The Popular
Library of Art

THE VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH THE FINCH

From the Painting in the Berlin Museum

(By permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.)

ALBRECHT DÜRER

BY

LINA ECKENSTEIN

AUTHOR OF "WOMAN UNDER MONASTICISM"

dann ich thu so vill ich mag
aber mir selbs nit genug.
DÜRER.

LONDON: DUCKWORTH & CO.
NEW YORK: E. P. DUTTON & CO.

TURNBULL AND SPEARS, PRINTERS, EDINBURGH.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

I

The work of Albrecht Dürer occupies an important position in the history of art. The great man who is in contact with the interests and aspirations of his age, was combined in him with the great artist to whom it was given to express these interests and aspirations in visible form. Those who hold in their grasp the realities of a great present, and give to them expression, work for all time. The work of Dürer has always found appreciation, and each succeeding century has added to his fame.

In him the tendencies met which are represented by two distinct eras. He lived at the time when the intellectual movement which is designated by the term Renascence, was nearing its height, after centuries of steady increase. At the same time he was brought under the influence of the new conceptions of social dignity and individual responsibility which, at the beginning of the sixteenth

century, were breaking in upon the spiritual horizon of mankind. Trained in the traditions of the one era, moved by the conceptions of the other, he took from the one his means of expression and his imagery, and from the other he drew his inspiration.

The hundred years which embrace the second half of the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth centuries, were prolific in great painters. As a painter Dürer ranks among the most eminent who shed their lustre on this memorable age. But his fame as a painter is exceeded by his fame as a draughtsman. The art of drawing *per se*, that is of expressing form and tonality by means of lines and of lines only, has its most numerous votaries on this side of the Alps. In the south, nature speaks through the medium of colour, and through this medium calls for reproduction. In the north, the contrasts of light and dark strike the eye and engage the hand. The art of engraving on wood and on metal found a great development in German countries during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It served as the means of spreading abroad the lessons taught by religion, and

it afforded the possibility both of criticising the bearing of those who were felt to be unworthy exponents of this teaching, and of reproving those who tyrannised and oppressed the folk. This gave the art an importance and raised it to a dignity which it has never again attained. For the art of drawing has done yeoman service since in the cause of the picturesque — in depicting ruins and landscapes, in perpetuating the fancy of the moment, and in recording entourage and personal appearance. But never again after the sixteenth century did it undertake to give expression to the high thoughts and religious aspirations which were engaging the attention of mankind.

Dürer issued a large number of woodcuts which display great fruitfulness of imagination. But the excellence of his woodcuts is exceeded by that of his metal engravings. In the art of wood-engraving the draughtsman does not necessarily prepare the block himself for the printer. In the art of metal engraving he controls every touch and every line himself. As a metal engraver Dürer has rarely been equalled; he has never been surpassed. Prints are issued in a number of copies, and they

travel easily. Dürer's woodcuts and engravings soon carried his fame abroad, and won him many admirers during his lifetime. The interest taken in them has never ceased. It has spread into wider circles with every advance in the art of reproduction, which has placed more faithful copies of his work within reach of a larger public.

Especially with regard to German art Dürer's position is significant. With the northerner we associate rugged strength and a somewhat forcible mode of expression. In the south utterance fits itself more readily to thought. For the artist of the south is in the possession of uninterrupted traditions of an older culture, which enable him to mould conceptions into more pleasing forms. Dürer possessed northern virility and the determination to maintain his ground to the full. At the same time he was aware that the south possessed what was lacking in the north. In the preface to the book which he intended to publish on art, statements were to be included which were addressed to the youth of Germany, and in which he gave the Italians "high praise for their naked figures and especially for their perspective." His admiration for the Italian painters is

DÜRER'S FATHER (1490)

FROM THE PAINTING IN THE UFFIZI GALLERY

ONLY THE HEAD IS HERE REPRODUCED

preserved in numerous remarks. For beauty in a special sense is the birthright of those who are heirs to the culture of ages. Born (1471) and bred in Nürnberg, Dürer was aware that influences with which he ought to come into contact were at work on the further side of the Rhine and beyond the Alps. The man of genius is never sufficient unto himself, and in proportion as he values his powers, he seeks to measure them by the powers of those who are similarly gifted. When the days of his apprenticeship (1486-89) in Nürnberg were at an end, Dürer set out for Colmar, drawn thither by the fame of the painter and engraver Martin Schongauer (? 1450 - 1491), on whose work in a rare degree the Graces had smiled. Later in life he stayed at Venice, where he confidently set to work in order that the Italian painting brotherhood who admired his powers as an engraver, might form a just estimation of his powers as a painter also. The desire to compete with others whose work he appreciated, added to the excellence of his own. At the same time Dürer was conscious and proud of his nationality, and he held himself

specially bound to the city of Nürnberg. To the large picture of the Festival of the Rose-garlands which he painted at Venice in 1506, and to the portrait of a man painted there about the same time, he affixed the designation *Germanus* in addition to the signature of his name. In a letter to his friend Pirkheimer he signed himself *Noricus civis*, and on the engraving of Adam and Eve of the year 1504, he also called himself *Noricus*. The large painting of 1507 of Adam and Eve which made a lasting impression, bears his signature with the designation *Alemanus*, and the same term was used by him on the painting of the Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand of 1508, and on the painting called the Trinity, completed in 1511, which marked the sum of his ambition.

This conscious pride in his nationality, coupled with his affection for Nürnberg, was so strong that, at a time when his earnings were slender, he refused the promise of a salary of two hundred ducats if he settled at Venice, from where he wrote (Aug. 18, 1506), that he had become a gentleman. And again he wrote (Oct. 13), "How I shall

freeze after this sun! Here I am a gentleman, at home I am only a parasite."

A similar offer which came to him nineteen years later from the Council of Antwerp, met with a similar refusal. He was offered three hundred Philips-gulden a year, exemption from taxes, and a well-built house if he removed there. "But I declined all this," he wrote in a letter addressed to the councillors of Nürnberg, "because of the peculiar love and affection which I bore to your honourable Wisdoms and to my fatherland, this honourable town, preferring, as I did, to live under your Wisdoms in a moderate way, rather than to be rich and held in honour in other places."

This affection for the city of his birth was a result of the development of town life during the Middle Ages. To the parent who makes food and shelter secure, and who wards off danger, the heartstrings are naturally attuned. At a time when many energies were given up to turbulence and strife, those who by preference embraced peaceful pursuits, had good reason to prize the arrangements of a well-governed city. The fighter and the

sportsman are happiest in the pursuit of fortune. The faithful citizen trusts to providence rather than to chance.

This patriotism often prevailed to the exclusion of other feelings. In its extreme form it found expression in Dante, who was filled with the bitterness of exile everywhere in Italy away from Florence. No thought of abiding, no thought of home could come to him outside the limits of the jurisdiction of Florence. In a modified form the same feeling is conspicuous in many creative artists, who are as much the product of the township in which they lived, as of the age to which they belonged. The feeling took centuries to build up, at the close of the fifteenth century many were still under its sway. Dürer himself reflected the free spirit of the prosperous city in which talent and purpose found appreciation. A similar bond connected Botticelli (1447-1515) with Florence, the impetuous and changeable spirit of which is reflected in the artist's fiery temper and wayward grace. But what centuries had built up a few decades sufficed to sweep away. Holbein (1497-1543) whose birth comes within a lifetime of Dürer's,

was content to make England the centre of his activity for years together though domiciled in Basel. To the genius of Michael Angelo (1475-1564) the world seemed a narrow stage, and he was content to abide where the expression of his thoughts was made possible to him. He is very little of Florence, and little more of Rome.

The affection which made a bond between Dürer and Nürnberg endears him especially to his countrymen. For Nürnberg to the modern German is typical of the mediæval township, and the mediæval township represents a high-water mark in the social and intellectual history of the nation. The city of Nürnberg to this day preserves in part the appearance which it put on in the days of its prosperity. The chief features which belonged to it in Dürer's day, remain and assist the imagination in reconstructing a picture of what it looked like in the past.

The place was first mentioned in 1050. It owed its origin to the strategic advantages of the rocky height which here rises abruptly from the plain near a clear-flowing river. This rocky height successive emperors turned into

a fastness, and here they occasionally took residence. The rocky height with its fastness or *Veste*, still towers high above the city as it did in the fifteenth century. The palace of the Emperors is still adorned by remains of its elegant twelfth century decoration, and the beautiful castle chapel remains just as Dürer must have known it. Near the castle the Emperor's followers settled, and, as owners of the land, they held special privileges which they retained when the place assumed the standing of a township. From these followers were descended the ruling families, the *geschlechter* of the town, who in Dürer's days represented the patrician element. These were joined in increasing numbers by settlers who lived by the work of their hands and their brains, and who, previous to the fourteenth century, combined in guilds for the purpose of bettering their position, and succeeded in acquiring some share in the government of the town.

Nürnberg was drawn into the network of trade routes and communications which overspread Europe. The Crusades and the increased contact of north with south created

a demand in one country for the products and productions of the other. Merchandise from the East was shipped to Venice, and from here it was carried overland to the cities of Germany and Flanders and to the great Hanse towns of the north. Nürnberg lies on the route from Venice to the north, and was thus brought into direct relation with Italy on the one side and with Flanders on the other. Some of the great trading firms of Nürnberg had branch establishments in Venice and in Antwerp. These connections pointed the way in the journeys which Dürer undertook. Nürnberg itself developed considerable productive activity. Various men who visited it in the course of the fifteenth century praised it in their writings. Though it boasted neither a bishopric nor a university, it was the home of a number of learned men who raised its tone and attracted distinguished visitors to it. Several astronomers of renown settled here. A writer of the year 1447 states that sixty-five wheels inside the city walls were kept going by the river. The industry of the people of Nürnberg continues to this day, and remains proverbial in Germany.

LANDSCAPE PAINTED IN WATER AND BODY COLOUR

From the Original in the British Museum

Owing to the safety of the place, and its geographical position in the centre of the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation, the regalia were placed in its keeping (1424-1804). The regalia were exhibited in the market-place every Easter. At an early date Nürnberg was the seat of printing-presses, one of which became famous throughout Europe. Its owner was Koberger, who issued the Bible in Latin and German editions, and who published a World Chronicle, which was exposed for sale in many great cities in Germany, France, Hungary and Northern Italy. Koberger, the printer, stood god-father to Dürer.

A city's prosperity to a large extent is gauged by its building activity. The buildings which now-a-days give its special character to Nürnberg, are of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The church of St Sebaldus, the patron saint of the town, was built between 1361 and 1377. The church of St Lawrence was enlarged between 1439 and 1477. The church of Our Lady with its mass of statuary, was built on the site of the destroyed synagogue between 1345 and 1361. All these churches retain their old appear-

ance. The influential families of the town contributed to the interior and exterior decoration of these and other churches by gifts of triptych, votive painting, glass window and statuary. Thus the Imhofs, whose prosperity continued through centuries, made the gift of a great altar with painted wings to the church of St Lawrence in the fourteenth century. The artist commissioned to paint it was Berthold, who has other paintings still in existence. The church of Our Lady is still in possession of the large altar-piece by Pfenning, a painter of the fifteenth century, which was a gift from the Tucher family. These and other patricians in Dürer's day, continued to act as patrons of art, and thereby gave employment to the woodcarver and gilder, to the painter, the sculptor and the metal worker. Adam Kraft (†1507), the famous carver in wood and stone, was commissioned by the Imhofs to erect the *sacramentarium* which forms a great feature in the church of St Lawrence. He also erected a work of many figures in life size inside the church of St Sebaldus as a commission from Schedel, and monuments outside this

church for the families Schreyer and Landauer. Dürer himself found patrons among the old Nürnberg families. The Paumgärtner family commissioned him to paint an altar-piece which is known as the Paumgärtner altar, and the Holzschuher family ordered a replica of the Entombment.

And not only in the service of religion were the fine arts employed from an early date. The town councillors of Nürnberg, between 1332 and 1340, built themselves a town hall which was decorated with a number of scenes painted in fresco. These set forth incidents taken from the writings of Valerius Maximus, Plutarch and Aggellio (*sic*), which were intended "to move to justice the councillors and judges," and likewise "the notaries and scriveners." The exact subjects of these paintings are not known. They may have represented an accepted series, perhaps the same with which Meister Wilhelm in 1378 decorated the town hall of Cologne. The frescoes of Nürnberg were restored in 1423, and like those at Cologne they have long ago ceased to exist. But their existence and the fact that they were restored, show that the

art of painting served at an early date as the handmaid of law and justice as well as of religion, and that the imagination of the artist was not confined to any special class of subjects.

The town fortifications of Nürnberg now-a-days constitute its most striking feature. Succeeding centuries added to and perfected the belt of wall, moat and tower which surrounds the city. For regulating and serving the elements that were collected for peaceful purposes, was not the only care of the mediæval township. Dangers threatened from outside, and against these the township as such, had to be on its guard. What remains of the great walls of Nürnberg retains the old look of solidity. The moat though laid out in plantations, indicates the width and depth of the old encircling band of water. The massive towers still flank the walls, and afford a wide outlook over the surrounding country. And these fortifications did not serve as a protection only. On occasions they gave the citizens the courage to sally forth and bid defiance to the pretences of some minor potentate, whose views of law and justice did not tally with their own.

In addition to the towers of its fortifications, Nürnberg was surmounted by a multitude of other towers in the fifteenth century. The writer of 1447 cited above, mentions them, and quotes their number as one hundred and eighty-seven. This peculiarity Nürnberg shared with other cities. For the building activity of the Middle Ages delighted in the erection of towers; and the owners of great houses, whether in Nürnberg or Florence, Sienna or Regensburg, found pleasure and profit in raising unto themselves a tower. These towers Nürnberg, like Florence, has long ago forfeited. Regensburg and Sienna still possess a few. But the multitude of Nürnberg's towers existed in Dürer's days as his paintings and engravings demonstrate. As we shall see, the walled and fortified town which was in the foreground of the artist's affections, entered into many of his compositions, and this walled and fortified town is often Nürnberg. The town is drawn with great care and much detail in the engraving of St Anthony (1519), in which the saint sits on a hillock in the foreground and the town closes in the view (p. 195). Dürer frequently introduced a glimpse of the fortified city, or some details

THE APOCALYPSE (1498)
ST MICHAEL FIGHTING THE DRAGON, WOODCUT B. 72
FROM THE IMPRESSION IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

of its fortification, into his pictures, as in the St Eustace which belongs to an early date, and in the engraving of the Virgin and Child of 1511 (pp. 41, 125). His personal interest in the art of fortification was considerable, and it led him later in life to write on the subject. And Dürer not only represented the city as seen from outside. His pictures sometimes carry us into the midst of homely surroundings, and we are introduced to the living room, the bed-chamber and the study of contemporary Nürnberg. These surroundings are perpetuated in pictures which set forth incidents from gospel history and from the acts of the saints. For mediæval Christianity had so far succeeded in familiarising the folk with the stories of religion, that the figures of past ages took the semblance of reality, and Dürer, like other artists of the time, depicted the heroes of religion against the background of familiar surroundings. By doing so, he introduced a number of details into his pictures which, far from detracting from their value, give to them an additional interest. For in explaining the past, a few details often avail more than volumes of comment, and Dürer's pictures

supply the student with welcome information on the economic conditions and the standard of comfort of the time.

A notable instance is the picture of St Jerome of 1514 (p. 145), which carries us into a Nürnberg panelled room with the sunlight streaming in through the bottle-panes of two high windows. The Father of the Church has put off his clogs, and hung his pilgrim's hat against the wall. He is sitting at a table, writing, and around him are the wooden seats and chest, the loose cushions and huge tomes, the hour-glass and the crucifix, the brush, the rosary, the candlestick, the scissors, and the bundles of paper fixed against the wall, all in the ordinary way of contemporary life. A huge pumpkin hangs from the ceiling, and a skull lies on the sill. Only the halo of the saint, and the mild-faced lion who shares the foreground with the sleeping dog, indicate that the scene is a religious one. The same observation can be made in regard to other religious pictures. Sometimes a mere detail in the picture indicates the special associations of the subject, as the diminutive angel floating in the far distance, in the engraving of the

Nativity here reproduced (p. 75). Sometimes even this detail is absent, as in the woodcut of the Death of the Virgin (p. 97). Religious pictures were originally issued as single leaf illustrations of subjects and scenes, with which the folk were familiar through religious teaching and the religious drama. They needed no special indications to point their meaning.

A key to many of the curious contrasts which characterise the pictures of the time, is to be found in the contemporary religious drama. Pictures have been called the books of the illiterate. In the same way the drama has at times served as a sermon to the unregenerate. From an early period a dramatic character was given to the Easter ritual, and this at a later period was supplemented by a number of scenes or tableaux, which stood in some relation to the religious celebration. The minor clergy and their pupils undertook the performance of these Mystery Plays, the increasing popularity of which caused them to be carried from the church into the market-place. Here they underwent further modification. The story of the Passion in most cases still formed the nucleus of the play, but the play was enlarged by the

addition of scenes from the Old and the New Testament, and by comic interludes. The play in course of time took the form of a world-drama, which represented the cycle of human existence, beginning with the Creation and ending with the Day of Judgment.

The Mystery or Passion Play had a great influence on the pictorial art of Germany. On the one hand, it created a demand for pictures of the incidents with which the folk were familiar through the drama. On the other, it supplied the artist with a series of incidents, in the reproduction of which he was naturally influenced by the traditional scenic grouping and by the apparatus of acting. The play itself presented a curious medley of traditional and local influences. God Almighty appeared in pontifical or imperial robes ; Christ and the saints wore trailing garments and flowing locks; the angels had white robes and large wings; and the demons were characterised by a grotesque animal appearance. But by the side of the chief personages, whose appearance and emblems were fixed by tradition and enforced by usage, a host of minor characters trod the stage, on whose appearance tradition said noth-

ing. The king, the soldier, the shepherd, the medicine-man and the taverner appeared in the clothes which they wore in ordinary life. In the same way the apparatus of acting bore a mixed character. The sun and the moon that were carried aloft had human faces, the star was a star of six rays, and hell was represented by a monster-head with gaping jaws. But the babe was laid in a cradle with rockers, the demons carried fire-forks, and tables and chairs, pots and pans, were those of ordinary life.

These contrasts by the nature of things could not strike the spectator as ill-assorted. From the religious drama they passed into the pictorial art of the time. The influence which the arts of painting and of acting have had on one another at different periods of history, remains an interesting subject for investigation.

At one period of his life Dürer, like other painters of the age, drew religious scenes in the way in which the dramatic art of the time represented them. A peculiar interest from this point of view attaches to the series of pictures known as the Small Woodcut Passion, which was obviously addressed to a large

public. The story was told in thirty-eight pictures, which are in close correspondence with the scenes of the contemporary Passion Play. The series begins with the creation of Adam and Eve, and it ends with the Day of Judgment. There is the usual contrast between Christ in flowing robes, and soldiers in fifteenth century armour. Scenes are included in the series which formed special features of the drama. Among these scenes we note the blindfolding and buffeting of Christ, which reproduced a heathen sport with the intended victim. The exhibition of the Vernacle may also go back to a heathen tradition. The excessive brutality of the Jews was insisted on in deference to popular prejudice. All these incidents, which were included in the Passion Play, now formed the subject of pictures in the Small Woodcut series.

But Dürer told the story of the Passion several times over. Besides the Small Woodcut Passion, there is the Large Woodcut Passion, the so-called Green Passion, and the Engraved Passion. The artist himself set great store by the Large Woodcut Passion, which was

one of the "three large books" of which he presented copies to patrons and friends during his stay in the Netherlands. This series of pictures is conceived in a very different spirit from that of the small woodcuts. The artist here also necessarily stands on the ground of his age, but his outlook is wider, and the incongruities of the drama are to a large extent avoided. A typical example of this series is the Descent of Christ into Hell which is here reproduced (p. 111), and which gives a fair idea of the lofty interpretation of religious incident of which Dürer was capable.

The observation which applies to Dürer's woodcuts, applies to his paintings and engravings also. In some respects he accepted traditional methods, but where his purposes required it, he discarded them.

Thus Michel Wolgemut and Wilhelm Pleydenwurff, Dürer's immediate precursors and teachers in the art of painting, like other painters of the time, painted saints and scenes beneath carved arches of gilt Gothic woodwork on altar-pieces which consisted of a centre-piece with painted side panels. The centre-piece even in Dürer's time

MAN ON HORSEBACK (1498)

FROM THE DRAWING IN THE ALBERTINA, VIENNA

(*By permission of Messrs Braun, Clement & Cie. in Dornach (Alsace), Paris and New York*)

sometimes consisted of carved and painted figures which stood beneath real carved woodwork. The wings originally served as a covering to the centre, and they were painted in imitation of the centre in order that they might add to the size of this when they were opened. The wings, therefore, reproduced the appearance of carving. Even in the altar-pieces that consisted of painted panels only this peculiarity was maintained. Dürer did not paint carved canopies, but he followed the traditional arrangement of the triptych. The altar-piece that is now in Dresden, consists of a painting of the Virgin and Child in the centre, and of wings, on each of which is the figure of a saint. A similar arrangement characterises the altar at Ober St Veit of about the year 1502, and the Paumgärtner altar of about 1504. The great Heller altar of 1509 consisted of an Assumption in the centre, and of wings on which were pictures of the donors and of saints. But the picture of the Trinity, painted in 1511, one of the largest and most ambitious of Dürer's compositions, was never intended to have wings. The sketch for it, and the frame which Dürer drew for it, are in existence and show that in

this case the traditional arrangement was not followed (p. 117).

In small matters as in great, a progress from traditional to individual treatment in Dürer's work is observable. The Virgin and Child form the subject of a number of oil-paintings. The Virgin and Child of the Dresden altar-piece, the Virgin and Child in the painting of the *Festival of the Rose-garlands* (1506), and the Virgin and Child of the finch (1507) (frontispiece) are seen against a suspended curtain, following the arrangement observed by Bellini and other painters. This curtain was discarded in the paintings of the Virgin and Child of the iris of 1508,—of the cut pear of 1512,—of the pink of 1516,—and in the Virgin and Child of the apple of 1526, here reproduced (p. 251). Like Rafael, Dürer in the work of his best period discarded the conventionalities of arrangement, and presented his figures in natural surroundings. In one respect he went a step further than Rafael. Rafael to the end continued to paint a halo in the form of a golden line. The halo is introduced by Dürer as a metal ring with which cherubs are toying above the figures of St Anthony and St Sebastian on the

Dresden altar-piece. In the Christ of 1500 (p. 55) and in the Virgin and Child with the pink of 1516 there is the indication of a radiance only, but in other paintings the halo and the radiance are omitted.

In the engraved work and the woodcuts it is different. Here interesting changes are observable in the form of the halo and the radiance that are used. Their absence in the later work is doubtless attributable to a change in Dürer's religious views.

In his woodcuts he began along the lines indicated by his teacher Wolgemut, who drew radiance by means of straightened tongues of flame which start close to the head and the figure. Early woodcuts came into the market coloured and uncoloured, and a daub of yellow with which the halo or the radiance were painted, emphasised its meaning. Where the colour was omitted, the effect of light in the early cuts was indifferently produced. Dürer, in his first great series of woodcuts which illustrated the Revelation, worked in the way of Wolgemut with similar results. But before the completion of the series it seems to have occurred to him, that if a white space were left before

the lines of the radiance began, a better effect would be produced. Woodcuts in every case underwent some modification, between the time when the drawings for them left the hand of the artist, and the printer set on paper the imprint of the prepared block. Dürer's method of drawing radiance may have changed even before it is made apparent in the woodcuts. In these we note an increasing preference for a circular and then for a four-pointed white space before the lines of the radiance are indicated. Typical examples of the radiance in its later development are seen in the Man of Sorrows and in the Descent of Christ into Hell (pp. 131, 111).

In Dürer's metal engravings even greater changes are observable in regard to different kinds of halo and radiance. Schongauer, from whom Dürer learnt much, sometimes drew an opaque halo marked by a circular line; sometimes he indicated the outline of the halo by two concentric lines which were repeated within a smaller circle. This latter form seems to have originated in the Flemish woodcuts, in which the halo consisted of concentric bands of different colours. Dürer used the opaque

circular halo in the undated engraving of the Virgin and Child of the monkey, and in the engraving of the Vernacle in which St Veronica holds the kerchief, copied by Petrak. In the early undated St George, who is represented standing, a halo is indicated in the way of Schongauer by means of concentric lines. The successful treatment of radiance in the woodcuts, possibly the works of other masters, suggested a new way of drawing the halo.

In the St George here reproduced (p. 89), short lines start from the circumference of a circle, and the same kind of halo is used in other engravings, as in the St Jerome here reproduced. Dürer's progress in the art of drawing radiance in the metal engravings can be followed in his picture of the Virgin and Child in glory. This was a very favourite subject of single leaf religious pictures, and Schongauer among others engraved it. The idea was based on the passage in Revelation (xii. 1-3): "And a great sign was seen in the heavens, a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and on her head a crown of twelve stars." The "Child and Maid in the Sun" was made the subject of a number of

THE LADY ON HORSEBACK, Engraving B. 82
From the Impression in the British Museum
Dc

metal engravings by Dürer. In the earliest of these, which is undated, and in that of 1508, the crescent moon on which the Virgin stands, has a human face as in the early woodcuts, but the radiance is not well drawn. In the engraving of 1514 the radiance is improved, but the crown of the Maid is omitted. In the engraving of 1516 a rare degree of excellence is attained.

Dürer's religious views were to some extent influenced by the Reformation, and for this reason he seems to have represented saints and apostles without any indication of superior holiness in the latter years of his life. Among the engravings several represent the apostles. The apostles of 1514 are represented with a halo, those of the year 1523 have none. One of the apostles of 1514 and one of 1523 are here reproduced (pp. 153, 223).

