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EXHIBITION

OF

ALBERT DÜRER'S

Engravings, Etchings, and Dry-Points,

AND OF MOST OF THE WOODCUTS EXECUTED
FROM HIS DESIGNS.

SELECTED FROM THE COLLECTION OF MR. HENRY F. SEWALL, OF
NEW YORK, AND FROM THE GRAY COLLECTION
BELONGING TO HARVARD COLLEGE.

TOGETHER WITH

EIGHT ORIGINAL DRAWINGS

FROM THE COLLECTION VON FRANCK.

NOVEMBER 15, 1888, TO JANUARY 15, 1889.



BOSTON:

PRINTED FOR THE MUSEUM BY ALFRED MUDGE & SON,

24 FRANKLIN STREET.

1888.

Acc. no. 2.11

7. 11. 04.



14 Dec. 1904
Gift of
Trustees of Museum

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INTRODUCTION.

OF all the artists whose names are in everybody's mouth, Dürer is the one least understood. Max Allihn is quite right when he says of some of his compositions that they "may be fittingly likened to the sphinx of the old legend, for they attack every one who, either as critic or historian, or harmless wanderer, enters the realm of art, and propose to him their insolvable riddles." And if the truth were told, it would be found that all so attacked were vanquished, and that they ought to be counted among the dead.

The difficulties which beset the Dürer student are manifold, and of a peculiar kind. Rembrandt, who always comes up in the mind as Dürer's rival in the fascination which he exercises upon those who venture within the reach of his influence, repulses at first by his apparent ugliness, and to the specialist in prints brings many a sore trial through the Protean shapes which his plates assume in the way of "states," but as to the subject matter of his compositions, it is as easily understood as the conversation of a neighbor of to-day. The truth is that Rembrandt is thoroughly modern, and utters his homely, but heart-felt sentences in simple speech, which only gains from what there still adheres to it of an antiquated flavor. As to his genesis, the reason for his being and for his appearing just where and as he did, these also are perfectly clear, and can be deduced logically from the conditions which preceded and surrounded him. With Dürer, on the other hand, all this is different. He does not, indeed, trouble us with "states," for among all his authenticated works there is only one, the "Adam and Eve," of which two states, properly so called, are known, nor does he shock us with apparently vulgar ugliness, however far removed his crea-

tions may be from the Italian ideal of beauty as we admire it in Raphael. But when we come to inquire into the course of his development, and seek to understand the influences which assisted in the shaping of his mind, we are at once confronted by serious obstacles, and our troubles increase as we enter upon the task of the interpretation of his works. It seems as if it were more difficult even to understand Dürer than the older artists still farther removed from us, not only in time, but also in feeling. And therein we may, possibly, find a first clew to the nature of our troubles. These older men were of the same metal throughout, and thus present a unity, which, although foreign to us, we may hope to understand by contrast. Rembrandt, on the other hand, is thoroughly modern, — cast in the same mould in which we were cast, — and we understand him, therefore, by similarity. Dürer, however, is neither the one nor the other, or rather, he is both. We think we have divined his innermost thoughts by approaching him from the side of the Middle Ages, when, lo and behold, we suddenly find ourselves face to face with an idea with which the Middle Ages had nothing to do; and we are equally vanquished if we look at him from a modern point of view. It is this, precisely, that makes him so thoroughly typical of his age, which was racked and confused by conflicting desires: — the love of and inability to get away from old ideas; an undefined longing for the new out of which the modern world was to rise; and the vain hope that by returning to the dead past, as embodied in the Rome of antiquity, the two might be reconciled and enjoyed together. To a certain extent, this discord is felt even in the way in which Dürer deals with religious subjects, although otherwise his creations of this kind offer no special difficulty: — the designer of the anti-papal "Apocalypse" (see remarks under No. 144), the warm admirer and friend of Luther, publishes also "The Life of the Virgin." Bearing in mind this condition of things, we may hope, if not fully to understand, at least correctly to appreciate Dürer's works. For it is precisely the illogical, and therefore enigmatical, character of the time of struggle and transformation in which he lived that takes form in them and makes them representative. To hope

to reduce such half-felt, half-reasoned productions to the clearness of a problem in mathematics is in vain, and all attempts in that direction have, therefore, been fruitless.

But the difficulties which the age in general interposes are measurably increased in Dürer's case by his nationality. He was a German, or, more broadly speaking, a Northerner. To the limitations which bound all the intellects of his time, there were added those which inhered in his race. However the spirit of classical antiquity might be misunderstood on the other side of the Alps, the favored son of the South had at least retained through all the vicissitudes of the Dark Ages an instinctive feeling of form and refinement which his Northern brother had never possessed. One needs only to compare a naughty story told by Boccaccio with a similar tale told by Chaucer, to understand this difference between the North and the South. The former throws around it all the allurements of refined outward beauty, and thus increases the force of the poison a thousand-fold; the other presents his subject in all its native repulsiveness, and thus robs it of much of its baleful influence. And the same holds good of pictorial art. The Apollos and Venuses, the Theseuses and Ariadnes of the old Florentine engravers grouped together under the mythical firm name of Botticelli-Baldini, however far they may be removed from the creations of a Phidias or even of his late Græco-Roman followers, are still, as compared with their congeners on the hither side of the mountains, triumphant examples of grace and beauty, and in so far at least make good their claim to be direct descendants of antique ancestors. To understand this, it is necessary only to place side by side with the Italian engravings alluded to such a plate as that of "The Judgment of Paris," by the Master of the Banderoles (reproduced in Lehrs, "Der Meister mit den Bandrollen," Dresden, 1886). These works preceded Dürer, it is hardly necessary to say, by nearly half a century. But, all advances in the intermediate period conceded, the relative positions of the North and the South nevertheless remained about the same in his time. Of an age and a country which did not hesitate, in sober earnest and by the mouth of one of its most learned men, to proclaim Maximilian's "Arch of Honor" (see

No. 231^a), as the counterpart of an antique Roman triumphal arch, and which represented Truth, in the attempted reconstruction of the "Calumny" of Apelles, by a woman richly attired in sixteenth-century costume, with a big feather hat, and carrying a flaming face, — the sun, — on a fruit dish (see Dürer's sketch in *Thausing*, II, opp. p. 162), we must not demand that it should distinguish to a nicety between the Roman *Fortuna* and the Greek *Nemesis* (see No. 32).

It would never do, however, in a fit of ultra-agnosticism to content ourselves with an admission of ignorance, and to give up all endeavor in despair. Although we may be ready to acknowledge that there are certain things which we cannot know, we yet feel it necessary to give play to our faculties, and to ascertain what we may know, and in spite of the rebuffs suffered by some, there will always be others ready to ask whether it is really utterly impossible to lift the veil. The answer is apparently simple: — We may hope to comprehend these works by studying them within their time, that is to say, by seeking for the general causes to which they owe their existence. It is the "kulturhistorische Deutung," — the explanation from the point of view of the historian of civilization, — which alone promises to furnish the key so long sought. That all other ways have led to nothing, is evident. It is surprising to see the stupid ingenuity or the ingenious stupidity which has been displayed in attempts to explain some of Dürer's prints merely upon the outward evidence of the subjects themselves. On the other hand, the subjective method, — that method which questions the works as to the effect produced upon the individual observer, and then, from this effect, deduces the causes which must have moved the artist, — has proved equally abortive. Nor yet will the individual life-history alone of the artist provide a sufficient explanation, although it claims a decided share in the evidence to be considered. Into what strange aberrations such a one-sided method of proceeding may lead, is plainly shown by the interpretations based upon the unfortunate relations which for a long time were supposed to have existed between Dürer and his wife, and which recent researches have proved to be almost absolutely untrue. It follows from all this that the

historical method remains as the only one to be followed, however much such an essay as Allihn's "Dürer-Studien" may tend to make us shun it in view of the paucity of results attained, as compared with the vast amount of learning expended. It does, indeed, seem as if the past, quite as much as the future, were to us a book with seven seals. But the attempts to open it will never cease, and the sooner we resign ourselves to the conviction that intuition, or the divine furor of the poet, will not help us to break the seals, but that, if they are to be broken at all, nothing but downright hard work will do it, the better it will be for us. The notes herewith published are principally designed, so far as opportunities and the limits of a catalogue would allow, to supply some hints to those who may wish to see what has so far been done towards the interpretation of Dürer's works by the writers who have made him their special subject of study.

But while it must be admitted that the secret of these designs cannot be penetrated without effort, it is true, nevertheless, that they exercise a strong fascination upon the beholder, even so long as they are not in the least understood, — a welcome assurance that the admiration expressed for them by those who have not taken the pains to study them is not all mere lip service. It is precisely their enigmatical character which here proves to be their strength, and this enigmatical character, again, is due, in the sense now under consideration, to the curious mixture of allegory and realism, of vague idea and definite form, which characterizes them and invests them with the charm of a vivid dream. There is such intense outward life in them, that it seems almost impossible not to be able to comprehend them, and yet their meaning is so hidden to us, or so intangible in itself, that it evades us at the very moment when we hope to grasp it. It is the lack of this contrast between intangible essence and tangible form that makes all later allegory so distasteful. In it wrongly so-called idealized forms, — that is to say, forms out of which all individuality has been generalized, — are united with unpictorial ideas, and the result is an unutterable insipidity from which Dürer's realism happily saves him. We must not forget, however, that this fascinating incongruity is not

of Dürer's intending, and we must be careful, therefore, not to impute wrong motives to him.

Our human sympathies, if nothing else, would suffice to explain why we are not satisfied with a knowledge of the works of an artist whom we admire or who in any way attracts us, but desire also to make his personal acquaintance, and to follow him in his development. For this reason the chronological arrangement adopted for the Rembrandt exhibition which was held in these rooms last year has again been followed in the present exhibition. It was natural, with this aim in view, to turn to Retberg, and it certainly would have been the least troublesome proceeding to follow his list, but closer investigation soon showed that he was not wholly to be relied upon, as he occasionally allowed his judgment to be misled by mere outward considerations which carry no weight whatever. There was nothing left, therefore, but to consult the hints thrown out and the opinions expressed by the leading writers upon Dürer, and from these data and the convictions gained from the study of the works themselves, to construct an independent list. There is, of course, no difficulty as regards the majority of the later dated works, but the case stands differently with the undated earlier ones. Some guidance is here found, aside from the character of the design, in the development of Dürer's monogram, in which he evidently took much pride, but even this is not unfailing in every instance. The arrangement as it stands, therefore, does not claim to be more than approximately correct, nor has the chronological sequence been rigidly adhered to throughout. In the first place, the connected series of prints, "The Apocalypse," "The Great Passion," "The Small Passion," "The Passion on Copper," "The Life of the Virgin," and "The Apostles," have been kept together, each by itself, and placed where either the execution or the date of publication seemed to warrant it. In the second place, the engravings, etchings, and dry-points, which are throughout the work of Dürer's own hand, have been separated from the woodcuts for which he furnished only the designs. By this proceeding some of the things which it would be desirable to consider together are, no doubt, torn asunder.

We do not recognize, for instance, as readily as we otherwise might, how curiously two lines of thought struggle for the mastery over the artist immediately after his return from his early travels, — the one showing him to us apparently bent entirely upon the acquisition of knowledge, and finding expression in such studies of the nude as the “Four Naked Women” (No. 21) and “The Dream” (No. 22), with the “Adam and Eve” (No. 35) as its crowning triumph, all engraved by himself on copper; the other, and finally, in the course of his life, the conquering one, leading him on to the formulation of his religious convictions, through the medium of the woodcut as the more popular method of communication with the large mass of his contemporaries. The diligent student can easily, however, join these parts together again, while it will perhaps be conceded that by the division a unity has been secured in each half, which would have been sadly marred had the two been intermingled. And even with the limitations just specified, the advantages of the chronological arrangement are manifest. Dürer’s printed works are, indeed, far from having the autobiographical character of those of Rembrandt, his own personality being suppressed in them entirely, but they nevertheless conspicuously mark the events of his life, which was more varied than Rembrandt’s. We can, therefore, trace in them his early connection with the humanists; we may even detect faint echoes of his travels; we are impressed with the extended activity which he displayed in the service of Maximilian, and the loyal attachment with which he followed him to the hour of death; we note with pleasure the position which he made for himself among the scientific men of the time; we recognize the portraits of the celebrated friends and patrons who remained true to him until the last; and finally we see him at the close of his life giving to the world the results of those theoretical studies which, to his help or to his hindrance, he had followed assiduously throughout his career. Still more interesting, however, than these reflections of outward events, are the signs of his own inner development, which, in spite of the limitations of his nature and his environments, was steadily from the fantastic to the humane, from *bizarre*

variety to greater simplicity, from whimsical conceits and misunderstood classicity to portraits and the expression of his own feelings and convictions. On the other hand, it needs no chronological arrangement to convince us, upon the testimony of his works, of the purity of his character, which ennobled also his art. Dürer was vain, — there is no gainsaying that, — but his vanity was of a gentle, so to speak, modest kind, which differed greatly from the vanity, the vice of the time, to which his great and learned friends fell a prey, at the head of them all the Emperor Maximilian, the last of the knights. But of the coarseness of his age there is not a trace in all his authenticated works, which is all the more remarkable as his activity as an engraver and publisher might easily have tempted him to pander to the tastes of the multitude upon whom he was dependent.

To enable those students who may wish to utilize this exhibition in connection with the reading of some biography of Dürer, to judge, to some extent at least, of the theories advanced concerning the influence presumably exercised upon him by the antique and by Italian art, notably through Jacopo de Barbari, a number of photographs and prints bearing upon the subject have been grouped together in Case 9, 11. With the exception of a single impression, and that badly worn (see under No. 21), from a plate by the engraver W, no material can be offered to aid in the decision of the question as to the personage of this artist and his relations with Dürer. Nor can this question be discussed here, but it must be stated that Thausing's identification of W with Wolgemut, and his claim that Dürer copied his earlier plates from him, has not been received with much favor. A thorough review of all the points involved may be looked for soon in a work on Wenzel von Olmütz, from the competent pen of Dr. Max Lehrs, of the Print Cabinet at Dresden.

Thausing's attempt to claim for Dürer the invention of etching — not, indeed, a new claim — needs hardly to be considered, as the curt denial of the validity of the results of Harzen's investigations is not sufficient to outweigh the evidence carefully collected by the latter, even if it be admitted that some of it has since been disproved, and

the literary and other testimony showing that the armorers practised etching long before the painters, cannot be brushed aside by a mere *on dit*, vaguely supported by a reference to unnamed connoisseurs. The same author's assertions, however, concerning the supposed true nature of Dürer's dry-points and his alleged change of method in engraving, said to be observable from about the year 1514, demand a somewhat closer examination. They are brought forward with a show of scientific reasoning,—part of which is apparently held in reserve for future development,—calculated to impress upon the general reader the necessity of accepting them, in spite of evident contradictions. Thausing's argument, if so it may be called, stripped of its verbiage, is this:—About 1510 Dürer made trial of the dry point, inspired thereto, directly or indirectly, by the works of the Master of 1480 or of the Amsterdam Cabinet. His works of this kind must be studied in the earliest impressions, such as the two from the "St. Jerome near the Willow Tree" (No. 65 of this catalogue) before the monogram. The rapidity with which engravings of this kind deteriorate in the hands of the printer soon determined Dürer, however, to abandon the new technique. The plates just spoken of are generally described as dry-point plates, and they have all the characteristics of such in the first impressions full of bur. They, nevertheless, appear to be etched plates, *i. e.*, plates bitten with acid, which Dürer was compelled to work over with the dry point because he did not know how to manage the acid, and therefore underbit them. About 1514 Dürer began to etch on iron, quite successfully. Having thus failed in his attempts to work with acid on copper, but having succeeded on iron, he now "found in etching a welcome means of reducing the labor and securing the perfection of engraving on copper" (2d German ed., II, p. 70). This explains why there is a total change of character in Dürer's engravings from the year 1514. His older plates yield brilliant black impressions. "This still holds good of the plates of 1513, the Madonna by the Tree, B 35 [No. 67 of this catalogue], of the Sudarium held by two Angels, B 25 [No. 68], and of the celebrated 'Rider' or 'The Knight, Death, and the Devil,' B 98 [No. 69]. It is only

the later engravings by Dürer which show the peculiar, more uniform, fainter tone, that delicate, silver-gray garb, which gives them such a distinguished appearance. The Madonna sitting near the wall of a city, B 40 [No. 75], forms, as it would seem, the transition to the new technique. The treatment of this plate is unequal, and shows, especially in the flesh parts of the child and the head of Mary, the sharper, blacker burin lines of the older plates. It takes its position, therefore, close by the border line of the two methods. On the other hand, the Virgin with short hair upon the crescent, B 33 [No. 74], and all the other six coppers of the year 1514, including such important pieces as the Melancholy [No. 70] and the St. Jerome in the Chamber [No. 71], belong to the new group. This suddenly appearing difference presupposes a method differing in principle. . . . From the evidence at hand, I can explain this difference only by the sharper edges of the burin line, as against the porous limits of the etched line. It would appear, therefore, that Dürer gave up etching upon copper only in so far as he blended it with his burin work. The dry point had shown itself insufficient; he therefore subordinated it to the well-tried burin. He secured to the latter the preponderance, contenting himself with a very slight preparatory etching of his engravings, with a view to trimming them line for line and completing them with the graver. Even so the laborious work of the burin would receive considerable help, and a method would thus be established which has been practised for centuries. Compare, for instance . . . B 31 [No. 59] . . . and B 32 [No. 86], . . . and the great contrast in their general tone will be apparent at first sight. But upon closer inspection evidence of the traces of etching will also be found in the blunter, frayed lines of the plate last named. Experienced collectors and dealers, therefore, have long ago come to the conclusion that the faint gray impressions from Dürer's later plates are preferable to the lush, blacker ones" (2d Germ. ed., II, pp. 70-71).

The purpose of this argument is apparent enough:—Thausing wishes to heap upon his hero as much honor as possible, and would, therefore, credit him, not only with the

invention of etching, but also with that of "forwarding" by etching. But the contradictions in which he involves himself destroy the force of his argument. Dürer is supposed to have been led to the use of the dry point by some of the engravings of the Master of 1480, "the delicate, bloomy effect of which we must attribute principally to the dry point" (II, p. 63). But he starts out with etching, and only resorts to the point after its failure. Again, we are told, that the richness of these works is best seen in the first impressions before the monogram, while evidently the first impressions must be the barest of all, since the work of the point came in only later. After an interval of four years he began to etch on iron, which necessitates an entirely different treatment of the acid or mordant than etching on copper, and having been successful in this, he applied the process to copper again, but wisely abandoned the point and instead trimmed every line with the burin. Nevertheless, although the action and the purpose of the burin would be to sharpen and clean the work, and thus to remove the imperfections inherent in the etched line, the traces of etching are still to be found "in the blunter, frayed lines" produced by it. It hardly seems worth while to dwell upon such matters, but it is well to ascertain the truth in everything, and in the history of the development of technical processes they are of importance. The curious results to which such unwarranted subtleties are apt to lead may be seen in the conclusions based upon them by Thausing himself. Believing the "Passion on Copper" to be incomplete, he seeks a reason for its abandonment by Dürer, and finds it in this supposed change of technique. "That Dürer found no inducement thereafter to continue the engraved Passion," he says (2d Germ. ed., II, p. 63), "seems to me to have still another quite external technical reason. In the year 1514 Dürer so essentially changes his method of engraving, that by means of his new process it was no longer possible for him to furnish companion pieces equal in quality to the earlier ones. The carefully sustained uniformity of the whole series would thus have been seriously disturbed by new additions." That an artist should abandon a favorite project of his because of a change of technique, it is difficult to believe.

On the other hand, that Dürer was not a stickler for uniformity in quality, is sufficiently shown by the very marked differences in the cuts of "The Great Passion." But even in the "Passion on Copper" there are notable differences of quality. "If we compare the separate pieces with one another," says Hausmann, "the oldest among them, B 14 [No. 54], essentially falls below the others, whereas the engravings of the year 1508 are among the most beautiful of the whole series. But there are some also among the pieces of 1512, as for instance B 7, 8, and 11 [Nos. 47, 48, 51], which do not equal the others in the pictorial effect of the impressions."

Those who desire to investigate this question for themselves will do well to consult the German original of Thausing's book, as the English translation is not quite correct in its rendering of the technical details involved. To assist the student, duplicate impressions from the plates in question, varying in quality as to the printing, have been placed side by side so far as they were attainable.

That those plates by Dürer here described as dry-points are really such, admits of no doubt, in spite of the fact that they are often spoken of as etchings by writers of acknowledged authority, such as Bartsch. There is a peculiarity in impressions from dry-point plates which, if discoverable, can always be relied upon, but which, so far as the compiler of this catalogue knows, has never as yet been pointed out. The bur thrown up by the point projects above the surface of the copper, so that in a dry-point plate in good condition, and with the bur unscraped, there are two kinds of lines, the sunken lines or furrows which hold the ink below the surface of the plate, and the raised, relief lines of the bur, which hold it upon the surface. If the printer wipes with sufficient force, and the bur lines are not too minute, the ink is removed from the back of the bur. The result in the impression is a series of embossed black lines, produced by the furrows in the plate, accompanied by a series of very fine white lines, pressed into the paper, caused by the relief lines of the bur. The plate may have been so wiped that the back of the bur is still covered with ink, in which case no white lines are seen. But wherever the depressed white lines

appear alongside of the embossed black lines, the existence of dry-point work is proven. In the impression from Dürer's plate, "The Holy Family," B 43, here shown under No. 66^a, these white lines are distinctly visible upon closer inspection.

As the prices charged by Dürer for his prints are occasionally referred to in the following notes, it may perhaps interest the visitor who does not care to look into the matter more closely for himself or herself, to know something more about them. In the Diary of his journey to the Netherlands, Dürer has entered also his sales, and from them we can in a measure reconstruct his price-list. The most important sale is that to Sebald Fischer, at Antwerp, from which it appears that his wholesale rates, so to speak, were as follows:—The Small Passion on wood, 4 sets for one florin; The Large Passion, The Apocalypse, and The Life of the Virgin, 4 sets for one florin; The Passion on copper, 2 sets for one florin; whole sheets (including such engravings as "Adam and Eve," "Melancholy," etc.), 8 assorted for one florin; half sheets ("The Great Crucifixion," "The Nativity," etc.), 20 assorted for one florin; quarter sheets (the small Madonnas, saints, and peasant subjects), 45 assorted for one florin. Usually the sales are given in a lump, as "a set of all the copper plates, a Passion on wood, one on copper, two half sheets, and two quarter sheets, sold together for eight florins in gold." Single pieces or sets are priced only occasionally, as a Passion on wood, sold for 12 stivers (half a florin), and an "Adam and Eve," sold for 4 (one sixth of a florin). These prices are enough to make an admirer and collector of Dürer's works giddy, and to cause him to wish that he had been born four hundred years ago. And even if we take into account the much greater purchasing power of money at the time, they still remain ludicrously low. According to Thausing the living expenses of a Nuremberg burgher at the time were computed at 50 florins a year, while a salary of 100 florins a year was considered quite decent, and the yearly income of the highest official of the town, that of the imperial magistrate (Schultheiss) was only 600 florins. Dürer himself, indeed, hardly considered 50 or even 100 florins enough for a year's living.

Writing to Jacob Heller on March 19, 1508, about the picture of "The Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand," just finished for the Elector Frederic, he says: "I worked on it nearly a whole year, and shall profit little by it; for I do not receive more than 280 florins Rhenish for it. One needs about that for food." If, however, we accept the figures first named, and if, on their strength, we assume that 100 florins in Dürer's time had the purchasing power of \$1,000 of our money, the price in quantities of a set of the large woodcut publications will still be only \$2.50; of the Passion on copper, \$5.00; of the full sheets, \$1.25 each; of the half sheets, 50 cents each; and of the quarter sheets, only about 22 cents each, while the retail prices mentioned for the Passion on wood, and the "Adam and Eve" would be respectively \$5.00 and \$1.67.

