.<sup>6</sup> The Master of the Mansi Magdalen, who was active in Antwerp between 1510 and 1530, also referenced Dürer's print in an altar panel painting. He drew quite faithfully on the model but changed the position of the heads, which had been depicted in profile in the ancient style, to a three-quarter view.<sup>7</sup>

Dürer's *Adam and Eve* was taken up thus in painting and in sculpture as well. Margaret of Austria's court sculptor Conrat Meit, whom Dürer described in his journal on 19 August 1520 as the 'fine stone-carver called Master Konrad, whose equal I have never seen',<sup>8</sup> created a small set of boxwood sculptures around 1510 that attest to the influence of Dürer as well as that of Lucas Cranach the Elder, particularly Cranach's Venus figure from the wood carving *Venus and Cupid* of about 1509 (Stiftung Schloss Friedenstein Gotha, invs P21 and P22).<sup>9</sup> This group of sculptures, which exhibits the modern, northern Renaissance vision of the human body transmitted by Dürer, may not have been created in the Netherlands but in Wittenberg, before Meit's appointment to the court in Mechelen.<sup>10</sup> However, they should be mentioned in this context, since the sculptures were created immediately before Meit's time in the Netherlands. Later, around 1530, Meit turned again to the theme of Adam and Eve in small-scale sculptures, which also exhibit the influences of the Netherlandish artists Jan Gossaert and Lucas van Leyden.<sup>11</sup>

#### DÜRER PRINTS IN THE PAINTING WORKSHOPS OF ANTWERP

In Antwerp, the most economically powerful and culturally significant city of the Netherlands in the early sixteenth century, prints by the Nuremberg artist were present in numerous painting workshops as well as among sculptors, art dealers and collectors, as research has frequently stressed.<sup>12</sup> Art dealers, particularly foreigners, were responsible for the wide distribution of Dürer prints, since they could sell them at Antwerp's Pand market, held throughout the year at the Church of Our Lady since 1480.<sup>13</sup> Since Dürer was widely referenced in the painting of the Antwerp Mannerists, only select examples are mentioned here: the present essay highlights the early phase of Dürer's career. Dürer's reception in the Netherlands had already begun as early as 1503.

In the workshop of the successful Antwerp painter and businessman Adriaen van Overbeke, a panel with

a representation of the *Holy Family with Saints and Angels* was produced in the early sixteenth century (Boniefantenmuseum, Maastricht, inv. 530). This drew upon figural representations in Dürer's woodcut of the *Holy Family with Five Angels* (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. RP-P-OB-1434), made in about 1503, and upon the landscape of *The Visitation* from the *Life of the Virgin* (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. RP-P-OB-1409).<sup>14</sup> Several years later, in 1513–14, the Saint Anne Altarpiece for the Provost Church in Kempen was produced in the same workshop.<sup>15</sup> The artist drew upon the woodcut of the *Marriage of the Virgin* from the *Life of the Virgin* series (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. RP-P-H-Z-251) for the scene of Anne's marriage to Joachim painted on the left-hand wing; this did not belong to an established pictorial tradition at this time, since the legend had only recently begun to develop anew.<sup>16</sup> This model was then reused for two further altarpieces produced in the same workshop after 1520. In the altarpiece commissioned by the Franciscans of Dortmund, Overbeke used Dürer's composition in three further marriage scenes: those of Emerentia and Stollanus, Anna and Joachim, and Mary and Joseph.<sup>17</sup> The altarpiece in the church of Saint Victor in Schwerte, which is inscribed with the date 1523, also uses the Dürer woodcut as a model for the betrothal scene on the open side of the left wing of the predella.<sup>18</sup> Beyond this representation, other Dürer prints were used for altarpieces in Kempen, Dortmund and Schwerte (Saint Victor), among them *The Last Judgment* from the *Small Passion* (Suermondt-Ludwig-Museum, Aachen, inv. DK 659).<sup>19</sup> Since the *Life of the Virgin*, and perhaps even the *Passions*, were present in Overbeke's workshop well before Dürer's visit to Antwerp, their use can be attributed to common workshop practices and not to the effects of Dürer's visit to the city. Yet it cannot be ruled out that Dürer may have met Adriaen van Overbeke on his second stay in Antwerp.<sup>20</sup>

Dürer's *Marriage of the Virgin* woodcut was not only popular in Overbeke's workshop but was also taken up by other masters and workshops in Antwerp as one of the most frequently used models.<sup>21</sup> Following this woodcut, around 1515–20 the painter Jan de Beer (died 1527/8) created a similarly sized brush-and-pen drawing accentuated with opaque white colour on prepared paper, which has the figures worked out in great detail and was possibly used as a model for a commission or as a reproduction for later use in the workshop (Albertina, Vienna, inv. 7809).<sup>22</sup> The Master of 1518, who has been tentatively identified in recent research as Rombout Gheens the Younger (mentioned as master of the Guild of Saint Luke in 1512),<sup>23</sup> also drew upon this Dürer woodcut in his panel today in Saint Louis Art Museum (inv. 29:1929).<sup>24</sup>

In addition, the *Flight into Egypt* from the *Life of the Virgin* (Suermondt-Ludwig-Museum, Aachen, inv. DK 672) was frequently taken up by the painters of Antwerp. Thus Jan de Beer used this woodcut as a model for a tall, slim panel created around 1516–19, now in a private collection in the United States, which was originally the right wing of a triptych.<sup>25</sup> The prominent Antwerp stained-glass designer Dirk Vellert, who met with Dürer several times in 1520–1, drew upon Dürer's woodcuts even in later years, such as in his 1532 *Life of the Virgin* cycle. The round stained-glass work of the *Flight into Egypt* now in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (inv. Bk-NM-12969), was created from a drawing by Vellert and reveals his own engagement with Dürer's model.<sup>26</sup> With the altarpiece installed in the Lady Chapel of Saint Mary's church, Lübeck, the Master of 1518 created a work that reveals Dürer's influence in several scenes: not only in the *Flight into Egypt*, but also in the *Refusal of Joachim's Offer*, the *Marriage of the Virgin*, the *Adoration of the Magi*, and the *Presentation of Christ in the Temple*.<sup>27</sup> The *Adoration of the Magi* reveals great proximity to Dürer's model too, especially in its underdrawing. Mary's face as originally conceived was very close to that in the woodcut and then changed in the painting. In addition, the lines of the underdrawing appear woodcut-like.<sup>28</sup>

Joos van Cleve's Saint Reinhold Altarpiece (National Museum, Warsaw, inv. 185007), completed in 1516, exemplifies the familiarity of the Antwerp workshops with Dürer's *Passions*. It was commissioned by the Brotherhood of Saint Reinhold in Danzig for the chapel of the church of Saint Mary, in part because close trade relationships existed between Danzig and Antwerp.<sup>29</sup> Because of van Cleve's reputation in Antwerp, it is considered very likely that this painter, who originally came from the lower Rhine region, was the recipient of the Brotherhood's contract, rather than a carver of the same name connected to Jan de Molder (active 1494–1550).<sup>30</sup> The influence of Dürer's woodcut *Passions* on the paintings in the first set of wings was noted by early scholars. Because of this close connection, around 1843 and in subsequent years, many suspected Dürer to be the painter of the Saint Reinhold Altarpiece prior to the discovery of Joos van Cleve's initials.<sup>31</sup> The closest relationship between the two artists can be seen in the *Ecce Homo* scene. The figures seen from the back and in profile in the foreground, as well as the figure who is sitting on the stairs and turning around, are directly taken from Dürer's *Small Passion* (Suermondt-Ludwig-Museum, Aachen, inv. DK 645). The kneeling Christ figure with the angel and the sleeping disciples in the image of the Mount of Olives (Albertina, Vienna, inv. DG 1934/186) make reference to the *Large Passion*,

while Christ and the angel have been positionally reversed. Saints Peter and John, however, are not represented in reversed positions. The underdrawing of Peter's head appears closer to Dürer's model than its final execution, revealing the profile view characteristic of the Dürer woodcut rather than the three-quarter view of the completed painting.<sup>32</sup> The overlapping motifs of the woodcut and the underdrawing can be seen particularly in the execution of the drawing: the detailed, curved lines of the underdrawing are closely related to the representational style of the woodcut. Scholars use the term 'woodcut convention' to describe this drawing style.<sup>33</sup> In the *Last Supper* of the Saint Reinhold Altarpiece, both figures in the right foreground reference the corresponding scene in the *Small Passion*.<sup>34</sup>

A frequent approach of Antwerp painters to Dürer's prints can be seen clearly in the former Cologne Kreuzbrüder (Brethren of the Cross) Altarpiece, which was created around 1515–20 for the choir of the Kreuzbrüder monastery (completed in 1499) and has been ascribed to the Master of the Antwerp Adoration. The *Christ before Caiaphas* panel reveals that three different Dürer prints were combined into a single scene.<sup>35</sup> Beyond this, various figures by Dürer were cited in the painted images. A panel by an anonymous artist, dated about 1520 (originally from the Saint Agilulfus Altarpiece exported from Antwerp to Cologne, formerly found in the abbey church of Saint Maria ad Gradus), shows Saint Agilulfus celebrating Mass in front of a closed altarpiece depicting the disciples Peter and Paul. This is a clear reference to the 1510 woodcut of Saint Veronica in the *Small Passion*.<sup>36</sup>

The paintings in Antwerp altarpieces also reveal a more indirect reception of Dürer's work. A total of eight woodcuts from the *Large Passion*, *Small Passion* and *Life of the Virgin* cycles have been linked to the high altar in the parish church of Saint Martinus in Linnich,<sup>37</sup> which was created around 1516 and is attributed to the Master of the Antwerp Adoration.<sup>38</sup> Although Dürer's influence is quite recognisable in the *Entry into Jerusalem*, the figure of Christ riding towards the gate from the right is a widespread pictorial trope that does not necessarily point back to Dürer.<sup>39</sup> In other scenes Dürer's influence is not as obvious and can generally be seen only in individual figures or gestures.<sup>40</sup> This reveals that the motival and formal vocabulary transmitted via Dürer's prints was implemented to varying degrees in the Antwerp workshops.

In addition to the cycles, one further individual print, the 1511 woodcut of the *Mass of Saint Gregory*, can be linked to several Antwerp altarpieces, which often display this iconography on their closed outer wings.<sup>41</sup> The

outer sides of the wings of the altarpieces in Barmen,<sup>42</sup> Münstermaifeld, Bürvenich and Bielefeld all display an altar in a position similar to that in Dürer's print, and a Man of Sorrows in comparable posture; there are also resemblances in the kneeling figure of Gregory. The relationship to Dürer is particularly close in the Bürvenich Passion Altarpiece, dating from about 1520, in which the ladder leans against the horizontal beam of the cross and the column of flagellation is positioned in front and to the right, as in the woodcut on which the scene is based.<sup>43</sup>

In addition to the Antwerp altarpieces, other types of images produced in Antwerp reveal the influence of Dürer's prints. The anonymous tempera on canvas painting of *Emperor Augustus and the Tiburtine Sibyl* at the Vienna Academy of Fine Arts (inv. 568) cites a print in its composition: the copper engraving of the *Virgin on a Crescent with a Starry Crown* from 1508. This was used as a model for the apocalyptic Virgin Mary, who appears in a gloriole in the clouds.<sup>44</sup> Another painting, which was made after Dürer's trip and belongs to a set consisting of two panels, should also be mentioned, although it is conceptually somewhat more distant from its model. This is a Throne of Mercy image (in which God the Father is shown holding the crucified Christ) set opposite the *Vision of Saint Jerome* (private collection). This Throne of Mercy panel, which is reminiscent of the 1511 Dürer woodcut without adopting it completely, was first considered southern German, then attributed to Jan Gossaert and then in 1993 to an unknown master;<sup>45</sup> since 1995 it has been considered the work of the Master of the Lille Adoration, who was active in Antwerp from about 1523 to 1535.<sup>46</sup> Aside from one painting held at the Hessisches Landesmuseum Darmstadt closely linked to this Throne of Mercy image,<sup>47</sup> two further versions of this pictorial motif exist,<sup>48</sup> each originally connected in an ensemble to representations of the penitent Saint Jerome.<sup>49</sup> Although one can generally speak of a strong influence of Dürer prints on the painting of the Antwerp Mannerists because of his stay in the city, the Master of the Lille Adoration – whose work was also stylistically influenced by other Antwerp artists, such as Joos van Cleve, Jan Gossaert and Dirk Vellert – departs recognisably from this source of inspiration.<sup>50</sup>

#### DÜRER PRINTS AND SCULPTURAL ALTARPIECES

While the discussion so far has focused on the painted wings of Antwerp altarpieces, it may be usefully extended to include sculpture shrines. These also reveal the influence of Dürer's prints, although not as often as his paintings. It is possible that the two-dimensional prints were more suited as models for paintings than for three-dimensional works. In contrast, carved figures were used

as models for the serial production of figures for the sculpted niches of altarpieces containing several tiered, arranged groups.<sup>51</sup>

However, it is not really possible to isolate panel paintings from sculpture shrines in an examination of Antwerp altarpieces, since they were conceived as part of a larger design by the head of the workshop. In addition, painters and sculptors in Antwerp cooperated very closely, since both professional groups were part of the Guild of Saint Luke.<sup>52</sup> Nonetheless, the two categories are separated according to medium here for the sake of clarity. Thus the previously mentioned Saint Anne Altarpiece in Kempen not only reveals the influence of Dürer's *Life of the Virgin* in the painted scene of Saint Anne's marriage, but the carved representation of Mary's betrothal in the middle portion of the shrine is also based on Dürer's composition, particularly the relationship between the figures of Mary, Joseph and the High Priest. In the Saint Reinhold Altarpiece, the carved Visitation scene also refers to the corresponding woodcut from Dürer's *Life of the Virgin*.<sup>53</sup> Two southern Netherlandish reliefs of 1510–15 in the Museum Mayer van den Bergh, Antwerp (invs 2274 and 2275), which probably formed the interior wings of an altarpiece, also faithfully reflect Dürer's prints: the relief, in contrast to sculpture, is closer in medium to print. The representation of the *Birth of Christ* references the copper engraving of 1504, while the *Adoration of the Magi* reflects the 1511 woodcut.<sup>54</sup>

A far later example of Dürer's influence in a sculptural altarpiece, previously noted by Held,<sup>55</sup> can be found in the Altarpiece of Meerhout-Gestel (Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, inv. 426), which represents the childhood of Christ and was possibly created in Brussels around 1530–40.<sup>56</sup> These scenes, which have not yet been examined in detail, refer predominantly to corresponding woodcuts from the *Life of the Virgin*: the *Birth of Christ* as well as the *Presentation in the Temple*. This example reveals that Dürer's prints were present in Netherlandish workshops long after his death.

#### THE RECEPTION OF DÜRER IN PAINTING OUTSIDE ANTWERP

Dürer's influence in Netherlandish painting was a widespread phenomenon that occurred predominantly, but not exclusively, in Antwerp. Not only older prints but also newer ones, created just before his trip to the Netherlands, were in circulation. These include the 'three new engravings of the Virgin Mary', as Dürer called the copper engravings in his journal.<sup>57</sup> This refers to the *Virgin Mary Suckling the Christ Child* of 1519, *Mary Crowned by an Angel* of 1520 and the *Virgin and*

*Child* of the same year, of which the Hamburger Kunsthalle owns a preliminary drawing in black ink (inv. 29335).<sup>58</sup> Since Dürer prints circulated widely, one should assume that they were sold at trade fairs and by colporters (pedlars of publications), and not only distributed during his trip to the Netherlands.<sup>59</sup> This applies to the newer representations of the Virgin Mary, which also include the 1518 copper engraving *The Virgin crowned by Two Angels*. Bernaert van Orley, who had been Margaret of Austria's court painter since 1518, personally encountered Dürer during his first visit to Brussels in the late summer of 1520. He invited Dürer to a 'costly meal', as Dürer writes in his journal.<sup>60</sup> On this occasion van Orley probably received the print of the Virgin with the swaddled infant, which he used for a painting executed in 1520 (Bamberg, Wenzel Kunsthandel).<sup>61</sup> The depiction of the figures, dress folds and nimbus clouds is clearly based on the copper engraving. In his later work the Brussels painter still drew upon Dürer's models. Thus around 1530–5 van Orley's workshop produced a triptych with the *Seven Sorrows of the Virgin* (Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie, Besançon, inv. D.799.1.17).<sup>62</sup> For the Circumcision, Flight into Egypt and the Preaching Christ Child in the Temple medallions, the *Life of the Virgin* served as a model, while the *Great Passion* did so for the Bearing of the Cross, the Lamentation of Christ, and the Entombment.

Marinus van Reymerswale (active 1533–45), who lived in Middelburg for many years, still cited Dürer's *Last Judgment* woodcut from the *Small Passion* in his depiction of the Bible.<sup>63</sup> His painting of Saint Jerome (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. SK-A-3123), created around 1540, is in the tradition of Dürer's 1521 painting of the saint (Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon, inv. 828 Pint) given to Rodrigo Fernandes de Almada (about 1465/70–1546/8), head of the Portuguese trade mission in the Netherlands.<sup>64</sup> In this instance the graphic model was not used for the composition or for individual figures, but cited as a whole in the picture, which thus became a kind of homage to Dürer.

In addition to the transfer of specific motifs into Netherlandish painting through prints, certain graphic images by Dürer may have played a role in the general

dissemination of particular pictorial motifs, even if no direct influence can be pinpointed. This is most likely true of the increasingly frequent representations of Madonnas in landscapes, which often feature a tree, in Jan Provoost's *Virgin and Child in a Landscape* of about 1524–5 (National Gallery, London, inv. NG713),<sup>65</sup> or a group of trees, as in the small panel by Bernaert van Orley painted around 1520–5 for private worship (National Gallery, London, inv. NG714).<sup>66</sup> Dürer created two copper engravings that conceptually point in this direction: *The Virgin and Child with a Pear* of 1511 (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. RP-P-OB-1200)<sup>67</sup> as well as the *Virgin and Child under a Tree* of 1513 (Suermondt-Ludwig-Museum, Aachen, inv. DK 1830).<sup>68</sup> In addition, Dürer was personally acquainted with Provoost. We can infer from his journal that the Nuremberg master made portraits of Provoost shortly before his departure during his second stay in Antwerp, as well as on a later trip to Bruges, where he stayed with Provoost and took part in a banquet.<sup>69</sup>

It is not a novel insight that Dürer prints were already widely available in the Netherlands, especially in the painting workshops of Antwerp, in the ten years preceding his trip to the Netherlands. Graphic prints played an important role in Antwerp as models for rationalised processes that could expedite production. The significant importation of Dürer's graphic work, in addition to that of other artists, can be explained by the lack of a local tradition of copper engravers, etchers and woodcut engravers from 1490 to 1520.<sup>70</sup> Dürer's fame also led to his enthusiastic reception by the Guild of Saint Luke, which fêted him on his arrival.<sup>71</sup> Although his personal presence in the city doubtless contributed to further assimilation, since he gave away, traded or sold many of his prints, existing workshop practices continued in Antwerp throughout the 1520s. Outside the city, Dürer prints were also widely available from their first appearance on the art market until well after his death. Although models were often used to make the work process easier, his modern depiction of figures, as for instance in the *Adam and Eve* copper engraving, probably also influenced their reception. The esteem for Dürer's work also reveals itself in the specific reference to his graphic work as an 'image within an image'.

