

# *The 2010 Josephine Waters Bennett Lecture: Albrecht Dürer as Collector*<sup>\*</sup>

by JEFFREY CHIPPS SMITH

*Albrecht Dürer avidly collected for his professional and personal pleasure. Drawing upon textual and artistic evidence, it is possible to assess what sorts of objects he acquired. Through purchases, bartering, and gifts, Dürer amassed an important library with authors ranging from Euclid to Martin Luther. Among his many dealings with contemporary masters, he exchanged drawings with Raphael, swapped prints with Lucas van Leyden, and bought a Salvator Mundi illuminated by Susanna Horenbout. Dürer was fascinated by objects of natural rarity and of exotic, non-European origins. He also self-collected. Some paintings and drawings, occasionally inscribed with biographical or autobiographical information, were intended primarily for his, his family's, and his close friends' private consumption. The holdings displayed in his Nuremberg house anticipated the art and wonder chambers that became popular later in the sixteenth century. The collection offers new insights into Dürer's conscious efforts of self-fashioning.*

When did artists first become collectors? Visual artists have long gathered art and other objects to serve as potential models for their own work. With the advent of prints in the fifteenth century, it became far easier to acquire a diverse range of stylistic and iconographic sources. Obviously, a work of art could be both a model and a collectible object prized for its aesthetic features. Renaissance artists did collect: Giorgio Vasari (1511–74), for example, amassed an impressive set of drawings by other Italian masters.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, little information survives concerning the tastes and collecting habits of German artists of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Mathias Gothart Neithart, better known as Grünewald (ca. 1475/80–1528), left a few Lutheran pamphlets, a length of fine Netherlandish cloth, and some art supplies when he died in 1528, but

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<sup>1</sup>Bjurström.

left no other art.<sup>2</sup> Albrecht Altdorfer (ca. 1480–1538) possessed a few paintings, including one by Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528), some antique coins, and nineteen books, among other items.<sup>3</sup> Sebald Beham (1500–50) upon his death in 1550 left a collection of 1,200 antique coins and small cast sculptures that may have come to him from his brother Barthel (1502–40), who had visited Italy.<sup>4</sup> Otherwise, there is no substantive documentation for masters like Hans Baldung Grien (1484/85–1545), Hans Burgkmair (1473–1531), Lucas Cranach the Elder (1472–1553), Hans Holbein the Younger (1497/98–1543), and Tilman Riemenschneider (ca. 1460–1531).

There is one major exception: Albrecht Dürer. Thanks to extant letters; the journal of his trip to the Netherlands in 1520–21; his theoretical texts; inscriptions added to paintings, drawings, and books; as well as a variety of other sources, we are better informed about his life, his thoughts, and his tastes than about all of his peers combined. Writing shortly after returning from his second trip to Venice in 1507, the Nuremberg master remarked, “I possess fairly good household furniture, good clothes, some good tin vessels, good materials for my work, bedding, chests and cupboards and good colors worth 100 florins Rhenish.”<sup>5</sup> In actuality, as we shall see, he soon would own far more noteworthy items. He died a wealthy man.<sup>6</sup> This short essay addresses Dürer as a collector as well as some of the issues this topic raises. Although we lack knowledge of most of what he acquired during the early

<sup>2</sup>Wirthmann.

<sup>3</sup>Some information about Altdorfer’s possessions is documented. At different points in his life he owned three houses, one of which he sold, and two vineyards. A room-by-room inventory done after his death in 1538 lists ancient coins, many in silver; weapons; jewelry; an organ stand; a painting of unspecified subject by Dürer; eight painted canvases; seven panel paintings; two pictures on parchment; four *Visierungen* (cartoons, or designs); two *Truhen* (trunks) with prints; and a trunk and a chest with *gemalter Kunst* (painted art). These prints likely included images by Altdorfer and by his contemporaries. Altdorfer owned nineteen “*klain und groß*” (“small and large”) books. The picture by Dürer is the only one labeled as by a specific artist. See Boll; Bushart, 29–31. I wish to thank Magdalena Bushart for reminding me that Altdorfer had a small library.

<sup>4</sup>Rockinger, 53 (Appendix X); Rott, 72–73. Beham’s wife sold the items soon afterward. I wish to thank Lisa Kirch for this reference.

<sup>5</sup>Conway, 60. My intention in this essay is not to speculate on which of Dürer’s vast corpus of watercolors, drawings, and paintings remained in his possession until his death in 1528. I do assume that he retained the majority of his watercolors and drawings.

<sup>6</sup>On 9 June 1530, Dürer’s estate was valued at 6,848 florins. In 1538 his wife Agnes used funds from an annuity that Dürer purchased in 1524 to establish a fellowship for the son of an artisan to study theology at the University of Wittenberg. See Rupprich, 1:8, 238–39; Hutchison, 185; Price, 7–8.

decades of his career, there is sufficient material to piece together a general picture of his collection. I use the term *collector* rather than *art collector* for reasons that will become clear.

ALBERTVS DVRER PICTOR GERMANICVS (“Albrecht Dürer the German Painter”) reads the inscription on Hans Schwarz’s (1492–after 1521) portrait medal (fig. 1). Some time in September 1520 Dürer wrote in his Netherlandish journal, “I sent Hans Schwarz 2 fl. in gold for my picture, in a letter by the Antwerp Fuggers to Augsburg.”<sup>7</sup> He is portrayed in profile with his long hair flowing over his fur-trimmed cloak. Dürer first met Schwarz, Germany’s first great medallist, or at least admired his craft, during the Diet of Augsburg in 1518. Schwarz resided briefly in Nuremberg in 1519, before an altercation prompted his return to his native Augsburg. He first sketched Dürer’s portrait, now lost, then carved a wooden model (today in Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich–Museum), and finally cast impressions of the medal in silver. Dürer did not stipulate whether he received one or more copies of the medal while in Antwerp. Numerous impressions exist, though many of these could have been cast after Dürer’s return to Nuremberg. Surprisingly, Schwarz’s medal is the sole documented commission by Dürer.

In his biography of Raphael (1483–1520), Giorgio Vasari reports that Dürer sent Raphael a self-portrait, most likely a watercolor on fine canvas so the painting could be viewed from the front and the back.<sup>8</sup> Raphael reciprocated by sending Dürer a red chalk drawing of three nude men (fig. 2) and perhaps additional sketches. The attribution of this drawing to Raphael, now generally accepted, and its relation to his paintings in the Vatican Stanze do not concern us here. At right on the drawing in Dürer’s handwriting is inscribed, “1515 Raphael of Urbino, who was held in high esteem by the pope, sent this picture of nudes to Nuremberg for Albrecht

<sup>7</sup>Goris and Marlier, 67; Rupprich, 1:157. On the medal, see Mende, 1983, 57–68; Smith, 2004, 273–76. It is unclear if the artist’s payment of two gulden to Schwarz covered all or, more likely, just part of the cost of the medal. In 1518, Georg, Duke of Saxony, paid five gulden to Schwarz for his portrait medal. The taste for medals grew exponentially in Germany following the Diet of Augsburg of 1518, when Schwarz’s portraits were first fully on display. Dürer’s best friend, Willibald Pirckheimer, avidly collected medals. When he died in 1530, Pirckheimer possessed four gold medals, twenty silver portrait medals, 187 non-portrait medals in silver, and a large collection of medals in bronze, lead, and other non-elite metals. See Pilz, 99; and Jante, 8.

<sup>8</sup>Vasari, 4:354, 5:551; Anzelewsky, 229–30 (no. 117<sup>v</sup>); von Sandrart, 1:pt.2, 224; Nesselrath, 376. This picture was last recorded in the mid-seventeenth century in the Gonzaga collection in Mantua: *ibid.*



FIGURE 1. Hans Schwarz. *Portrait of Albrecht Dürer*, 1520. Medal. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum.

Dürer in order to show him his skill.”<sup>9</sup> Dürer frequently annotated works of art in his possession. Here he proudly registers that Raphael, artist to Pope Leo X (r. 1513–21), sent him a virtuoso sketch to display his skill. Raphael presented Dürer with the perfect gift, since in the 1510s the Nuremberg master was immersed in his theoretical studies of the human body and its

<sup>9</sup>Inscription on fig. 2: “1515 Raffahell de Vrbin der so hoch peim pobst geacht ist gewest hat dyse nackette bild gemacht vnd hat sy dem albrecht dürer gen nornberg geschickt Im sein hand zw weisen.” Rupprich, 1:209, 212. The phrasing “sein hand” implies Raphael’s skill plus his literal hand, or personal calligraphic touch. Willibald Imhoff, Willibald Pirckheimer’s grandson and one of Nuremberg’s most famous art collectors, used the word *handt* when describing sketches by Raphael. His 1573–74 inventory lists a book of Italian drawings as “Ein, darin kostlich Welsche nackende und andere pild, von der handt geryssen stuck, darunter etliche Raffhael Durbinos handt, pro f. 24.” He sets a high valuation on this book of Italian sketches, which he had acquired in 1568 from Paulus Koler (or Coler; d. 1568), of Nuremberg. Were some of Imhoff’s Raphael drawings formerly in Dürer’s possession? Christoph Koler (1483–1536), Paulus’s father, was a close friend of the artist. Dürer brought him a present from the Netherlands. Christoph aided Joachim Camerarius in translating Dürer’s *Four Books on Human Proportion* into Latin, and he may have once owned the artist’s famous Dresden sketchbook of figure studies. Christoph and Paulus collected Dürer’s art. The volume Paulus sold to Imhoff in 1568 is listed as “1 puch, darin allerley gemel von Albrecht Durer, auch druck, und von Rafael d’Urbin.” Jante, 82n247 (no. 23), and account book for 1568, fol. 57”; Mende, 2002, 14.



FIGURE 2. Raphael. *Three Nude Men*, ca. 1515. Red chalk drawing, with inscription by Albrecht Dürer, 1515. Vienna, Albertina.

proportions.<sup>10</sup> Raphael's figures were unlike any German nudes at this time. In his *Vier Bücher von menschlicher Proportion* (*Four Books on Human Proportions*), published posthumously in 1528, Dürer expresses his admiration for the creative hand, that is, for the master who in a few strokes could say much more than another artist who might labor a year.<sup>11</sup> By adding the inscription, which was likely contemporary with the receipt of the drawing, the artist goes beyond mere admiration. Dürer consciously establishes his direct link and creative kinship with Raphael. Since he knows who authored and sent the drawing to him, Dürer intentionally documents this story for others, audiences both contemporary and future.

Dürer annotated some of his own drawings and paintings, especially those that had personal significance. I shall return to the subject of self-collecting briefly later. Just as his inscription on Raphael's drawing binds together the two masters, texts join subject and artist in works such as *Mein Agnes* (fig. 3).<sup>12</sup> Whether consciously posed or surreptitiously sketched, his new wife's introspection is unprecedented in German art of this period: is she in deep thought or merely resting? Dürer captures the fleeting moment with a freshness that resonates with modern viewers. It anticipates Rembrandt's (1606–69) many drawings of his wife Saskia (1612–42). Other inscriptions are explicitly autobiographical. In a seminude self-portrait sketch the artist points to his side, possibly to his spleen, to document where he hurts.<sup>13</sup> The drawing records a personal moment that he could share with a physician or with friends. In typical fashion, and not just because he is using a mirror, Dürer seems to stare with unusual directness at the viewer in this extremely private image. As far as can be determined, Dürer retained this and most of his other self-portraits throughout his life.

In many cities young artists were expected to have a *Wanderjahre*, or period working as a journeyman abroad following the completion of their formal training. This sort of postgraduate study was intended to broaden the individual's exposure to new ideas and techniques. In 1490 young Albrecht headed to the Rhineland, specifically to Colmar, Basel, and Strasbourg.<sup>14</sup> If

<sup>10</sup>Panofsky, 261–80; Strauss, 1972.

<sup>11</sup>He writes that a sketch by a “powerful artist . . . will be more artful and excellent than another man's large work, which he makes with great diligence in a whole year.” Rupprich, 3:293; Koerner, 213–14.

<sup>12</sup>Winkler, no. 151; Strauss, 1974b, no. 1494/7; Schröder and Sternath, no. 11.

<sup>13</sup>Winkler, no. 482; Strauss, 1974b, no. 1519/2; Koerner, 176–77; Schröder and Sternath, no. 53. The drawing, now in the Kunsthalle in Bremen, is undated; scholars place it anywhere between ca. 1512 and 1519.

