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THE NUERNBERG CITY COUNCIL AS A PATRON
OF THE FINE ARTS, 1500-1550

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THE NUERNBERG CITY COUNCIL AS A PATRON
OF THE FINE ARTS, 1500-1550

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

by

Carl Chris Christensen, B.A., M.A.

* * * * * *

The Ohio State University
1965

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INTRODUCTION

This study began as an inquiry into the effect of the Lutheran Reformation upon ecclesiastical art in Nuernberg. It soon became apparent that such an investigation would have to focus upon the policies of the municipal government, for, to a degree hard to comprehend for those of us nurtured in the laissez faire tradition, the city council governed or supervised virtually all areas of life within the community.

The measures taken by the civic authorities regarding church art, in fact, constituted only one aspect of a multi-faceted cultural program. More specifically, they were but a part of the overall relationship of the city council to the fine arts. In order to understand the initial problem in the proper context it seemed advisable to broaden the scope of the investigation to include a consideration of this entire relationship.

The results of such a study should prove of value with respect to other historical topics beyond that of the cultural impact of the Reformation. Research in the area of art patronage provides an invaluable complement to formal analysis of the actual art works. It merits and enjoys an
independent and respectable position within the total edifice of art historical scholarship.

A consideration of the contributions of the Nuernberg city council in the field of the fine arts also provides an interesting chapter in urban history. Although the importance of the rise of the city in Europe during the latter part of the Middle Ages is universally acknowledged, we remain rather poorly informed concerning certain aspects of municipal culture. One area requiring further research is the problem of the attitudes and policies of urban governments, particularly in the Renaissance North, towards the fine arts.

Nuernberg, one of Germany's largest municipal settlements during this period, lends itself admirably to such an investigation. First, the city played a role of unquestioned leadership in artistic matters. In Albrecht Dürer it produced one of the greatest draughtsmen of all time. Peter Vischer, the noted bronze founder, and other Nuernberg figures also were acknowledged masters in their respective crafts.

Secondly, the conditions for historical research in Nuernberg are excellent. Despite the devastation wrought by war, the municipal records remain intact to an amazing degree. And, as other scholars have observed, the social and political stability which characterized the development of the city over a period of several centuries gave to the
policies of the ruling council an unusually high degree of continuity. This, in turn, immeasurably lightens the burden of the investigator who wishes to isolate and examine particular cultural phenomena.

Concerning the terminal dates chosen for this study—they are not entirely arbitrary. They provide for the allocation of a twenty-five year span on either side of the date of the official introduction of the Reformation. In a sense this permits the establishment of a control against which to compare the post-Reformation developments.

Further, the dates chosen correspond somewhat to stylistic developments. Many art historians cite as the beginning of the German Renaissance, indeed the Northern Renaissance in the fine arts, Albrecht Dürer's great early works, which appear already in the 1490's but reflect a more profound understanding and acceptance of classical ideals in the first decade of the sixteenth century. On the other hand, the death of the Dürer pupil (and Nuernberg city painter) Georg Penz in 1550 can be interpreted as signifying an end of the indigenous Nuernberg art tradition.

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CHAPTER ONE

THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE, SOCIAL COMPLEXION, AND CULTURAL
POLICIES OF THE NUERNBERG CITY GOVERNMENT

By the time of the sixteenth century, the free imperial city
of Nuernberg had long possessed a well developed political organ-
ization and a highly sophisticated social structure. Both had
their origins in the widespread urban development of the latter
part of the Middle Ages. The rapid growth of the city and
particularly its political maturation form an interesting story,
but one which can not be related here in any detail. Yet a
brief treatment of this theme, as well as the nature of the
constitution, the social composition of the ruling class, and
the scope of the powers exercised in the religious, social, and
cultural realms by the ruling authority will be necessary in
order that the art patronage policies of the city council be
understood in the proper perspective.

The settlement which ultimately became Nuernberg first
took form in the mid-eleventh century, at the foot of a royal
castle in the possession of the Hohenstaufen emperors.¹ The

¹ Emil Reicke, Geschichte der Reichsstadt Nürnberg
growing population drawn by the protection of this fortress plus the wonder-working relics of Saint Sebald buried nearby were at first ruled by royal officials, the burgrave and bailiff (schultheiss). But twelfth-century sources already mention the Nuernbergers as recipients of special freedoms and an important charter from 1219 guarantees the maintenance of certain customary rights, among the more important of which was the concession that taxes were to be collected only from the community as a whole, not from individual residents.  

The increasing degree of autonomy, granted characteristically by the emperors due to their need for money and political support, began to express itself externally in the 1240's and 1250's with the use of a city seal, the employment of a city secretary, the construction of city walls, and the appearance of the city council in negotiations with other cities.

The powers of the city council were exercised for a long period in conjunction with those of the bailiff, whose importance meanwhile seems to have increased at the expense of that of the burgrave. But by 1313, the city officials had been granted, by

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3 Pfeiffer, "Der Aufstieg...", p. 15; "Nürnbergs Selbstverwaltung...", p. 3.

4 Greenfield, p. 16.
royal privilege, the sole legislative jurisdiction over questions of trade and taxes, while the jurors (schöffen) who made up the bailiff's court were drawn from the local citizenry. Even the cooperation with the bailiff served ultimately to enhance the power of the city council, for with increasing frequency in the fourteenth century the office was granted to members of the same wealthy merchant families who comprised the city government. The position finally was mortgaged to a wealthy merchant citizen, and then to the city itself in 1385. The city had become virtually an independent sovereign power.