The collection of Dürer's works brought together for this exhibition is remarkably complete. Of the engravings on metal, the dry-points and etchings, both authenticated and doubtful, everything is here, with the exception of the very doubtful "Conversion of Paul," P 110. It goes without saying, of course, that the unique, or almost unique, pieces are represented by copies. Of the generally accepted woodcuts, as registered in Bartsch's list, only 28 are wanting out of 170, and of these only "The Large Triumphal Car" and "The Column" are of special importance. The possibility of making such an exhibition is again due to the liberality of Mr. Henry F. Sewall, of New York, whose name, in connection with the Rembrandt Exhibition of last year is still gratefully remembered by the visitors of the Museum. The first division of the exhibition, the works on metal, could have been made as complete as it is from Mr. Sewall's collection alone, so that the Gray Collection, which also is quite rich in Dürers, was drawn upon only when it offered impressions of a better quality. In the division of the woodcuts by far the largest part of the contributions likewise comes from Mr. Sewall. His collection is tolerably rich, also, in copies (including those by Marcantonio), but of these only a few of the oldest German have been included. Of the doubtful and spurious woodcuts listed in the appendices of Bartsch and of Passavant, comparatively few only are

found in the two collections drawn upon. Such as there are have been placed on exhibition (with one exception, see No. 270), and they are quite sufficient to show what sort of stuff used to be saddled upon Dürer by the uncritical "connoisseurs" of by-gone days, although they include some works of fine quality, as for instance the large "Head of Christ," No. 256 of this catalogue. Thanks are due, also, to the Trustees of the Boston Public Library, and to Mr. J. D. Lange and Messrs. H. Wunderlich & Co., both of New York, for prints and books lent, either for exhibition or for consultation.

The eight original drawings by Dürer, which constitute a most valuable and interesting part of the exhibition, were kindly lent by Mr. Ferdinand Meder (with Mr. C. Klackner), of New York. They are all from the collection of Mr. von Franck, at Gratz, lately dispersed, and are alluded to at length in the works of Heller, Thausing, and Ephrussi.

The list of books and papers consulted in the compilation of this catalogue, given elsewhere, will point out to those who desire to utilize them, not only the facilities for the verification of the references in the notes which follow, but also the means for a thorough study of Dürer in connection with the exhibition. The principal references are, naturally enough, to the latest biography of Dürer, by Moriz Thausing, and, for the convenience of those not conversant with German, to its English translation. The finding list at the end of the catalogue, in connection with the diagram showing the location of the cases, and its accompanying explanations, is designed to enable visitors to find without trouble any of the prints by or attributed to Dürer, so far as they are shown, according to the numbers given to them by Bartsch and Passavant.

The abbreviations used in the following pages almost explain themselves: — B stands for Bartsch, R for Retberg, H for Heller, P for Passavant.

S. R. KOEHLER,

Curator of the Print Department.

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DÜRER'S

ENGRAVINGS, ETCHINGS, AND DRY-POINTS.

1. **The Ravisher.** — B 92; H 893; R 1. — Without either mark or date.

Very vigorous impression, on bull's head paper.

Sewall Coll.

Bartsch calls this engraving "Le Violent," Heller "The Woman defending herself against the Attacks of a Man," Hausmann "The Man using Violence" (Der Gewaltthätige), Retberg "Death, the violent old Man" (Der Tod, gewaltsame Greis). Rosenberg, on the strength of an old inscription in the scroll above the figures, declares the subject to be an allegory of "Envy"; Heller sees in it merely the representation of an attempt of a wicked old man upon an unwilling woman, but the explanation most generally accepted is that given by Thausing, I, p. 205: "It is the struggle for existence. Death, represented as a savage, — a dried-up hollow-eyed grey-beard, — is trying to offer violence to a young [?] girl, in burgher costume, who represents life." (Compare the figure of death in the "Four Riders of the Apocalypse," No. 133 of this catalogue; see also Frimmel, p. 26.) Allihn, on the other hand, p. 50, connects the subject with the belief in witchcraft, and sees in the male figure an *incubus*, a demon in the assumed shape of a naked man, seeking the ruin of a human being. Bartsch and Heller think that the design is copied from some older master. Thausing doubts its being by Dürer, as the style "points to a period before that in which Dürer began to work." Retberg assigns it to before 1495, Heller to the period between 1486 and 1500. It certainly is, among all the plates ascribed to Dürer, the most primitive in design, as well as in execution.

2. **The Holy Family with the Dragonfly.** — B 44; H 643; R 3. — Monogram.

Early impression, with the shading on the right cheek of the Virgin intact.

Gray Coll.

Called also "The Holy Family with the Butterfly" or "with the Locust." The design is supposed to be a copy from some older master, according to Thausing (I, p. 206) from Wolgemut. Retberg assigns this plate to before 1495, Heller to the period between 1486 and 1500, von Eye thinks it must have been done during Dürer's apprenticeship, and under the influence of Schongauer's engravings. Thausing says of it (I, p. 205): "The oldest known engravings undoubtedly by Dürer are 'The Holy Family with the Locust' and the 'Love Offer' [see No. 3 of this catalogue]. Both are signed with his usual monogram, and cannot, therefore, have been engraved before 1496." The shape of the monogram, however, points to a somewhat earlier date. The A as here formed, and the small *d* it encloses, are only found on very early drawings by Dürer, the "Orpheus" for instance (Ephrussi, p. 24, shown in Case 9, 11), dated 1494, and the Christ Child, copied from Lorenzi di Credi (Ephrussi, p. 36), dated 1495. In both these cases, however, the *d* stands alongside of the A. The Venetian gondola in this plate gives evidence in favor of Dürer's disputed first journey to Venice about the year 1494.

3. The Offer of Love. — B 93; H 891; R 2. — Monogram.

Very clear impression, with only a slight imperfection in the left lower corner. *Seewall Coll.*

Called also "Juda and Thamar" (Genesis, 38, v. 16), and "Berthold Tucher and Anna Pfinzing" (in allusion to an old Nuremberg scandal; see Heller, p. 483, or Allihn, pp. 69-70). At present a more general explanation obtains than is hinted at in these titles. "Old age, whether man or woman, purchasing the affection of youth with gold, was a common subject in those days," (Thausing, I, p. 206; Allihn, p. 70). Retberg places this plate before the "Holy Family with the Dragonfly," but the form of the monogram, in which a Roman D has taken the place of the Gothic *d*, argues against this order of succession, even without the evidence to be drawn from the greater skill in execution. Heller assigns it to between 1486 and 1500, and Thausing (I, p. 205), who unhesitatingly accepts it as Dürer's, to not before 1496. Nevertheless, the doubts concerning it expressed by G. von Quandt, according to Nagler, seem fully justified. Compared with other engravings by Dürer of the same period, it is abnormally skillful and delicate, and there is a superior quality of expression in the frivolous pose and face of the woman and in the face of the old man, which Dürer hardly was capable of. If the plate really should be his, it would, moreover, be the only one among his undoubted works which panders to a vicious taste under the guise of moralizing. Although Dürer was a true child of his period (see his correspondence with Pirkheimer), his art is nevertheless singularly free from the obscenity and the grossness which make the work of so many of his contemporaries distasteful. This was recognized even at the time, as shown by the words of Camerarius quoted by Thausing (II, p. 98).

4. Five Footsoldiers and a Mounted Turk. —
B 88 ; H 981 ; R 4. — Monogram.

Good, clear impression ; outer line of border cut away.
Gray Coll.

Called also "The Assembly of Warriors," "The Six Warriors," "William Tell," and "The Robbers," the latter on the gratuitous supposition that it represents Dürer (the man seen full face) fallen into the hands of brigands. It is probably only a study of costumes. Assigned to before 1495 by Retberg, to between 1486 and 1500 by Heller, and to about 1498 by Thausing. A comparison of the monogram, the A in which is still quite pointed, with the monograms, for instance, of the "Apocalypse" cuts, which were published in 1498, shows that it must be earlier.

5. The Prodigal Son. —B 28 ; H 477 ; R 5. —
Monogram.

Clear impression, on paper with the watermark of the jug.
Sewall Coll.

This is one of the plates which, according to Quad von Kinkelbach, Dürer copied from the monogramist W, but, according to Thausing (I, p. 217), no corresponding engraving by the latter has as yet been found. The "Prodigal" himself has been called a likeness of Dürer, which only shows how recklessly such guesses are put forward. Assigned by Retberg to before 1495, by Heller to between 1486 and 1500, and characterized also by Thausing as very early work, faulty in the drawing of the figure. The background has always been much admired, and Vasari says of it: "In this engraving there are huts or cabins after the German manner, which are exceedingly beautiful."

6. St. Jerome in Penance. —B 61 ; H 776 ; R 8. —
Monogram.

Fine impression on paper with a watermark which the Gray Catalogue describes as a pineapple, but which looks more like a grape, or the Augsburg coat-of-arms, Hausmann No. 18 or No. 49, although the foot seems to be wanting, and the general contour is different. *Gray Coll.*

St. Jerome, one of the most learned of the fathers of the Latin church, a prolific writer, and the author of the Vulgate (born 331 or 342 in Dalmatia of well-to-do parents; converted at Rome about 360; lived four years as an anchorite in the desert; died about 420 at a monastery near Bethlehem, which he had founded with funds furnished by Paula, a wealthy lady of his following), was one of the favorite saints of Dürer's and later times, and therefore often taken as a subject by artists. The lion accompanies him, because, according to the legend,

he drew a thorn from the paw of the animal, which ever afterwards was his companion. According to Quad von Kinkelbach, this also is after W, but again Thausing (I, p. 216) says that no corresponding original has as yet been found, although he believes the conception to be Wolgemut's. Retberg places the engraving before 1495, Heller between 1486 and 1500, Hausmann in the years immediately following the [second] Venetian journey, which would make it about 1508. The monogram decidedly points to an early date. The lion has a certain typical resemblance to those sketched by Dürer, according to Thausing (I, p. 112), when he was in Venice in 1494.

7. The Penance of St. John Chrysostom.—B 63; H 723; R 7.—Monogram.

Very fine warm impression. Watermark a Gothic P, not quite, however, corresponding with Hausmann No. 3. Cut about one eighth of an inch on top. *Sewall Coll.*

This plate is frequently, but erroneously, called "St. Genevieve." The story of St. John Chrysostom, "the Goldenmouthed," too long and too unsavory to be recounted here, may be found in Heller. Retberg, before 1495; Heller, 1486-1500. Thausing, I, p. 228, thinks that we probably have here Dürer's earliest engraved study from the nude female figure. "What difficulties the artist experienced in doing this figure," he says, "can be clearly seen even in the finished engraving. We can note the cutting away of a piece of the rock on which she is sitting; the evident shortening of the figure, as revealed by the existence, above the head, of the original outline, and of the parting of the hair, which has been turned into a hollow in the rock; and we can even make out the old contour of the shoulder and the top of the arm, though the correction is meant to be hidden by the deep shading. These signs of uncertainty in drawing the human form, which appear to be, in some degree, owing to Venetian influences, are worth noticing, because they form rare exceptions to his later method." All of this seems fanciful rather than convincing. The gondola in the distance again points to Venice.

8. The Little Fortune.—B 78; H 831; R 6.—Monogram.

Very vigorous impression, but with a blemish under the chin of the figure. Paper slightly spotted. *Sewall Coll.*

Called "The Little Fortune" to distinguish it from "Nemesis" or "The Great Fortune" (see No. 32 of this catalogue). Fortune "stands on a globe and supports herself with her left hand on a reed, to express her inconstancy and frailty," says Bartsch. To this Heller adds that in the same hand "she holds a dangerous thistle." Retberg sees in the "reed" a pilgrim's staff, the form of which it decidedly has, while Thausing (I, p. 230) finds in it evidence that the figure was drawn from a living model, to whom the staff served as a support. "It seems,"

he goes on to say, "as if Dürer were here making a slight attempt to see how far he could adapt engraving to his new ideas of nature before he undertook the larger rendering of the same subject," that is to say of the "Nemesis" (see No. 32, as above). In accordance with this idea he places the print "a few years earlier" than 1503. Retberg assigns it to before 1495; Heller to between 1486 and 1500. The figure certainly is very like the "Nemesis" in point of drawing, showing that it was simply copied from the nude, and it is therefore quite different from the figures probably inspired by Italian art, such as the woman in "The Turkish Family" (No. 11) or of the one about to strike in the "Hercules" (No. 24), or from the figures in "The Dream" (No. 22) and "The Four Naked Women" (No. 21), in which faint traces of the antique have been detected, and also from the "Eve" in "Adam and Eve" (No. 35), in which Dürer's theoretical studies find early expression. But the workmanship and the monogram point to an earlier time than that of the "Nemesis." The suggestion that the figure is a portrait of Dürer's wife is not worth discussing.

9. The Little Courier. — B 80; H 986; R 13. — Monogram.

Good impression; a spot in the paper in the distance.
Sewall Coll.

Called also "The Postboy" and "Eppelein von Gailingen," who was a celebrated robber-knight of the fourteenth century. Retberg, before 1495; Heller, 1486-1500. According to von Eye, it "discloses itself at first sight as rudimentary work." Supposed also to be after W, but according to Thausing (I, p. 204), there is no repetition known marked with that letter. The plate is puzzling. It is quite primitive in conception as well as in execution, and yet the monogram shows considerable development. — For "The Great Courier," see No. 103.

10. The Monstrous Pig. — B 95; H 1019; R 19. — Monogram.

Fine strong impression. *Sewall Coll.*

"In the 1496th year," says an old Nuremberg chronicle, "there was born a curious pig in the village of Landsee [near Nuremberg], with one head, 4 ears, 2 bodies, 8 feet, on the 6 it stood, the other 2 were about the body, and had 2 tongues." The description tallies with Dürer's engraving, which is therefore unanimously assigned to about 1496, a conclusion which the workmanship and the monogram do not antagonize. Von Eye gives 1476 as the date of the chronicle item, but this is probably a misprint.

11. The Turkish Family. — B 85; H 971; R 12. — Monogram.

Very fine impression. *Gray Coll.*

Called also "The Oriental and his Wife," "The Turk and his Wife," and "The Wandering Turkish Family." Retberg, before 1495; Heller, 1486-1500. Thausing, I, p. 308, thinks that Dürer, when he engraved this design, must have had in mind two of Jacopo de Barbari's plates, B 10 and 11, and that he combined them in his own plate. The great staring eyes of the figures, according to the same writer, "betray the early origin of the engraving, and the elegant pose of the woman's legs points to a foreign inspiration." There is a family resemblance in this Turk and the one in the "Five Footsoldiers, etc." (No. 4 of this catalogue). The Turks at the time claimed a large share of public attention, owing to their rapid advance as conquerors, and such plates as this were, therefore, likely to be salable.

12. **The Cook and his Wife.**—B 84; H 963; R 10.—Monogram.

Brilliant impression.

Sewall Coll.

Called also "The Hostess and the Cook," "The Cook and the House-keeper," and "Mohammed and his Wife," the latter, impossible as it may seem, "because," according to Heller, "the dove sits upon the back of the cook, and it is said that a divine dove often alighted upon his [Mohammed's] shoulders, and communicated to him his religious system." Retberg, before 1495; Heller, 1500-1506. Hausmann deduces from the workmanship and the simple treatment of the ground that the plate belongs to a later period. The type of the figures, especially of the woman, and the monogram, point to an early time. Thausing, I, p. 225, opines that it is a copy after Wolgemut, and suspects a so-called copy by W at Oxford, mentioned by Passavant, II, No. 76, to be an [the?] original. But it is difficult to see, why, if Jacopo de Barbari's influence is to be traced in the woman in "The Turkish Family" (No. 11), the same influence should not be seen also in the woman in this engraving.

13. **The Peasant and his Wife.**—B 83; H 921; R 11.—Monogram.

Fine silvery impression.

Sewall Coll.

There is much diversity in the attempted interpretation of this print. Bartsch says that "the anger expressed in the peasant's face and his elevated right hand, show that he menaces the woman who walks meekly by his side." Heller follows him, with the addition that he sees in the companion of the peasant a woman about to become a mother. An idea similar to Bartsch's is expressed in the title "The Drunken Lansquenet," while, by way of contrast, others see in the couple a pair of "Rustic Lovers." Thausing (I, p. 309) adopts the latter title, and declares the print to be a skit upon the conceit of the peasantry, an idea elaborated before him by Allihn (p. 79, *et seq.*), who says that the pair "are about to step up to the dance, and that the man, far from scolding, is on the contrary trying to make himself agreeable." (See also No. 14.) Retberg, before 1495; Heller, 1486-1500.

14. **The Three Peasants in Conversation.** — B 86; H 948; R 15. — Monogram.

Good strong impression.

Sewall Coll.

Like the preceding plate, this is supposed to be a skit upon the conceit of the peasantry. "The same ironical tone is apparent in the three peasants in conversation," says Thausing (I, p. 309), "one of whom holds a basket of eggs, and another has a sack thrown over his shoulders and is leaning upon a somewhat damaged sword; no doubt they are discussing the affairs of the universe." To similar purpose Allihn (p. 90): "They wear spurs, swords, and belted tunics, a costume which is not theirs by right, and which they have borrowed from the wardrobe of the knights. Nevertheless, the peasant crops out everywhere. The scabbards of their swords are defective, and here and there a naked knee peeps through the hose. Of course it is only a bagatelle that is in question, but they discuss it with a fervor, as if the weal of the fatherland depended upon it." The attempts of the oppressed peasants to better their miserable condition were a topic of interest at the time. As early as 1476 risings occurred in South Germany, and these finally culminated in the Peasants' War in 1525. As usual, the just demands of the oppressed were met by scorn and derision, and it is likely enough that Dürer, like other artists, tried to make money out of this sad condition of things. If we regret this side of Dürer's activity, we may, however, temper our regret by the following considerations, advanced by Allihn (p. 88): "In these scenes of peasant life Dürer also is in curious discord with himself. It is true, he joins in the general derision of the peasants, he engraves his plate for those who found pleasure in testing their superior wit at the expense of the peasants, and who would have been as contented, if not more so, with the most scurrilous caricature, but it was impossible for Dürer to demand such a production of his genius. He draws a character-picture of superior comic qualities, but not a libel, — yea, even more than this, he executes his *genre* representation with the same loving care as his most beautiful Madonna." This applies more especially to "The Dancing Peasants" (No. 73 of this catalogue), but the humor is claimed for all of Dürer's similar subjects. To our very modern eyes there is, indeed, little or no humor in these groups. It must not be forgotten, however, that the people of the fifteenth century were differently constituted from ourselves, and were delighted by what to us would be utterly uninteresting, as the child finds amusement where the grown-up man finds only ennui. Retberg, about 1495; Heller, 1500-1506. Allihn says the print is dated 1519, which is a mistake.

15. **St. Ann and the Virgin.** — B 29; H 483; R 44. — Monogram on a square tablet.

Fair impression.

Sewall Coll.

The subject is in doubt. The figure to the right may be the Virgin holding the infant Christ, while St. Ann stands to the left. Bartsch

describes the group as St. Ann touching the head of the infant Virgin, held in the arms of a woman with flying hair. According to Retberg, St. Mary is "so wanting in nobility of form and pose that one is tempted to take her for a low grade servant, and the child in her arms for the infant Virgin." Hausmann, on the contrary, thinks the print "lovely." Thausing (I, p. 309) speaks of the subject as "a simple, homely scene, such as might have been accidentally suggested; indeed, the two women standing in *bourgeois* attire would hardly be recognized for what they are, but for the appearance of the Almighty Father in the clouds." As Dürer was evidently engaged at the time in studies from the nude and from life among peasants, etc., it is quite possible that he utilized one of these studies, merely adding the vision in the sky to adapt it for sale as a popular religious image. Retberg, before 1500; Heller, 1486-1500.

16. The Virgin on the Crescent, without Crown.
— B 30; H 489; R 9. — Monogram.

Fine strong impression; pasted down. *Gray Coll.*

Called also "The Virgin with Long Hair, tied with a Ribbon." Thausing (I, pp. 225-6) mentions this Virgin as a "small archaic figure," in Wolgemut's manner. An unpleasant feature is the face in the crescent,—the "man in the moon,"—upon which the Virgin stands, a detail abandoned by Dürer in later years. A fine example of far-fetched interpretation is furnished in this instance by von Eye, who detects a symbolical meaning in the apple held by the child, which he declares to be the fruit "of the new tree of life." If this view be accepted, it will be necessary, also, to find symbolical meanings for the pears and even the sucking-bag which occur similarly in other plates. Dürer evidently looked upon them merely as creature-comforts which, in the innocence and "gross materialism" of his nature, he considered quite appropriate in the hands of a child.

17. The Lady and the Lansquenet. — B 82; H 991; R 20. — Monogram.

(a.) Very vigorous impression, but somewhat soiled, and mended. *Sewall Coll.*

(b.) Clearer and more silvery impression, on paper with the watermark of the crown, Hausmann No. 21. *Gray Coll.*

The two impressions are exhibited to show how these old prints sometimes differ in quality, so as to make it difficult to say which of several examples is preferable. Called also "The Lady on Horseback." The subject might simply be classed with the studies from life before alluded to, but the attempt has been made to invest it with a deeper interest. Heller thinks the pair is on its way to a tournament. According to Allihn (pp. 71-72) "the subject in itself is perfectly clear;

it is the old story, treated hundreds of times, of the lady in love with her squire." He admits that Dürer probably desired merely to draw a young man-at-arms and a lady on horseback in the picturesque costume of the time, but argues that the moralizing tendency of his age compelled him to give a meaning to the subject. He therefore made it a protest "against the vices of the nobility, a tendency which must have secured to him the applause of the *bourgeois* circles for which he worked." There is a rendering of the same subject by W, and Thausing, therefore (I, p. 216), makes Wolgemut the author of the design.

18. The Promenade.— B 94; H 884; R 14.— Monogram.

(a.) Fine impression on bull's head paper, spotted above. *Gray Coll.*

(b.) Reversed copy by Israel van Meckenem. *Sewall Coll.*

Called also "The Gentleman and the Lady" and "The Knight and the Lady." Dürer and his wife, either as happy lovers or as victims of conjugal strife (see Retberg, Heller, and von Eye), have been detected in this print, although the explanation of the subject offers no difficulty. It is akin to the scenes of the "Dance of Death," so popular at the time:— a youthful couple, for whom death is already prepared. The inscription on Israel van Meckenem's old copy reads, according to Heller: Ten is niet al tzeyt vast avent. Der doet kompt en brengt den Aevent, which might be translated: "For is it not always near evening? Death comes and brings evening." As there is an engraving, reversed as to Dürer's plate, marked W, Thausing (I, p. 206) makes Wolgemut the originator of the design, in spite of the fact that an old Italian copy, ascribed to Marc Antonio, bears Dürer's monogram. Ephrussi (p. 51) describes a sketch by Dürer, "which has served without any change whatever for the young lady in 'The Gentleman and the Lady.'" The existence of such a preliminary study would go far to prove Dürer's authorship. It is not to be denied, however, that there is an archaic, somewhat austere, not to say uncouth character in the figures in this print, which is out of harmony with other works by Dürer of the same period. Retberg, about 1495; Heller, 1486-1500.

19. St. Sebastian tied to a Column.— B 56; H 783; R 17.— Monogram on a piece of paper.

Fine impression with the corrected mouth. *Sewall Coll.*

Retberg, before 1497; Heller, 1486-1500. Thausing (I, p. 227) places this among the first original plates done by Dürer. The character of the head and the proportions of the figure strongly resemble, as Thausing also remarks, the angels in the "Apocalypse," which was designed about the same time.

20. The Virgin and Child with the Monkey. — B 42; H 628; R 88. — Monogram.

(a.) Very vigorous early impression, on paper with the watermark of a cross, not given by Hausmann. Damaged, and cut at the top.