<sup>14</sup>Rupprich, 1:31. Dürer departed Nuremberg shortly after Easter, 11 April 1490, and returned after Pentecost, 18 May 1494.



FIGURE 3. Albrecht Dürer. *Mein Agnes (Portrait of Agnes Frey Dürer)*, ca. 1494. Pen and ink drawing, Vienna, Albertina.

he hoped to learn from Martin Schongauer (ca. 1435/50–1491), Germany’s most famous engraver and a skilled painter, he arrived sometime in 1492, well after the latter’s death on 1 February 1491. Martin’s brothers, however, aided Dürer.<sup>15</sup> Perhaps it was on this visit that he acquired the *Lord Blessing*

<sup>15</sup>Christoph Scheurl, one of the artist’s friends and neighbors, wrote in 1515, “Then, when [Dürer] had traveled to and fro in Germany he came to Colmar in the year 1492, and there Caspar and Paulus, goldsmiths, and the painter Ludwig, and similarly in Basel, Georg, all four of whom were brothers of ‘Schön Merten,’ kept him good company. But, not only did he not study with [Martin Schongauer], he never saw him in all his life, although he had greatly wished to do so.” See Scheurl, fol. 4<sup>a-b</sup>; Rupprich, 1:294–95; Hutchison, 37–38 (with translation).

(fig. 4).<sup>16</sup> The inscription, in Dürer's hand, reads "This was made by handsome Martin [Schongauer] in the year 1469."<sup>17</sup> The Nuremberg artist likely also owned Schongauer's *Christ as Judge* — a drawing based on Rogier van der Weyden's (1399–1464) *Last Judgment Altarpiece* in the Hôtel Dieu in Beaune — and perhaps other sketches, as well as his prints.<sup>18</sup> Another large drawing by Schongauer that Dürer owned, depicting God the Father, the Virgin Mary, and saints set in a Gothic-style chapel, was last documented in 1786 in the Dresden collection of Karl Heinrich von Heineken. It bore a text saying that handsome Martin had drawn it in 1470 when he was a young journeyman and that Albrecht Dürer, having learned this information, inscribed the drawing in Martin's honor in 1517.<sup>19</sup> Presumably, Dürer wanted to make sure that Schongauer's art was remembered. As Kemperdick notes, the tenor of the inscription suggests that Dürer only obtained this drawing in 1517 rather than during his *Wanderjahre*. Paul, the last surviving Schongauer brother, died in 1516, so it is possible that Dürer acquired it from his estate.<sup>20</sup> Dürer added identifying inscriptions to the *Galloping Horseman* made in 1484 by Wolfgang Beurer (active ca. 1480–ca. 1500), a Mainz painter.<sup>21</sup> At the bottom of the beautiful *St. Sebastian* (fig. 5) is the notation "Hans Traut [fl. 1488–1516] of Nuremberg made this" in Dürer's

<sup>16</sup>Strauss, 1974b, 6:no. XW 13; Rowlands and Bartrum, no. 13; Bartrum, no. 25; Kemperdick, 62, 67–70, for a good discussion of Dürer's attributing drawings to Schongauer. The source of Dürer's information is unknown, though one can conjecture that it came from one of Schongauer's brothers. Foister, 9, suggests that Dürer owned Schongauer's *Study of Peonies* (Los Angeles, Getty Museum) because the handwriting is close to Dürer's and it recalls flowers that appear in his art.

<sup>17</sup>Inscription on fig. 4: "das hat hubsch martin gemacht im 1469 jor."

<sup>18</sup>Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts graphiques, inv. 18.785. Dürer is believed to have added Schongauer's monogram and the date 1469: Kemperdick, 68, 70, fig. 31; Buck and Messling, XIV. The form of the monogram and date to this drawing is very similar to *Maiden Holding a Wing by a Fire* (London, British Museum), though the attribution of this to Schongauer is doubtful on stylistic grounds: Kemperdick, fig. 33.

<sup>19</sup>"Diesz hat der Hübsch Martin gerissen in 1470 jar da er ein junger gesell was. Das hab ich Albrecht Dürer erfarn, vnd Im zu ern daher geschriben im 1517 jar." Kemperdick, 18–19, 69–70, 276–77; Wood, 348.

<sup>20</sup>Kemperdick, 18.

<sup>21</sup>"Dz hat wofgang pewrer gemacht im 1484 jor." Gdańsk, National Museum, inv. no. MNG/SD/634/R. Winkler, no. 9 as Dürer; Strauss, 1974b, App. 1.1; Wood, 348–50. On Beurer, see Brinkmann, 1995. An anonymous drawing of a young woman (Hamburg Kunsthalle, inv. no. 1975/38) bears an inscription by Dürer attributing the drawing to "Anthoni Pewrer" in 1487: see Prange, no. 40.





FIGURE 4. Martin Schongauer. *Lord Blessing*, ca. 1469. Pen and ink drawing, with inscription by Albrecht Dürer. London, British Museum. © Trustees of the British Museum.



FIGURE 5. Hans Traut. *St. Sebastian*, ca. 1477–80. Pen and pencil with brown wash, with inscription by Albrecht Dürer. Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek.

familiar handwriting.<sup>22</sup> How or whether it came into his possession is not clear, yet he felt compelled to add the name of a local painter whom he likely knew.

Dürer treated these drawings, excepting the lost Schongauer sheet, differently from the sketch by Raphael, since he did not append his own monogram or name to them. Yet this practice of identifying the artist and supplying a date has little precedent. Dürer was not even alive in 1469 when Schongauer supposedly created his *Lord Blessing*. Is this evidence of Dürer's historical awareness, something that he voiced more clearly in the 1510s and 1520s? Although he was not trying to write a history of art, he may have been organizing certain artists at fixed moments in time. Through the inscriptions on these and certainly other now-lost drawings, Dürer defined his connections, or his artistic lineage, with several major masters.<sup>23</sup> Collecting becomes a means of self-definition as a peer of these artists.

In 1494 Dürer carefully prepared a pen-and-ink drawing (fig. 6) after Andrea Mantegna's (1430/31–1506) *Battle of the Sea Gods*.<sup>24</sup> Copying is a standard method of mastering an artist's style.<sup>25</sup> These classicizing and highly sculptural figures fascinated Dürer, as he replicated each with exceptional care. By contrast, the surface details of the water and the reeds behind are only summarily approximated. Dürer monogrammed and dated his drawing, as he did the majority of his drawings even from the outset of his career. This was highly unusual in Germany at the time and, indeed, anywhere in Europe. Although the relationship between engraving and drawing are clear, one cannot prove that he actually owned the print. He could have borrowed Mantegna's print from a friend or from his teacher Michael Wolgemut (ca. 1437–1519) in Nuremberg or from someone in Northern Italy, or he could have purchased it during his first journey to

<sup>22</sup>Inscription on fig. 5: "Dz Hatt Hans trawt Zw Nornmerchkg gemacht." On Hans Traut's drawing, see Schoch, 2008a, no. 27; Buck and Messling, 258–63, no. 90. Several of the drawings today in Erlangen were likely once in the workshop collection of Hans Pleydenwurff (ca. 1425–72) and then Michael Wolgemut in Nuremberg. Interestingly, a few of these are monogrammed and dated. They may have provided a model for the young Dürer who was the first artist consistently to sign and date his drawings. See Schoch, 2008b, 25–26, 28; and especially Buck and Messling, XIV, XVIII–XX, nos. 64–75. Hans Dickel reminded me that many of these drawings, mostly of Nuremberg and Franconian origins, were soon too old-fashioned in style to serve as models; however, these were kept for their historical and aesthetic values.

<sup>23</sup>In conversation, Hein-Thomas Schulze Altcapenberg aptly compared these inscribed works with a *Stammbuch*, or album stressing kinships, family genealogies, and personal friendships.

<sup>24</sup>Winkler, no. 60; Strauss, 1974b, nos. 1492/13–14; Schröder and Sternath, nos. 13–14.

<sup>25</sup>Artists had many different reasons for creating drawings after the prints of other masters: see Roth, 2009. I wish to thank Roth for bringing this essay to my attention.



FIGURE 6. Albrecht Dürer (after Andrea Mantegna). *Battle of the Sea Gods*, 1494. Pen and ink drawing. Vienna, Albertina.

Venice in 1494–95. One must make a distinction between works Dürer saw and those he clearly owned. Copying, however, is another form of collecting, as the artist consciously constructs a corpus of significant models.

Dürer was twice in Venice. The second trip occurred between the fall of 1505 and February 1507. One could assume that he, like a modern tourist, would have collected something there. Ten letters from this Venice period survive from Dürer to Willibald Pirckheimer (1470–1530), the famed Nuremberg humanist and the artist's best friend.<sup>26</sup> These are full of playful banter, such as the one in which Dürer employs little pictograms of a rose, a brush, and a running dog to inquire about Pirckheimer's lady friends.<sup>27</sup> The letters are replete with mention of items that he is purchasing or searching for on Pirckheimer's behalf, including books in Greek, Turkish carpets, Venetian glass, jewels, and rare bird feathers. Although Dürer mentions the paintings he is making, the jealousy of most Venetian artists, and a host of other topics, he is silent about any Italian art that he might have

<sup>26</sup>These letters date between 6 January and 12 October 1506. Rupprich, 1:10–11, 39–60; Conway, 44–60; Sahn, 60–84.

<sup>27</sup>On the letter of 7 February 1506, see Rupprich, 1:44; Conway, 48–49.

acquired. He writes only about clothing, specifically his French mantle and his Italian coat, both of which are given voices and in different letters send their respective greetings to Pirckheimer.<sup>28</sup> Dürer proudly wears one of his new fur-trimmed coats in the self-portrait that he inserted into his *Feast of the Rose Garlands*, which he painted for the German merchants' church in Venice in 1506.<sup>29</sup> The clothing may also signal Dürer's social ambitions: he aspired to a higher class when he returned to Nuremberg, based on the status accorded to certain noted artists, such as Giovanni Bellini (1431/36–1516), in Venice.

It is highly unlikely that the artist really returned home empty-handed. He probably acquired prints and drawings. He mentions his friendly contacts with Giovanni Bellini, and that the famed Venetian artist wished to acquire something by him.<sup>30</sup> Perhaps the desire was reciprocal and reciprocated. Yet the only secure evidence comes from different sources. Dürer purchased books. On the title page of his copy of the Latin edition of Euclid's (fl. 300 BCE) *Opera*, or *Elements of Geometry* (fig. 7), published in Venice in 1505, he penned, "This book I bought at Venice for a ducat in the year 1507 — Albrecht Dürer."<sup>31</sup> He later owned a manuscript copy of the *Elements of Geometry*, which came from the estate of the famed mathematician and astronomer Johannes Müller von Königsberg, called Regiomontanus (1436–76), who lived in Nuremberg from 1471 to 1475.<sup>32</sup> Euclid's writings provided a solid grounding for Dürer's own theoretical studies of geometry, which culminated in the publication of his first treatise in 1525, the *Unterweysung der Messung, mit dem Zirckel und Richtscheyt (Instruction in Measurement with a Compass and Rule)*.<sup>33</sup>

Either in Venice or back in Nuremberg, Dürer obtained Francesco Colonna's (1433–1527) *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, which was published by

<sup>28</sup>On the letters of 8 September 1506 and 23 September 1506, see Rupprich, 1:55, 57; Conway, 54–57.

<sup>29</sup>Anzelewsky, no. 93; Kotková. On Dürer's robes, see also Zitzlsperger.

<sup>30</sup>Conway, 48: "But Giovanni Bellini has highly praised me before many nobles. He wanted to have something of mine, and himself came to me and asked me to paint him something and he would pay well for it." See also Rupprich, 1:44–45.

<sup>31</sup>Inscription on fig. 7: "Daz puch hab ich zw Venedich vm ein Dugatn kawft im 1507 jor. Albrecht Dürer." Rupprich, 1:221; Strieder, no. 626; Strauss, 1974b, 2:995.

<sup>32</sup>Regiomontanus's estate passed to Bernhard Walther, from whose library Dürer purchased ten books, perhaps including this manuscript. The inventory of the Altdorf professor P. Saxonius, who died in 1625, lists his ownership of "Euclidis Elementorum libri XV in membrane latine manu Johannis Regiomontani. . . . Diss ist ein schene Antiquitet, fuit etiam Alberti Düreri, ad quem ex bibliotheca Regiomontani devenit": Rupprich, 1:222.