By the time of the revolution of the guilds against patrician rule in the mid-fourteenth century the city council had already assumed many of the characteristics which ultimately became permanent. The original thirteen jurors of the bailiff's court had been added to the thirteen councilors to form a body of twenty-six, which then was again subdivided into two equal groups of young and old burgomasters, respectively. Pairs of these, a junior and a senior working together, in alternation conducted business for periods of four weeks each. Decisions

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5 Pfeiffer, "Nürnbergs Selbstverwaltung...", p. 7.
6 Ibid.
7 Ibid.
8 Greenfield, p. 17; Pfeiffer, "Nürnbergs Selbstverwaltung...", p. 8.
were reached on the basis of a majority vote. In addition to this body there existed a larger, subordinate council, whose members were designated as the genannte.

This constitution was temporarily abandoned in 1348 when the craft workers took advantage of a broader political division within the empire between the emperor and the Wittelsbach family of Bavaria (in which the patrician city council had sided with the emperor) and revolted, claiming the political support of the Bavarian faction. A new government was formed, with a heavy contingent of craftsmen in city offices. Both the emperor and the former city council of Nuremberg shortly triumphed, however, and the old system was completely restored after slightly more than a year.

One constitutional change, however, seems to have found its origins, indirectly at least, in this revolt. By the latter part of the fourteenth century eight representatives of the crafts had been added to the twenty-six aristocratic members of the city council. Although it is not known for certain, it is generally believed that this was to represent a type of concession to the workers. Yet, in fact, this new representation served as little more than window dressing. For their number

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9 Pfeiffer, "Nürnberg's Selbstverwaltung...", p. 8.
10 Ibid., p. 9.
11 Ibid., pp. 5-6.
was soon offset by the addition of eight more members (entitled alte genannte) drawn apparently from the ranks of the older or retired wealthy patricians.\textsuperscript{12}

The nature of the city government and the manner in which it functioned during the early part of the sixteenth century have been recorded for us in an admirable fashion in a letter sent by a Nuernberg humanist and legal consultant, Dr. Christoph Scheurl, to Johann von Staupitz, Luther's friend and vicar-general of the Augustinian order. In a position to acquire an intimate understanding of the topic about which he writes, Scheurl performed a great service for posterity by not only sketching the external forms of government but also revealing in a frank and candid manner the social distinctions upon which they were based and which determined the inner springs of power.\textsuperscript{13}

The earlier-mentioned small council of twenty-six, plus eight craftsmen and eight alte genannte, remained a permanent fixture of the constitution and together with the large council of genannte containing an indefinite and fluctuating membership (usually more than 200) made up the basis of the Nuernberg

\textsuperscript{12}Greenfield, p. 18.

\textsuperscript{13}"Christoph Scheurl's Epistel Über die Verfassung der Reichsstadt Nürnberg. 1516," Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte. Nürnberg, V (Leipzig, 1874), 781-804.
government. Yet, as Scheurl reveals, there was within this structure, to borrow a phrase, "an intricate gradation of powers, wheels within wheels," and power was very heavily concentrated toward the top. For from the thirteen old burgomasters of the small council were chosen seven men who then comprised a select committee known as the alte herren. From their ranks came three captains who formed the head of the city's military forces, controlled the city seal, and held the keys to the city gates. Two of the three were then designated as treasurers (losunger), a post with still more power and prestige, and finally, the senior of these in office carried the position of official head of state.

The real power of the government resided in the hands of the seven alte herren, for, as Scheurl states, they acted in secret and made decisions on the basis of information not accessible even to the small council. Together with the captains and treasurers, who were chosen from their own number, they ruled the city. Further, when matters were presented for a vote in the small council neither the craftsmen nor alte genannte represented there were a significant political force. Scheurl explains that they could either

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14 Ibid., p. 786.
15 Greenfield, p. 20.
16 Scheurl, pp. 787, 794.
17 Ibid., p. 794.
attend or not attend the meetings, as they chose. The large council met only irregularly, and was called upon for consultation and consent only in matters of extreme importance to the city, such as taxes, war and peace, and so on.

Entry to the top government posts was sharply limited by tradition, if not by statute. The membership of even the large council was basically aristocratic in the sense that it was, with the exception of a few craftsmen distinguished by their great services to the city, the wealthier and more prestigious families who normally qualified. But between the large and small councils there existed an even more important chasm, for entry to the latter came only with membership in the patriciate, a select circle of about forty to fifty families based solely on inheritance. But even here the social distinctions did not cease for, as Scheurl informs us, there were patricians who could rise no higher than the small council, the number of families eligible for the seven alto herren was very small, and the number of those to whom the posts of captain or treasurer were open was even smaller.

The election system was nicely calculated to perpetuate this oligarchical structure. The annual selection of new

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18 Ibid., pp. 795-796.  
19 Ibid., p. 787.  
20 Ibid.  
21 Ibid., p. 791.  
22 Ibid., p. 792.
members for the small council (with the exception of the alte genannte) was entrusted entirely to a committee composed of two electors chosen by the large council from the old burgomasters in the small council and three electors nominated by the small council also from its own ranks, although here the choice was limited to the alte genannte. That this electoral commission, "a majority of whom had been selected by, and two of whom had been selected from, the body of men on whose election they were to pass," should routinely re-elect the same slate of officers, can come as no surprise. It was, in fact, as Scheurl states, a great disgrace to be deposed from the council against one's own will.

