DESIRE PASSES AWAY: THE THEME OF "DEATH AND THE WOMAN IN THE WORK OF HANS BALDUNG GRIEN"

A Thesis

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the degree Master of Arts in the
Graduate School of The Ohio State University

by

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** ** **

The Ohio State University
1994

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Love not the world, nor the things in the world. The love of the Father is not in those who love the world; for all that is in the world, the desire of the flesh, the desire of the eyes, the pride in riches—comes not from the Father but from the world. And the world and its desire are passing away...

1 John 2:15-17
To My Sister, Melissa
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I express sincere appreciation to Dr. Anne Morganstern for her guidance throughout the research. Thanks go to the other member of my examination committee, Dr. Barbara Haeger, for her suggestions and comments. Gratitude is expressed to the Department of History of Art for its generous financial support of my research trip to Germany and Switzerland. To my husband, Gregory, I offer sincere thanks for your constant emotional support and understanding.
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CHAPTER I

Introduction

Images of the macabre have fascinated artists and viewers of art alike since the middle ages. During the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, Northern Europe was beset with plagues, famine, and war. A familiarity with death and the dead human body, a familiarity unfathomable to most late twentieth century viewers, permeated society and culture. Death imagery proliferated during this period, and one of the many themes that developed was that of "Death and the Woman." One of the most provocative depictions of this theme in the history of art is Hans Baldung Grien's Death and the Woman (Fig. 1), today housed in the Basel Kunstmuseum. The painting, monogrammed HBG and executed in tempera on panel, measures only 29.5 by 17.5 cm, and is in excellent condition.\(^1\) The painting bears no date, but most scholars agree that Baldung completed the work between 1518 and 1520.\(^2\)

In Death and the Woman, the figure of Death, a rotting, animated cadaver embraces a young, voluptuous, nude woman, whose lower body is draped with a white cloth. The couple stands on a pink stone tomb slab next to an open grave. In
the distance, against a black background, a moss-covered tree stands behind a second tomb slab, which bears a cross. The figures glow against the dark background, as if illuminated by the eerie light of a full moon. Their two bodies merge into one form as Death cradles the head of his young victim and claims her by biting her plump, flushed cheek. His bony hand caresses her glowing red locks. As he bites her, he pushes against her side, digging his bony fingers into the soft flesh beneath her breast. They stand frozen in time, caught in the moment just before Death will push his victim into her waiting grave.

Baldung conveys the horror of the woman's predicament in her facial expression. Although the rest of her body is like gleaming ivory, her face is hot and flushed. A single tear runs down her cheek, and her eyes are rimmed red from crying. As her lips part to release a final plea or a sob, she reluctantly begins to pull the white cloth away to reveal her lower body. The cloth twists around her legs, clinging to her fleshy curves. At the top of her legs, the cloth begins to fall away, revealing her pubic area, which is visibly covered with wiry black hair.

The woman's white body stands out in sharp contrast to Death's tan body. His head, skull-like, is still covered by thin skin. His cheeks and eyes are sunken. Wispy tufts of hair surround his bald pate, and a patch of hair grows from his knee. Though he has no eyes, he seems to watch the
helpless victim in his arms as he leans forward to bite her. He certainly makes a gruesome mate for one so fair.

I begin with the Basel *Death and the Woman*, for thematically, compositionally, and stylistically, it stands at the end of a series of Baldung’s works featuring macabre scenes containing women, all of which are in the form of small panel paintings or drawings, and all of which date c. 1510 to c. 1520. After the Basel *Death and the Woman* of c. 1518-20, he never again took up the theme as depicted in this painting. Thus, the Basel painting is, I believe, the culmination of Baldung’s preoccupation with the theme of "Death and the Woman," and is his final statement on the subject.

As fascinating as is the Basel panel, we must consider its place within Baldung’s oeuvre. The painting, and the related works, constitute only a small portion of his extensive artistic output. These works were the creations of a master whose importance in the Upper Rhine region rivalled that of Lucas Cranach in Saxony. Although not a court painter like Cranach, he nonetheless received many important commissions, the most famous of which was for the main altarpiece of the Freiburg Münster. He painted numerous portraits, but the majority of his work consists of religious paintings, largely Nativities, Crucifixions, and Pietàs, all highly emotional subjects, which Baldung treated as such. In addition to paintings, he created numerous
single sheet woodcuts, book illustrations, and designs for glass painting.

Baldung was born c.1474/5 in Schwäbisch-Gmünd. Soon after his birth, the family moved to Strasbourg. His father was a lawyer, and his uncle, honorary physician to Emperor Maximilian. Both his brother and cousin were professors at the University of Freiburg. Thus Baldung came not from an artisan family, but from a well-educated family of professionals and academics.\(^5\)

After an apprenticeship with an unknown Rhenish master, Baldung left his family and Strasbourg. He seems to have arrived in Nuremberg by 1503, and although no written documents survive to attest to his stay there, we have many drawings and paintings to attest that he began working Albrecht Dürer’s shop at this time. Scholars generally agree, based on stylistic evidence in Baldung’s work from the period, that he was active in the shop from c.1503 to c.1507.\(^6\) Baldung received commissions for two altarpieces in Halle in 1507, and had completed the commissions and returned to Strasbourg by Easter of 1509, where he applied for citizenship and membership in the painter’s guild zur Steltz.\(^7\) In 1510, he married Margarete Herlin, the daughter of a well-to-do Strasbourg merchant.

After receiving a commission to paint the main altarpiece for Freiburg’s newly completed Münster, Baldung, accompanied by his wife, took up residence in that city in
1512. Although the altarpiece was completed and dedicated in 1516, the couple may have delayed their return to Strasbourg until as late as 1518 in order to avoid an outbreak of the plague. In 1518 he reapplied for citizenship and guild membership in Strasbourg, where he would remain until his death in 1545. During the latter part of his life, Baldung served as his guild’s representative to the Strasbourg city council.

Although the artist created illustrations for Protestant treatises, including woodcuts of Martin Luther, he apparently did not openly embrace the Lutheran faith as did Dürer. However, he was buried in Strasbourg’s Protestant cemetery. His contact with intellectuals in both Protestant and Catholic humanist circles provided sources of patronage even during the iconoclastic upheaval of the first years of the Reformation. A pension set up in Freiburg, as well as proceeds from real-estate speculation provided the artist with a steady source of income to offset the loss of religious commissions after the Reformation. He continued to produce woodcuts and paintings, though with increasing emphasis on secular subject matter, until his death.

Early scholarship on the artist, beginning in the late nineteenth century, consists primarily of attempts to establish his oeuvre. Once his body of work had been established, scholars began to investigate the complex issues of iconography and interpretation of his paintings.
and prints, including the Basel Death and the Woman. Most of the scholarship fundamental to an understanding of this panel occurred in 1978 with the publication of Dieter Koepplin’s and Paul Boerlin’s studies, which are founded in traditional art history, and with the completion of Linda Hults’s doctoral dissertation in that same year, which has taken Baldung scholarship in new and exciting directions. The culmination of her approach, as we shall see, occurs in recent studies by Joseph Leo Koerner.

Results of the iconographic studies of Koepplin, supported by Boerlin’s findings, link the Basel Death and the Woman to the Dance of Death tradition. The Dance of Death was a popular literary and pictorial motif during the late medieval period. Through a series of images of Death paired with representatives of various societal classes, certain professions, and particular age groups, accompanied by verse, the Dance of Death stressed the fact that all must die, no matter what his or her circumstances. No one is spared, not the pope, the wealthy noble, or the young child. A young maiden was invariably included in one of the dance pairs, and Koepplin and Boerlin see this pairing as the ultimate source of the Basel painting.

As Koepplin and Boerlin, however, note, Baldung deviates from traditional Dance of Death imagery by eliminating the verse and isolating a single pair, thus
separating it from the context of the dance. The woman’s nudity in the Basel panel, they find, links her to various female allegorical figures: Vanitas, Luxuria, the personification of carnal lust, and Voluptas, a personification of sensuality. Ultimately, both conclude that the Basel Death and the Woman is a didactic image of vanity, a reminder of the transitoriness of beauty and of human life on earth.

In her doctoral dissertation, Linda Hults relates the Basel panel compositionally and thematically to Baldung’s representations of the Fall of Man, a relationship that has become the basis of all subsequent investigations of the painting. She notes the compositional similarity between his representations of Adam and Eve, in particular the 1519 woodcut, The Fall of Man (Fig. 2), in which Adam approaches Eve from behind, just as Death approaches the woman in the Basel panel. More important to Baldung scholarship than simply linking Baldung’s images of Death and women to his representations of Adam and Eve, Hults explores a complex, thematic link. She finds that the "confrontation of the fullness of life and the ultimate corruption of death is directly related to the situation of Adam and Eve. The pleasures of life, personified by the voluptuous female nude and exemplified by the sexual act, are accompanied even in Paradise by the consciousness of sin and death." She aptly observes that any pleasure taken in the woman’s beauty
in *Death and the Woman* is marred by the presence of death.\textsuperscript{19} According to Hults, the Basel image is not a moralizing allegory, but a statement of the conflict between desire for the sensual life and awareness of its transience.\textsuperscript{20}

In recent studies, Joseph Leo Koerner further develops Hults' idea of the conflict between desire and abjection.\textsuperscript{21} He refers to the image as a "hermeneutic", for it refers to an image beyond itself, namely Baldung's representation of the Fall.\textsuperscript{22} He argues that Baldung intentionally constructs the painting as he does in order to shape the viewer's experience of the painting, forcing the viewer, in effect, to relive the Fall. One lingering look at the nude woman, and we are caught in Baldung's plot. The woman "arouses the very desires within us that are evidence of our kinship with Adam, and punishes those desires through the experience of revulsion we feel when we encounter ourselves in the image of Death."\textsuperscript{23} The viewer is not Hercules standing at the crossroads, with a choice of virtue or vice, he is a descendant of Augustine's Adam, with no choice but inescapable sin because of the Fall.\textsuperscript{24} The reason for this elaborate construction, Koerner feels, is a "crisis of interpretation", a lack of spiritual leadership or authority on the eve of the Reformation that places interpretation in the hands of the individual.\textsuperscript{25} The meaning of the work, then, according to Koerner, is not a
moral one, for there is no option for the viewer to change his behavior.

Thus scholarly opinion regarding the Basel *Death and the Woman* ranges from labelling the work a derivative of the Dance of Death tradition, didactic in its reminder of all that is vain in the world, to the denial of a moralizing purpose, with emphasis on the viewer's complex reaction to the painting. These solutions to the questions raised by Baldung's painting are unsatisfactory. To simply label the image a *memento mori* or "Vanitas" allegory is to ignore the immediate context of Baldung's own work, and what that context can bring to an interpretation of the Basel panel. Furthermore, as Hults and Koerner observe, in defining the image as such, one runs the risk of assigning to the work a hedonistic exhortation to make the most of youth and the pleasures of the world, as does Robert Koch in the context of his study of Baldung's Death and the woman images.26 Alternatively, in denying a moralizing content, one denies the strong link to the moralizing tradition out of which Baldung's image grew. And with recent emphasis on viewer reaction to the work, as Koerner himself notes, "one sometimes wonders whether what art historians discover as the implied viewer is not really a reflection of themselves, transposed into the historical material." 27

In this investigation, I hope to avoid the pitfalls of these ways of thinking about Baldung's work. My goal is to
synthesize elements of the these various approaches through a careful study of the development of the Death and the Woman theme in Baldung's oeuvre. My point of departure will be an analysis of works related to the theme of "Death and the Woman" by Albrecht Dürer and his workshop to which Baldung would have had access during his time in the Dürer shop, and the ways in which these works departed from earlier traditions. Then, I will trace the development of the theme in Baldung's own works, and discuss its culmination in the Basel Death and the Woman. Crucial to my study of the theme in Baldung's work will be an examination of the visual references to various female allegorical figures in the Basel painting, as well as Baldung's other themes with women created during the period. I feel that a truly thorough investigation of the relationships between these works, all created during the period of c.1510 to 1520, will lead to greater insight into the meaning of the Basel Death and the Woman. Furthermore, I feel that a review of these works will give us greater knowledge of the painting's meaning in what it reveals about Baldung's ideas of women, and about the society in which he lived and worked.
CHAPTER II

The Foundation: Death Imagery in the Dürer Workshop

During the period between c.1503 and c.1507, the young Baldung learned to emulate Dürer’s style, and encountered ideas which would later lead to such works as his Basel Death and the Woman. In this chapter I will discuss works related to the theme of Death and women by Dürer, and by two other members of the first generation of the Dürer shop, Hans Süß von Kulmbach (1475/8-1522, active in the shop c.1500-c.1505) and Hans Leonhard Schäufelein (c.1480-1539, active in the shop c. 1503/4-1506/7),28 as well as works whose attribution is still a matter of debate. Although I will discuss the possibility of Baldung’s having created some of the unattributed works, I believe that it is more important to focus on the works as representing ideas and images to which Baldung would have been exposed.

Dürer’s own thoughts on the subject of Death survive in the form of a poem “Nothing will Prevent Eventual Death, Therefore Serve the Lord From Morn to Night,” which accompanies a woodcut, Death and the Lansquenet (Fig. 3), dated 1510. The illustrated poem was published as a broadsheet. Although not the product of a particularly
gifted poet, the poem nevertheless offers us a great deal of insight into Dürer's thoughts, and through them the thoughts of his contemporaries on death.