Sewall Coll.

(b.) Fair later impression, uncut.

Gray Coll.

This is one of the most beautiful and dignified of Dürer's renderings of this subject, not only in the figures of the virgin and child, but also in the breadth and airiness of the landscape. Unfortunately the enjoyment of the design is marred somewhat by the fact that the child is teasing a poor little bird, and holds in its left hand a sucking-bag, which is even more objectionable than the usual apple or pear. The monkey has given opportunity to the commentators to display their ingenuity. According to Retberg it symbolizes the devil. Heller thinks, it is intended for the child to play with, while von Eye conjectures that such animals were probably kept in the houses of persons of rank at the time. The opinion expressed by Passavant and others, that the design suggests Italian influences, seems fully justified. In its austerity, on the other hand, it is allied to the contemporaneous designs of the "Apocalypse," but there is more beauty in it. The loveliness of the background was early recognized, and several Italian engravers availed themselves of it. As the same design was engraved by W. Thausing claims the authorship for Wolgemut, adding that Dürer's rendering is inferior in effect to the original. Marc Antonio's copy has Dürer's monogram. Retberg, before 1506; Heller, 1500-1506, which seems too late.

21. Four Naked Women. — B 75; H 861; R 21. — Monogram; dated 1497.

(a.) Fine old impression, on bull's head paper, somewhat spotted, and mended in lower left corner.

Sewall Coll.

(b.) The same subject, engraved by W. Late impression from the badly worn plate.

Sewall Coll.

(c.) Reversed copy, by Israel van Meckenem.

Sewall Coll.

Thausing, who, of course, attributes the original to Wolgemut, makes this plate one of the main supports of his argument, and enforces the latter with comparative drawings (see I, pp. 210-215). As to the meaning of the subject, the diversity of opinion is great and irreconcilable, and finds expression in the various titles applied to it, viz.: "The Four Witches," "Four Naked Women or Sybils," "The Graces," and "The Judgment of Paris." For the discussion of the

questions involved, the student will have to consult not only Thausing, but also Allihn, Bergau, Frimmel, Rosenberg, and von Eye (see List of Books, etc.). The truth seems to be that Dürer (or Wolgemut, according to Thausing) desired simply to utilize his studies of the nude female form, but that, as a concession to the spirit of the times, he introduced death (in the form of the skull and bone) and the devil, thus giving to the subject the moralizing air which alone could make it palatable to his countrymen. In connection with these additions, it might be taken as hinting at the frailty of female beauty, which fades before death and leads to sin, and in this manner it would be brought, like "The Promenade," into relationship with the idea which inspired the "Dance of Death." It is not at all necessary to assume that the artist did this grudgingly, since he remained thoroughly Northern and German at heart, despite the Italian influences to which he had been subjected. Thode (*Jahrbuch*, III, p. 118, where the Bartsch numbers given are all wrong, however) finds reminiscences of the Venus of the Uffizi (see the photograph in Case 9, 11) in one of the figures of this group. The time of execution of the engraving would seem to be settled by the date, 1497 (upon the ball suspended from the ceiling, which, with the letters it bears, has also given rise to considerable speculation), but Thausing thinks that it is there simply because it is also on W's plate, and that Dürer's engraving is later. Nagler ("*Monogrammist*") comes to a similar conclusion, as he considers the workmanship too good for this early date, — a conclusion in which it is difficult to follow him.

22. *The Dream.* — B 76; H 854; R 116. — Monogram.

Strong early impression on bull's head paper. A line drawn around the margin in old, faded ink. *Sewall Coll.*

This is another of the much-discussed plates, both as to author and subject. Comparative drawings of the engraving by W, in reverse, and of Dürer's version, will again be found in Thausing (I, pp. 209-210), and to the argument there conducted the student must be referred. Marc Antonio's copy bears Dürer's mark. The titles given to this plate are "Idleness," "The Doctor's Dream," "The Dream Doctor," and "The Dream of the Podagrist." Heller most prosaically reduces it to the representation of the effect of the heat of a stove, which inflames the imagination of the dreamer. Retberg conjectures that it is a joke at Pirkheimer's expense, in continuation of the somewhat indelicate insinuations in Dürer's letters to him from Venice: — The devil still makes him dream of love, but Cupid tries in vain to walk on stilts, and his luck with the ladies has deserted him, as signified by the ball of Fortune, lying forgotten in a corner. Vasari speaks of it as "representing a man sleeping in a bath-room, while Venus is behind him inspiring his dreams with temptation, and Love, mounted on stilts, capers and sports around him, while the Devil blows into his ear with a pair of bellows." According to Thausing it is "a pictorial satire on senile lust," not addressed to Pirkheimer in particular (who, born in 1470,

was not "senile" at the time), but to mankind in general. Quite likely, the love of the nude, in connection with the moralizing tendencies of the age, is again responsible for this composition. Thode (*Jahrbuch*, III, p. 118) sees in the female figure a Venus, and thinks that its forms and proportions are inconceivable without the influence of the antique. (See also the preceding print, No. 21, and compare the "Venus" with the "Eve," in No. 35, whom she closely resembles in the pose.) Heller assigns the plate to 1500-1506. Retberg, misled by his Pirckheimer theory, places it about 1507. There is no reason, however, why it should not belong to the same period as the "Four Naked Women." It may be well to note here that there is a serious misprint in Prof. Colvin's article in "The Portfolio," 1877, p. 183. Among the pieces of evidence in favor of the Wolgemut theory, an entry in Paul Beheim's ms. catalogue of 1518 is cited. The date should, however, be 1618.

23. **The Rape of Amymone.** — B 71; H 801; R 125. — Monogram.

Very fine impression.

Gray Coll.

Dürer alludes to this print, in the diary of his journey to the Netherlands, as "The Sea Wonder" (*Das Meerwunder*); an old anonymous Nuremberg writer calls it "The Sea-Robber"; Vasari describes it as "a nymph borne away by a sea monster, while other nymphs are seen bathing." The title generally accepted to-day is the one above given. "This representation," says Heller, however, "does not quite agree with the history of the Triton carrying off one of the fifty daughters of Danaus; we think rather that it is intended to represent the story of Glaucus carrying off Syme, and the man crying out in the distance is probably Glaucus when he was still a fisherman and about to throw himself into the sea, where he was changed into a Triton, as which he carried off Syme, and brought her to an island not far from Caria." The remedy proposed in this case seems as bad as the disease. The subject is one of those in which Dürer shows the influence of the antique, transmitted, possibly, through Mantegna, whose "Battle of the Tritons" he copied in 1494. Thausing (I, p. 215) thinks that the author (Wolgemut, according to him, as there is an engraving of the same subject by W) had in his mind the idea of a Nereid borne by a Triton, as seen on ancient sarcophagi. Retberg assigns the plate to about 1509, Heller to 1500-1506, Grimm (*Jahrbuch* II, p. 189) to "the very first years after 1500," with reference to a drawing dated 1503. A comparison of the workmanship with that of "The Coat-of-Arms with the Skull" (No. 34 of this catalogue), which is dated 1503, shows that the "Amymone" must be considerably earlier.

24. **Hercules.** — B 73; H 815; R 126. — Monogram.

(a.) Good old impression, but mounted and the corners restored.

Gray Coll.

- (b. Unfinished proof. Facsimile in heliogravure, published by the International Chalcographical Society. *Gray Coll.*

This is one of the most enigmatical of the prints which go under Dürer's name. It is called also "The Great Satyr" (to distinguish it from "The Little Satyr," or "Satyr's Family," No. 38 of this catalogue), "Jealousy," "The Effects of Jealousy," and "The Great Hercules" (in contrast to "The Great Horse," No. 40, which seems sometimes to have been called "The Little Hercules"). Dürer, in the *Netherlands Diary*, designates it simply as "Hercules." Vasari describes it as "Diana inflicting punishment on one of her nymphs, who is flying for shelter to the bosom of a Satyr." Some modern commentators explain it as an allegory, in which the figure of the man stands as the personification of *cocuage*, is, in fact, a cuckold, marked as such by his helmet in the shape of a cock (in allusion to the German *Hahnrei*, a man deceived by an unfaithful wife) and the horns (in allusion to the German saying "to put horns on a man's head," which makes of him a *Hahnrei*). In his debasement he even defends his own wife, in the embrace of the satyr, against Virtue, who is about to chastise her. The scurrility of this explanation is sufficient to defeat it. Allihn, in his attempt to explain Dürer's compositions from the general tendency of his age, connects it with the immorality then prevailing. "Accordingly," he says (p. 75), "the action of the allegory would be as follows: Unchastity, represented by the satyr and the reclining naked woman, ought to be driven away; but she is defended by the evil desires of the man. We have here a curtain-lecture delivered by Dürer to his dissolute contemporaries in the name of their neglected wives." The explanation, although more dignified, is hardly more satisfactory than the one first cited. Dürer probably knew what he was about when he called his engraving "Hercules," and the difficulties it presents are due no doubt to the confusion of ideas and the lack of knowledge regarding ancient myths, alluded to in the Introduction, pp. vii-viii. For the attempts to reconcile the design with the versions of the story of Hercules, Nessus, and Dejanira, as known to us, as well as for the evidence that the earlier artists of the Renaissance did not clearly distinguish between Centaurs and Satyrs, see Thausing (I, pp. 222-3), Sallet (pp. 17-20), and Ephrussi (pp. 29-30). As there is an engraving of the same subject by W. Thausing (I, p. 221 *et seq.*) attributes the composition to Wolgemut, but the question of authorship in this case is even more complicated than usual. There is a drawing by Dürer, unhesitatingly accepted as genuine by all writers on the subject, which represents Orpheus attacked by the Bacchantes, and is dated 1494 (see the facsimile from Ephrussi, in Case 9, 11). This drawing is evidently based upon an old Florentine engraving of the so-called Baldini-Botticelli group, representing the same subject, with some differences (see the facsimile published by the International Chalcographical Society, likewise in Case 9, 11). That the Florentine engraver is the originator and Dürer the copyist seems to be the opinion generally held, although the reverse is stated in Meyer's "Lexikon," II,

p. 588. In its turn, the engraving called "Hercules" is again based on Dürer's drawing of 1494, as becomes evident from the figure of the woman about to strike, from the figure of the child, and more especially from the group of trees. If, therefore, Wolgemut is accepted as the originator of the "Hercules," we must assume that Dürer copied and improved upon the old Italian print, that Wolgemut then used his pupil's drawing for his composition, and that finally Dürer copied his teacher's version of his own drawing, — which is rather complicated. Thausing's assertion that at the time when this plate was made, Dürer was not sufficiently skilled in either technical methods or the treatment of the naked body, is refuted by this drawing of 1494 and the "Coat-of-Arms with the Skull" of 1503. Retberg, about 1509; Heller, 1500-1506; Hausmann, after the Venetian journey of 1506. The workmanship, however, as well as the monogram, points to an earlier date. The unfinished proof here shown in facsimile, — a true trial proof, — is of special interest as of but very few of Dürer's plates such proofs are known to exist. The only other real trial proofs by Dürer which have come down to us are from the "Adam and Eve" (No. 35).

25. St. Eustace. — B 57; H 727; R 127. — Monogram on a square piece of paper.

Fine impression on paper with the watermark of the high crown, Hausmann No. 21. *Sewall Coll.*

Called also "St. Hubert." This is a mistake, however, as Dürer himself, in the Netherlands Diary, repeatedly speaks of the engraving as "St. Eustace." The legend of the saint is as follows: Eustace, or Placidus by his heathen name, was a valorous general under the emperor Trajan, and a passionate hunter. While out hunting one time, Christ crucified appeared to him between the antlers of a stag and spoke to him, whereupon he and his whole family were converted. A similar story is told of St. Hubert, hence the confusion. This being the largest plate by Dürer, and most minutely finished, the older writers praise it extravagantly, the only criticism ventured upon being that the background might be lighter. Later opinions do not quite agree with this high estimate, and Thausing is correct in saying (I, p. 300) that "invention and arrangement are far surpassed by minute delicacy of technique and by careful execution of each separate detail." The horse more especially has been severely criticised. Retberg, about 1509; Heller, 1507-1514; Thausing: "The completion of the engraving cannot be placed much earlier than the year 1504, although it was certainly finished before the Nemesis." The monogram points to a tolerably early time.

26. Justice. — B 79; H 826; R. 51. — Monogram.

Very fine impression.

Sewall Coll.

Often called "Nemesis," but Dürer himself evidently applied this name to the large print, No. 32 of this catalogue. According to Thausing (I, p. 310) we have here the Judge of the World, "put together at

random from a variety of apocalyptic reminiscences." The sentiment of the "Apocalypse" designs is certainly very strongly felt in this most delicate of Dürer's earlier plates. Retberg and Thausing, before 1503; Heller, 1500-1506; Hausmann, after 1506. The monogram supports the earlier date.

27. The Man of Sorrows, standing, with Arms extended. — B 20; H 450; R 90. — Monogram.

Good impression.

Gray Coll.

Heller, 1486-1500; Thausing (I, pp. 227-8): "The exaggerated anatomy, the bad drawing of the head and eyes, and the feebleness in the use of the burin, are so striking that we are tempted to put the work before the year 1497, and to look upon the monogram in the corner as a later insertion." Per contra: Retberg, about 1507; Hausmann, about 1512. According to Grimm (Jahrbuch, II, p. 190), it suggests the influence of Signorelli.

28. The Virgin Nursing the Child. — B 34; H 564; R. 52. — Monogram. Date, 1503, on a tablet.

Brilliant impression, but soiled, torn and mended, with false margin, and retouched with India ink all around.

Sewall Coll.

Except the date 1497, on the "Four Naked Women" (No. 21 of this catalogue), 1503 is the earliest date that occurs on any engraving by Dürer. There is a proof in the Berlin Cabinet, without the bare tree and the tablet with the date. Is the date unreliable and the plate earlier?

29. St. Sebastian tied to a Tree. — B 55; H 787; R 16. — Monogram on a piece of paper.

Fine impression, although the lines are somewhat doubled in the extreme upper part.

Sewall Coll.

Retberg, before 1497; Heller, 1486-1500; Hausmann, first period, and similarly von Eye. The engraving has a rather primitive character, but the monogram is certainly not very early. It has, however, a curiously twisted, somewhat suspicious look, and might possibly be a later addition, together with the twig to which it is attached. Grimm (Jahrbuch, II, p. 190) says the figure points to Signorelli. Thausing on the contrary writes (I, pp. 308-9): "The St. Sebastian . . . was no doubt designed directly from a model, and perhaps in rivalry with a corresponding figure of Barbari's in his excellent group of the 'Captives.' Dürer has not, however, managed to attain that finely felt fidelity to nature which so favorably distinguishes this engraving of the Italian, although he has recourse to such little naturalistic expedients as showing the hair on the legs." (See a reproduction of de Barbari's "Captives" in Case 9, 11.)

30. **The Standardbearer.** — B 87; H 977; R 43. — Monogram on a tablet.

Fine impression on bull's head paper. *Sewall Coll.*

Called also "The Ensign." Retberg, before 1500; Heller, 1500—1506; Hausmann, after 1506; Thausing (I, p. 234): "Evidently an early original work of Dürer's, the St. Andrew's Cross of the Golden Fleece on the standard, which belonged to Maximilian I. as Duke of Burgundy, pointing without doubt to the war of 1499."

31. **St. George Standing.** — B. 53; H. 737; R. 121. — Monogram on a tablet.

Vigorous impression. *Sewall Coll.*

St. George, according to the legend, was a prince of Cappadocia, who died the death of a martyr under Diocletian. His most celebrated deed was the killing of the dragon which threatened to devour the royal princess Aja. The legend is of Oriental origin and was introduced into Europe by the crusaders. It is stated that the Emperor Maximilian I. reorganized the order of St. George, which had fallen into decay (see also one of the pictures on "The Arch of Honor," No. 231 of this catalogue, and the remarks of Chmelarz, *Jahrbuch*, IV, p. 296), and possibly Dürer's two engravings of the saint were inspired by this action. Thausing assigns this plate to about the same time as "The Standardbearer" (see No. 30), *i. e.* shortly after 1499. Heller places it between 1507 and 1514; Retberg and Hausmann about 1508, because they believe it to be contemporaneous with the second "St. George" (No. 60). This is, indeed, dated 1508, but the date has evidently been changed from 1505.

32. **Nemesis.** — B 77; H 839; R 124. — Monogram on a tablet.

Beautiful old impression, after the perpendicular scratch under the bridge, but when this was still fresh, as shown by the bur. On paper with the watermark of the large crown, Hausmann No. 4. *Sewall Coll.*

This print is generally called "The Great Fortune," to distinguish it from "The Little Fortune" (No. 8 of this catalogue), but there is no doubt that Dürer himself called it the "Nemesis." The strangeness of the conception and the incongruity of the various elements of the design, — the extreme realism of the repulsively ugly female body, the wings, the globe, etc. — have given rise to a number of most ridiculous attempts at explanation, connecting the figure itself with Dürer's wife, the cup with his father, who was a goldsmith, the bridle with his uncle, who was a saddler, and the landscape with his father's birthplace, Eytas in Hungary, all of which must be dismissed with a mere allusion, together with Thausing's more attractive hypothesis (I, p. 230 *et seq.*) concerning Pirkheimer and the Swiss war of 1499. The great stumbling block

has been the impossibility of reconciling the attributes with the received conceptions of either the Roman *Fortuna* or the Greek *Nemesis*, and the apparent unwillingness to accept the fact that Dürer, as well as his humanistic friends, was not himself clear in his conception, and therefore mixed up several antique ideas, thus producing a *Fortuna-Nemesis*, which he still further complicated with conceits of his own. (See Introduction, p. vii.) The best explanation of the title chosen by Dürer is undoubtedly given by Rosenberg (*Zeitschrift*, IX, pp. 254-5). He calls attention to a passage in the "Praise of Folly" by Erasmus, which runs thus: "Even Rhamnusia herself, who guides the fate of human affairs, is so strong an adherent of mine [*i. e.* of folly] that she has always been inimical to the so-called wise men, while she has given to the fools all the advantages, even in their sleep." This passage Holbein illustrated by the figure of a naked woman standing on a globe, which again floats upon the water, and who showers gold upon a fool. "From the words of Erasmus," says Rosenberg, "it follows that Rhamnusia, *i. e.* Nemesis, so-called from her principal place of worship in Attica, was identical with *Fortuna* as the goddess of fate in its broadest meaning." The "Praise of Folly" and Holbein's figure, drawn in 1515, are, of course, later than Dürer's "Nemesis," but they show that the combination of ideas involved was not foreign to Dürer's time. Rosenberg further cites an epigram from the Greek Anthology, as explaining the attributes, at least in part, and calls attention to Dante's verses, *Inferno*, VII, 73-96, which do, indeed, express the same idea that is conveyed by Dürer's design, but in a manner which the rude conception of the Northern artist cannot hope to rival. Heller, 1507-1514; Retberg, 1509; Thausing about 1504, which is more likely to be correct.

Mr. Ruskin's bitter allusion to the landscape under this "Nemesis" (see the Appendix to his "Ariadne Florentina"), and his extraordinary comparison of Dürer and Turner, compel a few words of comment here. The great English theorist forgets or ignores the slight circumstance that Dürer lived and worked in the 16. century, — did this landscape, in fact, at the very beginning of that century, — and that landscape painting had not yet been invented, so to speak, at the time, while Turner lived in the 19. century. Dürer may, indeed, be ranked among the pioneers of landscape art (*vide* his many sketches and studies from nature) and it is curious that, in the Netherlands, he cultivated more especially the friendship of Patenier (see No. 108 of this catalogue), who is called the father of landscape art in the Netherlands, and whom he describes as a "good landscape painter," thus being the first, according to Thausing, to introduce this term into literature. To understand how far in advance Dürer was in landscape upon the old Florentines who are Mr. Ruskin's idols (and against whose merits not a word is to be said), one need only compare his rendering of the "Orpheus" with the original, as shown in this exhibition in Case 9, 11.

33. The Coat-of-Arms with the Rooster. — B 100; H 1020; R 198. — Monogram.

Fine impression.

Gray Coll.

Specially admired for its delicacy of execution. Dürer drew many coats-of-arms for bookmarks, etc., but this one seems to be purely a creation of fancy. Heller suggests that it may be intended "symbolically for the family of truth and watchfulness which, however, seems evidently to have died out." Retberg, about 1512; Heller, 1507-1514. According to Thausing it "belongs probably to the same time with B 101 [see next number], *i. e.*, 1503."

34. The Coat-of-Arms with the Skull. — B 101; H 1022; R 53. — Monogram on a tablet. Dated 1503. Very fine impression, with Mariette's autograph.

Gray Coll.

Called also "The Coat-of-Arms of Death" and "The Dying Bride." A much discussed print, which, however difficult it may be to-day to follow the wandering fancy of the artist, it would seem safe to connect in a general way with the idea of the "Dance of Death," although the "wild man" is evidently not a personification of death, but a satyr, as his right leg, visible to the left, clearly shows. Frimmel, however, objects to this explanation, but without being able to suggest anything better.

35. Adam and Eve. — B 1; H 116; R. 55. — Full name, monogram, and date, 1504, on a tablet.

(a.) Fine impression, before the change in the tree under the left armpit of Adam, on bull's head paper (Hausmann No. 19). *Sewall Coll.*

(b.) Fine impression, after the change in the tree. Watermark, the bull's head, Hausmann No. 19, but running abnormally across the heavy wires instead of with them. *Gray Coll.*

It was this engraving of "Adam and Eve," according to Thausing (I, pp. 304-5), "which first brought Dürer before the world in the full consciousness of his power, as undisputedly the greatest master of the burin" [of his time]. The elaborate detail studies which he made for it (see Ephrussi, pp. 70-73) give evidence of special care in its preparation, and the trial proofs still in existence show that he was equally painstaking in its execution. Such detail studies for engravings are exceptional with him, although of composition sketches for his engravings and woodcuts there are many (Ephrussi, p. 195), and of only one other of his plates, the "Hercules" (No. 24 of this catalogue), have trial proofs, properly so called, come down to us. It is manifest also that he was satisfied with the result of his labors at the time, from the detailed inscription on the tablet: ALBERT DURER NORICUS FACIEBAT, followed by the monogram and the date. That the subject is "Adam and Eve" admits of no doubt, even if we cannot accept the elaborate explanations, such as Retberg's, which assign a symboli-

cal meaning to every detail. On the other hand it is equally certain that the biblical story served the artist only as a pretext for representing the nude, both male and female, according to the best lights he then had. In earlier plates (Nos. 11, 12, 29 of this catalogue) the influence of Jacopo de Barbari, of the early Florentines (No. 24), and of Andrea Mantegna (Nos. 23, 24) has been detected, in others (Nos. 21, 22) a reflection of the antique may perhaps be seen, while in a third class (Nos. 8, 32) we evidently have the result of the direct and unreversed study of nature. In the "Adam and Eve," finally, the young artist who has thus far carried on his studies on various lines, sometimes contradictory of one another, sums up his experience, and for the first time makes extended use of the theoretical studies of proportions which he pursued throughout his life. That this is the case, is conclusively shown by the constructional lines and figures on some of the preliminary drawings. At the same time, the earlier studies are still visible in the final result. It is claimed by Thode (*Die Antiken*, etc. p. 2) that "Dürer's Adam is nothing but a transformation of the Apollo Belvedere" (see photograph in Case 9, 11), and that "the same conceptions and studies which transformed the Apollo into an Adam changed the Venus to an Eve" (*Jahrbuch*, III, p. 112). Thode's suggestions concerning the "Venus" in "The Dream" (No. 22) have already been pointed out, and there is no denying that there is much resemblance in the composition generally of this latter figure and the Eve, however the forms may differ in detail. That Dürer should make use of antique models for the representation of biblical subjects, is quite in accordance with his expressed conviction of the correctness of such a proceeding. It is an interesting question, however, to inquire whether he went to the antique direct or whether its influence was transmitted to him through Jacopo de Barbari or some other Italian. There is an engraving of "Apollo and Diana" by Jacopo (see a reproduction in Case 9, 11), in which the figure of the sun-god seems also to have been influenced by the Apollo Belvedere, and in an early drawing by Dürer of the same subject (see the reproduction in same case) there is a curious mixture of the two with a premonition of the Adam. Indeed the Apollo of the drawing, which as a whole is evidently related to Jacopo's engraving, is almost identical with the Adam, reversed. Ephrussi (in his essay on Jacopo de Barbari) endeavors to prove also that the Eve is based on a relief representing "Orpheus and Eurydice" (see the etching from it in Case 9, 11) which he attributes to Jacopo on the strength of the sign in the upper right-hand corner. This sign, however, does not appear to be the caduceus, adopted by Jacopo as a mark, but rather a dagger or something of that sort, stuck through two rings. To offset the chorus of admiration universally called forth by this engraving it may be well to recall the words of Albert von Zahn (*"Dürer's Kunstlehre,"* pp. 44-45), the most philosophical and thorough of Dürer's students and admirers, whose early death probably deprived the world of what would have been by far the best biography of the great artist. "The newness," says he, "of the conscious application for the first time of a set of rules [of proportion] explains why these figures have a most forced pose which is thoroughly contradictory

of the essence of Dürer's conception of nature, and the disagreeable impression of which is balanced only by the mastery of the drawing." The curious may look up also Mr. Ruskin's judgment in lecture V of his "Ariadne Florentina." There is no direct evidence to show whether Dürer was as dissatisfied after a few years with this crowning triumph of his earlier activity as an engraver, as he usually was with his works. He carried impressions to the Netherlands with him, but mentions the plate by title only four times, once among the gifts, and thrice among the sales. His price for it was, as for all his "full sheet" prints, eight for one florin, or four stivers for a single copy. As regards the supposed influence of the Apollo Belvedere on Dürer's work, it is worthy of remark that this statue was discovered toward the end of the fifteenth century, when Dürer visited Italy for the first time, and undoubtedly created quite an excitement among those interested in such matters.