The newly elected small council then selected new alte genannte, in case of vacancies by death, and appointments to the large council also proceeded from this body. Furthermore, the small council held completely in its hands the filling of vacancies within the seven alte herren and the posts of captain and treasurer.

Little need be said here of the city courts except to note that to one of them was entrusted the supervision of guild affairs, a topic that will be discussed in more detail later, and that all were thoroughly subordinated to the city council.

23Ibid., p. 788.  
24Greenfield, p. 23.  
25Scheurl, p. 788.  
26Ibid., p. 789; Greenfield, p. 20.  
27Scheurl, p. 792.
itself. Other observations of Scheurl's that are worthy of note are the fact that some of the higher governmental positions were considered full time employment and included annual salaries (all council members received token remuneration for attendance at meetings), and that the city employed a sizeable staff of legal consultants and a large chancery for the maintenance of public records.

Interesting and perhaps of relevance to the problem of the city council's attitude toward cultural concerns is the provision that any patrician son acquiring a doctor's degree automatically disqualified himself from council membership. Scheurl does not spell out the reasons underlying this stipulation, but it has been suggested that it stems less from a wish socially to disqualify the professions (primarily legal, perhaps also theological) than from a prudent caution lest the hereditary nature of the patriciate's power come to be challenged by a new "aristocracy of officialdom," based on the acquisition of knowledge.

Having discussed the origins and structure of the city government we must now examine more closely the social complexion of the class which dominated it—the patriciate.

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28 Ibid., pp. 796-803. 29 Ibid., p. 793.
30 Ibid., pp. 802-803. 31 Ibid., p. 792.
For it must be assumed that the patronage policies of a governing body reflect not only political realities but also the cultural norms of the group from which its members are drawn. These, in turn, we have come more and more to understand, are based to an important degree upon factors of social standing.

The question as to the origins of the Nuernberg patriciate is an amazingly complicated one and still today the subject of heated debate. As we are more concerned with the nature of the social and cultural ideals of this class or group in the early part of the sixteenth century than with its origins, we need only note that the two chief theories run as follows:

a) The early Nuernberg patricians were drawn originally from the semi-noble class of royal officials (ministeriales) who accumulated their wealth initially from ground rents and then turned to trade as well;

b) The early Nuernberg patricians were originally small merchants who acquired patrician standing through the accumulation of great wealth in business, and then invested this wealth in the purchase of landed estates. There are various refinements of these two basic types, and some

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33 For a good summary of the opposing views see Meyer, pp. 1–96. An example of a more recent attempt to pursue the question along the lines of very detailed research devoted to individual families is Gerhard Hirschmann, "Die Familie Muffel im Mittelalter. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Nürnberg Patriziats, seiner Entstehung und seines Besitzes," MVGN, XLI (1950), 257–392.
compromise theories as well which attempt to reconcile the two, or at least utilize parts of both.

Fortunately virtually all the scholars involved are able to agree on a broad range of characteristics attributable to the well developed Nuernberg patriciate of the period under discussion in this study. First of all, whatever the conditions under which they first entered the world of business, all the important patrician families were at this time engaged in trade or industry, involving enterprises of international scale from which they drew the bulk of their wealth.\(^{34}\)

Second, the chief external sign of membership in this class was eligibility to the city council, a distinction which was clear cut and well understood in its application, even if not established by legal statute.\(^{35}\) Acquisition of this honor was purely through inheritance, with the exception that from time to time new families could be coopted. The manner in which the latter custom was practiced reveals clearly that the patricians self-consciously considered themselves a unique group within the community rather than merely the top layer of Nuernberg society. For while patricians from neighboring communities were usually very readily admitted to the Nuernberg aristocracy, it often took local families generations to qualify.\(^{36}\)

\(^{34}\) Meyer, p. 65. 
\(^{35}\) Ibid., p. 34. 
\(^{36}\) Ibid., pp. 36-37.
What were the qualities possessed by the families with patrician status? Wealth for one, a prerequisite with practical as well as snob value, for the leading statesmen in the city government were obliged to devote their full efforts to their work and the official salaries were not sufficiently great to open such positions to ambitious men without the leisure time resulting from independent wealth. Antiquity of wealth was another factor, one which nicely reflected a successful practice of what have been characterized as two leading medieval bourgeois virtues, success in business plus frugality in mode of living.\textsuperscript{37} An honorable manner of life (no hand labor for example) and the general respect of the community were still other prerequisites. Finally, in many cases, some claim to aristocratic distinction, whether real or fictitious, through inherited noble blood or marriage to someone with such a status.\textsuperscript{38} But whatever the constellation of qualities necessary for membership, it is noteworthy that access to the ranks of the charmed circle became more and more restricted with the passing of time, and the year 1521 may conveniently represent the virtual ending of the developmental process. For, in that year, the seven \textit{alte herren} issued a decree defining which families were eligible for

\textsuperscript{37}Ibid., p. 82.