In the poem, Dürer exhorts his reader to fear God, not death, for it is God whom we must face on Judgement Day.

Nothing will prevent eventual death therefore serve the lord from morn to night. Although we may experience a great many things, the end of every man comes very soon; and if today we know a man, tomorrow he may be buried. Therefore, o human obstinacy, why are you not wary of sin? You may as well understand that God will put you to shame for evil deeds, in eternity, on the day of severe judgement. No one can escape eternal death. Therefore begin to live for Christ. He can grant you eternal life. So disregard all temporal things and set your sights on the future...²⁹

According to Dürer, those with clear consciences have nothing to fear from the end of earthly existence.³⁰ Indeed, one should look forward to death, and always be prepared to die, for it is at that time that an eternal life with God begins, a life which will bring a peace that no earthly thing can.³¹

The poem's accompanying woodcut, Death and the Lansquenet, depicts Death, an animated cadaver draped in a shroud, confronting a mercenary soldier, who wears a fancy cutwork coat and pantaloons, and a jaunty feathered cap. Death holds an hourglass in his right hand and touches the soldier's arm with his left. Death seems almost frail, as
if he is not only touching the lansquenet's arm to get his attention, but also to steady himself as he emphatically raises an hourglass. Death has come to warn the soldier, not to lead him away to the "dance." Thus the illustration fits the sense of the poem; it is an exhortation to change sinful ways and shun temporal, vain things. The lansquenet, in all of his pomp and vanity, would do well to heed Death's warning. He stands to fall prey to a death more frightening than the one he will meet at the end of his temporal life, the death of his soul.  

Dürer's poem contains a castigation of the vanities of the world. This theme also appears in a group of workshop drawings, most of which seem to date from c.1503 to c.1510. The most complex of the drawings is the Pleasures of the World (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Fig. 4). The small sketch measures only 21.1 by 33 cm, and contains lively vignettes in an expansive landscape. In the foreground, an elderly male figure with a flowing beard stands with his arm around an elegantly dressed woman, who is followed by two trainbearers, and gestures toward the merry groups about them. To their right, several couples share wine around a low table as another pair approaches. A wine cooler stands before the table. A fife player and drummer provide music for their party. Before the musicians, seated on the ground, another couple shares a glass of wine. Two women attempt to drag a man, who is lying on the ground and
holding on to the former young man's leg. He appears to be drunk, for one of the women kneels on the ground, one arm raised in distress. Beyond the foreground scenes, another group at table appears to the left. A couple lies sprawled on the lawn near them. A figure moves towards the center of the composition, which is occupied by a fountain, presumably to fill the empty cask he carries. The fountain is flanked by what appears to be a bagpipe player, and a woman. Closing off the composition to the right is a bathhouse. In the background, a tournament takes place before a castle. The artist makes his moralizing intentions quite clear in the drawing, for at the bottom right of the composition, Death enters the scene carrying what appears to be a coffin, and a fool peeks out from behind a tree by the large group seated at table in the center foreground.

The Pleasures of the World, once attributed to Dürer himself, is now given to a member of the workshop, and is believed to date from c. 1503 to c. 1505. It is certainly not my contention that Baldung created Pleasures of the World, for the scratchy technique, and the busy composition are rather unlike him. As we shall see below, he drew with a rather heavy, sure hand when working in pen and ink, even when sketching, and preferred smaller groups of more monumental figures.

However, Baldung has been more plausibly associated with drawings of scenes related to the Pleasures of the
World. Several scholars attribute the chalk drawing Group at Table Threatened by Death (Dresden, Kupferstichkabinett, Fig. 5), to Hans Baldung Grien, and believe it to date from his Nuremberg period. In the drawing, Death interrupts an outdoor party of fashionably dressed men and women who are seated around a low table. The group is similar, though not identical, to the group seated in the center of Pleasures of the World. A similar wine cooler also stands in the foreground. Death, draped with a funeral shroud, holds an hourglass and a scythe, while the revellers recoil in horror. Figures similar to one of the revellers, the curly-haired young man, who stands behind the table, will appear in other drawings in this study. The figure of Death is similar to Dürer’s Death in the 1510 woodcut, Death and the Lansquenet. If Baldung did indeed create Group at Table Threatened by Death, then he must have been familiar with both a prototype for the Dürer death figure in the 1510 woodcut, as well as with the drawing, Pleasures of the World.

A series of sketches by Hans von Kulmbach is also related to the Pleasures of the World. Kulmbach sketched a scene similar to the Dresden Group at Table, Two Amorous Couples and an Old Woman (Munich, Graphische Sammlung, Fig. 6). In the sketch, a fashionably dressed seated couple looks on as another young couple shares a cup, the latter very similar in appearance to the couple in the foreground
of *Pleasures of the World*. Behind them, a woman, probably older, and certainly less scantily clad in her voluminous robes, heavy skirts and long sleeves, seems to be lost in thought, with her hand cupping her chin. She is reminiscent of a woman at the left edge of the Dresden *Group at Table*, for she also sits with her back to the rest of the group and holds her hands to her face, though here in fear; in the Dresden drawing the woman uses her hand to prop up her chin in a pensive pose. The young man with thick, curly hair is similar in type to the standing young man in the Dresden drawing. Another drawing by Kulmbach, *Young Revellers with a Fool* (Paris, Louvre, Fig. 7), features a group similar to the others in the group of drawings under discussion. Young, modish couples drink around a low table. In this scene, the unfinished figure of a fool at the left peeks at the group from behind a servant bearing wine and a goblet.

Both Kulmbach drawings are typical examples of his early style. Characteristic is the net-like use of cross-hatching to create shadow in the Munich *Two Amorous Couples and an Old Woman*, and the awkward anatomy, particularly in the upper bodies of the figures in both the Munich drawing and the Louvre *Young Revellers with a Fool*. The style and body types of the two Kulmbach drawings are different from those of the Dresden *Group at Table*, and seem to me to exclude Kulmbach as possible author of that drawing. The drawings are certainly related, but the Dresden drawing is
the only drawing of the group containing a figure of Death. Kulmbach prefers to comment on the amorous couples in his drawings by using a fool, which he includes in the Louvre drawing, and which also appears in Pleasures of the World. No known works by Kulmbach contain a Death figure.

All of these scenes share in common a moralizing message against the vanity of earthly, sensual pleasures, emphasized either by the presence of Death, as in the Pleasures of the World, and in Group at Table, or by a fool in both the former, and in Young Revellers and a Fool. The artists convey their message via genre scenes, a tradition that developed in late fifteenth century graphic arts. As Keith Moxey has shown, Master E.S. had transformed the "love garden" theme of the medieval courtly love tradition into a moralizing genre scene in Feast in the Garden of Love, c.1465 (Fig. 8). Instead of elegant couples leisurely playing games, picnicking, and weaving flower garlands, as shown in the Master of the Garden of Love's The Large Love Garden (Fig. 9), an engraving of c. 1450, Master E.S. depicts couples blatantly fondling each other. A male figure seated at the table grasps the breast of his female companion, while in the foreground, a fool allows a young woman to pull back his garment and reveal his genitals. As Moxey explains, "By exposing himself to the spectator the fool seems literally to strip away the social convention of the "love garden" in order to assert that a sexual reality
lies behind it.\(^{38}\) Moxey interprets the image as a satirical comment on the promiscuous behavior of the upper classes, which had been raised to a cultural ideal through the romantic veil of the chivalric tradition,\(^{39}\) and such moralizing satire as a product of the reforming spirit of the Late Middle Ages in such cities as Constance, Basel, and Strasbourg, where Master E.S. worked.\(^{40}\) Hieronymous Bosch, or an artist of the Bosch school, further developed Master E.S.'s idea to its inevitable end in using a similar genre scene to represent the deadly sin of Luxuria in the Tabletop (Madrid, Prado, Fig. 10), c. 1485. In the painting, two well-dressed couples enjoy an outdoor rendezvous. One couple converses intimately in a tent, while the other shares wine on the grass before it. The scene is complete with a wine cask, a table decked with cherries and other fruit, and musical instruments. A glutton with a spoon battles a fool in the foreground to complete this image of sensual overindulgence. In the Dürer shop works, Pleasures of the World (Fig. 4) and Group at Table (Fig. 5), it is the figure of Death, rather than a court fool, who indicates the vanity of the young revellers' actions as well as their consequences. As Dürer warns in his poem, "God/ will put you to shame for evil deeds,/ in eternity, on the day of severe Judgement."\(^{41}\)

A set of pendant drawings, associated with both Baldung and Kulmbach, usually dated c. 1510 to c. 1522, Musical Trio
and Allegory of Youth, Age, and Death (both drawings London, British Museum, Fig. 11 and 12) furnish an important link between the first group of genre scenes containing a moralizing message about the folly and vanity of losing oneself in earthly pleasures, particularly sexual pleasures, and a second group of works more allegorical in nature. The Musical Trio features two young women, one playing the harp, the other, a viol, seated at the feet of a young man, who sings and strums a lute. Opposite this merry scene, the artist places an allegory, in which a young, nude woman holds a mirror and brushes her hair. An old, nude woman looks on as Death raises his hourglass next to the young woman’s head. The musicians are similar to the attractive young men and women seen in the drawings related to the Pleasures of the World. The curly-headed lute player is almost identical to the young man standing in the Dresden Group at Table, and is also similar to the young man who appears in Kulmbach’s Two Amorous Couples and Old Woman. Perhaps these visual links suggest an earlier date for the London drawings than has been suggested. The young woman in Allegory of Youth, Age and Death is similar to a woman in Baldung’s c.1509-11 Death and the Three Ages of Woman (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Fig. 13). Here, Baldung portrays a young woman who is so absorbed in admiring herself in the mirror that she fails to notice Death, who thrusts his hourglass towards her. As in the London
drawing, an old woman accompanies the beautiful maiden. If Baldung had knowledge of the London drawings, then they would date before 1509. However, if the artist of the London drawings took Baldung's painting as his model, then the drawings would date after 1509. I hesitate to attribute the drawings to Baldung, for again, the technique is too scratchy, and their author does not apply the same pen pressure seen in Baldung's works. But whoever the artist, if he made the drawing before 1509, he makes an important step towards the type of allegorical representation of Death and women seen in Baldung's work. If the drawing postdates 1509, then he has taken Baldung as a model.

Two engravings by Albrecht Dürer, *The Ravisher*, (Fig. 14), c.1495, and *The Coat of Arms of Death*, 1503 (Fig. 15), provide a more direct source for the type of erotic encounter between Death and a woman that we see in Baldung's Basel painting (Fig. 1). Indeed, *The Ravisher* is one of the earliest representations of such an encounter. Death, portrayed as in the *Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* as a scrawny old man, assaults a young woman. He pulls her to him with one hand around her waist, the other clutching her skirt. Her costume suggests that she has loose morals, for it is almost identical to the low-cut, revealing one worn by the woman in another early Dürer engraving, *The Ill-Assorted Couple* of c.1495 (Fig. 16). This woman, clearly a negative figure, offers her favors to a much older
man in exchange for a dip into his purse.

The empty banderole above the figures in *The Ravisher* would likely have held a moralizing message, though it hardly seems necessary. The image alone speaks clearly enough. Death comes to the woman literally in the way she sins. Dürer shows us the deadliness of lust. Instead of a handsome young suitor, like those depicted in festive scenes like *Pleasures of the World*, her lover is Death. Her punishment is analogous to the punishments in kind that Bosch's sinners receive in his depictions of Hell, for as her sin is lust, her punishment is Death's brutal sexual attack.

The 1503 engraving, *The Coat of Arms of Death* (Fig. 15) features a large coat of arms emblazoned with a skull, behind which stands a young woman and a wild man. The wild man gently cradles the young woman's head with one hand as he seems to whisper in her ear, or prepares to kiss her. His staff supports the leather strap of the shield, which the woman grasps with her left hand. The young woman wears a modish frock, and an elaborate crown. She is based on Dürer's costume study of a woman wearing Nuremberg dance attire. The wild man is typical of the many representations of wild men, popular shield bearers, with shaggy hair covering his entire body. The wildman is the embodiment of man's bestial side, of brute sensuality and lust. In his heraldic role, the wildman usually
serves to guard the escutcheon, and as such represents the
servant of the shield’s owner. 50

Interpreters of The Coat of Arms of Death have usually
concluded that the woman’s crown is a bridal crown, and cite
Pieter Bruegel’s 1556 Peasant Wedding Feast (Fig. 17), in
which the bride wears a narrow band around her head, as
proof. 51 Using the wedding crown as the main clue to the
work’s meaning, scholars have interpreted the scene as one
in which the wild man, acting as Death’s agent, attempts to
lead astray the virtuous young bride. 52 Bernheimer
interprets the image as a wedding print and as a memento
mori: “Dürer’s intention was thus to show that even and
precisely when life is at its greatest height and amplitude,
as it is on the wedding day, it may be cut short.” 53

One wonders, however, in how positive a light one
should view the woman in Dürer’s The Coat of Arms of Death.
Is she an innocent, blushing young bride? The expression on
her face is rather coy as she regards her furry suitor with
a sidelong glance. 54 She seems as much part in supporting
the shield as the wildman; she holds its strap. Most
scholars believe that her crown designates her as a bride.
Brides, however, are not the only women in late Medieval and
Renaissance art who wear crowns; Voluptas, or "Frau Welt"
also wears a crown. A counterpart to the deadly sin of
Luxuria, lust, Voluptas is a personification of sensual and
carnal pleasures, and an embodiment of worldliness. She is
represented either as a finely dressed noble woman, as in the Voluptas, or "Frau Welt" figure from Worms Cathedral, c.1414 (Fig. 18), or nude. The sculptor of the Worms Voluptas figure portrays her as a fashionably dressed woman wearing a crown and carrying a shield. Her back side crawls with worms, snakes, and toads, indicating her true evil nature. We find another example of Voluptas wearing a crown in a historiated initial from an illuminated sheet of music, (Heidelberg University Library #329, leaf 35a, Fig. 19), c. 1400. Here Voluptas, a beautiful young woman in a stylish gown, wears an elaborate crown of flowers on her head. Her banner identifies her as "Frau Welt." A woodcut illustration to P. Olearius' De fide concubinarum, published in Basel between 1500 and 1505 (Fig. 20), also features a crowned Voluptas, in this case, nude and strumming a lute.