Much could also be said on the changes in Dürer's method of work. The engravings of different periods are very different in appearance. Those which are here reproduced are unfortunately on so small a scale that the changes are barely perceptible. When Dürer took over the art of engraving, it was essenti-

ally an art of draughtmanship, in which the excellence of the work depended on the line only. Shading was used to indicate roundness, but there was no attempt to produce effects by contrasts of black and white. These were the lines along which the art developed from the time when the so-called Master of St Erasmus was active about the year 1450, to the time when it rose to new importance in the hands of Schongauer. Dürer at first worked in the same manner. The engravings of early years, including St Eustace (p. 41), the Virgin and Child of 1503 (p. 69), the St George (p. 89) and others, depend for their effect on the clearness of the lines. In later work a contrast between light and dark is brought out, often with the result of too much blackness. For a time Dürer abandoned this method of engraving altogether, and tried his hand at etching, a way of engraving which he is considered to have been the first to practise. The engravings which he produced by means of this process are beautiful through their softness, but the plates would not serve for continued printing, and Dürer abandoned this method of working, and returned to his earlier method, which he to some extent modified.

There is a mellow look in the later engravings which adds to them a new kind of excellence. In the Knight of 1513, the St Jerome of 1514, and the St Anthony of 1519, the masterly control of the line is maintained, but in addition to this, contrasts of light and darkness are introduced.

Further remarks might be added on the changes which Dürer's methods underwent. But a discussion of details is profitable only where the examples cited are at hand for reference. A further discussion would necessitate a larger number of illustrations, and these reproduced on a larger scale, than those which are here available. Enough has been said to show that Dürer's work is throughout marked by progress and by a perfecting of method. It was said of him that he invariably became dissatisfied with the work he had done within a short time of its completion. Earnestness of purpose, and the resolve to learn accompanied him through life. Through these came a tightening of intellectual grasp and an increase of artistic power of expression, such as it has been given to few men to attain.

II

The study of Dürer's work is facilitated by the artist's habit of adding his signature and a date to his work. A vein of self-consciousness was strong within him, and he seems to have been moved by the wish to give account to himself of what he did and why he did it.

Some of his early drawings bear his signature and a date (1489) for no obvious purpose. It is said that Dürer's friend Pirkheimer first advised him to add his signature to his work "like Apelles." This can apply to his paintings only; for it was the usual practice among engravers of the time to set their signature to their work. Dürer's engravings and woodcuts from an early period bear his signature, and from the year 1503 onwards, they usually bear a date also. The practice of adding a date to his work was probably due to his desire to assert a primary right over his pro-

ductions, which, in whole or in part, were reproduced by others. Vasari has much to say on Dürer's imitators in Italy, and though his information is not always based on good authority, he represents the view which was correctly taken of the matter on the further side of the Alps. Many of Dürer's illustrations of the Life of the Virgin and of the Small Woodcut Passion were reproduced in Italy by Marc Antonio Raimondi as metal engravings, and one of the reasons of Dürer's journey to Italy in 1505-7 is said to have been his intention to interfere with those who not only copied his work, but who used his signature also. In the land of his birth his work soon found imitators, and we find the councillors of Nürnberg in 1512 publishing a decree which threatened with confiscation of his goods "the stranger who sells near the town hall prints, and among them some that bear the signature of Dürer and are falsified copies." Conscious of the dangers that threatened to him from imitators, Dürer added to the Life of the Virgin a warning in writing to those who imitated and appropriated the work and talents of others.

Dürer not only added his signature and a date to his work. Many of his drawings and sketches have a few lines in writing added to them, which indicate their meaning or the circumstances which led to their production. Coloured drawings of ladies bear remarks such as these: "in this style they go to church in Nürnberg,"—"in this style they are dressed at home in Nürnberg,"—"in this style Nürnberg women go to the dance, 1500." The drawing in charcoal of Emperor Maximilian (p. 187) bears these words: "this is Emperor Maximilian such as I, Albrecht Dürer, high up in the palace at Augsburg, in his small chamber, drew him in the year 1518, on Monday following the day of St John the Baptist." The words or sentences which Dürer added to some of his sketches and drawings give point to what would otherwise be unclear or meaningless. We should be ignorant of many of the places which he visited were it not that he affixed the name of the place to the drawing which he made of it. From his drawings we learn that he visited and drew Trient, Innsbruck, and the Pass of the Venediger, probably on the journey of 1505-7, and that he went a

journey in the year 1515, on which he visited several places in south Germany.

Especially the remarks which Dürer added to the drawings which he made on his journey to the Netherlands help us to realise their meaning. A drawing of his wife bears these words: "This is how Albrecht Dürer drew his wife at Antorff (Antwerp) in Netherland costume in the year 1521, when they had been married seven and twenty years." Another drawing bears the words: "On the Rhine my wife at Boppard," and by her side a young woman wears what are designated as "Cologne bands."

Dürer was in the habit of treasuring his drawings, and in some instances the same drawing served him over and over again on later occasions. There is a striking colour drawing of a knight in full armour which bears the explanatory words: "this was the armour worn at the time in Germany" (p. 27). The signature and the date 1498 seem to have been added by the artist himself later. This drawing carries us back to occasions such as that of 1499, when the city of Nürnberg was called upon by the Emperor to furnish a contingent

ST EUSTACE, Engraving B. 57

From the Impression in the British Museum

of troops for the expedition which he was planning against the Swiss. The contingent, in this case, was led by Dürer's friend Pirkheimer, and it consisted of four hundred foot soldiers, sixty horsemen and six portable cannon. The knight on horseback was doubtless a Nürnberg patrician who joined the horsemen and who was drawn from the life. The drawing served Dürer later in more than one picture. In a drawing of the Crucifixion in black and white on coloured paper of 1502, and in the engraving of St George which was begun in 1505 and completed in 1508 as is shown by the corrected date, the same horseman is seen from behind. Again the same drawing, and in this case the position of the horseman also, served Dürer in the great engraving of 1513 which he designated as the Knight, but which is commonly known as the Knight, Death and the Devil. The drawing of 1498 and the engravings of 1508 and 1513 are here reproduced, and enable the reader to judge of their likeness.

There are great attractions in tracing the development of a representative artist, and in realising how far his creations are moulded of the

stuff with which his predecessors supplied him, and how far his studies of the world around him, enabled him to add to the general storehouse of art. Many of the figures which Dürer drew were traditional, and in many of them he did no more than modify that which others before him had drawn. Others of his figures are creations of his own, and on these his drawings and sketches throw welcome light. The reproduction of all these drawings, which is at present being carried out, will help the student of Dürer to compare his work with that of his predecessors, and realise his position as a creative artist.

To some of his drawings Dürer added remarks on a later occasion. At certain times of his life he seems to have passed in review the contents of his portfolios. This is illustrated by the earliest portraits which he drew from his reflection in the looking-glass at the early age of thirteen. In the one the boy's chin rests on his hand, it is unfinished and was evidently discarded as a failure. In the other, the boy in the same clothes is represented sitting up. This drawing was finished, and beneath it, later in life, Dürer

wrote: "This I drew from my reflection in the looking-glass in the year 1484 when I was a child."

The desire to draw from an early age was strong within him. While he was training to be a goldsmith with his father, he already drew in his leisure hours. Besides the early portraits of himself, there is a drawing of a lady holding a falcon, on which another hand has added these words: "This too is old. Albrecht Dürer previous to his coming to paint in the house of Wolgemut, drew it for me on the upper floor of the back house in the presence of Count Lohmeyer, deceased."

Dürer's drawings and sketches are very numerous. Some are studies for his larger engravings and paintings. The relative number of the studies that were made for a special work, and the care with which they were drawn, point to the relative importance, in the artist's eyes, of the work for which they were intended. Thus for the large engraving of Adam and Eve of 1504, which seems to mark a turning-point in the artist's career, the figures in their relative positions were drawn several times over on

paper, and a number of studies were made for the hands of Adam. A similar importance was attached by Dürer to the painting executed at Venice, for which eleven studies are known to be in existence. Again for the great Heller altar-piece which was completed in 1509, and which unfortunately is no longer in existence, Dürer made many studies, including drawings of a number of heads from the life. We further gather from his drawings that Dürer planned several large paintings, such as that for the Schilling family in 1513, which were never executed.

Some of Dürer's drawings represent the inspiration of the moment and stand by themselves. A striking charcoal drawing of the year 1505, of a skeleton on horseback, is of this class. It belongs to the time when Dürer was agitated by many thoughts, to which the plague that was making havoc at Nürnberg gave a sombre background. Death at the time was usually represented by an emaciated figure, sometimes with a skull for a head. Dürer himself drew it in this manner in the Four Riders of the *Apocalypse* and in the engraving of the *Spaziergang*. The

charcoal drawing of 1505 here reproduced (p. 83) is one of the very few instances where he represented a skeleton.

The portraits from life were often charcoal drawings such as that of the Emperor Maximilian mentioned above. About the year 1503 Dürer began to draw in this style, which he favoured, with some interruptions, all through life. Some of these drawings bear the name of the person whom they represent, others unfortunately do not, and we are supplied with living likenesses, such as those of the young men here reproduced (pp. 167, 173), without any clue to their identity. The drawings of this class, in some instances, served as the basis of finished portraits, but as in the case of other great masters, Dürer's drawings from life often have a force which is wanting in the finished portraits. Emperor Maximilian died in January 1519. The sketch which Dürer made of him in 1518, served for a woodcut that is dated 1519, and for a painted portrait of the Emperor, now in Vienna, which bears the same date. But both these lack the vigour and refinement of the charcoal drawing.

THE WITCH, Engraving B. 67

From the Impression in the British Museum

Dürer's portraits included some of the notable men of the age. Besides the Emperor, we have portraits of the Elector of Saxony, of the Cardinal-bishop of Brandenburg, of Erasmus, Melanchthon, Eoban Hesse, Pirkheimer, and a host of others, who are connected with the history of the Reformation. In a number of instances, the same man whom Dürer painted, was painted also by another great master. The comparison of these portraits is interesting. For the portraits of one man by different painters, perpetuate different sides of the character that is painted, and indicate the different attitude in which each painter approached his subject. The portrait of Erasmus, which was painted by Holbein, and which is now in Paris, catches the delicacy, the refinement, and the touch of superciliousness, which characterised the greatest scholar of the age. But it is to Dürer's charcoal sketch here reproduced (p. 201), that we must go for an appreciation of the keen sense of humour and of the intellectuality, which caused the great Greek scholar to become the author of the Praise of Folly. From an early period of his life Dürer

was filled with the belief, that it was possible by studying and combining the good points in a multitude of persons, to attain a canon of the perfect human figure. The results of his enquiries were grouped together and eventually published as "Four Books of Human Proportion." The existing Human Proportion drawings are very numerous. They consist of carefully drawn and measured figures of men, women, and children, some of which were reproduced by woodcuts in the printed volume, whilst others were discarded. The outlines of these figures are in every case drawn with masterly skill. And Dürer has left behind no work in which the accuracy of his hand is more conclusively manifested than in these outline drawings.

Besides dating, naming, and in some cases explaining his work, Dürer at different periods of his life wrote down information concerning himself. An inventory of his possessions, made in 1507, points to the simple wants of a great artist. The diary which he kept on his journey in the Netherlands, affords valuable glimpses of the habits and the customs of the age. In 1525 Dürer compiled notes on the

origin and the history of the family from his father's papers.

From them we learn that the Dürers, whose name points to their German origin, lived for some time as peasants in Hungary. They may have been transplanted there as colonists. Dürer's grandfather and father both learned the craft of the goldsmith. The father after the usual term of apprenticeship, probably of four years, spent many years as a journeyman, wandering from town to town and working wherever he found employment. He stayed for some time in the Netherlands, "with the great artists." Finally he came to Nürnberg, where he settled, and married the daughter of his employer.

They had eighteen children of whom only three were alive in 1525. The size of this family was by no means unusual. The printer Koberger, who stood godfather to Dürer, in the course of forty-two years had twenty-four children by two wives. Caspar Nützel, a fellow-townsman, had twenty-one children by one wife. This number of births was counterbalanced by an appalling rate of infant mortality. The facts are not without sig-

nificance in regard to art. Artists are guided in their work by what surrounds them. In the fifteenth century, girls of the better classes usually boarded in convents, and the women who did not marry, generally went to live there. The women who walked about in Nürnberg were mostly married, and the size of their families added to their matronly look. In the art of the time, and notably in that of Dürer, it is in vain that we look for the angular grace and the lightness of tread of girlhood and youth. Womanhood between the ages of five and five and twenty, is practically not represented, and the women who enter into the painters' compositions are represented standing and walking in a way which does not appeal to modern taste, and seems to us unnatural.

The relations of Dürer to his parents were marked by appreciation of the elders' good principles. Both the father and mother were hard-working and honest, pious and God-fearing.

"This my dear father," wrote Dürer, "was very careful with his children to bring them up in the fear of God; for it was his highest wish to train them well that they might be

pleasing in the sight both of God and man. Wherefore his daily speech to us was that we should love God and deal truly with our neighbours.

"And my father took special pleasure in me because he saw that I was diligent in striving to learn. So he sent me to the school, and when I had learnt to read and write he took me away from it, and taught me the goldsmith's craft. But when I could work neatly my liking drew me rather to painting than to goldsmith's work, so I laid it before my father; but he was not well pleased, regretting the time lost while I had been learning to be a goldsmith. Still he made allowance for it, and in 1486, reckoned from the birth of Christ, on St Andrew's Day (Nov. 30) my father bound me apprentice to Michel Wolgemut, to serve him during three years. During that time God gave me diligence, so that I learnt well, but I had much to suffer from his lads."

This instance of a goldsmith's son and pupil turning painter, does not stand alone. The work of the goldsmith and of the painter were to some extent related. Two brothers

of Martin Schongauer were working goldsmiths. Botticelli's father was a goldsmith, and he instructed his son in his craft. The Pollaiuoli, Antonio (†1498) and Pietro († after 1496), were the sons of a goldsmith, and Antonio served his term of apprenticeship with his father. Again, Andrea Verrochio, († 1488) the teacher of Lionardo da Vinci, among other crafts practised that of a goldsmith. It will be remembered that the craft of the goldsmith covered a wide range of productions, and that it has every claim to be called a fine art. It had risen to excellence in the service of the Church, where the reliquary and the book-cover, the chalice and the censer, the crozier and the crucifix, and the various brooches and insignia of dignity worn by the clergy, gave scope to artistic invention and treatment. Nor was the art at the time lacking in the charms of colour, for the translucent glass enamel on gold of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries has the brilliancy of a MS. illumination.

The relations between different arts at different periods are worth attention. The rise of an art depends on the combination

and perfection of a number of qualities in one special direction. By a change of taste and of fashion the art declines. But this decline does not involve the consequence that the qualities which it developed in its prosperous days, and which humankind has acquired by slow or painful labour, cease to be. They are diverted into other channels, and bring about the development of a different art.

The art of miniature-painting is held to have stood sponsor at the baptism of the art of panel-painting. In Flanders and along the Rhine, where the art of the miniaturist flourished, painting found its first great development. But the art of the goldsmith appears to stand between both, taking from the one and giving to the other. Certainly in Flanders and in some parts of Germany, the goldsmith took rank before the painter in the beginning of the sixteenth century, but their relative importance was changing. At Antwerp, where Dürer witnessed the procession on the Day of our Lady (August 1520), "when the whole town in every craft and rank assembled, each dressed in his best according to his rank," the guilds that walked first in

THE CRUCIFIXION (1500)

FROM THE PAINTING IN THE GALLERY AT DRESDEN

(By permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.)

the procession were the goldsmiths and the painters.

In the entertainment which was prepared for Dürer, the goldsmiths again took the lead. "On Carnival Sunday (Feb. 1521) the goldsmiths invited me to dinner early with my wife. Among their assembled guests were many notable men, and they had prepared a most splendid meal, and did me exceeding honour." At Bruges the relative standing of the guilds was the same. "And at Bruges (April 8, 1521) they prepared a banquet for me, and I went with them from it to the guild hall where many honourable men were gathered together, goldsmiths, painters and merchants, and they made me sup with them." Judging from these remarks, the goldsmiths still held their own, and those to whom the scope of the work sufficed, did well. Dürer's younger brother Andreas worked with his father, and a cousin named Niklas came to Nürnberg to learn with the elder Dürer. He afterwards set up at Cologne where Dürer visited him, when there was an interchange of gifts between them. "And I gave my cousin Niklas my black fur-lined cloak edged with velvet, and to

his wife I gave a florin. And my cousin Niklas gave me wine." So Dürer made entry in his diary. And yet from the time when the Church ceased to act as a patron to the goldsmith, his art began to decline. For the employment which princes and potentates offered, was poor compared with the wide range of productions which church ornament and church furniture required. Those who sit for their portraits usually put on their best ornaments. The ornaments worn by laymen at this period, judging from their portraits, have little merit from the artistic point of view. For these ornaments are remarkable chiefly for the multitude and the size of their precious stones.

In early days the stone which was used by the goldsmith, might be a crystal, for the work was valued not according to the stone but according to its setting. In Dürer's time, the costliness and the size of the jewel became the chief consideration. The wealthy burghers of the sixteenth century are usually represented with a ring on the forefinger of one hand; sometimes they wear one or more rings on the forefinger of each hand, and these rings invariably contain an enormous

jewel. Dürer, when he stayed in Venice, was kept busy buying precious stones for rings for Pirkheimer, and the wealthy merchants of the Steelyard who were painted by Holbein, all wore such rings. Dürer himself owned one, and he painted himself wearing it in his portrait in the picture of the Trinity of 1511.

This change in taste naturally affected the goldsmith, who began to change places with the jeweller, and as a result, the qualities which the art at one time engaged, were diverted into other channels. The cunning of hand, the keenness of sight, and the imaginative powers, which belonged to the goldsmith during the Middle Ages, sought and found new scope in the arts of engraving and panel-painting, for the productions of which there was an increasing demand.

We know nothing of the character of the work which issued from the workshop of the elder Dürer. It is thought that Dürer in later years sometimes tried his hand at working in metal. A small silver plate with a woman's figure worked in relief, which bears the date 1509 and his signature, is in the possession of the Imhof family. Whether he actually executed

such work or not, he certainly supplied the goldsmiths with designs. His drawings include designs for ear-rings or pendants, for plaques that were probably intended for a casket, and for a number of goblets and of spoon handles. The design for one of these spoon handles, drawn in pen and ink, is here reproduced (p. 159). It represents a knight kneeling inside a border of vine leaves, and all the details of his clothing and his armour, including his spurs and his plumed helmet, are drawn with unerring accuracy within a very small compass (14 × 17 centimetres). It is not known if this design was executed. In the diary kept in the Netherlands, Dürer states that he drew a design for headbands, such as were worn by women, for a goldsmith at Antwerp, and that, for his friend Tomaso Bombelli, he made designs for three sword handles. These facts point to his continued interest in goldsmith's work, not to his actually engaging in it. This was indeed out of the question except in the workshop of a friend. For the goldsmiths were everywhere constituted into a guild, and they would have resented as an infringement of their rights, the production of work on

the part of one who was not enrolled as a member.

At the time when Dürer was apprenticed to Michel Wolgemut (1434-1519), this painter owned a famous workshop or *bottega* from which issued a variety of productions. Those who wish to realise the individuality of an artist as a means of better understanding his work, seek to form some opinion of the abilities of his teachers. The paintings of Perugino have an additional interest when we think of him as the teacher of Rafael, and we long for a well authenticated example of the work of Squarcione, in order that we may better understand Mantegna. Germany, however, owns no Vasari, and the biographies of its painters have been pieced together from scattered notices in town records and stray remarks of contemporaries. From these we gather that Wolgemut was the son of a Nürnberg painter; that he spent some time abroad as a journeyman; that he returned to Nürnberg and worked with the painter Hans Pleydenwurff († 1472); and that after this man's death, he married the widow and took over the business. Wilhelm Pleydenwurff († 1494), the son of Hans, remained with him

THE "WEIERHAUS"

From the Original Painting in the British Museum

as his associate, and other painters of note such as Hans Trautt, are known to have worked under him. In the words of Neudörfer, "This Wolgemut in his time was considered an able artistic painter and engraver, for which reason Albrecht Dürer's father gave him, Wolgemut, his son Albrecht to teach. How Wolgemut engraved is to be seen in the great Nürnberg Chronicle, and his painting is the altar-piece in St Augustine's near the Schustergasse, which was a commission from Peringsdörffer. He died in 1519."

The commissions which Wolgemut executed before the time when Dürer joined him, show the importance of his position. In 1478 he was commissioned to furnish a great altar-piece for the Church of Our Lady, which consisted of a centre that contained nine carved and gilded figures in life size, to which were added painted wings. For this altar-piece he received the sum of 1400 gulden. During the term of Dürer's apprenticeship another great altar-piece, the commission from Peringsdörffer, was in course of construction. This consisted of paintings only, and in spite of the remark quoted above, it is held to be the work chiefly

of Wolgemut's associate Pleydenwurff. In the paintings of this altar-piece which is now in the museum at Nürnberg, a number of saints are represented poised on flowers in a manner, which recalls the genealogical trees with which Wolgemut illustrated the World Chronicle, and which Dürer later in life (1515) reproduced in the drawings with which he illustrated the prayer-book of the Emperor Maximilian.

These altar-pieces, with which Dürer must have been familiar, show considerable affinity to the contemporaneous productions of the schools of Flanders and Cologne. Wolgemut is held to have visited Cologne, the towns of the Netherlands, and perhaps Colmar. Of the younger Pleydenwurff's journeying nothing is known. Doubtless, like other painters, he went abroad for several years as a journeyman, taking employment wherever he could get it, and seeking those places by preference which had the reputation of producing good work of the kind in which he was interested.

The youthful painter of this age, like the learners of other arts and crafts who had served their term of apprenticeship, naturally followed the great routes of communication,

which united the great commercial and intellectual centres. Painters from Nürnberg, like Wolgemut and Pleydenwurff, would bend their steps in the direction of the Rhine, and following its course would enter the Netherlands.

In Colmar they might be brought face to face with the famous painting of the Virgin of the Rose Hedge by Schongauer. At Cologne they might see Stephan Lochner's modest maidens with their sweet expression of face, who would reveal to them an ideal type of German womanhood, or behold the realistic terrors of his great painting, the Day of Judgment. In Brussels they would hear of Roger van der Weyden († 1464) and gaze with wonder at the unmatched brilliancy of his colouring. At Bruges they might come across Hans Memling (1424-1499), who was giving a new development to the art of oil-painting, taught by the brothers van Eyck. Hans Memling is the Giovanni da Brueggia of Vasari, from whom Antonello da Messina († 1497) learnt the improved art of oil-painting on panels which he carried from Germany to Italy. Again at Ghent they

might come across Hugo van der Goes († 1482), who in 1468 prepared the decorations for the entry into the city of Charles, Duke of Burgundy, and Margaret of York. Van der Goes is the Ugo d'Anversa of Vasari, and the church of Sta Maria Nuova in Florence still contains the great painting which he executed as a commission for Tomaso Portinari, who was the resident agent of the Medici at Ghent. This connection may have caused Justus of Ghent, (Giusto da Guanta), to seek his fortune in Italy, where in 1474 he painted the Last Supper for the church of Sta Agata at Urbino, as a commission from Count Federigo († 1486), for whom Giovanni Santi, Rafael's father, also worked. Thus various art centres were brought into communication with one another, and the same ideas on art were carried from place to place. Influences at work in other cities guided the course of Dürer's teachers and, through them, himself. But striking as the paintings of Wolgemut and Pleydenwurff are, to gaze on them is to marvel how in the space of one generation the art of painting could have leaped from the formalities and conventionalities of

these painters into the consummate art of a Dürer. As we stand in the Sala del Cambio at Perugia and wonder what it was that enabled Rafael to cast off the limitations of a school and to draw the paintings of the Stanze which appeal to collective humanity, so we stand before the productions of the early Nürnberg school, filled with admiration for the dignity of these figures, and for the conscientious care with which the colours are laid on, but roused more by the thought of the possibilities which lie in these paintings than by that which they actually express.

Work of many kinds was executed in the workshop of Wolgemut and Pleydenwurff, and Dürer could acquire a variety of knowledge. Besides the altar-pieces which were made, Wolgemut from about the year 1488 onwards, was engaged in producing the woodcuts with which he furnished the printer Koberger. To these we shall return later.

We hear also that Pleydenwurff in 1491 was commissioned to restore, paint and regild the so-called Beautiful Fountain, a work of many figures, which still adorns the market-place of Nürnberg. For this work he received

the sum of 400 gulden. In work of this kind the expenditure of material was doubtless great, still the sums which were received by Dürer's teachers were much in excess of those which were paid to Dürer in his most prosperous days. The price paid for the Peringsdörffer altar was 1400 gulden. The price which Dürer received for the great Heller altar-piece was 200 gulden. He might, as he states himself, have sold it after it was finished for 300 gulden, but this seems to have been the limit of what it was held to be worth.

The many-sidedness of Italian painters is emphasised by Vasari, but a variety of occupations seems also to have fallen to the share of members of the painting brotherhood north of the Alps. Dürer, besides the art of painting, could acquire knowledge of wood-engraving and of other branches of art in the workshop of Wolgemut. The view is maintained by some writers that Wolgemut himself practised the art of metal engraving. But this view has little in its favour, and it remains uncertain from whom Dürer actually learnt how to engrave on metal.

A criterion of what the youthful artist learnt during the term of his apprenticeship, is afforded by a painting of his father of the year 1490, which is here reproduced (p. 5). It is simple in arrangement, clear in colouring and careful in execution. In spite of a certain stiffness in the figure and a stare in the eyes, there is something very real about it. The man is painted in his fur cap and his fur-lined coat, holding his rosary in hands that show traces of hard work, especially in the short square nails. The signature and the date of the portrait are a later addition, but on the back of the panel is the same date, painted in the quaint figures used at the time, beneath the arms of the Dürer family. The door of the Dürers is on the left, the stag of the Holpers, Dürer's mother's family, is on the right. This addition of the arms of the family indicates the increasing self-confidence of the youthful artist.

"When I had finished my learning my father sent me off, and I stayed away four years till he called me back again. As I had gone forth in the year 1490 after Easter, so now I came back again in 1494, as it is

VIRGIN AND CHILD (1503), Engraving B. 34
From the Impression in the British Museum

reckoned, after Whitsuntide. When I returned home, Hans Frey treated with my father and gave me his daughter Mistress Agnes by name, and with her he gave me 200 florins, and we were wedded on Monday before Margaret's (7th July) in the year 1494."