<sup>33</sup>Rupprich, 3:307–67; Conway, 207–26; Schoch, Mende, and Scherbaum, 2:168–278, no. 274.

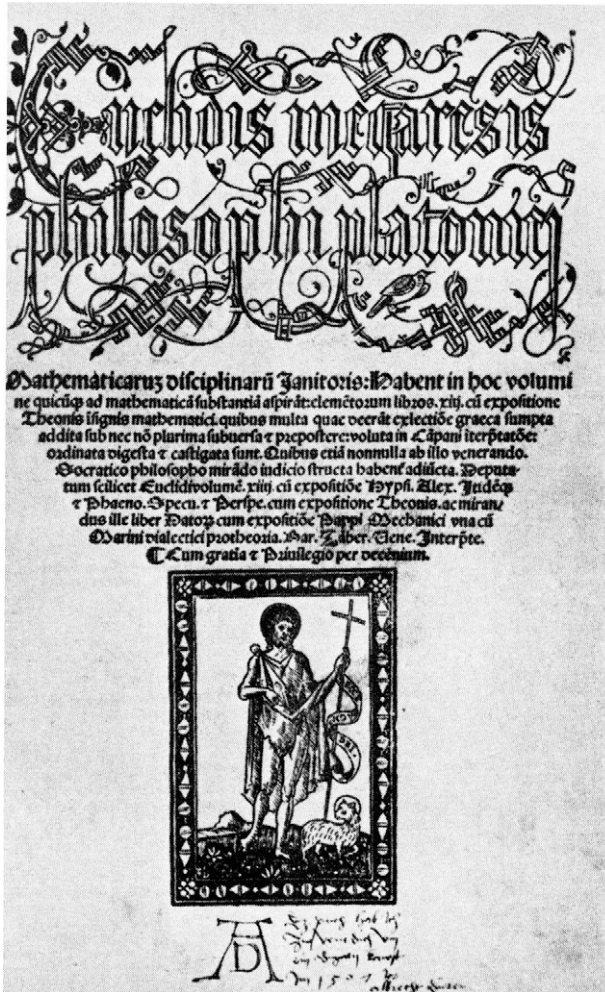


FIGURE 7. Title page of Euclid, *Opera*. Venice: Giovanni Tacuino, 1505. Title page with inscription by Albrecht Dürer recording his purchase in 1507. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Rara A: 22.5 Geom. 2°.

Aldus Manutius the Elder (1449–1515) in Venice in 1499.<sup>34</sup> Manutius was a business associate of Anton Koberger (ca. 1445–1513), Nuremberg's leading publisher, who happened also to be Dürer's godfather. The woodcut illustrations, rather than the difficult language of this love story, most likely

<sup>34</sup>Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Rar. 515. Flock added the inscription, "Emptus ex bibliotheca Alberti Dyreri mar[cis] Rh[enensibus] 7 Anno domini 1555. 13 die Augusti. Eras[mus] Flock D." Rupprich, 1:221, no. 4; *Als die Lettern laufen lerten*, no. 12.

appealed to Dürer. At least one unsigned drawing by Dürer, depicting a table fountain, may have been inspired by the woodcuts of this book.<sup>35</sup> The volume ultimately passed from the possession of Dürer and his wife Agnes (1475–1539) to his youngest brother Endres (1486–1555), a goldsmith in Nuremberg who died in 1555, and then to Erasmus Flock (1514–68), a professor of mathematics in Wittenberg who later practiced medicine in Nuremberg.

In January 1523 Dürer purchased ten books from the estate of the mathematician and astronomer Bernhard Walther (ca. 1430–1504), whose house the artist had bought in 1509.<sup>36</sup> Unfortunately the Nuremberg document concerning the sale does not specify the individual titles. Walther owned a manuscript copy of Leon Battista Alberti's (1404–72) *De Pictura*, written in 1435–36 but only first printed in Basel in 1540. Dürer's own theoretical writings cite Piero della Francesca's (1415–92) then-unpublished *De Prospectiva pingendi* (ca. 1474) and, more extensively, the ancient Roman architect Vitruvius's (fl. late first century BCE) *De Architectura* (*Ten Books on Architecture*), whose influence is already evident in Dürer's proportional designs well before the second trip to Venice.<sup>37</sup>

Judging by his library, Dürer's favorite author was Martin Luther (1483–1546). From 1516 onward, the artist was a member of the Sodalitas Staupitziana, a small group that gathered at the local Augustinian monastery, at first to discuss the writings of Johann Staupitz (1460–1524), the general vicar of the Augustinian order in Germany and Luther's mentor. By 1519 Luther's own writings became the focus of the group, which renamed itself the Sodalitas Martiniana.<sup>38</sup> In about 1520 but prior to his Netherlandish trip, Dürer compiled a list of sixteen booklets by or about Luther that he owned.<sup>39</sup> These included Luther's *Sermon on Indulgence and Grace* of 1518, his text on the prayer *Our Father* for the laity of 1518/19, and perhaps the 1518 German

<sup>35</sup>The drawing is in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford. Winkler, no. 946, which he dates ca. 1500; Strauss, 1974b, no. 1499/3.

<sup>36</sup>The Nuremberg sales document of January 1523 reads "ad 13 ditto verkauft wir dem Albrecht Dürer 10 pücher von des Berenharts Walters pücheren, so den malleren diestlich sein vnd durch Wilbolt Pirchamer geschetz worden vnd zalt an münz fl. 10." Rupprich, 1:221, no. 3; Eckert and von Imhoff, 92.

<sup>37</sup>Vitruvius's theory of human proportions is fully evident in Dürer's *Nemesis* (ca. 1501) and *Adam and Eve* (1504) engravings. Vitruvius's *De Architectura* was published in Rome around 1486, Florence in 1496, and Venice in 1497. See Panofsky, 81–82, 85–86; Günther; Vitruvius. On Piero della Francesca, see Strieder, nos. 628 and 631.

<sup>38</sup>*Reformation in Nürnberg*, 78; Price, 17.

<sup>39</sup>Rupprich, 1:221–22, no. 1, 3:447. London, British Library, Add 5231, fol. 115<sup>a</sup> (not 5228, fol. 115<sup>b</sup> as it is sometimes cited). See Appendix at p. 44 below for Rupprich's list of titles by Luther that Dürer owned.

translation of his *Ninety-Five Theses*. Most of these publications were relatively brief books or pamphlets.<sup>40</sup>

While in the Low Countries in 1520–21, Dürer recorded purchasing or being given several new treatises, including the *Condemnation of Luther*, a Catholic response to Luther's writings by the theologians at the universities of Leuven (Louvain) and Cologne.<sup>41</sup> Cornelis Grapheus (1482–1558), Antwerp's city secretary, exchanged his copy of Luther's *Babylonian Captivity* for Dürer's *Three Large Books* (the *Apocalypse*, *Large Passion*, and *Life of the Virgin*) in 1521.<sup>42</sup> Dürer records paying a monk for binding two books that he purchased.<sup>43</sup> One wonders whether this bookbinder was an Augustinian and whether the tomes were by Luther, who remained an Augustinian monk until 1524. Not all of Dürer's new books were religious in theme.<sup>44</sup> Early in his trip he bought Pieter Gillis, called Petrus Aegidius (1486–1533), and Cornelius Grapheus's account of Charles V's (r. 1519–56) triumphal entry into Antwerp.<sup>45</sup> Dürer voiced his disappointment at being unable to obtain Jacopo de' Barbari's (1469/70–1516) sketchbook of drawings from Margaret of Austria, regent of the Netherlands (r. 1507–15, 1519–30), when he visited her in Mechelen on 7 June 1521.<sup>46</sup> Dürer doubtlessly owned Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt's (1486–1541) pamphlet on the proper veneration

<sup>40</sup>Grünewald, Dürer's contemporary, also owned eighteen Reformation publications published between 1518 and 1523 by Martin Luther, Johann Eberlin (ca. 1470–1533), and Ulrich Zwingli (1484–1531): see Riepertinger et al., 163–67, no. 47.

<sup>41</sup>Rupprich, 1:158, 160; Goris and Marlier, 68–69, 71–72, 80, 94, 98. Rupprich identifies the two different condemnations of Luther that Dürer obtained as *Epistola . . . Cardinalis Dertusensis ad facultatem theologie Lovaniensem. Eius dem facultatis doctrinalis condemnation Martini Lutherii . . . Condemnatio facultatis theologie Coloniensis adversus eius dem Martini doctrinam* (nd, np); and the *Condemnatio doctrinae librorum Martini Lutheri per quosdam magistros Lovanienses et Colonienses facta cum responsione Lutheri* (nd, np).

<sup>42</sup>Rupprich, 1:175; Goris and Marlier, 98. Rupprich says this is either Luther's *De captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae praeludium* (Wittenberg, October 1520) or the joint Latin and German translation by Thomas Murner (1475–ca. 1537), which was printed in Strasbourg with the title *Von der Babylonischen gefengknuff der Kirchen, Doctor Marten Luthers*.

<sup>43</sup>"The monk has bound two books for me in return for the art-wares which I gave him." Goris and Marlier, 88; Rupprich, 1:169.

<sup>44</sup>Sometimes the titles are not given and the entry merely reads *tractetlein* (little treatise), or, twice, two more treatises, or two *büchlein* (little books): Rupprich, 1:160, 164, 172.

<sup>45</sup>"I have paid 1 st. for the printed 'Entry into Antwerp' telling how the king was received with a splendid triumph — the gates very costly adorned — with plays, great joy, and graceful maidens whose like I have seldom seen." Goris and Marlier, 68; Rupprich, 1:157, 186n251.

<sup>46</sup>Goris and Marlier, 96: "I asked my Lady for Jacob's little book, but she said she had already promised it to her painter [Bernart van Orley, ca. 1488–1541]" ("Ich bat mein frauen umb maister Jacobs büchlein, aber sie sagt, sie hetts jhrem mohler zu gesagt"). For the original German, see Rupprich, 1:173, 200.



of the sacrament of 1521 and certainly had Lazarus Spengler's (1479–1534) *Ermahnung und Unterweisung zu einem tugendhaften Wandel* (*Admonition and Instruction to a Virtuous Transformation* [Nuremberg, 1520]), both of which were dedicated to him.<sup>47</sup>

Dürer's personal library contained at least thirty or forty books, and likely many more. In this count I include neither Dürer's own publications, such as his first two theoretical treatises, *Unterweysung der Messung, mit dem Zirckel und Richtscheit* and *Etliche underricht zu befestigung der Stett, Schlosz und flecken* (*Instruction on Fortifications* [1527]), nor his books of prints, such as the *Apocalypse*, nor the fourteen books by Conrad Celtis (1459–1508) and other authors to which he contributed woodcuts.<sup>48</sup> We do not know what tomes he may have obtained from his father Albrecht Dürer the Elder (1427–1502); from his godfather, publisher Anton Koberger; from his teacher Wolgemut, who illustrated many books, including Hartmann Schedel's (1440–1514) *Liber chronicarum* (the *Nuremberg Chronicle* of 1493); and from his best friend Pirckheimer, a noted bibliophile.<sup>49</sup> Dürer's language skills were not limited to German: he possessed some facility with Latin and, less certainly, with Italian and perhaps Dutch. In his theoretical writings he stressed that young artists must learn to read and write, including in Latin.<sup>50</sup>

Dürer, the era's greatest printmaker, collected woodcuts, engravings, drypoints, and etchings by his German contemporaries.<sup>51</sup> While in Antwerp he sold or exchanged prints in his possession by Hans Baldung Grien and Hans Schäufelein (1480/85–1540), younger artists who in the early 1500s had worked in Nuremberg.<sup>52</sup> His ownership of a particular impression of a specific print is documented only once. In 1519 or early 1520 Michael

<sup>47</sup>Karlstadt's title is *Von Anbettung vnd Ererbietung der Tzeychen des Newen Testaments* (Wittenberg: Nickel Schirlentz, 1521; reissued Augsburg: Melchior Ramming, 1521). In 1802 Dürer's copy of Spengler's *Ermahnung und Unterweisung zu einem tugendhaften Wandel*, now lost or not identified, was owned by Georg Wolfgang Panzer, who recorded the artist's annotation: "From Lazarus Spengler, city council secretary, completed and presented to me in the year 1520" ("Von lasseruß Spengler Radschreyber außgangen vnd mir geschantk Jm 1520 Jahr"). Rupprich, 1:93, 221 (no. 2), 3:447; Pfeiffer; Price, 253–54; Hamm, 73–117, especially 74–78, with the text of Spengler's dedication at 75n5.