In the woodcut illustration of "Hercules at the Crossroads" from the 1497 latin edition of Sebastian Brant's Ship of Fools (Fig. 21), Voluptas is associated with death. Here a sleeping Hercules dreams of two paths, at the end of which stand Virtue and Voluptas. Voluptas is nude, and wears a typical German woman's headdress of the time instead of a crown. Death serves as her attribute, and waves from behind her. Here, rather than showing Voluptas with the backside of a rotting, festering cadaver, the artist makes use of a Death figure to reveal the consequences of choosing the easy path of the sensual world because he must convey
the idea two-dimensionally. Perhaps then, the woman in Dürer’s *The Coat of Arms of Death* does not represent a bride, but the embodiment of sensuality, Voluptas. And perhaps one should view both the woman and the wild man both as standard bearers, and thus servants of death, as complements to one another, she, the personification of the sensual world, and he, an embodiment of the brute, carnal side of human nature, both of which lead to death and damnation.

*The Ravisher* and *The Coat of Arms of Death* are two works in which Dürer portrayed Death, or Death’s agent, and a woman. A drawing once attributed to Dürer also contains this theme. The Weimar *Death Carrying a Lady’s Train* (Weimar Schloßmuseum, Fig. 22) shows a plump Nuremberg matron, wearing the headdress of a married woman, and an off-the-shoulder gown with a long train. Death, who seems to be emerging from the ground, possibly now a grave, trails her, holding her train over his right shoulder. He seems to be emerging from a hole in the ground, possibly a grave. He looks up at the woman and gestures rhetorically, sweeping his left hand up into the air, as if to present her to the viewer. He does not threaten her, or attempt to abduct her, and holds no hourglass or scythe. He is her servant, her train bearer. She seems unaware of him, or if aware, she is not frightened, and gazes confidently at the viewer.
Hans Schäufelein drew a related, though not identical image of Death as a train bearer. In *Death with an Hourglass Carrying a Lady's Train* (Frankfurt, Städelisches Institut, Fig. 23), Schäufelein depicted a woman, dressed in a fashionable gown with a low cut neckline, high waist, and long train. Unlike the woman in the Weimar drawing, she wears a veil. She has a demure expression on her face; it is difficult to tell whether she is simply avoiding the viewer's gaze, or if she is glancing at Death, who stands behind her. Death holds her train under one arm and holds aloft an hourglass with the other. He seems to have just entered the scene, for his shroud flies out behind him.

What is the subject of the two drawings? Despite the differences in the attitude of the women and of death, one aspect of the drawings seems to point to a similar meaning. Both women wear elaborate gowns, with very long trains. Such gowns were worn only by nobility, or for special occasions, such as dancing, as evidenced by Dürer's costume study of a Nuremberg lady dressed for the dance.\(^{57}\) The average Nuremberg woman wore a floor-length gown, which again we know from a Dürer costume study.\(^{58}\) In Heinrich Knoblochzer's c.1485 *Doten Danz mit Figuren*, one of the pairs is a young woman and Death.\(^{59}\) Death specifically refers to his female partner's long train: "You, maiden with the long train/ you too belong in my dance./ You too have been prideful/ When modesty would have served you
better. / You have adorned your head with arrogance all the same."  

She replies: "Now I must speak the truth, / I wanted to please the world / with dancing and with jumping / and with sweet song. / I took much pleasure in it / and in it forgot God's commandments."  

He chastises her for her vanity, and for devoting her life to the pursuit of pleasure. Perhaps then, the drawings are a castigation of female pride and vanity.

Schäufelein's drawing is monogrammed, and though not dated, is generally considered to date c. 1505-7. The Weimar drawing's author, as well as its date has been a subject of debate among scholars since the late nineteenth century. G. Mitchell, the drawing's last owner before its sale to the Weimar Schloßmuseum in 1880, originally believed the drawing to be by Dürer, but later suggested that Baldung may have created the work. Von Térey published the drawing as a work by Baldung in his 1897 catalog of Baldung's drawings, and suggested that the drawing was completed in the 1510's. He based this date on a woodcut illustration, "Thou Shalt not Commit Adultery," (Fig. 24), by Baldung in Johannes Grüninger's 1516 Strasbourg publication, Die zehn Geboten. There is a strong resemblance between the female figure in the woodcut and the woman featured in the Weimar drawing, and the resemblance certainly helps argue for Baldung's having created the Weimar drawing. The Weimar Death Carrying a Lady's Train
appears in no other catalogue of Baldung’s work. Winkler attributes the drawing to Dürer, citing the Tucher Pane designs, which are no longer attributed to him, and Dürer’s 1505 charcoal drawing *Crowned Death on a Thin Horse* as related works. But Panofsky suggested that the drawing might be by Baldung, perhaps based on a lost Dürer prototype. Strauss excluded the Weimar drawing from his catalogue of Dürer’s drawings, but did not make an attribution.

Stylistically, the Weimar drawing is very unlike Dürer’s work. The cross-hatching in the skirt, particularly where it falls in folds from the woman’s hands, is illogical and irregular, and creates a net-like appearance. Also, the woman’s proportions are not balanced. Her thigh, for example, is entirely too long, and the relationship of the calf, which we see formed beneath the fabric of the skirt, does not relate well to the foot emerging from beneath the edge of the skirt. The pose seems altogether awkward, especially in the relationship between the free leg, indicated beneath the skirt through shading and line, and the weight-bearing leg, the position of which is indicated by a toe. Are we to believe that Dürer, who carefully studied human proportions and later wrote a treatise on constructing the human figure, would create such an awkward creature as this? Dürer began copying nudes from Italian prints as early as 1494. If Dürer had created this
work, it would have been a work of his youth. The Weimar drawing is inconsistent with Dürer’s early style, and the woman’s costume suggests a date after 1500. Therefore, Dürer is an unlikely candidate for the authorship of this work.

Also problematic is the construction of the woman’s garment. The front of the overskirt appears tacked on, as if it were an afterthought. The original defining line for the overskirt seems to stop along the fold closest to her body that drops straight from her hands. The transition between the flaring front part of the gown, the line of folds, and the train is particularly awkward.

The figure of Death is also out of proportion. If he were to drop his arm to his side, his hand would reach to below his knee. He is also unlike other Dürer representations of death. Death in the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse, and The Ravisher is in the form of an old man. Dürer’s figures of Death in the 1505 Crowned Death on a Thin Horse, and in the 1510 Death and the Lansquenet are skeletal in type. Death in The Knight, Death and the Devil is a putrefying corpse, but his face is much fuller than that of the Death figure in the Weimar drawing. The Weimar Death figure is the same sort of fleshy corpse seen in Baldung’s Basel Death and the Woman. He is also similar to the Death figure in Schäufelein’s drawing of Death carrying a woman’s train. One might excuse the inconsistencies in proportion
and the haphazardness of the cross-hatching if the Weimar drawing were a quick sketch. However, the drawing, which covers the entire page, seems to be a finished work.

Baldung's c.1504 drawing, *Saint Catherine in a Landscape* (Basel, Kunstmuseum, Fig. 25), exhibits some of the same qualities as the Weimar *Death Carrying a Lady's Train*. St. Catherine stands in three-quarter view, in contrapposto, a pose identical to that of her less than holy counterpart in the Weimar drawing. Although the handling of the ink is somewhat more heavy handed in the St. Catherine, one sees the same tendency to obscure the surface rather than create form or indicate shadow. The awkward proportions and pose in the woman's legs is almost identical, as is the misunderstood overskirt. What is even more striking is the woman's gaze, which is directed at the viewer in both drawings. Winkler even notes that this aspect is much more in keeping with Baldung's work than with Dürer's. Dürer's figures typically remain self-contained.

The similarity of the Weimar drawing to Schäufelein's seems to indicate that whoever created the Weimar *Death Carrying a Lady's Train* must have created the drawing near the same time, c. 1505-7. This date would also seem to fit Baldung's own stylistic development, and would mark the moment before he would move beyond the influence of Dürer to develop his own style. If Baldung did not execute
the Weimar drawing himself, he certainly would have had the opportunity to view the work, along with Schäufelein’s version. These images, along with the important precedents which are definitely attributable to Dürer, *The Ravisher* and *The Coat of Arms of Death*, as well as the various other workshop pieces, some of which Baldung himself may have created, were important stimuli for the young artist. Here, in Baldung’s formative years, he saw allegorical, moralizing images of women and death, separated from the context of the Dance of Death. It is interesting to note that the subject of Death never appears in a work securely attributed to Kulmbach, and after the Frankfurt drawing, never again in Schäufelein’s work. Baldung, however, continued to work with the theme of Death and women for the next decade.
CHAPTER III

Baldung’s Women and Death: Transformation, Context, and Interpretation

In the previous chapter, we have seen how the theme of Death and the Woman developed in the Dürer shop, from genre scenes containing young lovers, related to the Pleasures of the World drawing, to more allegorical representations of Death and women, such as Dürer’s Coat of Arms of Death, and the drawings featuring death as a train bearer for a vain woman. In this chapter I shall trace the evolution of the theme of Death and the Woman in works by Hans Baldung Grien to what I believe is its climax in the Basel Death and the Woman panel. I shall also attempt to illuminate what Baldung did differently from his teacher and colleagues in the Dürer shop, and offer some suggestions as to why he developed the theme of Death and the Woman as he did.

As the theme of Death and women evolves in Baldung’s work, its development parallels that of the theme’s progression in the Dürer shop. The earliest examples of the theme in his art are more narrative, and as he develops the motif, the works become increasingly more allegorical in nature. In Baldung’s first known painting, The Knight, the
Lady, and Death, c.1503-1505 (Paris, The Louvre, Fig. 26), he treats the theme of Death. Here he employs a popular print motif of the late fifteenth century, lovers on a pleasure ride, to show the transience of life. As a pretty young woman and her companion, a dapper lansquenet, ride through a forest clearing, Death attempts to claim her. He has the end of the woman’s skirt in his teeth as he attempts to pull her from her would-be rescuer’s arms by holding onto one tree stump and bracing his foot against another.

The scene is full of the same dramatic tension we see in the Basel Death and the Woman. The action is stopped just before the moment when either death will succeed in claiming his prize, or the pair will escape. The precarious position of the woman’s body on the horse, the lansquenet’s less than solid grip, and the bones of previous victims littering the foreground suggest the outcome. Death comes not to warn this woman, nor to lead her gently to the Dance of Death. He violently takes her.

The next work by Baldung that treats the theme of Death and women, The Three Ages of Woman and Death, c. 1509-11 (Fig. 13, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum), mentioned briefly in Chapter Two, is allegorical in nature. In a clearing in a lush forest, a young nude woman holds a mirror in one hand and arranges her long flowing locks with the other. She is so completely absorbed in admiring herself in the mirror that she does not see Death, who stands behind
her. He is Baldung's typical type, an animated, rotting corpse. In one hand he holds the end of the diaphanous swag of fabric that covers the young maiden's genitalia. With his other hand, he raises an hourglass behind her head. At her feet, holding onto the other end of the sheer scarf, is a child, or a cupid, peering up at the maiden through the veil. The stick-horse and ball on the ground seem to suggest that the tiny creature is a child, but the figure is ambiguous. The fabric prevents us from seeing if the child is female or male. An old, naked hag stands above the child/cupid. She shoves the mirror toward the young woman while attempting to push Death's hand and the hourglass out of the maiden's view. This struggle adds a dramatic element to Baldung's painting that is lacking in the related Dürer workshop drawing, Allegory of Youth, Age, and Death.

The traditional figure of Vanitas, as we have seen in Chapter One, is that of a nude woman with a mirror. The young woman in Baldung's The Three Ages of Woman and Death conforms to the usual iconography of allegorical figures of Vanitas. She is the embodiment of the concept that is central to The Three Ages of Woman and Death. Baldung juxtaposes the young woman's voluptuousness against a putrefying cadaver. She will one day be like him, a rotting corpse. The inclusion of the old woman and the child, which prompted scholars to title the work "The Three Ages of Woman and Death," adds another element, the inevitable aging of
human beings, and the fading of their beauty. The beautiful young woman was once like the child at her feet, and she will become ugly and wrinkled like the old woman, who tries to help her enjoy her fleeting beauty by pushing away Death's warning hourglass.

Baldung's use of the nude figure in his images of Death and women, in addition to strengthening the dramatic confrontation between the living and the dead, helps him construct complex allegorical works, which have many layers of meaning. As we shall see, the nude female figure in Northern Europe during this period, though an object of aesthetic pleasure, carries with her centuries of misogynistic baggage.