\textsuperscript{38}Pfeiffer, "Nürnberg's Selbstverwaltung...," p. 10.
invitation to dances in the City Hall, a type of official acknowledgement that membership in the patriciate was for all practical purposes frozen. 39

Characteristic of the Nuernberg patriciate is the manner in which it patterned its mode of life upon that of the landed nobility, a "social program" which found its legal expression in an attempt to acquire various prerogatives or privileges pertaining to this social class, and finally to secure cooption into the class itself. In some areas the efforts were successful. By the period we are concerned with a majority of the patrician families had long enjoyed the possession of landed fiefs, involving the right of inheritance and grants of penal jurisdiction, bestowed by the emperor and other nobles. 40 The same families also acquired landed estates through purchase, and took steps to insure the maintenance of the family dignity by attaching conditions of entail and even primogeniture to the disposition of inheritable property. 41

Claims to eligibility to chivalric athletic competitions and acquisition of ecclesiastical benefices usually reserved to the landed nobility were not as successful. But in both

39 Meyer, p. 88. 40 Ibid., pp. 41-42.
41 Ibid., pp. 54-55.
cases a type of substitute was created. Forbidden to participate in noble tournaments (unless willing to renounce their city citizenship), the Nuernberg patricians instituted their own, the one held in 1444 being especially noteworthy. This event was, in retrospect, considered of sufficient importance as a claim to noble dignity by the seventeenth-century city fathers to rate a representation of it in stucco-relief in the new City Hall. In regard to ecclesiastical preferments, the city council, through its control over the patronage of the city churches and monasteries, was able to provide important church positions for its sons and daughters, positions which remained largely inaccessible to the common populace.

A logical result of this tendency was the gradual withdrawal of the Nuernberg patrician families from those commercial and industrial connections which more than anything else hindered their acceptance by the landed nobility as full equals. The process was already under way by the mid-sixteenth century and by the end of it only a few leading families still were directly involved in trade or manufacturing. The rest had retired to their country estates and were living on ground rents


\[43\] Meyer, pp. 50-51.

\[44\] Ibid., pp. 46-49.
and the proceeds from investments. This social transformation finally received belated recognition in the imperial decree of 1697 establishing the entire Nuremberg patriciate as an incorporated and exclusive body of families bearing noble rank.

On the other hand, it is interesting to note that the German emperors, in one sense at least, never recognized the full sovereignty of Nuremberg's patrician city council over its subjects. Instead, they persisted in viewing this body as but an organ of community self-government rather than an authority ruling over the population at large, and continued, until the dissolution of the empire, to insist on their competence to appoint commissions to settle differences between the city council and the common citizenry. In fact, of course, the ruling patricians as early as the fourteenth century had created, on the basis of political skill, economic strength, and social prestige, an authoritarian system which brooked no intervention, within or without. It is to the social and cultural policies of this powerful ruling body that we must now turn our attention.

The government of a free imperial city such as Nuremberg

46 Pfeiffer, "Nürnberg Patriziat...", p. 41.
47 Pfeiffer, "Nürnberg Rosenberg Selbstverwaltung...", p. 11.
48 Ibid., pp. 6, 11.
exercised wide political and economic powers, far beyond those normally associated today with a municipal authority. In addition to the maintenance of law and order, it conducted a sovereign foreign policy and fielded an independent army. It also intervened in the economy, in the form of quality controls imposed on manufactured goods, price controls on certain basic commodities, and the maintenance of such municipally owned or controlled institutions as a slaughterhouse, a brickkiln, and a brewery. Viewed against this background, it becomes highly interesting to note to what a degree the busy city fathers also extended their power and influence into other areas of religious, social, and cultural life, today usually reserved to other institutions.

Long before the Reformation the city council had begun to encroach upon the ecclesiastical powers of the Bishop of Bamberg. Already in 1474 it was granted the rights of patronage or presentation, during the "papal months" (every other month), to the highest offices of both parish churches, St. Sebald and St. Lawrence. Presentation rights for the other six months were acquired in 1513. Meanwhile these appointive powers had been made more meaningful with the papal granting in 1477 of a

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49 Ibid., pp. 22-23; For price controls see Staatsarchiv, Nürnberg. Ratsbuch No. 8, fol. 146a, 206a, 305a, etc.
51 Ibid., p. 17.
considerable portion of the Bishop of Bamberg's rights and privileges to the city council-appointed provosts, who henceforth were themselves virtually local urban bishops.\textsuperscript{52}

The city fathers very early showed themselves sympathetic to the new Lutheran theology,\textsuperscript{53} and already in 1520 began appointing clerics trained at Wittenberg.\textsuperscript{54} When the provosts of the two large parish churches began serving communion in both kinds upon their own initiative in 1524, the city council decided to defend them against charges brought by the Bamberg bishop, and its refusal to execute his decrees of condemnation can be interpreted as the end of papal authority in Nuernberg.\textsuperscript{55}

The internal situation was clarified in 1525 when the city government openly declared in favor of Lutheranism and dissolved the monasteries.\textsuperscript{56} The office of provost was soon allowed to lapse and the council in fact became its own bishop.\textsuperscript{57}

It is notable that in addition to its growing ecclesiastical powers the Nuernberg city government also took pains to regulate the manners and morals of its citizens. It is sometimes alleged that the church was ultimately responsible for the

\textsuperscript{52}Ibid., p. 15. \textsuperscript{53}Ibid., pp. 27-29.
\textsuperscript{54}Ibid., pp. 88-92. \textsuperscript{55}Ibid., pp. 152-162.
\textsuperscript{56}Ibid., pp. 181, 217-227.
\textsuperscript{57}Ibid., p. 228.
formation of this type of sumptuary law, as indeed the somewhat quaint example of the city council's compliance in 1453 with a request of the Bishop of Bamberg that the use of peaked shoes be prohibited in the city might seem to indicate. Yet, the results of a thorough study of this type of legislation as it existed in Nuernberg serves chiefly to confirm the fact that for a variety of motives, only in part religious, the municipal authority pursued over a period of centuries its own independent policy of moral regulations. Furthermore, these laws continued after 1525 largely as before, that is to say, unaffected to any appreciable degree by the introduction of the Protestant Reformation.