36. Apollo and Diana.— B 68 ; H 795 ; R 87. — Monogram on a piece of paper ; the D reversed and then corrected.

Fine impression, but soiled, and with several small holes, mended. *Sewall Coll.*

The general relationship of this design to Jacopo de Barbari's engraving and to Dürer's drawing (see both in Case 9, 11) is evident, although there is considerable variation in detail. The plate is assigned to about 1505 by Retberg, to 1504 by Thode. Heller names 1486-1500. The monogram favors the earlier date, but the workmanship seems to point to about the date of the "Adam and Eve," and the enigmatical connection with the latter engraving, through Jacopo de Barbari, makes it desirable to keep the two together. Grimm sees so much of Signorelli in the conception that he is "tempted sometimes to trace it back directly to him."

37. The Nativity.— B 2 ; H 127 ; R 54. — Monogram and date, 1504, on a tablet.

Good impression. *Gray Coll.*

Apparently the print which Dürer calls "Christmas" in his Netherlands Diary.

38. The Satyr and His Family.— B 69 ; H 819 ; R 83. — Monogram and date, 1505, on a tablet.

Fine, vigorous impression on bull's head paper.

Sewall Coll.

Called also "The Little Satyr" (to distinguish it from "Hercules" or "The Great Satyr," No. 24), "Pan and Syrinx," and "The Birth of Adonis." For the possible source of inspiration, see Thausing, I, p. 311.

39. The Little Horse.— B 96; H 1000; R 85.—
Monogram. Dated 1505.

Fine impression on bull's head paper. *Sewall Coll.*

This and the following engraving are probably the outcome of Dürer's studies of the horse, on the proportions of which he intended to write a book, and the pseudo-mythological adjuncts may have been thrown in to make the subjects palatable to the educated public of the time which was always ready for something "antique." Heller and Retberg suggest that the man leading the animal may be Perseus. Thausing substitutes Mercury, and discusses the difficulties which stand in the way, I, p. 314.

40. The Great Horse.— B 97; H 1009; R 84.—
Monogram. Dated 1505.

Fine impression, in perfect condition, with considerable margin, on bull's head paper. *Sewall Coll.*

As Quad von Kinkelbach calls the "Hercules" (No. 24) "The Great Hercules," it seems probable that this print was known as "The Little Hercules." Thausing (I, p. 313) suggests that it may be meant to represent Hercules carrying off the mares of the Thracian Diomedes.

41. The Three Genii with Helmet and Shield.—
B 66; H 871; R 114.— Monogram.

Good impression on bull's head paper. *Sewall Coll.*

A good example of the far-fetched explanations attempted by the older admirers of Dürer, is furnished in this instance by Retberg. According to him we have here a piece of Düreresque humor which he brought home with him from Venice in 1507, and which is to be thus expounded: "Genii trumpet forth Dürer's name to the right and to the left, and they also hold an escutcheon, to possess which was at that time every one's desire. But nothing is as yet recorded upon it, and the helmet that is being brought by another still hangs in air." See von Sallet, p. 17, to the effect that the design is merely one of the fanciful coats-of-arms, without special meaning, which were then quite frequently engraved. Retberg, about 1507; Heller, 1507-1514. Thausing, on the contrary, holds the plate to be an early one, showing the influence of Mantegna.

42. The Witch.— B 67; H 867; R 115.— Mono-
gram, with the D reversed.

Fine impression on bull's head paper. *Sewall Coll.*

So far as the witch is concerned, riding backward on a goat, and causing a hailstorm, it is easy enough to understand the subject, in connection with popular superstitions, and with the witch trials, which were in full blast about the time. The four genii, however, prove more

troublesome, and all the learning expended upon them by Allihn (p. 49) leads only to the suggestion that they may perhaps represent the four seasons disturbed in their smooth course by the unhallowed doings of the witch. Retberg, about 1507; Heller, 1507-1514. Thausing (I, p. 226) considers this, like the preceding plate, an early work composed under Italian, and more especially Mantegna's influence. The face of the witch forcibly recalls that of one of the marine monsters in Mantegna's "Battle of the Tritons." Thausing, on the other hand (II, p. 89), points out that the principal figure in Agostino Veneziano's "Lo Stregozzo" is a reminiscence of Dürer's witch. (See Case 9, II.)

THE PASSION ON COPPER.

B 3-18; H 139 etc.; R 92-107. 1507-1513.

43. Titlepage: The Man of Sorrows. — Monogram; dated 1509.

44. The Agony in the Garden. — Monogram and date, 1508, on a tag.

45. Christ taken by the Jews. Monogram and date, 1508, on a tag.

46. Christ before Caiphaz. — Monogram and date, 1512, on a tablet.

47. Christ before Pilate. — Monogram. Dated 1512.

48. The Flagellation. — Monogram and date, 1512, on a tablet.

49. Christ Crowned with Thorns. — Monogram and date, 1512, on two tablets.

50. Ecce Homo. — Monogram; dated 1512.

51. Pilate Washing His Hands. — Monogram; dated 1512.

52. Christ Bearing the Cross. — Monogram and date, 1512, on a tablet.

53. **The Crucifixion.** — Monogram and date, 1511, on two tags.

54. **The Descent from the Cross.** — Monogram; dated 1507.

55. **The Entombment.** — Monogram and date, 1512, on a tablet.

56. **Christ in Limbo.** — Monogram on a tag; dated 1512.

57. **The Resurrection.** — Monogram and date, 1512, on a tag.

58. **Sts. Peter and John Healing at the Temple Gate.** — Monogram; dated 1513.

Fine set, in uniform and vigorous impressions, from Maberly's collection. *Sewall Coll.*

"The Descent from the Cross" (No. 54) is the only engraving which Dürer executed in 1507, the year in which he returned from his [second] trip to Venice. Complete sets of this series, of uniformly fine quality, are rare. The representation of "Sts. Peter and John etc." (No. 58) is hardly in place in a series of "The Passion," but it is always classed with the set. Of all of Dürer's engravings on metal, this set is the most frequently mentioned in his Netherlands Diary, among sales as well as gifts. His price for it was half a florin.

59. **The Virgin with the Crown of Stars.** — B 31; H 517; R 118. — Monogram; dated 1508.

Fine impression, on bull's head paper. *Sewall Coll.*

The "man in the moon," abandoned in later years, still appears here, as in No. 16.

60. **St. George on Horseback.** — B 54; H 746; R 120. — Monogram and date, 1508, on a tag.

Fair impression, mounted. *Gray Coll.*

It will be noted that the date has been changed to 1508 from 1505. See No. 31.

61. Christ Dying upon the Cross. — B 24; H 426; R 119. — Monogram and date, 1508, on a tablet.

Good impression.

Sewall Coll.

Dürer, in his Diary, calls this plate "The Cross." It is often spoken of as "The Great Cross," or "Crucifixion," to distinguish it from B 23 (No. 88 of this catalogue). The St. John in this design is usually described as an almost literal copy from the same figure in Mantegna's "Entombment," but there are many points of difference.

62. St. Veronica with the Sudarium. — B 64; H 464; R 167. — Monogram; dated 1510.

Heliotype reproduction from the Dresden impression.

E. H. Greenleaf.

A dry-point plate, and Dürer's first attempt of the kind. Passavant's statement (III, p. 146) that this is a niello is incomprehensible, and is refuted by the fact that the monogram and the date are not reversed in the impression. Thausing points out the resemblance to Schongauer's rendering of the same subject, but this is due simply to the fact that both artists followed the usual type. Only two impressions from this plate are known.

63. The Virgin with the Pear. — B 41; H 621; R 194. — Monogram and date, 1511, on separate tablets.

Fine impression, with Mariette's autograph on the back.

Sewall Coll.

Thausing (II, pp. 59-60) rates this as one of the two most beautiful Madonnas engraved by Dürer, the other being B 35 (No. 67 of this catalogue), — a rating which will probably be questioned.

64. The Man of Sorrows, with Hands Tied. — B 21; H 445; R 195. — Monogram; dated 1512.

Impression evidently from the worn plate. It is said, however, that all impressions are feeble.

Sewall Coll.

Executed with the dry point.

65. St. Jerome by the Willow Tree. — B 59; H 770; R 196. — Monogram. Date, 1512, on a tag.

Late impression without bur, showing the hole in the lower part of the plate. Watermark, two towers (castle gate), but different in form from any of those figured by Hausmann.

Sewall Coll.

Dry-point, strengthened here and there with the graver. In the very rare fine impressions, showing the effect of the bur, this print is

said to be the richest in Dürer's *œuvre*, and Thausing (II, p. 62) is inclined to think that Rembrandt must have been inspired by it in his own dry-point work.

66. The Holy Family. — B 43; H 648; R 222. — Without monogram or date.

- (a.) Good impression, showing much of the effect of the bur, and before any of the scratches, but cut on top and mounted. *Gray Coll.*
- (b.) Late impression, after the bur had all worn off, and with the scratch across the face of the Virgin. Watermark, coat-of-arms of Schrobenhäuser, Hausmann No. 15. *Sewall Coll.*

The first of the impressions here shown gives some idea of the richness ascribed to Dürer's dry-points, of which no trace is left in the bald ruins ordinarily seen. This plate furnishes a striking illustration of the loose manner in which, as a rule, technical questions are treated by writers upon art. Bartsch, who certainly ought to have known better, describes it as "gravé à l'eau-forte sur une planche de fer" (engraved with acid on an iron plate), and any number of writers have followed him in this, although Retberg and Hausmann long ago pointed out its true nature, and an examination of a good impression, like the first here exhibited, distinctly shows the peculiar white lines which are characteristic of dry-point work. (See Introduction, p. xvi.) Heller assigns the plate to 1500-1506, probably because on an early copy the monogram and the date 1506 have been added. The same intrinsically unreliable piece of evidence misleads even Zahn to say (on p. 49, in the course of his remarks on the slightness of the influence exercised on Dürer by Venetian art): "Only the etched representation of the Holy Family executed in the year of his stay at Venice, is pervaded by a harmony, which gives it spiritual kinship with the largeness of conception of the Venetian school, and which extends to all the figures, with the exception of the ugly child." Prof. Colvin, who, however, favors 1513, also speaks of this plate ("Portfolio," 1877) as the one "in which Dürer draws nearest to Italian types, and in one figure at least, the bearded Joseph with his upturned face, is almost with strictness Venetian." A similar remark might be applied to the St. Jerome in the preceding plate, which is clearly dated 1512. There is no reason, therefore, why this "Holy Family" should not be grouped together with the rest of Dürer's dry-points. Retberg dates it about 1516, without giving a reason.

67. The Virgin Seated, Caressing the Christ Child. — B 35; H 599; R 201. — Monogram; dated 1513.

Rich dark impression.

Sewall Coll.

Thausing classes this plate and B 41 (No. 63 of this catalogue) as the two most beautiful engravings of the Madonna by Dürer, and points out a similarity in motive to Raphael's "Virgin of the Casa Tempi." It may be well to note here that in Heller's description of the copy No. 600 in his list the marks given are reversed, so that, according to him, the original would appear to be the copy.

68. The Sudarium Displayed by Two Angels. — B 25 ; H 467 ; R 202. — Monogram and date, 1513, on a tag.

Brilliant impression.

Gray Coll.

This appears to be the print which Dürer, in his Netherlands Diary, alludes to as "The Veronica." Bartsch calls it "The Face of Christ." Thausing advances the conjecture (II, p. 61) that it was intended as a *finale* to "The Passion on Copper," although it differs from the plates composing this series in shape as well as in size.

69. The Knight, Death, and the Devil. — B 98 ; H 1013 ; R 203. — Monogram and date, 1513, preceded by an S, on a tablet.

(a.) Very vigorous, dark impression. *Gray Coll.*

(b.) Beautiful, somewhat lighter impression, rotten in lower right-hand corner. *Gray Coll.*

The two impressions are exhibited, as in several other cases, to show how differences may exist, without positive loss of quality. As to the subject, Dürer himself, in his Diary, names it simply "A Horseman." The titles invented for the plate by others are manifold: "Le manège" (the art of riding or the riding school), "The Horse of Death," "The Knight of Death," "The Knight of the Reformation," "Fortitude" (Ruskin), etc. Old catalogues say that it represents a Nuremberg soldier, named Rinck or Rinneck, who lost his way and met death and the devil in the darkness of the night, — a story which is contradicted by the lighting of the composition. Heller calls it "The Christian Knight with Death and the Devil," and states that it has been held to represent Franz von Sickingen (mildly indicated by the S before the date) "who was especially and generally feared in Germany about 1510-1512, and whose character was depicted by his enemies at the time in the most terrible and damaging manner." Retberg styles it "The Knight in Spite of Death and the Devil," and conjectures that Dürer intended it as a sort of monument to his friend Stefan Paumgärtner, whence the S. Rosenberg, on the contrary, who, with others, connects the subject with the Dance of Death, sees in it rather "Death and the Devil in Spite of all Knighthood," and explains the S as *salus*, being an abbreviation of *anno salutis* (in the year of grace). Thausing finally, who says that the knight is grinning, to show how little he is affected by the apparitions around him, therein agreeing with Mr. Ruskin, is of opinion that the plate was intended to form one of a series illustrating the

four temperaments, and that the S stands for *sanguinicus*. (See below, under Nos. 70 and 71.) Even the blades of grass under the hoof of the right hind leg of the horse have become objects of discussion, some holding them to indicate a trap into which the horse is about to step, while others, like Mr. Ruskin (see his remarks, "Modern Painters," Part IX, Chap. IV), explain them as a former outline which Dürer did not know how to efface. It is claimed by Grimm, who is followed by Thausing, that the horse is modelled on that of Verrocchio's Colleoni. This is quite impossible, however, unless we assume that Dürer, in trying to improve upon his model, falsified it after a most astonishing fashion. For while Verrocchio's horse is correct in its gait, Dürer's has the position of the feet conventionally adopted by most sculptors, but which, as Mr. Muybridge's investigations have shown us, is totally at variance with nature. Dürer's studies for this plate, or at least the studies which he utilized in it, reach back to the year 1498.

70. **Melancholy.** — B 74; H 846; R 209. — Monogram; dated 1514.

- (a.) Fine silvery impression, but too dark in the face of the large figure, and so smeared in the printing of the smaller figure as to present the appearance of having been washed with India ink. *Gray Coll.*
- (b.) Good impression, and more harmonious than *a*, but uneven in the face of the large figure, and muddy in the distance. *Gray Coll.*

This has always been one of the popular favorites among Dürer's works, and all the more so because of its enigmatical character. Within certain limits, the subject is easy enough to understand. Dürer calls it the "Melancholy" in his Netherlands Diary, and this title, "Melencolia. I.," is plainly indicated on the print itself. But here the difficulty begins. Is the character after the word Melencolia the figure *one* or the letter *I*? Passavant (III, p. 153) claims that it is the latter, and that it means "Melencolia i!"—"Melancholy avaunt!" Thausing, on the other hand, sees in it merely the numeral, indicating that the print is to be the first in a series of the Four Temperaments, and Allihn (p. 98) asks pointedly: "Who among the contemporaries of Dürer would have found this solution?" But again, it may be objected:—If this is a number, why did not Dürer number the other plates? For further details the student is referred to Allihn, p. 94 *et seq.* For the present purpose, the following quotation from Thausing (II, p. 222) must suffice: "The winged woman who, supporting her cheek in her left hand, and with a laurel wreath on her loosely bound hair, is seated plunged in gloomy meditation, all the materials for human labor, for art, and for science lying scattered around her—what could she be meant to represent but Human Reason, in despair at the limits imposed upon her power?" That the theory of the Four Temperaments was

very popular at the time, and quite likely to inspire Dürer, has been well shown by Allihn. (See also Mr. Ruskin, in "Modern Painters," Part IX, Chap. IV.)

71. **St. Jerome in his Study.**—B 60; H 756; R 208.—Monogram and date, 1514, on a tablet.

Fine impression; made margin.

Gray Coll.

It is a relief to come upon a subject among Dürer's works which is so sufficient in itself as to need no explanation. The story of St. Jerome was popular at the time (see under No. 6), and it is quite natural, therefore, that Dürer should have utilized the saint, tranquilly at work upon his translation of the bible, the Vulgate, as the life-giving human element in the representation of a quiet, comfortable, sunlit interior, which, in spite of Mr. Hamerton's criticisms, will continue to please mankind by its very wealth of detail. Nor does this detail disturb the general effect, as those may see who will take the trouble to look at the picture through the hollow hand. With this enjoyment the claim of the commentators of Dürer, that this is the third in the proposed series of the Four Temperaments (leaving only the choleric to be provided for), does not interfere, even if we accept Thausing's interpretation. "The phlegmatic temperament," says he (II, p. 224), "must be the one here intended to be represented, but phlegmatic in the higher sense of the word, a sense, too, which was in accordance with the history of the time. Dürer's St. Jerome is symbolic of that humanistic learning which, coming from Italy, found its chief representative in Erasmus of Rotterdam, — of that aristocratic intellectual tendency which desires above all to secure the theoretical standpoint of knowledge, attaching itself exclusively to the governing classes, and keeping carefully clear of the people and their life. This wise man, were he to speak, would cry out in the words of Goethe's scholar in the second part of 'Faust':

'The present leads us to exaggeration.
I seek in what is written my salvation.'

The three fragments of the supposed series of the Four Temperaments, "The Knight, Death, and The Devil," "Melancholy," and "St. Jerome in his Chamber," fully deserve the fame and favor which they have so long commanded, for they are of all Dürer's engravings those in which he most transcends the limits of his slavery to outward formality and rises into that higher artistic realm where the emotions have control. These three prints are the nearest approach to "Stimmungsbilder" in Dürer's engraved work. He begins to realize here, even if he never learned fully to comprehend, the power that lies in effects of light: — the somber gloom of "The Knight, Death, and the Devil," the weird, unearthly glitter of the "Melancholy," the soft, tranquil sunshine of the "St. Jerome," are all in accordance with the subjects themselves, surrounding them with an appropriate atmosphere, which helps to emphasize the ideas embodied in the subject. One is almost tempted to despair of Mr. Ruskin's ability to be just, reading

such a passage as this in his "Ariadne": "People are always talking of his [Dürer's] Knight and Death, and his Melancholia, as if those were his principal works. They are his characteristic ones, and show what he might have been *without* his anatomy; but they were mere byeplay compared to his Greater Fortune and Adam and Eve." Simply to uphold a notion of his, Mr. Ruskin here ignores the fact that the two prints last named were done ten years before the "Knight" etc. and places the work of Dürer's maturer years, in which he embodied the experience of the man, below the results of earlier efforts in which the effect of experimental studies is still unpleasantly visible. The "Knight, Death, and the Devil" is mentioned only twice in the Diary, "Melancholy" seven, the "St. Jerome" twelve times. Dürer's price for them, as for the others of his "full sheets," was eight for one florin.

72. **The Bagpiper.**— B 91; H 895; R 211.— Monogram; dated 1514.

Fair impression.

Sewall Coll.

73. **Dancing Peasants.**— B 90; H 912; R 210.— Monogram; dated 1514.

Fine impression.

Sewall Coll.

Allihn connects this and the preceding plate with Dürer's earlier representations of peasants (Nos. 13 and 14 of this catalogue), and sees in them a satirical vein. For individuality and for the happy expression of a transient mood in face as well as in pose, these "Dancing Peasants" are quite as much without rivals in Dürer's œuvre as Nos. 69-71 are without rivals for the mood which finds expression in the lighting.

74. **The Virgin on the Crescent, with Short Hair tied with a Ribbon.**— B 33; H 505; R 204.— Monogram; dated 1514.

Brilliant impression.

Sewall Coll.

The "man in the moon" is omitted. (See Nos. 16 and 59 of this catalogue.)

75. **The Virgin Sitting by a Wall.**— B 40; H 610; R 205.— Monogram and date, 1514, on a tablet.

Good, but somewhat cold impression, with considerable margin.

Gray Coll.

Thausing specially cites this print in connection with his theory concerning the supposed change of technique adopted by Dürer in 1514. (See Introduction, p. xiii.) "The Virgin seated at the foot of a wall," he says (II, p. 68), "would appear to show the transition from

the old to the new process; it is unequal in treatment, and the hard black lines seen in the earlier plates are discernible in the flesh of the Infant and the head of the Virgin. This engraving therefore constitutes the border line between the two methods."

THE APOSTLES. 1514-1526.

76. **St. Thomas.** — B 48; H 667; R 207. — Monogram and date, 1514 (the second figure corrected), on a tag.

77. **St. Paul.** — B 50; H 686; R 206. — Monogram; dated 1514.

78. **St. Bartholomew.** — B 47; H 659; R 251. — Monogram and date, 1523, on a tablet.

79. **St. Simon.** — B 49; H 678; R 252. — Monogram; dated 1523.

80. **St. Philip.** — B 46; H 652; R 264. — Monogram and date, 1526 (with a correction in the last figure), on a tablet.

Good impressions; paper mostly somewhat spotted.

Sewall Coll.

This series was undoubtedly intended to comprise the whole of the twelve apostles, but was never finished. Thausing (II, p. 220) detects certain psychological tendencies in Dürer about this time (1514), which he (Dürer) developed "in a manner peculiarly his own," inferentially by the creation of a number of character heads. "It was with this object in view, that he commenced, in 1514, a series of figures of the Apostles on copper, which, though never finished, occupied him, as we shall see, for more than ten years, and which, in connection with another idea conceived about the same time, inspired the production of his last great work." The "other idea" was the theory of the Four Temperaments (see Nos. 69, 70 and 71), the "last great work" is the picture of the Four Apostles which Dürer presented to his native city in 1526. Thausing points out the striking resemblance of the St. Philip in this series, especially in the drapery, with the St. Paul in the painting.