According to Panofsky, there were four visual symbolic meanings of nudity during the Middle Ages: "nuditas naturalis, the natural state of man conducive to humility; nuditas temporalis, the lack of earthly goods which can be voluntary...or necessitated by poverty; nuditas virtalis, a symbol of innocence...and nuditas criminalis, a sign of lust, vanity, and the absence of all virtues."71 Susan Smith and Larry Silver argue that these associations continue into the Renaissance period in Northern Europe,72 and Baldung's Three Ages of Woman and Death seems to support their contention. We know already that the woman depicted in Baldung's Vienna painting is symbolic of Vanitas, and thus falls under Panofsky's category of nuditas criminalis,
placing her in the company of her sisters, Eve, Venus, and Voluptas/Luxuria. Eve belongs to this category, for she led humanity to death because of her disobedience and desire. Venus personifies sensual love, and thus belongs among those under the heading of nuditas criminalis. Also included are Voluptas, the embodiment of the sensual world, and the related figure of Luxuria, the incarnation of the deadly sin of lust. These figures, as we shall see, are linked visually as well as conceptually.

The visual heritage of the nude woman in the Three Ages of Woman and Death, can be traced back to Baldung’s teacher, Albrecht Dürer and his representation of the first woman in the 1504 engraving Adam and Eve (Fig. 27). Dürer recycled his image of Eve from his own earlier figure of a Venus-like temptress, who appears in the c.1498 engraving The Dream of the Doctor. Baldung’s young maiden in the Vienna panel is similar in body type and pose to Dürer’s Eve. Both stand in contrapposto, with the right hip tilted slightly forward. The legs and feet are identical in position. Baldung slightly alters his model in order to express the twisting movement of his figure as she pulls back her hair to admire herself in a mirror, held in the same hand and in almost the same position as Dürer’s Eve holds her apple. Charles Talbot notes that Baldung employs the same pose and figure type in his own 1510 rendition of Eve, Eve and the Serpent, (Hamburg, Kunsthalle, Fig.
Thus, in the nude young woman in the Vienna panel we see a visual allusion to Eve. In addition to the visual link between the nude woman in *Three Ages of Woman and Death* and Venus provided by the Dürer prototype, another element links the female protagonist to the figure of Venus - the child/cupid figure, who holds the end of a veil over its eyes. Although the fabric is sheer, it nonetheless covers the figure's eyes, clouding its vision, and thus may be an allusion to the pictorial motif of "Blind Cupid," which would strengthen the identification of the woman as an embodiment of sensuality and sexuality, and as an allusion to Venus. According to Panofsky, "Blind Cupid came to personify 'illicit sensuality.'" Cupid, in his blindness, strikes randomly, just as do Death and Fortune. Blindness indicates not only an unenlightened state of mind, and blindness in the indiscrimination of love, death, and fortune, but also the darkness associated with sinfulness. A later image from Baldung's circle directly incorporates this theme, with figures of *Venus, Cupid, and Death* (Brussels, Musée Royaux, Fig. 29). In the small panel, Venus, shown in half-length, holds a blindfolded Cupid on her arm. Behind her, Death rears his grisly head. Venus seems unaware of his presence, and smiles coquettishly at the viewer.

Although Death in the Vienna panel is shown with his eyes unobscured, the idea that Death is blind, that he can
strike anyone at any moment, is inherent in any figure of
Death, particularly in the context of a vanitas image. This
element is also intrinsic to the Dance of Death tradition.
The young woman also suffers from a form of blindness; she
is engrossed in primping, and fails to notice Death sneaking
up behind her. She is also blind in her sinfulness, for in
her primping, she is vain and prideful. The old woman,
though herself not blind, attempts to preserve the girl’s
unenlightened state by pushing away Death’s hand.

The reference to Voluptas/Luxuria also seems clear, and
in conjunction with the visual association of the figure
with Eve and Venus, adds to the interpretation of the young
woman as an embodiment of sensuality and sexuality. We have
already seen in the previous chapter that Death is often
depicted with the nude figure of Voluptas, as in the woodcut
illustration from Brant’s Ship of Fools, “Hercules at the
Crossroads,” (Fig. 21), which accompanies commentary on the
folly of Buhlschaft, or lechery. Allegorical figures of
Luxuria, as we have seen in the first chapter, have been
associated directly with death since the Middle Ages.

A woodcut illustration from the 1494 Basel edition of
Sebastian Brant’s Ship of Fools, “Frau Venus,” (Fig. 30),
also illustrating a passage on lechery, offers an excellent
parallel to the construction of a complex allegory from a
number of allusions to separate but related ideas seen in
Baldung’s painting of The Three Ages of Woman and Death. An
allegorical female figure containing allusions to Venus, Blind Cupid, Vanitas, Voluptas, and Fortuna, clothed and winged, holds the leads of a monk, two fools, an ass, and a monkey. A blindfolded cupid, his bow raised, stands before her. Death steps out from behind the woman, revealing her true nature.

The woodcut illustrates a chastisement against the folly of allowing full reign to one's sexual appetite. The woman depicted in the woodcut reveals her identity and the power of her sexuality in the accompanying text:

I Venus with a backside of straw, am not the last in the sea of fools; I tempt many a fool and make a puppet of whomever I wish, no one could name all of my customers. He who has heard of Circe's stable, of Calypso, of the Sirens' rock, Consider the power I still have.80

Her straw posterior is a blunt reference to easily inflamed passions.81 Venus goes on to name other temptresses, including Bathsheba and Delilah, and refers to the stories of Aristotle and Virgil, both of whom were made to look foolish because they submitted themselves to the sexual power of a woman. Venus embodies the sexual power of women.

The tendency toward the construction of complex allegories and toward the dramatic, continues in Baldung's work. Both qualities are certainly present in the Basel Death and the Woman, but to varying degrees in the drawings and paintings dealing with the theme of Death and the Woman which Baldung created leading up to it after the Vienna
Three Ages of Woman and Death. In these works, which I will discuss in depth below, one sees Baldung break the Vienna image into separate ideas, only to combine them again in the Basel Death and the Woman.

The first of the works leading up to the Basel panel is the c. 1513 painting, Death Pursuing a Woman (Florence, Bargello, 30.8 x 16.7cm, Fig. 31). Death, a decaying corpse, locks arms with a fleeing maiden. Their arms form a knot as Death firmly grasps the woman’s wrist, and brandishes an hourglass in his other hand. The woman is nude but for the shroud-like cloth twisted around her arm and hips, covering her genitalia.

In this small panel, Baldung dispenses with the landscape background present in the earlier Paris and Vienna panels and silhouettes his figures against a dark background. He places the figures close to the picture plane; they completely fill the surface horizontally. The artist leaves enough room at the top and bottom to suggest a setting in the rocky ground below their feet, and in the foreboding clouds above their heads. The open grave from which the woman’s drapery trails seems to place the scene in a graveyard.

The stark simplicity of the work strikes a strong contrast to the compositional and iconographical complexity of Three Ages of Woman and Death. I believe Van der Osten is correct in calling this image an offshoot of the Dance of
Death tradition, but the socially equalizing element of the Dance of Death is missing, for the woman is nude, and thus is not identified as a member of any certain social class.

Though the allegorical complexity of the Vienna panel is wanting in Death Pursuing a Woman, it is still a Vanitas image. We see the same contrast of the woman’s lily-white skin with Death’s drab tatters. One hesitates, however, to call the woman a representation of Voluptas, or an allegory of Vanitas, and her movement separates her from the traditional conception of allegorical nude, for such figures are generally devoid of a sense of physical activity. Here, Baldung even forsakes constructing a harmonious figure in an attempt to render the fleeing movement of the woman’s body.

Baldung returns to a more static figure, and a more allegorical mode in the 1515 drawing Maiden with a Mirror and Death (Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Fig. 32). A plump, completely nude woman combs her hair while gazing into a mirror. Death, with a shroud twisted around his body, stands behind her. His bony hands hold her gently, one hand at her side against an expanse of supple skin, and the other just beneath her left breast.

The drawing is similar to the 1513 painting, Death Pursuing a Woman, in that the figures dominate the foreground space. Through his use of white color on dark,
tinted paper, Baldung maintains the painting's dramatic effect of figures silhouetted against a dark ground. In other ways, however, the drawing recalls the earlier *Three Ages of Woman and Death*. The woman in the drawing, though now more robust, is very similar in attitude and pose to the young maiden in the Vienna painting. She stands in contrapposto, one hip thrust forward. By turning her upper body further in, away from the viewer, and by obscuring her face with hair, Baldung heightens the sense of her self-absorption.

The woman in *Maiden with Mirror and Death* is the epitome of the allegorical figure Vanitas, who is traditionally depicted as a woman, clothed or nude, with a mirror. The allegory is emphasized by the contrast of the young woman’s flesh and a grisly corpse. Her nudity is even more pronounced because of the yards of cloth that wind around Death. Her beautiful body will one day resemble his. Baldung further emphasizes this point by positioning Death so that his legs mirror hers. His weight-bearing foot is directly behind hers, and his free leg, mostly bone with just a shred of skin remaining, parallels her fleshy one.

As we have seen in discussing the earlier Vienna panel (Fig. 13), a nude woman with Death can allude to the allegorical figure of Voluptas. In *Maiden with a Mirror and Death* the allusion seems even stronger, for Death stands directly behind the woman. He peers out from behind her
just as does the figure of Death in the Narrenschiff woodcuts illustrating the sin of Buhlschaft. In contrast to the Vienna painting, Death does not attempt to warn the woman, nor threaten her in any way. If he warns anyone, it is the viewer, for in an attitude very similar to that in the Weimar drawing of Death Carrying a Lady's Train, he looks directly at the viewer, to whom he seems to present the woman. He seems to hold her out for the viewer to take.

In the 1517 painting Death and the Maiden (Basel, Fig. 33), Death, who in the previous work turned his attentions on the viewer, now concentrates on the woman standing before him. Draped in a shroud-like cloth, Death grasps the nude woman by the hair. She clasps her hands together and pleads for a reprieve. Hot tears stream down her cheeks. Her pleas fall on deaf ears, for her fate is sealed, as Death indicates by gesturing towards an open grave. As in the Bargello Death Pursuing a Woman, we seem to have an element of the Dance of Death in Death and the Maiden. Both his gesture, and the inscription at the top of the painting emphatically spell out Death's message to the woman and the viewer "HIE MVST DV YN," "Here you must go."

As in the previous two works, Baldung limits his composition to the bare essentials needed to suggest a setting. Only stormy clouds above, rocky ground below, and a hole next to the figure of Death indicate the space in which the macabre scene is played. Baldung's monumental
figures dominate the composition. The woman's pale body shines against a dark background. Baldung places her so close to the picture plane that her toe seems to press against it. Her dire predicament is thus immediate and highly dramatic.

Indeed, the focus of the work is the woman's gleaming nude body. Death seems to grasp her hair in his clenched fist not only to force her into the open grave at his feet, but to hold her up to the viewer for inspection. He seems to thrust her forward to punctuate the sentence above their heads. She and her beauty must die, and so must the viewer.

The allegorical associations seen in the previous works, Vanitas, Voluptas/Luxuria, Venus, and Eve, also appear in Death and the Maiden. The Vanitas element and allusion is clear. She, a beautiful young maiden, stands next to her opposite, the revolting figure of Death. He represents what she will become. The combination of Death standing behind a nude woman, as we have seen, echoes the allegorical figure of Voluptas, who represents the sensual world. The related figure of Luxuria, also associated with Death imagery, refers to the sexual side of the sensual world. Baldung emphasizes the woman's sexuality in Death and the Maiden not only with her nudity, but in draping a transparent veil across her hips and genitalia. Just as in the Vienna painting, the veil serves to draw attention to her pubic area, which is covered with bristly black hair.
Her overt sexuality, as well as the transparent veil, link her to figures of Venus. Many of Lucas Cranach's depictions of Venus include this attribute.

Although the notion of Eve in Baldung's work is bound to ideas of illicit sexuality, and he preserves the visual reference to Dürer's Eve in the woman's pose, Death and the Maiden seems to contain a deeper allusion to the ultimate temptress. Death uses a gesture to motion the woman to the grave that is the reverse of Christ's blessing. Eve succumbed to the Devil's temptation. She in turn led Adam astray. The result was mankind's death, for which Christ had to die.

Baldung seems to have conceived the ideas for Maiden with Mirror and Death (Fig. 32), Death and the Maiden (Fig. 33), and Death and the Woman (Fig. 1) at approximately the same time. Maiden with Mirror and Death bears the date 1515, as does a workshop drawing (Fig. 34), probably a copy of a lost drawing that predated the painting Death and the Maiden (dated 1517). A drawing (Fig. 35) also exists of the 1518-20 painting Death and the Woman. The drawing bears neither date nor monogram, but Koch accepts it as authentic, and dates it c. 1515, placing it with the other dated drawings. These carefully drawn images seem to be finished works and not simply preparatory sketches for paintings.
All of the works initially conceived around the year 1515, including *Death and the Woman*, contain the allusions we have discussed above: the Dance of Death, Vanitas, Voluptas/Luxuria, Venus, and Eve. The 1517 *Death and the Maiden* and the 1518-20 *Death and the Woman*, both monumentalized in paint, apparently based on drawings executed c. 1515, are close enough in theme to have once been considered pendants. Despite similarities in size, and in subject matter, *Death and the Woman* exhibits some rather startling differences, which to me signal Baldung’s ultimate statement on the theme of Death and women.