<sup>48</sup>Schoch, Mende, and Scherbaum, 3:33–474, nos. 261–77.

<sup>49</sup>On Pirckheimer's library, see Eckert and von Imhoff, 30–33. On contemporary Nuremberg book collectors and libraries, see Eser, 34–36.

<sup>50</sup>Among his rules for a young artist he writes, "zum fünften, daz er [the apprentice] wol lessen vnd schreiben kün vnd mit dem Latein awff ertzogen werd, zw versten ettlich geschrift." Rupprich, 2:92; Bushart, 30–31.

<sup>51</sup>Parshall.

<sup>52</sup>Rupprich, 1:165, 167; Goris and Marlier, 83, 85.

Ostendorfer (fl. 1520–49) created a large woodcut about the pilgrimage to the shrine of the Beautiful Virgin in Regensburg (fig. 8). The temporary wooden chapel, built in 1519 following the sudden expulsion of the city's long-established Jewish community, attracted hundreds of thousands of pilgrims between 1519 and 1525. Ostendorfer's woodcut illustrates the fervor of those seeking cures or intercession from Mary. Villagers carrying banners and giant candles proceed in a more orderly fashion around and into the chapel. Crutches, farm implements, and other votives hang from the porch, attesting to the site's efficacy. As more and more people flocked to Regensburg, stories of abuses, fake miracles, and economic exploitation circulated. On his impression of this print, Dürer penned a lament: "1523. This specter has arisen against the Holy Scripture in Regensburg and is permitted by the bishop because it is useful for now. God help us that we do not dishonor the worthy mother of Christ in this way but [honor] her in his name, Amen. Albrecht Dürer."<sup>53</sup> A print of this scale would have been best stored in a large book or a folder.<sup>54</sup> Dürer may have initially acquired this woodcut for aesthetic or perhaps devotional reasons. At some point, however, from his increasingly Lutheran perspective, it came to evidence the gross abuses and dishonoring of the Virgin Mary condoned by Catholic Church officials.

The artist's journal of his Netherlandish trip is the richest source about his collecting.<sup>55</sup> Accompanied by his wife Agnes and a servant, Susanna (1502/06–62), he traveled to the Low Countries. The main purpose of the trip was to obtain from the new emperor, Charles V, a renewal of his annuity, which Emperor Maximilian I (r. 1493–1519) initially had awarded in 1515. Yet Dürer lingered for almost another eight months because of his love of travel, his curiosity, and perhaps also because of his frail health after having contracted malaria during his trip to Zeeland in December 1520. Dürer was fêted in every major town he visited. He wrote down details of his financial transactions, the names of those with whom he dined, and other observations. The entries for some days are lengthy, while occasionally there are weeks with scarcely a notation. Thus the journal provides a snapshot of his stay, rather than an inclusive picture. Still,

<sup>53</sup>Inscription on fig. 8: "1523. Dis gespenst hat sich widr dy heilig geschrift erhebst zw Regenspurg vnd is vom bischoff verhengt worden, czeitlichs nutz halben nit abgestellt. Gott helff vns, das wir sein werde muter nit also unern, sundr in Cristo Jesu. amen. Albrecht Dürer." Andersson and Talbot, 323–25; Rupprich, 1:210.

<sup>54</sup>Willibald Imhoff, who owned hundreds of prints and drawings by Dürer, stored these in a series of leatherbound books of varying sizes: Jante, 79–83, especially nos. 1–12, 23 in the 1573–74 inventory.

<sup>55</sup>On this trip, see Veth and Muller, especially 2:182–201; Rupprich, 1:13, 146–202; Goris and Marlier; Sahm, 133–84; Unverfehrt.

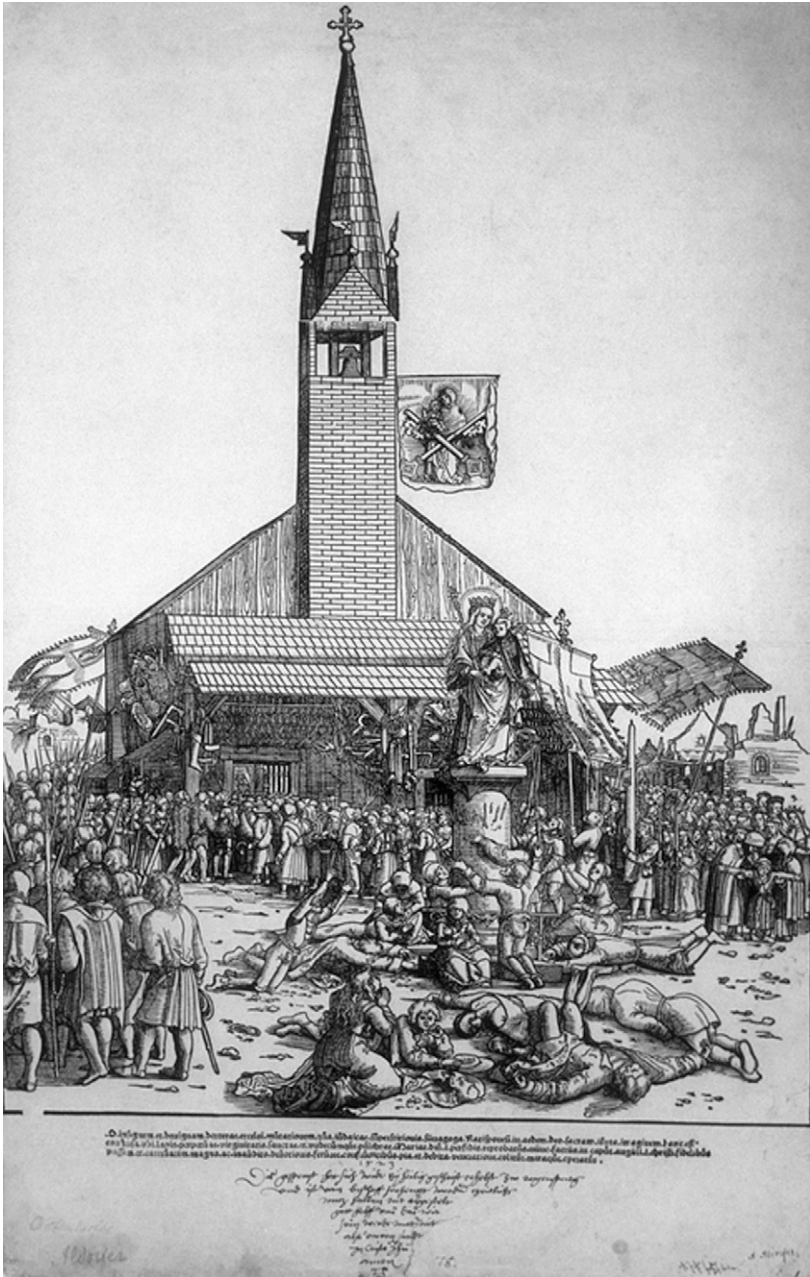


FIGURE 8. Michael Ostendorfer. *Pilgrimage to the Shrine of the Beautiful Virgin of Regensburg*, 1519–20. Woodcut with inscription by Albrecht Dürer, 1523. Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg/Germany.

no comparable text exists for any other Northern European artist at this time.<sup>56</sup>

The journal is filled with references to his meetings with virtually every notable artist then active in the Low Countries, other than Quinten Massys (1466–1530), whose house he toured while the painter was presumably abroad; Jan Gossart; and Joos van Cleve (d. 1540/41). He enjoyed cordial relations with the landscape painter Joachim Patinir (ca. 1480–1524).<sup>57</sup> Dürer was even the guest of honor at Patinir's wedding. Dürer's recorded, but now lost, portrait of Patinir was apparently the source for Cornelis Cort's (1533–78) 1572 engraving of the artist.<sup>58</sup> He received Patinir's painting *Lot and his Daughters Fleeing Sodom and Gomorrah* (fig. 9) not from the artist, but from Adrian Herbouts, Antwerp's city syndicate.<sup>59</sup> Measuring just 22.5 x 29.7 centimeters, the picture is small enough for easy transport. Two angels guide the trio through a fantastic landscape as the cities behind burn. Lot's wife, now a pillar of salt, is but a white mark on the road behind them. The subsequent scene of the daughters seducing Lot occurs in the tent at the upper right.

Among the last artists Dürer met was Lucas van Leyden (ca. 1494–1533), whom we see in the Nuremberg master's silverpoint sketch (fig. 10).<sup>60</sup> The journal entries read, "Master Lucas who engraves in copper asked me to be his guest. He is a little man, born at Leyden in Holland; he was at Antwerp" and, later, "I gave 8 fl. of my prints for a whole set of Lucas's engravings."<sup>61</sup> Lucas was the greatest of the current Netherlandish printmakers. Some of his

<sup>56</sup>I am not aware of any comparable journals by Italian artists. Perhaps the idea was suggested to him by one of his merchant friends, who were accustomed to keeping business accounts, or perhaps by Pirckheimer. Dürer's father documented the births and all-too-frequent deaths of his and Barbara's eighteen children. In 1524 Dürer copied this information in his family chronicle. It is unknown what other written records Albrecht the Elder kept. At the very least, the father's actions may have inspired Dürer's penchant for documenting his own life. See Rupprich, 1:28–34, especially 29.

<sup>57</sup>Rupprich, 1:152, 167, 169, 172, 175; Goris and Marlier, 59, 85, 88–89, 93, 97.

<sup>58</sup>Dürer portrayed Patinir in silverpoint in late April or early May 1521. He writes, "I have drawn with the metal-point the portrait of Master Joachim and made him besides another likeness with the metal-point": Goris and Marlier, 88; Rupprich, 1:169. The engraved portrait of Patinir by Cornelis Cort, with its accompanying text mentioning Dürer's prototype, was published in Lampsonius, pl. 8: see Sellink, no. 226. For another version of this engraving, which contains Dürer's monogram and the date 1521, see Winkler, 4: Appendix, plate II.

<sup>59</sup>Rupprich, 1:167; Goris and Marlier, 85; Vergara, 164–69.

<sup>60</sup>Winkler, no. 816; Strauss, 1974b, no. 1521/26.

<sup>61</sup>Rupprich, 1:174–75; Goris and Marlier, 96, 98; Filedt Kok and Piet with Cornelis and Smits.



FIGURE 9. Joachim Patinir. *Lot and His Daughters Fleeing Sodom and Gomorrah*, ca. 1521. Painting. Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen.

engravings intentionally quote from and attempt to rival Dürer's prints. Eight florins was a considerable sum for prints. To put this into perspective, Dürer sold his *Three Large Books* (the *Apocalypse*, the *Large Passion*, and the *Life of the Virgin*) for six stuivers apiece or four for one florin, and his *Engraved Passion* for twelve stuivers or two for one florin.<sup>62</sup> Or put differently, the exchange was equal to at least forty-eight impressions of Dürer's famous *Adam and Eve* engraving of 1504. In today's market one or two good impressions of the *Adam and Eve* would have paid for the entire year's trip. In return Dürer

<sup>62</sup>Unverfehrt, 213, 226. One Rhine florin (or gulden) equals twenty-four stuivers; one gold florin (a Carolus gulden) equals twenty stuivers. Since Dürer was selling prints in quantity and had only recently arrived in Antwerp, the prices he charged Sebald Fisher may have been discounted: Rupprich, 1:152. On 24 November 1520, Dürer records the sale of the following prints for eight florins: two *Adam and Eves*, one *Sea Monster (Meerwunder)*, one *St. Jerome*, one *Knight, Death, and the Devil*, one *Nemesis*, one *St. Eustace*, one whole sheet, seventeen etchings, eight quarter-sheet prints, nineteen woodcuts, seven bad (simple) woodcuts, two books (but without specifying which of the three books — the *Apocalypse*, *Large Passion*, or the *Life of the Virgin* — was included), and ten *Small Woodcut Passions*: see Rupprich, 1:162.