- 1 Held 1931, p. 100.
- 2 Goddard 2006, pp.125–6.
- 3 On this point, see C. Vogelaar's essay in the present publication, pp. 15–20, and L. Silver in London 2021, pp. 103–15. On Dürer copies in printmaking, see also Vogt 2008.
- 4 On Dürer's copperplate engraving and its reception in painting, see A. van Oosterwijk in Bruges 2010, p. 425, no. 236.
- 5 New York and London 2010, pp. 114–17, no. 1.
- 6 Ibid., pp. 217–20, no. 30.
- 7 A. van Oosterwijk in Bruges 2010, p. 181, no. 51.
- 8 Ashcroft 2017, vol. 1, no. 162, p. 559.
- 9 A. Riether in Munich 2006, pp. 186–7.
- 10 J.L. Burk in *ibid.*, pp. 68–71, no. 1.
- 11 *Ibid.*, pp. 80–3, no. 4; A. van Oosterwijk in Bruges 2010, p. 182, no. 52.
- 12 G. Hoffmann, 'Der Annenaltar des Adrian van Overbeck in der Propsteikirche zu Kempen. Werk und Werkstatt eines Antwerpener Manieristen, in Hansmann and Hoffmann 1998, pp. 117–292, at p. 125; Goddard 2006, pp. 126–7; Leeflang 2006b, p. 248.
- 13 As a rule, literature on the Pand only discusses the trade of paintings and carvings. Merchants of books and prints should, however, also be considered. Wagner 2014, p. 224. On the Pand, see also Ewing 1990, pp. 558–84.
- 14 L. Hendrikman in Antwerp and Maastricht 2005, pp. 184–5, no. 77. On this subject, see also van den Brink and Stangier 1998.
- 15 In 1513 a contract was signed between the Kempen Brotherhood of Saint Anne and Overbeke. Overbeke received his final payment in 1514. Huth 1967, pp. 127–32, no. xvi; G. Hoffmann in Hansmann and Hoffmann 1998 (note 12), pp. 160–6.
- 16 G. Hoffmann in Hansmann and Hoffmann 1998, pp. 184–5.
- 17 *Ibid.*, pp. 228–30; see also *ibid.*, p. 184 and figs xxxvii, xxxix and xl. See also Leeflang 2006b, p. 249. It is also possible that the references to Dürer were made on behalf of the patron, who commissioned an individualised iconography by connecting the Virgin's life to the still nascent tradition of Saint Anne cycles.
- 18 Leeflang 2006b, p. 265.
- 19 *Ibid.*, pp. 258–65.
- 20 In his travel journal Dürer speaks of a 'Master Adrian', of whom he 'made a charcoal portrait': Ashcroft 2017, vol. 1, no. 162, p. 563. It is very likely that Adraien van Overbeke, who led a large atelier in Antwerp, is intended here. On this topic, see also T. Schauerte's essay in the present publication, pp. 9–14.
- 21 G. Hoffmann in Hansmann and Hoffmann 1998 (note 12), p. 153.
- 22 Most recently, Ewing 2016, pp. 106–7 and 334–5, no. 31; P. van den Brink, 'In Pursuit of the Individual Hand: Jan de Beer as a Draughtsman', in Birmingham 2019, pp. 26–43, at pp. 30–1. This connection was already identified by G. Hoffmann in Hansmann and Hoffmann 1998 (note 12), p. 153.
- 23 This identification is based on the initials 'R' and 'G' that were found on the first pair of open wings on the Antwerp Altarpiece in Lübeck after the paintings were cleaned in 2006. Albrecht 2012, p. 413.
- 24 Ainsworth and Faries 1986, pp. 31–7; G. Hoffmann in Hansmann and Hoffmann 1998 (note 12), p. 153; Campbell 2014, pp. 550–1.
- 25 Ewing 2016, pp.194–5 and p. 315, cat. 12. See also van den Brink and Ewing 2018, pp. 251–4.
- 26 Konowitz 1990–1, pp. 143–52. On Vellert, see also E. Konowitz's essay in the present publication, pp. 21–5.
- 27 Albrecht 2012, pp. 404–16 with fig. 130.2. See also Leeflang 2006b, pp. 249–50.
- 28 Leeflang 2006b, p. 249–50, esp. figs 8–10.
- 29 On the Reinhold Altarpiece and its relationship to Dürer, see Leeflang 2006b, pp. 248–9; Leeflang 2006a, pp. 15–20; Leeflang 2015, pp. 47–60.
- 30 Leeflang 2006a, p. 21.
- 31 *Ibid.*, p. 21.
- 32 *Ibid.*, pp. 25–7 and figs 12–14.
- 33 *Ibid.*, p. 26. On the function of the underdrawing in the 'woodcut convention' of the Reinhold Altarpiece, see *ibid.*, pp. 27–9.
- 34 For a closer analysis of Dürer's influence, see *ibid.*, pp. 18–19; Leeflang 2015, pp. 52–5.
- 35 Cologne 2016, pp. 60–3, with figs.
- 36 See *ibid.*, pp. 66–8 and fig. 46.
- 37 On this altarpiece, see also T. Schauerte's essay in the present publication, pp. 9–14. Schauerte assumes that Dürer may have travelled to the region of Jülich on the occasion of his three-week-long visit to Aachen to see the Antwerp altarpiece located there. Not all of the Antwerp altarpieces in the region of Jülich have as yet been investigated. On the altarpiece in the parish church of Saint Gereon in Linnich-Boslar, see Krämer and Peek-Horn 2018. Regarding the Altar of the Holy Cross in Saint Martinus in Linnich, see Krämer 2019, pp. 161–236. But both altarpieces were made after Dürer's Netherlandish journey.
- 38 Krämer 2012, pp. 58–61.
- 39 *Ibid.*, pp. 75–6, with figs.
- 40 In the scene of Christ's capture, in addition to the figure of Peter, the position of Malchus's leg also reveals the influence of Dürer on the painter. *Ibid.*, p. 73, fig. 43.
- 41 Schäfer 2007, pp. 382–7, and figs 6–9.
- 42 Krämer 2012, p. 161, fig. 155.
- 43 Schäfer 2007, pp. 384–5 and fig. 8.
- 44 Held 1931, p. 63, already pointed to this connection between the copper engraving and p. 176, no. 377 and fig. p. 130, where the painter is identified as Cornelis Engebrechtsz. (about 1462–1527). His original ascription – that the anonymous artist of the Emperor Augustus is an Antwerp painter – is valid again today. See P. van den Brink in Antwerp and Maastricht 2005, pp. 130–1.
- 45 The painting was then still circulating within the London art market. Ebert-Schifferer 1993, p. 86, table V.
- 46 Washington and Antwerp 2006, pp. 150–5, 289, no. 22. This designation derives from Peter van den Brink.
- 47 Ebert-Schifferer 1993, p. 77, table IV.
- 48 *Ibid.*, p. 89, figs 40–3.
- 49 Washington and Antwerp 2006, p. 150.
- 50 *Ibid.*, p. 151.
- 51 A systematic investigation of the Antwerp sculpture altarpieces and their reception of Dürer prints does not yet exist.
- 52 Leeflang 2006b, pp. 237–8.
- 53 For an image of the sculpture shrine, see Leeflang 2015, p. 51.
- 54 Coe 1969, pp. 214–15, with figs; Brussels 1977, p. 174, nos 370–1 and fig. p. 128.
- 55 Held 1931, p. 100.
- 56 Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels. Currently on permanent loan to the Bonnefantenmuseum Maastricht.
- 57 Ashcroft 2017, vol. 1, no. 162, p. 559.
- 58 Grigg 1986, p. 408 n. 1; Unverfehrt 2007, pp. 211–12.
- 59 On the sale of Dürer prints, see Unverfehrt 2007, p. 216.
- 60 Ashcroft 2017, vol. 1, no. 162, p. 561.
- 61 The artist of the painting was identified by Markus Hörsch: report of 14 October 2011 kindly made available by Kunsthandel Wenzel, Bamberg.
- 62 V. Bücken in Brussels 2019, pp. 232–5, no. 63, with figs.
- 63 Leuven 2016, pp. 152–5, no. 18, with figs.
- 64 See also A. Harth and M.P.J. Martens in London 2021, pp. 253–65.
- 65 Campbell 2014, pp. 638–45, NG 713.
- 66 *Ibid.*, pp. 602–07, NG 714; V. Bücken in Brussels 2019, pp. 126–7, no. 19.
- 67 M. Mende, in Schoch, Mende and Scherbaum 2001–4, vol. 1, pp. 155–6, no. 63, with figs.
- 68 *Ibid.*, pp. 163–4, no. 67, with figs.
- 69 Ashcroft 2017, vol. 1, no. 162, pp. 562, 577, 578. See especially P. van den Brink in London 2021, pp. 205–25.
- 70 Goddard 2006, p. 126.
- 71 G. Hoffmann in Hansmann and Hoffmann 1998 (note 12), p. 125.

## THE *LARGE MOUNT CALVARY* THE IMPACT OF A DÜRER INVENTION



ALBRECHT DÜRER IS KNOWN TO HAVE BROUGHT many works of art with him when he travelled to the Netherlands in 1520, especially works on paper. Among these was probably a very large drawing known as the *Large Mount Calvary* (Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence, inv.

1890 n. 8406). This composition had a considerable impact on Flemish painting for more than a century following its arrival. In Antwerp it inspired high-quality works of art: large-scale paintings, possibly altarpieces, of which no fewer than five still exist, as well as a few smaller cabinet pictures.<sup>1</sup> These are proof of the high regard in which Dürer and his art were held in the city in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and even after the drawing itself left Antwerp at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

The *Large Mount Calvary* shows the crucifixion of Christ between the two thieves on a hill outside the gates of Jerusalem, as well as numerous scenes leading up to this event. As a so-called *Simultanbild*, in which scenes

from a continuous narrative are depicted in a single image, this composition was already old-fashioned at the beginning of the sixteenth century. In the background above, a procession with Christ carrying the cross is just leaving the city. The crucifixion itself takes place in the middle ground, with Christ already on his cross and the bad thief to his (proper) left; the good thief's cross on his right is still being raised. In the foreground, the lower half of the composition, which is closed off by a horizontal row of bushes, the scenes are numerous. In the lower left corner, the disrobed Christ, seated on the horizontal beam of the cross, is being mocked while soldiers roll dice and quarrel over his clothes. Christ is undressed and beaten lower right; to the left of this figure group, holes are drilled into the cross. At the centre, the Virgin is comforted by Saint John and the two other Marys and, just to the left, the two thieves await their punishment.

This exceptionally large drawing (58 × 39.4 cm), one of the largest attributed to Albrecht Dürer, is marked with his 'AD' monogram lower centre. No date can now be discerned, but both an early drawn copy (Musée du



Louvre, Paris, département des arts graphiques, inv. 18 640) and a painted version by Jan Brueghel the Elder (1568–1625; Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. 1890 n. 1083) mention 1505 as its date of execution. Its dimensions, technique and high finish seem to indicate that it was either the last phase in the preparation of another work of art, or a presentation drawing to be shown to the client. The same is true of the function of a second *Mount Calvary* drawing from Dürer's studio, now in the Kunstmuseum in Basel (inv. 1846.37). This was the final model and/or *vidimus* (presentation drawing) for the central panel of the Ober St Veit Altarpiece, which was commissioned from Dürer himself in or just before 1505 but finished by his workshop assistant Hans Schäufelein (about 1480–1540), when the master himself left for Venice towards the end of 1505.<sup>2</sup>

It is possible that the *Large Mount Calvary* drawing was a rejected proposal for the Ober St Veit Altarpiece, like the Basel drawing mentioned above. It could equally have been a model for a second painting of the same subject, which was never executed, or even for a work of art in another medium. In Dürer's workshop similar highly finished drawings in pen and ink with white highlights on tinted paper were also made in preparation of reliefs, for instance the drawings for the epitaphs of Ulrich and Georg Fugger in the Fugger chapel in the church of Saint Anne in Augsburg.<sup>3</sup> These worked-up model drawings were not always by Dürer himself but occasionally left to workshop assistants, as in the case of the *Mount Calvary* drawing for the Ober St Veit Altarpiece. Similarly, the *Large Mount Calvary* seems to have been drawn by a studio assistant; stylistically it does not fit Dürer's own hand. It was, however, based on studies by the master himself. For example, a number of elements can be seen in a swift sketch by Dürer (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, inv. KdZ 16), including the two half-figures in the right foreground, the horseman with a spear seen in profile (upper right in the sketch and just below the centre near the right edge in the *Large Mount Calvary*), as well as the ladder carried diagonally over the shoulder by a bearded man looking back.<sup>4</sup>

Although drawn in Nuremberg in 1505, the *Large Mount Calvary* drawing was well known in Antwerp by the second quarter of the sixteenth century, by which time its attribution was not questioned: it was always considered an autograph work of art by Albrecht Dürer.<sup>5</sup> In Antwerp a number of large works suitable for altarpieces were painted that followed its layout closely. The earliest of these derivative works, a painting from an as yet unidentified studio in Antwerp (Rijksmuseum,

Amsterdam, inv. SK-A-4921), is generally dated between about 1520 and 1530.<sup>6</sup> Around the same time the *Large Mount Calvary* was also copied in a drawing by a Southern Netherlandish artist (Musée du Louvre, département des arts graphiques, Paris, inv. 18640 recto). The simplest explanation for the familiarity with Dürer's composition in Antwerp is, of course, that he brought the drawing with him on his journey to the Netherlands and either sold it during the trip or gave it away as a gift. However, other scenarios are not to be excluded: he may equally have sent it as a gift to a colleague after he returned home, or the sheet may have reached Antwerp by some other means.

The painted *Mount Calvary* in the Rijksmuseum is one of five known large-scale copies after the Uffizi *Large Mount Calvary* that date from the sixteenth century. This is probably the earliest and certainly the highest-quality version.<sup>7</sup> Both the colour scheme, with its predilection for bright yellow and warm red, and the style point to an execution in an Antwerp workshop around the 1520s. Moreover, the existence of more versions of similar dimensions (around 170 × 120 cm) indicates workshop production for export purposes, an activity for which Antwerp was particularly known.<sup>8</sup> The use of colour in all versions of the composition is very similar: a few details absent from the drawing are present in all the large paintings, such as the blue-and-white striped breeches worn by the standing man seen from behind in the centre foreground, as well as the rosette on the left elbow of the man holding him. It is likely that all the paintings were based on a painted prototype or a full-scale cartoon with colour indications that remained in the Antwerp workshop for a few decades. The version now in the Museum of Fine Art, Dole (inv. 104), appears almost contemporary with the one in the Rijksmuseum (inv. SK-A-4921).<sup>9</sup> Although its original appearance is difficult to appreciate because it has suffered considerably from later restorations, the overall quality of the Dole painting is also close to the Amsterdam version.<sup>10</sup> The other three versions are all on canvas – one in the Musée d'art et d'histoire, Geneva, another in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nancy, and a third with Christie's, New York, in 1994 – and all probably date from the 1530s or 1540s.<sup>11</sup>

It is possible that the finest of the five large-scale versions – the one now in Amsterdam – may have been based on an earlier painted prototype that is no longer extant. The style of its creator is not very distinctive and thus cannot be convincingly linked to any of the known masters working in Antwerp around the 1520s.<sup>12</sup> Like the other four, it is a typical studio product. None of these paintings bears a reference to its origins or to the

inventor of its composition, Albrecht Dürer. However, the popularity of Dürer's work in Antwerp makes it very likely that they were sold as based on one of his creations; indeed, the association of these paintings with Dürer would have been a significant factor in the success of the composition.

Dürer's famous 'AD' monogram does figure prominently on the aforementioned Southern Netherlandish *Mount Calvary* drawing now in the Louvre (inv. 18640 recto), which closely copies the Uffizi sheet.<sup>13</sup> In addition to the composition with all its details, the dimensions and technique are also very similar. The handling of the pen in the Louvre sheet, as well as the application of white highlights, shows close affinities with the style of the Master of the Blue Landscapes (active 1520–50), the unidentified artist responsible for several landscape drawings in pen and ink on tinted paper with white bodycolour. Among these is the *Saint Christopher* drawing in the Louvre (inv. 18976).<sup>14</sup> The drawing copy after the *Mount Calvary* was made not long after Dürer's visit to Antwerp, possibly as a record of one of the master's creations.

More than half a century later, the *Mount Calvary* composition was used again, this time no doubt with the intention of referring specifically to the great Dürer. Jan Brueghel the Elder used the drawing as inspiration for his *Mount Calvary* of 1598, now in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich (inv. 823). In his compositions Brueghel often included motifs from famous works by other artists, such as his father, Pieter Bruegel the Elder (active 1550/1; died 1569), and Hieronymus Bosch. This play with inventions by earlier masters was precisely one of the attractions of Brueghel's art, since these references would undoubtedly have been recognised by contemporary art enthusiasts. In his *Mount Calvary* he included motifs from both Dürer and Bruegel, while basing his composition on a print by Lucas van Leyden (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. RP-P-OB-1652). The fainting Virgin with her entourage in the lower left foreground, for example, is clearly derived from Dürer, while the soldiers on the right fighting over Christ's robe are borrowed from Pieter Bruegel.<sup>15</sup> For his knowledge of Dürer's composition Brueghel must have had access to the Uffizi drawing itself rather than any of the earlier painted copies, as is revealed by comparing a number of details,<sup>16</sup> several of which are closer to the drawn original than to the large-scale painted versions. For example, one of the men pulling a rope to hoist up the cross wears a flat hat in both the drawing and the Brueghel painting, whereas the earlier paintings show him in a close cap; the dog in the foreground has a much longer and more pointed snout in the large painted versions, while the bone he chews on looks more like a twig there.

Jan Brueghel certainly had access to the original from Dürer's workshop by 1604, six years after he completed the *Mount Calvary* now in Munich.<sup>17</sup> There is even a good chance that he owned it himself. His paintings also provide evidence that he had access to an impressive collection of drawings by – among others – earlier masters such as Hieronymus Bosch and his circle.<sup>18</sup> In 1604 Brueghel painted his magnificent copy after Dürer's *Large Mount Calvary* (Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence) on the same scale as the drawing and inscribed it lower right: 'AD INVENTOR · 1505 / BRVEGHEL FEC · 1604' ('AD' in monogram).<sup>19</sup> While the painting follows details in the drawing quite closely, at the same time it is unmistakably Brueghel's: the bright colour scheme, the depiction of the landscape and the faces of the figures are all typical of his style.

Together with the original drawing, this painted copy was to be part of a small cabinet, a cupboard-like construction that could be opened and closed.<sup>20</sup> In order to form a diptych, the sheet of paper was laid down on the reverse of another painting by Jan Brueghel the Elder, a *Landscape with Christ and the Apostles looking out over Jerusalem* (Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. 1890 n. 8406).<sup>21</sup> The scene here is probably a depiction of a passage from the Life of Christ, in which Christ predicts the events in Jerusalem leading up to and including his death and resurrection, as told by the evangelists Matthew, Mark and Luke.<sup>22</sup> This scene would perfectly complement the contents of the inside of the diptych as a devotional aid. At the same time, the diptych was obviously intended as a shrine to Dürer. Closed, it only showed the Brueghel landscape with figures, but when opened it was a magnificent ode to the German artist, with the large drawing on the left and the coloured copy by Brueghel on the right. It is likely that the drawing was in Antwerp for almost a century, from Dürer's visit to the city in 1520–1 until 1604, when it became part of the Dürer–Brueghel cabinet.