Why the busy statesmen governing a powerful independent state such as Nuernberg should feel obliged to direct their efforts to such enterprises as the regulating of the value of gifts presented at weddings and baptisms, the inhibiting of excessive pomp and display at funerals, and the determination of what type of clothing the populace could wear, might not be readily apparent. Yet it must be accepted that these activities, plus others such as the prohibition of cursing and gambling, were at the time considered a legitimate concern

of the paternalistic city government which took the entire life and well being of its citizens as its legitimate province. 63

Some of the sumptuary laws perhaps may be traced to the social prejudices of the governing group; for example, the laws distinguishing between clothing suitable for wear by the common folk and that considered proper only for the elite families. This type of legislation no doubt served to keep the governed in their proper place and helped preserve the social status of the ruling clique. 64

Yet the major motivation underlying most of the moral laws probably can best be described as a sincere concern for the continued good health of the dynamic social organism of the late medieval and Renaissance city. Excessive ostentation by those able to afford such luxuries tended to set social precedents which less fortunate citizens could follow only at the risk of bankruptcy, or at least neglect of more necessary expenditures, 65 while improper or indecent behavior was considered a threat to the moral fiber of the populace and called forth in turn appropriate legal prohibitions. 66

Somewhat similar in its reflection of a broad paternalistic program of restrictive and regulative controls is the censorship

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63 Ibid., p. 9.  
64 Ibid., pp. 116, 126-127.  
65 Ibid., pp. 37, 40.  
66 Ibid., pp. 92-95.
policy followed by the Nuernberg city council. In this area also the municipal government was somewhat influenced by the will of the church, yet had a coherent and independent policy of its own.

Printing came to Nuernberg in the 1470's, but as it served mostly as an aid to the scholars at first, it did not occur to the city council to control publication. The first restrictive measures (1490's) pertained only to individual works and were based on moral-political grounds; the printed matter banished was considered scandalous and injurious to good public order. But shortly thereafter (1502) a type of preventative censorship was instituted, in that all poems or rhymed works had to be submitted to the city secretary for examination previous to publication. The cause of the extension was the continued public sale of the same type of offensive literature.

An ordinance of 1513, resulting from the printing and sale of books describing riot and revolution in other cities, reflects more purely political considerations. At this date,

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68Ibid., pp. 69, 72. 69Ibid., p. 71.
70Ibid., p. 72.
the printers were brought under the closer supervision of the authorities by the provision that all must take the public oath customarily exacted from the craftsmen or handworkers.\textsuperscript{71} The final stage was reached in 1518 when the previous laws were broadened to the point of establishing a general preventative or prior censorship applicable to all forms of literature printed or sold in the city.\textsuperscript{72} The outbreak of the Reformation seems to have stimulated this development. The manner in which these controls were administered during this turbulent period of religious change forms a fascinating story in itself, but suffice it to state here that through and long after the transformation from Catholicism to Lutheranism the city fathers continued to exercise their prerogative of controlling the political, religious, and cultural life of the populace by restricting the printed matter available to it.\textsuperscript{73}

The exercise of the police function of maintenance of law and order also is apparent in the stance taken by the municipal authorities towards more purely cultural phenomena such as theater and drama. A glance at the nature of the early theatrical performances makes clear why this was so. There were basically two varieties of drama existing in Nuernberg at the end of the Middle Ages and beginning of the Renaissance.

\textsuperscript{71}Ibid., pp. 72-73. \textsuperscript{72}Ibid., pp. 71-73. \textsuperscript{73}Ibid., pp. 74ff.
One was the religious play which apparently first arose in connection with the church liturgy and by the period under discussion had developed several variant forms. Secondly, there existed the secular carnival plays (fastnachtspiele), taking their origins in pagan processions and festivities but by the late Middle Ages being performed in connection with the pre-Lenten celebrations.\textsuperscript{74}

The point is that both of these basic types had, in response to popular taste, developed traits which made them an object of concern to the city government. Life was harsh and cruel in this period and the people, normally rigidly controlled by their ruling authorities, came to look upon these public performances as a relief from their daily cares and sorrows. Coarse humor and obscenity developed as stock features of the presentations, and even the religious plays had adopted some of these characteristics. Furthermore, the fastnachtspiele were often held in conjunction with carnival type street dances and processions which at times became so unruly as to endanger life and limb.\textsuperscript{75}


\textsuperscript{75}Rose, p. 75; Hampe, pp. 9, 23.
With this in mind, it is not surprising to learn that the bulk of the references in the city records deal with factors somewhat external perhaps to the artistic quality of the performances. No public presentation could be held without express permission of the city council. Furthermore, this body determined whether or not admission could be charged, generally deciding in the negative, although occasionally permitting the collection of freewill offerings. The religious plays were finally abolished altogether in 1523 by a Reformation-minded council which did not wish to permit any longer the profanation of religious themes by such buffoonery.

Meanwhile, the humanistic school comedies had developed, under the stimulus of Renaissance ideals, and these with their greater sobriety and educational value found increased acceptance by the governing officials. Aside from sanctioning the cultivation of this type of drama in the city-controlled schools, the council also permitted performances in the chambers of the City Hall itself.