FIGURE 10. Albrecht Dürer. *Portrait of Lucas van Leyden*, 1521. Silverpoint drawing. Lille, Palais des Beaux-Arts.

received a significant quantity of Lucas's best prints.<sup>63</sup> This was one of the rare occasions on which Dürer acquired, or at least documented, his acquisition of works by his Netherlandish contemporaries.

Dürer obtained art through exchange or barter — as in the case of Lucas's prints — through purchases, and as gifts.<sup>64</sup> His activities are consistent with the prevailing gift economy in which social equals exchanged objects or services of roughly equivalent value. Gifts offered to a social superior were

<sup>63</sup>See Matile, 83–137, for van Leyden's prints from 1512 to 1520, some of which were likely among his gift to Dürer; and *ibid.*, 138–54, for the impact of Dürer's prints on van Leyden after their meeting.

<sup>64</sup>On social protocols of gift-giving, see Davis; Eichberger, 2005.

often done with the expectation of receiving something of higher value in return.<sup>65</sup> Dürer was stung when Margaret of Austria failed to reward him for his various gifts and when she disliked the portrait of her father Emperor Maximilian I, which he had hoped to present to her.<sup>66</sup> When artists invited him for a meal, he often reciprocated their generosity by sketching their portraits. Dürer lists receiving small gifts from artists, such as a pair of knives from the German sculptor Konrad Meit (fl. 1506–50/51) and some glass rosewater bottles for Agnes from the French sculptor Jean Mone (ca. 1485/90–1549[?]).<sup>67</sup> Sometimes he made a portrait or exchanged prints for objects that appealed to him, such as a cedar rosary, four silver medals, and a model of one of the ships of Ambrosius Höchstetter (d. 1534), an Augsburg merchant based in Antwerp who traded with the Portuguese.<sup>68</sup> The latter was either a high-quality wooden model or painting of the ship, for which the artist bought a special case.<sup>69</sup>

Dürer did occasionally purchase items. He singles out a miniature by Susanna Horenbout, the eighteen-year-old daughter of Gerard Horenbout (or Horebout; before 1465–1541), a Ghent manuscript illuminator. Dürer writes, “She has illuminated a *Salvator* on a little sheet, for which I gave her one fl. It is very wonderful that a woman can do so much.”<sup>70</sup> He seems to have valued this mainly for its novelty. He bought the occasional print, including two *Eulenspiegels* and six Netherlandish cards, but he rarely provides sufficient detail to identify these today.

<sup>65</sup>In late September or early October 1526, Dürer gave his *Four Apostles* (Alte Pinakothek, Munich) to Nuremberg’s city council knowing that the leaders would reciprocate. The council acknowledged his gift and rewarded him with 100 gulden plus a tip of twelve gulden for Agnes and two gulden for an unnamed assistant: see Rupprich, 1:117, 242–43, 246; Conway, 135; Goldberg, Heimberg, and Schawe, 519–21, 551.

<sup>66</sup>In early July 1521 Dürer wrote, “In all my doings, spendings, sales, and other dealings, in all my connections with high and low, I have suffered loss in the Netherlands; and Lady Margaret in particular gave me nothing for what I made and presented to her”: Goris and Marlier, 98. On their interactions, see Rupprich, 1:155, 158, 173, 175–76; Goris and Marlier, 64, 68, 95–96, 98–99.

<sup>67</sup>Rupprich, 1:172, 175; Goris and Marlier, 94, 98.

<sup>68</sup>Rupprich, 1:167; Goris and Marlier, 77, 79, 85.

<sup>69</sup>The inventory of Pirkheimer’s possessions following his death in 1533 lists a panel with a painted ship (“Tafel mit einem gemalten Schiff”). Quite possibly this is identical with the ship that Dürer obtained in Antwerp. See Hampe, 64.

<sup>70</sup>Goris and Marlier, 94; Rupprich, 1:172. Brinkmann, “Susanna Horenbout,” notes that she was active from 1520 to 1550. She moved to England with her parents. Susanna married John Parker (d. 1537/38) and then John Gylmyn. She is mentioned at the English royal court as a painter and lady-in-waiting. The attributions of portrait miniatures to Susanna are without a secure basis.

The third method of obtaining art was as a gift. Dürer records receiving a child's head on linen from Lorenz Sterck, treasurer to the provinces of Brabant and Antwerp, and three men's portraits, a gift from Erasmus (1467–1536), the famed humanist whom Dürer sketched twice during his stay in the Netherlands.<sup>71</sup> Thus his acquisition of art was often hardly systematic or even very suggestive about his aesthetic tastes.

Dürer seems to have been more interested in Italian art than in Netherlandish. There are journal entries for purchasing Italian art wares for three florins and Italian prints for eighteen stuivers.<sup>72</sup> He developed a close friendship with Tommaso Vincidor (fl. before 1517–34/36) of Bologna, one of Raphael's former assistants whom Pope Leo X sent to the southern Netherlands to design cartoons for tapestries to be woven in Brussels for the Sala di Constantino and Sala del Concisoro in the Vatican.<sup>73</sup> When Tommaso visited Dürer soon after the latter's arrival in Antwerp, he presented the German artist with, to cite the latter, "an antique gold ring with a very well-cut stone. It is worth five fl. but already I have been offered the double for it. I gave him six fl. worth of my best prints for it."<sup>74</sup> In early October he wrote, "I gave Thomas of Bologna a whole set of prints to send for me to Rome to another painter who should send me Raphael's work in return."<sup>75</sup> Whether Dürer ever received the promised work by Raphael is unknown. Raphael, who had died in 1520, continued to fascinate Dürer. Later journal entries note that Tommaso twice gave "an Italian work of art" to Dürer, who on a separate occasion purchased another Italian object.<sup>76</sup> Unfortunately, none of these items is identifiable today.

During his sojourn in the Netherlands, Dürer was exposed to artistic wares and other curiosities from the Americas, Africa, and southern Asia.<sup>77</sup> One of the most memorable and most famous passages from his journal records his awe at seeing the Aztec treasures brought to Europe in 1519 by Hernán Cortés (1485–1547) that were on display in the Coudenberg Palace in Brussels during his initial visit in late August 1520.<sup>78</sup> He writes, "I saw the things which have been brought to the king from the new land of gold, a sun all of gold a whole fathom broad, and a moon all of silver of the same size, also two rooms full of the armor of the people there, and all manner of

<sup>71</sup>Rupprich, 1:152; Goris and Marlier, 59.

<sup>72</sup>Rupprich, 1:165, 172; Goris and Marlier, 83, 93.

<sup>73</sup>Campbell; Ferrari.

<sup>74</sup>Rupprich, 1:158; Goris and Marlier, 68. Also see n9 above.

<sup>75</sup>Rupprich, 1:158; Goris and Marlier, 69.

<sup>76</sup>Rupprich, 1:177; Goris and Marlier, 100–01.

<sup>77</sup>Massing; and, more generally, Johnson.

<sup>78</sup>Rupprich, 1:155, 184n194.



wondrous weapons of theirs, harness and darts, very strange clothing, beds, and all kinds of wonderful objects of human use, much better worth seeing than prodigies. These things were all so precious that they are valued at 100,000 florins. All the days of my life I have seen nothing that rejoiced my heart so much as these things, for I saw among them wonderful works of art, and I marveled at the subtle *Ingenia* of men in foreign lands. Indeed I cannot express all that I thought there.”<sup>79</sup> Dürer pens the first written reaction to these items from the New World. An Aztec feathered shield from the booty of Cortés exemplifies the sorts of objects seen by the artist.<sup>80</sup> However, this may not have been Dürer’s first contact, direct or indirect, with artifacts from the New World, since in one of his marginalia for the *Prayer Book of Emperor Maximilian I* (1515), he includes a fanciful depiction of a Brazilian Indian.<sup>81</sup> In this sketch, Dürer mistakenly turned a headdress (or cape) into a skirt. Later the artist may have encountered other items brought from the New World. While in Nuremberg on 12 January 1524, Martín de Peredes, chamberlain of Ferdinand I (1503–64), recorded that his master received from Emperor Charles V a marvelously worked cape with multicolored feathers and tiger fur lining. He claims that Montezuma (or Moctezuma; 1466–1520) wore this cape during pagan religious services in New Spain.<sup>82</sup>

Vasco da Gama (ca. 1460/69–1524) and other Portuguese explorers had sailed around Africa and reached southwestern India by 1498.<sup>83</sup> Their traders imported large quantities of spices and other items back to Lisbon and to Antwerp, which in 1498 Manuel I, King of Portugal (r. 1495–1521), designated as the official distribution center for Northern Europe.<sup>84</sup> Soon after arriving in Antwerp, Dürer was hosted by Thomé Lopez, the Portuguese ambassador; João Brandão, the current factor, or royal trade representative; and Rodrigo Fernandez d’Almada, the factor’s first secretary and himself the next factor. He had extensive interaction with all three men. Rodrigo, whom Dürer typically refers to by his first name, became one of the artist’s closest friends and the source of several unusual, non-European gifts.

<sup>79</sup>Goris and Marlier, 64. See also Veth and Muller, 2:100–08; Rupprich, 1:155; Hess. The objects were first displayed in Toledo and then Valladolid before being shipped to Brussels. I wish to thank Peter Hess for sharing his article. Shelton, 194, notes that there was a second shipment to Spain in 1522 and a third in September 1526. Also see Greenblatt.

<sup>80</sup>The shield is in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Vienna. Veth and Muller, 2:106–07; Unverfehrt, 69, fig. 15.

<sup>81</sup>Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, L. impr. Membr. 64, fol. 41<sup>r</sup>. Strauss, 1974a, fol. 41<sup>r</sup>; Levenson, 514–15.

<sup>82</sup>Edelmayer, 2657–58.

<sup>83</sup>Levenson, 36; Bujok.

<sup>84</sup>Limberger, 41–42.

On a single day in early April 1521, Dürer sketched Brandão's secretary in charcoal; Katharina, the factor's Moorish servant, in metalpoint; and Rodrigo in pencil and brush.<sup>85</sup> The portrait of Katharina is one of the finest studies of an African from this period.

Dürer's collection of exotica included numerous items from Calicut, a name used to refer to almost anything from Africa or southern Asia. The artist had some rudimentary familiarity with these lands explored by the Portuguese. In about 1506, a book entitled *Den rechten weg ausz zu faren vo[n] Liszbona gen Kallakuth* (*The Correct Way to Travel from Lisbon to Calicut*) was published in Nuremberg and doubtlessly discussed among local humanists and merchants.<sup>86</sup> Dürer was likely familiar as well with Hans Burgkmair's *People of Africa and India* (1508), an eight-block woodcut frieze with excerpts of Balthasar Springer's account of his journey around Africa to the Malabar Coast of India.<sup>87</sup> Springer, supported by the Welsers of Augsburg, accompanied Francisco Almeida's (ca. 1450–1510) mission of 1505–06 that created the first Portuguese viceroyalty in India. Although Dürer encountered art and artifacts from Africa and India while in Antwerp, he may have seen other items in South German collections.<sup>88</sup>

The artist acquired most of his non-European possessions from acquaintances in Antwerp. If Dürer was inquisitive, Ambrosius Höchstetter, with whom he bartered for a portrait of his trading ship, was certainly an invaluable source of information about Africa and India. According to the humanist Konrad Peutinger (1465–1547), Höchstetter was one of at least three Augsburg patricians who purchased Indians, presumably as servants.<sup>89</sup> Lorenz Sterck gave Dürer a *Calicutish* wooden weapon, and Herr Gilbert, about whom nothing more is known, presented the artist with "a small Calicut target [shield] made of fish skin and two gloves with which the natives there fight."<sup>90</sup> Dürer owned a prized lance.<sup>91</sup> Rodrigo gave Dürer two lengths of Calicut cloth, one woven in silk. Dürer records items such as an old Turkish

<sup>85</sup>The drawing of Katharina is in Florence (Uffizi) and that of Rodrigo is in Berlin (Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett). The portrait of the secretary is either lost or unidentified. Rupprich, 1:167; Goris and Marlier, 85; Winkler, nos. 818, 813; Strauss, 1974b, nos. 1521/8–9.

<sup>86</sup>Bezzel; Leitch, 138.

<sup>87</sup>See Leitch for an excellent discussion of this series.

<sup>88</sup>Ibid., 149.