Unfortunately it is not known who commissioned this diptych. However, it fits with the Dürer revival in the German-speaking countries that began towards the end of the sixteenth century. Jan Brueghel the Elder may even have acquired his inspiration from a trip to Prague in 1604. Emperor Rudolf II (1562–1612) was the most famous collector of his age of works by Dürer and he owned many of the artist's paintings and drawings.<sup>23</sup> By 1624 the Dürer–Brueghel cabinet was, in fact, in the possession of another Habsburg prince, Archduke Karl Joseph (1590–1624), Prince-Bishop of Breslau and Brixen and Grand Master of the Teutonic Order. Two years after his untimely death the same year, an inventory of the possessions in his castle in Nysa was drawn up,

including ‘Two similar panels together, one drawn by Albrecht Dürer himself, after this a painted piece by Brueghel, on the other side a landscape’.<sup>24</sup>

It is unlikely that Karl Joseph was the first owner of the cabinet, since he was only 14 years old in 1604. He was to become an avid collector of Flemish paintings and tapestries, some of which he acquired through contacts in Flanders, among them his cousin Archduke Albert VII (1559–1621), Governor of the Spanish Netherlands.<sup>25</sup> He even had a Flemish court painter, Anton van Opstal (1590–1653).<sup>26</sup> Indeed, Karl Joseph came from a family of great collectors, including his parents, Archduke Charles II of Austria (1540–1590) and Maria Anna of Bavaria (1551–1608).<sup>27</sup> On Karl’s death his collection, with two more works attributed to Dürer, was inherited by his elder brother, Emperor Ferdinand II (1578–1637). Soon afterwards Ferdinand gave the diptych to their sister, Maria Magdalena (1589–1631), widow of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Cosimo II (1590–1621), and she in turn presented it to her son, Grand Duke Ferdinand II (1610–1670), in December 1628. Thus it became part of the nucleus of the renowned Medici collection, which can be admired in Florence to the present day.<sup>28</sup>

The drawn copy now in the Louvre was the point of departure for a reproductive engraving of 1615 (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. RP-P-OB-27.242) by the Haarlem-based engraver Jacob Matham (1571–1631), with the composition in reverse.<sup>29</sup> The addition of the date on Matham’s engraving closely resembles that on the Louvre sheet, of which the whereabouts at this time are not known. There was then a second revival

of Dürer’s composition, in the form of further copies in several media, based on the mirror-image engraving. A drawing on vellum, made soon after 1615, was part of the so-called ‘*Reise-Altar* [travel altar] for Maximilian III’. Another copy was a relief in wood now in the Liechtenstein Collection (Sammlung des regierenden Fürsten von Liechtenstein, Vaduz, inv. I.N. 618).<sup>30</sup> Both were probably produced in the German-speaking countries. The same may be said of a drawing on vellum made later in the seventeenth century.<sup>31</sup> Subsequent Flemish artists seem to have made variations on the same composition rather than exact copies, for example a painting from the circle of Frans (1581–1642) or Hieronymus Francken (1578–1623) now in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Tours.<sup>32</sup>

Dürer and his work were held in high esteem in the Low Countries between about 1500 and 1650. This is especially true of his *Large Mount Calvary*. For more than a century after its creation, the composition was the point of departure for other works of art, close copies as well as free variations. Moreover, not only did the invention inspire numerous artists, the original drawing itself became part of an object of pure Dürer admiration, a diptych by Jan Brueghel the Elder juxtaposing it with his own magnificent version of it. The landmark composition would have been one of the most valuable and beautiful products of the Dürer revival in Europe of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The Flemish artist honoured his predecessor by putting together a true Dürer shrine which was to be part of the collection of a member of the Dürer-crazy Habsburg family.

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- 1 See, with references to further literature, Filedt Kok 1996 and Hirakawa 2009, pp. 59–63.
- 2 Metzger 2002, pp. 98–103 and 235–44, no. 9, and C. Metzger in Frankfurt 2013, pp. 198 and 202–3, no. 7.2.
- 3 The medallions on a goblet from the workshop of Ludwig Krug (1488/90–1532) showing the Labours of Hercules were modelled after drawings by Dürer in the same technique. See Bushart 1994, pp. 115–42, and A. Röver-Kann in Bremen 2012, pp. 116–25, no. 33.
- 4 A sketch in the collection of the Veste Coburg (inv. Z95-K5) is also related to the *Large Mount Calvary*. See Winkler 1936–9, vol. 2, pp. 38–40, nos 315–16; Strauss 1974, vol. 2, nos 1505/1–2, and F. Anzelewsky in Mielke and Anzelewsky 1984, pp. 45–6, no. 43.
- 5 In fact any doubts over the attribution were first raised in modern times. The lack of consensus described by Friedrich Winkler in 1937 still exists. That it was not autograph may, however, have been a reason why Dürer was not eager to keep it in his *Nachlass*. See Winkler 1936–9, vol. 2, pp. 40–3, no. 317 (esp. p. 43).
- 6 M. Balm and J.P. Filedt Kok in Filedt Kok 2010.
- 7 Dendrochronological analysis shows that the panel could have been ready for use in 1492, but a date in or after 1506 is more likely. See *ibid.*
- 8 A long-standing discussion on the origins of the Amsterdam painting, over the question of whether it was produced either in Antwerp or Leiden, has recently been settled in favour of Antwerp. One of the most outspoken advocates of a Leiden origin, J.P. Filedt Kok, has more recently also opted for Antwerp. See Filedt Kok 1996 and Filedt Kok, Gibson and Bruijnen 2014, pp. 5–9.
- 9 Dole 2010, *passim*.
- 10 Later additions include, for instance, the elaborate patterns of folds on many of the clothes, such as the Virgin's gown, and the Pieter Bruegel-like heads of the bystanders witnessing the taking of Christ near the right edge. These point to an early restoration, probably in the seventeenth century.
- 11 Musée d'art et d'histoire de Genève, inv. 1845-7; Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nancy, inv. 1076; sale, Christie's, New York, 12 January 1994, lot 68. We have been unable to trace the present whereabouts of the last of these. See Filedt Kok 1996, p. 339; Elsig 2005, pp. 60–3 (under no. 11); Dole 2010, *passim*.
- 12 The Amsterdam painting has often been associated with the name of Jan Wellens de Cock (1480–1527) but it is not sufficiently similar to his style to be by him. Moreover, de Cock died in 1521, soon after Dürer left Antwerp. It is likely, however, that the two artists met, since de Cock was one of the deans of the Guild of St Luke in 1520. His workshop was probably continued after his death by his widow until at least 1529. See Friedländer 1967–76, vol. 11, p. 78, no. 107, pl. 91, and Ewing 1990, p. 567.
- 13 Demonts 1937, vol. 1, no. 185, pp. 36–7, pl. lxiii.
- 14 This was already observed by Virginie D'haene. It is likely, of course, that Dürer's drawing was copied in the studio where the aforementioned large painted versions were produced. Like the Amsterdam Calvary, the drawings by the Master of the Blue Landscapes have been associated with Jan Wellens de Cock and/or his studio (see note 12). See D'haene 2010, vol. 1, pp. 43–4.
- 15 Currie and Allart 2012, vol. 2, pp. 614–45, esp. pp. 633–42, and Munich 2013, pp. 200–2, no. 26.
- 16 J.P. Filedt Kok wrongly assumes that Jan Brueghel based his 1598 painting on one of the painted versions. See Filedt Kok 1996, p. 338.
- 17 This makes it more probable that he knew the Uffizi sheet rather than the Louvre one in 1598.
- 18 Ilsink 2016, pp. 526–34, no. 44.
- 19 Munich 2013, pp. 204–5, no. 27.
- 20 It is documented as such already in the seventeenth century (see note 24). For a reconstruction of the diptych, see Hirakawa 2009, pp. 119–28 and fig. 33.
- 21 It is catalogued with a wrong title, *The Temptation of Christ*, and given incorrect dimensions in the catalogue raisonné on the artist. See Ertz 2008–10, vol. 2, pp. 577–80, no. 270.
- 22 Matthew 20:17–19; Mark 10:32–4; Luke 18:31–4.
- 23 There is no basis for the oft-made assumption that the Uffizi sheet was in the collection of Rudolf II in Prague and that Brueghel copied it there. See Winkler 1936–9, vol. 2, no. 317, pp. 40–3; Filedt Kok 1996, pp. 335–8; Hirakawa 2009, pp. 119–28.
- 24 'Zwo gleiche taffeln zusammen, eine so der Albert Dürer selbst grissen, nach dieser der Briegel ein stuck gemahlt, auf der andern seiten ein landschaft, per 200 rtl' (inventory drawn up on 3 August 1626). See Bodenstein 1916, p. xxx, no. 596.
- 25 Generally no artists' names are listed but the adjective 'niederländische' occurs regularly, for instance in relation to landscapes and vegetable markets. And in 1618 Karl Joseph thanks his cousin Albert in a letter for sending him 'niederländischen Tapissieren'. See Bodenstein 1916, p. xxix, nos 551 and 557, and Köhler 1974, pp. 110 and 117.
- 26 Archduke Karl Joseph recommends van Opstal to Archduchess Isabella when he has to lay off the artist because of a planned long trip to Spain in 1624. See Köhler 1974, pp. 125–6.
- 27 Maria Anna von Bavaria used a wide network of agents around Europe. One of these, Blasius Hütter, who was based at the Brussels court, even recommended Jan Brueghel the Elder to her in a letter of 1599. See Büttner 2019, p. 142.
- 28 According to the inventory, the diptych was 'donato a Sua Altezza Serenissima dalla Serenissima Arciduchessa sua madre'. The last phrase has often been read as 'given to Grand Duchess Maria Magdalena by the Archduchess, her mother [i.e. Anna Maria of Bavaria, Archduchess of Inner Austria]'. However, the form 'Sua Altezza Serenissima' in Tuscan documents of the early modern period always refers to the reigning grand duke. See Bedoni 1983, pp. 183–4, and Gaeta Bertelà 1997, p. 69.
- 29 According to an inscription on the engraving, it was published by Joan Goyvaerts. He was often identified with the famous collector Jan Govertsz. van der Aar. However, the collector van der Aar died in 1612, three years before the publication of the print, which seriously questions this identification. For the engraving, see Jost 1986 and Widerkehr 2007–8, vol. 1, pp. liii and 82–3, no. 39.
- 30 Archduke Maximilian III of Further Austria and Grandmaster of the Teutonic Order died in 1618, which provides a date for the altar of about 1615–18. It is kept in the Stiftsammlungen in Stams. See Andergassen 2007, pp. 463–4, no. A 144, pl. 77. For the relief in fruit wood, see B. Decker in Frankfurt 1981, pp. 162–4, no. 97.
- 31 Offered with Dorotheum, Vienna, 27 September 2017, lot 192.
- 32 Musée des Beaux-Arts, Tours, inv. 1825.1.10. Another Flemish variant was auctioned with Mercier & Cie, Lille, 16 December 2002, lot 145. See Lossky 1959, pp. 159–62, and Dole 2010, p. 38, fig. 6.

## DÜRER AS AN ICON IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY BELGIUM



THE NORTHERN SCHOOLS WAS THE TITLE OF the third painting in an image cycle created by the Antwerp painter and Academy director Nicaise de Keyser (1813–1887) for the art dealer Ernest Gambart (1814–1902) in 1878. This cycle was designed for Gambart’s ‘retirement home’, the Villa Les Palmiers in Nice; today the paintings are held by the city’s Musée des Beaux-Arts Jules Chéret.<sup>1</sup> The Flemish and British arts patron was a great admirer and sponsor of Belgian painting and even owned oil sketches, produced at expense, of the murals created by Henri Leys (1815–1869) for the town hall of Antwerp. Gambart was undoubtedly a key player in bringing to prominence the Belgian monumental painting of his time, especially on the British art market. The results proved equally monumental for his southern French residence: three of the four paintings in the cycle are over 3 by 4 metres in size.<sup>2</sup> While the first painting depicted *The Artists of Antiquity* and the second, smaller one was devoted to *The Old Masters of Italy and Spain*, the aforementioned

*Northern Schools* was the largest of the cycle and depicted 20 German, French, Flemish and Dutch masters. The left-hand side begins with Jan van Eyck as the representative of early Netherlandish painting, moves to the leading Antwerp artist Quinten Massys, whom Albrecht Dürer held in high esteem, then shows Bernaert van Orley, Jan Gossaert and Frans Floris (1517–1570), before the viewer’s eye is drawn to a man sitting at the base of a balustrade. This is Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640), shown in profile, while his most important successors, Jacob Jordaens (1593–1678) and Anthony van Dyck (1599–1641), stand behind him to the right. The right half of the image shows Rembrandt (1606–1669) – also in seated posture, forming a less strong pendant to Rubens – in addition to Paulus Potter (1625–1654), as well as famous French artists, including the Academy painters Nicolas Poussin (1594–1665) and Pierre Mignard (1612–1695). The English School is represented by Joshua Reynolds (1723–1792), Thomas Gainsborough (1727–1788) and William Hogarth (1697–1764).

By contrast, the German school is represented merely by one painter: Albrecht Dürer. Wearing clothing similar to that in his 1498 self portrait – now in the Prado – Dürer stands close to Rubens and turns his gaze back towards the progenitors of Flemish painting. Through this position he is made into a figurative connecting link between these figures and the painters of the Antwerp Baroque. This significance is further emphasised by the arched architecture rising behind Dürer's head. It is worth considering whether it was de Keyser's intention in this painting, where half of the protagonists are Flemish artists, to symbolise 'German art' in the person of Dürer. Furthermore, the pictorial language of the painting depicts the master of Nuremberg as an artist of the northern Renaissance, and thus on the same level as the most important representatives of Flemish art, a genealogy within which he clearly belongs.

The fourth and last painting of de Keyser's cycle addresses the contemporary world and presents the leading artists of the nineteenth century. Here the artist portrays himself alongside colleagues such as Henri Leys, thus bringing the great history of Belgian art, with its highpoint in the Renaissance and Baroque periods, into the contemporary world. Dürer, as de Keyser's painting makes clear, holds a prominent position in this *longue durée*.

This essay investigates depictions of Dürer in the art and literature of the nineteenth century, and the position of Belgian Romanticism in relation to Dürer. Was de Keyser's strategy of visualisation typical of its time? Which parts of Dürer's life, especially of his trip to the Netherlands, were selected for this purpose, and what importance did Dürer play in the establishment of 'Belgian' art?

#### ROMANTICISM IN BELGIUM: THE SEARCH FOR ARTISTIC AUTHORITY AND IDENTITY

The transformation of Europe following the Congress of Vienna of 1815 and Belgium's independence from the Kingdom of the Netherlands in 1830 brought much interest to the new nation. Jacob Burckhardt (1818–1897), author of the famous *Cicerone*, undertook a lengthy trip to Liège, Leuven, Mechelen, Antwerp, Brussels, Ghent and Bruges, to publish a year later a 170-page-long travel guide entitled *The Artworks of Belgian Cities*, which he dedicated to German art historian Franz Kugler (1808–1858).<sup>3</sup> In 1834, the preceding year, Karl Schnaase (1798–1875) had already turned his attention to the Belgian cultural region in his *Letters from the Netherlands*,<sup>4</sup> which Burckhardt referenced in his foreword. Burckhardt's text, which also attempted to juxtapose Jan van Eyck with Stefan

Lochner, among other topics, spoke to a wide audience and became known as 'the Belgian *Cicerone*'. Rubens, in turn, whom Burckhardt as well as poet Gottfried Kinkel (1815–1882) later described as an ideal male artist, was frequently connected with his 'predecessor', Albrecht Dürer.<sup>5</sup> This admiring comparison focused neither on his close diplomatic contacts to the highest circles nor on the counter-Reformation motifs of his paintings, but on the 'solid craftsmanship' and hard physical labour required of the Flemish man to achieve his renown as a paradigm of 'male artistry'.<sup>6</sup> Several representatives of literary and artistic Romanticism in Belgium believed that a central task of their creative work was to give their compatriots a sense of national identity for the newly created parliamentary monarchy, created in 1830, which united the Flemings and Walloons into a single national entity. In this they did not greatly differ from Romantics of other countries focused on nation-building in the first half of the nineteenth century: particularly in the German states, many leaders of national collective movements were also proponents of Romantic aesthetics.<sup>7</sup> However, the 'hybrid nation' of Belgium<sup>8</sup> – which had, after the revolution, found itself a completely new dynasty of rulers with Leopold I, who stemmed from the House of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha – was in some respects a particular case, in which many aspects of European Romanticism either culminated or emerged particularly clearly.

This burgeoning national consciousness was to be created by referencing the history of the Belgians in Antiquity, which was viewed as equal to that of the Greeks and Romans, while references to the Greek War of Independence against the Ottomans (1821–9) connected this reading of Antiquity to the contemporary era.<sup>9</sup> Belgian artists dedicated countless, often monumental philhellenic works to the subject, representing the battle of Freedom against Tyranny or Civilisation against Barbarism, and clearly intended to allegorise the Belgians' fight for unity and independence.<sup>10</sup> Leading European Romantics had fought in the Greek Revolution and were among its most prominent victims, as artist Joseph Odevaere (1775–1830) made clear in his large-format oil painting of the death of Lord Byron.<sup>11</sup>

Odevaere's younger contemporaries Ferdinand Braekeleer (1792–1883) and Gustave Wappers (1803–1874) used the monumentality afforded by painting to propagate ideas of Belgian national unity. Both artists created images of the newly enthroned King of the Belgians being sworn in on 21 July 1831,<sup>12</sup> and thus on the one hand legitimised the foreign dynasty of Saxe-Coburg and on the other made plain that this newly created kingdom had sprung into a national unity

through the will of the entire Belgian people. The population had made itself into a nation of Belgians over the course of a revolution, as Wappers shows in his best-known oil painting, *Episode of the September Days 1830*, again with monumental proportions.<sup>13</sup> If the Belgian Revolution and the birth of the nation were, at least from the artists' perspective, genuinely Romantic movements and events, it is not surprising that, given the Belgian people's particular affinity for the arts past and present, both were taken up as motifs.

These motifs included interpretations of Belgium's own national art history as well as an interest in the Gothic, Renaissance and Baroque, and a fascination for the picturesque beauty of historical buildings. These were all components of a new enthusiasm for the history of the country. Above all, artists such as Hans Memling (active 1465; died 1494),<sup>14</sup> Jan van Eyck, Hugo van der Goes, Massys and Rubens were consistently invoked as outstanding figures in Belgian art, which could thus be presented as an influential part of European art history and, moreover, help assert the political equality of the young nation in disputes with major European powers. Dürer's journal of his journey to the Netherlands allowed for Flemish art to be elevated to the highest international standard, as the artist devoted many laudatory passages to cities such as Ghent or Antwerp. Simultaneously, Dürer's description of his trip reflected a past ideal state that had been destroyed with the Napoleonic occupation and in which numerous works of art had been taken, although they would be recovered again in later years. In 1816, for example, the central panel of the Ghent Altarpiece was returned from Paris, although it would take until the 1930s for the entire altarpiece to be reunited in Ghent.<sup>15</sup> Under these circumstances, Dürer's 'mark' in this supposedly long, uniquely Belgian history, which dated back centuries before the actual foundation of the state, seemed natural.