81. **The Man of Sorrows Seated.** — B 22; H 459; R 213. — No monogram; dated 1515.

Fair impression, before the rusting of the plate, with Mariette's autograph. *Sewall Coll.*

Probably Dürer's first attempt at etching, although Thausing and others are inclined to place B 70 (No. 85 of this catalogue) earlier. It is evident that the six plates etched by Dürer (Nos. 81-85 and 89 of this catalogue) were done on iron, like all of the earliest etchings. The evidence is furnished by some of the plates, still in existence, and by the peculiar character of the spots in the later impressions, which are due to the rusting and consequent roughening of the plates.

82. Christ in the Garden. — B 19 ; H 425 ; R 212. — Monogram ; dated 1515.

Late impression from the rusted plate. *Sewall Coll.*

Etching on iron. (See No. 81.)

83. The Sudarium displayed by one Angel. — B 26 ; H 466 ; R 223. — Monogram and date, 1516, on a tag.

Fine impression, before the rusting of the plate, with some margin. *Sewall Coll.*

Etching on iron. (See No. 81.)

84. The Rape of a Young Woman. — B 72 ; H 813 ; R 224. — Monogram ; dated 1516.

Fine early impression. Watermark, anchor in a circle, Hausmann No. 7. *Gray Coll.*

Etching on iron. (See No. 81.) An obscurely treated mythological subject, called also "The Rape on the Unicorn," "Pluto carrying off Proserpine," and "Nessus carrying off Dejanira."

85. The Man in Despair. — B 70 ; H 882 ; R 225. — Without monogram or date.

Late, but good impression. *Sewall Coll.*

Of the six etchings on iron (see No. 81), this is the most puzzling, and it may, indeed, be described as the most puzzling of all of Dürer's engravings. Heller calls it "The Bath," on the authority of some old manuscript, and presumes the woman to have been drowned, the naked man in despair to be her husband, and the satyr etc. sympathizing spectators. Hüsgen, according to Heller, dubbed it "The Dismayed Husband." Thausing and others maintain that it is merely an aggregation of studies taken at random, — hence the title "Study of Five Figures," — and that it is, therefore, Dürer's first essay in etching, but for a mere trial plate it is altogether too elaborate. In the principal figure, the "man in despair," Thausing detects Italian influences, and

even recognizes in it the position of Michelangelo's "Cupid" in the South Kensington Museum. (See this "Cupid" among the casts on the lower floor.) There is a drawing by Dürer of a man, very similar to the figure seen in profile to the left, which Thausing declares to be a portrait of Andrew, Albrecht's brother, a declaration stoutly opposed by Ephrussi, who publishes the drawing (p. 177). Heller, 1507-1541; Retberg about 1516, which seems the more likely.

86. The Virgin on the Crescent, with Crown of Stars and Scepter.— B 32; H 526; R 221.— Monogram; dated 1516.

(a.) Clear impression.

Sewall Coll.

(b.) More brilliant, but somewhat sooty impression.

Gray Coll.

This is one of the prints specially cited by Thausing in support of his theory that Dürer, from the year 1514, used etching to forward his plates. "Compare, for example," he says (II, p. 69), "the two very similar plates [B 31, No. 59 of this catalogue] . . . and [this plate] . . . and it is easy to see at a glance the great contrast presented in the treatment of the two. Examine them yet a little closer, and traces of the action of the aquafortis are distinctly visible in the blurred uncertain lines of the second engraving. And this is why experienced collectors and dealers, whenever it is a question of Dürer's later engravings, prefer pale gray impressions to the rich-toned darker ones." The two impressions here exhibited show that the "blurred uncertain lines" which are indeed visible in *b*, are not due to the character of the lines, but to the printing, since in *a*, in which they have not been overcharged with ink to force brilliancy, they are quite sharp and clear. (See the Introduction, p. xiv, and No. 95.) Again the "man in the moon" is left out of the crescent.

87. The Virgin Crowned by Two Angels.— B 39; H 547; R 226.— Monogram; dated 1518.

Fine impression; paper spotted.

Sewall Coll.

Speaking in general of Dürer's works done between the years 1513 and 1520, Thausing says (II, p. 134): "The engravings of the Virgin belonging to this period are as unattractive as the paintings. The most agreeable among them, the 'Virgin Crowned by two Angels,' of 1518, is taken from older studies; at least the beautiful drawing for the drapery on her knees, in the Albertina, belongs to the year 1508." Two composition sketches for this plate are published by Ephrussi (pp. 194-5). For Mr. Ruskin's estimate of it, see Lecture IV and the Appendix of his "Ariadne Florentina." The period here alluded to (1513-20) is that in which Dürer was principally occupied with the designs for the woodcut publications of the Emperor Maximilian, and Thausing directly makes these designs responsible for the inferior quality of the paintings and engravings belonging to the same period.

88. The Small Crucifixion.—B 23; H 435; R 227. — Without monogram or date.

(*a* and *b*.) See below concerning the impressions shown. *Sewall Coll.*

This—a niello, as the reversed position of the letters INRI shows—is one of the smallest and most celebrated of Dürer's engravings. It was engraved on gold, and originally ornamented the hilt of a sword belonging to the Emperor Maximilian I. Thausing in his first edition (II, pp. 70–71) describes a sword in the Ambras Collection, at Vienna, as the one which originally held the precious plate, although the place it once occupied is now filled by a silver plate of later insertion. Wendelin Boeheim, on the contrary (Rep. für Kunstw., III, pp. 276–287), shows that this cannot be the sword in question, and Thausing, in his second German edition (II, p. 73), accepts his conclusions. Heller, 1507–1514; Hausmann, 1510–1514; Retberg, about 1518. As Maximilian died Jan. 12, 1519, the plate certainly cannot have been engraved later than 1518. Dürer mentions it as follows in a letter to Spalatin, dated at the beginning of the year 1520: "I also send two little printed crosses with this; they are engraved on gold and one is for your honor." Passavant (III, p. 150) describes the prints here shown as copies, under A and B. Mr. Sewall, however, takes issue with him, and claims B to be the original. Messrs. H. Wunderlich & Co., of New York, lately had, or may still have, a fine impression of the print which, according to Passavant, is the original.

89. The Cannon.—B 99; H 1017; R 228. — Monogram; dated 1518.

Not very early impression, with some marks of rust. Watermark, an heraldic lily. *Sewall Coll.*

"A large field-piece, with the arms of Nuremberg on it and surrounded by footsoldiers, is being looked at with respectful astonishment by five Turks, for whom it is no doubt intended as a warning, and in the background are the plains of the native land it is destined to protect" (Thausing, II, p. 66). This plate, called also "Die Nürnberger Feldschlange" (The Nuremberg Field-Serpent), is the last of the six etchings on iron (see No. 81) done by Dürer. He had evidently given up the process as unsatisfactory, but in this case used it once more, as an expeditious method for placing upon the market a plate intended to satisfy a transient popular demand. The fear of the Turk was then strong in Germany, the first siege of Vienna occurring in 1529.

90. The Virgin Nursing the Child.—B 36; H 576; R 232. — Monogram; dated 1519.

(*a*.) Silvery impression.

(*b*.) Heavier impression.

Sewall Coll.

Gray Coll.

The two impressions are again shown with reference to Thausing's theories concerning Dürer's methods. (See No. 86.) The same author (II, p. 134) says of this plate and B 38 (No. 95 of this catalogue) that they "are without any particular charm or dignity, being taken quite casually from burgher life, and are only remarkable for the soft gray tone of the engraving." A slight composition sketch is published by Ephrussi (p. 191).

91. St. Anthony. — B 58; H 695; R 233. — Monogram and date, 1519, on a tablet.

Fine impression.

Sewall Coll.

St. Anthony, an Egyptian saint, not to be confounded with St. Anthony of Padua, has inspired many artists, from Schongauer down to the disciples of the modern French-Italian school, but the scenes generally chosen are those of his torment and temptation by demons, in which the fantastic or the voluptuous forms assumed by the latter are the main point. Dürer represents another phase in the life of the saint, his flight from the world and application to study and prayer. The pig which often accompanies St. Anthony, as the symbol of the lusts which he conquered, Dürer has omitted; the bell attached to his staff, signifying his power to drive away evil spirits, is here. The city in the distance is generally supposed to be Nuremberg, but Hausmann says that it is strikingly like Marburg. Thausing rates the plate very highly. "For depth of conception," he says (II, pp. 134-135), "and tenderness of execution and feeling, this small plate is equal to the best engravings of former years. Dürer never did anything again equal to it." Heller states that of the copy described by him under No. 699 there are impressions in red. In the Sewall Collection there is an impression in the same color from the original plate, badly worn. Dürer, in his Diary, classes this print among the "half sheets," of which he sold twenty for one florin.

92. Peasants at Market. — B 89; H 931; R 235. — Monogram; dated 1519.

(a.) Clear impression.

Sewall Coll.

(b.) More vigorous impression, a trifle muddy.

Gray Coll.

Two impressions shown with reference to Thausing's theory (see No. 86). Allihn, p. 90, mentions this engraving in connection with the other representations of peasants of supposed satirical tendency. In the faces of the couple he detects "exemplary stupidity." All the prints of this size, including the small Madonnas, Dürer classes as "quarter sheets," of which he gave forty-five for one florin.

93. Albert of Brandenburg. — B 102; H 1024; R 234. — Monogram; dated 1519.

Splendid impression, without text on back. *Gray Coll.*

Called also "The Little Cardinal" to distinguish it from B 103 (No. 98 of this catalogue), known as "The Great Cardinal." Albert, or Albrecht, Margrave of Brandenburg, born 1489 or 1490, died 1545, was the man who, after he had received the pope's authority to sell indulgences within his diocese, on condition of making over to the papal treasury one half of the profits, appointed the Dominican Tezel, and thus indirectly caused Luther to post his ninety-five theses. His titles are given in the inscription in the upper part of the plate: "Albert, by divine mercy the most holy Roman church's titular presbyter cardinal of St. Chrysogonus, archbishop of Mayence and Magdeburg, primate elector of the empire, administrator of Halberstadt, marquis of Brandenburg." The lower inscription reads: "Thus were his eyes, his cheeks, his features. Aged 29. 1519." The plate was engraved for a book of relics etc., belonging to the church of Sts. Maurice and Mary Magdalen, at Halle, published in 1520. In a letter written by Dürer to George Spalatin at the beginning of the year 1520 this plate is mentioned as follows: "At the same time I send herewith to my most gracious lord three impressions of an engraving on copper, which I engraved after my most gracious lord of Mayence and at his request. I sent and presented the plate to his Electoral Grace with 200 impressions; in return His Electoral Grace has shown himself gracious to me, for His Electoral Grace has made me a present of 200 florins in gold and 20 ells of damasc for a coat." Mr. Ruskin justly objects to the reflections of windows in the eyes of most of Dürer's portraits, as in this one. They are due to an affectation of knowledge, displayed with a childish pride in lately acquired powers of observation, which was quite characteristic of the time.

94. The Virgin Crowned by One Angel.— B 37; H 537; R 236. — Monogram and date, 1520, on a tablet.

- (a.) Clear impression, washed with India ink in the shadows on the right-hand side. *Sewall Coll.*
 (b.) Vigorous impression, but somewhat rotten and sooty. *Gray Coll.*

Two impressions shown with reference to Thausing's theories (see No. 86). "Stiff and spiritless," as the same author says (II, p. 134). In Heller's description of the copy No. 538 of his list, the first two of the explanatory figures have been accidentally reversed, so that according to their evidence, the original would be taken for the copy.

95. The Virgin with the Child Swaddled.— B 38; H 585; R 237. — Monogram and date, 1520, on a tablet.

- (a.) Silvery impression. *Sewall Coll.*
 (b.) Dark impression. *Gray Coll.*

This is another of the Virgins of the period from 1513-1520, which "are only remarkable for the soft gray tone of the engraving." The

two impressions are again shown with reference to Thausing's theories concerning a supposed change in Dürer's technical methods about the year 1514 (see Introduction, p. xiii, and No. 86). Both, and more especially *b*, look as if they had been washed with India ink in the shadows, but this effect may be due to the wiping of the plate by the printer. As No. 94 *a* has also been washed with ink, it is permissible to conjecture that these experiments were made by admirers of Dürer who missed in these later plates the strength of color which pleased them in his earlier work. For the same reason it is presumable that the darker, overcharged impressions must have been taken after Dürer's death, as he undoubtedly knew what he was doing when he engraved these plates so as to produce a silvery effect, and would not afterwards have undone his work by printing of a kind for which the plates were not fitted.

96. St. Christopher with the Head turned to the Left. — B 51; H 708; R 245. — Monogram; dated 1521.

- (*a.*) Silvery impression; made margin. *Gray Coll.*
 (*b.*) Dark impression. *Sewall Coll.*

The appearance of both of these impressions as if they had been washed with India ink, seems to be due to the wiping of the plate. See remarks under No. 95.

97. St. Christopher with the Head turned to the Right. — B 52; H 715; R 246. — Monogram; dated 1521.

- (*a.*) Clear impression; paper spotted. *Sewall Coll.*
 (*b.*) Impression with an appearance of tinting due to wiping. *Gray Coll.*

See remarks under No. 95. In his Netherlands Diary, Dürer records, in the month of May, 1521, that he drew four small St. Christophers on gray paper, heightened with white, for his friend Joachim Patenier, "the good landscape painter," and it has been suggested that we may have two of these designs in Nos. 96 and 97, both of which are dated 1521. Compare, however, Ephrussi, p. 340, who mentions a composition sketch for No. 96, dated 1517.

98. Albert of Brandenburg. — B 103; H 1035; R 254. — Monogram; dated 1523.

Late impression. Watermark similar to, but somewhat different from, Hausmann No. 23. *Sewall Coll.*

Called also "The Great Cardinal" to distinguish it from "The Little Cardinal," B 102 (No. 93 of this catalogue). The inscriptions are

identical with those on No. 93, except that the age has been changed to 33, and the date to 1523. In a letter to Albert, dated Sept. 4, 1523, Dürer complains that, although he had forwarded the plate, with 500 impressions, some time ago, its receipt had not yet been acknowledged. There are two other engravings by Dürer dated 1523, the apostles St. Bartholomew and St. Simon, which see under Nos. 78 and 79.

99. Frederic the Wise, Elector of Saxony. — B 104; H 1039; R 255. — Monogram; dated 1524.

(a.) Good impression. Watermark, a jug.

Sewall Coll.

(b.) Late impression. Watermark, an escutcheon with a rampant lion in it.

Sewall Coll.

Frederic III, called the Wise, born Jan. 17, 1463, died May 5, 1525, elector and duke of Saxony, was a patron of science, the founder of the university of Wittenberg, and a supporter of the reformation, although he never openly espoused the doctrines of Luther. He was one of the earliest patrons of Dürer, who painted for him, probably, the Dresden altar-piece (Thausing, I, pp. 168-170), one of the first of his more important works, as well as other, later pictures. The inscription under the portrait reads as follows: "Sacred to Christ. He favored the word of God with great piety, worthy to be revered forever by posterity. For the Lord Frederic, duke of Saxony, arch-marshal, elector of the holy Roman empire, Albert Dürer of Nuremberg made this. B. M. F. V. V." Again Dürer has thought it necessary to indicate the reflections of the windows in the eyes. — Impression *a* shows that the D in the monogram was originally reversed and then corrected. The correction, however, not having been made with sufficient vigor, it almost disappears again in later impressions, such as *b*. There is an unaccountable difference between these two impressions. Although not the slightest variation can be detected in the engraving of the portrait itself and of the lettering, there is yet a very perceptible difference in the margins. Impression *a* has a simple, clearly defined line all around; in *b* the line around the portrait is not so well defined and is frequently crossed by the work, while around the tablet below there is shading by additional lines, with short lines crossing them at right angles. In the broad moulding surrounding the lettering, variations may also be noted in the filling-in of the lower horizontal part. Impression *b*, moreover, is a trifle larger than *a*, the latter measuring 12.2 by 18.8 cm., the former 12.6 by 19.1 cm. A very marked difference is noticeable also in connection with the coats of arms in the upper corners. In *a* they are quite close to the outer marginal line; in *b* they are about one millimeter inside of this line and the space thus left is filled in with shading. These differences are not noted in any of the authorities consulted in the preparation of this catalogue. It is stated that the later impressions are from the retouched plate, but the variations here described cannot be the result of retouching.

100. Wilibald Pirkheimer. — B 106; H 1076; R 256. — Monogram; dated 1524.

Fine impression. Watermark, coat-of-arms similar to Hausmann No. 12. *Gray Coll.*

This celebrated patrician, humanist, and councillor of Nuremberg, Dürer's life-long and most intimate friend, to whom the letters from Venice were addressed, was born Dec. 5, 1470, and died Dec. 22, 1530. The inscription under his portrait which, according to Thausing (II, p. 244), Pirkheimer himself dictated to Dürer, may be rendered as follows: "The mind endures; the rest is death's." As usual, Dürer could not withstand the temptation to show the reflections of the windows in the eyes.

101. Philip Melanchthon. — B 105; H 1056; R 265. — Monogram; dated 1526.

Good impression. *Gray Coll.*

Melanchthon, the colleague of Luther in the work of the reformation, celebrated for his learning as "Præceptor Germaniæ," was born Feb. 16, 1497, and died April 19, 1560. The inscription under the portrait says that "Dürer could depict the features of the living Philip, but the skilled hand could not depict his mind." The trick of the window reflections in the eyes verges upon the ridiculous in this case, as the indication of clouds in the background shows that Melanchthon is supposed to be standing in the open air. Nevertheless the portrait hardly deserves the unmeasured condemnation of Mr. Ruskin, who in his "Ariadne Florentina" (Lecture V) says that it is not like Melanchthon, "nor like any other person in his senses, but like a madman looking at somebody who disputes his hobby."

102. Erasmus of Rotterdam. — B 107; H 1047; R 266. — Monogram; dated 1526.

Fair impression. Watermark, Hausmann No. 11. Made margin; rotten in upper right-hand corner and along left margin. *Sewall Coll.*

Desiderius Erasmus, the most celebrated of the humanists north of the Alps, and in certain ways a pioneer of the reformation, was born at Rotterdam on Oct. 28, 1467, and died at Basel on July 12, 1536. Dürer met him and drew his portrait several times in the Netherlands (1520-21; see one of these drawings in Ephrussi, p. 277), and it was to him that he addressed in his diary the fervent words of entreaty to take up Luther's work, upon the receipt of the news that the latter had been kidnapped. The inscription on the print distinctly informs us that it was "drawn from the life by Albert Dürer." Nevertheless, it must have been engraved from the drawings made in the Netherlands five years ago, and this may in part explain the small satisfaction given by this portrait to Erasmus himself as well as to others. "Technically

as an engraving," says Thausing (2d Germ. ed., II, p. 268), "the portrait of Erasmus 'which his writings show better' [the words of the Greek phrase in the inscription], is as superior to that of Melanchthon, as it is inferior to it in truthfulness, fidelity, and sentiment. Erasmus was polite enough, upon the receipt of the picture, to excuse its shortcomings by remarking that he himself had changed in the intervening five years." Mr. Ruskin's opinion may be found in the "Ariadne Fiorentina," Lecture V. This portrait was possibly the last of Dürer's engravings on copper, the only other works of the kind, dated 1526, being the Melanchthon, No. 101, and the apostle Philip, No. 80 of this catalogue.

ENGRAVINGS ON METAL

ATTRIBUTED TO DÜRER, EITHER SPURIOUS OR DOUBTFUL.

103. The Great Courier.— B 81; H 1098; R Appendix 5.

Modern copy by A. Petrak.

Sewall Coll.

Called "The Great Courier," to distinguish it from "The Little Courier" (No. 9 of this catalogue). Generally supposed to be one of Dürer's earliest plates by those who accept it. Of the original only two impressions are known. If as Bartsch says, the execution is absolutely like that of "The Ravisher" (No. 1 of this catalogue), the copy cannot be exact, and Thausing states, indeed, that there is no good copy.

104. The Virgin at the Gate.— B 45; H 2283; R Appendix 2.

Impression from the worn plate.

Sewall Coll.

"This engraving is a clumsy compilation of fragments taken from various engravings and woodcuts of Dürer's, as has been thoroughly and convincingly proved by Mr. G. W. Reid (Fine Arts Quarterly, 1866, N. S., I, 401). The figure of God the Father at the top is borrowed from the woodcut, 'The Repose in Egypt,' B 90 [No. 171 of this catalogue]; the groups of angels and the clouds from 'The Assumption,' B 94 [No. 175]; the buildings in the background on the right and the doors from 'Christ's Farewell to His Mother,' B 92 [No. 173]; the trunk of the tree and the fence on the left from the same source; and the large plants in the right foreground from the engraving called 'The Promenade' [No. 18]." (Thausing, II, p. 78, note.) The figure of the Virgin herself, according to the same author, is taken from the

titlepage of "The Apocalypse" (No. 129). The forger, again according to Thausing, was Egidius Sadeler, while Passavant thinks it was Marcantonio.

105. **The Trinity.** — B 27 ; H. 1651 ; R Appendix 1.
Impression from the worn plate. *Sewall Coll.*

Bad reduced and reversed copy, probably by an Italian, of the woodcut B 122 (No. 228 of this catalogue).

106. **St. Jerome in Penance.** — B 62 ; H 782 ; R Appendix 3.

Modern copy by A. Petrak. *Sewall Coll.*

The original is a niello, from which only five impressions are known. Bartsch, Heller, and Passavant accept it, Hausmann doubts it, Retberg and Thausing think it is from a design by Dürer.

107. **The Judgment of Paris.** — B 65 ; H 793 ; R Appendix 4.

Modern copy by A. Petrak. *Sewall Coll.*

The original is a niello, from which only one impression is known. Accepted by Bartsch, Heller, Passavant, and Hausmann. Rejected by Retberg and Thausing. The subject is also in doubt. See Passavant, III, p. 153.

108. **Joachim Patenier.** — B 108 ; H 2512 ; R Appendix 6.

Facsimile in heliogravure. *Sewall Coll.*

This portrait is of especial interest as it represents Joachim Patenier, or de Patenier or Patinir (died 1524), "the good landscape painter," as Dürer calls him, with whom he became quite intimate, and whose wedding he attended during his sojourn in the Netherlands. He drew his likeness several times, and although the original from which this engraving was done does not now seem to be in existence, it is generally accepted as a fact that it is based upon a drawing by Dürer. Thausing attributes the plate to Egidius Sadeler, Passavant to Cornelius Cort. Patenier is called the father of landscape art in the Netherlands, and according to Thausing (II, p. 202), the term "landscape painter" as applied to him by Dürer, here appears for the first time in literature.

109. **The Great Crucifixion in Outline.** — P 109 ; H 2250 ; R 253.

Facsimile in heliogravure. *Sewall Coll.*

Accepted by Retberg and Passavant; rejected by Heller and Thausing (II, p. 266); unknown to Bartsch. Ephrussi (p. 318 *et seq.*) argues in favor of the genuineness of the engraving, because there are in existence quite a number of sketches and studies by Dürer upon which it is based. Jaro Springer (Jahrbuch, VIII, p. 59), on the contrary, finds in this same fact conclusive evidence against it, because Dürer habitually made detail studies for those of his engravings only, the subjects of which interested him theoretically,—the horse, for instance, in "The Knight, Death, and the Devil," the human body in "Adam and Eve." Wessely (Repert. VI, p. 57) quotes an entry in Paul Behaim's ms. catalogue of 1618, in which the print is already spoken of not as by, but after Dürer.

WOODCUTS

EXECUTED FROM DESIGNS SPECIALLY PREPARED FOR
THE PURPOSE BY DÜRER.