The places which Dürer visited during his absence have been the subject of much speculation. We have the authority of Scheurl in favour of his visit to Colmar where he went to see Schongauer. When he reached the town Schongauer was no longer among the living. His brothers, however, were there, and Dürer probably stayed with them for some time. He may have gone on to Basel and visited Venice. The following passage in a letter which he wrote from Venice during his stay there in 1506, is taken as evidence that he had been there before. "And that which pleased me so well eleven years ago," he wrote, "pleases me no longer; if I had not seen it for myself I would not have believed anyone who told me." The probability of a visit to Prague, of a prolonged stay in the Netherlands, and of a term of work in Basel, have been urged by different writers, but their

views are not supported by any direct evidence. There is much uncertainty about the work which the young artist executed at this time. Several drawings and sketches of landscapes in body colour and water-colour are looked upon as the fruits of his term of absence. A pleasing portrait of himself which is in Leipzig, bears the date 1493. It was perhaps painted for the purpose of introducing the painter during his absence to his intended wife.

The landscapes of Dürer call for a few words of comment. Those which are coloured belong to the early part of his life. Judging from his work generally, he devoted much time and attention to drawing from nature. A woodland scene such as that introduced into the St Eustace, and the Knight, here reproduced (pp. 41, 139), point to careful and prolonged study. Especially in his large metal engravings of the early period, such as the Fortuna or Nemesis, and the Amymone, Dürer drew most careful and accurate views.

The coloured landscapes of the early years show the youthful painter at work in a direction which had not hitherto attracted attention, and in which he had no immediate followers.

Landscape painting as an art in itself is relatively modern. Even in classic times, love of nature found expression in the painting of scenery, but this scenery, beautiful and real as it often looks, attracted attention in relation to human pursuits and human interest only. It is the background of life, it is not life itself. The flowery meadow in the past was the carpet for youthful dancers; the rocky shore intensified the dread of impending separation; the reposeful distance by contrast heightened the movement in the foreground. But the varying relations of land and water, the thrilling moments when earth and sky meet, and the glory of the mountains in cloud and sunshine, were not a source of inspiration to the painter for what they offered in themselves. Nature as the mirror of contending feelings and aspirations—nature as the refuge and salvation of an impassioned temperament, was as yet undiscovered.

Some of Dürer's landscapes, however, seem to be inspired by the sense of boundless possibilities which comes from being transported into new and undreamt-of surroundings. The sight of mountains and distance

roused him to reproduce in his careful and conscientious way what he saw before him. Among his large coloured sketches is the one here reproduced (p. 13) which perpetuates a distant prospect such as mountain scenery reveals. The heavy fir trees, the mountain pool, the melting cloud, and the sunset that blots out the near distance, reflect the mood of the young artist, who has escaped from the cramped surroundings of town-life and has shaken from his feet the dust of the plains.

And yet Dürer, in keeping with the temper of his age, in the work with which he came before the public, dealt with landscape as an accessory only. There is a beautiful finished sketch in water and body colours by him which he designated as the "Weierhaus," and which is a finished work of art in itself. It is here reproduced (p. 61), but, robbed of the colouring, the reproduction can give a faint idea only of its excellence. According to modern ideas the picture stands complete in itself. It is a peaceful afternoon scene with the lines of cloud reflected in the river. But even the "Weierhaus" did not commend itself to Dürer as a work that could appeal to the public

by itself. He must needs use it as part of another picture. And thus, with the omission of the winding shore and the boat in the foreground, the "Weierhaus" reappears in the metal engraving of the Virgin and Child of the Monkey.

NATIVITY (1504), ENGRAVING B. 2
FROM THE IMPRESSION IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

III

The period of Dürer's activity, between his return to Nürnberg in 1494 and a prolonged stay in Italy some eleven years later, included a wide range of productions. To youth and ambition each path is a possible turning, and Dürer was drawn first in one, and then in another direction.

His first care after his return must have been to earn a living, and for this the art of wood-engraving offered a possible opening.

This art during the latter half of the fifteenth century went forward by giant strides. On one side it developed in connection with the blockbooks, in which much illustration was interwoven with some amount of text. On the other, it furnished illustrations for the books printed with movable type, which were addressed to a large public.

Among the popular subjects of blockbook illustration was the story of the Apocalypse

or Revelation. Other favourite subjects were the Life of the Virgin which was based on the Canticle, and the Art of Holy Living and Dying. The Apocalypse especially enjoyed great popularity. It was in circulation as a blockbook as early as 1465, and a number of different editions were published in Germany and in the Netherlands before the close of the fifteenth century.

To the Apocalypse mankind has repeatedly turned in times when the consciousness of abuses was aroused, and, with this consciousness, the desire to call to account those who were considered responsible for the evil. There is something at once vague and hopeful, stirring and soothing in the wealth of its imagery, which appeals to the perturbed mind, and guides it into smoother channels.

The Apocalypse and many writings which were based on it, were issued with illustrations. Nürnberg was one of the cities which led the way in the production of printed and illustrated books. Among the numerous firms of printers that were at work there in the latter quarter of the fifteenth century, was that of Sensenschmid, which

published illustrated books as early as 1475. The printer Anthoni Koberger (†1512) also issued many illustrated books. Koberger, as mentioned above, stood god-father to Dürer.

The activity of Koberger is full of interest for the study of the book-trade and of the taste of the reading public at the time. Between 1475 and 1501 he published no less than sixteen issues of the Bible, of which the Latin issue of 1481, and the German issue of 1483, were illustrated with cuts. The blocks for the cuts of the German Bible were the same as those that were used in the Bible of Cologne, but as a few of the blocks were wanting or spoilt when Koberger received them, he had several additional blocks cut in the same style. From the year 1488 onwards Koberger illustrated his books with original cuts, and to execute these, he engaged the firm of Wolgemut.

In 1491 Koberger published the "Schrein or Schatzbehalter," a mystic work in praise of the Trinity which was illustrated with over ninety cuts, the work of Michel Wolgemut. These have great merit from the artistic point of view.

The "Schrein," like other mystic works, was to a large extent inspired by the Apocalypse, and like the Apocalypse it was full of imagery. The pictures in which Wolgemut perpetuated this imagery, show a great advance on the illustrations of the Apocalypse of the German Bible. Wolgemut's winged hosts of heaven, his vision of the Crucifixion, and his scenes from the Life of the Virgin and from the Passion, point the direction in which success was afterwards achieved by Dürer. What marred the excellence of some of his cuts was the smallness of their size. The fineness of the drawing was ruined by the rudeness of the cut, and the close proximity of the thick printed lines obscured the clearness of the grouping. The "Schrein" like the Bible, came into the market with its woodcuts, either coloured by hand, or uncoloured. The colouring consisted for the most part of daubs of blue, red, yellow, purple and green. But this colouring, rude as it was, to some extent restored the clearness of the arrangement. Necessarily it detracted from the interest of the pictures as examples of draughtsmanship.

The success of the Schrein prompted Koberger to enter into an agreement with Hartmann Schedel in the year 1491 to publish his World Chronicle. For this work also the firm of Wolgemut supplied the necessary cuts. But the Chronicle bore marks of having been done in a hurry. The same cut was used over and over again to secure the desired number of illustrations, and this was carried so far that the same view, for example, was made to do service as a picture of Naples, Damascus, Verona and other north Italian cities. But in spite of its drawbacks the book secured an unprecedented success. It carried the fame of Koberger to Paris and Lyons, Prague and Basel, Vienna and the cities of northern Italy. And it secured the designation of "the prince of printers" to its publisher.

It is to these publications of Koberger that we must turn for a criterion of the art of wood-engraving at the time when it was taken up by Dürer. In his choice of a subject and in the way in which he presented it, he was directly influenced by his predecessors. His first great venture was the "Secret Revelation of John

or *Apokalipsis cum figuris*" with Latin and German text and a beautiful frontispiece in ornamental Gothic lettering, which he issued in 1498. This series of fifteen illustrations came into the market uncoloured. They claimed attention purely as examples of draughtsmanship.

The Apocalypse of Dürer reached the high-water mark of the art of illustration generally, and especially of the art of wood-engraving. To this day the work is popular in copies good, bad and indifferent. It has gained an increased popularity during recent years through excellent reproductions. Throughout the series the most fantastic imagery is given a literal rendering, and, with unhesitating boldness, the artist puts the vaguest and most complex visions upon paper. The "mighty angel clothed with a cloud; and the rainbow was on his head, and his face was as the sun, and his feet as pillars of fire," from the artistic point of view seems an impossibility. But Dürer unhesitatingly set himself to grapple with this and other difficulties, and the figure of the angel falls into place in the series.

In the sequence of his illustrations Dürer

closely followed the cuts of the German Bible of 1483, and those who are interested in the progress of art, will find the hour which they devote to examining the pictures side by side profitably spent. The number of the Bible cuts at first sight seems to be smaller than that of the illustrations by Dürer, but more than one of the Bible cuts consists of several pictures arranged side by side, so that, when one comes to look at them closely, the Bible illustrations in number really exceed those of Dürer's work by one. In both series the Revelation itself is introduced by a picture of John's martyrdom before the Emperor Diocletian, and this is followed by his call and the vision of "one like the Son of man" in the midst of the seven lampstands. A picture follows of the book with seven seals, and the breaking of each seal. The breaking of the first four seals set free the Riders of the Apocalypse. This is one of the finest pictures of the series. In this case the quaint little model which Dürer had before him, seems to have caused an unexpected modification in his picture. In the old woodcut the rider on the white horse, "and his name that sat on him

ME-ENTO MEI (1505)

was Death," holds in his hand a scythe, his usual attribute. In Dürer's picture the hands of the rider grasp a handle as though it were that of a scythe, but the completion of this would have carried the scythe itself outside the compass of the picture. For this reason apparently a fork takes the place of the sword of biblical language, and the scythe of tradition. The subject of the Four Riders was subsequently treated by a number of other draughtsmen, and it is curious to note how some of them reproduce the fork of Dürer, while others, in closer correspondence to the older interpretation, restored to Death his scythe. Dürer himself did so in the picture of Death of 1505 (p. 83).

After the opening of the seals comes the distribution and the sounding of the trumpets and the letting loose of the woes. The combat of Michael against woe in the form of a dragon was a favourite subject of single leaf illustration; Schongauer is among those who engraved it. In this case Dürer therefore had other models besides the quaint Bible cut to guide him, and, perhaps for this reason, this picture shows him quite at his best (p. 19).

In other details Dürer closely followed the Bible cuts, as we note in the appearance of one of the beasts, and in the opening of the bottomless pit, in which the angel who carries the key prepares to lock in and seal down for a thousand years the Old Serpent whom he leads in chains. By the side of the small and quaint Bible illustrations, Dürer's magnificent pictures appear in their true light. No words can convey an idea of the lofty interpretation of the text which is maintained throughout the series.

A few remarks are suggested by the series itself. Opinions are still divided on the question whether Dürer had a hand himself in the preparation of some of the blocks for the printer. The comparison of the different pictures shows that the draughtsman and the cutter of the blocks to some extent worked independently of one another. Thus the beast of "seven heads and ten horns" appears in several pictures, and every time its appearance is different. According to the text two at least of these beasts should be alike. Their unlikeness makes it probable that block by block passed out of Dürer's

hands as he finished drawing it, so that he could not have the previous pictures by him for reference.

The series seems to have been drawn without studies being made for it, for only one study for the Scarlet Woman, a drawing of the year 1495, is known to be in existence.

A later age has set store by this series of woodcuts as heralding the Reformation, and on this basis has dealt with Dürer as a promoter of Protestant views. Certainly in these pictures the persons who are represented as suffering retribution for their sins include pope, emperor, bishop and cleric. But the same feature is peculiar to earlier illustrations of the Apocalypse. Those who are conscious of unjust oppression invariably treat as their oppressors those who are in power, whether their authority be temporal or religious. Dürer struck out no new lines of thought of his own in producing the series. He fell in with the temper of his age, and the importance of his work consists in his using his greater artistic power, and his superior mental grasp, to picture the unrest which had fallen

on mankind, in the most impressive and most dignified manner.

The large size of Dürer's woodcuts saved them from suffering in the way of those of Wolgemut. The lines are clear, and there is no over-crowding of the figures. Their size (15 × 11 inches) was exceptional, but it seems to have met with the approval of others besides the artist. For the production of the Revelation series prompted Dürer to begin another series of illustrations of the same size which set forth the Story of the Passion. This series at the outset seems to have consisted of seven undated woodcuts. It was afterwards enlarged, and in its complete form, as it was issued in 1511, it consisted of twelve pictures. This was the usual number of pictures in which artists, guided in their choice of the pictures by the chief scenes of the religious drama, perpetuated the story of the Passion. Schongauer also, and Glockenton after him, issued the story of the Passion in twelve pictures.

The Large Woodcut Passion again included many features which were traditional, such as the human-faced sun and moon, and the shaggy terrier disporting himself in the fore-

ground. Taken as a whole, the series, in spite of certain concessions to the taste of the time, is inspired by the same lofty spirit as the Apocalypse, and it reflects the same noble sentiment.

Another series of woodcuts representing the Life of the Virgin followed close upon it. Seventeen of these woodcuts which are without a date, belong to a relatively early period. The date on a sketch for one of these pictures is 1503, and the earliest date on the pictures themselves is 1504. In this series again, Dürer was to a large extent influenced by his predecessors, especially by Schongauer. The Flight into Egypt, and the Death of the Virgin closely correspond to that artist's engravings of the same subject. The Death of the Virgin is here reproduced (p. 97).

Perhaps the Small Woodcut Passion, which in its complete form included thirty-five pictures and a frontispiece, most of which are undated, belongs also to this early period of Dürer's activity. Many of these pictures have the peculiarities of his earlier work, but the series, as indicated above, represents a popular interpretation of a popular subject. It

ST GEORGE ON HORSEBACK (1505-8) ENGRAVING B. 54

FROM THE IMPRESSION IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

is therefore difficult to decide how far the work is the production of early years, or how far it represents a return in later years to earlier methods.

The Small Woodcut Passion is free from antique details which Dürer introduced into the Large Woodcut Passion and into the Life of the Virgin. Among such details we note a head set like a medallion against the wall in the picture of the Flagellation, a small satyr introduced into the decorative work on the Ecce Homo, a small figure in classic armour and decorative work, including what seems to be Hercules in pursuit of a boar, on the Virgin's Entrance into the Temple, and similar details in the Betrothal of Mary and Joseph.

The introduction of these details indicates new directions in which Dürer was drawn for a time. The Renascence affected him in two ways. On the one side it roused his interest in details of antique entourage, which stimulated in him the wish to devote his powers to the illustration of the fables of classic antiquity. On the other, it awakened him to consciousness of his ignorance of the human form, a knowledge of which human-

kind had possessed at one period, as was clearly shown by the work of the past.

The return to the study of the human form as such, marks the revolution in favour of tenets which art, owing to Christian influence, had for a long time disregarded. The religion which urged man to realise in himself some of the excellence of the Godhead, set before itself an ideal very different from that of the religion, which rested content with accepting and picturing excellence in the gods. To Christianity the moral nature was the first essential, and the moral nature was expressed, not so much by face and form, as by expression and bearing. On expression and bearing the mediæval artist fixed his attention, and in doing so he succeeded in realising a new type of spiritual beauty in the saints, which signals the advance of mankind and of art in a new direction.

But the artist, in rendering the beauties of human expression, lost sight of the beauties of human form. And when the desire arose in him to represent the saints in action, he found himself handicapped by his utter ignorance of the human body. The want

was felt especially in the north, where the attempts to represent movement often resulted in the representation of contortions. In Italy the old traditions were never entirely lost, and classic work was always there for reference. In Pisa the sarcophagus of Greek workmanship is still shown, which served Niccolò Pisano († 1278) as a model for his reliefs in the Baptistry.

Where sculpture led the way, the art of painting followed, and antiquities of various kinds once more came to be prized. A famous collection of these was made by Squarcione at Padua, and this artist set his pupils to revive the past in their pictures. In this movement the lead was taken by Mantegna († 1506), Squarcione's adopted son, and his most gifted pupil.

Dürer's interest in the antique may date from the time of his wandering, or from his contact with the advocates of the new learning in Nürnberg. According to his own account, his belief in the superior knowledge of the past dates from his contact with the Italian painter Jacopo dei Barbari, whom, according to recent research, he may have

met at Nürnberg as early as 1494. Jacopo was from Venice, and he had come north carrying with him a knowledge of the human form, which was based on a canon of proportion of which he talked, but which he refused to make known to Dürer. Dürer in a draft of the introduction of the Book of Human Proportion which he intended to write, wrote about Jacopo as follows: "I have no doubt that my plan (of writing a book) will be looked upon by many as ignorance and folly, because they will see in it little purpose and insufficient insight. They will find me quoting from no learned man, but writing according to my own understanding. They are right. Rather would I listen to and study a man who is learned and famous in this art than myself who am unlearned. However, I found no one writing of these matters save one, and that was Jacopo (dei Barbari) by name, a good and able painter, born at Venice, who showed me a man and a woman whom he had drawn according to measurement, and though I understood the plan according to which such a thing could be done, I could not find out the way how he applied his art. Though I

was young I took the matter to heart, I turned to Vitruvius who wrote some information on the limbs of a man. Starting from these two teachers I worked according to my own understanding. And what I discovered I will put to light as well as I can, for the sake of the lads, without making so bold as to teach powerful masters, who know more than I do, and from whom I am willing to learn."

The book on art which Dürer intended to write, underwent many modifications in the mind of the painter. This we gather from the numerous drafts of its introduction, and its list of chapters. He returned to it at different periods of his life. The first part of the book was ready for printing in the year 1528, and in this the name of Jacopo who is mentioned in the earlier drafts, is omitted. There is no doubt that he helped to introduce Dürer to contemporary Italian art.

There are extant two drawings in pen and ink by Dürer which bear the date 1494 and which are copies of engravings by Mantegna. The one represents Tritons, the other is a

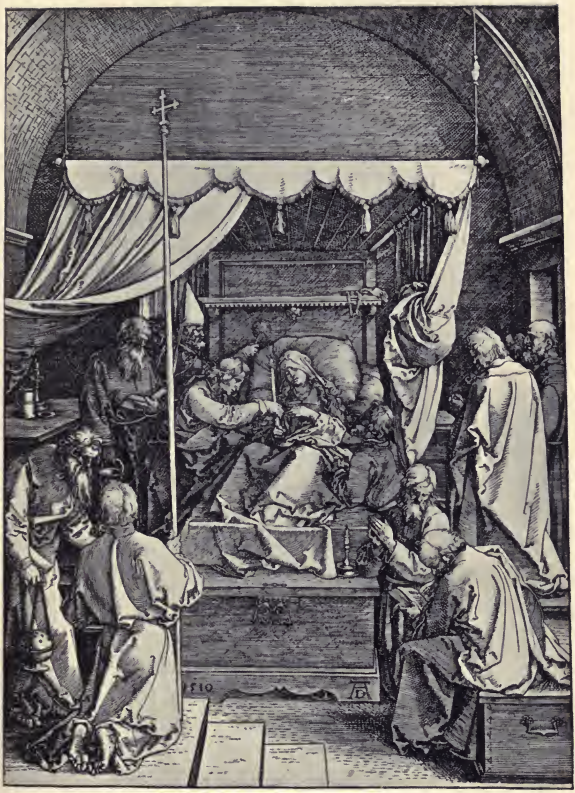
Bacchanalian scene. In drawing the latter scene Mantegna himself made use of an ancient relief. Another drawing by Dürer of the same year represents the death of Orpheus, on which the figures of an older Italian engraving are represented on a different background. Again a number of coloured figures drawn by Dürer, among them Philosophy, Jupiter, and others, are described as free copies on a large scale of figures which are to be found on the so-called Tarok cards, said to have been engraved by Baccio Baldini. In the year 1495 Dürer also made a drawing of the Infant Christ in an attitude repeatedly used by Lorenzo di Credi in his paintings. These drawings which mostly represent the nude, must have opened the artist's eyes to the necessity of drawing direct from the living model.

Studies from the nude were made possible at Nürnberg at the time by the institution of the public baths. These public baths, the *badstuben*, formed a great feature in the German mediæval city, and in many ways they resembled the Roman *balnea*. For here also men met and joined in friendly converse; and old and young, men and women, moved about

freely, for the sexes were not necessarily separated.

A number of Dürer's drawings and engravings go back in their origin to the studies which he made in these surroundings. A well authenticated scene of 1496 represents women and children in the *badstube,* which afterwards served for an engraving that is commonly attributed to Hans Baldung Grien. Dürer himself engraved a scene in which six men, who wear no more than the conventional loincloth, are seen grouped together under an awning, making music and drinking. Another engraving which is commonly known as the Graces represents four women drawn from the nude, who are holding a piece of drapery between them. This bears the date 1497. A famous engraving called the Dream, represents a man who has fallen asleep by the side of a stove. A demon by means of a pair of bellows is introducing insinuations into his ear, and these are illustrated by a woman drawn from the nude, who stands in the foreground of the picture.

Among the engravings of Dürer which are based on the study of the nude, is one which is



THE DEATH OF THE VIRGIN (1510), Woodcut B. 93

From the Impression in the British Museum

known as the Witch. It has an archæological as well as an artistic interest, and it is here reproduced (p. 47). It represents a woman with streaming hair and a spindle and a distaff, who is seen riding through the air on a goat, with angels playing on the ground below. The emblems of the woman and the presence of the children indicate the mother goddess of the German heathen pantheon, who was held to preside over the regions of the unborn, and whom the teachers of Christianity succeeded in branding as a witch. The atmosphere of Nürnberg at the time was heavy with the revived interest in those women, who clung to a belief in the use and the efficacy of certain forms of heathen ritual, and whose imagination ran riot under the fear of persecution. Witchcraft was popularly dealt with in a "Fastnachtspiel" in Nürnberg in 1454. A terrible book on witchcraft, the "Malleus Maleficarum," appeared in 1487, and two editions of it were issued by Koberger in 1494 and 1496. Other publications on witches followed one another in rapid succession, and point to the increasing excitement on the subject. It was under the influence of this excitement that Dürer drew his Witch,

who is neither hideous nor helpless. Hans Baldung Grien, Dürer's pupil and follower, produced other pictures of witches, and one of these also came into the market with the monogram of Dürer and the date 1510.

Dürer's interest in the human form and the way in which the Italian artists used their newly acquired knowledge to revive the fables of classic antiquity, was encouraged by his contact with the representatives of the new learning. Foremost among these, the so-called humanists, was Conrad Celtes (†1508), who was crowned poet-laureate by the Emperor in Nürnberg in 1489, and who repeatedly stayed there between 1491 and 1496. Celtes for years travelled about in Germany from city to city, calling on those who were interested in the culture of the past, to band together in learned societies, and to promote the publication of learned books. Celtes owed his laurel crown to the recommendation of Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony (†1525), who founded the University of Wittenberg, and who afterwards protected Luther. Celtes, when he was at Nürnberg in 1496, stayed with Schreyer, who

had helped Schedel towards publishing the World Chronicle. Sebald Schreyer was also full of interest in the classic past, and he had his house at Nürnberg decorated with frescoes representing Amphion, Orpheus and Apollo, and with epigrams of Celtes, altered to suit the surroundings, which were inscribed on the walls. Schedel, the author of the World Chronicle, who wrote history and patronised religious art, was also an ardent collector of classical information. Several volumes are extant which belonged to him. One contains the essays of the Florentine writer Poggio on Roman antiquities, and fragments of the diary of Cyriacus of Ancona, with illustrations. A great likeness is said to exist between some of these pictures and some drawings of classical subjects by Dürer, such as Mercury leading people in chains. The painter was therefore acquainted with the collection. Another enthusiast for the history of the past was Danhauser, who followed Celtes to Vienna. These men were all on friendly terms and closely allied with Wilibald Pirkheimer (1470-1530), the chief patron of learning and the learned in Nürnberg, who took a liking to

Dürer, and introduced him to the circle of his acquaintances.

Pirkheimer, like other German scholars of the time, studied in Pavia and Padua, from whence he returned to Nürnberg in 1497. Two years later he led the contingent of Nürnberg troops against the Swiss, and described this expedition in a history of the war in Latin which he afterwards published. From the year 1501 onwards he was stationary at Nürnberg. Pirkheimer was a powerful and distinguished man, but he was wilful, passionate, and pleasure-loving. Dürer's drawings of him that are dated 1503 prove their intercourse at this time. Dürer repeatedly pourtrayed Pirkheimer, and he also painted him standing by his side in several of his large pictures. From these pictures we gather that the scholar was in every way the opposite of his friend in appearance. He was fleshy and ponderous, with heavy hands and a flat nose which precluded every claim to good looks. Pirkheimer was devoted to the new learning, to the sum of which he contributed by editing writings of Plutarch and Fulgentius, and by translating the sentences of

Nilus from Greek into Latin. His love for the Greek authors made him collect their works as they issued from the printing-presses of Italy, and his belief in the superior claims of classic over contemporary learning was unbounded.

In the years 1501 and 1502 Celtes stayed for some time at the house of Pirkheimer at Nürnberg. He had come there for the purpose of editing the writings of Rosvitha (Hrotsvith), a tenth century nun, which he had discovered in a south German monastery. This book was published in 1501 and contained a number of illustrations, two of which are attributed to Dürer. In one the nun is represented offering her works to the Emperor Otto; in the other the poet Celtes is represented offering the printed edition of these works to the Elector of Saxony. These drawings are clear and forcible, but they bear no signature. Another book was issued by Celtes called "Libra quator amorum," in 1502, and this was also illustrated with cuts, some of which are doubtless by Dürer. In one the crowned poet kneels before Emperor Maximilian; a number of classical figures, indifferently

PORTRAIT OF DÜRER. By Himself

(By permission of Messrs Hanfstaengl)

grouped, are around them. The other is a picture of Philosophy who is represented sitting, and around her are arranged in medallions, Plato, Albertus Magnus, Virgil, Cicero and Ptolemy. This picture bears Dürer's signature.