#### THE LIFE OF DÜRER IN TRANSLUCENT IMAGES AS *IMITATIO CHRISTI* IN THE JUBILEE YEAR 1828

'Albrecht Dürer's name is not only sacred in his native city, but all of Germany invokes it with reverence and love'.<sup>16</sup> These words began a detailed report on a Dürer celebration published in the *Kunst-Blatt* on 17 April 1828. The celebration had been held three weeks earlier, on 6 April, marking the 300th anniversary of the artist's death; it was described in the nineteenth century as a 'secular celebration [*Säkularfeyer*] of Albrecht Dürer', representing an 'outburst' of patriotic aspiration.<sup>17</sup> The festivities took place at the town hall of Nuremberg, on whose eastern side an elaborate, temporary architectural addition in Gothic style was erected. Translucent

paintings imitating stained glass and overlaid by pointed arches were incorporated into the architecture.<sup>18</sup> These seven images chronologically illustrated six key passages of Dürer's life, while the centre painting broke the chronology through its atemporality. This was the allegory of the *Transfiguration of Dürer*, after the transparent painting by Adam Eberle (1804–1832) depicting the Nuremberg artist in front of the enthroned personification of art, which shows him and Raphael each with a crown of laurels.<sup>19</sup> Dürer and Raphael reach out their hands to each other in close complicity. Behind Dürer stands his entourage, consisting of Emperor Maximilian I, Martin Luther, his teacher Michael Wolgemut and his close friend, the humanist Willibald Pirckheimer; Raphael is flanked by Popes Julius II and Leo X, as well as his fellow artists Bramante and Perugino. The group, in a triangular arrangement in the style of a *sacra conversazione*, reveals the cross-pollination of Italian and German art and, in the background, imagines Nuremberg and Rome as birthplaces of this artistic ideal. Naturally it references Dürer's Italian journeys, although the two scenes that frame the main painting depict the painter's journey to the Netherlands rather than south of the Alps. As the subject of two out of six images, the journey undertaken in 1520–1 thus takes up a large part of the memorial.

The transparent paintings were executed according to designs by students of Peter von Cornelius (1783–1867), including Wilhelm von Kaulbach (1805–1874); they had already been created by late March 1828 as a joint project with numerous other artists who took part in the festival.<sup>20</sup> The *Kunst-Blatt* reported that a 'considerable number of young artists' had been housed in inns at the city's expense, or had been taken in by well-established families.<sup>21</sup> These artists 'made the generous offer to the city to decorate the meeting room with transparent paintings depicting scenes from the life of Albrecht Dürer'. Similarly, local artists created 'transparent works to illuminate the Tiergärtner Gate next to Albrecht Dürer's house'. Like numerous artefacts of the ephemeral festival culture, which reached its apogee in nineteenth-century artists' festivals, the Gothic Dürer windows have been lost since 1911. However, etchings exist that were made after the drawings of the Nuremberg publisher Johann Philipp Walther (1798–1868). The two scenes from the journey to the Netherlands, which were considered so formative for Dürer's life, show the artist's reception at the Antwerp Guild of Saint Luke on Saint Oswald's day, 5 August 1520, and his stormy maritime journey.

Dürer reported on the festive reception in his journal: he was invited by the painters 'to their hall with my wife and the maid'.<sup>22</sup> The goldsmith's son was impressed by

the lavish table spread: they had ‘set it all out with silver cutlery and other precious tableware, and splendid food’.<sup>23</sup> However, Dürer enjoyed the honours he was given more than the expensive spread of gilded ornaments, such as the inscribed goblets. He was escorted to his seat as if he were a great gentleman.<sup>24</sup> He also reported that ‘most eminent and renowned persons’ expressed their reverence by saying that ‘they would do everything, whatever lay in their power, once they knew my pleasure’.<sup>25</sup> The etching created by Walther (Kunstsammlungen der Stadt Nürnberg, inv. GrA12648c), based on the Nuremberg transparent painting by Munich artist Hermann Stilke (1803–1860), shows Dürer sitting in the foreground at a square table. Many artists – most accompanied by their wives – have gathered for this celebratory event and densely throng the room. Two cup-bearers crowned with grape leaves brings Dürer a wine jug, one of them kneeling in front of the artist. He also mentioned this welcome gift in his journal: ‘And as I was sitting there amidst such honour, there entered the Syndicus of the Antwerp Council with two servants and presented to me four cans of wine with the compliments of the City Councillors, who bade me know that this gift was in my honour and a mark of their good will.’<sup>26</sup> The festivities, gifts and speeches of praise about Dürer’s work, which appear repeatedly in the journal entries of the trip to the Netherlands, culminate in this image. Here, in the artistic and commercial metropolis of Antwerp, he found great recognition among outstanding artists.

In contrast to the stately, festive atmosphere of the reception at the Antwerp Guild house, the second image, which is dedicated to the storm at sea, is quite dramatic. Dürer experienced this near-disaster while the boat in which he was travelling was hit hard by a larger ship while in the process of docking in Arnemuiden. In addition to Dürer, another passenger, a Nuremberg bourgeois citizen, Georg Kötzer, as well as ‘two old women and the skipper with a little lad were left in the ship’<sup>27</sup> when the docking rope broke and the ship was blown back into the Scheldt estuary. According to Dürer’s journal, he calmed the terrified captain and urged him to tell him and the others what they could do. The captain then hoisted the small sail and brought the group safely ashore. Johann Philipp Walther’s etching shows the ship’s occupants in a dramatic close-up, with Dürer, who is imagined as an active agent, wrapping his left arm round the mast and reaching for the captain with his right hand.

Both scenes – the reception and the ship incident – resemble moments from the Life of Christ in their pictorial composition, as well as in the Christ-like

depiction of Dürer. The viewer is reminded of the Wedding at Cana (John 2:1–12) and the Storm on the Sea of Galilee (Mark 4:35–41). This impression is confirmed by other etchings in the cycle: Dürer at his mother’s deathbed presents a variation on the death of the Virgin Mary, while the image of the artist lying in his coffin and shown from the front echoes the dead Christ. Taking a cue from works such as Dürer’s Christ-like self portrait of 1500 – today in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich – the Nuremberg jubilee paintings thus portrayed him as an ideal artist, whose life possessed formal similarities to that of Christ. His celebratory reception by the circle of Antwerp artists and the storm at sea are configured as central moments in the artist’s life. Thus the trip to the Netherlands, made barely seven years before Dürer’s death, is stylised into the highpoint of his life.

#### THE ‘JOURNEY TO THE NETHERLANDS’

In the anniversary year 1828 Friedrich Campe and Joseph Heller published Dürer’s journal under the title *The Relics of Albrecht Dürer*.<sup>28</sup> A first translation of Dürer’s journal, *Albrecht Dürer in de Nederlanden*, was published in Dutch by Frédéric Verachter and appeared 12 years later, in 1840, through the De Lacroix publishing house.<sup>29</sup> Verachter, who describes himself on the title page as the ‘city archivist’ of Antwerp, had published a genealogy of the Rubens family in the same year and with the same publishing house.<sup>30</sup> Three years later he turned his attention to Rubens’s tomb image and chapel.<sup>31</sup> In contrast to the two publications on the Flemish Baroque painter, the book on Dürer’s trip to the Netherlands was not published in French but in Flemish and totalled 86 pages, including the introduction. In the foreword Verachter writes that Dürer had a passionate desire to meet famous contemporary Dutch painters, and also to take part in the coronation of Emperor Charles V.<sup>32</sup> Verachter also reports that in earlier times the Antwerp Guild of Saint Luke owned a precious silver object – a barrel or cup – decorated with two busts: a portrait of Jan van Eyck with the inscription ‘Belgarum splendor’ and one of Albrecht Dürer inscribed ‘Germanorum decus’.<sup>33</sup>

According to Verachter, Dürer spent more time in Antwerp on his Netherlandish trip than in any other city. On subsequent pages he also emphasises Dürer’s close relationship with Lucas van Leyden, as well as the fact that an attempt was made to persuade the Nuremberg artist to remain in the country. Verachter describes Jan van Eyck, Albrecht Dürer and Lucas van Leyden as three ideal artists and highlights the fruitful artistic exchange between the latter two in particular. Dürer’s affinity to



Flemish artists, who succeeded the early Netherlandish painters and came before van Leyden's northern Renaissance, put him on an equal footing with van Leyden, and cemented his position in Belgium's still-young cultural history.

Verachter's slender book on Dürer's journey must also be considered in the context of the Belgian Revolution ten years earlier. The country became an independent state in 1830, after its history of annexation by the Habsburgs and by France in 1794, and the 15-year period after the 1815 Vienna Congress when Belgium was reunited with the Netherlands. In his introduction, Verachter also railed against 'Frenchification' by criticising 'how tremendously' Rubens 'has been Frenchified', and noting that French authors tended to strongly romanticise Dürer, with sources giving way to fictional interpretations.<sup>34</sup> Verachter's inclusion of Rubens in his commentary on Dürer indicates that he considered the Baroque painter to stand in close connection and tradition with Dürer.

But what effect did the translation of Dürer's journal have on nineteenth-century painting? Or, conversely, did the interest of Belgian historical painters in Albrecht Dürer prompt the publication of a Dutch translation? At any rate, in 1840, the year in which *Albrecht Dürer in de Nederlanden* was published, the famous larger-than-life monument of Dürer by Christian Daniel Rauch (1777–1957) was inaugurated in Nuremberg. The foundation stone had already been laid in the anniversary year 1828 and the square, formerly known as the Unterer Milchmarkt, was renamed the Albrecht-Dürer-Platz.<sup>35</sup>

Apart from the shipwreck and the Guild of Saint Luke reception, which other episodes from the journey to the Netherlands fascinated nineteenth-century artists – and which passages of the journal received particular attention? The theme of travel by boat is taken up in at least two other works of the time. Joseph Lies (1821–1865) reimagined Dürer's voyage down the Rhine in his 1855 painting (Royal Museum of Fine Arts Antwerp, inv. 1100) in which Dürer examines the landscape with great intensity, sketchbook balanced on his knee and pen lifted to his mouth in an attitude of concentration,<sup>36</sup> while Jan Antoon Neuhuys (1832–1891) depicted the artist in the port of Antwerp (Albrecht-Dürer-Haus, Nuremberg, inv. 5688) in a work completed almost twenty years later.<sup>37</sup> Neuhuys, a genre and historical painter, studied at the Antwerp Academy of Art from 1854 to 1858 and was a pupil of Nicaise de Keyser. His painting shows nine people gathered in the boat alongside Dürer, among them Agnes Dürer and Susanna the maid, who accompanied the Dürers on their journey, and who is dressed in elaborate brocade material and sits

on a draped carpet. Dürer has a sketchbook on his lap but he has broken off his drawing to listen to the lute music of another of the travellers. The artist's hands, one folded on top of the other, are positioned symbolically at the centre of the picture. The background reveals a panorama of Antwerp with the strikingly irregular towers of the Cathedral of Our Lady. Although Dürer's journal contains no evidence that he drew the view of Antwerp from the water, Neuhuys and his contemporaries strove to reproduce scenes that could be documented.<sup>38</sup> Since Dürer reported on and drew this scene himself, his drawing of Antwerp's view from the water was subject to great fascination.

On the other hand, however, the Romantics were equally fond of depicting popular legends such as Emperor Maximilian's visit to Dürer's workshop, as did the artist Wilhelm Koller (1829–1884) of the Düsseldorf school of painting.<sup>39</sup> Another work by Koller depicts a short entry in Dürer's journal: 'Item: Madonna Margareta has sent word to me in Brussels and promised me she will put my case to King Charles and has shown herself extremely friendly towards me.'<sup>40</sup> Dürer arrived in Brussels on 27 August 1520 and lodged at the house of Hans Ebner free of charge for seven days. Koller's painting, entitled *The Summons* (The Royal Collection/HM Queen Elizabeth II, inv. RCIN 406239), shows Dürer in the centre of the picture, a blue folder of drawings under his arm, while a sealed document is handed to him. Next to him his wife, Agnes, and their hosts, the Ebners, are depicted sitting at a table – the group had been busy studying Dürer's prints when the messenger arrived. The interior indicates artistically minded residents and contains precious carpets, an elaborately decorated fireplace and two paintings – a Virgin Mary with saints and a portrait of Philip I of Castile. The fact that Dürer later expressed disappointment over Margaret's behaviour in his journal explains why Koller chose this particular scene, which made it very clear that the guest from Nuremberg was held in high esteem but also presented Dürer as a German artist in sympathy with the Flemish art surrounding him.

In general, visits to artist colleagues or to view the works of venerated artists of previous generations were an important topic in nineteenth-century painting. De Keyser's picture cycle aimed at placing Dürer, and ultimately the artist depicting Dürer as well, within an artistic genealogy. Eugène Siberdt (1851–1931) painted Erasmus of Rotterdam's visit to Quinten Massys's workshop in 1908 (Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp, inv. 1711). The seated scholar studies Massys's *The Tax Collector*, which is in the process of being painted on an easel and has been dated to

the 1520s.<sup>41</sup> Nicaise de Keyser, in turn, depicts Massys and Dürer as equal parties during their encounter (Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp, inv. 1680b). However, while Massys holds a palette in his hand, Dürer, dressed in a cloak lined with marten's fur, appears ennobled – although he was younger than Massys by a few years.<sup>42</sup> In 1840 Pierre-François de Noter (1779–1842) depicted Dürer's visit to Saint Bavo's Cathedral, standing before the Ghent Altarpiece and gazing up at it in awe (Rijksmuseum Twenthe, Enschede, inv. 156). Sunlight floods through the church window and falls on to van Eyck's monumental masterpiece, making it all the more prominent in the centre of the composition. In the journal entry dated 10 April 1521 Dürer describes 'the altar of St John's' as 'highly precious and skilfully painted, and quite especially Eve, Mary and God the Father are very good'.<sup>43</sup>

In addition to workshop visits, nineteenth-century painters often chose festivities as their central topic.<sup>44</sup> In fact, city ceremonies also play a major role in Dürer's journal. Not only did he attend a series of events and *ommegangen* (processions), but he did not miss a single major event that took place in Antwerp during his visit. He recorded each one in his journal and purchased printed programmes commemorating ceremonies. These descriptions are of central importance in the records of Dürer's trip to the Netherlands. During his first stay in Antwerp he described a procession that he saw on 19 August 1520: the *ommegang* of Our Lady, which had been celebrated since 1392 – at that time for more than 120 years.<sup>45</sup> Dürer considers it important to mention that representatives of all crafts and classes were present, that in the procession, first the goldsmiths, then the painters, stonemasons, silk stitchers and sculptors passed by, and that he saw 'many carts, plays acted on wheeled ships and other stages'.<sup>46</sup> Each guild, according to Dürer, carried its sign, and the procession moved along accompanied by loud, 'old-fashioned' music,<sup>47</sup> here referring to long trombones. At the end of the journal entry Dürer mentions that the procession lasted for more than two hours and that there were 'so many things ... that I could never write them all down in one book, and so I must leave it at that'.<sup>48</sup>

This detailed description was taken up in 1855 by Henri Leys, who painted Dürer's visit to the procession in Antwerp (Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp, inv. 2198). The various lighted 'huge ... candles'<sup>49</sup> can be seen, as well as the coats of arms of the individual guilds. However, Leys also added various historical figures to the painting standing alongside Dürer: dressed in black in the middle of the group, Erasmus, whose portrait Dürer drew on his journey,

points towards the procession. Quinten Massys appears to be explaining the procession to the artist. In front of Erasmus, Agnes Dürer can also be seen under the canopy of the Engelenborch Inn on Antwerp's Wolstraat, while Susanna is depicted further to the left, surprisingly with a small child. The painting is proof that nineteenth-century historical painting considered Dürer's participation in these processions to be important episodes in his journey to the Netherlands.

Just a short while later, on 23 September 1520, Dürer describes the arrival in Antwerp of the Emperor Charles V. Dürer's landlord, Jobst Plankfelt, took him to the painters' guild house in Eeckhof, where he admired the ephemeral architecture of the *Pompa Introitus* for the emperor's arrival. Dürer was particularly impressed by the dimensions of a canvas stretched over a wooden frame, which spanned the entire street in width, while the arches extended over two storeys high. More than 250 painters and 300 carpenters were involved in its production. Dürer reports on 'plays, rejoicing' and beautiful girls, 'the like of which I have scarcely ever seen'. By 'plays' he refers to the *tableaux vivants* or living images that were arranged on the tiers of the festive architecture.<sup>50</sup> In the case of Charles V's entry into Antwerp, Dürer had obtained a print of the festival programme and could therefore forego a more detailed description in the journal. He purchased the Latin, unillustrated 'Entry into Antwerp' for the price of one stüber. *The Pompa Introitus* was designed by Pieter Gillis (Peter Aegidius; 1486–1533), the civic secretary whom Dürer had already met during his first visit to Antwerp.<sup>51</sup> He served as a very important mediator, since Dürer was able to avail himself of 'Master Gilgen' to hand over gifts to 'Master Konrad' – that is, Conrad Meit – 'who serves the King's daughter, Lady Margareta'. As thanks, Master Gillis received two copper engravings as a gift, the *Eustachius* and the *Nemesis*, according to the journal.<sup>52</sup> Henri Leys wrongly identified the portrait of Gillis painted by Massys as Erasmus, as can be seen by comparing the paintings.

Dürer described as many as 13 stages in the procession, starting with the first, on which Fides and Amor could be seen below, while above them the Genius of Antwerp greeted the royal guest and presented the Three Graces with golden apples. But Dürer was more impressed by the young women, who were dressed in thin, almost transparent veils. Hans Makart (1840–1884), who in 1878 depicted the entry on the monumental scale of 520 × 952 cm (Hamburger Kunsthalle, inv. HK-1515), drew upon Dürer's description of beautiful girls dressed in flowing white robes.<sup>53</sup> Dürer supposedly also told Philip Melanchthon about them,

according to Melanchthon's *Loci communes* published in Basel by Johannes Manlius in 1563: he spoke of 'extremely beautiful, alluring virgins, who were almost naked', but whom the emperor had hardly noticed.<sup>54</sup>

During Dürer's fifth stay in Antwerp, on 30 May 1521, he wrote only the following sentence in his journal: 'I saw the great procession, most lavish, which happens on Corpus Christi in Antwerp.'<sup>55</sup> This procession was, as in other cities, a particularly magnificent annual event. The feast of Corpus Christi is documented as having been celebrated for the first time in 1246,<sup>56</sup> in Liège.<sup>57</sup> Particularly in Antwerp, beautifully designed and equipped processions were documented from 1350 at the latest.<sup>58</sup> When searching for reasons why the Corpus Christi procession was of particular interest to artists such as Dürer, it is noticeable that various sources mention that artists and craftsmen were often not only explicitly asked to participate but were also closely involved in creating its various components. Antwerp's *ommengangen* included wagons with various *puncten* or tableaux, primarily depicting scenes from the Old and New Testaments or moral tales, while the processions were equipped with stages or *échafaux*, which the person entering the city either rode by or walked past.<sup>59</sup>

In Venice, in addition to altars built especially for processions in the city, the so-called *soleri* existed, which were used in Corpus Christi processions in Italy from about 1500 on. These were stretcher-like frames on which images, relics and even *tableaux vivants* were carried through the city.<sup>60</sup> A pen drawing

by Dürer may depict one of such *soleri* as part of a procession he probably saw during his stay in Venice in 1506 (Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, inv. KdZ 59).<sup>61</sup> The drawing, undated and carrying a variation on his signature, captures a central detail of the Corpus Christi procession. The scene taking place under the canopy is a representation of Christ the Man of Sorrows, who – flanked by Mary and John – allows the blood from the wound in his side to spill into the cup. The Corpus Christi procession frequently featured Eucharistic scenes of the New Testament and foregrounded the body of Christ in public worship. During his stay in Venice, Dürer was therefore already interested in the Corpus Christi procession and recorded it in a drawing.