In *Death and the Woman* (Fig. 1), Death comes not to warn the woman with an hourglass, nor does he come to drag her by the hair to her grave, with a message written above his head emphasizing his intent to do so. In *Death and the Woman*, Death embraces his victim as would a lover. The blatant eroticism of the image brings together elements present in the earlier works, and moves beyond them. Eroticism was already present in other works of the period in which the Death and women images were conceived. His works from the period of c.1510-1520 abound with voluptuous nude women, who as we shall see, can be considered sisters, both visually and conceptually, of the women taken by Death. An examination of these provocative images and the ideas contained in them will hopefully lead to a better understanding of the artistic, ideological, and social
context of Baldung's *Death and the Woman*, and thus of the work itself.

An understanding of Baldung's conception of the Fall of Man is integral to determining his world view, his views on women, and thus the tone of his works during the period under examination. His 1510 drawing of Eve (Fig. 28), mentioned above in the discussion of the *Three Ages of Woman and Death*, already contains the kernel of his thoughts on the subject of man's fall from grace. In the drawing, Baldung portrays Eve alone, standing next to the tree of knowledge. Her body occupies the center of the composition; Baldung removes the tree, traditionally prominent in depictions of the Fall, to the side. The serpent waits for Eve to sample the fruit held in her hand. She looks knowingly at the viewer, fully aware of her power as a woman. She alone will set into motion the series of events that will lead to the demise of humankind, and the death of the Son of God.

Adam joins Eve in the 1511 chiaroscuro woodcut, *The Fall of Man* (Fig. 36). He stands behind her, just as Death stands behind women in Baldung's drawings and paintings. Adam grasps Eve's breast in one hand, and with the other hand reaches above her head to pluck an apple. Here, as Hieatt and later Koerner note, Baldung equates the Fall with sex. Sexual intercourse is the forbidden fruit which Adam and Eve will taste. To emphasize
the carnal nature of the Fall, Baldung adds two rabbits, symbols of sexuality. Above Adam's head, a cartellino bears the inscription "LAPSUS HUMANI GENERIS," "The Beginning of the Death of Humanity." Eve, as in her previous incarnation in the 1510 drawing, smiles with a knowing look at the viewer.

In his 1519 woodcut, The Fall of Man (Fig. 2), Baldung eliminates the lush wooded setting of his two previous representations. He also removes the serpent from the scene. Again, Adam stands behind Eve. Although Eve holds a piece of fruit in each hand, implying that she has not yet given Adam a taste, he is already consumed with lust at the sight of her naked body, and covers her nakedness with a leaf, which should not occur until after they have eaten the fruit and recognized their nakedness. "Even before the fruit is eaten, the gestures and facial expressions of Baldungs first couple reveal that there is no innocence."91 Baldung places the blame for the fall squarely on their shoulders.92

As shocking as these images of the Fall may be, the idea that the temptation Eve placed before Adam was a sexual one is not new. In The City of God, Augustine interprets the Fall thus:93

They experienced a new motion in their flesh, which had become disobedient to them in strict retribution for their own disobedience to God. For the soul, revelling in its own liberty, and scorning
to serve God, was itself deprived of the command it had formerly maintained over the body. And because it had willfully deserted its superior Lord, it no longer held its own interior servant; neither could it hold the flesh subject as it would always have been able to do had it remained itself subject to God. Then began the flesh to lust against the Spirit, in which strife we are born, deriving from the first transgression a seed of Death, and bearing in our own members, and in our own vitiated nature the contest or even victory of the flesh.\(^4\)

Baldung’s emphasis on the sexual nature of the Fall in his works reveals his innovative thinking on the subject. A contrast of his vision of the Fall with that of Dürer is particularly illuminating.\(^5\) In his 1504 engraving, *Adam and Eve*, Dürer depicts the equilibrium of body and spirit, of the senses and reason, which existed before the Fall and embodies this equilibrium in perfect, classicizing nudes.\(^6\) In Baldung’s 1511 and 1519 woodcuts, we have essentially the same moment depicted: Adam and Eve before the Fall, for in both images, as we have seen, neither seems to have actually tasted the fruit. As several scholars have emphasized, what is shocking in Baldung’s conception of the Fall is the sense that Adam and Eve, before the actual temptation, are utterly devoid of innocence, and are innately lustful.\(^7\)

Given the eroticism in Baldung’s image of the Fall, and his overtly sexual interpretation, the visual link between Baldung’s 1519 *Fall of Man*, and its contemporary, *Death and
the Woman, is startling. In Death and the Woman, the reason for the Fall, lust, embodied in the nude woman, meets the result of lust, death, embodied in a putrefying cadaver. Death replaces Adam, and claims Eve's counterpart. Death bites the woman's cheek just as Eve tasted the forbidden fruit, and Adam tasted his forbidden fruit, Eve's body.

As Hults has noted, Baldung, in paralleling the two images, the 1519 Fall of Man, and the 1518-20 Death and the Woman, injects the notion of Vanitas into the iconography of the Fall. As we have seen above in Augustine's treatise on the Fall, and the inscription on the 1511 woodcut of the Fall, "LAPSUS HUMANI GENERIS," the notion of Death is inextricably linked by Augustine and then in Baldung's mind, with Man's Fall from Grace, symbolized by Adam's failure to resist Eve's sexual temptation. In Baldung's painting, Eve, the Serpent, and Death (Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada, Fig. 37), as Hults emphasizes, he explicitly combines the notion of Vanitas and memento mori, and the Fall of Man in one composition. Eve stands next to the Tree of Knowledge, around which the serpent is coiled. She fondles the serpent's tail. As Adam reaches to pull a piece of fruit from the branch above him, he grasps Eve's arm. At that moment, when Adam, now cast as Death, takes the forbidden fruit and touches Eve, the serpent bites his arm, causing an instantaneous transformation of his body into a ghastly corpse, identifying him with Baldung's
representations of the figure of Death.  

In representing Adam as Death, Baldung shows Adam's fate, and the fate of humankind, which is a result of the Fall. In the center of the composition, Baldung portrays the cause and result of Man's Fall. Baldung portrays the sexual nature of the Fall in Eve's erotic manipulation of the serpent's tail, which as Hieatt notes, is equated with Adam's member in its placement near his midriff. The serpent, symbolic of Adam's sexual organ, turns on him and bites him "so as to infect him with the Poison of Death of which a necessary aspect is arousal of sinful desire." Eve's attitude in the Ottawa painting is similar to that of her counterparts in Baldung's 1510 drawing, *Eve and the Serpent* (Fig. 28), and his 1511 woodcut, *The Fall of Man* (Fig. 36). She is smugly aware of the power of her sexuality. Hults interprets Adam's gesture as one of warning, and concludes that Eve is so determined to carry out her seduction, that she proceeds even though she can see what the consequences of her actions will be in Adam's decaying body. One wonders, however, how much he tries to warn her, because at the same time that he takes her arm, he also reaches up to pick a piece of fruit. Whether or not one agrees that Adam tries to warn her, her attitude is
unmistakably one of pride in her body and the power it holds over men. Innate and uncontrollable desire guides her. Eve "was not a remote biblical figure...she lived in the mind as every woman." Tertullian (AD 160-230), in a passage from his *De Cultu Feminarum* equates all womankind with Eve:

And do you not know that you are Eve? God's sentence hangs still over all your sex and His punishment weighs down upon you. You are the devil's gateway; you are she who first violated the forbidden tree and broke the law of God. It was you who coaxed your way around him whom the devil had not the force to attack. With what ease you shattered that image of God: Man! Because of the death you merited, the Son of God had to die.

The misogyny reflected in Tertullian's words reflects the deep-seated misogyny of Western civilization and of the Christian church. Eve bore the brunt, because of her innate lust, of the man's ruination, and so did her daughters. Theological examples of woman's lustful nature and her utter inferiority to man influenced men of science, who through their pronouncements supported the opinions of the clergy. Physicians believed, for example, that women, because of their physiology, were sexually insatiable. Women were cold and wet by nature, while men were hot and dry. A woman's uterus needed frequent moisturizing or it would dry and wither. "Her womb was like a hungry animal; when not amply fed by sexual intercourse or reproduction, it was
likely to wander about her body, overpowering her speech and senses."\(^{112}\)

One can argue that the blatant misogyny of the church and of society in general had ebbed somewhat in the High Middle Ages due to the importance of the Virgin and the culture of "Courtly Love."\(^{113}\) If any progress had been gained in the High Middle Ages, it was lost during the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance, when the pendulum of opinion on women again swung to the blatantly negative. According to scholars of women's history, the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance saw an outpouring of literature criticizing women and the institution of marriage.\(^{114}\) Opinions as to the direct causes are many, but a combination of various factors is most likely. One of the main contributing factors seems to have been a large population of unmarried women in Europe, a problem compounded by growing urbanization and an influx of unmarried women into the cities searching for work as domestic help.\(^{115}\)

Another element which contributed to the misogyny of the period was the rapid spread of syphilis, a new disease that swept through Europe during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.\(^{116}\) From the beginning, authorities recognized that the disease was sexually transmitted.\(^{117}\) Because of the sexual character of the disease, authorities immediately deemed the sickness a punishment for fornication, and the Emperor Maximilian I issued an edict in 1495 declaring that
he knew the new pox was God’s punishment. Bathhouses and brothels closed throughout Germany, and the rest of Europe during the first half of the sixteenth century. Women, because of their cold and wet bodies, were thought to carry the disease. Sexual contact with women, who, as daughters of Eve, were already implicated in death’s origin and symbolic of death, now held the danger of literal death.

Whatever the cause, the misogynous mood of the time is reflected in art in the form of scenes depicting women exerting power over men. Such works often portrayed tales from antiquity and from the Old Testament of women who used their sexuality to gain power over men. Typical subjects are Samson and Delilah, David and Bathsheba, and Phyllis and Aristotle. Albrecht Dürer even grappled with the theme in a design for a wall painting for the Nuremberg town hall depicting the power of women, (New York, J. Pierpont Morgan Library, Fig. 38), in 1521, which features rondels containing scenes of David and Bathsheba, Samson and Delilah, and Phyllis and Aristotle. Other images, such as the Housebook Master’s engraving, *Escutcheon with a Peasant Standing on His Head* (Fig. 39), in which a woman rides her husband’s back, and a peasant stands on his head, poke fun of husbands who allow their wives to dominate them. In one of his many sermons, Strasbourg’s fiery preacher Johann Geiler von Kaysersberg, summarizes the contemporary attitude toward women: "Our widows and
maidens..., leave the house to walk the streets, go into the world, into whorehouses, they want to be first at everything..."  

Baldung portrayed the subject of Phyllis and Aristotle twice, once in one of his earliest known drawings, dated 1503, and again in a woodcut dated 1513 (Fig. 40). In both images, Phyllis holds a whip and rides Aristotle, who is on his hands and knees. Aristotle is in this predicament because he had admonished young Alexander, his pupil, for paying too much attention to Phyllis. Phyllis gets her revenge by using her feminine wiles to persuade him to carry her through the garden on his hands and knees.

It is important to note that in the 1513 woodcut, Baldung's figures, both male and female, are nude. Their nudity emphasizes the carnal aspect of the story. Aristotle allows Phyllis to humiliate him because he falls prey to his own lust. She knew how to manipulate him, using her sexuality. To underscore this, Baldung includes a fruit-laden tree next to the couple, which refers to the Tree of Knowledge, and, in the context of Baldung's interpretation of the Fall, to Eve's use of her body in order to tempt Adam.

Another result of the misogyny of the Renaissance period in Northern Europe was the witch craze, which resulted in the persecution and death of thousands of women. Although the majority of witch trials did not take place
until the latter part of the sixteenth century and escalated during the first half of the seventeenth century, one of the most famous treatises concerning witches was published in the late fifteenth century. The *malleus maleficarum*, or Hammer of Witches, a manual on witchcraft, written by two Dominican friars, Johannes Sprenger and Heinrich Kramer, was first published in 1486. Between 1487 and 1520 there were fourteen editions of the handbook.¹²⁶ Sprenger and Kramer, using a number of authorities, antique, biblical, and theological, concluded that women are ultimately more susceptible to witchcraft because,

she is more carnal than a man, as is clear from her many carnal abominations. And it should be noted that there was a defect in the formation of the first woman, since she was formed from a bent rib, ... bent as it were in a contrary direction to a man. And since through this defect she is an imperfect animal, she always deceives... And it is clear in the case of the first woman that she had little faith; for when the serpent asked why they did not eat of every tree in Paradise, she answered: of every tree, etc. - lest perchance we die. Thereby she showed that she doubted, and had little faith in the word of God. And all this is indicated by the etymology of the word; for *Femina* comes from *Fe* and *Minus*, since she is ever weaker to hold and preserve the faith.¹²⁷

Again we see that woman is condemned because of Eve's use of the flesh to tempt Adam, and that she was subject to temptation by the devil because of an inferior body, which lusted, and mind, which lacked the capacity for absolute
faith in God. Sprenger and Kramer write in summation, "All witchcraft comes from carnal lust, which in women is insatiable."¹²⁸

The theme of witchcraft, and the ideas expressed in the *malleus maleficarum* are not only important to our study because of the misogyny they represent, but because Baldung was also concerned with the subject of witches. Perhaps his most famous images are those featuring witches, the majority of which he created during the same years he was preoccupied with the theme of Death and women. An examination of his witchcraft imagery is important to an understanding of Baldung’s Basel *Death and the Woman*, for in it he reveals his thoughts about the nature of women. As we shall see, Baldung’s depictions of witches abound with references to female lust.