110. The Men's Bath.— B 128; H 1897; R 18.— Monogram.

Fine impression. Watermark, the large imperial globe, Hausmann No. 24. *Gray Coll.*

Heller, 1486-1505; Retberg, about 1496; Thausing, 1496, on the strength of a drawing by Dürer, "The Women's Bath," which is dated 1496.

111. The Holy Family with the Rabbits.— B 102; H 1815; R 26.— Monogram.

Fair impression, mended through the middle. Watermark similar to Hausmann No. 49. *Sewall Coll.*

"The most remarkable of Dürer's early engravings on wood," according to Thausing (I, p. 264), "grand in the antique character of its conception, and in the simple modelling of the figures. The full-formed bodies, the delicate oval face of the Virgin, reminding us of Schongauer, the charming Infant Christ, standing with one little foot upon the other, and the two cherubs floating above with the crown, which display a truly Italian, not to say Florentine, grace, all seem to reflect in this one composition the most varied impressions of his travels." Heller, 1486-1505; Retberg, about 1497. See also remarks under No. 123.

112. Samson Killing the Lion.— B 2; H 1102; R 23.— Monogram.

Late impression? Watermark not given by Hausmann.
Sewall Coll.

Thausing (I, p. 265, note) suggests that possibly Dürer intended here to represent, not Samson, but Hercules killing the Nemean lion. Heller, 1486-1505; Retberg, about 1497.

113. **Hercules.**— B 127; H 1893; R 24.— Monogram.

Very good impression. Watermark, crowned serpent, Hausmann No. 47.
Sewall Coll.

Dürer's woodcuts do not offer as many riddles as his engravings on metal, but this one fairly rivals the latter, in its enigmatical character, and no explanation of its subject has as yet been offered. As to the title, there can be no doubt, since it is given upon the print itself. Note the affinity with the "Hercules" among the copperplates, No. 24 of this catalogue. Heller, 1486-1505; Retberg, about 1497.

114. **The Knight and the Footsoldier.**— B 131; H 1895; R 25.— Monogram.

Good later impression with some few breaks in the lines. Watermark, similar to Hausmann No. 49. *Sewall Coll.*

It has been suggested that this might be intended to form part of the previous cut, the knight and his follower going to the rescue of their brethren set upon by Hercules. But, as Thausing points out, the design does not match along the respective margins, and so the one cannot be a continuation of the other.* Heller, 1486-1505; Retberg, about 1497.

115. **The Martyrdom of St. Catherine.**— B 120; H 1883; R 22.— Monogram.

Late impression, showing many worm holes and breaks.
Sewall Coll.

* Of the cuts No. 110, 112, 113, 114, and 116 there exist rare impressions without the monogram. In his first edition, Thausing assumed that these were early proofs and that the monogram had been inserted later. In his second German edition he declares them to be independent versions, and certainly proves this (I, p. 271) in the case of one of them, the "Hercules." He also states that in these proofs without monogram the "Hercules" and "The Knight and the Footsoldier" fit together. In pursuance of his Wolgemut theory, he furthermore claims that the unsigned versions are earlier and were made for Wolgemut or in his shop, while the signed cuts are later repetitions, made by or for Dürer after he had established a shop of his own. In this second edition he also accepts as a genuine Dürer an until lately undescribed cut after "The Women's Bath" (see No. 110), but forgets to state that Ephrussi, whom, in his preface, he accuses of plagiarism, had come to the same conclusion before him (see Ephrussi, "Albert Dürer et ses dessins," p. 40).

"On the other hand," says Thausing (I, p. 264), contrasting this cut with "The Holy Family with the Rabbits" (see No. 111), "the great 'Martyrdom of St. Catherine,' besides its fantastic and confused arrangement, shows all the crude figure-drawing of the Apocalypse." — Heller, 1486-1505; Retberg, about 1497.

116. The Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand Saints. — B 117; H 1881; R 117. — Monogram.

Somewhat defective impression, but before the worm holes. *Sewall Coll.*

Heller, 1486-1505. Retberg attributes this cut to about 1507, evidently because Dürer painted the same subject, but differently treated, for Frederic the Wise, in the year 1508, — a most uncritical proceeding, which does not give a high idea of R.'s judgment.

THE GREAT PASSION.

117. Titlepage. — B 4; H 1110; R 174.

(a.) Late impression, after the block had been damaged by worms, etc. Text cut off.

Sewall Coll.

(b.) Modern copy, with the lettering. *J. D. Lange.*

Neither monogram nor date, but done probably about 1510.

118. The Last Supper. — B 5; H 1113; R 175. — Monogram; dated 1510.

Fair impression, with Latin text on the back.

Sewall Coll.

119. The Agony in the Garden. — B 6; H 1118; R 176. — Monogram.

Modern copy.

J. D. Lange.

120. Christ Taken by the Jews. — B 7; H 1120; R 177. — Monogram; dated 1510.

Late impression without text, lower right-hand corner mended. Watermark, a shield with letters over it, not described by Hausmann.

Sewall Coll.

To the technically-minded, the evidence of a large square plug inserted in the lower part of the cut, will be of interest.

121. The Flagellation.— B 8 ; H 1122 ; R 178. — Monogram.

Good impression with Latin text on the back.

Sewall Coll.

The drawing of this design is very archaic.

122. Christ Presented to the People.— B 9 ; H 1124 ; R 179. — Monogram.

Modern copy.

J. D. Lange.

123. Christ Carrying the Cross.— B 10 ; H 1127 ; R 180. — Monogram.

Fair impression, with Latin text on the back.

Sewall Coll.

The monogram, with an A very much contracted towards the top, is the oldest looking of all those that occur on Dürer's woodcuts, with the exception, perhaps, of that on "The Bath" (No. 110), and might almost lead one to believe that this must be his earliest work of the kind. It certainly is very early. See the remarks about the character of the design, under No. 128.

124. The Crucifixion.— B 11 ; H 1129 ; R 181. — Monogram.

Good impression, with Latin text on the back. Mounted.

Sewall Coll.

Judging from the monogram, this design is one of the later ones in the series.

125. The Lament over the Body of Christ.— B 13 ; H 1134 ; R 182. — Monogram.

Modern copy.

J. D. Lange.

126. The Entombment.— B 12 ; H 1137 ; R 183. — Monogram.

Modern copy.

J. D. Lange.

127. The Descent into Limbo.— B 14 ; H 1131 ; R 184. — Monogram ; dated 1510.

Late impression without text, mended and mounted.

Sewall Coll.

Prof. Colvin (Portfolio, 1887) tries to show that the demons in this design were inspired by Mantegna.

128. **The Resurrection.** — B 15; H 1140; R 185.
— Monogram; dated 1510.
Modern copy. *J. D. Lange.*

The designs for "The Great Passion" are attributed by Heller to 1507-11; by Retberg to 1511, because four of the designs are dated 1510, and Dürer did not publish the completed series before 1511. Thausing points out that the character of most of the undated designs shows them to be much earlier than 1510, and he therefore assigns them broadly to about 1500, "soon after the Apocalypse." The whole series has here been placed before "The Apocalypse," because some of the designs seem to bear evidence that they are at least as early, if not earlier. If, with Thausing, we date "The Holy Family with the Three Rabbits" (No. 111) before "The Apocalypse," it will be necessary to assign a similar position to "Christ Bearing the Cross" (No. 123) of "The Great Passion." The character of the monogram has already been alluded to, and the similarity in feeling of the design with "The Holy Family with the Three Hares" is indicated by Thausing, when he says (I, p. 325): "The Bearing of the Cross is perhaps the most remarkable composition of the whole series. In it Dürer was the first to adopt from Schongauer's large engraving the motive of Christ sinking on his knees." (See his remarks about "The Holy Family with the Three Rabbits," No. 111.) It is quite true, indeed, that this is one of the finest designs, not only of "The Great Passion," but of all of Dürer's works put forth in the shape of prints, and in the nobility of the faces, especially of Christ and of some of the women, it goes beyond almost anything that he did later. It shares this peculiarity of face-type not only with "The Holy Family with the Three Hares," but also with several of his earlier engravings on metal, "The Holy Family with the Dragonfly" (No. 2), for instance. The influence of Schongauer seems to be upon the young artist here, but the delicacy and over-elegance of the former become more virile under the hands of the latter. In later years Dürer abandons Schongauer's oval type of face, and adopts a much rounder and less graceful form. Compare, for instance, the faces of the two women standing to the left in the "Bearing the Cross," with the female heads of Schongauer on the one hand, and on the other with the heads of the Virgins by Dürer in Nos. 87, 95, etc. Concerning the several editions of "The Great Passion," see Heller, Retberg, and Hausmann. The Latin poems which are printed on the backs of the cuts in the edition of 1511 were written by a friend of Dürer's, the Benedictine monk Chelidonius, who called himself *Musophilos*. Dürer frequently mentions the series in his *Netherlands Diary*, and records sales at the rate of four sets for one florin, or single sets at half a florin. There is a complete set in Mr. Sewall's collection, but, being bound, it could not be shown in detail. The modern copies used to piece out Mr. Sewall's second, incomplete set, kindly lent by Mr. J. D. Lange, of New York, are from the "Dürer Album," edited by W. von Kaulbach and A. Kreling.

THE APOCALYPSE.

129. Titlepage.—B 60; H 1652; R 27.

Fine impression with Latin text on the back. Watermark, Hausmann, No. 27. *Gray Coll.*

The first edition of "The Apocalypse" was published in 1498, but this title appeared for the first time with the edition of 1511.

130. The Martyrdom of St. John the Evangelist.
—B 61; H 1656; R 28.—Monogram.

Very fine impression, without breaks in the lines, and without text on the back. Watermark, Hausmann No. 24. *Gray Coll.*

This design, which has no direct connection with the Apocalypse, serves as a sort of introduction to the series. Thausing (2d Germ. ed., I, p. 252): "The isolated but distinct resemblance to the Renaissance architecture of Venice in the building seen near to and behind the brocade pattern on the back of the throne, and which is probably intended to represent the palace of the heathen emperor [Domitian], is worthy of remark."

131. The Calling of St. John.—B 62; H 1658; R 29.—Monogram.

Fair impression, with Latin text on the back. Watermark, Hausmann No. 27. *Gray Coll.*

Rev. I, 10 *et seq.*

132. St. John is directed towards Heaven.—B 63; H 1660; R 30.—Monogram.

Fair impression with Latin text on the back. *Sewall Coll.*

Rev. IV and V.

133. The Four Riders of the Apocalypse.—B 64; H 1664; R 31.—Monogram.

Good impression, with Latin text of the second edition on the back. *Sewall Coll.*

Rev. VI, 1-8. Note the resemblance of the face of Death on the Pale Horse to that of the demoniacal man in "The Ravisher" (No. 1 of this catalogue).

134. The Breaking of the Fifth and Sixth Seals.
—B 65; H 1666; R 32.—Monogram.

Good impression with Latin text on the back. *Gray Coll.*
Rev. VI, 9-17.

135. The Four Angels who hold the Winds, and the Sealing of the 144,000 Saints. — B 66; H 1668; R 33. — Monogram.

Good impression on browned paper, with Latin text on the back. Torn and mounted. *Sewall Coll.*

Rev. VII, 1-4.

136. The Distribution of the Trumpets to the Seven Angels, and the Plagues caused by the first five of them. — B 68; H 1671; R 35. — Monogram.

Fair impression with Latin text on the back. *Gray Coll.*

Rev. VIII; and IX, 1-12. The cry of the eagle is "Woe, woe, woe."

137. The Effects of the Sixth Trumpet: The Unloosing of the Angels of the Euphrates. — B 69; H 1673; R 36. — Monogram.

Fine impression, with Latin text on the back. Watermark, Hausmann No. 28. *Gray Coll.*

Rev. XI, 13 *et seq.*

138. St. John Commanded to Swallow the Book. — B 70; H 1675; R 37. — Monogram.

Fine impression, with Latin text on the back, but damaged in the upper part of the large tree. Watermark, Hausmann No. 27. *Gray Coll.*

Rev. X, 1-10.

139. The Woman Clothed with the Sun, and the Seven-Headed Dragon. — B 71; H 1678; R 38. — Monogram.

Fine impression, with Latin text on the back. Watermark, Hausmann No. 28? *Gray Coll.*

Rev. XII, 1-6, 14.

140. The Combat of the Archangel Michael

with Satan and his Dragons. — B 72; H 1681; R 39.
— Monogram.

Fine impression, with Latin text on the back.

Gray Coll.

Rev. XII, 7 *et seq.* Thausing conjectures, from the archaic character of the drawing in this design, that it may be the earliest of the series.

141. The Worship of the Two Monsters, and the Son of Man. — B 74; H 1683; R 40. — Monogram.

Fine impression, with Latin text on the back. Watermark, Hausmann No. 28.

Gray Coll.

Rev. XIII; XIV, 14 *et seq.*

142. The Triumph of the Elect. — B 67; H 1685; R 34. — Monogram.

Good impression on browned paper, with Latin text on the back.

Sewall Coll.

Rev. XIV, 1, 3; VII, 9 *et seq.*; XIX, 10.

143. The Destruction of the Babylonish Prostitute. — B 73; H 1687; R 41. — Monogram.

Fine impression, with Latin text on the back.

Gray Coll.

Rev. XVII, 4; XVIII, 2, 6, 16, 21; XIX, 11 *et seq.*

144. The Imprisonment of the Dragon, and the New Jerusalem. — B 75; H 1689; R 42. — Monogram.

Fine impression on browned paper, slightly torn, and mounted.

Sewall Coll.

Rev. XX, 1, 2; XXI, 2.

The titles here given are those indicated by Thausing (in the text of the English edition), and he has also been followed in the order of the subjects and the references to the Bible. For the same author's analysis, the student is referred to his work on Dürer (II, pp. 245-259). One passage, however, must be cited here, to show how intimately these compositions were connected with the life of the time, and that they were not merely fantastic conceptions, inspired by a mystical turn in Dürer's mind, or by a hankering after the enigmatical or the terrible, which the Apocalypse is well fitted to satisfy. "When Dürer drew the woman upon the seven-headed beast," says Thausing, speaking of the cut No. 143, ". . . he was not thinking, like the writer of the Revela-

tion, of the old city upon the seven hills, but of the papal Rome of his own days. And, this being the case, it is easy to understand that the Apocalyptic text would have all the ring of a revolutionary hymn, and that Dürer's illustrations of it would at that time flash like lightning in a storm upon the minds of men." We have, therefore, in these designs not only most interesting documents in the history of art in general and of wood engraving in particular, but we have in them also a most important party pamphlet which helped to inaugurate the period of the Reformation. The curious fact that, while Dürer was at work upon these somber compositions, which he destined to be multiplied by the woodcut, he was diligently engaged also in studies of the nude, and engraved on copper such subjects as the "Four Naked Women" (No. 21) and "The Dream" (No. 22), has already been pointed out (Introduction, p. xi). The claim advanced for Dürer by Thausing (I, p. 252) that, "in opposition to the conventional idea," he was the first to represent the destroying angels of the Apocalypse "as aged and gaunt, though beardless men," thus aptly distinguishing them at once "from the childlike and feminine forms usually given to the heavenly messengers of good tidings," is challenged by Thode (Jahrb., III, p. 115), who refers to the illustrations of the Koberger Bible of 1483 as the source of many of Dürer's ideas. Thode's extreme position is, however, modified by Frimmel, who, while he allows that men-angels were known in art before the time of Dürer, yet defends the latter's compositions as thoroughly original. The general influence of Mantegna perceptible in the designs, is pointed out by both Frimmel and Prof. Colvin. The "Apocalypse" was first issued by Dürer, with the text of the Bible in German as well as in Latin, in 1498. A later Latin edition, for which the titlepage, No. 129, was engraved, appeared in 1511. The preface and text of the German edition are taken from the Bible of Koberger, above referred to. Concerning the several editions, see Heller, Retberg, and Hausmann. The "Apocalypse" is quite frequently mentioned among the sales and gifts recorded in Dürer's Netherlands Diary. Price, four sets for one florin.

145. Celtes presenting his Edition of Roswitha to Frederic the Wise. — P 277^a; H 2088.

Modern phototypic reproduction.

At the beginning of the 16. century there appeared in Nuremberg a number of books, — *Revelationes Sanctæ Brigittæ*, 1500 (see No. 266), *Opera Roswithæ*, 1501, edited by Celtes, *Quatuor Libri Amorum*, 1502, by Celtes, and *Ligurini de Gestis Friderici etc.*, 1507, edited by Celtes, — the woodcuts in which have been attributed, at least in part, to Dürer, by some, while others reject them. Thausing will allow only a few of the cuts in the last-named two works to be by Dürer. Wustmann (*Zeitsch. f. b. K.*, XXII, pp. 192–196) endeavors to show that the cut here exhibited is from a design by Dürer, and that he has represented himself in it, in the young man with flowing locks, while the

two other figures in the background are Wolgemut, Dürer's teacher (the old man with the crutch), who also furnished some of the illustrations, and Koberger, the printer of the book and Dürer's godfather (the bearded man in the background). The rudeness of the cut may be explained on the supposition that Dürer himself did not supervise its execution, but merely furnished the design, and left it to the publisher to have it engraved. As none of the cuts of this group admitted by Thausing and others were attainable for the present exhibition, it was thought desirable to show at least this reproduction, as a reminder of Dürer's early connection with the literary and scientific men of his time, such as Hartmann Schedel, Celtes, Stabius, Pirkheimer, etc., which was to last through his life. (In his second edition Thausing again emphatically rejects this cut, I, p. 278, note 4.)

146. St. Christopher with the Birds in the Air. — B 104 ; H 1823 ; R 56. — Monogram on tablet.

Old impression, from the block in good condition, but overcharged with ink.

Sewall Coll.

Thausing (I, pp. 297-8) points out, that after the completion of the two large woodcut series, "The Apocalypse" and "The Great Passion," Dürer published a number of smaller cuts, mostly of saints, singly or in groups, of inferior quality and intended merely to meet the requirements of the market at church festivals and pilgrimages. The date of these cuts, he says, cannot be placed much before 1504, and they obviously belong to a time when Dürer's interest in the woodcut had somewhat abated and he gave more attention to engraving on metal and to painting. He also calls attention to a passage in the Netherlands Diary, in which Dürer speaks of some of his works as "bad woodcuts," and conjectures that the cuts now under consideration are the ones thus alluded to. Among these "bad woodcuts" he includes the "St. Christopher with the Birds." Heller, 1486-1505; Retberg, about 1504.

147. St. Francis receiving the Stigmata. — B 110 ; H 1829 ; R 57. — Monogram on tablet.

Fine impression ; the text in lower margin cut off.

Gray Coll.

Presumably one of the "bad woodcuts." (See No. 146.) The text originally printed under the cut, "The wounds which for the sake of Christ, o Franciscus, thou borest, may they be, I pray, the medicine of our ills," shows that it was an ordinary devotional image. Retberg, about 1504; Heller, 1512-17.

148. St. Onuphrius and St. John the Baptist. — B 112 ; H 1869 ; R 58. — Monogram on a tablet.

Good impression.

Sewall Coll.

Presumably one of the "bad woodcuts" (see No. 146). Generally called, but erroneously, as Thausing has shown, "St. John the Baptist and St. Jerome." Retberg, about 1504; Heller, 1512-17.

149. St. Paul and St. Anthony. — B 107; H 1867; R 59. — Monogram.

Fine, vigorous impression. A narrow strip along the right-hand margin has been cut off, but very skilfully put on again. *Sewall Coll.*

Called also "The Hermits," and "Elijah fed by the Raven," but erroneously. The St. Paul represented is, of course, the hermit, not the apostle. Presumably one of the "bad woodcuts" (see No. 146).

150. St. George Killing the Dragon. — B 111; H 1832; R 86. — Monogram.

Late, but good impression; torn but skilfully mended.

Sewall Coll.

There is something queer about this cut, which gives it a distinctive character. See Thausing's remarks, I, p. 297, which, however, do not explain the anomaly. Presumably one of the "bad woodcuts" (see No. 146). Retberg, about 1505; Heller, 1507-11.

151. St. Mary of Egypt borne to Heaven. — B 121; H 1885; R 60. — Monogram on a tablet.

Good impression; paper somewhat spotted. *Sewall Coll.*

Called also "The Ascension of the Magdalen." Although this seems to belong to the time of the "bad woodcuts" (see No. 146), it is, nevertheless, one of the most attractive of Dürer's works of the kind. (See Thausing, I, pp. 307-8.) Retberg, about 1504; Heller, 1512-17.

152. The Holy Family with Five Angels. — B 99; H 1991; R 89. — Monogram on a tablet.

Muddy impression, mended.

Sewall Coll.

Presumably one of the "bad woodcuts" (see No. 146). Retberg, before 1506; doubted by Heller.

153. The Holy Family in a Vaulted Room. — B 100; H 1806; R 61. — Monogram on a piece of paper.

Fine impression, on bull's head paper, apparently Hausmann No. 1, but nevertheless with the white spot to the right of the small figure of Adam in the left spandrel.

Sewall Coll.

Presumably one of the "bad woodcuts" (see No. 146). Heller, 1486-1505; Retberg, about 1504.

154. Calvary.—B 59; H 1640; R 62.—Monogram on a tablet.

Early impression, judging by the nail in the hand of the good thief. *Sewall Coll.*

Not mentioned by Thausing. See a composition sketch in Ephrussi, p. 101. Heller, 1486-1505; Retberg, about 1504.

155. St. Stephen, St. Gregory, and St. Lawrence.—B 108; H 1876; R 123.—Monogram on a tablet.

Fine impression. *Sewall Coll.*

Presumably one of the "bad woodcuts" (see No. 146). Retberg, about 1508; Heller, 1512-17.

156. St. Nicolas, St. Udalric, and St. Erasmus.—B 118; H 1874; R 122.—Monogram on a tablet.

Fine old impression; the corners mended. Watermark, bull's head, Hausmann No. 1. *Sewall Coll.*

Generally known as "The Three Standing Bishops." Presumably one of the "bad woodcuts" (see No. 146). Retberg, about 1508; Heller, 1512-17.

THE LIFE OF THE VIRGIN.

157. Titlepage.—B 76; H 1692; R 63.—Without either monogram or date.

Fine impression with the text. *Sewall Coll.*

Sallett insists that the short strokes seen to the right and left of the Virgin indicate "the curled hair and the unshaven chin" of the "man in the moon." But they seem rather to stand for a fur robe. The "man in the moon" appeared for the last time under the feet of the Virgin of 1508 (No. 59 of this catalogue).

158. The Highpriest Rejecting Joachim's Offering.—B 77; H 1694; R 64.—Monogram on a tablet.

Good later impression, showing breaks in the border line, without text on the back. Watermark, Hausmann No. 42. *Sewall Coll.*

159. The Angel Appearing to Joachim.—B 78; H 1698; R 65.—Monogram on a tablet.

Good impression, without text on the back. *Sewall Coll.*

160. Joachim and Anna embracing under the Golden Gate.—B 79; H 1703; R 66.—Monogram on a tablet; dated 1504.

Fair impression, without text on the back. Watermark indistinct, but certainly not given by Hausmann.

Sewall Coll.

161. The Birth of the Virgin.—B 80; H 1709; R 67.—Monogram on a tablet.

Good (late?) impression, without text on the back.

Sewall Coll.

162. The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple.—B 81; H 1715; R 68.—Monogram on a tablet.

Good (late?) impression, without text on the back; damaged in upper left-hand corner.

Sewall Coll.

163. The Marriage of the Virgin and Joseph.—B 82; H 1720; R 69.—Monogram on a tablet.

Good (late?) impression, without text on the back.

Sewall Coll.

164. The Annunciation.—B 83; H 1725; R 70.—Monogram on a tablet.

Fair impression, without text on the back. *Sewall Coll.*

165. The Meeting of Mary and Elisabeth.—B 84; H 1730; R 71.—Monogram on a tablet.

Good (late?) impression, without text on the back. Watermark, a small coat-of-arms not figured by Hausmann.

Sewall Coll.