Sketches for parts of these woodcuts were discovered in one of the volumes that belonged to Schedel, and these sketches are looked upon as rough indications drawn by Celtes himself of the arrangement which he wished Dürer to observe in the illustrations of his work. This fact explains the peculiar arrangement of the figures and their learned allusions. In drawing them Dürer was following the poet's directions, not working out his own ideas.

The outcome of contact with the representatives of the new learning, induced Dürer to illustrate a number of classical subjects in engravings, which are remarkable chiefly for the excellence of their technique. The painter of Nürnberg was acquainted with classic fables at second-hand, so to speak, for he knew no Greek, and his Latin was limited to what the current use of Latin texts and

Latin prayers in religious service had taught him. Classic works of art he could only know through the medium of drawings and illustrations, which, by the nature of things, in the fifteenth century conveyed only a very inadequate impression of the originals. Engravings and drawings of classical subjects by Italians, such as those of Mantegna, guided him at the outset. Later he composed pictures, drawing from his imagination, and putting to a new use representations from the antique, with which books such as that owned by Schedel supplied him.

Among the engravings which reproduce scenes from classic antiquity, is a famous picture know as Jealousy, which represents a satyr, reclining on the ground with a woman; two other figures are attacking and defending them. Another large engraving is known as Amymone or the Sea-monster. This curious creature, half man, half dolphin, is bearing off a nymph, whose sisters stand on the distant shore, wringing their hands. Again there is an engraving of Apollo and Diana, in which the god stands stringing his bow while the goddess fondles a stag. One

of the most charming engravings of the class, doubtless because of its freedom from classical affectation, is an idyllic scene representing a small satyr, who stands piping to a woman who reclines on the ground with her child. This is the only engraving of a profane subject that is dated. It is of the year 1505.

One painting only was the outcome of Dürer's classical studies. It is a picture of Hercules shooting the Stymphalian birds, which was perhaps suggested by an Italian model. In this painting, which is held to be of about the year 1500, Hercules is represented as a tall, slim figure with a profusion of golden locks, who in appearance has nothing in common with his thick-set classical namesake. A bow-case of a peculiar shape hangs at the hero's side, and this bow-case is similar to one which is depicted hanging on a tree in a drawing of Hercules and Antæus which is attributed to Mantegna.

All these pictures are the outcome of Dürer's continued interest in the nude, but it is the nude of the *badstube*, in which heavy clothing was for a time put aside. As illustrations of the fables of antiquity there is necessarily some-

thing very unreal about them. For the German painter at work in Nürnberg was one step further removed from breathing life into the figures of the classic past, than his Italian brothers on the further side of the Alps.

After some time, for reasons which are unknown, Dürer's feelings for the classic past suffered a complete revulsion. After devoting assiduous care to the illustration of the fables of antiquity, he became entirely estranged from pagan mythology, and deliberately returned to his household gods. The change is of considerable importance in regard to German pictorial art generally, for it staved off the dangers which were threatening German, or Gothic art, as it is sometimes called, from the unrealities of the Renascence. Till the close of the fifteenth century, the artists of the north had been intent on representing that which to them was real and momentous. Their horizon was limited, but they were masters of it. The effect of the revived interest in classic art so confused them, that they lost their old standpoint and forfeited their claim to a national art for centuries to come.

Dürer's resolve to remain true to his traditions was part of a wider movement, of which we see other signs in contemporary Nürnberg. The Carthusian prior Pirkheimer put before the humanist Danhauser, the author of the "Archetypus triumphans Romae," the fact that his heathen studies estranged him from Christian belief. The abbess Charitas, a sister of Pirkheimer, in a letter to the humanist Celtes, warned him of his too great heathen sympathies, and urged him "to give up celebrating the unseemly tales of Jupiter, Venus, Diana, and other heathen beings, whose souls are burning in Gehenna, and who are condemned by right-minded men as detestable and deserving oblivion." Charitas some years later was in correspondence with Dürer, with whom, like other members of her family, she was on very friendly terms.

Dürer's resolve henceforth to devote the knowledge of the human form which he had acquired to the celebration of Christian divinities, was expressed by him some years later in passages which are preserved among his literary remains. These remarks, judging by their handwriting and appearance, were

jotted down in Dürer's most impulsive manner. The passages expressed ideas to which he continued to attach importance, for he repeatedly re-wrote them, and, in a modified form, they served as part of the dedication to Pirkheimer of the Book of Human Proportion. The passages are as follows:—

"Pliny wrote that the old painters and sculptors, such as Apelles, Protagenes and the rest, ably set down in writing how a well-built man's figure can be drawn. Now it may well be that these noble books were suppressed and destroyed as idolatrous in the early days of the Church. For they said: Jupiter should have such proportions, Apollo such others; Venus shall be thus, Hercules thus, and so with all the rest. If according to my belief it was so and I had been there I would have said: 'Dear, holy lords and fathers, do not because of its evil use, so lamentably destroy the nobly discovered art which has been got by great toil and labour. For art is great, difficult and beneficial, and we may and will honourably turn it to the glory of God. For, in the same way as the fairest figure of a man was represented

in the false god Apollo, so we will use the same measurements for Christ the Lord, who is the fairest of all the earth. And as they figured Venus as the loveliest of women, so we will in all modesty give the same beauteous form to the most pure Virgin Mary, the mother of God. And of Hercules will we make Samson, and thus will we do with all the rest.' But such books have we none. Therefore, since that which is lost cannot be recovered, one must seek for something new. This has induced and encouraged me to make known my ideas here following, in order that those who read them may develop them further, and find a nearer and a better way."

The engraving of the Satyr and his family is of 1505. This seems to have been the last picture of a profane subject which Dürer drew for many years to come. His changed attitude towards classic subjects may go back to the year 1504, for a large number of religious pictures are of this year. They include the charming Nativity or Christmas here reproduced (p. 75), an additional woodcut illustration of the Life of the Virgin which represents the meeting of Anna and Joachim,

THE LARGE PASSION

THE DESCENT OF CHRIST INTO HELL (1510), WOODCUT B. 14

FROM THE IMPRESSION IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

and the set of twelve large drawings on green paper which are known as the Green Passion. These are looked upon as some of Dürer's best productions as regards delicacy of drawing, and grouping of a large number of figures. These drawings are now in Vienna. Another remarkable production of this year was the engraving of Adam and Eve, two figures drawn in the nude. To this picture Dürer himself attached considerable importance. The figures were drawn over and over again in their relative position to one another; sketches of the hands were drawn at different angles from the life; and imprints of the plate were taken at different stages of its completion. The engraving carried out Dürer's intention of applying his knowledge of the human figure to non-profane subjects. For Adam and Eve before the Fall were sinless and therefore perfect, in body as well as in mind.

The engraving of Adam and Eve has been the subject of much comment, since the attitude of Adam has some resemblance to that of the Apollo of Belvedere, while the attitude of some classic Venus may have served as a model for Eve. A drawing of Apollo who is

designated as such, is among the drawings of Dürer. This drawing is done in pen and ink; its lettering is reversed, which shows that it was originally intended for an engraving. The attitude of the god on this drawing, stands half-way between that of the Adam and of the Apollo of Belvedere. If Dürer used the figure of Apollo as a model for that of Adam, the existence of special studies for the hands of Adam is explained, for his hands are in different positions from those of the god.

The figures of Adam and Eve are of the same build as many others which Dürer drew for his book on Human Proportion. We see from the sketches, that they were planned according to the canon of measurements which Dürer at this time had realised. This canon demanded that certain points in the human figure, such as the joints, the forking and the ends of the limbs, the navel, etc., should be at a relative distance from each other. The points were first determined, and then the outline of the figure was drawn. The figures of Adam and Eve were planned out in this manner. On one of the sketches the points were indicated, and the figures

were drawn in outline. Then the sheet of paper was turned over and the outlines only were traced on the reverse. The proportions of the figures of Adam and Eve are much the same as those which Dürer in the published work of 1528, assigned to the normal man and the normal woman of middle size.

Some time seems to have passed after Dürer's settling in Nürnberg before commissions for paintings came to him.

This delay may have been due to the high reputation which was enjoyed at the time by the firm of Wolgemut and Pleydenwurff. Dürer on his return did not join his old teachers, but he remained on friendly terms with them. Pleydenwurff died in 1494, but Wolgemut lived on to the ripe age of eighty-two; and Dürer's portrait of him, painted in 1516 (p. 181), indicates their continued intercourse.

The art of painting in one branch does not seem to have been practised by the firm of Wolgemut. This was the art of portrait-painting, and in this Dürer first gained renown. There is a charming painted portrait of himself of the year 1493, at the age of

twenty-two, which may have been sent during his absence from home as a gift to his intended wife. Of the year 1497, there is extant the portrait of a girl known as the Fürlegerin, which may have been painted as a study for a picture of the Virgin. It is extant in two copies, one of which is in Augsburg. Considerable care in this picture is devoted to the painting of the hair, a speciality in which Dürer excelled. The same is observable in another portrait of the artist by himself of the year 1498. In this he is represented most elegantly dressed. For love of fine clothes was not confined to womankind at this period. Portraits of Hans Tucher and his wife, now in Weimar; of Niklas Tucher, now in Cassel; of Oswald Krell (1499), now in Münich; point to an awakening interest in the talents of Dürer among his fellow citizens. There is also extant a portrait of Dürer's wife of 1500 on which she is designated as "my Agnes," and another of 1504, on which she is called Albrecht Dürerin. Several striking likenesses drawn in charcoal bear the date 1505. These include two likenesses of Pirkheimer seen in profile, a youth seen in front-

face (aged eighteen), who is supposed to represent a member of the Paumgärtner family, and a woman's portrait slightly turned to one side. Most of Dürer's portraits were painted in profile or half profile; he rarely represented the subject of a portrait in front face, as he did himself in the famous portrait of himself that is here reproduced (p. 103).

A portrait of the Elector Frederick the Wise which is undated, probably secured to Dürer his first commission for a large painting. This portrait is painted in water-colours and is now in Berlin. The Elector repeatedly stayed at Nürnberg between 1494 and 1500, and as mentioned above, he was the patron of Celtes. His appreciation for Dürer's powers was marked. After founding the University of Wittenberg, he devoted some attention to the restoration of the church there, and this church in 1506 boasted of three altar-pieces by Dürer. These altar-pieces were doubtless familiar to Luther, and inspired him with his appreciation of the painter.

The earliest of these altar-pieces, which is now in Dresden, was presumably painted before the close of the century. It consisted of a

THE ADORATION OF THE TRINITY (1511)

FROM THE PAINTING AT VIENNA

(*By permission of Messrs J. Löwy*)

triptych with a Virgin and Child in the centre, and wings on which were represented St Anthony and St Sebastian, the latter a three length figure painted in the nude. This picture in all its parts is well arranged and carefully executed, and from the point of view of technique, it has considerable merit. It is superior in many ways to the so-called Jabach altar-piece of the year 1500, of which part is in Frankfort, and one wing in Cologne.

This superiority of the earlier over the later work, is attributable to the fact that Dürer at the outset worked without assistants or lads, whom he employed as soon as commissions multiplied. It was the usual practice at the time for painters to have lads to study under them. These lads helped the master with the preparation of his materials, an arduous task, and they were set to lay on the colours when the master had drawn the design of the picture.

Among those who at one time worked with Dürer, and who afterwards gained renown on their own account, was Hans (Süss) von Kulmbach († 1522), who is said to have worked at one time under Jacopo dei Barbari, and of whom dated paintings of the years 1511

and 1513 are in existence. Another painter who belonged to Dürer's staff, was Hans Baldung Grien († 1545), who removed to Strasburg in 1509, and who was established from 1511 to 1517 as a painter in Freiburg in Breisgau, where Dürer probably visited him. A third painter who was closely associated with Dürer was Hans Schäuffelin († 1534), who is credited with having assisted Wolgemut in the production of the large altar-piece at Schwabach, which was completed in 1508. Schäuffelin probably trained under Dürer, and entered the workshop of Wolgemut when Dürer dissolved his *bottega* in 1505, previous to leaving for Venice. He remained on friendly terms with Dürer, who, when he went to the Netherlands, carried with him engravings by Schäuffelin, which he disposed of by the side of his own.

Dürer's proposed work on art was intended to serve as a book of instruction for young painters. One draft of the introductory remarks was headed: "the following little book is called a dish for painters' lads"; the other states that: "the following work is to teach painting to lads." The thought

of training others for a time engrossed Dürer's attention, and in keeping with this, he drafted a prologue to the book, according to which he intended to give advice, "how the lad should be taught, and how attention should be given to the nature of his temperament"; and again, "how the lad should be brought up in the fear of God and in reverence, in order that he may attain grace, whereby he will be much strengthened in intelligent art." All these chapters remained unwritten, but their headings indicate the direction of the painter's thoughts.

Other paintings of the early period of Dürer's activity include an Entombment, which is extant in two copies. The original, which is now at Nürnberg, perhaps represents a work which was ordered for the church of the Dominicans there. A replica was made for the Holzschuher family, and set up in the church of St Sebaldus. This copy is now at Munich. A striking picture of the year 1500, represents Christ on the Cross. It is now at Dresden and is here reproduced (p. 55.) This picture is painted like a miniature, and its diminutive size, six inches by seven and a half,

yields a reason for its excellence, since Dürer painted the whole of it himself. Beneath the cross are the words, *Pater in manus tuas commendo spiritum meum.* It is a remarkable composition. The draperies floating in the air emphasise the fact that the cross is raised on high, and the darkness of the sky and the light against the horizon, intensify the feeling of utter solitude.

At first sight the spirit in which this painting is conceived strikes one as modern. But on looking more closely at other productions of the time, we note that this figure with the same floating draperies appears as a vision of Christ among the illustrations of the "Schrein or Schatzbehalter" by Wolgemut. This woodcut, small and crude as it is, seems to have been present to Dürer, who reproduced its arrangement with the superior power of colouring and the superior knowledge of the human form, which his studies of the nude had brought him.

A further commission for an altar-piece came from the Elector. This again resulted in the production of a triptych, on which a Crucifixion with many figures filled the centre. On the

one wing was depicted Christ bearing the Cross who is met by St Veronica, on the other was a picture of Christ appearing to Mary Magdalen. Studies are extant for this picture, which are dated 1502. The altar-piece was subsequently acquired by the archbishop of Vienna and placed in the church of Ober St Veit, hence it is sometimes called the altar of St Vitus. The production of this work was followed by that of an altar-piece which came as a commission from the Paumgärtner family, and which was set up in the church of St Katherine at Nürnberg. On this a Nativity filled the centre, and portraits of the two donors, each standing by the side of his horse, filled the wings. This a large work of considerable merit. It is now at Munich. The last painting of the period was the Adoration of the Magi of the year 1504, which is now in the Uffizi at Florence. This picture is simple in arrangement and brilliant in colouring, and has all the charm of Dürer's best work. It is relatively small, and this again may be a reason for its excellence, since the master probably executed the whole of it himself.

Dürer, when he first settled at Nürnberg,

lived in the same house with his parents. His father died suddenly in the year 1502. In his biographical notes, he described how the maid came running upstairs to summon him to his father's bedside, but when he reached it, his father had already passed away. The sentences which he added to this record of the fact, indicate his own religious attitude.

"I pray you for God's sake, all ye my friends, when you read of the death of my pious father, to remember his soul with a Pater Noster or an Ave Maria, also for your own soul's sake, that as we serve God, we may attain a blessed life through a happy end. For it is not possible for one who has lived well, to depart ill from this world, for God is full of mercy."

The attitude of his mind is further indicated by the following curious entry, which he made on a leaf that is among his MSS. at the British Museum. This points to an awakening interest in science such as it was in those days, when astrology hampered the development of astronomy, and interest in the black arts interfered with an unprejudiced appreciation of the forces of nature.

"The most wonderful thing I ever saw,

occurred in the year 1503, when crosses fell upon many persons, and on children rather than on older people. Amongst others I saw one of the form which I have represented below" (the rough drawing of one of these spots indicates the figure of Christ on the Cross with the Virgin and St John standing at the foot, one on either side). "It had fallen into the shift of linen stuff of Egrer's maid, as she was sitting in the house at the back of Pirkheimer's. She was so troubled about it that she wept and cried aloud, for she feared she must die because of it. I have also seen a comet in the sky."

There is no clue to this curious information. Dürer was ill during the year 1503 as he stated himself; perhaps he was troubled in his mind also.

On the death of his father, he took his brother Hans to work under him, and in 1504, he took his mother, "for she had nothing to live upon," to share his home also. Dürer's marriage remained childless, but in spite of this, his income does not seem to have left him a surplus. In the year 1505 he decided to go to Venice, drawn thither by a

THE VIRGIN AND CHILD (1511), Engraving B. 41
From the Impression in the British Museum

variety of reasons. Foremost among these, was the desire to acquire further knowledge, and to measure his powers against those of the Italians. At the same time practical reasons made his going desirable. The learned theologian Wimpheling, writing in the year 1502, stated that "Schongauer's follower, Albrecht Dürer, a German also, was most distinguished, and painted perfect pictures, *imagines absolutissimas*, which were carried by merchants to Italy, and were there esteemed by the best painters as no less valuable than the paintings of Parrhasius and Apelles." Dürer's fame had been carried to Italy by his woodcuts and engravings, which were copied and used by the painters there. Vasari in his article on engraving, says that the beasts of the Revelation series were freely copied in Italy. He then describes how Marc Antonio Raimondi bought the series of the Small Passion from the merchants of Germany, who exposed for sale engravings and woodcuts by Dürer, on the Piazza San Marco. These engravings he copied so exactly, using Dürer's monogram, that the difference between them was not detected. Dürer, when he heard this, was

angry, and forthwith started for Venice with a view of inducing the Signory to protect his interests. There are some difficulties about Vasari's statements, but they yield an additional reason for Dürer's journey.

Moreover at the beginning of the year 1505, the store-house of the German merchants at Venice was destroyed by fire, and it is considered probable that this involved the loss of prints consigned by Dürer to the merchants of Venice. Added to this, a pestilence broke out in Nürnberg in 1505, under the influence of which Dürer drew the sketch of King Death, on which he restored to Death his scythe (p. 83). Dürer himself may have been ill again at the time, for the dated works of this year are few. Before the close of the year 1505 he was on his way to Venice. Pirkheimer lent him the money to go, and the Imhofs and Anton Kolb were there ready to befriend him. He carried with him six paintings, and doubtless a number of prints. He also left many prints for his wife and his mother to dispose of at the fairs of Nürnberg and Frankfort. This departure for Italy brings the first period of his activity to a close.

IV

Dürer "to the honourable and wise Master Wilibald Pirkheimer, Burgher of Nürnberg, my kind Master. (Venice, 6 Jan. 1506.)

"I wish you and yours many good, happy New Years. My willing service first of all to you, dear Master Pirkheimer! Know that I am in good health; I pray God for better things than that for you. As to those pearls and precious stones which you commissioned me to buy, you must know that I can find nothing so good or even worth its price, for everything is snapped up by the Germans. Those who hang about the Riva want four times the value for anything, for they are the falsest knaves alive. No one need look for an honest service from any of them. Some good fellows have told me to beware of them, they cheat man and beast. You can buy better things at a lower price at Frankfort than at Venice. About the books which I was to

order for you, the Imhofs have already informed you. But if you want anything else, let me know and I will attend to it with all zeal. Would to God I could do you some great service. I would do it gladly, seeing how much you do for me. And I pray you, be patient with my debt, I think of it oftener than you do. When God helps me home I will honourably repay you with many thanks. I have a panel to paint for the Germans, for which they are to pay me 110 Rhenish florins —it will not cost me as much as five. I shall have scraped it and laid it on the ground and made it ready within eight days. Then I shall at once begin to paint, for if God will, it shall be in its place above the altar a month after Easter. All the money I hope, so God will, to put by. With it I will pay you. I think I need not send any money either to my mother or to my wife. I left 10 florins with my mother when I rode away; she has since taken 9 or 10 florins for prints, then Drattzieter paid her 12 florins, and I have sent her 9 florins by Sebastian Imhof, out of which she has to pay to Pfinzings Gartner 7 florins interest (on his loan to

Dürer). I gave my wife 12 florins and she took 13 at Frankfort—that makes 25 florins. So I think she too is in no need. But if she wants anything my brother-in-law will help her till I come home, when I will honestly repay him. Herewith I commend myself to you. Given at Venice on the Holy Three Kings day (Jan. 6), in the year 1506.—Greet Stephen Paumgärtner and other friends who ask after me. Albrecht Dürer."

From a letter of Feb. 7, 1506. "My mother in the meantime has written to me and scolded me for not writing to you, and has given me to understand that you are angry with me for not writing, and that I ought to explain. And she is distressed about it, which is her usual way. I know of no explanation, but that I am lazy in regard to writing and that you have been away from home. As soon as I knew that you were at home or about to return, I wrote to you, and also commissioned Kastell (Castulus Fugger) to assure you of my willing service. Still I beg you humbly to forgive me. For I have no other friend on earth but you. I do not believe that you are angry with me. For I

THE MAN OF SORROWS

FRONTISPIECE OF THE SMALL WOODCUT PASSION (1511)

FROM THE IMPRESSION IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

consider you in the light of a father. Would that you were at Venice, there are so many pleasant men among the Italians, who seek to associate with me more and more, which is very pleasing to me—reasonable learned men, good lute players and pipers, judges of painting, and of much noble sentiment and honest virtue, and they show me much honour and friendship. On the other hand there are also most false, lying, thievish rascals, such as I would not have believed were among the living. If one did not know, one would think them the nicest men alive. I cannot help laughing myself when they talk to me. They know that their knavery is known, but they don't mind. I have many good friends among the Italians, who warn me not to eat and drink with their painters. Many of them are my enemies, and they copy my work in the churches wherever they can find it. Then they revile it and say it is not antique in style and therefore not good. But Giovanni Bellini has highly praised me before many nobles. He wanted to have something of mine, and came to me himself and asked me to paint him something and he would

pay well for it. And all men tell me what an upright man he is, so that I am favourably disposed towards him. He is very old (80), but is still the best painter of them all. And that which so well pleased me eleven years ago pleases me no longer. If I did not see it for myself, I should not have believed any one who told me. You must know, too, that there are many better painters here than Master Jacopo (dei Barbari) who is abroad. But Anton Kolb would swear that no better painter lives than Jacopo. Others sneer at him, saying if he were good he would stay here."

From a letter of Feb. 28, 1506. "I wish you had occasion to come here, I know time would not hang heavy. For there are many wise men here, true artists. And I have such a throng of Italians about me that at times I have to hide. And the nobles all wish me well, but few of the painters."

From a letter of April 2, 1506. "The painters here, let me tell you, are very unfriendly to me. They have summoned me three times before the magistrates and I have had to pay four florins to their guild. You

must also know that I might have earned much money if I had not undertaken to paint the German picture. There is much work in it, and I cannot get it finished before Whitsuntide."

From a letter of Sept. 8, 1506. "You must know that my picture (here there follows the sketch of a grimace) says it would give a ducat for you to see it. It is well painted and beautifully coloured. I have earned much praise by it but little profit. I could easily have earned 200 ducats in the time it took to paint, and have declined much work in order to come home. And I have silenced all the painters, who said that I was good at engraving, but, as to painting, that I did not know how to handle my colours. Now all of them say that they never saw better colouring. My French mantle greets you and my Italian coat also. *Item.* It strikes me you are reeking with dissipation, I can scent it even here. And they tell me here you go about it as though you were twenty-five years old. Oh yes! double that and I'll believe it. My friend, there are so many Italians here who look like you, I don't know how it happens. *Item.* The

Doge and the Patriarch have also seen my picture. Herewith let me commend myself as your humble servant. I must really get to sleep, it is striking the seventh hour of the night (one o'clock). I have already written to the Prior of the Augustines (Eucharius Cari), to my father-in-law, to Mistress Dietrich, and to my wife, and they are ever so many sheets full."

And from a letter dated about the 13th of October 1506. "*Item* In answer to your question when I am coming home I tell you so, that my lord may make his arrangements. I shall have finished here in ten days. After that I go to Bologna to learn the art of hidden perspective, which a man is willing to teach me. There I shall have done in eight or ten days and then return to Venice. After that I shall come home with the next carrier. How I shall freeze after this sun! Here I am a gentleman, at home only a parasite."

In this strain Dürer wrote to Pirkheimer from Venice, with other remarks about his own doings and about his friend's hobbies—how Pirkheimer set him to purchase, besides precious rings, paper and glass, oil, feathers,

carpets and books. Dürer at the time was not wealthy enough to acquire much for himself, but a copy of Euclid is extant in the library of Wolfenbüttel, in which he wrote these words: "This book I bought at Venice for a ducat in the year 1507." Where he stayed at Venice is unknown, but among his MSS. is a drawing of a house at Venice, seen front view, with plans of the different stories, which, if not actually representing the house in which he stayed, must be one which he frequented. To the journey to and from Venice are attributable a number of drawings of cities and castles, often in the midst of romantic surroundings, which include views of *Trint, Insprug, Fenedigr Klausen, Welsch Perg,* and *Welsch Schloss.* The drawing of an Italian woman is described as *Una Vilana Windisch.* Dürer soon picked up Italian, and words and passages in this language are introduced into the letters to Pirkheimer. He also fell in so far with the habits of the Venetians, that he took dancing lessons, but he felt the ducat ill-spent which he gave to the master of the dancing-school.

The great painting of which he speaks in the

letters, was a commission from the colony of German merchants, who were headed by the Fuggers of Augsburg. According to Sansovino Fugger himself ordered the picture. It was intended for the church of San Bartolemmeo, and is known as the Feast of the Rose-garlands. After many vicissitudes it was conveyed to Prague, where it is preserved in a damaged condition. The picture represented a Virgin and Child in the centre, who are distributing rose-garlands to many figures who are kneeling around them. These figures included Pope Julius II. (drawn from a medal) and the emperor, portraits of Jakob Fugger and of his wife, of the architect Hieronymus who was rebuilding the store-house of the Germans on the Grand Canal, and of many others. In the background Dürer represented himself holding a scroll on which was inscribed that he spent fifteen months painting the picture. The figure standing by his side represented Pirkheimer.