In *Witches’ Sabbath* (Paris, The Louvre, Fig. 41), 1514, Baldung depicts four nude witches, three young, and one an old hag, in the process of casting a spell. One woman stands and raises a flat vessel. Below her, another woman raises a strand of "beads," which is comprised of a tiny skull, dice, and jingle bells. An old witch peeks out from behind her to view the scene. The younger woman holds a staff between her legs, which also runs between the legs of the standing witch. A frightened child grips the arm of the younger woman as it steps up onto the staff. Several sausages hang on the staff between the two women. In the
foreground, another woman holds onto the strand of beads. In her other hand, she holds what appears to be a bone. She bends over to allow a blast of vapor to escape from between her legs, which ignites a fire. At the same time, the cat opposite her opens its mouth to expel a similar vaporous stream. A metal vessel and an open spellbook complete the scene.

A witches Sabbath actually consisted of a sexual tryst with the devil. Here, the women seem to be preparing for the sabbath. The witches' sabbath can be considered the antithesis of the Holy Mass, and, as Hults suggests, the beads held in the women's hands may parody the rosary, and the raised dish, the raising of the host. The women, "as love-slaves of the devil, are the obverse brides of Christ."

The scene contains sexual references, the most obvious of which is the presence of sausages hanging on the staff held between the women's legs. The positioning of the staff, held between their legs underscores their symbolic use as phalluses. Sausages are also associated with gluttony, and their placement possibly suggests "anatory overindulgence" and the lust considered generally inherent in women, and particularly in witches. The cat is also a symbol of lust, as well as companion to witches, here underscored by the fact that the same type of vapors issue from its mouth as do from between the young woman's legs.
The smoke-like emission coming from her "seat of sexuality" seems to allude, as did Venus's straw "backside" in the Narrenschiff, to flaming passions.  

Hults believes that Baldung wished to emphasize the delusion of the women who fancied themselves witches. Johann Geiler von Kaysersberg, the Strasbourg preacher, railed against women's delusions of having performed sexual acts with the devil, though he believed their delusions to be demonic in origin. One wonders if Baldung even allowed that possibility, for his witches, despite their horrible props, seem to be quite human. Hults aptly concludes that Baldung's satire is "aimed more broadly at women as a sex, for witchcraft is merely an extreme manifestation of female vice and folly." Female vice and folly are the result of woman's lustful nature.

As we have seen, the theme of lust, particularly female lust, runs consistently through Baldung's images during the second decade of the 1500's. Having examined his depictions of the Fall, of women's sexual power, and his portrayals of witches, as well as the larger issues connected with these themes, I would like to return to the Basel Death and the Woman, and consider what implications they have for an interpretation of the painting.

In the first part of this chapter, I showed how the nude woman in the Basel Death and the Woman alludes to a number of negative female figures, Venus, Eve,
Voluptas/Luxuria, all of whom are personifications of sexuality. In the Basel panel, Baldung depicts Death with this embodiment of sexuality. More precisely, Baldung depicts Death taking the woman, sexually, and literally, for with his bite, he brings about her demise. What does this imply? Does Death simply serve to illustrate the concept of Vanitas in his juxtaposition against a beautiful nude woman? Is woman synonymous with death, or is death the result of sexual contact with woman? Is the image's purpose a moralizing one?

Baldung's use of nudity in conjunction with images of Death and women was novel. One might argue that he was only interested in an opportunity to paint the nude, and that in order to do so, he discovered new themes, and reinvented old ones. However, while Baldung was certainly interested in portraying the nude figure, one cannot equate his preoccupation with the nude human form to that of Albrecht Dürer. Dürer, as we have seen in his 1504 engraving of Adam and Eve, used perfectly balanced and constructed nudes to represent the ideal man and woman, unspoiled by the Fall. Dürer worked diligently, constructing drawing after drawing in order to achieve the perfect human proportions for both male and female nudes. He published a manual to teach other artists to construct harmonious human figures. Not a single constructed figure drawing survives by Hans Baldung Grien. In fact, Baldung embraced the opposite approach to Dürer's
classicizing nudes, and after 1520, increasingly created nudes in the Mannerist mode.

The Neoplatonism of Renaissance Italy, which embraced outward beauty as a symbol of inner beauty and goodness, reflected in Dürer’s *Adam and Eve*, was cancelled out in the North by the essentially medieval mindset in which artists, with the exception of Dürer, tended to work. While the nude woman was indeed beautiful, she was also dangerous. Panofsky’s categorization of *nuditas criminalis* still applied in the North; a nude female figure carried with it allusions to Eve, Venus, Voluptas, and Luxuria. Furthermore, as Koerner and Hulst point out, any pleasure the viewer has in viewing the nude is countered with revulsion at the sight of the rotting corpse.

One could argue against a moralizing purpose for *Death and the Woman*, because of the fact that the work is a small painting. Unlike Dance of Death cycles, which were either painted on walls of churches or graveyards, or circulated in print form, and were meant for a large, general audience, Baldung’s images of Death and women, as well as his drawings of witches, were personal works. A work such as *Death and the Woman* would likely have been intended for the educated connoisseur. As mentioned in the introductory chapter, Baldung came from a learned family. His brother was a professor at the University of Freiburg, and this relationship would have given Baldung access to the educated
community in Freiburg, where most of the images we have discussed were produced. When Baldung returned to Strasbourg in 1517-18, he did so a financially secure man. His clientele included educated humanists, theologians, aristocrats, and wealthy burghers. A work as small in size as the Basel Death and the Woman, would likely have been enjoyed by a collector, and would have been hung in a private room of the home, or stored in a cabinet. Baldung’s learned patrons would have appreciated the aesthetic beauty of the work, as well as understood his complex allusions and ideas.

If Baldung’s Death and the Woman is not just an excuse to depict a beautiful nude, and the associations with the nude female form are negative, is the work therefore moralizing? The Vanitas element in the work is undeniable. The artist contrasts a voluptuous, nude woman with a putrid cadaver. Given the associations conveyed in the figure of a nude woman, however, can we really label the work a "Vanitas image" and consider all questions answered?

In the nude woman in Death and the Woman, Baldung creates the ultimate personification of desire. She is Venus, Eve, Circe, Luxuria, and Voluptas. She is the embodiment of the sexual power that women hold over men, and an embodiment of the carnal urges that rule human beings in Baldung’s world. As a personification of lust and desire, her death is particularly poignant, for she dies as a result
of her vice. Death sexually attacks her, and in doing so serves a punitive function, just as he does in the 1517 Death and the Maiden (Fig. 33) and the earlier Bargello Death Pursuing a Woman (Fig. 31). Here, however, Baldung conveys this more subtly, yet more powerfully. Gone is the inscription from the 1517 panel, gone the awkward fleeing motion of the woman in the Bargello painting.

Koerner would have us believe that when we view Death and the Woman, we relive the Fall. When the viewer, and in Koerner's scheme the viewer seems to be a male viewer, looks at the woman and feels desire, he assumes Adam's role. This desire is punished by the revulsion he feels when he recognizes himself in the figure of Death, who literally embraces the woman whom the viewer embraced in his imagination. Koerner's formula works if we disregard Death's punitive function in this and other images of Death and women by Baldung, as well as the punitive function Death serves in the Dance of Death tradition, from which Baldung's images are ultimately derived. Although Baldung employs the same figure constellation in his images of the Fall as in the portrayals of Death and women, they are separate subjects, with the exception of the Ottawa Eve, the Serpent and Death (Fig. 37). Perhaps Baldung uses similar compositions simply to stress the woman's role as an embodiment of lust in an allusion to Eve, and lust's role as the original cause of death. I am not convinced that the
viewer should be forced, as in Koerner's scheme, to identify himself with Death.

Thus, in Baldung's *Death and the Woman*, we are left, after all, with a many-layered Vanitas allegory. The woman's beauty, just as that of her sisters in Dance of Death cycles, will fade, and she will become as gruesome as her partner. As an allegory of Luxuria, she represents the futility of female power, which is dependent upon her fleeting beauty, and upon the lust of males. As Voluptas, the personification of desire, vainglory, and pride, she represents the fate of those who devote their lives to the pursuit of worldly pleasures. Baldung creates the ultimate Vanitas image in allowing Death to destroy her.
CONCLUSION

We have traced the development of the theme of Death and the Woman in the art of Hans Baldung Grien from its foundation in death imagery produced in the Dürer shop to its zenith in the Basel Death and the Woman. The images created in the Dürer shop seem to have been the result of an interest in late fifteenth century portrayals of the folly of devoting one's life to the pleasures of the world, as in Master E.S.'s Feast in the Garden of Love. In the workshop drawing Group at Table, however, the artist points out not the folly of the sensual world, but the deadliness, for Master E. S.'s fool has been replaced by the horrifying figure of Death. A life spent in pursuit of worldly pleasures is no longer simply foolish, it is deadly.

In Dürer's shop, Baldung also saw images of erotic confrontations of Death with women. In The Ravisher, a promiscuous woman reaps punishment for this sin by attracting Death's sexual attack. In Coat of Arms of Death, Dürer creates a complex allegory using only the two figures, a young woman, and a wildman. Together, as mutual shield-bearers and servants of Death, they form an emblem of sensuality and its consequences.

Baldung adds an element to his representations of Death
and women which move them beyond those of his master, and which separate them from the Dance of Death tradition: nudity. In portraying Death's female victim nude, Baldung links her to various allegorical figures. Baldung, as we have seen, was not interested in constructing classical nudes. His intent was not, as was Dürer's in his 1504 Adam and Eve, to show the perfection of humanity before the Fall from Grace. Baldung's women embody sensuality and sexuality. They are daughters of Eve, and sisters of Venus, Luxuria, Voluptas, and Vanitas. Though they are aesthetically pleasing, they are associated with physical and spiritual death.

Vanitas is central to Baldung's images of Death and women. He juxtaposes their beautiful, fleshy bodies with Death's rotting tatters of skin and bones. The woman's body will eventually mirror Death's. More importantly, Baldung depicts the woman, a daughter of Eve, a personification of lust and sensuality, in all of her tempting beauty, to be utterly powerless in the face of Death. Instead of a handsome young man, or a rich old fool, she attracts a grisly lover, Death.

The woman is beautiful, and our eye is drawn to her. Yet, one should not dismiss Baldung's images of Death and women as mere objects of aesthetic enjoyment. We have seen that the nude female in Baldung carries with it rather unpleasant ideas about women, and about human nature.
Koerner would have us believe that Baldung uses the woman's beauty to entrap us in a deliberate manipulation of viewer experience to mirror the Fall of Man. We become victims of our desire, and in the figure of Death, we see ourselves.

As I suggested in the previous chapter, however, Koerner's image may not function as he believes. How are we to identify with Death when he is such a punitive figure? Perhaps, one might explain the viewer's attraction and repulsion in broader terms. I believe, like Koepplin and Boerlin, that Baldung's Death and the Woman is a vanitas image. It is, however, one that includes, yet moves beyond the simple moralizing of the tradition from which it derives. This Baldung accomplishes through the use of a nude female body, which carries with it misogynous ideals about the lustful nature of woman and allusions to female allegories of lust. Yet I also agree with Hults; Baldung seems to comment on the human condition. And this he also accomplishes through the use of the nude female body. The viewer is drawn to that which is temporal, that which the viewer knows will fade and die. Human beings take pleasure in the world, yet, according to Christian doctrine, this is sinful. Like Dürer, the Christian viewer should not fear death, but view it as the gateway to heavenly paradise. In Baldung's images, Death is frightening; he comes to take, not to warn. Ultimately, the viewer feels empathy for the woman in the Basel Death and the Woman. Like the woman,
human beings, through their vain pursuit of worldly pleasures, will attract that which will destroy them.
NOTES

1 The monogram appears on the tomb slab located next to the female figure’s left foot.

2 The work entered the Basel Kunstmuseum collection in 1823, when it, along with Baldung’s Death and the Maiden (Fig. 33), d.1517, 30 cm x 14.5 cm, was bequeathed to the University of Basel. The University then donated the paintings to the Kunstmuseum. The two panels have been together at least since 1772, when they were listed together under the same number in an inventory of the Faesch Museum, founded in Basel by the private collector, Dr. Remigius Faesch (1595–1667). Paul H. Boerlin, "Katalog der Gemälde," Hans Baldung Grien im Kunstmuseum Basel (Basel: Verein der Freunde des Kunstmuseums Basel, 1978) 23. The difference in size and the results of laboratory tests performed at the Basel Kunstmuseum in 1978, which revealed that Death and the Woman was executed in a slightly different technique than Death and the Maiden, strongly suggest that the panels were neither executed at the same time, nor conceived of as pendants. See Paolo Cadorin, "Ergebnisse der wissenschaftlichen Untersuchung der beiden Holtztafeln Der Tod und das Mädchen und Der Tod und die Frau von Hans Baldung Grien," Zeitschrift für schweizerische Archäologie und Kunsthsgeschichte XXXV (1978) 241–243. Since the tests, scholars have accepted the date 1518–1520 for Death and the Woman.