In Antwerp, painters, like other artists or craftsmen, took part in these events by creating a stage or even acting in a *tableau vivant*. The artists thus celebrated themselves during these performances and used them as a means of honouring their own profession. The many depictions of Dürer taking part in Belgian traditional festivities, as imagined by nineteenth-century Flemish painters such as Leys and de Keyser, on the one hand reflect the many celebrations in honour of the Nuremberg artist. On the other, his inclusion in Belgian historical painting of the time must also be interpreted politically. Dürer's written accounts of his journeys to the Netherlands considerably strengthened the cultural heritage of a still-young Belgium and elevated it to international relevance.<sup>62</sup>

- 1 Baetens 2014, pp. 1298–9; Beele 2000; Maas 1975.
- 2 On these paintings and their presentation in the Museum Jules Chéret, see also Nice 1997.
- 3 Burckhardt 1842.
- 4 Schnaase 1834.
- 5 On this subject, see Gottfried Kinkel's published lecture on Rubens: Kinkel 1874. In his seven-part epic poem *The Blacksmith of Antwerp*, which first appeared in 1844 and took Flemish artist Quinten Massys as its subject, Kinkel already turned his attention to the ideals of craftsmanship in relation to the artistic process of creation; see Kinkel 1872.
- 6 Kinkel 1874.
- 7 See Nipperdey 1986, still fundamental to the discussion, pp. 110–25.
- 8 Dhondt 2019, pp. 159–85, at p. 160.
- 9 Brussels 2005, pp. 11–19, at p. 14.
- 10 Ibid., nos 20–3.
- 11 Ibid., no. 20.
- 12 Ibid., nos 25–6.
- 13 Ibid., no. 1.
- 14 Regarding Memling's 'posthumous fame', see van Biervliet's research, still very relevant: van Biervliet 1994, pp. 109–24.
- 15 Fundamental to this discussion: Kemperdick 2014 and Berlin 2014, primarily on the situation after 1940; Kemperdick, Rößler and Heyer 2017. See also Graham 2013, pp. 176–7.
- 16 *Kunst-Blatt*, no. 31 (17 April 1828), p. 121 (Altmeger 1844–5, vol. 2, pp. 121–3, 125–8).
- 17 Ibid.; Schauerte 2015a, pp. 103–4; Blumenthal 2001, pp. 18–21, 33–7, 51–2.
- 18 On the transparent paintings and the preserved etchings, see Christine Hübner's detailed article in Göttingen and Rome 2015, pp. 262–71, cat. 57.
- 19 Between 1828 and 1830, Franz Joseph Sauterleute (1793–1843) created rectangular glass paintings of individual scenes in Dürer's life, now in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg (invs MM 648–56). See Berlin 1971, p. 153, no. 26, fig. 13.
- 20 Göttingen and Rome 2015, pp. 262–71; Mende 1969, pp. 177–209.
- 21 Here and following: *Kunst-Blatt*, no. 31 (17 April 1828), p. 121 (Altmeger 1844–5, vol. 2, pp. 121–3, 125–8).
- 22 Ashcroft 2017, vol. 1, no. 162, p. 555.
- 23 Ibid., p. 555.
- 24 Ibid., pp. 555–6.
- 25 Ibid., p. 556.
- 26 Ibid., p. 556.
- 27 Ibid., p. 570.
- 28 On this issue, see Göttingen and Rome 2015, pp. 254–5, cat. 53.
- 29 Verachter 1840a.
- 30 Verachter 1840b.
- 31 Verachter 1843.
- 32 'An ardent desire to see the famous Dutch painters, his contemporaries, and also to witness the coronation of Emperor Charles V.' Verachter 1840a, p. 13.
- 33 Ibid., p. 15: 'splendour of the Belgians' and 'adornment of the Germans'. Verachter may be mistaken on this point: instead of a 1549 ceremonial drinking cup with images of Dürer, Apelles, Zeuxis and Raphael, he refers to the relief on the facade of the house owned by Cornelis van Dalem (1530–1573), which is inscribed with the aforementioned Latin inscriptions and portraits of van Eyck and Dürer, exhibited today at the Vleeshuis Museum in Antwerp. I thank Peter van den Brink for pointing this out. See Unverfehrt 2007, p. 38, fig. 7. However, it cannot be completely ruled out that Verachter, who was otherwise a very meticulous archivist, may have been referring to a different cup.
- 34 Verachter 1840a, p. 6.
- 35 On the Dürer monument, see Schauerte 2015a; see also Blumenthal 2001, pp. 21–5; B. Hinz, 'Dürers Gloria. Die "kultische" Dürer-Verehrung und das Verhältnis von Kunst und Künstler zur bürgerlichen Gesellschaft', in Berlin 1971, pp. 16–27, at pp. 25–7.
- 36 Joseph Lies, *Albrecht Dürer descends the Rhine*, Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Antwerp, 1855.
- 37 Scheen 1970, p. 99.
- 38 It is worth mentioning here Dürer's 1520 pen-and-ink drawing inscribed 'Andorff', entitled *The Port of Antwerp during Scheldetor* (21.3 × 28.7 cm; Albertina, Vienna, inv. 3165).
- 39 The painting was created in 1870 and was owned by the Hamburg Kunsthalle for a while. It was sold on 25 May 2015 at the Ketterer auction house.
- 40 Ashcroft 2017, vol. 1, no. 162, p. 560.
- 41 The painting is now in the Princely Collections in Vaduz.
- 42 For the history paintings that depict Quinten Massys, see Graham 2013, esp. pp. 177–85.
- 43 Ashcroft 2017, vol. 1, no. 162, p. 578.
- 44 The publication of numerous 'heroising' biographies, such as the comprehensive three-volume *Les Belges illustres* (Altmeger 1844–5), contributed to the knowledge of the lives of well-known artists. The *Scènes de la vie des peintres de l'école flamande et hollandaise* (*Scenes from the Lives of Painters of the Flemish and Dutch Schools*) by the Antwerp author, lithographer and painter Jean-Baptiste Madou, which was published in 1842 by the Société des Beaux-Arts in Brussels, described by Graham 2013, p. 177, as 'explicitly nationalist'. See Madou 1842.
- 45 Ashcroft 2017, vol. 1, no. 162, pp. 557–8.
- 46 Ibid., p. 558.
- 47 Ibid., p. 558.
- 48 Ibid., p. 558.
- 49 Ibid., p. 558.
- 50 Ibid., p. 563.
- 51 Unverfehrt 2007, pp. 92–3.
- 52 Ashcroft 2017, vol. 1, no. 162, p. 559.
- 53 Leblanc 1999.
- 54 See Miedema 1998, pp. 291–2.
- 55 Ashcroft 2017, vol. 1, no. 162, p. 583.
- 56 Browe 1928.
- 57 Oliver 1999, pp. 153–72, esp. p. 154.
- 58 Cartwright 1996, pp. 119–31, at pp. 120–1.
- 59 Münch 2016.
- 60 See Helas 1999, pp. 44–5, which specifies short text sources that report on *soleri* and their use.
- 61 Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. 59. F. Anzelewsky in Mielke and Anzelewsky 1984, p. 60, no. 60; Strauss 1974, vol. 2: 1506–56; Winkler 1936–9, vol. 2, p. 477.
- 62 Graham 2013, p. 191.

# DÜRER'S DRAWINGS FROM THE NETHERLANDISH JOURNEY

CHRISTOF METZGER

TITLE	PLACE AND DATE	CONTEXT	ASHCROFT 2017, vol. 1	MEDIUM AND DIMENSIONS	WATERMARK	AUTHOR'S NOTES	COPIES AND VARIANTS	PROVENANCE	COLLECTION AND INV. NO.	WINKLER/STRAUSS
<b>Works linked to entries in the journal or its chronology</b>										
<i>Portrait of Arnold Rucker of Seligenstadt, sleeping</i>	Seligenstadt, July 1520 (?)	Journal	p. 552	Pen and brown ink, 12.3 × 10 cm, trimmed on all sides	Top left fragment: High crown (Southern Germany; Strauss 1974, p. 3285)	Not to be identified as the Hertogenbosch goldsmith Arnold		Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna (?); Thomas Lawrence (1769–1830), London; Léon Bonnat (1883–1922), Paris; acquired 1922	Musée Bonnat-Helleu, Bayonne, inv. 1283/1514	Winkler 752 Strauss 1520/7
<i>A Man with an Oar</i>	Main or Middle Rhine, July 1520 or 1521	Journal	See pp. 551–4	Pen and brown ink, 16 × 10.4 cm, traces of binding at upper left	Top left fragment: High crown (Southern Germany; Strauss 1974, p. 3285)			Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; Prince Henryk Lubomirski (1777–1850), Lemberg/Vienna; acquired 1954	The Barber Institute of Fine Arts, Birmingham, inv. 54.9	Winkler 760 Strauss 1520/6
<i>Portrait of Jobst Plankfelt</i>	Antwerp, August 1520	Journal	p. 554	Pen and brown ink, 15.8 × 10.5 cm, traces of binding at left	No watermark			Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna (?); Etienne-Barthélemy Garnier (1759–1849), Rome; acquired 1845	Städel Museum, Frankfurt am Main, inv. 699	Winkler 747 Strauss 1520/8
<i>The Imperial Captain Felix Hungersperg</i>	Antwerp, August 1520	Journal	p. 556	Pen and brown ink, 16 × 10.5 cm, traces of binding at upper left	No watermark			Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1796 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; acquired 1796	Albertina, Vienna, inv. 3162	Winkler 749 Strauss 1520/10
<i>Portrait of a Young Man, possibly Nikolaus Kratzer</i>	Antwerp, August 1520		p. 557	Charcoal, gone over in grey with brush, 36.7 × 25.8 cm, upper edges trimmed	No watermark	Tentative but plausible identification as Nikolaus Kratzer by Peter van den Brink (London 2021, p. 218)		John Charles Robinson (1824–1913), London; acquired 1880	Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. KdZ 60	Winkler 804 Strauss 1520/17
<i>Portrait of Hans Pfaffrot, from Danzig</i>	Antwerp, August 1520	Journal	p. 557 (version in charcoal)	Pen and brown ink, 16.1 × 10.6 cm	No watermark			Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; Eduard Bendemann (1881–1889), Berlin; Eduard Habich (1818–1898), Kassel; acquired 1935	Rothschild Collection, Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. 13 D.R.	Winkler 748 Strauss 1520/11
Two cutting patterns for women's cloaks from the Netherlands, also known as 'Höcke' or 'Huik'; verso: geometric designs	Antwerp, August 1520 or Mechelen, September 1520 (?)	Journal	See pp. 558–9, 561	Pen and brown ink, 14.5 × 10 cm		Traces of binding along the left edge	Bamberg copy of the diary, fol. 61r	Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Regina and Hieronymus Alnpeck, Prague; Bartholomäus Spranger (1546–1611), Prague (?); Gommer Spranger (1577–1637), Amsterdam; Pieter Spiering van Silvercroon (1594/6–1652), The Hague/London; Hans Sloane (1660–1753), Chelsea; acquired 1753	The British Library, London, Add MS 5229, fol. 50	Not in Winkler Strauss 1520/44
<i>Portrait of a Goldsmith from Mechelen, possibly Stefano Capello</i>	Antwerp, November/December 1520 (?)	Journal	p. 569	Pen and brown ink, 15.9 × 10.1 cm	No watermark			Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna (?); Thomas Lawrence (1769–1830), London; acquired 1894	Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. KdZ 4009	Winkler 745 Strauss 1520/9
<i>Port in Antwerp near the Scheldepoort</i>	Antwerp, 1520			Pen and brown ink, 21.3 × 28.7 cm				Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1796 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; acquired 1796	Albertina, Vienna, inv. 3165	Winkler 821 Strauss 1520/12
<i>The Brussels Zoo seen from the Royal Castle (Coudenberg Palace)</i>	Brussels, August/September 1520		p. 560	Pen and brown ink, 28.2 × 40 cm	Antwerp hand holding a flower (Lorraine, Netherlands, Lower Rhine region; Strauss 1974, p. 3285)			Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna (?); Franz de Paula Neumann (1744–1816), Vienna; acquired 1816	Academy of Fine Arts, Vienna, inv. 2475	Winkler 822 Strauss 1520/15
Sketches of animals and landscapes	Brussels, August/September 1520 (?)		See p. 560	Pen and black ink with blue, grey and rose watercolour on paper, 26.5 × 39.7 cm	Coat of arms with two lilies and 'L' and suspended 'b' (Lorraine, Netherlands; Strauss 1974, p. 3281)	Due to the paper used, probably made as early as 1520	Giovanna Garzoni (1600–1670), slightly reduced copies after the six animals and the upper landscape, pen and brown ink, watercolour, each with Dürer's monogram (Biblioteca Sarti, Accademia Nazionale di San Luca, Rome); Strauss 1521/41 (see below)	Italy in the 17th century; Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, Wilton House, Salisbury; acquired 1919	The Clark Institute of Art, Williamstown, inv. 1848	Winkler I/ 23 Strauss 1521/40
<i>Portrait of a Young Man, possibly Hans Lamparter</i>	Brussels, August/September 1520		p. 560	Black chalk, 41.2 × 27.6 cm	Antwerp hand holding a flower (Lorraine, Netherlands, Lower Rhine region; Strauss 1974, p. 3285)			Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; Antoine-François Andréossy (1761–1828), Montauban; Thomas Lawrence (1769–1830), London; Léon Bonnat (1883–1922), Paris; acquired 1922	Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. R.F. 5639	Winkler 806 Strauss 1520/14
<i>Portrait of Desiderius Erasmus</i>	Brussels, August/September 1520		p. 561	Black chalk, 37.3 × 26.8 cm	Antwerp hand holding a flower (Lorraine, Netherlands, Lower Rhine region; Strauss 1974, p. 3285)			Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; Antoine-François Andréossy (1761–1828), Montauban; Léon Bonnat (1883–1922), Paris; acquired 1912	Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. R.F. 4113	Winkler 805 Strauss 1520/16

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<i>Lady from Brussels</i>	Brussels, August/September 1520	Journal	pp. 559–61	Pen and brown ink, 16 × 10.5 cm, traces of binding at left	Top left fragment: High crown (Southern Germany; Strauss 1974, p. 3285)			Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1796 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; acquired 1796	Albertina, Vienna, inv. 3161	Winkler 746 Strauss 1520/13
<i>Veronica's Sudarium</i>	Antwerp, September 1520 or January/February 1521 (?)	Journal (?)	See pp. 562, 573	Pen and brown ink, 11.8 × 10.6 cm	No watermark	Sketch for one of the three paintings with Veronica's Sudarium for Jacob Banisius, Francesco Pesão and João Brandão?		Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Willibald Imhoff (1519–1580), Nuremberg (?); 1589–1796 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; acquired 1796	Albertina, Vienna, inv. 3132	Winkler 608 Strauss XW.608
<i>The Cathedral at Aachen</i>	Aachen, October 1520	Silverpoint drawing book, fol. 1v	p. 564	Silverpoint, 12.6 × 17.4 cm	No watermark			Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; Joseph Daniel Böhm (1794–1865), Vienna; Alexander Posonyi (1838–1899), Vienna; acquired 1895	The British Museum, London, inv. 1895,0915.982	Winkler 763 Strauss 1520/22
<i>Portraits of Paulus Topler and Martin Pfinzing</i>	Aachen, October 1520	Silverpoint drawing book, fol. 2r	p. 564	Silverpoint, 12.8 × 18.8 cm	No watermark			Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; Dominique-Vivant Denon (1747–1825), Paris; Thomas Lawrence (1769–1830), London; acquired 1900	Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. KdZ 4179r	Winkler 761 Strauss 1520/19
<i>Room in a Guesthouse in Aachen</i> (in the Zum Spiegel inn?)	Aachen, October 1520	Silverpoint drawing book, fol. 2v	See p. 564	Silverpoint, 12.8 × 18.8 cm	No watermark			Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; Dominique-Vivant Denon (1747–1825), Paris; Thomas Lawrence (1769–1830), London; acquired 1900	Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. KdZ 4179v	Not in Winkler or Strauss
<i>A Chest and a Firedog</i> (from the Zum Spiegel inn?)	Aachen, October 1520 (?)	Silverpoint drawing book, fol. 3r	See p. 564	Silverpoint, 11.5 × 16.7 cm	No watermark			Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; J. Law Adam; acquired 1921	The British Museum, London, inv. 1921,0714.2	Winkler 784 Strauss 1521/43
<i>A Table and Jugs</i> (from the Zum Spiegel inn?), and <i>A Slight Sketch of a Horse in Trappings</i> (from the coronation of Emperor Charles V?)	Aachen, October 1520 (?)	Silverpoint drawing book, fol. 3v	See pp. 564–5	Silverpoint, 11.5 × 16.7 cm	No watermark			Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; J. Law Adam; acquired 1921	The British Museum, London, inv. 1921,0714.2	Winkler 785 Strauss 1521/42
<i>Horse in Trappings – Head of a Horse</i> (from the coronation of Emperor Charles V?)	Aachen, October 1520 (?)	Silverpoint drawing book, fol. 4r	See p. 565	Silverpoint, 12.5 × 18 cm	No watermark			Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; Moritz von Fries (1777–1826), Vienna; Joseph Daniel Böhm (1794–1865), Vienna	Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, inv. Hz 5488, held in the Blasius-Hausmann collection since 1962	Winkler 786 Strauss 1521/44
<i>Two Hands holding a Puppy; Tiled Floor Patterns</i> (in Aachen cathedral?)	Aachen, October 1520 (?)	Silverpoint drawing book, fol. 4v	See p. 564	Silverpoint, 12.5 × 18 cm	No watermark			Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; Moritz von Fries (1777–1826), Vienna; Joseph Daniel Böhm (1794–1865), Vienna	Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, inv. Hz 5488, held in the Blasius-Hausmann collection since 1962	Winkler 787 Strauss 1521/45
<i>The Town Hall in Aachen</i>	Aachen, October 1520	Silverpoint drawing book, fol. 5r	See pp. 564–5	Silverpoint, 12.7 × 18.9 cm	No watermark			Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; Dominique-Vivant Denon (1747–1825), Paris; acquired 1886	Musée Condé, Chantilly, inv. DE 893	Winkler 764 Strauss 1520/20
<i>Portrait of Caspar Sturm</i>	Aachen, October 1520	Silverpoint drawing book, fol. 5v	p. 564	Silverpoint, 12.7 × 18.9 cm	No watermark			Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; Dominique-Vivant Denon (1747–1825), Paris; acquired 1886	Musée Condé, Chantilly, inv. DE 893	Winkler 765; Strauss 1520/21
<i>A Dog</i>	Aachen, October 1520	Silverpoint drawing book, fol. 6r	See pp. 564–5	Silverpoint, 12.8 × 18 cm	No watermark		Attr. Hans Hoffmann (about 1530–1591/2), leadpoint, 12.8 × 19.3 cm (Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. K. 58.1231)	Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; Dominique-Vivant Denon (1747–1825), Paris; acquired 1848	The British Museum, London, inv. 1848,1125.3	Winkler 767 Strauss 1520/23
<i>View into a Room</i> (in the Zum Spiegel inn?)	Aachen, October 1520	Journal (?)		Pen and brown ink, 16.6 × 8.5 cm	No watermark			Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–? Imperial Collections Prague	Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek (SLUB), Dresden, inv. Mscr. Dresd. R 147f, fol. 183v	Winkler 643 Strauss 1511/16
<i>A Fireplace with a Table</i> (from the Zum Spiegel inn?)	Aachen, October 1520	Journal (?)		Pen and brown and black ink, 14.7 × 8.8 cm, irregularly trimmed				Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Regina and Hieronymus Alnpeck, Prague; Bartholomäus Spranger (1546–1611), Prague (?); Gommer Spranger (1577–1637), Amsterdam; Pieter Spiering van Silvercroon (1594/6–1652), The Hague/London; Hans Sloane (1660–1753), Chelsea; acquired 1753	The British Museum, London, inv. 5218.133	Winkler 644 Strauss 1509/6