166. The Nativity.—B 85; H 1738; R 72.—Monogram.

Fair (late?) impression, without text on the back. Watermark, Hausmann No. 45?

Sewall Coll.

167. The Circumcision. — B 86; H 1745; R 73. — Monogram on a tablet.

Good (late?) impression, without text on the back. Small watermark not given by Hausmann. *Sewall Coll.*

168. The Adoration by the Magi. — B 87; H 1754; R 74. — Monogram.

Good (late?) impression, without text on the back. Same watermark as No. 167. *Sewall Coll.*

169. The Presentation in the Temple. — B 88; H 1759; R 75. — Monogram on a tablet.

Heavy, black impression, without text on the back. Watermark, the crown, Hausmann No. 21. *Sewall Coll.*

170. The Flight into Egypt. — B 89; H 1764; R 76. — Monogram on a tablet.

Mediocre (late?) impression, without text on the back. Watermark, similar to Hausmann No. 46, but more regular. *Sewall Coll.*

Reminiscences of Schongauer's engraving of the same subject are very clearly apparent in this design.

171. The Repose in Egypt. — B 90; H 1770; R 77. — Monogram on a tablet.

Fair (late?) impression, without text on the back. Watermark, similar to Hausmann No. 89. *Sewall Coll.*

172. Christ Among the Doctors. — B 91; H 1775; R 78. — Monogram on a tablet.

Very mediocre (late?) impression, without text on the back. *Sewall Coll.*

173. Christ Taking Leave of his Mother. — B 92; H 1781; R 79. — Monogram on a tablet.

Medium (late?) impression, without text on the back. Watermark, an escutcheon not given by Hausmann.

Sewall Coll.

174. The Death of the Virgin. — B 93; H 1787; R 80. — Monogram; dated 1510.

Good, but very black impression, without text on the back. Watermark, bull's head, Hausmann No. 2.

Sewall Coll.

175. The Assumption and Crowning of the Virgin.—B 94; H 1793; R 81.—Monogram; dated 1510.

Good (late?) impression, without text on the back. Watermark, crown, Hausmann No. 4.

Sewall Coll.

176. The Adoration of the Virgin.—B 95; H 1797; R 82.—Monogram.

Fine impression, without text on the back. Watermark, crown, Hausmann No. 4.

Sewall Coll.

The "Life of the Virgin," or "of our Lady," as the artist himself calls it, is to-day the most admired of all the woodcut works of Dürer, and enjoyed a similar popularity already in his own time. In his Diary it is mentioned oftenest, next to the "Small Passion on Wood," but he nevertheless sold it at the same price as the "Apocalypse" and "The Great Passion," at the rate, namely, of four sets for one florin. The designs, with the exception of the few that are dated (No. 160, 1504; 175 and 176, 1510), and perhaps of the last and of the title-page, must have been, not only drawn, but cut on wood and issued separately, in the years 1504 and 1505, although the complete edition, with Latin poems by Chelidonius, did not appear until 1511. The proof of the statement just made is found in the fact that several of the copies by Marcantonio are dated 1506. It is evident, therefore, that some of the impressions still extant without text on the back are quite early, although the fact that an impression has no text is not conclusive proof of earliness, as the blocks were again printed from after the edition of 1511 had been issued. (See Retberg.) The execution of the cuts shows not only a great improvement as compared with that of the early sheets of "The Great Passion," but also with that of the "bad woodcuts" immediately preceding, "a proof," as Thausing remarks (I, p. 328), "that Dürer was again turning increased attention to technical execution, which for some years he had neglected."

THE KNOTS.

177. The First Knot.—B 142; H 1926; R 108.

Impression with the monogram. Watermark, a figure like an A in a circle.

Sewall Coll.

178. **The Third Knot.** — B 141; H 1929; R 110.

Impression with the monogram. Watermark, a cross in a rose within a circle. *Sewall Coll.*

179. **The Fifth Knot.** — B 143; H 1931; R 112.

(a.) Impression without the monogram. *Sewall Coll.*

(b.) With the monogram, from the block damaged by worms. Watermark, a double headed eagle. *Sewall Coll.*

180. **The Sixth Knot.** — B 145; H 1932; R 113.

Impression without the monogram. Watermark, apparently the cardinal's hat. *Sewall Coll.*

The numbering of these "knots," of which there are six in all, is here given according to Heller and Retberg, who have changed the order of Bartsch for some reason that is not apparent. Called also "Patterns for Embroidery," and "Labyrinths," but by Dürer himself "The Knots." These cuts have given rise to considerable speculation concerning a possible connection of Dürer with Leonardo da Vinci. "The very same patterns," says Thausing (I, p. 362), "are to be found in some old Italian copper engravings, but on a white ground, and bearing in the centre the curious inscription 'ACADEMIA LEONARDI VINCI.'" Vasari knew of these strange pieces, which are the only existing memorials of that mysterious learned society. [This is not strictly true, as at least one other engraving, the "Bust of a Young Woman," Publ. of the Intern. Chalc. Soc. for 1887, No. 7, bears a similar inscription.] That they must have been designed by one of the artists immediately about Leonardo at Milan is shown by their resemblance to the decorations of the vaulted ceiling of the sacristy of Santa Maria delle Grazie." Heller describes only one of these Italian engravings and calls it a copy of the first knot, presumably of the 17. century. Zahn (p. 50) holds it to be more likely that Dürer copied "from the small engravings marked 'Academia Leonardi da Vinci'", than the reverse. The fact that these "knots" occur with and without Dürer's monogram, and that this has evidently been inserted later, might appear to argue, at first sight, that it is a fraudulent addition and that Dürer had nothing at all to do with them. But this argument is upset by Dürer himself. He thought these cuts important enough to take them to the Netherlands with him, and mentions them as follows in his Diary: "I gave to master Dietrich, the glazier, an Apocalypse and the 6 knots." Most probably the "glazier" was a glass painter or stainer, and these ornaments interested him professionally. See also a reference to this "knotty" question in Ephrussi, p. 126, where an article by the Marquis d'Adda, in the Gazette des Beaux-Arts, XVII, p. 434, is cited. The year 1507, that is to say the year of Dürer's return from his second journey to Venice, is generally suggested as the probable date of these cuts, in consequence of the supposed Leonardesque influences apparent in them.

THE SMALL PASSION ON WOOD.

B 16-52; H 1142 etc.; R 129-165.

181. Titlepage. — Monogram.

- (a.) Impression from the original block, with Latin text on back. Watermark, crown, Hausmann No. 21. *Sewall Coll.*
- (b.) Copy, without text on back. *Gray Coll.*
- (c.) Copy, without text on back. *Sewall Coll.*

The lettering on the original, as here shown, is as follows: — Above the cut: *Passio Christi ab Alberto Durer Nu | renbergensi effigiata cū varii generis carminibus Fratris Benedicti Chelidonii | Musophilii* (The Passion of Christ figured by Albert Dürer of Nuremberg, with poems of various kinds by Brother Benedict Chelidonium Musophilus). Below the cut four lines of verse by Chelidonium, a pathetic appeal to sinners, which may be translated: "O to me, the just one, the cause of so much pain, O to me the bloody cause of the cross and death, — O man, enough would it have been for me to suffer these once for you! O cease to crucify me by new sins!" Below these again there ought to be: *Cum privilegio*, but this has evidently been cut off. On the copy *b*, there is only the title above the cut as follows: *Figvrae pas- | sionis domini | nostri Iesu Christi*. The impression *c* is from the same block as *b*, and the title, above the cut, is also the same as to words, but differently set up: *Figurae | passionis domini | nostri Iesu Christi*. These various titles are here carefully noted, as the question of editions of "The Small Passion" seems to be still somewhat in doubt, and the lettering of the titles is given in all sorts of ways, and sometimes erroneously, as for instance by Bartsch, who makes of the *Frater Benedictus Chelidonium Musophilus*, three persons, one of whom is St. Benedict: "cum varii generis carminibus Fratrum S. Benedicti, Chelidonii, Mosophilii."

182. Adam and Eve. — Monogram.

183. The Expulsion from Paradise. — Monogram and date, 1510, on a tablet.

184. The Annunciation. — Monogram.

185. The Nativity. — Monogram; the D reversed.

186. Christ Taking Leave of his Mother. — Monogram on a tablet.

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187. **The Entry into Jerusalem.** — Monogram; the D reversed.
188. **Christ Clearing the Temple.** — Monogram.
189. **The Last Supper.** — Monogram.
190. **The Washing of the Feet.** — Monogram on a tablet.
191. **The Agony in the Garden.** — Monogram on a tablet.
192. **Christ Taken by the Jews.** — Monogram.
193. **Christ before the Highpriest.** — Monogram.
194. **Christ before Caiphas.** — Monogram.
195. **The Mocking of Christ.** — Monogram.
196. **Christ before Pilate.** — Monogram.
197. **Christ before Herod.** — Monogram and date, 1509, on a tablet.
198. **The Flagellation.** — Monogram.
199. **Christ Crowned with Thorns.** — Monogram.
200. **Ecce Homo.** — Monogram.
201. **Christ Condemned.** — Monogram.
202. **Christ Bearing the Cross.** — Monogram and date, 1509, on a tablet.
203. **The Sudarium.** — Monogram; dated 1510.
204. **Christ Nailed to the Cross.** — Monogram.

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205. Christ Crucified. — Monogram.
206. Christ in Limbo. — Monogram.
207. The Deposition from the Cross. — Monogram on a tablet.
208. Christ Mourned. — Monogram.
209. The Entombment. — Monogram on a piece of paper.
210. The Resurrection. — Monogram on a piece of paper.
211. Christ Appearing to his Mother. — Monogram; D reversed.
212. Christ appearing to Mary Magdalen in the Garden. — Monogram on a piece of paper.
213. The Supper at Emmaus. — Monogram on a piece of paper.
214. Christ in the Midst of the Disciples. — Monogram.
215. The Ascension. — Monogram on a tablet.
216. The Descent of the Holy Ghost. — Monogram.
217. The Last Judgment. — Monogram on a tablet.

Dürer published this set of the Passion in 1511, which was the great publishing year with him, for he then issued also "The Great Passion," "The Life of the Virgin," and the second Latin edition of "The Apocalypse." Only four of the cuts are dated: No. 183, 1510; No. 197, 1509; No. 202, 1509, and No. 203, 1510. The accompanying Latin poems are, as has already been stated, by Chelidonius. Concerning the many editions and copies, see Heller, Retberg, and Hausmann. The fine set here shown may possibly be of the first edition

mentioned by Hausmann. Only one of the prints, No. 213, "The Supper at Emmaus," shows a watermark, apparently Hausmann's No. 24^a, but it may be also either No. 24 or No. 5. All without text on the back, except the title. Dürer, according to his Diary, gave away and sold more copies of this series in the Netherlands than of any other of his works. Price, four sets for one florin.

218. Death and the Soldier.—B 132; H 1901; R 171.—Monogram; dated 1510.

Late impression without Dürer's poem. *Sewall Coll.*

Dürer, being an ambitious man, aspired to be, not only an artist, but also a poet. So, as he himself informs us, he began to make rhymes in 1509. His learned friends Pirkheimer and Spengler, however, ridiculed him for his pains, but, nothing daunted, he went on rhyming for a while, and even published three of his pieces, each with a design by himself. The cut here shown was accompanied by a poem on death. The others were "Christ Crucified," B 55, also dated 1510, with rhymes relating to the seven hours of prayer, and "The Schoolmaster," B 133, likewise of 1510, with a poem on the philosophy of life. Dürer's verses are hardly more than doggerel, but that is true of about all the so-called German poetry of his time. As to the matter contained in them, their dogmatic, homely, but true-hearted philistinism is in strange contrast with the love sonnets of Raphael and the passionate abstruseness of Michelangelo's poetry. (See Thausing, II, pp. 82-86.)

219. The Penitent.—B 119; H 1866; R 168.—Monogram; dated 1510.

Fine impression. *Sewall Coll.*

220. The Beheading of St. John the Baptist.—B 125; H 1851; R 172.—Monogram; dated 1510.

Good impression, before the block was damaged by worms. *Sewall Coll.*

221. The Head of St. John delivered to Herodias.—B 126; H 1860; R 173.—Monogram; dated 1511.

Good impression; lower corners mended. *Sewall Coll.*

"Both gracefully treated cabinet pieces, but more like fashion plates than pictures of sacred subjects." Thausing, II, p. 73.

222. The Adoration of the Magi.—B 3; H 1103; R 187.—Monogram; dated 1511.

Late impression, with the crack through the beam extending through the border line. Watermark, double eagle with crown, apparently Hausmann No. 51.

Sewall Coll.

223. The Mass of St. Gregory. — B 123; H 1833; R 190. — Monogram; dated 1511.

Good impression, rather black. Watermark, Hausmann No. 25. *Sewall Coll.*

224. St. Jerome in His Study. — B 114; H 1840; R 191. — Monogram; dated 1511.

Fine early impression, with two slight black spots.

Gray Coll.

225. The Holy Family with the Jumping Child. — B 96; H 1800; R 189. — Monogram; dated 1511.

Fine old impression.

Sewall Coll.

226. The Holy Family with the Lute. — B 97; H 1802; R 188. — No monogram; dated 1511.

Good impression. Watermark, standing dog, but unlike any of those figured by Hausmann.

Sewall Coll.

Thausing is inclined to doubt these two Holy Families, No. 225 and 226, and thinks that "a weaker and less able hand is evidently responsible for" them (II, p. 74). There certainly is a something about them which does not quite correspond with Dürer's other work, and No. 226 especially has a suspicious look. The angel with the bagpipe, for instance, is very bad. (Concerning this bagpipe, see a curious suggestion, Allihn, pp. 88 and 89.) A similar character of workmanship, in the treatment and openness of the lines, is observable in No. 227. Note also that Nos. 226 and 227 are without monogram.

227. St. Christopher. — B 103; H 1818; R 192. — No monogram; dated 1511.

Fine old impression, a trifle spotted. Watermark, standing dog. *Sewall Coll.*

Compare with No. 260. See remarks under No. 226.

228. The Trinity. — B 122; H 1646; R 193. — Monogram and date, 1511, on a large tablet. The monogram divides the date into two halves.

Later impression, showing the parting of the block down the middle; mended. Watermark, coat-of-arms with a lion rampant. *Sewall Coll.*

So much has been written in praise of this cut (Thausing, II, p. 72), which in a very general way recalls the central group of the "All Saints" picture, also dated 1511, that it is decidedly venturesome to say anything against it. It is true nevertheless, that a monogram similar in arrangement to the one on this cut, is not to be found on any other undoubted work of Dürer, and that the lines have a sharp, scratchy character, especially in the lower part, which is foreign to Dürer's work. It may be said, of course, that the worn impression here shown is not good enough evidence, but worn cuts become heavy, and not sharp and scratchy, and the modern copy in Kaulbach and Kreling's "Dürer Album," presumably done from a good impression, shows the same peculiarity. The character of the head of the dead Christ, and the meaningless winds below, evidently introduced only as stop-gaps, also give rise to doubts. See the engraved, reversed, and reduced copy, No. 105 of this catalogue. Among several other copies mentioned by Heller, there is one by Martin Rota (No. 1648), which, besides Dürer's monogram and the date 1511, has also the date 1566.

229. St. Jerome in the Grotto.—B 113; H 1845; R 197. — Monogram; date in first state 1512.

(a.) Fine impression with date, and with text on the back. *Sewall Coll.*

(b.) Heavy impression with date, but without text on the back. The lines begin to show breaks *Sewall Coll.*

(c.) Late impression without date, and without text on the back. The lines much broken.

Sewall Coll.

Dürer furnished this design for Lazarus Spengler's German translation of Eusebius's "Life of St. Jerome," published in 1514. Unless there should, indeed, exist two blocks of this same design, which is hardly likely, although not impossible (see Thausing, II, p. 215, note), there would seem to have been a great deal of unnecessary writing about this cut, caused by a lack of knowledge of, or insufficient attention to, technical detail. It has been claimed, on the one hand, that the first state is without the date, on the other that the alleged second block differs from the first only by the lack of a certain line. The three impressions here exhibited make it evident that the one with the date is from the block when it was still in good condition; the second, still with the date, already shows breaks in the lines, and in the third, without date, the breaks have increased. The line, the lack of which is depended upon to establish the existence of a repetition, is, indeed, still to be seen, even in the latest of the impressions here shown, but it

might have broken down in the further course of deterioration. This unimportant question could only be decided by a comparison of an impression from the alleged second block with a progressive series like the one in this exhibition.

230. The Pirkheimer Title.—H 1936; R 200; P. 205.—Neither monogram, nor date.

Impression with the Lucian title of 1517. *Sewall Coll.*

This titlepage was used for three works of Dürer's friend Pirkheimer, published respectively in 1513, 1516, and 1517.

THE MAXIMILIAN PUBLICATIONS.

231. The Arch of Honor.—B 138; H 1915; R 217.—Without monogram, but with Dürer's coat-of-arms; dated 1515.

(a.) Modern photo-mechanical reproduction of the whole Arch, reduced in size. *Gray Coll.*

(b; 1-36.) Modern impressions, most of them from the original blocks. *Gray Coll.*

(c; 1-6.) Old impressions from six of the original blocks. *Gray Coll.*

232. Part of the Triumphal Procession.—R 218; B under Hans Burgkmair 81.—Neither monogram, nor date.

(a-x.) Modern impressions from the original blocks. *Gray Coll.*

233. The Patron Saints of Austria.—B 116; H 1880; R 219.—Neither monogram, nor date.

Good impression with the two saints added on the right for the edition of 1517. *Sewall Coll.*

The "Arch of Honor" is of all the publications which the Emperor Maximilian ordained for the perpetuation of his own fame the largest and most ambitious. It consists of 190 blocks (according to the "Jahrbuch," although Thausing says only 92) of various sizes which together measure 3120 by 2900 mm. There is no doubt that Dürer sketched the whole composition, but the ideas were furnished to him by Maximilian's historiographer Stabius, prompted by the emperor himself, and in the execution he had the assistance of a number of younger artists. The date, 1515, inscribed on the bases of both the towers to

the right and left, probably marks the completion of the drawing. Dürer's coat-of-arms appears third among those figured in the lower right-hand corner, the first being that of Stabius, the second belonging to some person whose name and connection with the work have been forgotten. The general conception is that of a triumphal arch with three gateways, — an antique idea in the wild and bizarre garb of the early German, Düreresque Renaissance. Above the middle gate, called the "Porch of Honor and Might," is the genealogical tree of Maximilian, reaching back to Troy, on either side of it the arms of the countries ruled by the Habsburgs. The porch to the left is that of "Praise," the one to the right that of "Nobility," and above them are twenty-four historical representations, commemorating the deeds of the emperor in war, in politics, and in matrimony. To the left of and above the pictures over the left-hand porch are the predecessors of Maximilian as emperors and rulers of Italy, beginning with Julius Cæsar; similarly on the right the princes connected with the Habsburgs by marriage. The two round towers on the flanks are decorated with scenes from the private life of Maximilian, and the whole is interwoven and bound together by ornaments of symbolical meaning. The explanatory text (plates 1-5) and the inscriptions are from the pen of Stabius. The principal assistants in executing the designs upon the blocks from Dürer's sketches are supposed to have been Albert's brother Hans, in later years painter to the king of Poland, and Hans Springinklee. The sketches of heads, etc., reproduced on plate 36, are still to be seen on the back of one of the blocks, and are attributed to Hans Dürer. The cutting was done by Hieronymus Andreä (erroneously called Resch), or in his shop. The triangular figure stamped on most of the blocks, and reproduced on plate 36, is interpreted as his trademark. Maximilian was not a favorite of fortune (*Chmelarz. Jahrb. IV, p. 310*), either in his political career or as regards his literary-artistic undertakings. Of all the works he planned, — Freydal, Theuerdanck, Weisskunig, Triumphal Procession, Arch of Honor, Genealogy and Saints of the House of Austria, — he lived to see only one, the Theuerdanck, finished. An incomplete edition of the Arch, rather in the nature of a proof edition, was printed in 1517; the first complete edition, still wanting, however, the twenty-fourth historical representation (see plate 25), did not appear until about seven or eight years after Maximilian's death (1526 or 27). The first really complete edition appeared in 1559, at which time the date was inserted which appears to the right of "Rudolf der streitpar" (plate 26). The twenty-fourth historical representation, relating to events which happened six years after Maximilian's death, was added at the same time, which accounts for its altogether different character. The impressions here shown are printed from the original blocks still preserved in Vienna, with the exception of twenty, which were lost, and which were therefore replaced by phototypic reproductions from old impressions. On plate 36 are printed also a number of corrected inscriptions, a warning to unauthorized copyists, and the title of the archduke Charles, intended for use in connection with the edition of 1559.

Besides the editions of the Arch as a whole, there are also several

old editions of the historical representations by themselves. Six impressions from one of these editions are shown under *c* 1-6. It will be noticed that one of these, *c* 1, the representation of Maximilian as archduke, with his bride, Mary of Burgundy, does not occur in the complete edition, its place being taken by a similar but different picture (see plate 20). The original block was lost, it seems, at a very early time, and a second block, *c* 1, cut in its stead. Since then, however, the original has been found again.

The "Triumphal Procession of Maximilian" was, on Bartsch's authority, ascribed in its entirety to Hans Burgkmair, who designed the greater part of it (according to the indications of the emperor and his private secretary, Marx Treitzsaurwein), until Thausing showed that some of the blocks were from drawings by Dürer. The whole of the "Procession," in the modern impressions from the original blocks published in Vienna some years ago, was exhibited in these rooms in 1886. Only those plates are now shown which were designed by Dürer, in all twenty-four, to wit: Nos. 89 [135 of Bartsch's edition of 1796], 90 [not in Bartsch's edition], 91-110 [89-108], 121 and 122 [130, 131]. The engravers of most of these cuts are known to us, as their names were noted on the backs of the blocks at the time. Jerome Andreä cut Nos. 89, 91, 95, 101, 106, 107; Claus Seman (Sannt Germann?), 92; Wolfgang Resch, 93, 100; William Lieftrinck, 94; Cornelis Lieftrinck, 96, 102; Hans Franck, 97-99, 103, 105, 109; Jan de Bom, 104; Alexius Lindt, 121; Jost Necker, 122.

The cut of the "Patron Saints of Austria" seems to have been intended for a larger public than the costly and extensive series, as Stabius wrote a Latin prayer, "Ad sanctos Austriæ patronos etc." (cut off in the impression here shown), for the second edition.

ASTRONOMICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL CUTS.

234. Horoscopes. — P 295-297. — The second dated 1512.

(a.) Modern impression. (Jahrbuch, VII.)

Gray Coll.

(b.) Modern impression. (Jahrbuch, VII.)

Gray Coll.

235. *Imagines Coeli*. — B 150-152; H 1923-1925; R 215, 216. — Dated 1515 in the privilege; Dürer's coat-of-arms on the "*Imagines cœli meridionales*."

Modern phototypic reductions. (Jahrbuch, VII.)

Gray Coll.

236. Map of the World. — H 2110; R Appendix 66; P 201. — No monogram; privilege dated 1515.

Impressions of 1781? Watermark, an oval escutcheon, with lion; crown over the shield; below: JAV|WOLFEG.

Sewall Coll.

Of the prints here shown, only the "Imagines Coeli" are generally acknowledged as Dürer's work, but all of them have been admitted to this exhibition because they are claimed for Dürer by the editors of the Austrian "Jahrbuch," where they are treated at length in an article by Prof. Weiss, the director of the astronomical observatory at Vienna.