Some of the earliest references to music and musicians in the city records also involve restrictive regulations: on the number of musicians who could be employed for weddings and celebrations, the manner in which they were to be paid, and

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76Hamp, p. 44. 77Ibid., pp. 26, 28, 228-229. 78Ibid., p. 9. 79Ibid., p. 53.
The Meistersingers were obliged to seek council approval before giving public presentations.

On the positive side, the city council in its supervisory capacity as head of the church and schools played a role in shaping the musical program of these two institutions. More characteristic of a strictly municipal music patronage perhaps is the city band, or *stadtpfeifer*. This group, maintained on the municipal payroll and outfitted in city uniforms, played for state occasions as well as social events such as wedding dances. The city owned the instruments used by these musicians; several were purchased during the first half of the sixteenth century and by 1575 an inventory revealed about ninety different pieces in the collection.

The sheet music and songbook collection of the city

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80 Greenfield, pp. 36, 38, 54, 59, 67, 68. 81 Hampe, p. 44.

82 In 1540 a local schoolmaster was granted an annual stipend of 100 gulden in order to support his promotion of contrapuntal music. *Ibid.*, p. 48. For city employment of organists for the parish churches, see Ratsbuch No. 12, fol. 101b; No. 23, fol. 36a.

83 Ratsbuch No. 7, fol. 253b; No. 8, fol. 210b; No. 9, fol. 245a; No. 16, fol. 155b; No. 18, fol. 73b, 159a.

84 Ratsbuch No. 19, fol. 37b, 206a; Staatsarchiv, Nürnberg. Stadtrechnungen No. 183, fol. 69b, 92a.

displays another type of municipal support; the bulk of the holdings were not purchased, resulted rather from occasional dedications by composers to the council, in return for which they received honoraria or financial gifts. 86

The earliest patronage of this variety, however, is most amply documented in the field of literature. Already in 1472 we have a reference to a book dedicated to the Nuernberg city council by its author. 87 A more famous example is the somewhat flattering Latin description of the city, containing a tribute to the wisdom of its government, composed by the humanist Conrad Celtis. For his efforts he received (1502) an honorarium of twenty gulden, after some "none-too delicate negotiations for a fitting reward from the council." 88 Numerous other transactions of this type followed in the first half of the sixteenth century. 89 The city also directly commissioned a few literary works: a translation into German of a tract by Aeneas Sylvias (1476) and the writing of the Nuernberg Chronicle by Sigismund Meisterlin (1488), to cite but two examples. 90

86 Ratsbuch No. 15, fol. 43b; No. 20, fol. 385a; Stadtrechnungen No. 183, fol. 366a. Also see Zirnbauer, p. 44.
89 Goldmann, pp. 10-11. 90 Ibid., p. 11.
This concern for books would seem to suggest some sort of city library, and indeed Nuernberg had one, perhaps the oldest in Germany. Founded in the fourteenth century on the basis of a small number of legal reference works, it gradually expanded through gifts and purchases, and eventually came to include a considerable number of books on other subjects such as philosophy, theology, and science. Meanwhile the works had been made accessible not only to city officials but also to the better educated men of the community.

The city councilman Hans Tucher the Elder, who served as custodian of the library in the 1480's, was especially concerned to improve the collection and had the entire library catalogued and listed in a catalog-registry book. A separate chamber meanwhile had been set aside in the City Hall to house the books. The dissolution of the monasteries served as the occasion for further acquisitions, and in 1538 the city library was moved to the former Dominican cloister. An inventory from about the year 1550 revealed 4000-5000 volumes in the possession of the community.

The city council-sponsored library also served as a type of museum in this early period. It acquired a collection of

91 Ibid., p. 9.  
92 Ibid., p. 10.  
93 Ibid., p. 11.  
94 Ibid., p. 12.  
95 Ibid., p. 14.
antique coins by donation in 1486, but the major portion of the artifacts consisted of what we might term scientific instruments. In 1494 the city council bought Martin Behaim's famous globe for seventy-four gulden, and some of the many later additions included such items as a set of mathematical instruments (1520), and Regiomontanus' astronomical instruments and books in 1522.

One last but very important area of city council cultural concern remains to be considered—education. The first schools in Nuernberg, as in most of medieval Europe, arose under the auspices of ecclesiastical institutions. There were four such units, two sponsored by the community parish churches, one by a private religious-charitable endowment, and one by a local monastic group. The first three very early came under the custodianship of the city council.

A source dating from 1405, for example, reveals the municipal authorities negotiating for the employment of new teachers, preferably laymen. By the mid-fifteenth century, the name "city schools" (stadt- or ratschule) was being used

96 Ibid., pp. 117-119.
98 Ibid.
interchangeably with the original titles. Finally, the monastery school also was brought partially under council supervision at the beginning of the sixteenth century when the authorities made clear to the abbot that city subsidies granted earlier to the three other schools could be obtained for this institution as well only under such conditions.

Humanistically inclined council members became aware of the many shortcomings of these elementary Latin schools in the latter part of the fifteenth century and after overcoming rather strong conservative opposition within the government were able to secure (1496) the establishment of a more advanced municipal educational institution dedicated to the study of classical languages and letters. This "Poetschool," however, had a rather stormy career and the council before long was called upon to defend its faculty and curriculum against not only the onslaught of the local Dominican monks but also the jealousy of the other schoolmasters and students.