3 This bit of hair has been the subject of debate among scholars. Earlier scholars saw in this tuft of hair a reference to the Devil. Van der Osten 1983, 153–154, who summarizes previous scholarship on this painting, emphatically denies that the figure’s knee has a clump of hair. It is, he contends, shreds of skin, because that is what is seen on the c.1515 drawing, Death and the Woman, (Fig. 35), on which the Basel painting is modeled. The drawing, as well as the earlier 1517 Basel painting, Death and the Maiden (Fig. 33) clearly show shreds of skin, and we thus have Baldung’s depiction of skin tatters with which to compare the hair. Furthermore, there is no break in Death’s skin in the painted version of Death and the Woman. His skin, though dry and withered, completely covers his bones. Thus, in my opinion, the substance on Death’s knee in the Basle Death and the Woman is hair. Perhaps Baldung wished to emphasize that this Death figure is diabolical.

68
4 Baldung later treats the theme of "The Ages of Woman" in The Harmonic Elysium of Youth and The Three Ages of Woman and Death, c. 1540-43, pendant panels in the Prado Museum, Madrid, each measuring 150.9 x 59.3 cm, and Three Stages of Life and Death, c. 1544, Rennes, Musées des Beaux-Arts, 92 x 75.5 cm, a copy of a lost pendant to The Seven Ages of Woman, Leipzig, Museum der bildenden Kunst, dated 1544, 97.4 x 73.6 cm. The only similarities between these works and those related to the Basle Death and the Woman created c.1510-1518 is that they contain figures of women and Death. "The Ages of Woman" is a separate theme with its own tradition.


6 For an informative, if at times speculative, study of Baldung's activities in the Dürer shop, see Karl Oettinger and Karl-Adolf Knappe, Hans Baldung Grien und Albrecht Dürer in Nürnberg (Nuremberg: Verlag Hans Carl, 1963).

7 Shestack 1981, 8.


10 See Dieter Koeppelin, "Hans Baldungs Basler Bilder des Todes mit dem nackt'n Mädchen," Zeitschrift für Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte XXXV/4 (1978) 224-232 (The entire issue is devoted to Hans Baldung Grien studies); Paul Boerlin,


12 For an overview of the development of the Dance of Death, see Karl Künstle, "Der Totentanz," **Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst** Vol. I (Freiburg i. Br.: Herder, 1928) 211-218; Helmut Rosenfeld, **Der mittelalterliche Totentanz** (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag. 1974), and Gert Kaiser, **Der Tanzende Tod** (Frankfurt: Insel Verlag, 1983).


14 Koepplin 1978, 234-35 and Boerlin, 27. Both scholars, Koepplin, 234, and Boerlin, 28, see two terra cotta plaques of Death and a nude woman dated c. 1440-1450 as intermediate works. One was formerly in the Figdor collection (Vienna, 11.6 cm diameter, Koepplin 1978, ill 1), and the other, formerly in the Dornbusch collection, present whereabouts and measurements unknown, (illustrated in Horst W. Janson, "A Memento Mori among Early Italian Prints," **Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes III** (1939-40) pl. 36e). Separated from the Dance of Death, the group becomes an allegory of vanity. The banderoles inscriptions on the Dornbusch plaque, translated by Janson, 224, read: "I am comely and want to live free from phantoms," and "Alas! Poor lump of clay, you must soon become what I am."

15 Koepplin 1978, 234 and Boerlin 28. Erwin Panofsky, **Hercules am Scheideweg. Studien der Bibliothek Warburg 18** (Leipzig, Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1930) 55 n.3, was the first to link the woman in Baldung’s Basel Death and the Woman to the allegorical figure of Voluptas. He relates the painting to a woodcut illustration, "Hercules at the Crossroads," from Sebastian Brant’s 1497 Strasbourg latin edition of **The Ship of Fools**, which depicts Voluptas at the end of the easy path of the world. She is nude but for a headdress and veil draped diagonally across her body. Death stands behind her, revealing her true nature.

16 Koepplin 235 and Boerlin 27.
17Hults-Boudreau 1978, 104. Koepplin 1978, 234, also refers to the Fall as a related theme, and Boerlin 25 notes the compositional similarities between the Basel painting and Baldung’s images of the Fall of Man. Jean Wirth, La jeune fille et la mort. Hautes études médiévales et modernes 36 (Geneva: Librarie Droz, 1979) 85, sees a possible moral allusion to Eve in the play on words evoked in bite and death; the word for bite is morsus and the word for death, mors. That the word for death comes from the word for bite parallels the concept of the Fall and its consequence. Wirth, however, fails to pursue the visual analogies to Eve and to Baldung’s own depictions of the Fall.

18Hults-Boudreau 1978, 104.

19Hults-Boudreau 1978, 116. Hults 1981, 54, discusses this phenomenon again in relation to Baldung’s position regarding the Reformation. She concludes that Baldung, with his emphasis on the inability of humans to possess innate innocence and goodness in his representations of Adam and Eve, adopts Lutheran ideas of salvation through the grace of God and Faith alone.


21Koerner presents his initial investigations into Baldung’s images of Death and women in the 1985 article, "The Mortification of the Image: Death as a Hermeneutic in Hans Baldung Grien," Representations X (Spring 1985) 52-101. Koerner incorporates this earlier work on the subject into The Moment of Self-Portraiture in German Renaissance Art (1993, fully cited above in n.8.), a study on Baldung’s conception of himself as an artist in comparison to Dürer.

22Koerner 1985, 93.

23Koerner 80.

24See Koerner 1993, 231.


27Koerner 1993, 323.
28 For more information on Kulmbach and Schäufelein, see Friedrich Winkler, Hans Süß von Kulmbach und Hans Leonhard Schäufelein (Berlin: Deutscher Verein der Kunstwissenschaft, 1942). For information on other artists who worked in the Dürrer shop, or who were part of a circle of followers, see Meister um Albrecht Dürrer, exhibition catalog (Nuremberg: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, 1961).

29 The section of the poem quoted here is translated in Walter Strauss, Albrecht. Woodcuts and Woodblocks (New York: Ardis, 1979) 421. To my knowledge, the entire poem has not been translated into English, or even modern German. Hans Rupprich reproduces the whole poem, Dürrer. Schriftlicher Nachlass (Berlin: Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1956) 137-138.

30 "Wer ein lauter gewissen hat,/ der fürcht den todt
nit früe vnd spat...," Rupprich, 137.

31 Corrine Schleif, "The Proper Attitude Towards Death: Windowpanes Designed for the House of Canon Sixtus Tucher," Art Bulletin LXIX, 4 (1987) 589-603, discusses a similar attitude toward death, that one should not fear death, but see it as the gateway to a life of eternal peace, which she believes exists in two designs. These are by Albrecht Dürrer or workshop, Death on Horseback, Hannover, Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum, pen and ink, 38.8 x 31.3 cm, 1502, and Sixtus Tucher by an Open Grave, Frankfurt, Städelisches Institut, pen and ink, 29.5 x 25 cm, 1502.

32 Dürrer later monumentalized this theme in the engraving, The Knight, the Devil and Death, engraving, 24.6 x 19 cm, 1513. Erwin Panofsky, The Life and Art of Albrecht Dürrer (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1971) 151-154, interprets the Knight as the ideal Christian soldier, who steadfastly adheres to the path of virtue, and who is not fearful of death, nor susceptible to the temptations of the devil.

33 Walter L. Strauss, The Complete Drawings of Albrecht Dürrer Vol. 6 (New York: Ardis, 1974-82) 2927, ill. XW163, summarizes arguments for and against Dürrer’s authorship of this drawing, as well as various attempts to date the piece, which range from as early as 1493 to as late as 1505. Strauss excludes the drawing from Dürrer’s oeuvre. He dates the work c. 1503-c.1505, and considers it to be a pastiche of motifs taken from various other works by other members of the shop and by Dürrer himself.

The drawing bears two false monograms, one a type of "tossed monogram", which appears on many workshop drawings. It is located directly beneath the young man seated before the table with his back to the viewer. The "tossed
monogram" mimics Dürer’s own monogram of a large upper case "A" with a smaller upper case "D", which is placed in some instances below the "A's" bar, or is placed so that the bar of the "A" intersects the "D", as in this case. Unlike Dürer’s monograms, however, the "tossed" monograms are askew. Lisa Oehler, "Das geschleuderte Dürer-Monogramm," Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft XVII (1959) 57-121, studied the drawings bearing the "tossed monogram" as a group, and attributed most of them to Hans Süß von Kulmbach. However, according to Strauss, Complete Drawings, Vol. 6, 3271, in a private communication of November 23, 1972, she gave the majority to Baldung. There appear to be, however, several different hands at work in the "tossed monogram" group. Strauss, 3269-3271, summarizes scholarly opinion regarding the problem of the monograms, and rightly suggests that a study of watermarks on the drawings in this group would help to sort out attributions.

34 For a summary of opinion, see Strauss, Complete Drawings of Albrecht Dürer, Vol. 6, 2978, ill. XW215. Both Gerald von Terey, Die Handzeichnungen des Hans Baldung gen. Grien, Vol. I (Strasbourg: Heitz und Mündel, 1894/6) cat. num. 82, and Edmund Schilling, "Die frühe Zeichnungen von Hans Baldung Grien und ihre Beurteilung," Kunsthistorische Forschungen Otto Pächt zu seinem 70. Geburtstag (Vienna: Residenz Verlag, 1972) 196-198, ascribe the drawing to Baldung, and publish it as such. Schilling, 196, places the drawing in Baldung’s Nuremberg period. However, no universally accepted drawings executed in chalk survive by Baldung’s hand until the c.1511 Maria Aegyptiaca, illustrated in Carl Koch, Die Zeichnungen des Hans Baldung Grien (Berlin: Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1941) ill. 32.

35 If no prototype existed, and Baldung indeed executed this drawing, he could not have done so until returning to Strasbourg. However, it is the poem, not the woodcut illustration, that is dated 1510. It is possible that Dürer could have designed Death and the Lansquenet prior to that year, while Baldung was still in the shop. Baldung treats the theme in a 1503 drawing, Death and the Lansquenet, Modena, Galleria Estense, 27.3 x 19.7 cm, illustrated in Carl Koch, ill. 2. There are also several drawings of lansquenets by Kulmbach from this time period. Perhaps there are works by Dürer that no longer survive. Another factor to consider is that the Dresden Group at Table is one of three drawings identical in format and almost identical in size, and all with the same watermark, a bull’s head with caduceus. The other two drawings are Judith Beheading Holofernes, Dresden, Kupferstichkabinett, 27.3 cm diameter, Schilling, ill. 4, and Europa, London, private collection, 27.5 cm diameter. Schilling, 196, rightly notes that the
Europa is directly derived from Düer's c.1495 drawing of the same subject, Schilling ill. 2, which was in Düer's possession during this period. The bull's head watermark does not appear on any known Baldung or Kulmbach drawings. However, information regarding watermarks is woefully incomplete for both artists.


37 Moxey 1980, 125-127, also uses the Master of the Garden of Love's engraving to illustrate the tradition from which Master E.S. deviates.

38 Moxey 1980, 131.

39 Moxey 1980, 141.

40 Moxey 1980, 145.

41 Strauss, Albrecht Düer. Woodcuts and Woodblocks, 421.

42 See Strauss, Complete Drawings of Albrecht Düer, Vol. 6, 3060, XW215, and 3062, XW216 for a summary of scholarly opinion on the drawings. Strauss does not suggest a date for the works.

43 Albrecht Düer, The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse, woodcut, 39.4 x 28.1 cm, c. 1497/8. Illustrated in Panofsky, Life and Art of Albrecht Düer, ill. 78.

44 Baldung obviously knew Düer's Ill-Assorted Couple, for he used it as a model for his own woodcut illustration to Die zehn Geboten, "Thou shall not fornicrate," 10.4 x 13.4 cm, published by Johann Grüninger, Strasbourg, 1516. Illustrated in Matthias Mende, Hans Baldung Grien. Das graphische Werk (Unterschneidheim: Verlag Dr. Alfons Uhl, 1978), 426.


46 See Fedja Anzelewsky, "Das Wappen mit dem Totenkopf," Düer-Studien (Berlin: Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1983) 134-225, for a summary of scholarship devoted to this print. Anzelewsky concludes
that *The Coat of Arms of Death* is a vanitas image; the woman, a bride, representative of ideal feminine beauty, earthly love, and its transitoriness.


49Janson 1939-40, 248, discusses the wildman’s role in French chivalric romance, in which the lustful wildman is juxtaposed to the virtuous knight. Richard Bernheimer, *The Wildman in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952) 121-175, devotes an entire chapter of his study to the erotic connotations of the wildman.

50Bernheimer 178.

51Bernheimer 183-184.


53Bernheimer 184.

54Rainer Schoch, "A Century of Nuremberg Printmaking," *Gothic and Renaissance Art in Nuremberg 1300-1550*. Exhibition catalog (Munich: Prestel Verlag, 1986) 293, though he notes the woman’s flirtatiousness, still interprets her as a bride who is unaware of the dangers this flirtation will bring her.

55Anzelewsky, 139-140, draws a parallel between this illustration and the woodcut illustrating the passage on the folly of lechery, *Buhlschaft*, from the 1493 Basle edition of *Ship of Fools*, my Fig. 30. He identifies the woman depicted as "Vanitas", ignoring the fact that the woman in the accompanying text calls herself Venus, adding an erotic connotation to the female allegorical figure in the woodcut illustration. He places the carnal aspects of *The Coat of Arms of Death* in the figure of the wildman only.