A number of studies, some drawn from the life, indicate the care which Dürer devoted to the painting. This is quite German in character and sentiment, but the way in which the

Virgin sits enthroned to some extent recalls Bellini, and the angel playing on the lute who sits at the foot of the throne, is very similar to an angel whom we often come across in paintings by Bellini and Carpaccio.

Concerning the painters who were active at the time of Dürer's sojourn, information comes from other sources. The school of the Vivarini was still fairly prosperous, but the chief influence belonged to Giovanni Bellini († 1516) and his associates and followers, all famous colourists, who included Giorgione († 1511), Palma († 1528), and Titian († 1576). Not one of these painters are however mentioned by Dürer, nor are we sufficiently acquainted with their movements, to know that they were actually staying in the city of the lagoons between 1505 and 1507. Giorgione was at the height of his power, and he and Titian were afterwards employed by the German merchants to decorate with frescoes the outside of the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi*, which during Dürer's stay was in course of construction. Carpaccio between 1502 and 1511 was busy over the canvases representing incidents from the lives of Dalmatian saints, which adorn the

THE KNIGHT (1513), Engraving B. 98
From the Impression in the British Museum

Scuola of San Giorgio dei Schiavoni. The youthful Sebastiano del Piombo may have been painting the figures of the saints at the time, which are still in the church of San Bartolommeo.

Giovanni Bellini and Mantegna were the two great figures who filled the horizon of Dürer. Camerarius, a friend of Dürer, who translated into Latin the Book of Human Proportion, described the relations between the German painter and his Italian admirers in the following sentences:—

"I cannot resist telling the story here of what happened between him and Giovanni Bellini. Bellini had the highest reputation as a painter at Venice, and indeed throughout all Italy. When Albrecht was there he soon became intimate with him, and both artists naturally began to show one another specimens of their skill. Albrecht frankly admired and made much of all Bellini's works. Bellini also candidly expressed admiration of various features of Albrecht's skill, and particularly the fineness and delicacy with which he drew hairs. It chanced one day that they were talking about art, and when their conversa-

tion was over, Bellini said, 'Will you be so kind as to gratify a friend in a small matter?' 'You shall soon see,' said Albrecht, 'if you will ask of me anything I can do for you.' Then said Bellini, 'I want you to make me a present of one of the brushes with which you draw hairs.' Dürer at once produced several, just like other brushes, and, in fact, of the kind Bellini himself used, and told him to choose those he liked best, and to take them all if he would. But Bellini, thinking he was misunderstood, said, 'No, I don't mean these, but the ones with which you draw several hairs with one stroke; they must be rather spread out and more divided, otherwise in a long sweep such regularity of curvature and distance could not be preserved.' 'I use no others than these,' said Albrecht, 'and to prove it you may watch me.' Then, taking up one of the brushes, he drew some very long wavy tresses, such as women generally wear, in the most regular order and symmetry. Bellini looked on wondering, and afterwards confessed to many that no human being could have convinced him by report of the truth

of that which he had seen with his own eyes.

"A similar tribute was given to him, with conspicuous candour, by Andrea Mantegna, who became famous at Mantua by reducing painting to some severity of law—a fame which he was the first to merit, by digging up broken and scattered statues, and setting them up as examples of art. It is true all his work is hard and stiff, inasmuch as his hand was not trained to follow the perception and nimbleness of his mind; still it is held that there is nothing better or more perfect in art. While Andrea was lying ill at Mantua he heard that Albrecht was in Italy and had him summoned to his side at once, in order that he might fortify his, Albrecht's, facility and certainty of hand with scientific knowledge and principles. For Andrea often lamented in conversation with his friends that Albrecht's facility in drawing had not been granted to him, nor his learning to Albrecht. On receiving the message Albrecht, leaving all other engagements, prepared for the journey without delay. But before he could reach Mantua Andrea was dead, and

Dürer used to say that this was the saddest event in all his life; for high as Albrecht stood, his great and lofty mind was ever striving after something higher."

A break in the letters addressed to Pirkheimer by Dürer from Venice, and the existence of a beautifully coloured study of crystalline rock of 1506, confirm the tradition that Dürer was taken ill in Venice, and for a time went to the hills.

This study of crystalline rock is one of a number of wonderfully careful studies in which Dürer, in the most painstaking and conscientious manner, perpetuated exactly what he saw. They include a wild rabbit drawn on parchment (1502), grass and flowers (1503), a staghorn beetle (1505), a jay and the wing of a jay (1512), a stork (1517), a sturgeon (1521), a dead bird with extended wings (1521), the muzzle of an ox (1523), and others, the production of which extends over many years. These drawings prove the artist's continued love of vegetable and animal life. Of these studies, the coloured ones, looked at from the historical point of view, are the most striking. It was pointed out above that

Dürer's coloured sketches of mountain and river scenery anticipated the art of landscape painting. His coloured studies from natural objects have even a more modern appearance. When we look around for work that is similar to his, there is no painter to whom we can liken him except Ruskin. Both were actuated by the same intense desire to get close to nature and to realise the lines of her growth, and the colouring which she puts into plant and stone, fur and feather. Both artists combined appreciation of the most delicate work of nature with the power of reproducing it on paper, and they both perpetuated a force of line and a brilliancy of colouring which, once realised, will never be forgotten.

As Dürer's landscapes served him as a background to his pictures, so his studies from animals and plants entered into the foreground of his compositions. Earlier painters also introduced into their paintings animals and flowers, such as the unicorn and the lily, to which a symbolical meaning was attached. But this can hardly have been the case with Dürer who introduced a monkey, a cricket, and a

ST JEROME (1514), Engraving B. 60
From the Impression in the British Museum
D*k*

stag-horn beetle into his religious paintings. Pictorial art at the close of the fifteenth century had shaken itself free from local and traditional peculiarities. It was gaining in width of meaning, but it did so at the cost of associations, which make it poorer in the eyes of the archæologist.

Dürer was aware of the advantages of drawing animals from life. In reply to a request to draw the dance of monkeys, which is now at Basel, he wrote that he had not seen a monkey for a long time. He shared the keen interest of his age in the unfamiliar forms of life and in the strange products of other countries. He carefully drew monstrosities, such as two children that were joined together, and a hog that had an abnormal number of legs. It is interesting to note how badly at the outset he drew an ass. The drawing of a rhinoceros which had been forwarded to him from Lissabon to use in the Triumphal Arch of Maximilian he carefully copied and engraved. During his stay in the Netherlands the news that a whale was stranded at once caused him to set off for the sea-coast in hopes of catching a glimpse of it. Instead he saw and drew a walrus, which

he described as a "lubberly" creature. Among his Italian sketches are drawings of the head of a lion, which was doubtless drawn from the living beasts that were bred in captivity in Venice since the year 1316, and at a later period of his life he was again drawing lions from the life in the castle-enclosure at Ghent.

The production of several other paintings is referred to Dürer's stay in Venice. Two are panel portraits of men, and on the back of the one is a sketch of a hag holding a bag of gold who is designated as Avarice, perhaps to indicate the sitter's refusal to make payment. Such a figure is among the sculptured column capitals of the Ducal Palace, and it would be interesting to know if it is the same which Dürer drew. Another painting represents Christ among the Doctors, the general arrangement of which was afterwards followed by Luini. This picture is now in the Barberini Palace in Rome, and it is said to have been painted in five days. It is noticeable chiefly for the character that is put into the heads and the hands. The youthful Christ has a sweet face of an Italian type; a sketch for it is extant. But the doctors have grotesque physiognomies,

which recall the rows of grotesque faces seen in profile that are preserved among Dürer's drawings. These rows of profiles, of which three are known to be by Dürer, correspond closely with the rows of similar profiles by Lionardo da Vinci, of which several are in the Ambrosiana at Milan. Other particulars of work show that Dürer was brought into contact with the productions of Lionardo. Thus among Dürer's MS. remains at Dresden, are drawings of several parts of a horse, and of a horse galloping, which are close copies of drawings by Lionardo. The horse in movement afterwards served Dürer in the Triumphal Procession of Emperor Maximilian. Dürer also drew the complicated knotted pattern which Lionardo used in the badge of his Academy. Moreover Dürer's book on art, judging from the lists of chapter headings which are preserved, was intended to treat in succession of the measurements of a man, of a horse, of buildings, of light and shadow, and of painting from nature. On all these branches of art Lionardo also collected notes and information. The similarity between the contents of his literary remains and Dürer's plan suggests that either Dürer

heard of Lionardo's scheme of work, or that they both followed some earlier plan. In all that concerns the theory of art the great Italian, with his comprehensive intellect and his wealth of knowledge was far in advance of Dürer. Dürer eventually only worked out the proportions of a man, and that of a man at rest, while the Italian described and illustrated muscular action.

Dürer can hardly have met Lionardo in the flesh, since his own trip from Venice did not extend beyond Bologna, and it is very improbable that Lionardo left Milan in 1506 and 1507, where he is known to have been at work. It has been suggested that Luca Pacioli, a pupil and an associate of Lionardo, formed the connecting link between them, since Pacioli left Milan on the fall of Ludovico il Moro, and doubtless came to Venice, where his treatise *De divina proportione* was published in 1509. Again the contents of this book of Pacioli has much in common with the Book on Measurements which Dürer afterwards published. Directions how to draw shapely capital letters inside rectangular spaces are common to both. It is reasonable therefore to suppose that Dürer

met Pacioli, and that it was Pacioli who spoke to Dürer of his master's projects and showed him his drawings.

In one other respect Dürer came under the influence of the tendencies which are represented by Lionardo. In Venice he saw the great equestrian statue of the Colleone by Verrocchio, Lionardo's teacher, and he was greatly impressed by it. In Italian collections, drawings of Dürer are preserved which represent the horseman of 1498 (p. 27), seated on a horse which is that of the equestrian statue, and which stand midway between the early sketch and the Knight of 1513 (p. 139), whose horse in his movements recalls that of the Colleone.

At Bologna Dürer was received with effusion as we learn from Scheurl, a Nürnberg jurist, who was studying there. Riccardo Sbroglio of Udine received him with a poetic address in true humanist fashion, and "the painters there declared it would be easier to die after beholding so great a man." Who these painters were, we are not told. Francia was living there, who had exchanged the occupation of a goldsmith for that of a painter at the

instigation of Lorenzo Costa, who was at work at Bologna also. Pope Julius II. with his court was residing at Bologna, and Dürer may have met some of the painters from Rome who were in his train.

Several other paintings by Dürer, if not actually executed in Venice, show strong Italian influence. Among them are the pictures representing Adam and Eve, figures in the nude which show a great advance on the figures of the engraving of 1504. The woman's figure especially has lost the unpleasant and, to modern ideas, deformed look of Dürer's women of the earlier time of his activity. The figures show how much Dürer profited from his studies from the living Italian model. The paintings of Adam and Eve are now in Madrid and bear the date 1507. A replica is in Florence. Another painting of rare excellence is the Virgin and Child of the finch which is here reproduced (frontispiece). This painting shows Dürer at his best, and has all the charm which he succeeded in giving to the matronly German Virgin. There is no direct clue to its date, it may have been painted after his return. This painting until quite

recently formed part of the collection of the Marquess of Lothian, and was at Newbattle Abbey, but, owing to the fact that Dürer as a painter is little esteemed in England, it was suffered to go out of the country and is now in Berlin.

Before the close of 1507, Dürer was back again in Nürnberg. His journey had been successful in every way. His fame had increased, he had added to the store of his knowledge, and his monetary profits were such that he paid the money he owed to Pirkheimer, and made the following entries on his domestic affairs in his common-place book :— "*Item.* The following is my property which I acquired with difficulty by the labour of my hand, for I have had no opportunity of great gain. I have also suffered much loss through lending what was not repaid, and through lads who never paid their fees, one died at Rome, whereby I lost my goods. *Item.* In the thirteenth year of my wedlock (1507-8) I paid great debts with what I earned at Venice. I possess fairly good household furniture, good clothes, some good pewter, good painting materials, bedding, chests or

ST THOMAS (1514), ENGRAVING B. 48
FROM THE IMPRESSION IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

cupboards, and good colours worth 100 florins Rhenish."

The years that followed mark the height of the painter's well-being and activity. He carried on every kind of work. Engravings, woodcuts, and paintings followed one another in rapid succession, and the same high standard of excellence was throughout maintained.

A painting which is known as the Virgin and Child of the iris was apparently painted by Dürer on his own account shortly after his return. He was anxious to sell it, and offered to do so for 30 florins,—" indeed, rather than that it should not be sold I would even let it go for 25 florins," he says. The Bishop of Breslau shortly afterwards gave him 72 florins for it.[1] He also began a painting of Lucretia, but put it aside as commissions for religious paintings now followed one another in rapid succession.

Foremost among his patrons was again the Elector of Saxony, and Dürer painted the Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand (1508), a picture that is crowded with horrible incident.

[1] Exhibited in Burlington House in the winter of 1902.

Its attraction doubtless consisted in the introduction of many nude figures in violent movement. Perhaps there was some change from the original plan, since a sketch of the chief incident, King Sapor facing the martyrs, is in existence, which is simpler and clearer in its arrangement.

From letters which passed between Dürer and Jakob Heller, a patrician of Frankfurt, we learn that the completion of this picture was delayed. Heller was the son of a cloth merchant who had amassed great wealth and owned the Nürnberger Hof at Frankfurt. The son went to Augsburg as the representative of his native city. On his way he stayed at Nürnberg where he paid Dürer money in advance on a painting which he ordered. Some months afterwards Dürer wrote to him as follows :—

"First my willing service to you, dear Herr Heller.—I was pleased to receive your kind letter. But know that I have been a long time ill with a fever, for which reason I was prevented from working for Duke Friedrich of Saxony, and it is to me a great loss. But now his picture will soon be finished for it is

more than half done. So have patience with your panel which, as soon as I get this work finished and the above mentioned Prince is satisfied, I will set myself to paint at once, and work at it diligently as I promised you here. Although I have not yet begun it, I have received the panel from the joiner, and paid for it the money which you gave me. He would not take less for it, though I think he did not deserve as much. I have given it to a preparer who has whitened it and painted it over and who will put on the gilding next week. I do not want money paid on it before I begin painting, which, so God will, shall be the next thing after the Prince's work. For I do not care to begin several things at once, so that I do not become worried. In this way the Prince cannot complain that I am painting his and your picture at the same time which I had intended. But be comforted by the thought that, so far as God grants me power, I will produce something such as not many men can do. Now a very good night to you. Given at Nürnberg on Augustine's day 1507. Albrecht Dürer."

In March of the following year Dürer was

still at work on the Elector's picture, which, as he wrote to Heller, would be ready in a fortnight. It took him a year to paint, and he received for it 280 florins Rhenish, "one spends as much in the time," he added. The commission from Heller did not turn out more profitable. Heller at the outset bargained to pay 130 florins, but after settling on the size, he asked for a picture of special excellence, and Dürer wrote that he could not produce such a one of the required size unless he received 200 florins. But Heller, in spite of his wealth, would not come to an agreement with Dürer, but accused the painter to a mutual acquaintance of twisting his words. Several other letters followed, in which Dürer repudiated the accusation, and declared he had explained that he was taking every trouble with the painting. The truth of this assertion is proved by the numerous careful drawings for the picture that are preserved. It consisted of an Assumption with the twelve apostles grouped below. Its arrangement is known to us from an old copy of it which is now at Frankfurt, for the original, which cost Dürer so much time and trouble, was destroyed by

fire in 1674. The original wings of the picture are, however, in existence, and on them are portraits of the donor and his wife, which are looked upon as the work of Dürer. The scenes from the life of St James and of St Katherine which fill the upper part of the wings, and the outer sides of the wings, which are painted in grisaille, are said to be the work of Dürer's brother Hans, and of his old pupil Schäuffelin.

The sequel of the correspondence between Dürer and Heller shows the hasty temper of the merchant, and the candour of the painter. In the beginning of 1509, Heller, incensed at the delay and the price asked for the work, sent word to Dürer through the banker Imhof, that, if he had not bargained for the picture, he would not do so now, and that Dürer was welcome to keep it as long as he liked. The painter wrote in reply that he was quite willing to keep the picture since he had been offered for it 100 florins more than the sum asked from Heller. But Imhof, who was aware of Heller's irascibility, hesitated from taking back from Dürer the money that had been advanced on the picture, and Heller, as soon as he heard how matters stood,

DESIGN FOR SPOON HANDLE

From the Drawing in the British Museum

went back on his word. Imhof was called upon to mediate between them, and Dürer finally gave way, since, as he said, "he preferred the picture to be at Frankfurt." The fact that this city was one of the chief centres where he sold his engravings, doubtless made it appear desirable to him that the painting should go there and add to his fame. The remarks which Dürer finally wrote about the painting to Heller (August 1509), point to the value which he set on it. "I have painted it with great care, as you will see. None but the best colours I could procure are used. It is painted under and over, and finished with ultramarine about five or six coats. And after it was finished, I painted it over twice so that it may last a long time. If you keep it clean, I know that it will remain bright and fresh for over 500 years. For it is not done in the usual manner. Therefore have it kept clean, and do not let it be touched or sprinkled with holy water. I know it will not be criticised unless for the purpose of annoying me. I feel sure that it will please you. No one shall induce me to spend so much time a second time on a panel. Herr Törg Tausig of his own ac-

cord asked for a picture of the Virgin in a garden of the same style of work and size as this painting. He offered for it 400 florins. But I refused him right away, it would make a beggar out of me. Of ordinary paintings I would make so many in a year that no one would believe that one man had made them. On that kind of thing it is possible to make money. With careful painting, however, it is different. Therefore I will devote myself to engraving. If I had done so altogether, I should be richer to-day by a hundred florins. . . . And if you are setting the picture up, let it hang forward two or three finger-breadths, then you can see it well. And when I come over to you in one or two or three years' time, it shall be taken down and looked into if it be dry. Then I will cover it once more with a special varnish which no one else can make, then it will last a hundred years longer. Let no one varnish it, for all other varnish is yellow, and might spoil the panel. To see a thing spoilt on which I spent more than a year would grieve me. And when it is being set up, be there yourself so that it be not injured. Take good care of it, you will hear what your own and other painters think of it."

The portrait by Dürer of himself which bears the date 1500 (p. 103), a later addition, was doubtless painted about this time. A sketch of a hand in the same peculiar position is the last among a number of sketches on a sheet, which contains also reminiscences of work done in Italy. The hair on this portrait is worn in the same way as on the paintings of 1506 and 1508, but there is no ring. Dürer painted himself wearing one in the great painting of 1511.

Dürer did not carry out the intention of giving up painting in favour of engraving, which he expressed in the letter to Heller, but he devoted himself to executing the commissions which came to him from fellow-citizens during the next few years. He was asked to furnish a suitable altar-piece for the chapel of the *Brüderhaus*, a charitable institution for the maintenance of twelve aged men. The institution was founded by two Nürnberger worthies, Schiltkrot and Landauer, and the latter in addition became the donor of a chapel, which was built between 1502 and 1507 and which he desired to decorate with a suitable painting. Possibly his attention was attracted to Dürer

by the painter's seeking models for the apostles of the Assumption among his aged pensioners. A sketch for the great painting of the Trinity with its frame bears the date 1508. The painting itself was completed in 1511. It is now at Vienna and is here reproduced (p. 117). Since time has dealt unkindly with the Feast of the Rose-garlands, and the Assumption was destroyed by fire, the Trinity is the only composition which enables us to judge of Dürer's power as a painter of large religious subjects. In arrangement and in colouring it is striking. The circles of adorers that surround the Trinity include groups of beautiful angels and saints, and numerous figures of men and of women. These doubtless include portraits, but only the donor, Landauer, the figure to the left holding a cap, has been identified. As usual Dürer represented himself at the bottom of the picture standing in the right hand corner with a tablet on which is inscribed that *Albertus Dürer Noricus,* of Nürnberg, painted the work.

The proposed frame for the picture was carved in wood and is now at Nürnberg. It contains a frieze and an archivelt above

the panel, and its sides are decorated by columns. The arrangement of this frame recalls that of a doge's tomb in the church of San Gian Paolo at Venice, from which the columns are said to be copied. Dürer for a time fell under the spell of Italian architecture, to which he was directed by his studies of Vitruvius. A coloured drawing of the year 1509, now in Basel, represents the Holy Family sitting under an open colonnade beneath an arched roof in the Italian style. The Virgin and Child recall the Virgin and Child of the finch; cherubs and rabbits are playing at their feet. Further back Joseph sits at a wooden table asleep, with a pint mug standing in front of him. In this picture the contrast is marked between the open air Italian colonnade and the homely German furniture. Possibly the arrangement struck Dürer himself as ill assorted, for the drawing is unfinished, and the colonnade is not found elsewhere.

Among Dürer's drawings are various studies of columns, but columns with him as in the hands of later Renaissance painters, lose the character of a necessary and useful part of building. They are treated purely as decorative

features, and the conceptions of solidity and strength are lost amidst a mass of ornamental detail. A small diptych of 1510 contains such a decorative column on which is poised a figure of Victory. The column has a pointed end, and it is raised in the air by cherubs, who are intent on fixing it into a hole. This diptych is interesting also in connection with the passages already cited concerning the painter's intention to reject pagan divinities. For on the one panel, Samson is seen slaying the Philistines with the energy of a Hercules. On the other side is the Ascension. Friezes are beneath both wings of the picture on which satyrs are represented, weighed down by grief and crouching in despair.

Information of various kinds shows that the year 1509 was especially prosperous for Dürer. In this year the painter acquired the large house near the Thiergärtnerthor, in which he lived during the latter part of his life. The house had belonged to the astronomer Bernard Walther († 1504), and the light in the spacious rooms on the first floor is peculiarly good. The house is now in the possession of the town, and visitors to Nürnberg are at liberty to cross the

threshold which has been darkened by the shadows of so many distinguished men, to climb the steep stairs and look into the kitchen with its open hearth where cooking went on in semi-darkness, and to gaze from the windows of the living-rooms on the great fortifications of the town.

Also in the year 1509 the Town Council of Nürnberg conferred on Dürer the honorary title of *genannter,* and commissioned him to paint portraits of the Emperors Karl the Great and Sigismund. These were intended to be hung in the chamber where the regalia were kept. Sketches made for these paintings are dated 1510, but the portraits themselves were not completed till 1512. They are now at Nürnberg. Karl is an imposing figure, resplendent in the jewellery and the embroidered robes which he is wearing. It is unknown who sat for the portrait. Emperor Sigismund was done from his portrait which is preserved on his seal. He is ill-favoured and without dignity.

Also in the year 1509 we find Dürer setting down in writing an account of how he tried his hand at making rhymes. These were intended to serve as an explanatory text to his engrav-

PORTRAIT OF AN UNKNOWN MAN (1516)

From the Drawing in the British Museum

ings. He thought he had succeeded with a couplet on the Saviour, but Pirkheimer laughed at the wrong number of its syllables, and Dürer re-wrote it,—"but it did not please Herr Wilibald Pirkheimer." Dürer now sent the verses to Lazarus Spengler († 1534), a distinguished man, who, as secretary of the Town Council, exerted great influence, and afterwards played an important part in the establishment of the Reformation at Nürnberg. Spengler re-wrote his poem. But Pirkheimer now made merry over the painter's turning poet, and sent his poem to Dürer, and Dürer replied with a poem in which he declared his intention of turning physician, and prescribing for those who suffered from the gout, Pirkheimer's complaint. This account would hardly have been written by Dürer unless the episode had given him pleasure. The verses are all poor enough in themselves, but they indicate the footing on which the friends met, and the occupations to which they devoted their leisure.

Other verses are extant on "Good friends and bad," and rhymes which Dürer addressed to Konrad Merkel, a painter at Ulm. Again he

wrote verses that enlarge on "Lebensweisheit," and prayers to be said at the hours.

Dürer's improved circumstances and his moving into larger premises enabled him to set up as his own printer. At first after his return from Italy he worked exclusively at metal engravings. The St George on horseback (reproduced p. 89), and a Maid and Child in the Sun were issued in 1508. The Virgin and Child of the apple which contains the fortifications is of 1511. It is here reproduced (p. 125). Dürer now set to work on a series of engravings which illustrated the Passion. In its complete form as it stands at present, the series includes sixteen pictures. In composition and in technique this work is of the highest artistic merit. The engravings are all dated, and this enables us to see that they were not produced in the order in which they eventually stood. Perhaps they were originally issued as single leaf illustrations, and grouped together after the series was complete. Thus the Descent of the Cross is dated 1507, Christ on the Mount and the Kiss of Judas are of 1508, the *Ecce Homo* is of 1509. Then there is a break. Christ on the Cross is of the year 1511, ten

engravings are of the year 1512, and the engraving that stands last, Peter and John healing the sick, is of 1513.

The interruption in the work was occasioned by Dürer's move. For a time he went back to his woodcuts, which he now issued in series. The date of the Small Woodcut Passion, as mentioned above, is uncertain. The larger number of the cuts which are undated probably belong to an early period, and several dated pictures were now added. Christ before Herod and Christ bearing the Cross are of the year 1509, the Vernacle is of 1510, and a frontispiece representing the Man of Sorrows (p. 131) was also added. All these pictures were now issued together with appropriate verses in Latin that were written for the series by the Benedictine monk Chelidonius, who also called himself Musophilus. The work in this form bears the date 1511. It was issued "at Nürnberg by Albrecht Dürer *pictor*," the painter. Sentences are added as a warning to imitators inside the Imperial realm.

The other series of woodcuts were dealt with in the same manner. To the series which is known as the Large Woodcut Passion, the

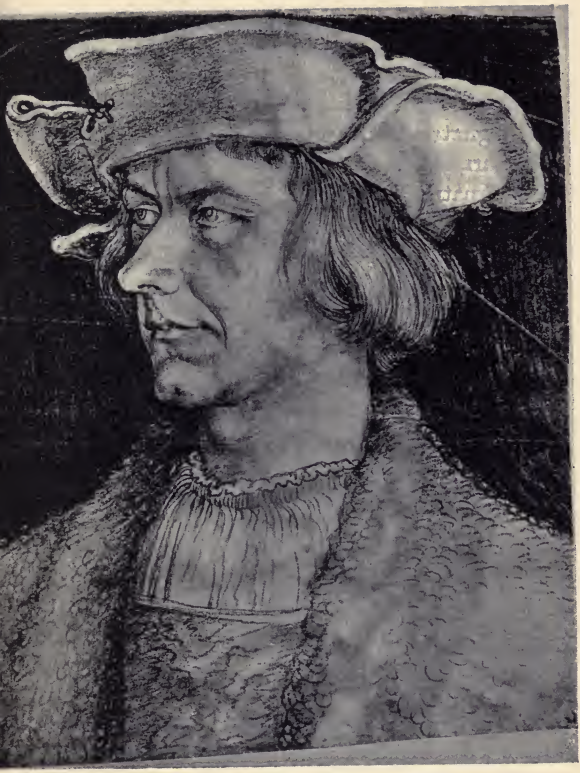
Descent of Christ into Hell (p. 111), Christ taken prisoner, the Last Supper, and the Resurrection, all of the year 1510, were added. A frontispiece, also representing the Man of Sorrows, was drawn for the completed work, and this was published in book form in the year 1511.