Finally, overcome by these burdens as well as the lack of enthusiasm on the part of the city's patricians, who were inclined to employ private tutors for their sons and then send

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99 Reicke, p. 724.

100 Gustav Bauch, "Die Nürnberg Poetenschule, 1496-1509," MVGN, XIV (1901), 38.

101 Ibid., pp. 7-10.

102 Ibid., pp. 20-29.
them abroad for further study, the institution completely collapsed before the expiration of the first decade of the sixteenth century. A part of its curriculum and methodology was, however, incorporated into the program of the surviving elementary schools in a type of educational reform.

The council again in the 1520's responded to the need for a higher (or intermediate, actually) educational institution, this time with the establishment of the so-called "Melanchthon-Gymnasium." Prompted by Luther's clarion call of 1524 to the Protestant cities to assume more of the burden of educating Germany's youth, the Nuernberg project encountered its first difficulties when the Wittenberg scholar Melanchthon could not be induced to assume the leading post. He did however assist the city fathers by putting forth a yeoman effort in the rendering of advice in regard to the educational program and the securing of a highly competent, not to say brilliant, humanistic faculty.

The school was dedicated and formally opened by Melanchthon in 1526. Although its later development did not fulfill the early promise, its forward-looking curriculum, with a separate

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103 Ibid., p. 42.  
104 Ibid., pp. 43-55.  
105 Hugo Steiger, Das Melanchthongymnasium in Nürnberg (1526-1926) (Munich, 1926), p. 20.  
mathematics department in addition to an impressive range of
courses in classical philology and literature, constituted a
worthy tribute to the progressive policies of the municipal
authorities.\textsuperscript{107}

\textsuperscript{107}\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 25-26.
CHAPTER TWO

THE NUERNBERG GUILD AND COPYRIGHT LAWS; THEIR EFFECT UPON THE ARTIST AND HIS WORK

As a patron, the Nuernberg city council was in the rather unusual position of enjoying complete political and legal sovereignty over the artists whom it employed, indeed the art community as a whole. In view of the highly paternalistic nature of the governmental rule exercised, it was inevitable that there should be numerous contacts between the artists and the legal authority. Many of these are simply a result of the artist's position as a normal citizen subject to the laws of the community and are of no special concern to us here. In two particular areas, however, the regulation of the guilds and the establishment of copyright laws protecting "intellectual property" or the product of individual creative activity, the course of action adopted by the city council had important effects upon the artistic production of the city. Furthermore, a study of these policies yields valuable information concerning the attitude of the municipal government towards art and artists.

It was a natural consequence of the craft status of medieval art that its practitioners should follow the lead of
other manual workers and form occupational associations designed to safeguard their mutual interests. Artists' guilds had been formed in most German cities before the fifteenth century was well advanced.\(^1\) Because of the unusually strong position of the patrician city council vis-à-vis the craftsmen and workers in Nuernberg, however, this city forms somewhat of a special case and it is a dangerous undertaking to apply to it general maxims drawn from studies of other urban centers.\(^2\)

In fact, one authority on the Nuernberg craft groups refuses to employ the designation "guild" (zunft) on the grounds that the existence of such corporations in a city usually implied a political constitution under which a portion of the public sovereignty (police powers, etc.) was delegated to associations based solely on private interests.\(^3\) It is not

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\(^2\)Some very misleading information has been printed concerning the Nuernberg guilds, precisely because of failure to heed this precaution. An example is the article by W.D.P. Bliss, "Nuremberg, The City of the Closed Shop," *Outlook*, March 17, 1906, pp. 608-613.

necessary, however, to take such a broad view of the political functions or powers to be attributed to these organizations, and if the more recent characterization of the guilds as "congeries of special interests, loosely bound together, under the aegis of municipal authorities, by a common care for the quality of goods sold" be admitted, it will prove convenient to use this term here as well.\(^5\)

For an explanation of the course taken by guild development in Nuernberg, one must look to the policies of the patrician city council. These, in turn, were heavily influenced by the realization that craft guilds, with their mobilization of the craftsmen and workers, always were a political factor of great potential significance. In view of this the ruling merchants as early as the thirteenth century took steps designed to curb their development.\(^6\) The revolt of 1348, in which the guilds participated, corroborated the fears of the patriciate and once


\(^5\)This description of course restricts somewhat too narrowly the motives underlying the formation of the guilds. Yet the concern to maintain the quality of goods was in Nuernberg, as elsewhere, an important consideration. Ratsbuch No. 9, fol. 36a, 172b; No. 10, fol. 79a.

\(^6\)Mummenhoff, p. 2.
reestablished in power the latter inevitably pursued these restrictive policies with even greater determination.

There were further considerations as well. The wealth and power of Nuernberg arose from long-distance trade and commerce even more than the industry for which the city was famous. This trade was controlled largely by the members of the governing patriciate. Thus a general policy of "free trade" and free movement in an economic sense was conducive to the promotion of the welfare of the commercial interests upon which the power of the ruling group was based.\(^7\)

It is well known that the craft guilds, for their part, tended to become more and more restrictive in their policies, hoping thereby to control or eliminate competition.\(^8\) Such tactics, if permitted to go unchecked, would ultimately choke off the flow of fresh talent and labor into the city which the merchants relied upon for the production of goods to stock their caravans.\(^9\) As long as the commercial interests maintained their

\(^7\)That the merchants had not formed their own guilds is explained by some advocates of the "ministeriales origins theory" of the Nuernberg patriciate as a result of the influence the early Nuernberg merchants enjoyed at the royal court, thus requiring no guild protection. (Verbal communication of Dr. Werner Schultheiss, Director of the Nuernberg City Archives.)