57See n. 48.

Kaiser 186-187.

The original text is reproduced and transcribed in Kaiser 186-187. The English translation is mine.

Ibid.


Von Térey, LXXIV.


Strauss, *Complete Drawings of Albrecht Dürer*, Vol. 6, 2982, states Panofsky's opinion as such, but does not cite the source.

Ibid.

Although the drawing is neither signed nor dated, it has been universally accepted as an original Baldung work because of its stylistic similarities to his signed and dated works of 1504 and 1505.

We also find a female figure in similar pose, and in this instance wearing a long train, and accompanied by a trainbearer, in a representation by Baldung of "Judith", woodcut illustration, *Der beschlossene Gart der Heiligen Rosenkranz Mariae*, publ. Nuremberg, Ulrich Pinder, 1505. The woodcut is illustrated in Mende, ill. 222.


Larry Silver and Susan Smith, "Carnal Knowledge: The Late Engravings of Lucas van Leyden," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* XXIX (1979) 239-298.

Silver and Smith 1979, 247 suggest a resemblance between Baldung's 1510 *Eve and the Serpent* (Fig. 28) and his figure of Eve from the 1511 chiaroscuro woodcut, *The Fall of Man* (Fig. 36) and Dürer's *Eve* from the 1504 engraving, *Adam and Eve*. Charles W. Talbot, "Baldung and the Female Nude," *Hans Baldung Grien: Prints and Drawings*, Exhibition catalog (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery. 1981) 24 has noted that Baldung's images of Eve generally take Dürer's 1504 Eve as their model, and refers specifically to Baldung's 1510 *Eve* and the 1511 *Fall of Man*. Neither study notes the specific relationship to the Vienna *The Three Ages of Woman and Death*.


Talbot 1981, 22.


Panofsky, "Blind Cupid," 121.

Ibid, 112.

Ibid, 109, and Hall 49.


Ibid, 51 n.2.

Van der Osten, 95.

Wirth, 84, believes that the awkward anatomical rendering of the figure is deliberate on Baldung's part, so that she will have the appearance of decay. He suggests that she is already dead, and is attempting to flee the grave. Death only seeks to return her to her proper place. Wirth interprets the painting thusly, for he sees all of Baldung's *Death* with women images as ones in which Death retrieves an already dead woman, who has risen to walk the earth as a ghost. As intriguing as the notion is, Wirth offers no visual tradition to support his argument, and his literary sources are obscure. See Van der Osten 1983, 154
for a review of Wirth’s study.

84See Van der Osten, 60.


86Hans Baldung Grien, *Der Tod und das Mädchen*, Florence, Uffizi, pen and ink with white highlights on brown tinted paper, 30 x 19.7 cm, c.1515. Illustrated in Carl Koch, ill. 68.

87Hults-Boudreau 1978, 102 and Talbot 1981, 22 have both observed Eve’s awareness of her situation.

88Talbot 1981, 22 notes Baldung’s emphasis on Eve’s responsibility for the Fall. Koerner 1985, 77-78 further develops this idea and stresses the importance of the "historicity" of the Fall in Baldung, for Baldung chooses to portray the exact moment when Eve succumbed to temptation.

89Koerner 1985, 77-78 and 1993, 292-316, bases his discussion of The Fall of Man in Baldung’s work on this observation, which as we have seen in n.17 above, scholars previous to Koerner had already noticed.


91Hults, "Baldung and the Reformation," 54.


93Augustine describes the sexual awakening of Adam and Eve as the product of the first transgression, tasting the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge. Important to our discussion, however, is not the order of events, but equation of death with sex, and Eve’s role in death’s origin.

95 Talbot 1981, 22, followed by Smith and Silver 1986, 247-248, compares Dürrer's 1504 Adam and Eve with Baldung's images of the Fall.

96 Panofsky, Life and Art of Albrecht Dürrer, 85.


98 Koerner uses this image to support his theory of how Baldung structures viewer experience in Death and the Woman by equating the male viewer with Adam, and with Death. Hults, "Baldung and the Reformation," 54, also remarks on the relationship of Death to Adam.


100 Ibid.

101 Since Robert Koch's designation of the Death figure as Adam, Hans Baldung Grien. Eve, the Serpent, and Death, Masterpieces in the National Gallery of Canada 2 (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1974) 29, scholarly opinion is almost unanimous in identifying him as Adam.

102 Koerner, 1993, 310; and Hults-Boudreau, 1978, 100.

103 Hieatt, 298; and R. Koch 24.

104 Hieatt, 298.

105 Hults, "Baldung and the Reformation," 54.

106 Ibid., 109.

107 R. Koch, 28; Talbot, 22.

108 Talbot, 22.


111 Ozment, 11; Davis, 1986, 124.

112 Davis, 1986, 124.


114 Margaret L. King, Women of the Renaissance (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1991) 47.


117 Quétel, 4.

118 Andreski, 10.

119 Wiesner, 96.


124 Davis, "Women on Top," 135.


127 Ibid., 44.

128 Ibid., 47.


130 Linda Hults, "Baldung and the Witches of Freiburg: The Evidence of the Images," Journal of Interdisciplinary History XVIII (Autumn 1978) 251, believes that scene depicts the witches casting spells to make them fly, so that they may depart for the sabbath. She believes that the witches' delusion of flight exemplifies their ridiculousness.

131 Ibid., 254.

132 Ibid.

133 Ibid., and Koerner, 1993, 335.

134 Hults, 1987, 269; Schade, 104; and Koerner, 1993, 335.

135 Hults, 1987, 263.

136 Ibid., 264-265.

137 Ibid., 272.

138 Smith and Silver, 268.


private rooms of the Ducal family and their contents. Paintings depicting the stories of Pyramus and Thisbe, and David and Bathsheba decorated the Duke's bedroom walls. Scenes of Hercules and Omphale, the Judgement of Paris, Venus and Cupid, and other "Power of Women" subjects adorned his bed. See also Koerner, 1993, 344.

\textsuperscript{142}Koerner, 1993, 344, and 257-258, discusses patronage of Baldung's work.

\textsuperscript{143}Talbot, 37, and Koerner, 1993, 319.
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"The Complete Drawings of Albrecht Dürer.


FIGURES
Fig. 1. Hans Baldung Grien. Death and the Woman, Basel Kunstmuseum, oil and tempera on panel, 29.5 x 17.5 cm, c. 1518-20.
Fig. 2. Hans Baldung Grien. The Fall of Man, woodcut, 25 x 9.5 cm, 1519.
Kemping hilft für den seyrling todt
Darumb dienent got frey und spot

1510

Es war kein geschwung ne ist uns mein
Denn unser süppel ist voll von verreus
Pfeifer war unser stern im himmel
Dass der seyrling sey ernst
Wer ein lauter gewiß in hat
Der sucht dem tod den sich vor heit
Denn fragt er will noch langen seyt
Der man bey got außer der se
Wer seinen sich anlangen in
dass sich blinde in der wemb gefehn
Gyrmere aber nicht bey sand
Weil got das sich hieh voll leien hait
So wirt er hie bewegne
Denn lang er sey fragen
Ich ber the er bey bewer
Denn er get bey got außer
Wo er get bey got außer
Denn er get bey got außer

Fig. 3. Albrecht Dürer. Death and the Lansquenet, woodcut illustration for a broadsheet, illustration 12 x 8.2 cm, 1510.
Fig. 4. Dürer shop. *Pleasures of the World*, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, pen and ink, 21.1 x 33 cm, c.1503–c.1505.
Fig. 5. Hans Baldung Grien? Group at Table Threatened by Death, Dresden, Kupferstichkabinett, black chalk/charcoal drawing, 27.5 cm diameter, c.1503-c.1507.
Fig. 6. Hans Süß von Kulmbach. *Two Amorous Couples and an Old Woman*, Munich, Graphische Sammlung, pen and ink over metalpoint, 18.4 x 25.3, c. 1500-1505.
Fig. 7. Hans Süß von Kulmbach. Young Revellers with a Fool. Paris, Louvre, brush and ink, 19.4 x 29.8 cm, c. 1500-1505.
Fig. 8. Master E.S. The Feast in the Garden of Love, engraving, 15.3 x 23.5 cm, c. 1465.
Fig. 9. Master of the Gardens of Love, *The Large Garden of Love*, engraving, c. 1450.
Fig. 10. Hieronymus Bosch, or School of Bosch. "Luxuria," from the Tabletop, Madrid, The Prado, entire panel measures 120 x 149.86 cm, c.1485.
Fig. 11. Dürer shop. Musical Trio, London, British Museum, pen and ink, 18.6 x 9.8 cm, c. 1510?
Fig. 12. Dürer shop. Allegory of Youth, Age, and Death, London, British Museum, 18.7 x 9.9 cm, c. 1510?
Fig. 13. Hans Baldung Grien. *Death and the Three Ages of Woman*, oil and tempera on panel, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, c. 1509-11.
Fig. 14. Albrecht Dürer. The Ravisher, engraving, 11.4 x 10.2 cm, c. 1495.
Fig. 15. Albrecht Dürer. *The Coat of Arms of Death*, engraving, 22.3 x 16 cm, 1503.
Fig. 16. Albrecht Dürer. The Ill-Assorted Couple, engraving, 15 x 13.8 cm, c. 1495.
Fig. 17. Pieter Bruegel. *Peasant Wedding Feast*, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, oil on panel, 114.3 x 162.56 cm, c. 1556.
Fig. 18. *Frau Welt*, Worms Cathedral, stone sculpture, c. 1414.
Fig. 19. *Voluptas/Frau Welt*, Heidelberg University Library MS 339, leaf 35a, manuscript illustration, c. 1400.
Fig. 20. *Voluptas*, woodcut illustration, *De fide concubinarum*, publ. Basel, P. Olearius, c. 1500–1505.
Fig. 21. *Hercules at the Crossroads*, woodcut illustration, Sebastian Brant, *Das Narrenschiff*, publ. Strasbourg, 1497.
Fig. 22. Dürer shop. *Death Carrying a Lady's Train*, Weimar, Schloßmuseum, pen and ink, 23.1 x 15.9 cm, date disputed.
Fig. 23. Hans Leonhard Schäufelein. Death with an Hourglass Carrying a Lady’s Train, Frankfurt, Städelisches Institut, pen and ink, 27.6 x 17.4 cm, c. 1505-1507.
Fig. 24. Hans Baldung Grien. "Do Not Commit Adultery," woodcut illustration, 10.4 x 13.4 cm, Die zehn Geboten, publ. Strasbourg, Johannes Grüninger, 1516.
Fig. 25. Hans Baldung Grien. *St. Catherine in a Landscape*, Basel, Kunstmuseum, pen and ink, 30.3 x 21.2 cm, c. 1504.
Fig. 26. Hans Baldung Grien. *The Knight, the Lady, and Death*, Paris, Louvre, tempera and oil on panel, 35.5 x 29.6 cm, c. 1503-1505.
Fig. 27. Albrecht Dürer. *Adam and Eve*, engraving, 25.2 x 19.4 cm, 1504.
Fig. 28. Hans Baldung Grien. *Eve and the Serpent*, Hamburg, Kunsthalle, pen and ink, 29.2 x 21.3 cm, 1510.
Fig. 29. Follower of Hans Baldung Grien. *Venus, Blind Cupid, and Death*, Brussels, Musée Royaux des Beaux Arts, oil on panel, 44.2 x 37.4 cm, date unknown.
Fig. 30. *Frau Venus*, woodcut illustration, Sebastian Brant, *Das Narrenschiff*, publ. Basel, 1494.
Fig. 31. Hans Baldung Grien. *Death Pursuing a Woman*, Florence, Bargello Museum, oil and tempera on panel, 30.8 x 16.7 cm, c. 1513.
Fig. 32. Hans Baldung Grien. *Maiden with a Mirror and Death*, Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, pen and ink with white highlights on brown tinted paper, 30.6 x 20.4 cm, 1515.
Fig. 33. Hans Baldung Grien. **Death and the Maiden**, Basel Kunstmuseum, oil and tempera on panel, 30.3 x 14.5 cm, 1517.
Fig. 34. Hans Baldung Grien. Drawing of Death and the Woman, Florence, Uffizi, pen and ink with white highlights on brown tinted paper, 30 x 19.7 cm, c. 1515.
Fig. 35. Baldung Workshop. *Drawing of Death and the Maiden*, Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, pen and ink with white highlights on brown tinted paper, 37.8 x 16 cm, 1515.
Fig. 36. Hans Baldung Grien. The Fall of Man, chiaroscuro woodcut, 37.1 x 25.1 cm, 1511.
Fig. 37. Hans Baldung Grien. Eve, the Serpent, and Death, Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada, oil on panel, 64 x 32.5 cm, last half of the 1520’s.
Fig. 38. Albrecht Dürer. *The Power of Women*, New York, J. Pierpont Morgan Library, pen and ink, brush and watercolor, 25.6 x 35.1 cm, 1521.
Fig. 39. Housebook Master. **Escutcheon with a Peasant Standing on His Head**, engraving, 13.8 x 8.5 cm, c. 1480-1490.
Fig. 40. Hans Baldung Grien. Phyllis and Aristotle, woodcut, 33.3 x 23.8 cm, 1513.
Fig. 41. Hans Baldung Grien. *Witches Sabbath*, Paris, Louvre, pen and ink on green tinted paper, 28.9 x 20 cm, 1514.