<sup>89</sup>Ibid., 141, citing a handwritten note penned by Peutinger in his copy of Ptolemy's *Cosmographia*, now in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Gough Gen. top. 225, fol. A3<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>90</sup>Rupprich, 1:166; Goris and Marlier, 59, 84.

<sup>91</sup>Rupprich, 1:176; Goris and Marlier, 100.

whip, a printed Turkish cloth, and a piece of Moroccan leather.<sup>92</sup> In early September 1520, Brandão presented him with three pieces of *parcolona* (porcelain) and Rodrigo added some Calicut feathers.<sup>93</sup> Sterck gave him a nice piece of porcelain and an ivory whistle, which must have been of high value since Dürer reciprocated by giving him a “whole set of prints.”<sup>94</sup> Costly Asian imports, such as Chinese porcelain, increasingly were becoming available in major port cities like Antwerp.

In one of his most interesting entries, Dürer records, “I bought two ivory saltcellars from Calicut for 3 fl.”<sup>95</sup> Since the late fifteenth century, the Portuguese had commissioned and imported elaborate ivory saltcellars and eating utensils from the Sapi people living on the coast of Sierra Leone.<sup>96</sup> As seen in a beautiful contemporary example (fig. 11), these vessels typically have a flat-topped conical or cylindrical base ornamented with repetitive decorative patterns and rows of beads, central vertical supports sometimes alternating with human or animal figures, and, on top, a spherical lidded cup often with additional repeated, decorative markings as well as figures.<sup>97</sup> At a cost of three florins Dürer acquired attractive, but likely simpler, saltcellars. Yet it is difficult to know relative valuations. According to eighteen records of import duties paid by merchants bringing saltcellars into Portugal in 1504–05, these objects were relatively inexpensive.<sup>98</sup> They were assessed at less than the cost of a good linen shirt. Susan Vogel notes that Dürer’s ivory saltcellars are the first documented examples recorded in Europe outside of Portugal.<sup>99</sup> Although these are referred to as saltcellars, their utility was as exotic table or sideboard decorations rather than as objects for practical, daily use.

<sup>92</sup>Rupprich, 1:156, 158, 164–66, 175; Goris and Marlier, 66, 80, 97.

<sup>93</sup>Rupprich, 1:156; Goris and Marlier, 65.

<sup>94</sup>Goris and Marlier, 83; Rupprich, 1:166: “ein schöne porzelona.” For examples of import items that soon entered a princely collection, see Seipel, 176–77, for an Indo-Portuguese hair cloak or cover, likely made in Bengal, woven in silk and cotton, and dating ca. 1550–75; *ibid.*, 182–83, for an Indo-Portuguese lacquered wooden bowl with gold-leaf decorations produced in Cochin or Malacca in the second half of the sixteenth century.

<sup>95</sup>Rupprich, 1:165: “2 calecutisch helffenbaine salczfaß geben”; Goris and Marlier, 81; Bassani, 114, no. 400. Dürer also acquired a little ivory skull, a whistle, and four ivory combs, which most likely were European products. Rupprich, 1:160, 162, 166; Goris and Marlier, 72, 79, 86.

<sup>96</sup>Vogel, 14–15.

<sup>97</sup>For this and an equally attractive example in the same collection, see Bassani and Gagg, 61–81, 225–31, nos. 31, 41; Levenson, no. 67.

<sup>98</sup>Vogel, 13.

<sup>99</sup>*Ibid.* Also see Bassani and Gagg, 64; Bassani, especially xxi–xxxvii, 93–133, on similar African items recorded in early German collections.



FIGURE 11. Sapi-Portuguese artist(s). Saltcellar, ca. 1490–1530. Ivory. Rome, Museo Nazionale Preistorico e Etnografico. © S-MNPE “L. Pigorini,” Roma EUR — su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali.

Beyond the considerable quantities of clothing and fabric obtained during his travels, Dürer also acquired both *naturalia*, or interesting natural objects, and living creatures.<sup>100</sup> Through purchase, gift, or barter, he amassed several pieces of white coral; veined shells, most likely from outside Europe; a large tortoise shell, as well as several snail shells; a squid obtained either for its ink or, if dried, as a collectible; a great fish scale, fourteen fish skins, and several dried fish; a sprouting bulb; seeds from Italy; arrows made with cane shafts; thirteen brushes made of porpoise bristles (*wild mehr schwein pörster*); a musk ball, which then typically came from Central Asia; a little skull; two elk's hooves, one of which was valued highly at one gold florin; several ox, cow, and buffalo horns; and coconuts from India.<sup>101</sup> Several of the horns and one of the elk hooves ultimately were gifts for close friends in Nuremberg.<sup>102</sup> Willibald Pirckheimer received a costly inkstand made from a buffalo horn.<sup>103</sup> A good-sized horn also could be fashioned into a drinking vessel or into a wall decoration.<sup>104</sup> Recall that one of Pirckheimer's petty grievances against Agnes Dürer after the artist's death was her refusal to give him a prized set of stag antlers that he had coveted.<sup>105</sup> Rodrigo presented Dürer with Indian coconuts. Besides their exotic appearance, coconuts were sometimes carved and given goldsmith fittings, as seen in Melchior Baier (active 1525–77) and Peter Flötner's (1485/90–1546) Holzschuher drinking cup (fig. 12) with its bawdy scenes about drunkenness, which dates to around 1540.<sup>106</sup> Dürer also

<sup>100</sup>Eichberger, 1998, 13–37.

<sup>101</sup>Rupprich, 1:156, 158–60, 164–66, 172, 174–76; Goris and Marlier, 58–59, 65–72, 76, 79, 81, 83–84, 96–98, 100.

<sup>102</sup>Rupprich, 1:167; Goris and Marlier, 85. In addition to his present of an inkstand to Pirckheimer, Dürer gave Caspar Nützel (ca. 1471–1529) a great elk's foot, Hieronymus Holzschuher a very large horn, and Lazarus Spengler and another member of his family three fine horns each: *ibid.* Dürer sketched elk, bison, and roebuck: see Winkler, nos. 242–43; Rowlands and Bartrum, nos. 160<sup>r-v</sup>; Koreny, nos. 54–54.1.

<sup>103</sup>Pirckheimer possessed at least fifty-seven goldsmith works, mostly show pieces such as double cups and a drinking cup in the shape of an apple. He had a deer's head with antlers fashioned from coral. He inherited from Dr. Lorenz Behaim (ca. 1457–1521) a drinking vessel made from a narwhal's horn. See Pilz, 100; Jante, 9.

<sup>104</sup>Levenson, no. 8, illustrates a Salzburg or Nuremberg example from ca. 1400, now in Florence (Museo degli Argenti, Palazzo Pitti). These were sometimes referred to as griffin claws.

<sup>105</sup>In a letter, composed in 1530 but never sent to Johann Tschertte (d. 1552), the noted architect in Vienna, Pirckheimer writes, "Albrecht hat auch etliche Hirschgeweihe gehabt und unter ihnen ein besonders schönes, das ich gern gehabt hätte, aber sie [Agnes Dürer] hat sie heimlich und um ein Spottgeld samt anderen sehr schönen dingen hinweggegeben." Eckert and von Imhoff, 365; Schleif, 193.

<sup>106</sup>Kohlhaussen, no. 469 (*Holzschuher Cup*); also no. 472 for an aurochs-horn (wild ox) drinking cup made in Nuremberg in 1534.



FIGURE 12. Melchior Baier and Peter Flötner. *Holzschuber Cup*, ca. 1540. Coconut with gilt-silver settings. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum.

acquired a “magnetstain” (a magnetic or lodestone) for sixteen stuivers, an alabaster bowl, and, in the more sumptuous category, numerous jewels including an agate engraved with an image of Lucretia, a jacinth (a red transparent zircon), a ring made from buffalo, six precious stones, and three small rubies.<sup>107</sup> One expensive sapphire ring and two other rings were valued at fifty-four fl. and eight stuivers, or roughly the equivalent of 326 copies of *Adam and Eve*.<sup>108</sup>

Rodrigo, Dürer’s Portuguese friend, gave the artist and his wife a small green parrot, then a second one, and, near the end of the stay in Antwerp, a third parrot listed as coming from Malaga.<sup>109</sup> Dürer purchased two cages for these. In mid-December, or about halfway through his trip, Dürer bought a little baboon for four gold florins.<sup>110</sup> The fate of this animal is unknown since it is not mentioned again. The artist depicted monkeys in several of his earlier works. In 1521 Dürer carefully portrayed a large baboon (fig. 13); however, since it appears together with a lynx, three lions, and a chamois, the animal was likely in the palace zoological garden in Brussels, which the artist visited at the end of his Netherlandish journey.<sup>111</sup>

Dürer collected memories throughout his trip. These are obviously harder to quantify than objects. By recording his thoughts in the journal, he textually collected his experiences.<sup>112</sup> One example will illustrate this. About his visit to Ghent on 9 and 10 April 1521, he writes in part, “On my arrival in Ghent the Dean of the Painters came to me and brought with him the first masters in painting; they showed me great honor, received me most courteously, offered me their goodwill and service, and supped with me. On Wednesday they took me early to the Belfry of St. John whence I looked over the great wonderful town, yet in which even I had just been taken for

<sup>107</sup>Rupprich, 1:155, 166, 172, 174; Goris and Marlier, 64, 84–85, 94, 97.

<sup>108</sup>Rupprich, 1:174; Goris and Marlier, 97.

<sup>109</sup>It is possible that this last parrot could have been imported into Spain from the Americas. Rupprich, 1:154, 157, 175; Goris and Marlier, 63, 65–67, 97–98; Winkler, no. 244 (*Parrot*, Milan, Bibliotheca Ambrosiana); Eisler, 10–11, 15, 33, 50–51, pl. 30.

<sup>110</sup>Rupprich, 1:164; Goris and Marlier, 80.

<sup>111</sup>Talbot, no. XXVIII; Strauss, 1974b, no. 1521/40; Koreny, no. 57a; Levenson, no. 205. Massing suggests the monkey died soon or, I might propose, was given away. In 1523 Dürer sent a sketch with dancing monkeys to Felix Frey (1470–1555), an artist in Zürich. He remarked, “In regard to the dance of the monkeys that you asked me to draw, I am sending you an awkward sketch, for I have not seen monkeys in a long time. Please be understanding”: Massing, 117; Rupprich, 1:106–08, no. 51. On Dürer’s drawings of monkeys, see Eisler, 10–11, 33, 35–39, pls. 23–24. Hans Cranach (ca. 1513–37) depicted a pet monkey six times, including once on his (?) shoulders, in his silverpoint sketchbook of 1537 now in Hannover (Kestner Museum): see Jahn, 626.

<sup>112</sup>On different ways of dealing with and recording memory, see Beecher and Williams.

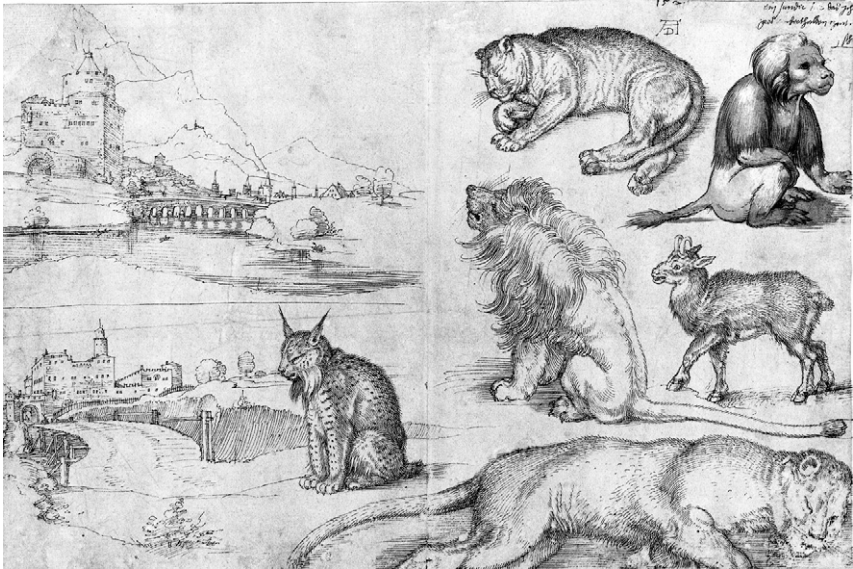


FIGURE 13. Albrecht Dürer. *Sketches of Animals and Landscapes*, 1521. Pen and ink drawing with blue, gray, and rose wash. Williamstown, Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute. © Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, MA (photo by Michael Agee).

something great. Then I saw Jan's picture; it is a most precious painting, full of thought, and the Eve, Mary, and God the Father are especially good. Next I saw the lions and drew one with metal-point."<sup>113</sup> Looking over the city from the top of the tower of St. Jan's (fig. 14), Ghent's main church that was renamed St. Bavo's in 1559, he proudly reflected that the leading artists of this great city had just called him great. He remarks, albeit briefly, on Jan van Eyck's (ca. 1390–1441) *Adoration of the Mystic Lamb* of 1432, which is still housed in this church. Interestingly, the only thing he depicted was the live lion, which he drew in his silverpoint sketchbook.<sup>114</sup> This portable volume, which he refers to as *mein Buchlein*, contains drawings that record interesting sites or people that he encountered.<sup>115</sup>

<sup>113</sup>Goris and Marlier, 87; Rupprich, 1:168.