To the Life of the Virgin, of which Dürer had issued seventeen illustrations before going to Italy, the Death of the Virgin (p. 97) and the Assumption, both of the year 1510, and a frontispiece representing John's vision of the Maid and Child in the Sun were now added. This series also was published in book form in 1511 with verses by Chelidonius Musophilus. It moreover contained a poem addressed to the abbess Charitas, the sister of Pirkheimer. The attitude of Charitas towards pagan tendencies was mentioned above. The poem praised her virtues and her guidance of the religious life of virgins. This poem and the fact that the series was dedicated to her, point to the friendly terms on which she was with Dürer.

Together with the Large Woodcut Passion and the Life of the Virgin, Dürer re-issued the illustrations of the Apocalypse, with a Latin

frontispiece which was decorated with wonderful flourishes and fine lettering. The blocks for the illustrations were perhaps recut. Dürer in the year 1511 also issued single leaf woodcuts of a large size, including the Trinity, the Holy Family, and the Mass of St Gregory. Especially the Mass of St Gregory was greatly admired and was copied in Italy. The Trinity is among Dürer's finest productions.

After 1511, the great year for woodcuts, Dürer returned to his metal engraving, and during the next four years issued some of his most famous engravings. A Vernacle of the year 1513 represents two broad-winged angels holding the cloth with the face of the Saviour. The Vernacle was a favourite subject of single leaf illustrations, and Dürer himself issued pictures of it as a small woodcut, as an engraving in which St Veronica is represented holding the cloth (1510), and in a rough engraving, supposed to be done on iron, on which the cloth which is held by an angel is violently blown about. But in no one of these did he depict the Saviour with such dignity and beauty as in the Vernacle of 1513. The head is truly that of a Zeus, softened by



PORTRAIT OF AN UNKNOWN MAN

FROM THE DRAWING IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

the expression of sorrow. The Knight (p. 139), so often referred to in the course of this essay, is also of this year. This engraving is usually designated as the Knight, Death and the Devil. Vasari, however, calls it Fortitude. This designation has much in its favour, since the figure with the hour-glass seems rather intended for a personification of Time, pitiless, stern and compelling, than for actual Death. Another famous engraving of the same size, dated 1514, was designated by Dürer himself as Melancolia. Some writers on Dürer group these engravings together with St Jerome (p. 145), and look upon them as expressing the different Temperaments. However Dürer himself does not seem to have connected them in any way, except from the point of view of size. In his diary in the Netherlands he frequently enumerated the engravings which he gave away together. On one occasion he gave to his Portuguese friend the Adam and Eve, Jerome in the Cell, Hercules, Eustace, Melancholy, Nemesis, together with a number of small engravings. On another occasion he gave away together the three Large Books (of woodcuts) and the engraved Knight.

Again he received money for the Adam and Eve, the Seamonster, Jerome, the Knight, Nemesis, Eustace, etc. If he had associated together the Knight, Melancholy and St Jerome, he would certainly have given them away or mentioned them together.

During these years Dürer again issued several pictures of the Virgin and Child as single leaf illustrations (1513, 1514), and a Maid and Child in the Sun (1514). He began a series of Apostles, of which he completed two in the year 1514. One of these is here reproduced (p. 153).

The numerous productions of different kinds during these years looked at side by side, throw much light on the painter's method of work, and on his efforts to overcome difficulties. Thus the Assumption of the Life of the Virgin, dated 1510, in the grouping of the apostles is far inferior to the Assumption on the Heller altar, while the upper part of the picture, the Virgin between the Father and the Son, is much more beautiful. The date shows that the woodcut was drawn while the painting of the Heller altar was in course of completion. Again there is an awkwardness in the Ascen-

sion of the diptych of 1510 in the figure of Christ, which is avoided in the Ascension of the Woodcut Passion of the same year. The attitude of the Man of Sorrows (p. 131) of 1511 is the same as that of the satyrs on the diptych of 1510. Sometimes the same figure reappears as the kneeling man, showing the soles of his feet, who is represented in the Death of the Virgin and on the Heller altar. The drawing of these feet was looked upon as a marvel. Sometimes the painter went back to his portfolio, as in the case of a lady in the costume of the time "as they go to church at Nürnberg," who reappears in the Marriage of Joseph and Mary in the Life of the Virgin. Altogether it is interesting to note how the number of figures which crowd Dürer's mind go on increasing with the years, and in his MS. writings on art he remarks that the imagination of the painter in time becomes an inexhaustible storehouse, from which he can draw images at will.

Among Dürer's engravings several represent peasants. One group of peasants is among the early undated engravings, and in the years 1512 and 1514 he again issued pictures of peasants. On the one is a man playing the bag-

pipes, and on another a couple is represented dancing the *Hoppeldei*. Drawings of peasants making music, going to market, and dancing, are also included in Dürer's illustrations of the Prayer Book of Maximilian. These prove the attention which he gave to the subject. Peasants at this time were familiar to the townsman from the market place, to which they came to dispose of their produce. Their strained relations with the nobility attracted increasing attention. In the literature of the time, especially in the *Fastnachtspiele*, peasants were represented as clumsy, boastful and credulous. But their vigour was realised, and the attention which they attracted proves that they were felt to be an element that could become dangerous. Dürer lived to see the outbreak of the peasants' war, and like many others who heralded with joy the rupture with Rome, he was impressed by the turn which affairs took owing to the violence of the peasants. In his Book of Measurements, there are directions how to set up a column of victory in commemoration of putting down the rebellious peasants. The woodcut is dated 1525. It is built up of a vat, a tub, and a

can, with a sheaf of corn and agricultural implements. A peasant is represented in a crouched position on the top, and he is pierced by a dagger.

Where Dürer led, others followed. Behaim and Holbein also drew peasants talking, walking, and going to market, who look as ponderous, dull and vigorous as the peasants of Dürer.

During these years, Dürer again devoted attention to his writings. Two drafts of the Introduction to his book on art are among his literary remains, and are dated Salus 1512, and Salus 1513. Many of the sentences of this introduction are like flashes of light, but they do not hang together well. Dürer himself may have felt this a reason for re-writing the introduction, in which the sequence of ideas remains the same, only the connecting words differ. The following passages of 1512 will give the reader some idea of the drift of his argument.

"*Item.* The sight of a human figure before all other things is pleasing, wherefore I begin by constructing the right proportions of a man. After that, as God giveth me time, I will write and put together more concerning

other matters. I know well that the envious will not keep their venom to themselves, but nothing shall prevent me, for great men have suffered in the same way. We have various kinds of human figures indicated by the four temperaments, but when we are making a picture, and it is within our power, we should make it as beautiful as we can as far as the subject itself admits. For the art is not small which succeeds in making diverse figures. Deformity will creep into our work of itself. No beautiful picture can be made from one man, for there is no man living, who unites in himself all beauty; he might still be more beautiful. In the same way, no man on earth is living, who can give a final judgment on the most beautiful form of man, no one can judge of beauty but God. We have to learn how to judge of beauty. For in some things we consider a feature beautiful, which in others would not be beautiful. What is beautiful, and more beautiful, is not easy for us to determine. For it is quite possible to make two different figures, one stout, the other slim, and we are unable to decide which is the more beautiful. What Beauty is, that I know not, though it is

attached to many things. When we wish to bring it into our work, we find it very hard. We must gather it together from far and wide, and this especially in regard to the human figure."—

MICHEL WOLGEMUTH (1516)

FROM THE PAINTING AT MUNICH

(By permission of Messrs Brückmann, Munich)

V

From the year 1512 onwards, a new influence made itself felt in the life of Dürer. He was brought into contact with the Emperor and tasted the bitter sweets of patronage.

Patronage is of different kinds. Pope Julius who threw open the Sistine Chapel to Michel Angelo and the Stanze to Rafael, gave scope to their genius by setting them free of every care. Mantegna in the service of the Este at Ferrara, and Velasquez employed by Philip IV. in the Palace at Madrid, worked in the way they listed. With the Emperor it was different. Maximilian combined in himself the ambition of a Cæsar and the romance of a knight-errant. He was full of projects, and he engaged the most gifted men of the realm to realise them. But genius walks ill in leading strings, and the best artists did not do their best work in the cause of Maximilian.

A favourite project of the Emperor was the

glorification of himself and his race. With this purpose in view he engaged the best bronze founders of the age, and among them Peter Vischer of Nürnberg, to people the newly built church at Innsbruck with statues of his ancestors. The historiographer Stabius († 1522), a man of considerable knowledge and the colleague of Celtes in Vienna, was commissioned to work at the Imperial genealogy, which he was prepared to carry back to Noah. The poetical productions of an earlier age were laid under contribution towards the fabrication of an allegory, the work chiefly of the Emperor's secretary Melchior Pfinzing, in which the Emperor appeared under the romantic name of Tewrdanck. A prose production, the Weisskuning, was written in the same vein, and was chiefly dictated by the Emperor himself. These books were illustrated with several hundred woodcuts by Hans Schäuffelin, Hans Burgkmaier, Leonhard Beck and others. Dürer's services were engaged for a similar purpose.

It was Maximilian's wish to see his deeds perpetuated in a number of large pictures, but the grandeur of the scheme was wrecked at

the outset by the way of its execution. The pictures curiously enough were to consist of woodcuts of enormous size. In February of 1512, the Emperor stayed at Nürnberg, and from this time onwards we find Dürer working at his projects. A Triumphal Arch was planned, the size of which was such that the design had to be divided up into ninety-two parts, which were engraved on separate wood blocks. The complete picture measured ten feet by nine.

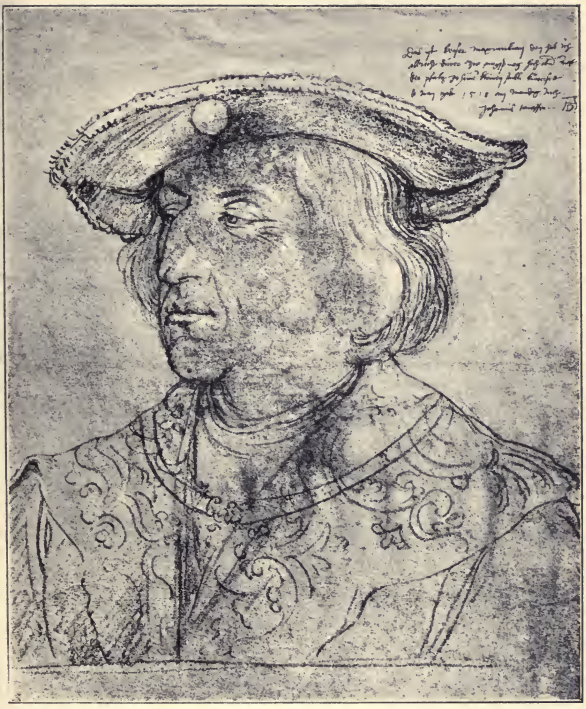
According to the words of Stabius, the Arch was intended to resemble a triumphal arch of classic times, but it has the appearance of a house front in the over-decorated Renaissance style. There are three entrances or gates below, and two circular towers flank the building, which rises tier above tier and is topped by a domed roof. The surface of the building is covered with armorial bearings, and rows of columns. A genealogical tree supports numbers of half-length figures, and whole-length figures of princes and saints are represented standing in niches, between pictures which tell the story of Maximilian's military achievements, and his family life. There are festooned garlands, twisted ribbons with wording, explanatory

verses, men at work and cupids at play. Birds, animals, and curious snails, bearing conches instead of shells, and vine tendrils and other surface ornaments are distributed everywhere. The enumeration of these features indicates the comprehensiveness of the work and its peculiar and unattractive character.

The question naturally arises, how much of the work can be claimed for Dürer? Can this crowding together of material, and this juxtaposition of picture and statue, allegory and portrait, be attributed to him? No sketches are extant which throw a light on the original plan of the work. This, judging from the Emperor's other projects, probably goes back to him. Stabius composed the genealogy and wrote the descriptive passages. Hans Burgkmaier has been credited with drawing the complex military scenes. The full-length figures of the saints and emperors, the accessory figures, and numerous decorative details, are characterised by the peculiar powers of Dürer.

The work from the first took up much of Dürer's time. Already in December of 1512, Maximilian, whose purse was often of the slenderest, devised a plan of remunerating him.

He addressed a letter to the Town Council at Nürnberg in which he asked that exemption from all taxes might be granted to Dürer, "who, in the drawings which he is making in accordance with our wishes, shows great industry, and has promised to go on doing so, which rejoices us greatly; and considering that this same Dürer, as we have frequently been informed, is famous above all others in the art of painting." But an Imperial mandate in those days was little calculated to impress the body of town councillors. In this case a deputation waited on Dürer, and asked him to drop his claim so that "the privileges, customs, and administration of the town might not be interfered with," and the painter agreed. For three years he went on working without remuneration. This we gather from a note which he wrote to his fellow-townsman Kress, who was leaving Nürnberg for Vienna in 1515. Dürer's share in the work was done, for in its complete form the Triumphal Arch bore the date 1515, and the painter felt himself entitled to a recognition of his services. He begged Kress to find out from Stabius how his affairs stood with the Emperor, and, in case



MAXIMILIAN (1518)

FROM THE DRAWING IN THE ALBERTINA, VIENNA

(*By permission of Messrs Braun, Clement & Cie, in Dornach (Alsace), Paris and New York*)

nothing had been done, to put before his Imperial Majesty "that he had served him during three years at his own expense, and that, if he had not worked with such industry, the pleasing work would not have been completed." The payment he asked for was a hundred florins, which represented a yearly salary.

In the meantime Dürer's intercourse with Stabius had been profitable to him in other ways. Stabius planned a work on his own account in which he engaged the services of Dürer. He devised three astronomical and geographical plates that represented the eastern hemisphere and the constellations. The map, as was usual in those days, was drawn in semi-perspective. The work was published in 1515, and was dedicated to Mathäus Lang, Cardinal Archbishop of Salzburg, a rising prelate, whose relations with Maximilian recall those of Wolsey to Henry VIII. According to the wording that was added to the plates, Stabius designed the work, Heinfogel was responsible for the constellations, and Dürer made the drawings.

The interest in heraldry which the pro-

duction of the Triumphal Arch awakened, induced Dürer to draw armorial bookplates for several of his friends. The art of metal engraving at an early period was engaged in work of the kind, and Schongauer produced some very fine bookplates. An engraved armorial plate with a skull and two figures was issued by Dürer in 1503, and is known as the Arms of death. There is another bookplate with a cock standing on armorial bearings and a helmet, which is famous on account of its unrivalled excellence of technique. Dürer now drew bookplates for Pirkheimer, Spengler, Hieronymus Ebner, and other Nürnberg worthies, some of which he executed as engravings.

When the Triumphal Arch was in the hands of the block-cutters, the second part of the work was begun. This consisted of a Triumphal Procession, the idea of which probably originated in the Triumphal Procession of Cæsar by Montegna. Its chief feature was the Imperial Car of Triumph, directions for the appearance of which are preserved in the writing of the Imperial secretary Marx Treitzsauerwein. One of the drawings of Dürer closely followed this

description. But Maximilian's wishes with regard to it underwent several changes, and there was repeated interruption in the progress of the work.

In the meantime we find Dürer busy decorating a copy of the Latin Prayer Book, which the Emperor had caused to be put together. This book was printed in special type by Johann Schönsperger of Augsburg before the close of 1514. The copy that was designed for the Emperor was printed on parchment, and forty-five pages of it were decorated with marginal drawings by Dürer. The better one is acquainted with Dürer, the more fascinating it becomes to look at these pages, which contain an epitome, so to speak, of the painter's favourite conceptions, and of his fondest thoughts.

Thus we have represented here whole-length figures of princes and saints, poised on flowers in the way of the panel paintings by Pleydenwurff. Many of these figures bear a close resemblance to the figures on the Triumphal Arch. Here we have broad-winged angels and threatening monsters which recall the inhabitants of Heaven and Hell in the large

early woodcuts. Here we have the Child and Maid in the Sun, the Trinity, the Vernacle, Death with the hourglass and Death with the scythe, which recall Dürer's work of the best period. Here also we have angels holding a pointed column in the way of the diptych of 1510, and a satyr making music in the way of the early engraving. Here is the distant winding shore and the shaggy terrier which Dürer copied from Schongauer, and the fortified town and the long-tailed monkey, which are familiar from early engravings and woodcuts. Here also are peasants making music, and peasants dancing the *Hahnentang*, and a demon insinuating thoughts into the ear of a sleeping man by means of a pair of bellows. A variation of the Triumphal Car and several battle scenes recall the work that was done for the Emperor. All these scenes are surrounded and decorated by clustering foliage, by delicate vine tendrils, and by flourishes of the pen which often run into grotesque physiognomies. A humorous scene, such as that of Friend Renard piping to a crowd of cocks and hens, shows Dürer under a new aspect. The last pages of the

book were illustrated by a different hand with very inferior drawings. All the drawings bear the date 1515, but this date stands in the handwriting of him who completed it.

Another copy of the same Prayer Book is preserved at Besançon, which is also illustrated with marginal drawings, some of which are signed by Hans Burgkmaier, others by Hans Baldung Grien, others by Altdorfer, and others bear the letters H. D., which may stand as the signature of Dürer's younger brother Hans. It would be interesting to see this book by the side of that of Dürer, in order to realise how far the other artists copied his work. Judging from the description of the book, other drawings of Dürer were used in illustrating it. Thus the drawing of a rhinoceros which goes back to Dürer, was used as an illustration by Altdorfer. Burgkmaier among his marginal drawings introduced three women's figures standing on a dolphin, the central part of a drawing by Dürer, which has called forth much comment, since it bears the inscription *Pupila Augusta*, orphaned Nürnberg, in reverse, and was therefore originally intended for an en-

graving. It seems probable that Dürer drew it under the impression of the death of Celtes, which happened in 1508.

The fact that Maximilian's Prayer Book was not completed by Dürer, may be due to a journey which he undertook across the south of Germany between 1514 and 1515. This journey has recently been worked out by Ephrussi by means of a number of pen and ink sketches of Dürer, which represent fortified sites. Some Imperial project may have been the cause of the journey. The places visited include Ramstein, Ortenberg, and others designated by Dürer himself as *Zinsbach*, a famous site of pilgrimages near Dornach, *Sulltz-Albweck*, which lies on the Neckar, and *Kaltentall by Stuchart*. This drawing is dated 1515. All these places lie between Basel and Stuttgart. Near Dornach lies Birseck, where the Swiss defeated the Imperial troops in 1499, when Pirkheimer was in command of the Nürnberg detachment. This place Dürer would certainly wish to visit. Naturally a visit to these fortified places took the painter into the neighbouring towns. Dürer was on friendly terms with the printer Amerbach of

Basel, who had worked with Koberger in Nürnberg, and a letter from Dürer to Amerbach of the year 1507 points to their intercourse. The tour indicated by the drawings makes it probable that Dürer visited Basel, Freiburg and Stuttgart, possibly also Zürich in the one direction and Strasburg in the other.

The suggestion that Dürer stayed at Basel causes various details of his work and of that of others to stand out in a new light. For Basel in the year 1515 was the home of Erasmus, who described it as "the pleasantest sojourn of the Muses." The younger Holbein, who was about eighteen years old at the time, had recently settled there. Holbein was in contact with Amerbach and Erasmus, and the excellent portrait by him of himself which is now in the Museum of Basel, is dated 1515. Of the same year are the famous marginal drawings with which Holbein illustrated the copy of the Praise of Folly by Erasmus, which belonged to its author. Among these illustrations are several that correspond closely to drawings by Dürer. A fool in cap and bells, by Dürer, who sits piping, and another who

ST ANTHONY (1519), Engraving B. 58

From the Impression in the British Museum

pushes along a fat man in a wheelbarrow, are inspired by the spirit of the Praise of Folly. They are drawn by the master's hand when looked at by the side of the marginal drawings by Holbein. Moreover, a running stag pursued by four hounds is preserved among Dürer's drawings, and exactly the same stag and hounds with additional figures occur among Holbein's marginal illustrations. In view of this similarity, is it far fetched to suggest that Dürer, who had left behind him the Prayer Book with marginal illustrations, roused in Holbein the wish to decorate with marginal illustrations the Praise of Folly? No direct information on the meeting of the painters is preserved, but the likeness between details of their work renders their meeting highly probable.

In September of 1515, Dürer at last received some acknowledgment of his work in the form of a *privelegium* from the Emperor, who settled on him the desired pension of 100 florins, payable by the Town Council of Nürnberg from the city's contributions to the Imperial Treasury. Later Maximilian pledged these contributions for a sum of ready money

to the Elector of Saxony, but Dürer's salary continued to be paid.

Also in 1515 Dürer received as a present from Rafael some sketches, on one of which he wrote: "1515, Rafael of Urbino, who is held in high esteem by the Pope, drew these nude figures, and sent them to Albrecht Dürer at Nürnberg, to show him his hand." Marc Antonio Raimondi, who had been active at Venice copying Dürer's engravings, went from there to Rome where he worked for Rafael, and we have it on the authority of Ludovico Dolce, that Rafael's admiration for Dürer was such, that he had hanging in his studio, drawings, engravings and woodcuts by him. Italian and German writers agree in saying how much Dürer's work was prized in Italy. At the same time, certain criticisms of his work, from the Italian's point of view, seem quite justified. The unrest of many of the German paintings, and their insistence on character, clashed with the sense of beauty and proportion of the Italians. Michel Angelo declared that, however excellent a painting might be, by Dürer, "an able and gifted man," or any other German painter, he could not be deceived regarding

its origin, since the Germans crowded into their pictures, a mass of incidents, where one alone would have sufficed. To Rafael was currently ascribed the saying, which has actually been traced to Lamberto Lombardi (1565), that Dürer would have been much greater, if he had been acquainted with the antique.

During this period of his life, Dürer was drawn more and more in the direction of portrait-painting. In the year 1514 he made a charcoal sketch of his mother, who had been ill during several years, and who died shortly afterwards. This drawing, which is now in Berlin, represents the poor woman in a terrible state of emaciation. He also made drawings of his brother Andreas, and of a stout woman sitting and holding a pink, who is supposed to be his wife's sister, Katharina Frey. The plan of adding a dark background to his portrait sketches, as on those of the young men here reproduced (pp. 167, 173), goes back to about this time. In 1517 he also made a drawing of Jakob Muffel, the burgomaster of Nürnberg. The striking portrait of the same man, which is now in

Berlin, is dated nine years later. He also made a drawing of his old teacher Wolgemut, which he used for the finished portrait that is here reproduced (p. 181). The drawing is now in the Albertina at Vienna, and the painting is at Munich. Wolgemut was eighty-two years of age at the time, and still active. He died three years later. Two bearded heads, the Apostles Philip and James, painted in water colours in 1516, perpetuate two other types of splendid old men. These are now in the Uffizi at Florence.

In the meantime, the work of the Triumphal Procession went on slowly. Dürer in accordance with the directions he received, made a drawing of the Car of Triumph, on which the Emperor and his family were represented sitting. This is a spirited drawing, and the horses are especially good. But it did not satisfy the Emperor, and other designs were made of the car. In the published woodcut of 1522, the Emperor is represented sitting alone, with allegorical figures of numerous Virtues surrounding him. Other cars were added, on which were seated the other members of the family.

When this work was so far finished, Dürer in the summer of 1518 went to Augsburg with Caspar Nützel, a leading town councillor, and Lazarus Spengler, the town notary, who were deputed to attend the Imperial diet. To this diet came many notable persons, and Dürer took advantage of the occasion and drew many portraits. Among them was the charcoal sketch of the Emperor himself (p. 187) which was used for a woodcut and a painting. He also made the drawing that is now in the Albertina, of the Cardinal Archbishop of Mainz, which he used for the famous engraving of 1519, that is known as the Little Cardinal. He also drew the Cardinal Archbishop of Salzburg, a portrait which is now in the Albertina. The beautiful oil-painting of Jakob Fugger, which is in the possession of the family and was exhibited in Munich in 1901, probably dates from this period also. At Augsburg Dürer also drew six coloured sketches of horsemen, four of whom are represented bearing trophies, which are designated as the trophies of France, Italy, Bohemia and Hungary. These drawings, which are extant also in smaller copies, show that the painter

ERASMUS (1520)

FROM A REPRODUCTION OF THE DRAWING IN A PRIVATE FRENCH COLLECTION

was still collecting material for the Triumph. A companion drawing is a large picture by Hans Kulmbach, now at Berlin, on which two horsemen grasping poles support a huge wreath, which is designated as the Wreath of Honour of the Emperor.

Dürer's stay at Augsburg lasted from June till September, and seems to have been enjoyable. A letter written conjointly to him and his friends by the Abbess Charitas of Nürnberg (Sept. 3, 1518) in answer to a letter they had written to her, indicates their merry mood. She thanked them for their letter, which she read with such devotion that tears, "rather of laughter than of sorrow," fell from her eyes; and she considered it "a subject of great thankfulness that, with much important business and so much gaiety on hand," they had found time to write to her.

In September, Dürer received from the Emperor an additional acknowledgment of his work in the form of a missive, which was again addressed to the town councillors of Nürnberg. These were charged to pay the sum of 200 florins on coming St Martin's Day to "Albrecht Dürer, our painter, in con-

sideration of his honest services, willingly rendered to us at our command, in our Car of Triumph and in other ways." The money was again to be deducted from the returns to the Imperial treasury. But luck in money matters was never on the side of Dürer. When St Martin's Day came round, Emperor Maximilian was no longer among the living, and Dürer never received his money.