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<i>Portrait of a 39-Year-Old Woman</i> (a nun?)	Cologne, November 1520		p. 566	Charcoal, 40.4 × 27.3 cm	Small jug with cross (Netherlands; Strauss 1974, p. 3288)			Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; Antoine-François Andréossy (1761–1828), Montauban; Thomas Lawrence (1769–1830), London; Frits Lugt (1884–1970), Maartensdijk/Paris; acquired 1929	Collection Frits Lugt, Fondation Custodia, Paris, inv. 4323	Winkler IV/ 32 Strauss 1520/27
Recto: sketches for Lorenz Staiber's coat of arms; verso: two alphabets	Cologne, November 1520 or Antwerp, January/February 1521	Journal (?)	pp. 566, 573	Pen and brown ink, 6.2 × 9/8.2 cm (unevenly torn at right edge)	No watermark	Cf. the two woodcuts with Staiber's coat of arms from 1520 and 1521 (Meder 1932, no. 293; Schoch, Mende and Scherbaum 2001–4, nos 254, 255)		Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Regina and Hieronymus Alnpeck, Prague; Bartholomäus Spranger (1546–1611), Prague (?); Gommer Spranger (1577–1637), Amsterdam; Pieter Spiering van Silvercroon (1594/6–1652), The Hague /London; Hans Sloane (1660–1753), Chelsea; acquired 1753	The British Library, London, Add MS 5229, fol. 59	Not in Winkler Strauss 1520/26
<i>The Imperial Captain Felix Hungersperg in Full Figure</i>	Antwerp, November 1520		p. 569	Pen and brown ink, 27.8 × 20.8 cm	Coat of arms with two lilies and 'L' and suspended 'b' (Lorraine, Netherlands; Strauss 1974, p. 3281)	Second version; first version lost		Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1796 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; acquired 1796	Albertina, Vienna, inv. 3163	Winkler 819 Strauss 1520/28
Two studies of a woman from Burgenland	Antwerp, late autumn 1520 (?)			Pen and brown ink, 18.1 × 10.7 cm			Hieronymus Cock (?), in the manner of Albrecht Dürer, about 1560, <i>Crucifixion in Outline</i> : one of the mourners beneath the cross	Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna (?); Federico Fagnani (1775–1840), Milan; acquired 1841	Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan, inv. F 264 inf. n. 5	Winkler 751 Strauss 1520/25
A pleurante from Isabella of Bourbon's tomb in the abbey of St Michael in Antwerp and a study of a woman from Burgenland	Antwerp, late autumn 1520 (?)	Silverpoint drawing book, fol. 6v	pp. 557, 559	Silverpoint, 12.8 × 18 cm	No watermark			Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; Dominique-Vivant Denon (1747–1825), Paris; acquired 1848	The British Museum, London, inv. 1848,1125.3	Winkler 766 Strauss 1520/24
<i>Lazarus Ravensburger and the Tower of the House of Mayor Arnold van Liere in Antwerp</i>	Antwerp, December 1520 (?)	Silverpoint drawing book, fol. 6r	See p. 572	Silverpoint, 12.2 × 16.9 cm	No watermark			Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; unknown, Italy (?; Lugt 2882); Ambroise Firmin Didot (1790–1876), Paris; acquired 1877	Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. KdZ 35r	Winkler 774 Strauss 1520/35
<i>Portrait of a 24-Year-Old Man with a View of St Michael's Abbey in Antwerp</i>	Antwerp, late autumn 1520 (?)	Silverpoint drawing book, fol. 8r	pp. 557, 559	Silverpoint, 13.3 × 19.4 cm	No watermark			Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; Dominique-Vivant Denon (1747–1825), Paris; acquired 1886	Musée Condé, Chantilly, inv. DE 892	Winkler 769 Strauss 1520/29
<i>Bergen op Zoom</i>	Bergen op Zoom, December 1520	Silverpoint drawing book, fol. 8v	pp. 569–71	Silverpoint, 13.3 × 19.4 cm	No watermark		Hieronymus Cock (?), in the manner of Albrecht Dürer, about 1560, <i>Crucifixion in Outline</i> : the cityscape in the background on the right	Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; Dominique-Vivant Denon (1747–1825), Paris; acquired 1886	Musée Condé, Chantilly, inv. DE 892	Winkler 768 Strauss 1520/30
<i>Woman from Bergen and Girl from Goes</i>	Bergen op Zoom, Ter Goes, December 1520	Silverpoint drawing book, fol. 9r	p. 569	Silverpoint, 12.9 × 19.0 cm	No watermark			Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; Dominique-Vivant Denon (1747–1825), Paris; acquired 1886	Musée Condé, Chantilly, inv. DE 891	Winkler 770 Strauss 1520/32
<i>Portraits of a Maid and an Old Woman</i>	Bergen op Zoom, December 1520	Silverpoint drawing book, fol. 9v	p. 569	Silverpoint, 12.9 × 19.0 cm	No watermark			Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; Dominique-Vivant Denon (1747–1825), Paris; acquired 1886	Musée Condé, Chantilly, inv. DE 891	Winkler 771 Strauss 1520/31
<i>Descent from the Cross</i> (after Jan Gossaert?)	Middelburg, December 1520 (?)	Journal (?)	See p. 570	Pen and brown ink, 14.4/6 × 10.3/2 cm	Top left fragment: High crown (Southern Germany; Strauss 1974, p. 3285)			Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg (?); Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna (?); Jean-François Gigoux (1806–1894), Besançon; acquired 1894	Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie, Besançon, inv. D.256	Winkler II/5 Strauss 1504/43
<i>The New Choir of St Gertrudis, the so-called Groote Kerk, in Bergen op Zoom</i>	Bergen op Zoom, December 1520	Silverpoint drawing book, fol. 11r	pp. 569–71	Silverpoint, 12.7/9 × 18.8 cm	No watermark			Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; Dominique-Vivant Denon (1747–1825), Paris; acquired 1930	Städel Museum, Frankfurt am Main, inv. 15269	Winkler 772 Strauss 1520/33
<i>Marx Ulstatt and the Beautiful Young Woman of Antwerp</i>	Seeland and Antwerp, December 1520	Silverpoint drawing book, fol. 11v	See pp. 569–71	Silverpoint, 12.7/9 × 18.8 cm	No watermark			Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; Dominique-Vivant Denon (1747–1825), Paris; acquired 1930	Städel Museum, Frankfurt am Main, inv. 15269	Winkler 773 Strauss 1520/34
<i>Agnes Dürer in Netherlandish Dress</i>	Antwerp, January 1521 (?)		See p. 569 (Dürer acquires his wife's Dutch cloth for a headdress)	Black chalk on grey-violet prepared paper, 40.7 × 27.1 cm	Coat of arms with tree lilies and suspended T-shaped cross (North-East France; like Briquet 1907 [1968], no. 1762; not in Strauss 1974)			Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Willibald Imhoff (1519–1580), Nuremberg; 1588–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; Antoine-François Andréossy (1761–1828), Montauban; Thomas Lawrence (1769–1830), London; Alexander Posonyi (1838–1899), Vienna; acquired 1877	Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. KdZ 36	Winkler 814 Strauss 1521/1

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<i>Portrait of Gerhard Bombelli's Fiancée (?)</i>	Antwerp, January 1521 (?)		p. 572	Charcoal, 26.5 × 16.6 cm	Coat of arms with three lilies and suspended 'e' (Amsterdam, Maastricht; Strauss 1974, p. 3280)	Poorly preserved, possibly by counterproofing. Also erroneously attributed to Hans Baldung Grien. The paper was frequently used by Dürer in Antwerp in the spring of 1520		Joshua Reynolds (1723–1792), London; acquired 1936	The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv. 36.101.3	Winkler 285 Strauss 1520/41
<i>Head of a 93-Year-Old Man from Antwerp</i>	Antwerp, January (?) 1521	Saint Jerome	p. 572; see p. 576	Brush with black and white on grey-violet prepared paper, 26.9 × 19.9 cm	Watermark untraceable			Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Willibald Imhoff (1519–1580), Nuremberg; 1588–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; Moritz von Fries (1777–1826), Vienna (?); Alexander Posonyi (1838–1899), Vienna; acquired 1877	Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. KdZ 38	Winkler 789 Strauss 1521/2
<i>Head of a 93-Year-Old Man from Antwerp</i>	Antwerp, January (?) 1521	Saint Jerome	See p. 576	Brush with black, grey and white on grey-violet prepared paper, 41.5 × 28.2 cm, with needle holes	Coat of arms with three lilies and suspended 'e' (Amsterdam, Maastricht; Strauss 1974, p. 3280)		Several copies by Hans Hoffmanns (about 1530–1591/2)	Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1796 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; acquired 1796	Albertina, Vienna, inv. 3167	Winkler 788 Strauss 1521/3
Study of an arm and sketch of an old man	Antwerp, January–March (?) 1521	Saint Jerome	See p. 576	Brush with black and white on grey-violet prepared paper, 39.3 × 28.3 cm, with needle holes	Coat of arms with three lilies and suspended 'e' (Amsterdam, Maastricht; Strauss 1974, p. 3280)			Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1796 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; acquired 1796	Albertina, Vienna, inv. 3168	Winkler 790 Strauss 1521/4
Study of a skull	Antwerp, January–March (?) 1521	Saint Jerome	See p. 576	Brush with black and white on grey-violet prepared paper, 18.2 × 19.4 cm, with needle holes	Coat of arms with three lilies and suspended 'e' (Amsterdam, Maastricht; Strauss 1974, p. 3280)			Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1796 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; acquired 1796	Albertina, Vienna, inv. 3175	Winkler 792 Strauss 1521/6
<i>Still Life with Writing Desk and Books</i>	Antwerp, January–March (?) 1521	Saint Jerome	See p. 576	Brush with black and white on grey-violet prepared paper, 19.9 × 27.8 cm, with needle holes	Coat of arms with three lilies and suspended 'e' (Amsterdam, Maastricht; Strauss 1974, p. 3280)			Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1796 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; acquired 1796	Albertina, Vienna, inv. 3176	Winkler 791 Strauss 1521/7
<i>Portrait of a Young Man</i> , possibly Florent Nepotis	Antwerp, February 1521		p. 573	Charcoal, 37.8 × 27.1 cm, trimmed on all sides	Coat of arms with three lilies and suspended T-shaped cross (North-East France; like Briquet 1907 [1968] no. 1762; not in Strauss 1974)	Identification suggested by Peter van den Brink (London 2021, p. 221); verso: head study, Strauss 1521/29		Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Regina and Hieronymus Alnpeck, Prague; Bartholomäus Spranger (1546–1611), Prague (?); Gommer Spranger (1577–1637), Amsterdam; Pieter Spiering van Silvercroon (1594/6–1652), The Hague/London; Hans Sloane (1660–1753), Chelsea; acquired 1753	The British Museum, London, inv. 5218.54	Winkler 807 Strauss 1521/28
<i>Katharina, the 20-Year-Old Servant of João Brandão</i>	Antwerp, March/April 1521		p. 577	Silverpoint, 20.1 × 14.1 cm	Gothic 'p' with flower (North-East France, Netherlands, Lower Rhine region; Strauss 1974, p. 3284)			Unknown, of historical lineage	The Uffizi Galleries, Florence, inv. 106E	Winkler 818 Strauss 1521/8
<i>Portrait of Rodrigo Fernandes de Almada</i>	Antwerp, March/April 1521		p. 577	Brush with brown and white on grey-violet prepared paper, 37.3 × 27.1 cm	Coat of arms with three lilies and suspended cross (North-East France, Netherlands, Middle Rhine region; like Briquet 1907 [1968], no. 1746; not in Strauss)			Jonathan Richardson (1665–1745), London; Thomas Lawrence (1769–1830), London; Alexander Posonyi (1838–1899), Vienna; acquired 1877	Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. KdZ 40	Winkler 813 Strauss 1521/9
<i>Portrait of a Man</i> , possibly Jan Provoost	Bruges, April 1521		p. 578	Silverpoint, 19.4 × 14.7 cm			Monogrammist AP, probably Dutch, late 16th century, etching (in reverse), 16.2 × 12.2 cm (Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, inv. 154-9)	Unknown, acquired 1881	Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. KdZ 2229	Winkler 817 Strauss 1520/42



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<i>Sitting Bishop and Portrait of a Man with a Fur Cap</i>	Antwerp, spring 1521 (?)	Silverpoint drawing book, fol. 12r		Silverpoint, 12.7 × 18.4 cm	No watermark			Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; Dominique-Vivant Denon (1747–1825), Paris; Thomas Lawrence (1769–1830), London; acquired 1877	Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. KdZ 34r	Winkler 776 Strauss 1521/10
Dog lying down, with additional contour sketches and a lion's head	Antwerp and Ghent, April 1521	Silverpoint drawing book, fol. 12v	See p. 578	Silverpoint, 12.7 × 18.4 cm	No watermark			Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; Dominique-Vivant Denon (1747–1825), Paris; Thomas Lawrence (1769–1830), London; acquired 1877	Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. KdZ 34v	Winkler 777 Strauss 1521/11
Two studies of a lion in Ghent Zoo	Ghent, April 1521	Silverpoint drawing book, fol. 13r	p. 578	Silverpoint, 12.1 × 17.1 cm	No watermark		Anonymous (Hans Hoffmann?), probably late 16th century, pen and brown ink, black chalk, 24.5 × 16.8 cm (Ambrosiana, Milan, inv. F 252 inf. n. 915); anonymous, 16th century (?), green-blue metalpoint, 13.2 × 16.8 cm (Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, inv. Hz 5493, since 1962 deposit of the Blasius-Hausmann Collection [provenance: J. D. Böhm, Vienna])	Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; unknown, Italy (?; Lugt 2882); Ambroise Firmin Didot (1790–1876), Paris; acquired 1877	Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. KdZ 33v	Winkler 779 Strauss 1521/12
<i>A Lion in Ghent Zoo</i>	Ghent, April 1521	Silverpoint drawing book, fol. 14r	p. 578	Silverpoint, 13.5 × 19.6 cm	No watermark			Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); since 1589 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; acquired 1921	Albertina, Vienna, inv. 22385	Winkler 781 Strauss 1521/13
<i>Head of a Young Woman with Eyes closed and a Young Woman with a Bridal Crown</i> , probably Jeanne Nuyts, bride of Joachim Patinir	Antwerp, 5 May 1521	Silverpoint drawing book, fol. 15r	p. 579	Silverpoint, 12.6 × 18.1 cm	No watermark			Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; Josef Grünling (1785–1845), Vienna; acquired 1852	Kunsthalle, Bremen, inv. Kl 9 (wartime loss)	Winkler 782 Strauss 1521/46
<i>Artillery</i> ('wonderous thing' at the home of the gunsmith Hans Poppenreuther)	Mechelen, June 1521	Silverpoint drawing book, fol. 15v	p. 584	Silverpoint, 12.6 × 18.1 cm	No watermark			Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna (?); Josef Grünling (1785–1845), Vienna; acquired 1852	Kunsthalle, Bremen, inv. Kl 5 (wartime loss)	Winkler 783 Strauss 1521/25
<i>Four Depictions of Saint Christopher</i> (I)	Antwerp, May 1521		p. 582	Pen and black ink and brush with white on dark grey prepared paper, 18.6 × 14 cm		Possibly a version for Dürer's own workshop stock.		Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Regina and Hieronymus Alnpeck, Prague; Bartholomäus Spranger (1546–1611), Prague (?); Gommer Spranger (1577–1637), Amsterdam; Pieter Spiering van Silvercroon (1594/6–1652), The Hague/London; Hans Sloane (1660–1753), Chelsea; acquired 1753	The British Museum, London, inv. 5218-178	Winkler 801 Strauss 1521/15
<i>Four Depictions of Saint Christopher</i> (II)	Antwerp, May 1521		p. 582	Pen and brown ink, 18.4 × 13.8 cm	Gothic 'p' with flower (North-East France, Netherlands, Lower Rhine region; Strauss 1974, p. 3284)	Monogram and date (1517) not by Dürer's hand. In 1521 used for the engraving <i>Saint Christopher facing Left</i> (Meder 1932, no. 53; Schoch, Mende and Scherbaum 2001–4, no. 93). Possibly a version for Dürer's own workshop stock.		Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg (?); Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna (?); Jean-François Gigoux (1806–1894), Besançon; acquired 1894	Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie, Besançon, inv. D.2749	Winkler 802 Strauss XW.802
<i>Nine Studies of Saint Christopher</i>	Antwerp, May 1521 (?)			Pen and black ink, 22.8 × 40.7 cm	Coat of arms with three lilies and suspended cross (North-East France, Netherlands, Middle Rhine region; like Briquet 1907 [1968], no. 1746; not in Strauss 1974)			Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; Antoine-François Andréossy (1761–1828), Montauban; acquired 1910	Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. KdZ 4477	Winkler 800 Strauss 1521/14
<i>Three Depictions of the Entombment</i> (I)	Antwerp, May 1521	<i>Oblong Passion</i>	p. 583	Pen and brown ink, 21.1 × 28.9 cm	Unicorn (Châteaudun; Strauss 1974, p. 3288)	In Dürer's diary erroneously described as 'ausführung', i.e. according to traditional usage, 'Road to Calvary', as he had sketched it in two variants the year before (Strauss 1520/37 and 1520/38)		Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; Antoine-François Andréossy (1761–1828), Montauban; acquired about 1890–95	Art Collections of the city of Nuremberg, held in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, inv. St. Nbg. 12589	Winkler 796 Strauss 1521/16
<i>Three Depictions of the Entombment</i> (II)	Antwerp, May 1521	<i>Oblong Passion</i>	p. 583	Pen and brown ink, 20.9 × 29.1 cm				Unknown, of historical lineage	The Uffizi Galleries, Florence, inv. 1069E	Winkler 795 Strauss 1521/17
<i>Three Depictions of the Entombment</i> (III)	Antwerp, May 1521	<i>Oblong Passion</i>	p. 583	Pen and brown ink, 14.5 × 27.1 cm		Copy after lost original		Of historical lineage, inventoried 1862	Städel Museum, Frankfurt am Main, inv. 716	Winkler 799 Strauss 1521/18