<sup>114</sup>Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett. See Winkler, no. 779; Strauss, 1974b, nos. 1521/12.

<sup>115</sup>Rupprich, 1:159, n292. This silverpoint sketchbook remained his property until his death. Rupprich reports that the sketchbook was intact, other than missing a few of the first drawings, and in the Albertina collection in Vienna until the early nineteenth century. Several of the folios were sold. Fifteen sheets, twelve of which include drawings on both sides, survive. Winkler, 4:11–23, and nos. 761–87.



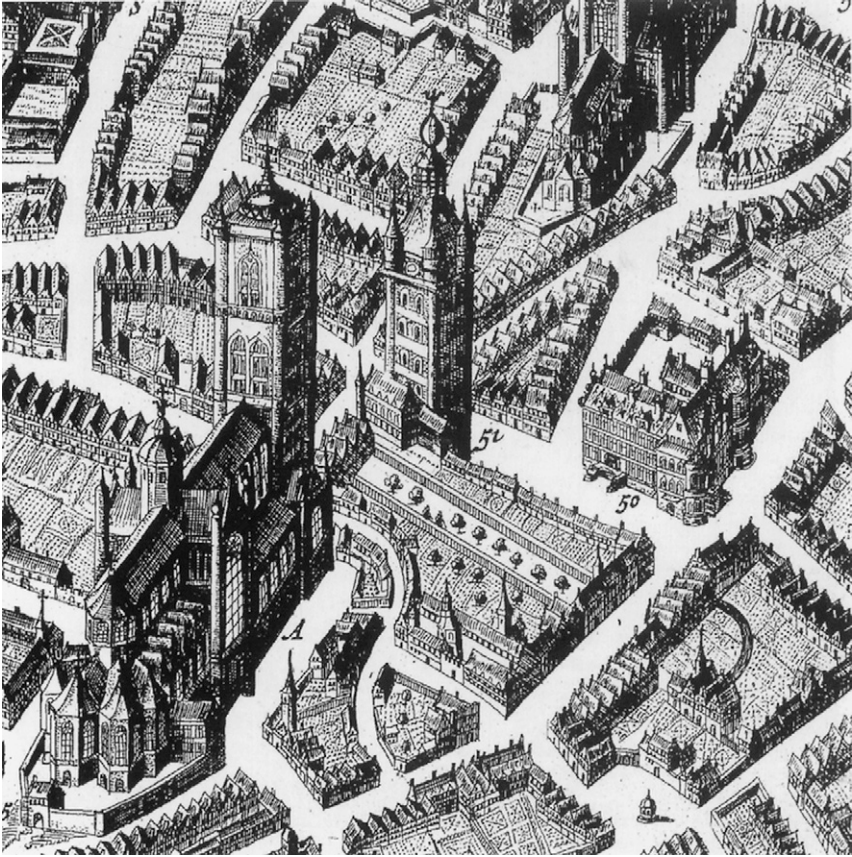


FIGURE 14. Hendricus Hondius. *Plan of Ghent*, detail of St. Bavo's Cathedral, 1641. Engraving.

As they sailed back up the Rhine near Boppard, Dürer portrayed his wife (fig. 15) in this sketchbook.<sup>116</sup> Even without knowing what Agnes might have purchased during the trip, it is clear that they returned to Nuremberg with much more than they had left with a year earlier: the journal records several shipments of bales and packing trunks being sent ahead to Nuremberg.<sup>117</sup> Dürer even prevailed upon Wenzeslaus Link (1483–1547),

<sup>116</sup>Winkler, nos. 780; Strauss, 1974b, nos. 1521/57; Schröder and Sternath, no. 174r.

<sup>117</sup>Dürer shipped large quantities of prints from Nuremberg to Antwerp before, and possibly during, his stay there. He likely used the services of his friend Hans Imhoff's (1461–1522) firm for transporting these materials to Antwerp. See Rupprich, 1:166, 169, 173, 175–77; Goris and Marlier, 84, 88–89, 95–99, 100, 103.



FIGURE 15. Albrecht Dürer. *Portrait of Agnes Dürer and a Young Girl in Cologne Dress*, 1521. Silverpoint drawing. Vienna, Albertina.

the vicar-general of the German congregation of the Augustinians, to transport some of the more fragile items. He writes, “I gave the new vicarius the great turtle shell, the fish shield, the long pipe, the long lance, the fish-fins, and the two little casks of lemons and capers to take home for me.”<sup>118</sup> Still other items accompanied Dürer, Agnes, and their maid Susanna as they headed home.

Dürer purchased his large house (fig. 16) opposite the Tiergärtnerort in Nuremberg in 1509.<sup>119</sup> Acquired in 1825 by the city of Nuremberg, it was used first by an art society, the Albrecht-Dürer-Verein; since 1871 it has been in the Albrecht-Dürer-Haus Museum. Architectural and archeological studies have yielded considerable information about the building and its history; however, the original functions of most rooms remain conjectural. The floor plans (fig. 17) show that the house had several large rooms with windows mainly on the north and west sides. The upper floors provided

<sup>118</sup>Rupprich, 1:176, n737; Goris and Marlier, 100. Link, who became the vicar-general in August 1520, was visiting the different Augustinian communities. He arrived in Nuremberg on 15 August 1521 with Dürer’s goods. The two men may have known each other through the artist’s earlier participation in the Sodalitas Staupitziana in Nuremberg.

<sup>119</sup>Mende, 1991, 11–50; Grossmann and Sonnenberger.



FIGURE 16. Albrecht Dürer House in Nuremberg, mainly fifteenth century. Reproduction © author.

space for storing Dürer's own art, notably his stock of prints, their matrices, and his press, as well as room for his assistants to work. Efforts to decorate these rooms authentically, whether done in the nineteenth century or more recently, are evocative yet not based on historical documentation. Even longstanding features such as the bull's-eye windows were inspired by Dürer's engraving of *St. Jerome in His Study* (1514) rather than by archeological evidence. Nothing is known about how the artist adorned his house or how he displayed his prized possessions, for example, whether he concentrated his treasures in just one or two rooms, perhaps a *studiolo* or a *Kunststube*, or exhibited objects throughout the house.<sup>120</sup> Dürer possessed prints, drawings, and paintings by other artists; several of his own self-portraits and more personal paintings; a small library; beautiful and unusual natural objects such as shells and horns; and exotica from Calicut and other distant lands.

<sup>120</sup>In 1495 Sebald Schreyer, the superintendent of St. Sebald's church in Nuremberg, commissioned his library, or *Kunststube*, painted with images of Apollo, the seven Muses, seven ancient wise men, and the portraits of Schreyer and three scholarly friends. The artist may have been a member of Michael Wolgemut's workshop. See Grote.



Even gauged against the houses of Nuremberg's well-traveled and affluent patricians, Dürer's residence must have been quite exceptional. It was also a tangible argument supporting the higher social status to which Dürer had long aspired. What models did he have for exhibiting his treasures? While in the Low Countries, the Nuremberg artist toured Quentin Massys's house in Antwerp, which must have been richly embellished in order for it to be a local attraction.<sup>121</sup> Margaret of Austria guided Dürer through the public and private rooms, including the library, of her palace in Mechelen.<sup>122</sup> In Brussels, the artist visited the townhouse of Heinrich III, Count of Nassau (1483–1538), with its novelties, such as a meteorite and a bed large enough to sleep fifty guests, though he neglects to mention whether he saw there Hieronymus Bosch's (ca. 1450–1516) *Garden of Earthly Delights* (Madrid, Prado).<sup>123</sup> Dürer was familiar with the Nuremberg homes of Hartmann Schedel, Sebald Schreyer (1446–1520), Lazarus Spengler, Hieronymus Holzschuher (1469–1529), other patrician friends, and, above all, Pirckheimer.<sup>124</sup> Whether any of these residences or others, such as the houses of the Fuggers in Augsburg, inspired Dürer's own display choices is unknown.<sup>125</sup>

The 1520s are too early to imagine coherently organized, encyclopedic art and wonder chambers of the sort that grew in popularity just a few decades later.<sup>126</sup> Dürer's holdings collectively suggested a range of natural and manmade wonders, some striking for their novelty and others admired for their artistry. There is, at the very least, a conceptual kinship between the artist's possessions and these later collections. His items, assembled in just a few rooms, offered a glimpse of the ever-expanding physical and cultural world of Dürer's time. The Rembrandthuis Museum in Amsterdam has attempted to reconstruct the appearance of the seventeenth-century Dutch

<sup>121</sup>Rupprich, 1:151; Goris and Marlier, 158.

<sup>122</sup>Eichberger, 2002, describes the specialized displays of different rooms in Margaret's palace, including her collection of natural and exotic wonders. On Dürer's visit on 6–7 June 1521, see Rupprich, 1:173; Conway, 95–96, which reads in part, "And on Friday Lady Margaret showed me all her beautiful things. . . . Then I saw many other costly things and a precious library."

<sup>123</sup>Rupprich, 1:155; Goris and Marlier, 64–65.

<sup>124</sup>Hampe, 62–67.

<sup>125</sup>Raymund Fugger the Elder's (1489–1535) house was described by Beatus Rhenanus in 1531: Lieb, 47–49. I thank Lisa Kirch for this reminder. According to the inventory of his estate, Albrecht Altdorfer stored most of his jewelry, metalwork, rosaries, and other precious items in cabinets in two different rooms in one of his houses in Regensburg. His painting by Dürer and other nonattributed pictures shared storage space with two swords, pillows, a bronze hanging lamp, books, a salt holder, a mirror, a black cloak, and other diverse items. The inventory suggests this was for safekeeping, not for display purposes. Boll, 1938–39, 98–100.

<sup>126</sup>The literature on art and wonder collections is extensive: see Impey and MacGregor; Meadow; Diemer, Diemer, Seelig et al., especially vol. 1.

master's studio, library, art, and wonder collections.<sup>127</sup> Although based on documentary sources, the display is hypothetical. Still, it provides another idea of how Dürer, on a more modest level, might have surrounded himself with his treasures.

There is one final category of collecting that I wish to touch upon briefly. Dürer self-collected. Most artists keep some of their own creations. We are sometimes better informed in Dürer's case because of the known provenances of his oeuvre, such as the portraits of his parents or his own self-portraits, and sometimes because of information that he himself provided. When he was a child Dürer portrayed himself in silverpoint (fig. 18).<sup>128</sup> The uniqueness of such a sketch is not the present concern here. Decades later, likely in 1522 or soon thereafter, Dürer annotated this drawing. The text reads, "Here I portrayed myself from a mirror in the year 1484, when I was still a child."<sup>129</sup> Whether the drawing was initially saved through his parents' or his own efforts matters less than that it was proudly kept. As a mature adult, Dürer added personal information, turning it into an accurate record. The inscription assumes intent, specifically that the Nuremberg master wanted others to recognize that he had been a child prodigy.