The "Horoscopes" were designed for Johannes Stabius, the historiographer and court-mathematician of Maximilian. The numerous works of this at the time celebrated man of science, "seem all to have been lost," says Prof. Weiss. "Of his Horoscopes, on the contrary, the woodblocks are still preserved in the Court-Library. In this instance, however, the word 'Horoscope' must not be taken in its astrological meaning, according to which it denotes the point of the ecliptic (ascendant) rising in the hour of nativity, but rather in its true etymological signification, *i. e.* in our case as a construction for the calculation of problems concerning the length and the divisions of the day etc." Of the three "Horoscopes" preserved only two are republished in the "Jahrbuch." One of these is dated 1512, and Prof. Weiss states that both were drawn in that year, in all probability during the sojourn of Stabius at Nuremberg. According to their date, they ought, therefore, to have been placed immediately after No. 229, but it seemed better to group them together with other similar works.

The star-charts, or "Imagines Coeli," are unfortunately given in the "Jahrbuch" in reductions only. They also seem to have been drawn in 1512, but were not published until 1515. Prof. Weiss writes that, so far as he knows, these star-charts are the first ever published, which invests them with quite a special interest. Dürer carried impressions to the Netherlands with him, and records the gift of a set to one Augustin Lombard.

The "Mappa Mundi" or Map of the World, likewise projected by Stabius, has, again according to Prof. Weiss, "a special historical interest, even to-day, as the *first* attempt at a representation of one half of the globe in perspective." Like the star-charts, this map is dedicated to Matthæus Lang von Wellenberg, archbishop of Salzburg and cardinal. The imperial privilege is dated 1515.

This little group of works illustrates very markedly the unique position held by Dürer among the scientific men of his time, and the esteem accorded to him by them. On the "Imagines coeli meridionales" he is named as the peer of the astronomers and mathematicians engaged upon the work with him: "John Stabius ordered it; Conrad Heinvoegel placed the stars; Albert Dürer circumscribed the figures," and their three coats-of-arms stand closely linked together. In the last quarter of the fifteenth century, Prof. Weiss informs us, many scientific men went from Vienna to Nuremberg to escape the turmoil of war. "Through their instrumentality Nuremberg also, in the earlier part of the sixteenth century, became a focus of scientific life, and the house more especially of the wealthy and art loving Willibald Pirk-

heimer, one of Dürer's most intimate friends, was made the point of union of all the savants and artists. Dürer himself thus stood in the midst of the intellectual life of his time, and the works of the art of wood engraving treating scientific subjects which were the result of the united activity of such a master and of the leading scientific men of the University of Vienna, may justly be looked upon also in a scientific sense as the highest achievements of their time."

237. **The Rhinoceros.** — B 136; H 1904; R 214. — Monogram; dated 1515.

- (a.) Impression of the Dutch edition, described by Hausmann as the seventh, showing the lettering above the cut. Watermark, eagle with one head. *Sewall Coll.*
- (b.) Same edition, showing the lettering below the cut. Same watermark. *Gray Coll.*

The lettering reads about as follows: — Above: "In the year of our Lord 1515, the first day of May, there was brought to the king of Portugal at Lisbon from India such an animal, called Rhinoceros, and it is of color like a tortoise clad with strong plates, and is of the size of an elephant, but lower in the legs, very strong and courageous, and has a sharp horn forward on its nose, this it whets whenever it comes to some stones, this animal is the elephant's deadly enemy and very victorious over the elephant, when this animal meets the elephant, it runs with its horns between its forelegs, and thus rips open its belly, and thus kills the elephant. This animal is so armed that the elephant cannot hurt it, also is it very quick, light of movement, and besides cunning, &c. This here figured Rhinoceros was sent by the before named king to High-Dutchland to the Emperor Maximilian, and by the highly famed Albert Dürer pictured from the life as one may here see." Below: "They can be found for sale at Hendrick Hondius's, engraver, at the Hague." As Hendrick Hondius, the elder, lived from 1573 to some time after 1630, it is evident that his edition of the Rhinoceros is quite late, and the impressions in chiaroscuro, which are often attributed to Dürer himself, are still later. Hondius's description of the animal and its pictorial representation, although generally based upon that which originally accompanied the cut, is wrong in stating that Dürer drew it from the life. The king of Portugal, according to Heller, instead of sending it to Maximilian, sent it to the pope, but the vessel was wrecked, and the animal was drowned off Genoa. Dürer's drawing was made from a sketch sent to Germany from Lisbon.

238. **The Virgin with the Apple, adored by Angels.** — B 101; H 1811; R 229. — Monogram; dated 1518.

Very fine, although late impression, on paper with the watermark Hausmann No. 45 (or very similar), from the block still in almost perfect condition. *Sewall Coll.*

This is perhaps the most enjoyable among Dürer's representations of the Virgin, despite the fact that it belongs to the period between 1513 and 1520. (See under No. 87.)

239. The Emperor Maximilian in a Border. — B 153; H 1949; R 230. — Monogram; dated 1519.

Impression showing the crack or joint and a few worm holes. Watermark not decipherable. *Sewall Coll.*

The Latin inscription in the upper part of the plate reads as follows: "The divine Emperor Cæsar Maximilian, the righteous, the fortunate, the august." The lower German legend: "The dear prince Emperor Maximilian blissfully departed this life on the 12. day of January in his fifty-ninth year. In the year of the Lord 1519." The monogram on this print is quite old-fashioned looking, — a warning that too much reliance must not be placed on such outward signs.

240. The Emperor Maximilian, without Border. — B 154; H 1950; R 231. — Neither date, nor monogram.

Impression from the block with the letters "ae" not within the capital C. Watermark, a coat-of-arms not figured by Hausmann. *Sewall Coll.*

There are two portraits of Maximilian without a border, which are most readily distinguished by a difference in the word "Cæsar." In the one case the letters "ae" are within the C, in the other they follow the capital, as usual. The cut with the variety first noted is generally described to be somewhat superior to the other, although the two are so nearly identical among themselves and with the portrait No. 239, that it is difficult to account for their origin. To say that they were probably cut from the same drawing, explains nothing. One is led to believe that these old woodcutters must have known and practised the making of transfers, which would, of course, solve the mystery. (See the remarks under No. 246.) The Latin inscription is the same as that on No. 239.

241. The Coat-of-Arms with Three Lion's Heads. — B 169; H 1947; R 238. — Neither monogram, nor date.

Modern impression. (Jahrbuch, V.) *Gray Coll.*

Retberg, about 1520; Heller, 1512-1517. This coat-of-arms (see Count Trautmannsdorff-Weinsberg's article in *Jahrbuch*, V, p. 339) is that of Jacob de Bannissis, and was most likely drawn for him by Dürer during the latter's sojourn in the Netherlands.

242. The Coat-of-Arms of Stabius with the Laurel Wreath. — B 166; H 1945; R 243. — Neither monogram, nor date.

Modern impression. (*Jahrbuch*, IV.) *Gray Coll.*

Retberg, about 1521; Heller, 1512-17. Chmelarz (*Jahrbuch*, IV, p. 301), "about 1512 or a little later."

243. Coat-of-Arms of Nuremberg. — B 162; H 1942; R Appendix 20. — No monogram; dated 1521.

Fine impression, with the three lines of the title on the back. *Gray Coll.*

Designed by Dürer for the third edition of the Nuremberg Statute-Book. Curiously enough Retberg rejects this cut, and suggests Georg Pencz as its author. Thausing, on the contrary (II, p. 214), and with more reason, reckons it "among the finest of his [Dürer's] wood engravings."

244. Portrait of Ulric Varenbüler. — B 155; H 1952; R 248. — Full name (in the inscription); dated 1522.

Good impression, before the crack on the left.

Sewall Coll.

Ulric Varenbüler, imperial councillor, chancellor of the supreme court of the empire, etc. "was a learned friend of Erasmus and Pirkheimer, much valued by both, and often mentioned in their letters" (Thausing, II, p. 258). His relations with Dürer were of the most intimate kind, as shown by the inscription, in which it is stated that he, Dürer, wishes to honor Varenbüler and to transmit his likeness to posterity as that of one "whom he singularly loves." According to Thausing, "the letters that are wanting [*i. e.* apparently covered by the white strip running across the inscription] form, with a little transposition, *Varennuollere*, which is something like the name Varenbuler, and such perhaps may have been the object of this anagrammatic conceit." Note again the reflection of the windows in the eyes. The impressions from this cut in chiaroscuro, like those of the Rhinoceros, were issued in the Netherlands in the 17. century. A drawing of Varenbüler's portrait, made by Dürer from life, is given in a reduced reproduction by Ephrussi, p. 325.

245. The Last Supper. — B 53; H 1622; R 250. — Monogram and date, 1523, on a tablet.

Good impression from Bartsch's "second block." Mounted.
Sewall Coll.

According to Hausmann this "second block" is a later copy.

246. **The Siege of a City.** — B 137; H 1903; R 269. — Monogram and date, 1527, on a tablet.

(a.) Impressions from both blocks joined together.

Sewall Coll.

(b.) Impression from the right-hand block.

Gray Coll.

Called also, but erroneously, "The Siege of Vienna." The two sheets from the Sewall Collection are watermarked by a small coat-of-arms not described by Hausmann; the watermark of the Gray impression is not decipherable. The latter is from a block with many worm holes, especially in the sky, and the white spots thus caused have been filled in with the pen. Although the general resemblance of the two right halves here shown is very close, there are, nevertheless, some differences, from which it would appear that these impressions are not from the same block. The most notable of these differences are in the round cloud in the upper left-hand corner of the sheet, in the row of stones in the road in the foreground, immediately under the large clump of trees, and in the ruts in the same road on the right-hand side. There is, moreover, a joint visible in the Sewall impression 10 centimetres from the left-hand margin of the right-hand sheet, which is not in the least visible in the Gray impression, although this is from a block much worm eaten. In spite of these differences, however, the two impressions are so nearly identical, that only the supposition of a transfer made for the repetition can account for their close similarity. Curiously enough, there is on the left sheet, from the Sewall Collection, a large blurred spot, which looks as if it might have been made by an alkaline fluid, such as might be used to revive the dry ink, preparatory to transferring. (See remarks under No. 240.)

**WOODCUTS SAID TO BE FROM DESIGNS BY DÜRER,
EITHER SPURIOUS OR DOUBTFUL.**

247. **Portrait of Dürer.** — B 156; H 1953; R Appendix 17.

Late impression, without lettering, and with the coat-of-arms and date, 1527. From the worm-eaten block, the spots retouched. Mounted.
Sewall Coll.

248. Portrait of Charles V. — B Appendix 41; H 2161; P 334.

Late (Derschau?) impression.

Sewall Coll.

This print is generally described as arched at the top, of which the impression here exhibited shows no sign. Thausing (II, pp. 158-159) defends its genuineness, but the workmanship is very bad, and the monogram not at all like Dürer's.

249. The Holy Family. — B Appendix 10; H 1986; R Appendix 28; P 178.

Chiaroscuro from two blocks, with the monogram, but without the date (1519).

Sewall Coll.

250. St. Ann. — B Appendix 11; H 1988; R Appendix 29; P 238.

Late impression, without the monogram, from the block showing a joint and some breaks.

Sewall Coll.

251. The Virgin with the Child. — B Appendix 13; H 1995; R Appendix 31; P 239.

With the monogram.

Sewall Coll.

252. Christ Crowned with Thorns. — B Appendix 4; H 1971; P 226.

(a.) Without the monogram.

Sewall Coll.

(b.) With the monogram, possibly stamped on.

Sewall Coll.

253. Christ as Gardener. — B Appendix 8; H 1978; R Appendix 26; P 231.

Modern (Derschau?) impression.

Sewall Coll.

The monogram, according to Heller, is added on modern impressions by stamping, but here it is evidently printed with the rest of the cut.

254. The Deposition from the Cross. — P 176.

(a.) Without monogram.

Sewall Coll.

(b.) With monogram.

Sewall Coll.

In this case the monogram does seem to have been added by stamping.

255. The Great Crucifix with Three Angels. — B 58; H 1643; R Appendix 9.

From the original plate, after the addition of the lower part. Watermark, script letters. *Sewall Coll.*

Originally printed with a prayer securing an indulgence of 5475 days, granted by Pope Gregory III. Thausing says that the upper part of the cut, without the later addition by a less skilled hand, is certainly from a drawing by Dürer, done in 1520, or a little later. But even if it is from such a drawing, it does not seem to be a cut made for or authorized by Dürer, as it differs entirely from all the other undoubted cuts. According to an old, unauthenticated story, Dürer engraved this crucifix for a house-altar for his friend Pirkheimer.

256. The Large Head of Christ.—B Appendix 26; H 1629; R Appendix 41; P 192.

Weak on the left side; showing the joint on the right side. *Sewall Coll.*

Thausing (II, pp. 102–103) says of this cut, that it is among the grandest of Dürer's representations of Christ. "Although this work," he continues, "was assuredly neither drawn by Dürer himself on the block nor engraved under his direction, yet in a certain sense it is his, having been probably executed from one of his later drawings." Evidence that we have here the work of a later follower or copyist of Dürer may, perhaps, be found in the reflections of the windows in the eyes. Dürer carried this childish affectation of close observation to the verge of the ridiculous in his portraits (see Nos. 93, 99, 100, and 101), but he would hardly have introduced it here, where it is absolutely out of place. An imitator, on the contrary, seeking to give verisimilitude to his work, might, after the fashion of his tribe, hit upon such an outward sign as conspicuously expressive of Dürer's manner.

257. The Last Judgment.—B 124; H 2051; R Appendix 13.

Good impression, with the monogram. Mended on the lower right side. *Sewall Coll.*

258. St. Barbara.—B Appendix 24; H 2038; R Appendix 39; P 261.

(a.) Fine impression without monogram. Mounted. *Sewall Coll.*

(b.) Fair impression with monogram. *Sewall Coll.*

259. The Great St. Christopher.—B 105; H 1827; R Appendix 10.—Monogram; dated 1525.

Late, but good impression, with the feet added. Watermark similar to Hausmann No. 50. *Gray Coll.*

This is as unlike Dürer's other cuts in conception as in workmanship, and those who claim that the monogram and date have been added are quite probably right. The monogram divides the figures of the year, which was not Dürer's custom. (See No. 228.)

260. St. Christopher. — B Appendix 16; H 2013; P 181.

Modern (Derschau?) impression. *Sewall Coll.*

Compare with No. 227.

261. The Small St. Jerome in Penance. — B 115; H 1848; R Appendix 12.

Reversed photograph from a modern copy. *Sewall Coll.*

262. St. Jerome. — H 2016; P 188.

With the text P 188 *f* on the back. *Sewall Coll.*

263. The Conversion of St. Paul. — B Appendix 17; H 2021; R Appendix 34; P 252.

Slightly spotted and with some small holes, mended.

Sewall Coll.

264. St. Martin Dividing His Cloak. — B Appendix 18; H 2020; R Appendix 35; P 251.

Fine impression. *Sewall Coll.*

Thausing (I, p. 86) is inclined to attribute this cut to Wolgemut, as the composition corresponds with that on the right wing of the Schwabach altarpiece. The monogram, he says, was added later.

265. St. Coloman. — B 106; H 1828; R 199.

Modern impression. (Jahrbuch, IV.) *Gray Coll.*

This is accepted by Bartsch, Heller, and Retberg, but Thausing (II, p. 242, note) emphatically rejects it. The head is said to be a likeness of Stabius.

266. Illustrations to the Revelations of St. Bridget of Sweden. — P 194, Nos. 7, 8, 9, 10, 15.

(*a-e.*) From the Latin edition of 1500. *Gray Coll.*

Passavant accepts these cuts as Dürer's, but Thausing (I, pp. 269-270) rejects them. The descriptions given by Passavant are not quite correct.

267. Coat-of-Arms of Stabius with Lettering around it.—B 165; H 1944.

Modern impression. (Jahrbuch, IV.) *Gray Coll.*

268. Hector Pomer's Bookmark.—B 163; H 2140; R Appendix 21.

Modern impression issued by Campe? *Sewall Coll.*

269. Coat-of-Arms of the Scheurl and Tucher Family.—H 2146; P 214.

: Modern impression. *Sewall Coll.*

270. The Old Man and the Young Woman.—P 281.

Old impression. *Sewall Coll.*

This cut, which represents the power of gold over love, is happily rejected by all later writers. It is quite unworthy of Dürer (see the remarks under No. 3), and is, therefore, not shown. The style is much later than Dürer's time.

DÜRER'S SCIENTIFIC BOOKS.

271. The Book on Geometry. The first German edition of 1525. *Sewall Coll.*

The two cuts shown are those erroneously described by Bartsch, B 146 and 147, as belonging to a work on perspective by Paul Pfintzing the elder. A fragment of the Latin edition of 1532 is bound up with this copy.

272. The Book on Geometry. The second German edition of 1538. *S. R. Koehler.*

The pages displayed show Dürer's method of constructing Roman capitals.

273. The Book on the Proportions of the Human Body. The first, German, edition of 1528.

Boston Public Library.

The figure on the right-hand page is the one alluded to by Thode (Jahrbuch, III, p. 119), as betraying the influence on Dürer of the Apollo Belvedere, which is apparent also in such early works as the Apollo drawing (Case 9, 11) and the "Adam and Eve" (No. 35 of this catalogue). "The Apollo, therefore," exclaims Thode, "at the beginning and at the end of Dürer's artistic career!"

- 274. The Book on the Proportions of the Human Body.** Latin edition of 1532. *Sewall Coll.*

This edition contains only Books 1 and 2. Books 3 and 4 appeared separately in 1533.

- 275. The Book on Fortification.** Latin edition of 1535. *Sewall Coll.*
-

ORIGINAL DRAWINGS BY DÜRER.

- 276. Lime Tree on a Projecting Bastion, with two figures.** — From the collection of the Chevalier Alfred von Franck, at Gratz. *F. Meder.*

Thausing, I, p. 121: "Several very curious and detailed studies of trees, which probably also formed part of his travelling sketch-books [of the earliest period], are highly characteristic of Dürer's eye for color. For instance, a tall lime-tree, on a projecting bastion, the parapet of which slopes off to the left, but is out of drawing. In the background, on the stone bench parallel with the wall, is the figure of a man dressed in black, perhaps a scholar. Another stands beneath the tree, the foliage of which is bluish green, with gray shadows. This fine tempera painting is [was] in the possession of Herr Alfred R. von Franck, at Gratz." — See also Ephrussi, p. 108.

- 277. Head of the Virgin.** — From the collection of the Chevalier Alfred von Franck, at Gratz. *F. Meder.*

Thausing, I, p. 321: "Herr Alfred von Franck, Gratz, has [had] a head of the Virgin with a soft and singularly noble expression." — Ephrussi, p. 54: "Head of the Madonna, noble and sweet type, in charcoal, 1503 (collection of Mr. von Franck, at Gratz)."

- 278. Study for the Left Arm of Eve, for the painting of "Adam and Eve" of 1507.** — From the collection of the Chevalier Alfred von Franck, at Gratz. *F. Meder.*

Thausing, II, pp. 2-3: "Many studies of different parts of this Eve, some done in chiaroscuro, and some with the pen, during the years 1506 and 1507, are in the British Museum. The left arm with the apple was repeated several times by Dürer. One of the sketches, three-quarter life-size, on Venetian paper, and dated 1507, belongs [belonged] to Herr Alfred von Franck at Gratz." — See also Ephrussi, p. 144.

279. Study for the Feet of the Kneeling Apostle in the foreground of "The Assumption of the Virgin," known as the Heller altarpiece, painted 1509.—From the collection of the Chevalier Alfred von Franck, at Gratz.

F. Meder.

Ephrussi, pp. 152-153 (note): "It is said that an Italian, enthusiast as well as barbarian, offered one hundred crowns for the privilege of cutting the feet of this apostle from the original painting. These feet recur again in the Assumption on wood (the nineteenth in the series of the Life of the Virgin [No. 175 of this catalogue]), and in the corresponding plate of the small Passion [No. 215]. They show a striking and curious analogy to those of one of the kings in the small altarpiece by Mantegna in the Tribuna (No. 1111)." — See also Thausing, II, p. 17, No. 10.

280. The Imperial Crown.—From the collection of the Chevalier Alfred von Franck, at Gratz. *F. Meder.*

281. The Imperial Orb.—From the collection of the Chevalier Alfred von Franck, at Gratz. *F. Meder.*

282. The Imperial Sword of Charlemagne.—From the collection of the Chevalier Alfred von Franck, at Gratz. *F. Meder.*

Nos. 280, 281 and 282 are studies made by Dürer in 1510 for the first of the two large portraits, of the Emperor Charlemagne and King Sigismund, painted by him for the city of Nuremberg. Thausing, II, pp. 108-109, speaks of them as follows: "The other studies are separate sketches of the imperial crown with a red cushion, and with the inscriptions 'REX SALOMON' on the right, and 'PER ME REGES REGNANT' on the left; of the imperial orb; and of a part of the imperial sword, with the hilt and the inscription, 'This is the Emperor Charles's sword, just the exact size of it, and the blade is as long as the string with which this paper is tied outside' (*Das ist keiser Karls schwert, vnd ist dy kling eben als lang, als der strick, damit daz papier awssen punden ist*). These representations of the imperial insignia, among which there was formerly one of the gloves, are all life-size. They belong [belonged] to Herr Alfred von Franck of Gratz." — See also Ephrussi, p. 168.

283. Portrait of a Woman turned sideways towards the left.—From the collection of the Chevalier Alfred von Franck, at Gratz. *F. Meder.*

Not described by either Thausing or Ephrussi. — Heller describes it as follows (p. 124, No. 21): "The features of the face are of the purest proportions. Over the hair pass ribbons braided crosswise, and upon them is a low cap; neck and bust are decorated by pearls and a golden chain; above in the middle the mark and 1513. This drawing, of superior beauty of execution, is very well preserved; it is worked in India ink, red and brown color, partly with the brush, partly with the pen. Height 11" 9"; breadth 7" 10"." At the time Heller wrote, this drawing was in the collection of Joseph von Grünling, whom he describes as an "imperial and royal privileged wholesale dealer, collector of works of art, and connoisseur." Grünling lived at Vienna, and his collection is said to have been sold there at auction in 1818. Heller's notes, therefore, considerably antedate the publication of his book, which on the titlepage bears the year 1821, while the preface is dated 1826. All the drawings here shown at one time formed part of Grünling's collection.

FINDING LIST

FOR THE CATALOGUES OF BARTSCH AND PASSAVANI.

In the first column the numbers of Bartsch and Passavant are given, in the second those of this catalogue. The numbers not referred to in the latter are omitted.

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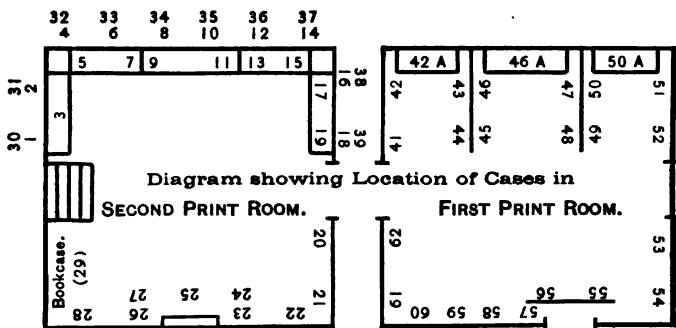
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- I. The Apollo Belvedere. (Photograph.)
- II. The Medicean Venus. (Photograph.)
- III. Orpheus attacked by Bacchantes. Old Florentine engraving. (Photogravure.)
- IV. Orpheus attacked by Bacchantes. Drawing by Dürer. (Helio-type.)
- V. Apollo and Diana. Drawing by Dürer. (Phototype.)
- VI. Apollo and Diana. Engraving by Jacopo de Barbari. (Photogravure.)
- VII. The Captives. Engraving by Jacopo de Barbari. (Woodcut.)
- VIII. Orpheus and Eurydice. Basrelief by Jacopo de Barbari? (Etching by LeRat.)
- IX. The Battle of the Tritons. Engraving by Andrea Mantegna. (Photogravure.)
- X. Lo Stregozzo. Engraving by Agostino Veneziano.

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