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<i>Two Depictions of the Agony in the Garden</i> (I and II missing)	Antwerp, May 1521	<i>Oblong Passion</i>	p. 583	Pen and grey-brown ink, 20.6 × 29.3 cm	Gothic 'p' with flower (North-East France, Netherlands, Lower Rhine region; Strauss 1974, p. 3284)			Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; Dominique-Vivant Denon (1747–1825), Paris (?); H. and F. Reinhold, Vienna; F.W. Fink, Vienna; acquired 1850	Städel Museum, Frankfurt am Main, inv. 32r	Winkler 798 Strauss 1521/20
Sketch of a chandelier and coat of arms of an English nobleman from the Abarrow Family, North Charford	Antwerp, May 1521		p. 583	Pen and grey-brown ink, 20.6 × 29.3 cm	Gothic 'p' with flower (North-East France, Netherlands, Lower Rhine region; Strauss 1974, p. 3284)			Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; Dominique-Vivant Denon (1747–1825), Paris (?); H. and F. Reinhold, Vienna; F.W. Fink, Vienna; acquired 1850	Städel Museum, Frankfurt am Main, inv. 32v	See Winkler 829 Strauss 1521/21
<i>Two Netherlandish Women's Costumes</i> (I: <i>A Young Woman in Netherlandish Dress</i> )	Antwerp, May 1521		p. 583	Brush with black, grey and white ink on grey-violet prepared paper, 28.3 × 19.8 cm				Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; Antoine-François Andréossy (1761–1828), Montauban; acquired 1942	The National Gallery of Art, Washington, inv. 1942.9.658	Winkler 820 Strauss 1521/23
<i>Two Netherlandish Women's Costumes</i> (II: <i>A Woman in Netherlandish Church Dress, seen from the Back</i> )	Antwerp, May 1521		p. 583	Brush with black and white on grey-violet prepared paper, 28 × 21.1 cm, with needle holes				Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1796 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; acquired 1796	Albertina, Vienna, inv. 3174	Winkler 835 Strauss 1521/24
<i>Praying Woman in Netherlandish Church Dress</i>	Antwerp, May 1521 (?)	Journal (?)		Pen, 16 × 10.4 cm		Cf. the woman on the right-hand side of the Nuremberg <i>Entombment</i> (Strauss 1521/16) and the <i>Woman in Netherlandish Church Dress</i> (Strauss 1521/24)		Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna(?); Josef Grünling (1785–1845), Vienna (?); acquired 1852	Kunsthalle, Bremen, inv. Kl 9 (wartime loss)	Winkler 601 Strauss XW.601
<i>Portrait of Lucas van Leyden</i>	Antwerp, June 1521		p. 585	Silverpoint, 24.4 × 17.1 cm	Gothic 'p' with flower (North-East France, Netherlands, Lower Rhine region; Strauss 1974, p. 3284)		Attr. Johannes Wierix, <i>LVCAE LEIDANO PICTORI</i> , engraving (in reverse), in <i>Pictorum Aliquot Celebrium Germaniae Inferioris Effigies</i> , Antwerp 1572, no. 10; another copy by Hendrick Hondius (without hat); an old drawn copy (16th century?) in Rennes (Musée des Beaux-Arts, inv. 794.1.3324)	Jean-Baptiste-Joseph Wicar (1762–1834), Lille/Rome; acquired 1834	Musée des Beaux Arts, Lille, inv. Pl. 918	Winkler 816 Strauss 1521/26
<i>Portrait of Christian II of Denmark</i>	Antwerp, July 1521		p. 587	Charcoal, 39.9 × 28.7 cm	Small jug with flower (North-East France; like Briquet 1907 [1968], no. 12620; not in Strauss 1974)			Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Regina and Hieronymus Alnpeck, Prague; Bartholomäus Spranger (1546–1611), Prague (?); Gommer Spranger (1577–1637), Amsterdam; Pieter Spiering van Silvercroon (1594/6–1652), The Hague/London; Hans Sloane (1660–1753), Chelsea; acquired 1753	The British Museum, London, inv. 5218.48	Winkler 815 Strauss 1521/33
<i>Portrait of Aert Praun</i> (?) and the <i>Krahenberg near Andernach</i>	Antwerp and the Middle Rhine Valley, June/July 1521	Silverpoint drawing book, fol. 13v	p. 585	Silverpoint, 12.1 × 17.1 cm	No watermark			Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; unknown, Italy (?; Lugt 2882); Ambroise Firmin Didot (1790–1876), Paris; acquired 1877	Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. KdZ 33r	Winkler 778 Strauss 1521/60
<i>Two Young Women in Netherlandish Costume</i>	Brussels, July 1521 (?)	Silverpoint drawing book, fol. 7v	See pp. 587–9	Silverpoint, 12.2 × 16.9 cm	No watermark			Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; unknown, Italy (?; Lugt 2882); Ambroise Firmin Didot (1790–1876), Paris	Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. KdZ 35v	Winkler 775 Strauss 1520/36
<i>Girl in Cologne and Agnes Dürer in Boppard</i>	Cologne and Middle Rhine Valley, July 1521	Silverpoint drawing book, fol. 14v	See p. 589	Silverpoint, 13.5 × 19.6 cm	No watermark			Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); since 1589 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; acquired 1921	Albertina, Vienna, inv. 22385	Winkler 780 Strauss 1521/57
<i>Two Castles: Burg Rheinfels near Sankt Goar</i> [left] and an <i>Unidentified Castle</i> [right]	Middle Rhine Valley, July 1521	Silverpoint drawing book, fol. 16v		Silverpoint, 11.1 × 17.8 cm	No watermark		Hieronymus Cock (?), in the manner of Albrecht Dürer, about 1560, <i>Crucifixion in Outline</i> : the landscape in the background on the right	Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; Moritz von Fries (1777–1826), Vienna; Joseph Daniel Böhm (1794–1865), Vienna	Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, inv. Hz 5487, held in the Blasius-Hausmann collection since 1962	Winkler 762 Strauss 1521/59
Female half-length figure in the type of a mourning Virgin	Middle Rhine Valley, July 1521	Journal		Pen and brown ink, 15.2 × 10.3 cm				Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; Antoine-François Andréossy (1761–1828), Montauban (?); Thomas Lawrence (1769–1830), London (?); acquired 1969	Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, inv. Hz 5820	Winkler 744 Strauss 1521/58

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To be seen in the context of the Netherlandish journey through depiction, context, style, signature, date or other inscription										
<i>Head of a Woman</i>	1520			Brush drawing in black and grey bodycolour, heightened with white 32.4 × 22.8 cm		There are extraordinarily close parallels to the female head with lowered eyelids on a sheet from the silverpoint drawing book (Strauss 1521/46) made in the summer of 1521, to which Dürer referred in the present sheet		Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Regina and Hieronymus Alnpeck, Prague; Bartholomäus Spranger (1546–1611), Prague (?); Gommer Spranger (1577–1637), Amsterdam; Pieter Spiering van Silvercroon (1594/6–1652), The Hague/London; Hans Sloane (1660–1753), Chelsea; acquired 1753	The British Museum, London, inv. 5218.43	Winkler 576 Strauss 1520/5
<i>Two Depictions of the Road to Calvary (I)</i>	1520	<i>Oblong Passion</i>		Pen and brown ink, 21 × 28.8 cm				Unknown, of historical lineage	The Uffizi Galleries, Florence, inv. 1078E	Winkler 793 Strauss 1520/37
<i>Two Depictions of the Road to Calvary (II)</i>	1520	<i>Oblong Passion</i>		Pen and black brown ink, 21 × 28.7 cm				Unknown, of historical lineage	The Uffizi Galleries, Florence, inv. 1077E	Winkler 794 Strauss 1520/38
<i>The Agony in the Garden</i>	1520	<i>Oblong Passion</i>		Pen and brown ink, 20.6 × 27.4 cm	Coat of arms with two lilies and 'L' and suspended 'b' (Lorraine, Netherlands; Strauss 1974, p. 3281)			Peter Lely (1618–1680), London; Lord Hampton; Robert von Hirsch (1883–1977), Basel; acquired 1978	Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe, inv. 1978-11	Winkler 797 Strauss 1520/39
<i>Portrait of a Young Man, with the initial 'A'</i>	1520 (?)			Black chalk or charcoal, 35.9 × 25.3 cm	Coat of arms with two lilies and 'L' and suspended 'b' (Lorraine, Netherlands; Strauss 1974, p. 3281)			Gottfried Wagner (1652–1725), Leipzig; acquired 1728	Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, inv. C 2250 (wartime loss)	Winkler 560 Strauss 1520/18
<i>Portrait of a Man</i>	1520/21 (?)			Charcoal and brown chalk, 37 × 27.6 cm				Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Regina and Hieronymus Alnpeck, Prague; Bartholomäus Spranger (1546–1611), Prague (?); Gommer Spranger (1577–1637), Amsterdam; Pieter Spiering van Silvercroon (1594/6–1652), The Hague/London; Hans Sloane (1660–1753), Chelsea; acquired 1753	The British Museum, London, inv. 5218.52	Winkler 573 Strauss 1518/20
<i>Portrait of a Man, possibly João Brandão</i>	1520/21 (?)			Chalk, background gone over with a damp brush, 35.5 × 28.5 cm			Philips Galle, <i>DAMIANVS A GOES</i> , engraving (in reverse), in <i>Virorum Doctorum de Disciplinis benemerentium Effigies</i> , Antwerp 1572, no. 42	Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1796 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; acquired 1796	Albertina, Vienna, inv. 3166	Winkler 917 Strauss XW.917
<i>A 'Walrus from Zeeland'</i>	1521			Pen and brown ink with watercolour, 21.1 × 31.2 cm				Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Regina and Hieronymus Alnpeck, Prague; Bartholomäus Spranger (1546–1611), Prague (?); Gommer Spranger (1577–1637), Amsterdam; Pieter Spiering van Silvercroon (1594/6–1652), The Hague/London; Hans Sloane (1660–1753), Chelsea; acquired 1753	The British Museum, London, inv. 5218.167	Winkler 823 Strauss 1521/27
<i>Portrait of a Man, formerly identified as Lucas van Leyden</i>	1521			Charcoal, 36.9 × 25.4 cm, trimmed on all sides	Gothic 'p' with flower (North-East France, Netherlands, Lower Rhine region; Strauss 1974, p. 3284)		Anonymous, about 1600, <i>Effigies Lucas Leidensis</i> , etching (in reverse) with monogram 'L' and dated '1525'	Valerius Röver (1686–1739), Delft; Johann Goll van Franckenstein I and II (1722–1785; 1756–1821), Amsterdam; Earl of Warwick; Salting; acquired 1910	The British Museum, London, inv. 1910,0212.103	Winkler 809 Strauss 1521/30
<i>Portrait of a Young Man, formerly identified as Bernaert van Orley</i>	1521			Black chalk, the background gone over with brush, 40 × 27.6 cm	Unicorn (Châteaudun; Strauss 1974, p. 3288)		The engraved portrait of Bernaert van Orley from 1572, traditionally associated with Dürer's portrait drawing, obviously reproduces another work, possibly by Dürer (see below under 'Handed down in copy').	Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; Antoine- François Andréossy (1761–1828), Montauban; acquired 1935	Rothschild Collection, Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. 23 D.R.	Winkler 810 Strauss 1521/31
<i>Portrait of a Young Man</i>	1521			Black chalk, 36.7 × 26.4 cm	Gothic 'p' with flower and included 'd' (North-East France; Briquet 1907 [1968], no. 8845; not in Strauss 1974)			Hans Albrecht Freiherr von Derschau (1754–1824), Nuremberg; acquired 1825	Schlossmuseum, Weimar, inv. KK 105 (missing)	Winkler 811 Strauss 1521/32
<i>Portrait of a Woman in Netherlandish Dress</i>	1521			Charcoal, 39.7 × 28 cm	Gothic 'p' with flower (North-East France, Netherlands, Lower Rhine region; Strauss 1974, p. 3284)			Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Regina and Hieronymus Alnpeck, Prague; Bartholomäus Spranger (1546–1611), Prague (?); Gommer Spranger (1577–1637), Amsterdam; Pieter Spiering van Silvercroon (1594/6–1652), The Hague/London; Hans Sloane (1660–1753), Chelsea; acquired 1753	The British Museum, London, inv. 5218.45	Winkler IV/2 Strauss 1521/35

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<i>Irish Warriors and Peasants</i>	Probably Antwerp, spring 1521 (watermark)			Pen and brown ink, watercolour, 21 × 28.2 cm	Coat of arms with three lilies and suspended 'e' (Amsterdam, Maastricht; Strauss 1974, p. 3280)			Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Willibald Imhoff (1519–1580), Nuremberg; 1588–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; Antoine-François Andréossy (1761–1828), Montauban; acquired 1877	Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. KdZ 37	Winkler 825 Strauss 1521/36
<i>Livonian Woman</i>	Probably Antwerp, spring 1521			Pen and brown ink, watercolour, 28.3 × 18.8 cm				Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Willibald Imhoff (1519–1580), Nuremberg; 1588–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; Antoine-François Andréossy (1761–1828), Montauban; acquired 1935	Rothschild Collection, Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. 19 D.R.	Winkler 826 Strauss 1521/37
<i>Two Livonian Women</i>	Probably Antwerp, spring 1521 (watermark)			Pen and brown ink, watercolour, 18.5 × 19.4 cm	Coat of arms with three lilies and suspended 'e' (Amsterdam, Maastricht; Strauss 1974, p. 3280)			Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Willibald Imhoff (1519–1580), Nuremberg; 1588–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; Antoine-François Andréossy (1761–1828), Montauban; acquired 1935	Rothschild Collection, Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. 20 D.R.	Winkler 828 Strauss 1521/38
<i>Three Livonian Women in Winter Dress</i>	Probably Antwerp, spring 1521			Pen and brown ink, watercolour, 18.3 × 19.5 cm				Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Willibald Imhoff (1519–1580), Nuremberg; 1588–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; Antoine-François Andréossy (1761–1828), Montauban; acquired 1935	Rothschild Collection, Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. 21 D.R.	Winkler 827 Strauss 1521/39
<i>Portrait of a Young Man</i> , formerly identified as Nikolaus Kratzer	Probably 1521 (watermark)			Black chalk, 37.4 × 28 cm	Gothic 'p' with flower (North-East France, Netherlands, Lower Rhine region; Strauss 1974, p. 3284)	No physiognomic resemblance to the portrait of Kratzer by Hans Holbein the Younger of 1528		Thomas Lawrence (1769–1830), London; Defer-Dumesnil Collection; acquired 1935	Rothschild Collection, Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. 24 D.R.	Winkler 808 Strauss 1521/34
<i>Portrait of a Man in Profile</i>	1521	Journal (?)		Pen and brown ink, 11 × 8.2 cm		Cf. the left pall-bearer of the Nuremberg <i>Entombment</i> (Strauss 1521/16)		Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1796 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; acquired 1796	Albertina, Vienna, inv. 3172	Winkler 757 Strauss 1521/50
<i>Bearded Old Man</i>	1521 (?)	Journal (?)		Pen and brown ink, 16 × 10.4 cm				Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna (?); Etienne-Barthélemy Garnier (1759–1849), Rome; acquired 1845	Städel Museum, Frankfurt am Main, inv. 700	Winkler 750 Strauss 1521/47
<i>The Temptation of Saint Anthony</i>	1521			Metalpoint and white chalk on green prepared paper, 31.6 × 42.6 cm, with needle holes	No watermark		Netherlands, about 1520/30, <i>The Temptation of Saint Anthony</i> , pen and brown and grey ink on dark green prepared paper, 38.8 × 33.8 cm (Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, inv. KdZ 26125); Jean Bellegambe, about 1520/30, <i>The Temptation of Saint Anthony</i> , pen and brown ink, 24.8 × 18.7 cm (Max Perl Auctions, Berlin, 8–9 November 1926, lot 44)	Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1796 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; acquired 1796	Albertina, Vienna, inv. 3171	Winkler 884 Strauss 1521/68
<i>The Lamentation of Christ</i>	1521			Pen and brown ink, 29 × 21 cm				Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; Dominique-Vivant Denon (1747–1825), Paris; Thomas Lawrence (1769–1830), London; Defer-Dumesnil Collection; acquired 1965	Harvard University Art Museums, Cambridge (MA), inv. 1965.339	Winkler 881 Strauss 1521/69
<i>The Entombment</i>	1521			Pen and brown ink, 20.4 × 20.7 cm				Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; Prince Henryk Lubomirski (1777–1850), Lemberg/Vienna; acquired 1954; part of the Draiflessen Collection since 2012	Draiflessen Collection, Liberna Collection, Mettingen, inv. D60	Winkler 882 Strauss 1521/70
<i>The Crucifixion</i>	1521			Pen and brown ink, 32.3 × 22.2 cm	No watermark		After Albrecht Dürer, <i>The Crucifixion</i> , pen and ink, 32 × 21 cm (in 1954 private collection, Geneva); after Albrecht Dürer, <i>The Crucifixion</i> , pen and black ink, 26 × 18 cm (Deutsch Auctions, Vienna, 3 December 2018, lot 3); after Albrecht Dürer, <i>The Virgin beneath the Cross</i> (in reverse), pen and dark brown ink, heightened with white, on grey grounded paper, 24.9 × 10.8 cm (Christie's, Amsterdam, 8 November 2000, lot 4)	Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Willibald Imhoff (1519–1580), Nuremberg (?); 1589–1796 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; acquired 1796	Albertina, Vienna, inv. 3169	Winkler 880 Strauss 1521/71

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<b>Handed down as a copy</b>										
<i>Portrait</i> , presumably of Joachim Patinir						After Albrecht Dürer's original?	Attr. Cornelis Cort, <i>IOACHIMO DIONANTENSI PICTORI</i> , engraving, in <i>Pictorum Aliquot Celebrum Germaniae Inferioris Effigies</i> , Antwerp 1572, no. 8; more copies after this by, among others, Hendrick Hondius and Aegidius Sadeler			Winkler IV/2 Strauss –
<i>Portrait</i> , presumably of Bernaert van Orley						After Albrecht Dürer's original? However, the engraving is obviously not made on the basis of Dürer's drawing Strauss 1521/31	Cornelis Cort, <i>BERNARDO BRVXELLENSI PICTORE</i> , engraving, in <i>Pictorum Aliquot Celebrum Germaniae Inferioris Effigies</i> , Antwerp 1572, no. 6; Hendrick Hondius's copy of this engraving inscribed as portrait of Dirck Bouts			See also Winkler 810 Strauss 1521/31
<i>Portrait of a Young Man</i>				Charcoal, with blue watercolour wash, 47 × 34.9 cm		17th-century artist after Albrecht Dürer's original?		Francis Douce (1757–1834), London; acquired 1834	Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, inv. WA1863.479	
<b>Lost</b>										
<i>View of Middelburg or Middelburg Abbey</i>	Middelburg, December 1520	Silverpoint drawing book, fol. 10r or v (?)	p. 570				Cf. Hieronymus Cock (?), in the manner of Albrecht Dürer, about 1560, <i>Crucifixion in Outline</i> : the tower in the background on the left is apparently the tower ('Lange Jan') of the Abbey church of Middelburg; see the historical view in Mattheus Smallegange, <i>Nieuwe Cronyk van Zeeland</i> , Middelburg 1696, engraving following p. 446			
<b>Connection to Netherlandish journey unclear or can be ruled out</b>										
<i>Virgin and Child with Music-making Angel</i>	About 1506			Pen and brown ink, 24.2 × 20.6 cm	Cardinal's hat (Venice, Northern Italy; like Briquet 1907 [1968], nos 3401 and 3407)	This work belongs in the context of the <i>Virgin with the Multitude of Animals</i> (Strauss 1503/22), finished in Venice around 1506		Possibly Everhard Jabach (1618–1695), Paris; M. Paignon-Dijonval (1708–1792), Paris; Thomas Dimsdale (1758–1823), London; possibly Alexandre-Pierre-François Robert-Dumesnil (1778–1864), Paris; Georg Ernst Harzen (1790–1863), Hamburg; acquired 1868	Kupferstichkabinett, Hamburger Kunsthalle, inv. 23001	Winkler 537 Strauss 1520/40
Head of a man, foreshortened, looking upwards	Undetermined			Silverpoint, 9 × 5.4 cm		Chronological and artistic context unclear		Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Regina and Hieronymus Alnpeck, Prague; Bartholomäus Spranger (1546–1611), Prague (?); Gommer Spranger (1577–1637), Amsterdam; Pieter Spiering van Silvercroon (1594/6–1652), The Hague/London; Hans Sloane (1660–1753), Chelsea; acquired 1753	The British Museum, London, inv. 5218.8	Winkler 172 Strauss 1520/43
Three small-format studies of heads on vellum	Undetermined			Pen and black ink on vellum, 6.1 × 4.4 cm, 6 × 4.5 cm, 7.2 × 5 cm		Chronological and artistic context unclear		Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Regina and Hieronymus Alnpeck, Prague; Bartholomäus Spranger (1546–1611), Prague (?); Gommer Spranger (1577–1637), Amsterdam; Pieter Spiering van Silvercroon (1594/6–1652), The Hague/London; Hans Sloane (1660–1753), Chelsea; acquired 1753	The British Museum, London, invs 5218.10, 5218.11, 5218.13	Winkler 832–834 Strauss 1520/45–1520/47
<i>Saint Jerome in his Study</i>	Undetermined			Pen and brown ink, 20.3 × 12.6 cm	No watermark	No apparent connection with the Hieronymus painting of 1521 (Museu Nacional de Arte Antigua, Lisbon; London 2021, no. 110)		Amsler, Berlin; Adalbert von Lanna (1836–1909), Prague; acquired 1910	Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. KdZ 4443	Winkler 589 Strauss 1521/5
<i>The Agony in the Garden</i>	Probably Nuremberg, 1521	<i>Oblong Passion</i>		Pen and brown ink, 16.1 × 16.8 cm	Imperial orb with dash and star (Swabia, Tyrol and Northern Italy; Strauss 1974, p. 3286)	Due to the watermark probably made after the journey in Nuremberg		Alexander Posonyi (1838–1899), Vienna; acquired 1877	Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. KdZ 17	Winkler 803 Strauss 1521/19
<i>Sleeping Lion</i>	16th century			Pen, 16.2 × 27.3 cm	Gothic 'p' (?)	Copy of a detail in Strauss 1521/40 (see above), probably from the 16th century		Stanisław Antoni Poniatowski (1732–1798), St Petersburg; until 1918 the Imperial Academy of Arts, St Petersburg	Imperial Collection, Warsaw University Library, inv. T. 173, no. 149 (wartime loss)	Winkler 246 Strauss 1521/41