As his own writings reveal, Dürer was preoccupied with the issue of enduring artistic fame. He cites Apelles (fl. late fourth–early third century BCE) and Vitruvius, among others, who continue to be celebrated millennia after their deaths.<sup>130</sup> Dürer viewed his art, and equally his published theoretical treatises, as his legacy. Even texts added early in his career to works of art that remained in his collection suggest his autobiographical inclinations. The inscription on his *Self-Portrait* (Paris, Musée du Louvre) of 1493 notes, "My affairs go as ordained on high."<sup>131</sup> It remains unclear whether this remark ruefully alludes to his being called from his journeyman's trip back to Nuremberg by his parents, who had arranged his marriage to Agnes Frey, or, alternatively, to his faith in God's guidance. After completing his moving sketch of the dead Christ and another drawing of a suffering man, both dated 1503, Dürer writes on the former, "These two faces I made in awe during

<sup>127</sup>Van den Boogert, especially 33–89; and [www.rembrandthuis.nl](http://www.rembrandthuis.nl) (accessed 26 January 2010).

<sup>128</sup>Winkler, no. 1; Strauss, 1974b, no. 1484/1; Koerner, 35–37, 42–51; Bartrum, no. 1; Schröder and Sternath, no. 1.

<sup>129</sup>Or, alternatively, "I made this in a mirror after my own likeness in the year 1484, when I was still a child. Albrecht Dürer" ("Dz hab ich aws eim spigell nach mir selbs kunterfet Im 1484 Jar do ich noch ein kint was. Albrecht Dürer").

<sup>130</sup>Rupprich, 2:100, 109; Conway, 177–78; Smith, 2010, 90–96.

<sup>131</sup>"My sach die gat Als es oben schtat." Rupprich, 1:205, 211; Anzelewsky, no. 10; Koerner, 31, 37.



FIGURE 18. Albrecht Dürer. *Self-Portrait*, 1484. Silverpoint drawing. Vienna, Albertina.

my illness.”<sup>132</sup> His temporary physical suffering inspired him to create this poignant depiction of the suffering Christ.

Dürer’s collection included portraits of his teachers, his parents, and his father-in-law.<sup>133</sup> He obviously retained affection for his master Michael

<sup>132</sup>“Dis 2 ansicht hab ich aus erfurcht[?] in meiner krankheit.” Both drawings are in the British Museum. Winkler, no. 272; Strauss, 1974b, no. 1503/16; Rowlands and Bartrum, no. 154; Bartrum, no. 82.

<sup>133</sup>Willibald Imhoff later owned one pair of portraits of Dürer’s parents, which he purchased from Endres Dürer’s widow. “Firstly, two panels, [one] is his father, the other his mother, oil paint, which Endres Dürer’s widow traded to me, twenty florins” (“Erstlich zweo tafeln, ist sein vatter, das ander sein mueter, oelfarb, hot mir endres Durerin geschafft, f. 20”). Jante, 69, no. 19; Anzelewsky, nos. 2–4<sup>v</sup>. *Barbara Holper*, ca. 1489–90, is in Nuremberg (Germanisches Nationalmuseum); *Albrecht Dürer the Elder*, 1490, is in Florence (Uffizi).

Wolgemut (fig. 19), whom he painted in 1516, about twenty-seven years after leaving his shop. At the upper right he wrote, "Albrecht Dürer portrayed from life his teacher, Michael Wolgemut, in the year 1516." Three years later Dürer added a second inscription, "and he was eighty-two years old and lived until 1519, when passed away on St. Andrew's day, before the sun came up."<sup>134</sup> Dürer also possessed now-lost parchment portraits of an old man, described as his master in Strasbourg, and his wife, both painted in Strasbourg in 1494.<sup>135</sup> This information, presumably inscribed by Dürer on the pictures, documents his intentional autobiographical recordkeeping. Especially memorable is his charcoal sketch of his mother Barbara (1451–1514), on which he writes, "On March 19, this is Albrecht Dürer's mother when she was sixty-three years old." A later inscription adds, "and she died in the year 1514 on Tuesday, the sixteenth of May, at two o'clock during the night."<sup>136</sup> As in the case of Wolgemut, her exact date of death is listed in the second, later inscription. In both these works and in the drawing from Raphael, Dürer detachedly identifies himself in the third person. Dürer authored a watercolor on canvas depicting Hans Frey (1450–1523) on his deathbed.<sup>137</sup> Although now lost, this likeness had an inscription of some sort identifying the deceased as Dürer's father-in-law. The Nuremberg master documents his professional and family kinships perhaps as much for posterity as for the present.

If Dürer's intent was to preserve his memory, at least in part, through the art he collected, was he successful? His 1484 *Self-Portrait* was either inherited or acquired by Willibald Imhoff (1519–80), the Nuremberg collector.<sup>138</sup> In 1576, just a few years before Imhoff's heirs sold this drawing and most of his Dürers to Emperor Rudolf II (r. 1576–1612), Hans

<sup>134</sup> "Das hat Albrecht Dürer abconterfet noch seinem lerneister Michell Wolgemut jm jor 1516. Vnd er was 82 jor vnd hat gelept pis das man zelet 1519 jor. Do is er ferschieden an sant Endres dag frv, ee dy sun awff gyng." Anzelewsky, no. 132; Löcher and Gries, 210–12.

<sup>135</sup> These are listed in the 1573–74 inventory of Willibald Imhoff's collection in Nuremberg. I assume the woman's portrait, since it is listed as a pendant, is the Strasbourg artist's wife. Anzelewsky, nos. 7<sup>v</sup>, 8<sup>v</sup>; Jante, 69, nos. 26–27: "Ein alter man in ein tefelein, ist zu Strosburg sein meister gewest, auf pergamen, f. 4"; "Ein weibs pild, auch in ein tefelein, olifarb, so darzu gehoert, gemalt von im zu Strosburg 1494, f. 3."

<sup>136</sup> "an oculy Dz ist Albrecht dürers mutter dy was alt 63 Jor" / "vnd ist verschiden Im 1514 Jor am erchtag vor der crewtzwchn vm zwey genacht." The drawing is in Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin. W. 559; Strauss, 1974b, no. 1514/1; Roth, 2006, no. 1; Smith, 2010, 74–77.

<sup>137</sup> Hans Frey's death portrait is listed in the 1573–74 inventory of Willibald Imhoff's collection in Nuremberg: see Jante, 85, no. 67: "Item auf tuch ein dothen man, ist Albrecht Durers weib vater, schecz ich f. 2." For Dürer's lament over Frey's death, see Smith, 2010, 77.

<sup>138</sup> On Imhoff, see Hampe, especially 67–81; Koreny, 261–66, especially 261–62; Jante.





FIGURE 19. Albrecht Dürer. *Portrait of Michael Wolgemut*, 1516. Oil on panel. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum.

Hoffmann (ca. 1530–91/92) made a very careful brush-and-wash copy (fig. 20).<sup>139</sup> In clear brown ink, rendered with beautiful calligraphy, Hoffmann wrote, “On 4 February 1576 I made this portrait from the image drawn by the widely famed Albrecht Durrer inscribed in his own hand thus: This I drew myself from a mirror in the year 1484, when I myself was still a child. Albrecht Dürer.” In this last section Hoffmann loosely imitates Dürer’s handwriting while replicating Dürer’s original penned inscription. Another later hand added the text at top, which reads, “Albert Durer 14 Jar alt . . . im 1484.”<sup>140</sup> Dürer self-collected and, in turn, these works became avidly sought collectibles by others, such as Imhoff and Rudolf II, at the highest local and international levels.

<sup>139</sup>Rowlands and Bartrum, no. 270; Bartrum, no. 2.

<sup>140</sup>Inscription on fig. 20: “Anno 1576 Adi. 4 februarii machete ich diss Conterfect von dem ab. welches der Weitberümbt Albrecht Durrer mit aigner hanndt gemacht darzu er selbsten geschriben. Also. Das hab ich aussainen spiegel nachmir selbs Conterfet Im. 1484 Jar / do ich nochain kind was. / Albrecht Durer.” [And] “Albert Durer 14 Jahr alt [?gemacht] im 1484.”



FIGURE 20. Hans Hoffmann. *Copy of the Self-Portrait of Albrecht Dürer*, 1576. Brush and wash drawing. London, British Museum. © Trustees of the British Museum.

Collecting implies an audience, and presumably one larger than just Dürer and Agnes, who were childless. As someone who is known to have been highly sociable and who even discussed his dreams with his closest friends, Dürer doubtlessly entertained. Jan van Scorel (1495–1562), the Dutch painter, called on him in 1519.<sup>141</sup> Perhaps it was when Lucas Cranach

<sup>141</sup>In his biography of Jan van Scorel, Karel van Mander (1548–1606) recounts that the Dutch painter stopped in Nuremberg, probably in 1519, and stayed awhile with Dürer: “[B]ut since at that time Luther began to stir up the peaceful world with his teaching, and because Dürer also began to involve himself somewhat with these matters”: Van Mander, 1:198 (fol. 235<sup>v</sup>). Scorel, a Catholic cleric and later canon, continued his journey through Austria to Italy.

the Elder visited Dürer's studio in 1524 that he made the silverpoint portrait of the Wittenberg master.<sup>142</sup> Even though there is little information about what he amassed during the majority of his career, he could at the very least proudly exhibit art by Schongauer, Raphael, Lucas van Leyden, Joachim Patinir, and other masters from several countries. He seems to have been drawn to novelties, such as the miniature by a woman artist, an ivory skull, and objects from exotic, distant lands. Such items might simply have commemorated a trip or were used to decorate his surroundings. Yet these could be valued too for their aesthetic merits, their rareness, as well as for what they might convey to others about Dürer's worldliness, knowledge, and inherent curiosity. One can even argue that his collection was another form of controlled self-portrait, one that Dürer could use to frame himself and express his social ambitions while also stimulating conversations with friends like Pirckheimer or Spengler. Dürer was not a systematic collector. Interestingly, little, if anything, acquired in the Low Countries inspired his own art of the 1520s. While incomplete, our knowledge of Dürer as collector offers new insights into the mature tastes and conscious self-fashioning of this renowned German master. One can only wonder how our assessments of Lucas Cranach the Elder and other German Renaissance artists might be enriched if we knew what they collected.

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<sup>142</sup>Musée Bonnat, Bayonne. Winkler, no. 898; Schade, 14, illus. on 415, fig. b.

*Appendix: Titles by Luther that Dürer Owned*

Source: Rupprich, 1:221–22, no. 1, 3:447.

1. *Resolutiones disputationum de indulgentiarum virtute* (Wittenberg, 1518) or, alternatively, Kaspar Nützel's now-lost German translation of Luther's *Ninety-Five Theses*, published in 1518.
2. *Ein Sermon von dem Ablass und Gnade* (Wittenberg, 1518)
3. *Ein Sermon von dem Bann* (Wittenberg, 1520).
4. *Die zehen Gebot Gottes mit einer kurzen Auslegung ihrer Erfüllung und Übertretung* (Nuremberg, 1518).
5. *Sermon de poenitentia* (Wittenberg, 1518).
6. *Ein Sermon von dem Sakrament der Buss* (Wittenberg, 1519).
7. *Ein sehr gute Predig von zweierlei Gerechtigkeit* (Wittenberg, 1520; Latin edition, 1519).
8. *Ein kurz Unterweisung, wie man beichten soll* (Leipzig, 1519, published by Spalatin).
9. *Ein gute trostlichhe Predig von der wirdigen Bereitung zu dem hochwirdigen Sakrament* (Augsburg, 1518).
10. *Ein Sermon von der Betrachtung des heiligen Leidens Christi* (Wittenberg, 1519).
11. *Ein Sermon von dem ehlichen Stand* (Leipzig and Wittenberg, 1519).
12. *Ein Sermon gepredigt zu Leipzig ufm Schloß . . . mit Entschuldigung etzlicher Artikel, so ihm von etzlichen seiner Abgunstigen zugemessen sein* (Leipzig, 1519) or *Ein Sendbrief und Verantwortung etzlicher Artikel* (Wittenberg, 1523?).
13. *Auslegung deutsch des Vaterunsers für die einfältigen Laien* (Leipzig, 1519, or the 1518 edition of Johann Schneider).
14. *Die sieben Bußpsalmen mit deutscher Auslegung nach dem schriftlichen Sinne* (Wittenberg, 1517).
15. *Auslegung des hundertundneuten Psalmen* (Augsburg, 1518).
16. *Disputatio et excusatio F. Martini Luther, adversus criminationes D. Johannis Eccii* (Wittenberg, 1519) or *Resolutiones Lutherianae super propositionibus suis Lipsiae disputatis* (Wittenberg, 1519).

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