The increasing unrest of the Empire, in matters religious as well as political, did not at first affect the activity of Dürer, for the idea of Church reform was not at the outset associated with religious art. The painting of the Virgin and Child of the pink that is now at Augsburg is of 1516, and another painting of the same subject, now at Odessa, is of 1519. He also issued a woodcut of the Virgin and Child, and a beautiful engraving of the same subject, in 1518. The excellent engraving of the Maid and Child in the Sun is of 1516, and the engraving of St Anthony is of 1519 (p. 195).

Discussions of religious questions in Nürnberg went back to the time when Staupitz, the friend and champion of Luther, brought

the spirit of unrest into the convent of the Augustines, where the leading men of the town gathered together for the purpose of discussing their doubts and difficulties. Among those who felt the need of change, were Pirkheimer, Nützel, Spengler, Holzschuher and others, including Dürer. They were all ready to oppose the Pope, and they all saw in Luther the champion of their deliverance. Luther, in October of 1518, passed through Nürnberg, on his way to and from Augsburg, where he was summoned to defend the publication of his famous ninety-five theses. Nothing, however, is preserved concerning his passage. Shortly afterwards certain of his writings were pronounced heretical and were burnt in public, and Eck, it is said, desired to deal in the same way with Spengler's Apology for Luther. Both Pirkheimer and Spengler drew on themselves the papal displeasure, and were included in the ban which Leo X., in June of 1520, hurled against Luther and Karlstadt.

Dürer was full of admiration for Luther. In an interesting letter which he wrote to Spalatin, court chaplain to the Elector of Saxony, at the beginning of 1520, he begged

him to thank the Elector for forwarding the little book of Luther, and he asked Spalatin to beseech the Elector "in all humility to take the praiseworthy Dr Martin Luther under his protection for the sake of the Christian Truth, which touches us more nearly than all the powers and riches of this world; because all things pass away with time, Truth alone endureth for ever. If God ever helps me to see Dr Martin Luther, I will draw him carefully and engrave him on copper, as a lasting remembrance of a Christian man who helped me out of great distress. And I beg your Worthiness to send me for my money anything new that Dr Luther may write."

We have it on the authority of Melanchthon, that Dürer was greatly impressed by the lucidity of Luther's writings. Dürer, he says, told him "that there was this difference between the writings of Luther and other theologians. After reading three or four paragraphs of the first page of one of Luther's works, he could grasp the problem to be worked out in the whole. This clearness and order of arrangement was, he observed, the glory of Luther's writings. He used to say of other writers

that, after reading a whole book through, he had to consider carefully what idea it was that the author intended to convey."

These passages were written several years later, when Melanchthon met Dürer and party spirit ran highest in Nürnberg. They show that the painter was a reader of the theological writings that poured into the market at this time. Among Dürer's MS. writings at the British Museum, is a list of the titles of sixteen publications of Luther that were issued between 1517 and 1520.

The sudden death of Maximilian in January of 1519 brought the work of the Triumph to a standstill. The block-cutters, who saw no prospect of remuneration, ceased working, and seven years later, many half-finished blocks were carried to Vienna.

The demise of an Emperor at this time involved the cessation of all grants, privileges and appointments that had been made under his hand. On the news that Maximilian's grandson, Charles V., was chosen to succeed him, and was coming to Aachen to be crowned, envoys, officials, and private persons from all parts of the realm flocked thither to seek

his favour and the continuance of their appointments. Among those who decided to make the journey was Dürer. The primary object of his going was to secure his pension, but the idea of seeing the Imperial entry at Antwerp, and the coronation at Aachen, offered additional inducements. On July 12, 1520, Dürer with his wife and her maid left Nürnberg for the Netherlands. His absence extended over more than a year.

VI

There is always a fascination in the diary and the private accounts of a great man. Dürer during his journey carried with him a memorandum book in which he jotted down items of profit and expenditure. He wrote down also what places he saw, what society he frequented, the people he portrayed, and he added some description of his impressions. Many have perused this diary for the light which its contents throw on the habits and the social arrangements of the time. The enjoyment of the book is proportionate to the knowledge which is brought to bear on it. The analysis of its contents lies beyond the scope of this essay, but its drift and the style in which it is written show Dürer in a new light. Here we have the business man who carries with him his prints of which he disposes, always entering the money he received for them, and this money is then

ORLEY

From the Painting at Dresden

(*By permission of Messrs Hanfstaengl*)

D*o*

"taken for expenses." Here we see the artist happy in the reception that is accorded him, and the cheerful companion of men of the highest intellectual attainments. Here we have the ardent student who is delighted by curios and curiosities, and the painter who is anxious to see the paintings of famous predecessors, faithfully recording his appreciation of their excellence.

Dürer on his journey also carried with him a sketch-book in which he drew persons and places and various details. The leaves of this book are scattered in the public and private collections of Europe. Their likeness in size has helped to identify them, and a certain number of them have been reproduced. The publication of all of them in facsimile in their original order is an undertaking which should appeal to a Dürer Society.

Dürer, besides writing and sketching, took many portraits during his absence from home. In his diary he jotted down references to over fifty persons whom he portrayed. At first he made charcoal portraits. Later he made some paintings on linen and some on panels. The colouring of the panel portraits, owing, it is

said, to his palette being borrowed, does not equal that of the portraits he painted at home. Unfortunately he did not always add the sitter's name to his portrait, so that many of the portraits have not been identified.

In Dürer's diary we read how the party journeyed to Bamberg, where the painter called on the bishop, whose power of taking toll extended as far as Cologne, and who presented Dürer with a pass that freed him from payment of dues. From Bamberg they went by boat down the Main, putting up for the night at various places. At Frankfurt they stayed three days and Dürer visited his former patron Heller, who made him a present of wine. This seems to have been a usual attention to travellers in those days. From Frankfurt the party journeyed on by boat to Cologne, but in this case they seem to have slept on board, as we gather from the absence of references to inns in the diary. At Cologne Dürer met his cousin Niklas, the goldsmith, Hieronymus Fugger and others. Wherever Dürer went he met members of the great houses of Augsburg and Nürnberg, who had

branch establishments in many cities of the Netherlands.

From Cologne the party travelled across country to Antwerp, presumably by carrier. Goods and persons were usually conveyed by means of the system of carriers, which spread its network at the time right across Europe. Antwerp was reached within three weeks of starting from Nürnberg.

At Antwerp Dürer lodged with Jobst Plankfeldt, and invitations from all sides came to him. The representative of the Fuggers at once called and invited him; the burgomaster invited him to his house, which struck Dürer by its splendour; and the guild of the painters invited him and his wife and the maid to their hall. "All their service was of silver, and they had other splendid ornaments and very costly meats. All their wives were there also. And as I was being led to the table the company stood on both sides as if they were leading some great lord. And there were among them men of very high position, who all treated me with respectful bows, and promised to do everything in their power agreeable to me that they knew of. And as I was sitting

there in such grandeur, Adrian Horebouts, the syndic of Antwerp, came with two servants and presented me with four cans of wine in the name of the Town Councillors of Antwerp, and they had bid him say that they wished thereby to show their respect for me and assure me of their good will. Wherefore I returned my humble thanks and offered my humble service to them. After that came Master Peeter (Frans), the town carpenter, and presented me with two cans of wine, with the offer of his willing services. So when we had spent a long and merry time together till late at night, they accompanied us home with lanterns in great honour."

From the diary we further learn that Dürer went to the house of the famous painter Quentin Massys, and that he met the Portuguese consul Brandan, Alexander Imhof, and the organ player Staiber from Nürnberg. He soon began to show his hand by making charcoal drawings of Brandan, of his host Plankfeldt, of Hungersperg, "the splendid and extraordinary lute player," and of the painter Joachim de Patinir. His host took him to the painters' workshop in which the structure

was in course of completion through which the Emperor was to make his entry into the city. "It is four hundred arches long, and each arch is forty feet wide."

Shortly after his arrival Dürer began selling his prints, and from entries in the diary we learn that the price asked for a Small Woodcut Passion was $\frac{1}{4}$-florin, and that the three Large Books also sold for $\frac{1}{4}$-florin each. He did not only sell his prints, he also gave away a large number. Those which he enumerates amount to several hundred. The portraits which he painted were not usually paid for in coin, but the sitters often sent the painter some acknowledgment in the shape of curios, rings, cloth and art wares. Where they failed to do so, the artist was disappointed.

Dürer at Antwerp made great friends with the brothers Bombelli, rich silk merchants from Genoa. He drew their portraits and he often dined with them. In the diary he made the entry, "I have dined with Tomasin Bombelli thus often," leaving a blank space, and every time he had been with him he added a stroke. There are twelve strokes between August 2 and 26. He noted also

HANS IMHOF

From the Painting in the Royal Gallery at Madrid

(*By permission of Messrs Braun, Clement & Cie, in Dornach (Alsace), Paris and New York*)

that he dined at Tomasin's with his wife and the maid. These seem to have done their own housekeeping, and they usually dined at home, as we gather from their purchases.

Dürer was struck by the peculiar appearance and the beauties of Antwerp, which was the great emporium of trade of northern Europe at the time. Drawings in the sketch-book include a view of the port, pictures of large sailing vessels, a view of the city seen from the river which covers two leaves, and drawings of the Cathedral, of the Tower of St Michael, and others. At Antwerp Dürer met Erasmus, who sent him presents shortly after his arrival, as though renewing a former acquaintance. Erasmus was staying at Antwerp in the house of the traveller Petrus Aegidius, whom Dürer also met and to whom he gave prints. Erasmus had staying with him on a visit Nicholas Kratzer, whom he introduced to Dürer. Dürer speaks of him as "being with the King of England," for Kratzer, by birth a German, had lectured on astronomy at Oxford, and drew a salary from Henry VIII. Dürer drew Kratzer, and the portrait is now in the Louvre. He also made several drawings

of Erasmus, including the beautiful one which is here reproduced (p. 201).

An event which greatly impressed Dürer was the procession in honour of the Virgin, on Aug. 19th, the splendour of which delighted his eyes. In his diary he wrote a description of the procession, which included the arts and crafts, a military detachment, the widows dressed in white, and all the clergy of the church. Twenty persons carried the image of the Virgin and Child.

"In this procession very many delightful things were shown, most splendidly got up. Waggons were drawn along with tableaux arranged on ships and other structures. Among these were the Prophets in their order, and scenes from the New Testament, such as the Annunciation, the Three Holy Kings riding on great camels, and other rare beasts, very well arranged; also how the Virgin fled to Egypt —very devout—and many other things which for shortness I omit. At the end came a great Dragon which St Margaret and her maidens led by a girdle; she was especially beautiful. Behind her came St George with his squires, a very goodly knight in armour. In this

company there rode also youths and maidens most finely and splendidly dressed in the costumes of many lands, representing various saints. From beginning to end the procession lasted more than two hours as it went past our house. And so many things were there that I could not write them all in one book, so I write no more."

Among the great houses which Dürer visited at Antwerp, was that of the Fuggers', which was newly built and had a great tower. We hear much concerning the produce of other countries which Dürer saw and received. A Portuguese gave him sugar and sugar canes, and his wife a parrot. His host gave him some coral.

Towards the close of the month of August Dürer agreed to Tomasin Bombelli's proposal to accompany him to Mecheln and Brussels. He had previously sent some engravings through Aegidius to Konrad Meyt, a Swiss sculptor who was in the service of Lady Margaret, the regent of the Netherlands. At Brussels he met the three delegates from Nürnberg, Hans Ebner, Leonhard Groland, and Niklas Haller, who were deputed to

convey the regalia from Nürnberg to Aachen for the coronation of Charles V. Dürer henceforth was often in their company. He repeatedly noted dining with them, and the money which he lost at play with Hans Ebner. The gentlemen on their side were glad to pay his expenses when he travelled in their company, a liberality which Dürer greatly appreciated.

At Brussels, in the town hall, Dürer saw "the four paintings which the great Roger van der Weyden made," and in the house of the Count of Nassau he saw "the good picture that Master Hugo van der Goes painted." He made the acquaintance of Bernard van Orley, court painter to Lady Margaret, whose portrait he took in charcoal. He also once more drew Erasmus. In the diary stand these words: "Six people whose portraits I drew gave me nothing," but it is not clear if van Orley and Erasmus were among them.

Curios continued to have the greatest fascination for Dürer. "I saw the things which have been brought to the King (Emperor) from the new land of gold (Mexico), a sun all of gold, a whole fathom broad, and a moon all of silver

of the same size, also two rooms full of armour, and all manner of wondrous weapons of theirs, cuirasses, arms, curious shields, strange clothing, bedding and all kinds of wonderful objects of human use, much better worth seeing than prodigies. These things are so precious that they are valued at 100,000 florins. All these days of my life I have seen nothing that rejoiced my heart so much as these things. For I saw in them wonderful artistic work, and I marvelled at the subtle *ingenia* of men in foreign lands. Indeed I cannot describe all that I saw there."

At Brussels the gentlemen from Nürnberg helped Dürer to word his petition to the Emperor, and Lady Margaret, who sent for him, promised to speak for him. Dürer returned to Antwerp, and there once more he dined with Tomasin Bombelli, with Plankfeldt, and with the gentlemen from Nürnberg, making entries accordingly. He sold and gave away prints, drew portraits and received presents. He made the acquaintance of the lords of Roggendorf, of various artists and of others who invited him. He witnessed the Emperor's entry, and he bought the printed description of it.

At Antwerp the news reached Dürer that Rafael had died and that his school was broken up. One of Rafael's pupils, Tommaso Vincidor of Bologna, who was staying in the Netherlands in connection with the weaving of the Rafael Tapestries, came to see Dürer, and asked leave to paint his portrait. He gave him "an antique ring with a very well cut stone which is worth five florins, but I have already been offered twice as much for it." Dürer gave Thomas a set of prints to be sent to Rome to another painter, in return for which he was to receive engravings after Rafael's pictures. At this period of his stay, Dürer began buying curios on his own account. He mentions a buffalo horn, an elk's hoof, and in the course of the diary a large number of other things. He also records the purchase of some anti-Lutheran tracts. He began to paint in oils, as we learn from the purchase of a panel for Hans Ebner's portrait. Among the persons he portrayed were the lords of Roggendorf. "I took the portrait of an Italian lord, and he gave me two gold florins." For the Lady Margaret he drew "two pictures on parchment with the greatest pains and care," but he does not mention their subject.

From Antwerp Dürer journeyed to Aachen with the gentlemen from Nürnberg, and he was greatly impressed by "the well proportioned pillars with their capitals of green and red porphyry which Karl the Great had brought from Rome and set up at Aachen. They are correctly made according to Vituvius' writings." He made a drawing in his sketch-book of the Cathedral. At Aachen he witnessed the coronation, and his stay there lasted from October 4 to 23. Again here Dürer drew charcoal portraits, sold prints and made purchases. But he did not succeed in presenting his petition to the Emperor, and at the invitation of the gentlemen from Nürnberg, he agreed to accompany them to Cologne, whither they were travelling in the train of the Emperor. There he saw a nobles' dance, and a banquet in the Emperor's hall. He went to the church of St Ursula and saw her grave and all the great relics. He saw the famous altar-piece of the Adoration of the Magi by Stephan Lochner. And finally he secured the confirmation of his salary and started back for Antwerp where he joined his wife.

Dürer now settled at Antwerp, where he

ST BARTHOLOMEW (1523), Engraving B. 47

From the Impression at the British Museum

stayed from November 2 of the year 1520, till the following April, with the sole interruption of a journey which he went to Zeeland in hopes of seeing a stranded whale. The weather was inclement, he failed to see the whale which had been carried away by the tide, and he was attacked by a sickness which afterwards developed into a serious complaint. On this journey to Zeeland he again had the sketch-book with him, and made drawings of women in costume, and of others. The journey was accomplished partly on horseback, partly by ship, and Dürer described in graphic terms a mishap that befell. Another vessel bumped against theirs and carried it away from its moorings. The few persons that were left on board were despairing, but Dürer's presence of mind did not desert him. He admonished the skipper, and lent a hand in hauling the sail, and so they reached the shore in safety.

In Antwerp Dürer once more engaged in the old round of work and enjoyment. Carnival time brought invitations from the goldsmiths and others, and he describes how he saw splendid masquerading. Again he met Aegidius and Erasmus, again he received

presents and gave away prints. He painted several Vernacles and other paintings which he gave away, receiving presents in return. In March he recorded various purchases which he forwarded as presents to his friends at Nürnberg. He bought *borte*, strips of embroidery or lace, and a pair of gloves for the wives of Nützel, Hans Imhof and others. To Pirkheimer he sent "a large cap, a costly inkstand of buffalo-horn, a silver Emperor, a pound of pistachios and three sugar-canes." Nützel, Muffel, the Spenglers, and Holzschuher received similar gifts. At this period of his stay he painted the beautiful picture of van Orley that is now at Dresden; "for which he paid me eight florins, and gave my wife a crown, and the maid a florin of twenty-four stivers." The attentions to Dürer's wife are worth noting, for they show that she did not remain altogether in the background. On his journey to Zeeland Dürer recorded that he bought her a light covering for the head, and he afterwards drew her wearing it. The vigorous young woman as we know her from the drawing of 1504, in 1521 had grown stout and middle-aged.

Dürer's taste of Flemish art had whetted his appetite, and before leaving Antwerp for home, he decided to visit Bruges and Ghent to see the pictures there. He travelled with Lieber, an Augsburg patrician, and Jan Prost, the painter. At Bruges he recorded seeing pictures by Roger van der Weyden, Hugo van der Goes, Jan Eyck and others, and the statue of the Virgin and Child by Michel Angelo. At Ghent he saw the great altar-piece by the van Eycks, "a most precious and important painting," and "many other wonderful things." At Ghent he drew a lion from life in the sketch-book. On his return, however, he was repeatedly ill, as we gather from entries in the diary concerning the payments made to the doctor and the apothecary. In April he heard the news of the supposed arrest of Luther, and this drew from his pen some impassioned and eloquent sentences on the Reformation.

"And what seems hardest to me is that God perhaps will leave us under the false, blind doctrines, invented and drawn up by the men who are called the Fathers, by whom the Divine Word has been falsely expounded

and withheld.—O God in Heaven, take pity on us. O Lord Jesus Christ, intercede for Thy people and deliver us at the fit time, preserve for us the right, true Christian belief, collect Thy scattered and divided sons with Thy voice which in Holy Writ is called Thy Divine Word, help us that we recognise Thy voice and do not yield to allurements." He then launched forth in high praise of Luther and his writings, and called upon Erasmus of Rotterdam to lay aside his moderation, since the Pope's avarice and oppression must be removed, and he ended with quoting from the Apocalypse in anticipation of coming events.

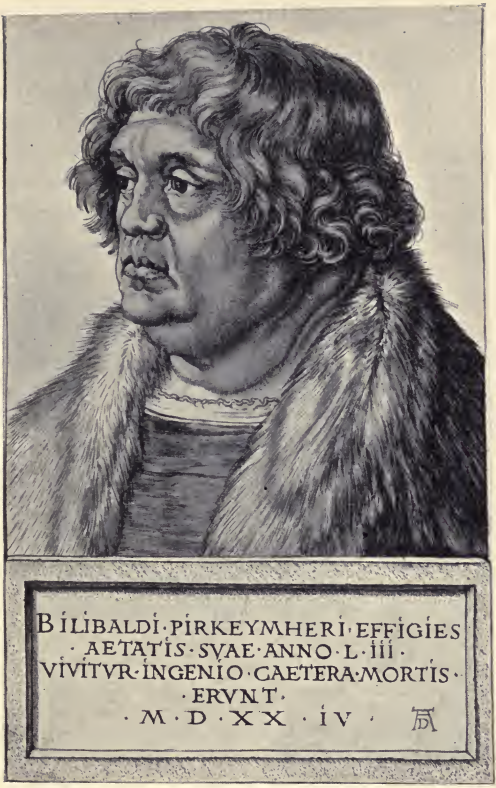
Shortly afterwards a copy of Luther's *Babylonian Captivity* was given him by Grapheus, and he was so pleased that he presented him in return with a copy of the "three Large Books."

Before leaving Antwerp Dürer once more went to see the Lady Margaret at Mecheln, who showed him many beautiful things, but she thought so little of the portrait of Maximilian which Dürer showed to her, that he did not care to present it. A notable event towards

the close of his stay was an invitation to dine with the engraver Lukas von Leyden, "a little man." Dürer drew his portrait, and he gave eight florins' worth of his own prints for a set of engravings of Lukas'.

Dürer was on the point of starting from Antwerp, his trunk and three bales had already gone, and he had borrowed a hundred florins from Alexander Imhof, when a summons came to him from the King of Denmark at Brussels, who wished to have his portrait painted. Taking his wife with him, Dürer once more went to Brussels, where he spent ten days working and taking part in grand entertainments, before he finally started for Cologne, and from there journeyed home.

The stay in the Netherlands brought Dürer many new impressions and ideas. To Melanchthon he spoke of the wonderful scenes he witnessed, and the curios he brought back were a subject of envy to his friends. He did not, however, make direct use of what he had gained. During the six years of life that were vouchsafed him he did not strike out along new lines. Some drawings for a new representation of the Passion which



WILIBALD PIRKHEIMER (1524), ENGRAVING B. 106

FROM THE IMPRESSION IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

are dated 1520 and 1521 suggest that he might have done so, for their grouping has a breadth and a concentration on the central incident which only the realisation of new points of view can have taught him. But the growing religious excitement, perhaps ill health, prevented him from adding a new chapter to his career as an artist. The work he produced was quite on the level of his previous attainments, and, if anything, he bestowed even greater care on the portraits which he painted. But it is the carrying on of the methods which he had previously accepted; no seeking for new paths.

Worldly cares he had none, for the Town Council paid him his salary, and his savings were so large that, about the year 1525, he petitioned the Town Council to take into their keeping 1000 florins, paying him fifty florins yearly interest as "he and his wife were growing daily older, feebler, and more helpless." These are hardly the words of a healthy man under fifty years of age. In this letter Dürer remarked on the small amount of money, about 500 florins, "truly a trifling sum," which he had received from his fellow citizens. What

he owned was chiefly earned from patrons who were not of his town.

However the city, if it did not pay well, was ready enough to add to its glory by engaging the services of Dürer. In view of the approaching diet and the possible presence of Charles V., the town authorities decided to redecorate the town hall, and commissioned Dürer to design the necessary paintings. One consisted of a representation of Calumny, which was done in accordance with Lucian's description of the famous painting by Apelles. Other painters, and among them Mantegna, Rafael and Botticelli, set to work to recover the same great painting of the past, each in the way of his local surroundings. Dürer's drawing of Calumny is now in the Albertina. Most of the figures are women, and they wear the ponderous clothing of the age. Truth, the last figure, bears a picture of the sun on a dish, and has on her head a hat of a large size.

The other paintings consisted of a group of musicians, and of a variation of the Car of Triumph. Dürer only drew the paintings, which were executed by his pupil Georg Penz.

Dürer's dated works following his return are not numerous. The excellent portrait here reproduced (p. 215), which is said to represent Hans Imhof, was presumably painted after his return. It is said to have all the glow of colour of his best work, and has the force of characterisation which no photographic likeness can ever attain. His activity for a time was not great. The diet met in Nürnberg in the winter of 1522 and 1523, and many distinguished men attended it; but with the exception perhaps of the Cardinal Archbishop of Mainz, of whom Dürer issued a new engraving in 1523, which to distinguish it from the earlier one of 1519 is known as the Large Cardinal, no portraits are referable to this year.

Towards the close of 1523 his energies came back to him. In a letter to the Cardinal Archbishop, he spoke of having sent to him 500 impressions of his portrait before his illness. He drew a spirited dance of monkeys, which he sent to Felix Frey, a Zurich reformer, with a note (December 5, 1523) in which he thanked him for a little book sent to Varnbühler and himself, and begged to be

remembered to Zwingli (the reformer), Hans Leu (the painter), and Hans Ulrich, as though he had been acquainted with them. In December also he drew the beautiful portrait of Henry Parker, Lord Morley, who came to Nürnberg, carrying the Order of the Garter, which Henry VIII. through him bestowed on Archduke Ferdinand. This drawing is now in the British Museum. Dürer also made famous engravings of his old patron, the Elector of Saxony, and of Pirkheimer, who was now fifty-three years of age (p. 229).

Dürer further increased his series of Apostles by two engravings in 1523. A sketch of the Last Supper, now in the Albertina, a single leaf woodcut of the same subject, and a large pen and ink drawing of the Adoration of the Magi (1524), show that he remained indifferent to the attacks which were made on the cult of the saints and their images. We, who look back on the events of those days from afar, recognise that the antagonism of the Protestants was bound to blot out religious imagery, and destroy religious art for centuries to come. But Dürer did not realise what danger the destructive forces that were let

loose, threatened to the art he cherished. Violence to him seemed folly, and into folly only the senseless were drawn.

In the year 1524 Nürnberg stood forth among the free towns of the Empire, and declared for a moderate Reformation. Those who led the movement were among Dürer's best friends, and he unquestionably approved of the step. Ceremonies were abolished, rules and vows were declared vain, and efforts were made to induce the religious convents to dissolve. The older generation were willing to move, but the younger generation were carried away by the thought of change. Dürer's pupil Penz openly declared himself an atheist, and spoke contemptuously of the holiness of Christ and the sacraments. Penz was banished from Nürnberg, and the two brothers Behaim, both painters and perhaps pupils of Dürer, were expelled from the town also. Hieronymus Altdorfer, the cutter of numerous blocks for the Triumph, was accused of supporting the peasants' rising, and was cast into prison.

It must have been to Dürer a source of distress that Pirkheimer, the friend of so many years, was so shocked by the violence of preachers

such as Osiander, and incensed at the image-breaking riots and the rising of the peasants, that he disclaimed his connection with the evangelical party. The humanists worked for progress, but for progress by means of an improved education and the spread of culture. The incitements of demagogues, and the riots of distracted folk, repelled them. As Pirkheimer put it, "the new evangelical knaves made the popish knaves seem pious by contrast," and in his views he did not stand alone. In 1524, Luther, roused by the attitude of Erasmus, openly broke with him, and several of the most distinguished humanists withdrew from the Protestant cause.