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Eight studies of heads	Undetermined; in part about 1521 (?)			10.4 × 7.9 cm (Bayonne), 10.7 × 5.7 cm (Berlin I), 11.2 × 9 cm (Berlin II), 12.7 × 9.4 cm (Dresden), unknown (Düsseldorf), 11.5 × 8.9 cm (Geneva), 9.4 × 8 cm (London I), 10.4 × 7.9 cm (London II)	No watermark	Temporal and work context unclear		Léon Bonnat (1883–1922), Paris (Bayonne), unknown (Berlin I), Eugène Rodrigues (1853–1928), Paris (Berlin II), Heinrich Anton Cornill-d'Orville (1790–1875), Frankfurt (Dresden); collection of Carl Theoder von der Pfalz (1724–1799) at the Kunstakademie Düsseldorf (formerly Düsseldorf and Geneva); Hans Sloane (1660–1753), Chelsea (London I and II), acquired 1753	Musée Bonnat-Helleu, Bayonne, inv. 1300/1529; Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, invs KdZ 1285, KdZ 4183; Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, inv. 1900-73; formerly Kunstakademie, Düsseldorf (missing); Jean Bonna, Geneva; The British Museum, London, invs 5218.14, 5218.16	Winkler 753–6, 758, 759, 660, 661 Strauss 1521/48, 1521/49, 1521/51–6
Group from <i>The Road to Calvary</i>	1527 (?)			Pen and black ink, 29.3 × 21.4 cm		The occasionally stated connection with a lost (but known from copies) <i>Road to Calvary</i> by Jan van Eyck is only very loose		Josef Carl von Klinkosch (1822–1888), Vienna; acquired 1890	Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. KdZ 3868	Winkler 893 Strauss 1527/30
<i>Portrait of a Young Man</i>	Late 16th century (?)			Pen and brown ink, light blue wash, 21.1 × 14.2 cm	Watermark untraceable	Copy or forgery with Dürer's monogram and the date 1520 made in the late 16th century after a model from the first decades; follows the type of portraits in the journal but is rather close to Lucas van Leyden		Georg Ernst Harzen (1790–1863), Hamburg; acquired 1868	Kupferstichkabinett, Hamburger Kunsthalle, inv. 23007	Winkler III/1 Strauss XW.III/1
<b>Crucifixion in Outline</b>										
<i>Cherub in Profile</i>	1521			Metalpoint and white chalk on green prepared paper, 23.4 × 18.3 cm				Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna (?); Thomas Lawrence (1769–1830), London	Unknown	Winkler 865 Strauss 1521/73
<i>Head and Shoulders of a Young Child looking upwards</i>	1521			Metalpoint and white chalk on green prepared paper, 23.4 × 18.3 cm		Not used in the engraving		Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Regina and Hieronymus Alnpeck, Prague; Bartholomäus Spranger (1546–1611), Prague (?); Gommer Spranger (1577–1637), Amsterdam; Pieter Spiering van Silvercroon (1594/6–1652), The Hague/London; Hans Sloane (1660–1753), Chelsea; acquired 1753	The British Museum, London, inv. 5218.40	Winkler 866 Strauss 1521/74
<i>Head of a Weeping Cherub</i>	1521			Metalpoint and white chalk on blue-grey prepared paper, 21.1 × 16.7 cm				Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna (?); Charlotte Flügge, Hannover (until 1854)	Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, inv. Hz 5490, held in the Blasius-Hausmann collection since 1962	Winkler 862 Strauss 1521/75
<i>Head of a Weeping Cherub</i>	1521			Metalpoint and white chalk on blue-grey prepared paper, 20.2 × 14.4 cm	Emblem of Basel (Basel; Strauss 1974, p. 3284)	Not used in the engraving		Everhard Jabach (1618–1695), Paris; acquired for the French royal cabinet in 1671	Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. 18587	Winkler 863 Strauss 1521/76
<i>Head of a Weeping Cherub</i>	1521			Metalpoint and white chalk on blue-grey prepared paper, 21.4 × 19.9 cm				Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna (?); Samuel Rogers (1763–1855) London; John Campbell, 2nd Marquess of Breadalbane (1796–1862); acquired 1886	Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. KdZ 2879	Winkler 864 Strauss 1521/77
<i>Head of a Child</i>	1521			Metalpoint and white chalk on green prepared paper, 10.7 × 9.2 cm				Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna (?); Thomas Lawrence (1769–1830), London; acquired 1890	Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, inv. C 1890-19	Winkler 867 Strauss 1521/78
<i>Head of a Child</i>	1521			Metalpoint and white chalk on green prepared paper, 17.6 × 15.3 cm				Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna (?); Thomas Lawrence (1769–1830), London; acquired 1890	Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, inv. C 1890-23	Winkler 868 Strauss 1521/79
<i>Head of a Child</i>	1521			Metalpoint and white chalk on green prepared paper, 18.9 × 15.6 cm				Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna (?); Eugène Piot (1812–1890), Paris; John Charles Robinson (1824–1913), London; acquired 1895	The British Museum, London, inv. 1895,0915.980	Winkler 869 Strauss 1521/80
<i>The Virgin with Two Female Saints</i>	1521			Metalpoint and white chalk on green prepared paper, 42.1 × 30.7 cm, with needle holes				Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; Antoine-François Andréossy (1761–1828), Montauban; Thomas Lawrence (1769–1830), London; Defer-Dumesnil Collection; acquired 1949	Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. réc. n° 79	Winkler 858 Strauss 1521/72
<i>Christ on the Cross</i>	1523			Metalpoint and white chalk on green prepared paper, 41.4 × 20.1 cm, with needle holes	Ox head with caduceus (Northern Italy, Tyrol, Nuremberg; Briquet 1907 [1968], no. 15379; Strauss 1974, p. 3276)			Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; Thomas Lawrence (1769–1830), London; acquired 1873	Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. R.F. 60	Winkler 861 Strauss 1523/2

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<i>Mary Magdalene kneeling and embracing the Cross</i>	1523			Metalpoint and white chalk on green prepared paper, 29.1 × 20.3 cm, with needle holes	Ox head with caduceus (Northern Italy, Tyrol, Nuremberg; Briquet 1907 [1968], no. 15379; Strauss 1974, p. 3276)	Formerly on one sheet with Strauss 1523/10 (left half)		Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; Thomas Lawrence (1769–1830), London; Defer-Dumesnil Collection; acquired 1920	Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. R.F. 5168	Winkler 860 Strauss 1523/3
<i>Saint John beneath the Cross</i>	1523			Metalpoint and white chalk on green prepared paper, 40.9 × 30.4 cm, with needle holes	High crown (Southern Germany; Strauss 1974, p. 3285)			Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1796 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; acquired 1796	Albertina, Vienna, inv. 3181	Winkler 875 Strauss 1523/4
<i>Saint John beneath the Cross</i>	1523			Metalpoint and white chalk on green prepared paper, 41.5 × 29.7 cm, with needle holes	High crown (Southern Germany; Strauss 1974, p. 3285)			Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1796 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; acquired 1796	Albertina, Vienna, inv. 3180	Winkler 859 Strauss 1523/5
<b>Large Marian image</b>										
<i>Virgin and Child Enthroned, 14 Saints, a Female Donor and Music-making Angels</i>	1521 (?)			Pen and brown ink, 31.5 × 44.5 cm	Quadruped (?)			Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna (?); Dominique-Vivant Denon (1747–1825), Paris; Léon Bonnat (1883–1922), Paris; acquired 1922	Musée Bonnat-Helleu, Bayonne, inv. 1277/1505	Winkler 839 Strauss 1521/91
<i>Virgin and Child, Joseph, Saints Catherine and James and Music-making Angels</i>	1521			Pen and brown ink, 25.2 × 38.7 cm				Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; Dominique-Vivant Denon (1747–1825), Paris; acquired 1886	Musée Condé, Chantilly, inv. DE 889	Winkler 837 Strauss 1521/81
<i>Virgin and Child Enthroned, 14 Saints, a Female Donor and Music-making Angels</i>	1521 (?)			Pen and brown ink, 30.9 × 44.5 cm				Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; Dominique-Vivant Denon (1747–1825), Paris; acquired 1881	Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. R.F. 1079	Winkler 838 Strauss 1521/83
<i>Virgin and Child Enthroned, Six Saints and Music-making Angels</i>	Copied from the 1521 original			Pen and brown ink, heightened with white, 31.7 × 43.7 cm				Everhard Jabach (1618–1695), Paris; acquired for the French royal cabinet in 1671	Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. 19604	Winkler IV/6 Strauss 1521/82
<i>The Holy Kinship</i>	1521 (?)			Pen and brown ink, 19.4 × 20.3 cm	No watermark			Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; Dominique-Vivant Denon (1747–1825), Paris; Thomas Lawrence (1769–1830), London (?); acquired 1913	Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. KdZ 4670	Winkler 852 Strauss 1521/67
<i>Holy Family in a Landscape, the Virgin Crowned by Two Angels and Two Music-making Angels</i>	1521			Pen, approx. 20 × 30 cm or 30 × 20 cm				J.F. Frauenholz Auctions, Nuremberg, 1793, no. 5250	Whereabouts unknown	Not in Winkler not in Strauss
<i>Virgin and Child Enthroned, Eight Saints and Music-making Angels</i>	1522			Pen and brown ink, 40.1 × 30.7 cm	Basilisk (?)			Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna (?); Dominique-Vivant Denon (1747–1825), Paris; Léon Bonnat (1883–1922), Paris; acquired 1922	Musée Bonnat-Helleu, Bayonne, inv. 1275/1504	Winkler 855 Strauss 1522/1
<i>Virgin and Child, Eight Saints and Music-making Angels</i>	1522 (?)			Pen and brown ink, 26.3 × 22.7 cm				Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna (?); Dominique-Vivant Denon (1747–1825), Paris; Léon Bonnat (1883–1922), Paris; acquired 1922	Musée Bonnat-Helleu, Bayonne, inv. 1277/1506	Winkler 856 Strauss 1522/2
<i>Music-making Angels</i>	1521			Pen and brown ink, 16.9 × 22.4 cm	Untraceable fragment (according to Strauss 1974, p. 3275, 'Anchor in Circle')			Peter Lely (1618–1680), London; Hans Sloane (1660–1753), Chelsea; John Postle Heseltine (1843–1929), London; acquired 1961	The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv. 61.257	Winkler 836 Strauss 1521/84
<i>Sitting Female Saint with Book</i>	1521 (?)			Pen and brown and black ink, 31.2 × 8.7 cm				Peter Lely (1618–1680), London; William Esdaile (1758–1837), London; acquired 1886	Musée Condé, Chantilly, inv. DE 894	Winkler 604 Strauss XW.604
<i>Saint Barbara</i>	1521			Metalpoint and on green prepared paper, 41.4 × 28.5 cm	Watermark unidentified			Acquired for the French royal cabinet in 1671	Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. 18590	Winkler 845 Strauss 1521/92
<i>Saint Apollonia</i>	1521			Metalpoint on green prepared paper, 41.4 × 28.8 cm	High crown (Southern Germany; Strauss 1974, p. 3285)			John Charles Robinson (1824–1913), London; acquired 1880	Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. KdZ 1527	Winkler 846 Strauss 1521/93
<i>Saint Joseph</i>	1521			Metalpoint and white Chalk on dark grey prepared paper 28.4 × 21.1 cm				Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Regina and Hieronymus Alnpeck, Prague; Bartholomäus Spranger (1546–1611), Prague (?); Gommer Spranger (1577–1637), Amsterdam; Pieter Spiering van Silvercroon (1594/6–1652), The Hague/London; Hans Sloane (1660–1753), Chelsea; acquired 1753	The British Museum, London, inv. 5218.42	Winkler 848 Strauss 1521/95

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<i>Saint Catherine</i>	1521			Metalpoint on blue-green prepared paper, 26.6 × 19.7 cm				Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna (?); Federico Fagnani (1775–1840), Milan; acquired 1841	Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan, inv. 813	Winkler 847 Strauss 1521/96
<i>Head of an Angel</i>	1521			Brush with black and white on grey-violet prepared paper, 21.8 × 15.4 cm				Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna (?); Josef Grünling (1785–1845), Vienna; acquired 1852	Kunsthalle, Bremen, inv. Kl 13 (wartime loss)	Winkler 849 Strauss 1521/94
<i>A Left Hand</i>	1521			Metalpoint (or black chalk) on green prepared paper, 20.4 × 11.2 cm				Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna (?); owned by Polish nobility; Arthur Feldmann (1877–1941), Brünn; Auction Gilhofer & Ranschburg Luzern, 28 June 1934, lot 88	Private collection	Winkler IV/4 Strauss 1521/90
<i>Head of a Woman and Study of Two Hands</i>	1522			Metalpoint and white chalk on green prepared paper, 17.2 × 29.1 cm, with needle holes				Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; Antoine-François Andréossy (1761–1828), Montauban; Thomas Lawrence (1769–1830), London; acquired 1881	Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. R.F. 1080	Winkler 857 Strauss 1522/3
<i>Head of a Woman facing Left</i>	1522 (?)			Metalpoint and white chalk on green prepared paper, 20 × 15.1 cm	High crown (Southern Germany; Strauss 1974, p. 3285)			Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; Antoine-François Andréossy (1761–1828), Montauban (?); Thomas Lawrence (1769–1830), London; acquired 1975	The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv. 1975.1.859	Winkler 850 Strauss 1522/4
<i>Saint Anne</i>	1522			Brush with grey and white, 39.7 × 28.8 cm				Of historical lineage, Album vol. 23, no. 208	Museo Correr, Venice, inv. Cl. III n. 8222	Winkler 853 Strauss 1522/5
<i>Saint Anne</i>	1522			Brush with black, grey and white, 39.8 × 30.3 cm				Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna (?); Josef Grünling (1785–1845), Vienna; acquired 1852	Kunsthalle, Bremen, inv. Kl 15 (wartime loss)	Winkler 854 Strauss 1522/6
<i>Three Drapery Studies</i>	1521			Metalpoint and white chalk on green prepared paper, 31.5 × 41.8 cm, with needle holes				Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna (?); Josef Grünling (1785–1845), Vienna; acquired 1852	Kunsthalle, Bremen, inv. Kl 17	Winkler 840 Strauss 1521/85
<i>Two Drapery Studies</i>	1521			Metalpoint on green prepared paper, 29.6 × 41.3 cm, with needle holes	High crown (Southern Germany; Strauss 1974, p. 3285)			Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna (?); Josef Grünling (1785–1845), Vienna (?); Thomas Dimsdale (1758–1823), London; Georg Ernst Harzen (1790–1863), Hamburg; acquired 1868	Kupferstichkabinett, Hamburger Kunsthalle, inv. 23004	Winkler 841 Strauss 1521/86
<i>Drapery Study</i>	1521			Metalpoint and white chalk on green prepared paper, 27.4 × 30.4 cm, with needle holes				Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; Josef Grünling (1785–1845), Vienna (?); Joseph Daniel Böhm (1794–1865), Vienna	Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, inv. Hz. 5489, held in the Blasius-Hausmann collection since 1962	Winkler 842 Strauss 1521/87
<i>Drapery Study</i>	1521			Metalpoint and white chalk on green prepared paper, 29.4 × 40.6 cm	High crown (Southern Germany; Strauss 1974, p. 3285)			Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Willibald Imhoff (1519–1580), Nuremberg; 1588–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; Antoine-François Andréossy (1761–1828), Montauban; Thomas Lawrence (1769–1830), London; Alexander Posonyi (1838–1899), Vienna; acquired 1877	Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. KdZ 39	Winkler 843 Strauss 1521/88
<i>Drapery Study</i>	1521			Metalpoint on grey-violet prepared paper, 28.1 × 37.3 cm				Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna (?); Joseph Daniel Böhm (1794–1865), Vienna; Alexander Posonyi (1838–1899), Vienna; acquired 1877	Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. KdZ 41	Winkler 844 Strauss 1521/89
<b>Apostles</b>										
<i>Apostle</i>	1522			Metalpoint and white chalk on green prepared paper, 41.8 × 25.5 cm	High crown (Southern Germany; Strauss 1974, p. 3285)			Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; Antoine-François Andréossy (1761–1828), Montauban; Thomas Lawrence (1769–1830), London; Defer-Dumesnil Collection; acquired 1935	Rothschild Collection, Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. 15 D.R.	Winkler 874 Strauss 1522/10
<i>Apostle</i>	1523			Metalpoint and white chalk on green prepared paper, 29.9 × 17.8 cm, with needle holes		Formerly on one sheet with Strauss 1523/3 (right half)		Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; Thomas Lawrence (1769–1830), London; acquired 1881	École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris, inv. 1657	Winkler 877 Strauss 1523/10
<i>Apostle</i>	1523			Metalpoint and white chalk on green prepared paper, 31.7 × 21.2 cm, with needle holes				Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1796 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; acquired 1796	Albertina, Vienna, inv. 4835	Winkler 878 Strauss 1523/11



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<i>Bartholomew the Apostle</i>	1523			Metalpoint and white chalk on green prepared paper, 31.8 × 18.3 cm, with needle holes				Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1796 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; acquired 1796	Albertina, Vienna, inv. 3179	Winkler 876 Strauss 1523/12
<i>Jude the Apostle</i>	1523			Metalpoint on blue-green prepared paper, 26.5 × 19.7 cm	High crown (Southern Germany; Strauss 1974, p. 3285)			Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1809 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; Antoine-François Andréossy (1761–1828), Montauban; Thomas Lawrence (1769–1830), London; Alexander Posonyi (1838–1899), Vienna; acquired 1877	Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. KdZ 42	Winkler 879 Strauss 1523/13
<b>Other</b>										
<i>Reading Virgin</i>	1521			Metalpoint and white chalk on green prepared paper, 29.5 × 21.1 cm, with needle holes				Endres and Ursula Dürer, Nuremberg; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Antwerp/Madrid (?); 1589–1796 Imperial Collections Prague/Vienna; acquired 1796	Albertina, Vienna, inv. 3170	Winkler 885 Strauss 1521/65

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