It is a testimony to the strength of their affection that Dürer and Pirkheimer remained on a friendly footing. In June of 1524, Melanchthon came to Nürnberg, anxious to mediate between the contending parties and specially summoned to turn the suppressed convents to educational uses. His presence was as oil on troubled waters. Melanchthon was a cultivated man and an ardent reformer. His purposes appealed to Pirkheimer, and his directness won him the confidence of Dürer.

On his side Melanchthon was impressed by Dürer's abilities. Peuker, Melanchthon's son-in-law, described the reformer's stay in the following passages:—

"Melanchthon was often, and for many hours together in the company of Pirkheimer, at the time when he was consulting about the churches and schools at Nürnberg, and Dürer the painter was invited to dinner with them. Dürer was a shrewd man, as Melanchthon said, whose art of painting was the least of his acquirements; discussions often arose between Pirkheimer and Dürer concerning the recent controversy (about Transubstantiation), in which Dürer with superior insight fiercely attacked Pirkheimer, and refuted what he said, as though he had come prepared for the discussion. Pirkheimer waxed hot, for he was choleric and irate through his attacks of the gout, and he often called out: 'Such things could not be painted.' 'And what you say, cannot be put into words nor grasped by the mind,' was the reply of Dürer."

The news of the progress of the Protestants in Nürnberg spread abroad. On October 24, 1524, Nicholas Kratzer, the astronomer, whose

MELANCHTHON (1526), Engraving B. 105

From the Impression in the British Museum

acquaintance Dürer had made at Antwerp, wrote to him from London as follows:—

"Honourable, dear Sir,—I am very glad to hear of your good health and that of your wife. I have had Hans Pömer staying with me in England. Now that you are all evangelical in Nürnberg, I must write to you. God grant you grace to persevere; the adversaries are indeed strong, but God is stronger, and is wont to help those who call upon him and acknowledge him." He then asked Dürer to make a drawing for him of the instrument which he saw at Pirkheimer's wherewith to measure distance, and of which he had spoken at Antwerp. And also wrote to tell him that he had heard of the death of the astronomer Hans, and asked where the prints and wood-blocks of Stabius were to be found. "Greet Herr Pirkheimer for me. I hope to make him a map of England, which is a great country and was unknown to Ptolemy. He would like to see it. All those who have written about England have only seen a small part of it."

Pirkheimer at the time was preparing a Latin translation of the writings of Ptolemy, which he published in 1525.

Dürer, on December 5, wrote in reply: "First my most willing service to you, dear Herr Niklas. I have received and read your letter with pleasure, and am glad to hear that things are going well with you. I have spoken for you to Herr Wilibald Pirkheimer about the instrument you wanted to have. He is having one made for you, and is going to send it to you with a letter. The things Herr Hans left when he died have all been scattered, as I was away at the time of his death. I cannot find where they are gone. The same has happened to the things of Stabius; they were all taken to Austria, and I can tell you no more about them. I should like to know whether you have already begun to translate Euclid into German, as you told me you would do if you had time.

"We have to stand in disgrace and danger for the sake of the Christian faith, for they abuse us as heretics; but may God grant us His grace and strengthen us in His word, for we must obey Him rather than men. It is better to lose life and property than that God should cast us, body and soul, into hell-fire. Therefore may He confirm us in that which

is good, and enlighten our adversaries, poor, miserable, blind creatures, that they may not perish in their errors.

"Now God bless you. I send you two likenesses, printed from copper, you know them well. At present I have no good news to write you but much evil. However, God's will only cometh to pass."

The excitement of the time so fanned the belief in portents that we find Dürer describing and illustrating the appearance of a dream that came to him. He was always wont to attach importance to dreams, and he told Pirkheimer that some of the most beautiful images he could conceive came to him in the form of dreams. "I saw this appearance in my sleep," he wrote, drawing a rapid sketch in black and white of it. And he continued: "how great masses of water fell from heaven. The first struck the earth about four miles away from me with terrific force and tremendous noise, and it broke up and drowned the whole land. I was so sore afraid that I awoke from it. Then the other waters fell, and as they fell they were very powerful and there were many of them, some

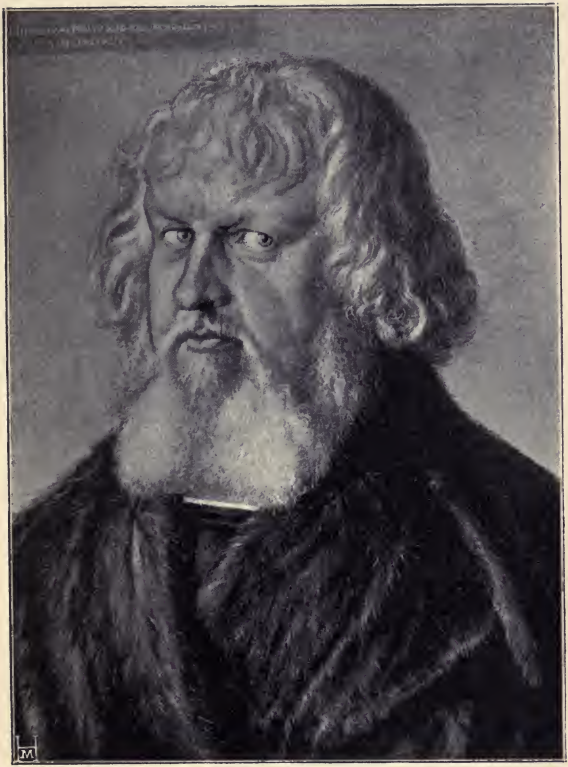
further away, some nearer. And they came down from so great a height that they all seemed to fall with an equal slowness. But when the first water that touched the earth had very nearly reached it, it fell with such swiftness, with wind and roaring, and I was so sore afraid that when I awoke my whole body trembled, and for a long time I could not recover myself. So when I arose in the morning I painted it as I saw it. God turn all things to the best."

In reading these passages one is reminded of the vague and portentous revelations and prophecies of St Hildegard and St Brigitta, which Koberger had printed, and which had a wide circulation at this time.

From this agitation Dürer sought relief in the undisturbed world of science. His contact with Stabius, Kratzer and the architect Tscherte had added to his scientific knowledge, which his contemporary Camerarius described as great in physicks, mathematicks and geometry. In the course of 1525 Dürer appeared before the public as an author with the "Teaching of Measurements with Rule and Compass." The book in many particulars corresponds

with the work on proportion of Luca Pacioli. It deals with geometrical drawing, with the designing and appearance of columns, flooring and vaulting, and it contains drawings of the letters of the alphabet suitable for inscriptions. These also are in the book of Pacioli.

The book was dedicated to Pirkheimer, who returned the compliment in 1527 by dedicating to Dürer his edition in Greek and Latin of the "Characters of Theophrastus." From the introduction to Dürer's book we learn that it was intended "for the use of all lovers of art." Dürer's attitude towards the image-breakers, and the sum of Italian learning, is indicated by the following passages. He urged the students to recognise what is real truth, "and they will not be misled by those amongst us who, in our own day, revile the art of painting and say that it is a servant to idolatry. For a Christian would no more be led to superstition by a picture or an effigy, than an honest man would be led to commit murder because he carried a weapon by his side. He must indeed be an unthinking man who would worship picture, wood or stone. A picture therefore brings more good than harm, when



HOLZSCHUHER (1526)
FROM THE PAINTING AT BERLIN
(*By permission of Messrs Hanfstaengl*)

it is honourably, artistically and well made. In what honour and respect these arts were held by the Greeks and Romans the old books sufficiently prove. And although in the course of time the arts were lost, and remained lost for more than a thousand years, they were once more brought to light by the Italians two centuries ago. For arts very quickly disappear, and only with difficulty and after a long time can they be re-discovered."

And in spite of the image-breaking spirit that was abroad, Dürer added one more Apostle to his series, and issued a single-leaf woodcut of the Holy Family in 1526. He made a beautiful drawing of the Annunciation that is now in a private collection, and he painted the Virgin and Child of the apple that is here reproduced (p. 251). He also completed the last great paintings of his life, the so-called "Four Apostles," or Four Preachers on two panels, and these he asked leave to present as a gift to the city of Nürnberg.

These paintings consist of the figures of John and Peter on one panel, and Paul and Mark on the other. They are forms of great dignity, beautifully draped, and the heads are full of

life and character. In order to point his intention with regard to them, and the purpose of his gift, Dürer wrote beneath them passages from the Epistles of Peter, John and Paul, and from the Gospel of St Mark, concerning false teaching, dangerous sects, perilous times and the influence of the Pharisees.

The letter which he addressed to the Town Council stated that he bestowed "on these panels more trouble than on any other painting." The Council accepted the gift, and in return sent to the painter a hundred florins, his wife ten, and his apprentice two. But the city of Nürnberg has ill repaid the affection which one of the greatest of her sons bore her. A hundred years it yielded to the bribes and threats of the Prince of Bavaria, and the painting was carried off to Munich.

Unconsciously perhaps to himself, Dürer devoted his chief energies during these last years to portraiture, the one branch of his art with which the change of religion did not interfere. The portraits of Jakob Muffel and of Hieronymus Holzschuher (p. 243) show the artist's insight into the character of another,

and his workmanlike pride in the laying on of his colours. The portrait of Holzschuher especially has all the sweetness and vigour, the dignity and the fresh colouring, which render beautiful those who in understanding be of ripe age. This portrait also has been carried away from Nürnberg and is now in Berlin.

Engravings of Erasmus and of Melanchthon (p. 237) are also dated 1526. Beneath the latter portrait Dürer wrote that his features he could copy, but he could not represent his mind. Melanchthon in May of 1526 came to Nürnberg to be present at the opening of the new grammar school. Among the teachers appointed were Eoban Hesse, whom Dürer also portrayed, and Camerarius, who became the translator of some of Dürer's writings into Latin, and wrote of him.

In 1527 Dürer published his essay on Fortifications, which he dedicated to the Archduke Ferdinand.

The preparation of the Book of Human Proportion was absorbing his chief energies, and half of it was ready for the printer when the end suddenly came. Dürer had repeatedly been ill. A drawing which he made of a man's

figure, with a spot indicating the place of his sufferings, is held to represent himself, and to indicate that he suffered from an internal complaint. He died on April 6 of the year 1528.

His death came as a shock to his friends, and the tone of different writers indicate the diverse manner in which they realised their common grief. The words which Pirkheimer wrote to a mutual friend are characterised by the candour of the humanist, whose attitude towards the great calamities of life is modern in its untainted sincerity. "He has passed away, dearest Ulrich, he has passed away, our Albrecht! O inexorable ordering of Fate, O pitiful Lot of mankind, O invidious power of Death! This man, so great a man, is taken from us, while so many useless and unprofitable beings enjoy prosperity and a life unduly prolonged."

Pirkheimer's grief also found expression in a Latin ode in which he deplored that it had not been vouchsafed him once more to seize his friend by the hand and bid him farewell.

Eoban Hesse states that the whole city was plunged into mourning. He wrote a Latin elegy which was read at the funeral, and the

perusal of this drew from Luther serious words of regret at the untimely death of so great a man. In his estimation Dürer was also to be held fortunate since "Christ had taken him away at the right hour from stormy times, with still stormier times to come."

Camerarius, some years later, wrote of Dürer in the introduction to a Latin edition of his friend's Book on Human Proportion. The following passages describe Dürer as he appeared to his fellow citizens.

"Nature bestowed on him a body remarkable in build and stature and not unworthy of the noble mind it contained; that in this too Nature's Justice as extolled by Hippocrates, might not be forgotten — Justice which, while it assigns a grotesque form to the ape's grotesque soul, is wont also to clothe noble minds in bodies worthy of them. His head was intelligent, his eyes flashing, his nose nobly formed, and, as the Greeks say, *τετράγωνον*. His neck was rather long, his chest broad, his body not too stout, his thighs muscular, his legs firm and steady. But his fingers—you would vow you had never seen anything more elegant.

"His conversation was marked by so much sweetness and wit, that nothing displeased his hearers so much as the end of it. Letters, it is true, he had not cultivated, but the great Sciences of Physicks and Mathematicks, which are perpetuated by letters, he had almost entirely mastered. He not only understood principles, and knew how to apply them in practice, but he was able to set them forth in words. This is proved by his geometrical treatises, wherein I see nothing omitted, except what he judged to be beyond the scope of his work. An ardent zeal impelled him towards the attainment of all virtue in conduct and life, the display of which caused him to be deservedly held a most excellent man. Yet he was not of a melancholy severity nor of a repulsive gravity; nay, whatever conduced to pleasantness and cheerfulness and was not inconsistent with honour and rectitude, he cultivated all his life and approved even in his old age. The works he has left on Gymnastic and Music are of such a character. But Nature had specially designed him for a painter, and therefore he embraced the study of that art with all his energies, and was ever

desirous of observing the works and principles of the famous painters of every land, of imitating whatever he approved in them. . . . What single painter has there ever been who did not reveal his character in his works? Instead of instances from ancient history I shall content myself with examples from our own time.

"No one can fail to see that many painters have sought a vulgar celebrity by immodest pictures. It is not credible that those artists can be virtuous, whose minds and fingers composed such works. We have also seen pictures minutely finished and fairly well coloured, wherein, it is true, the master showed a certain talent and industry, but art was wanting. Albrecht, therefore, shall we most justly admire as an earnest guardian of piety and modesty, and as one who showed, by the magnitude of his pictures, that he was conscious of his own powers, although none even of his lesser works is to be despised. You will not find in them a single line carelessly or wrongly drawn, not a single superfluous dot. . . . Almost with awe have we gazed upon the bearded face of the man, drawn by himself, in the manner we have

VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH THE APPLE

From the Painting in the Uffizi

(*By permission of Messrs Anderson, Rome*)

described, with the brush on the canvas, and without any previous sketch. The locks of the beard are almost a cubit long, and so exquisitely and cleverly drawn, at such regular distances, and in so exact a manner, that the better anyone understands art the more he admires it, and the more certain would he deem it, that in fashioning these locks, the hand had employed artificial aid. Further, there is nothing foul, nothing disgraceful in his work. The thoughts of his most pure mind showed such things. O artist worthy of success! How like too are his portraits! how unerring, how true!"

Posterity has endorsed this view. It has realised how seriously Dürer took his life's work, how intense and true he was in his art, and in what a high, magnanimous spirit he treated his surroundings. Camerarius appreciated his moral excellence, his artistic powers, and the merit of his portraits, but he was too much under the influence of the Reformation to appreciate the value of the legacy which Dürer bequeathed in his religious compositions. For high as Dürer ranks as a portrait-painter, it is as a painter of religious

pictures that he reached the high-water mark of German mediæval art. It was he who gathered together and interpreted for later generations the artistic material that had accumulated during centuries; it was he who portrayed under its religious aspect the age as it was. Following at first in the way marked out by others, his career was one of continuous progress. He strained his energies to do well, and as soon as a work was completed, he realised he could do better. His faculties were ever of a piece with his ambitions. Some effort is always needed to look at life through the eyes of another. The peculiar characteristics of Dürer's work are on the surface, it needs a closer acquaintance with his work to realise their meaningfulness. But the profit and the enjoyment of art are proportionate to the thought that is spent on its study. Should this essay add to the interest in Dürer, and encourage a closer acquaintance with his work, no apology is needful from the author to his readers.

APPENDIX

Dürer's Most Important Dated Work

In Italics = paintings.
B = Bartsch engraving.
B* = Bartsch woodcut.
No mark = drawing in silver print, in charcoal, in pen and ink, etc. (for further information, cf. *Thausing*: Dürer, second edition, 1884; *Ephrussi*: Albert Dürer et ses desseins, 1882; *Lange und Fulse*: Dürer's Schriftlicher Nachlass, 1893).

1484. Drawing of himself dated later (Albertina).
1485. Virgin and Child between angels (Berlin).
1489. Horsemen in a defile (Bremen); three soldiers (Berlin).
1490. *Dürer's Father* (Uffizi).
1493. *Portrait of self* (Priv. Leipzig).
1494. Combat of Tritons, and Bacchanalia after Mantegna (Albertina); death of Orpheus (Hamburg); lion in a cavern (Hamburg).
1495. Infant after Credi (Priv.); study of Scarlet Woman (Albertina).
1496. Women in *badstube* (Bremen).

1497. *Fürlegerin* (Augsburg); Four women, B 75; seraph playing lute (Priv.).
1498. *Portrait of self* (Uffizi); Apocalypse, B* 60-75.
1499. *Oswald Krell* (Munich).
1500. *Crucifixion* (Dresden); study for Hercules and Stymphalian birds (Darmstadt); Nürnberg women going to church, to dance (Albertina); figure for Book of Human Proportion (Brit. Mus.).
1502. Wild rabbit (Albertina).
1503. Virgin and Child, B 34; Arms of Death, B 101; man, aged eighteen (Vienna); Pirkheimer (Priv.); woman with cap (Berlin); Virgin and Child (Brit. Mus.); head of Christ (Brit. Mus.); grass and plants (Albertina).
1504. *Adoration of the Magi* (Uffizi); Adam and Eve, B 1; Nativity, B 2; Meeting of Joachim and Anna for Life of Virgin, B* 79; Green Passion, twelve drawings (Albertina); Albrecht Dürerin (Priv. Brunswick).
1505. Family of Satyr, B 69; Small horse, B 96; Large horse, B 97; Death on horse (Brit. Mus.); aged man in profile (Priv.).
1506. *Festival of Rosegarlands* (Prague); many studies for it including dated Master Hieronymus (Priv.); St Dominic (Albertina); study for Christ, and three heads of angels (Paris); study of rocks (Brit. Mus.); female figure with apple (Brit. Mus.).

1507. *Adam and Eve* (Madrid); Descent of Cross, B 14; sketch of Maximilian (Berlin); study for *Martyrdom* (Albertina).

1508. *Martyrdom of Ten Thousand* (Vienna); *Virgin and Child of iris* (Priv.); St George, B 54; Maid and Child in the Sun, B 31; Kiss of Judas, and Christ on Mount of Olives for Engraved Passion, B 4, 5; studies for *Assumption*: apostle (Berlin); hands of Father and figure of Christ (Bremen); sketch of framed *Trinity* (Priv. Paris); sketch of *Lucretia* (Albertina).

1509. *Assumption* (destroyed by fire); Ecce Homo for Engraved Passion, B 3; Christ before Pilate for Small Passion, B* 32; Holy Family (Basel); Last Judgment for Schilling (Brit. Mus.).

1510. *Diptych*: Samson among the Philistines (Berlin), and Resurrection (copy, Louvre); Vernacle, B 64; Last Supper, Christ taken prisoner, Descent of Christ, Resurrection for Large Passion, B* 5, 7, 14, 15; Expulsion from Paradise, and Vernacle for Small Passion, B* 18, 38; Crucifixion, B* 55; Death of Virgin, Assumption for Life of Virgin, B* 93, 94; Kneeling Saint, B* 119; beheading of St John, B* 125; Death and the Soldiers, B* 132; Schoolmaster, B* 133; studies for *Karl the Great*; Maximilian on

horseback (Bremen); head of woman (Bremen); decorative column (Brit. Mus.).

1511. *Trinity* (Vienna); drawing of Landauer for it (Priv.); Crucifixion for Engraved Passion, B 13; Virgin and Child, B 41; publication of the series Large Passion, B* 4-5, Small Passion, B* 16-52, Apocalypse, B* 60-75, Life of Virgin, B* 76-95, all with wording; Cain and Abel, B* 1; Adoration of Magi, B* 3; Holy Family, B* 96; Holy Family, B* 97; St Christopher, B* 103; St Jerome, B* 114; Trinity, B* 122; Mass of St Gregory, B* 123; Herodias, B* 126; Jörz von Eblinger (Brit. Mus.); Virgin and Child adored by saints (Albertina); halt on Flight to Egypt (Priv.).

1512. *Karl the Great* (Nürnberg); ten engravings for Engraved Passion, B 6-12; Ecce homo, B 31; Virgin and Child, B 36; Peasants, B 87; St Jerome, B* 113; beardless men (Turin); portrait of man (Dresden); man shouting (Berlin); St Ann Selbdritt (Albertina); men fighting (Brit. Mus.); monstrosity (Brit. Mus.); jay and jay's wing (Albertina); ex libris for Spengler (Albertina).

1513. Peter and John healing for Engraved Passion, B 18; Vernacle, B 25; Virgin and Child, B 35; Knight, B 98; Ex libris (Berlin); Siren (Priv. Vienna).

1514. Maid and Child in the Sun, B 33; Virgin and Child near the wall, B 40; St Thomas and St Paul, B 48, 50; St Jerome, B 60; Melencolia, B 74; Peasant with bagpipes, B 91; portrait of Mother (Berlin); Barbara Dürer (Berlin); sitting woman (Priv.); child's head twice (Brit. Mus.); lady in costume (Bremen); Virgin and Child seated, men below (Berlin); Virgin embracing Child (Bodleian); Virgin and Child beneath curtain (Priv.); St Ann Selbdritt (Priv.); St Paul (Uffizi); study of column (Brit. Mus.).

1515. Christ in the Garden, B 19; Rhinoceros B* 136, drawing for it (Brit. Mus.); Triumphal Arch, B* 138; girl with plait, Agnes Frey? (Berlin); man with cloak, front and back (Albertina); illustrations of Maximilian's Prayer Book (Munich); Virgin and Child with bird (Windsor); Trinity (Ambrosiana); nude man and woman (Frankfort); flowers (Priv.); wing of bird (Priv.); view of Kaltenthal (Priv.).

1516. *Virgin and child of pink* (Augsburg); *portrait of Wolgemut* (Munich), the drawing for it (Albertina); *St Philip and St James* (Uffizi); Maid and Child in the Sun, B 32; Pluto and Proserpine, B 72; Great canon, B 99; young man unknown (Brit. Mus.); women in badstube (Frankfort).

1517. *Lucretia* (Munich); Jakob Muffel (Priv.); beardless man (Priv.); nobleman (Albertina); St Paul sitting (Uffizi); sitting apostle (Albertina); St Christopher (Priv.); St Catharine praying (Priv.); man with turban on horseback (Ambrosiana); man sitting, with lion (Frankfurt); standing stork (Priv.).

1518. Christ Crucified, B 24; Virgin and Child, B 39 (study in Brit. Mus.); Virgin and Child among angels, B* 101 (study at Venice); Virgin and Child (Louvre); Maximilian (Albertina); Cardinal Archbishop of Mainz (Bremen); beardless man (Priv.); man in profile (Priv.); man (Bodleian); horsemen with trophies (Albertina).

1519. *Virgin and Child* (Odessa); St Anthony, B 58; Cardinal Archbishop of Mainz, B 102; woman with closed eyes (Bremen); Virgin and Child with angels (Windsor); head of child (Brit. Mus.); bombardment of Asperg (Berlin).

1520. Virgin and Child with angel, B 37 (a study in Priv. Collection); Virgin and child swathed B 38 (study in Priv. Coll.); Virgin and Child B 45; ex libris for Tscherte (Vienna); Jobst Plankfeldt (Frantfort); Hans Pfaffrah (Priv.); Erasmus (Priv.); Felix Hungersperg (Albertina); port of Antwerp (Albertina); tower of St Michael and girl (Priv.); Bergen-op-Zoom

(Priv.); zoological garden at Brussels (Vienna); Christ bearing Cross (Uffizi).

1521. *Portrait called Luther* (Priv.); *Bernard van Orley* (Dresden); St Christopher, B 51; St Christopher, B 52; arms of Nürnberg, B* 162; Patinir (Berlin); Lucas Van Leyden (Priv.); aged man (Albertina); Agnes Dürer (Berlin); negress Katharina (Uffizi); several portraits of men unknown (Darmstadt, Albertina, and Priv.); Flemish lady standing (Priv.); lion (Berlin); walrus (Brit. Mus.); Christ on the Mount (Frankfort); Entombment (Uffizi).

1522. *Ecce homo* (Bremen); Varnbühler B* 155; Calumny (Albertina); young girl and hands (Louvre).

1523. St Bartholomew and St Simon, B 47, 49; Cardinal Archbishop of Mainz, B 103; Arms of Dürer, B* 160; St Bartholomew, St Philip, St John and apostle sitting (all Albertina); Henry Parker, Lord Morley (Brit. Mus.); young man with red cap (Priv.); dancing monkeys (Basel); Christ on the Cross (Louvre); muzzle of ox (Brit. Mus.).

1524. Elector of Saxony, B 104; Pirkheimer, B 106; Adoration of Magi, and Christ in the Garden (Albertina).

1525. St Christoph, B* 105; illustrations in Book of Measurements, B* 147, Formschneiderin (Brit. Mus.).

1526. *Four Apostles* (Munich); *Virgin and Child* (Uffizi); *Holzschuher* (Berlin); *Jakob Muffel* (Berlin); St Philip, B 46; Melanchthon, B 105; Erasmus, B 107; Holy Family, B* 98; five men, perhaps for Resurrection (Priv.); Annunciation (Priv.); ostrich egg goblet (Brit. Mus).

1527. Sketch for a fountain (Ambras, Vienna.).

POPULAR LIBRARY OF ART

Each Volume, 16mo, about 200 pp.
Average Number of Illustrations, 45.

ROSSETTI. By FORD MADOX HUEFFER.
ALBRECHT DÜRER. By LINA ECKENSTEIN.
REMBRANDT. By AUGUSTE BRÉAL.
FREDERICK WALKER. By CLEMENTINA BLACK.
MILLET. By ROMAIN ROLLAND.

In Preparation.

LEONARDO DA VINCI. By Dr GEORG GRONAU.
CRUIKSHANK. By W. H. CHESSON.
HOGARTH. By EDWARD GARNETT.
BOTTICELLI. By Mrs HENRY ADY.

&c., &c., &c.

Each Volume will include 30 to 60 Illustrations, selected by the writers of the Volumes to fully illustrate their text, and Engraved by Messrs WALKER & COCKERELL.

See Prospectus.

LONDON: DUCKWORTH & CO.
NEW YORK: E. P. DUTTON & CO.