\(^8\)Thrupp, pp. 167-170.

ascendancy in Nuernberg the craft groups, that is to say industry, would continue to be subordinated to trade.  

A very large number of crafts or trades were practiced in Nuernberg and these were governed by a series of regulations which not only provided for different types of guilds but also stipulated that for some craft groups there would be no guild organization at all. In every case, however, it must be emphasized that the real administration of all craft and guild affairs was entrusted not to the masters of the respective craft groups, but, as Scheurl reveals in his letter on the Nuernberg constitution, to a commission known as the Rugsamt.  

This group, made up of four city council members plus a constable, had very broad powers. It supervised the maintenance of quality controls imposed upon items ranging from bread to works of the goldsmiths art and in some cases administered price controls as well. It ratified the selection of masters chosen to lead the respective guilds. These were elected by the guild members themselves, but had to be confirmed by the city council.

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10 It is possible that there was no basic antagonism and that the best interests of both could be served effectively by the policies of the city council. See below, pp. 51-52.

11 Scheurl, p. 799.

12 Ratsbuch No. 13, fol. 280a.
Further, the Rugsamt served as the first court of appeal in jurisdictional disputes between the guilds. Finally, it served as an advisory board to the city council on guild matters, with the latter reserving the right to override decisions of the former at will.

Those crafts allowed a formal organization were severely curtailed in their activities. The guilds were sternly prohibited from holding meetings without the permission of city officials and there was to be a representative of the Rugsamt present at all such gatherings. The maintenance and use of their own seal was forbidden to the guilds, a stipulation stemming from the broader purpose of the council to control the correspondence of these groups. Concerned that the local craftsmen might be incited to political radicalism by contact with guilds of other cities, the authorities specified that all incoming letters addressed to craft groups be delivered unopened to the council which then either answered them itself or passed them on to the guild masters, whose replies had to be submitted to official scrutiny before being sent.

\[\text{(13) Ibid., fol. 130a, 134a, 140a, 161b, etc.}\]

\[\text{(14) Ratsbuch No. 11, fol. 149a; Theodor Hampe (ed.), Nürnbergber Ratsverlässe über Kunst und Künstler im Zeitalter der Spätgotik und Renaissance (1449) 1474-1618 (1633) (2 vols.; Vienna, 1904), No. 1148. (Hereafter, this work is cited as: Hampe, Ratsverlässe.)}\]

\[\text{(15) Hampe, Ratsverlässe, Nos. 111, 319, 320, 673, 1299, 1343, 2283.}\]
A further sign of the maintenance of all significant powers by the city government was the provision that it, not the masters of the respective guilds, issued the important document certifying that an apprentice had successfully completed his training. The right of the guilds to punish individual members for infraction of guild rules was severely curtailed and regulated, on the grounds that the exercise of this power (beyond the levying of token fines) infringed upon the sovereignty and authority of the city council itself.

Prior to the Reformation the guilds generally were allowed to organize religious brotherhoods for the members of their respective craft. Membership could not be made obligatory, however, and no penalties were to be levied for failure to attend. Furthermore, restrictions were placed upon the display of guild insignia at the place of worship and guild participation in the funeral services held for deceased colleagues was kept under surveillance by the council with a view to pre-

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16 Ibid., No. 2372.

17 Ibid., Nos. 1103, 1410, 1411, 1417, 1418, etc.

18 Ratsbuch No. 9, fol. 201b.

19 Ibid. In 1511 the cutlers were allowed to erect a crucifix in the Carmelite monastery, but without the embellishment of a guild insignia.
ventng it from becoming the occasion of excessive expense and ostentation.\textsuperscript{20}

As suggested earlier, not all crafts in Nuernberg enjoyed the same status in terms of guild organization. There was, first of all, a distinction between the "restricted crafts" (gesperrte handwerke) and the unrestricted.\textsuperscript{21} The former included particularly those skills connected with Nuernberg's important metal industry. Practitioners of these were not allowed to leave the city or use elsewhere skills learned in Nuernberg. The object was to retain in the city trade secrets and newly discovered techniques. Among the artists only the bronze sculptors, who came from the ranks of the bronze and coppersmiths, were affected by this restriction.\textsuperscript{22} In general, it may be said that most crafts fell into the unrestricted category.

A more fundamental distinction existed, however, one which determined to what degree workers were allowed to adopt for their

\textsuperscript{20}In 1519 one guild was forbidden by the council to purchase a new burial cloth for use by its members, on the grounds that such a step would only arouse the envy and emulation of other guilds. Ratsbuch No. 11, fol. 236b; Hampe, \textit{Ratsverlässe}, No. 1200.


\textsuperscript{22}Hampe, \textit{Ratsverlässe}, Nos. 1584, 3182, 3185.
particular craft a formal organization, and thereby those regu-
gulative and restrictive policies characteristic of the well
developed guild. There were, first of all, those skills known
as the "free arts" (freie künste). These, being open to all
who wished to practice them, were subject to no guild re-
gulation. On the other hand, they enjoyed none of the benefits
of guild protection.

Usually the practitioners of a "free art," desiring either
to protect themselves against the discrediting of their craft
through the production of shoddy work by unskilled workers, or
to restrict competition, arrived at the conclusion that their
interests would be best served by the acquisition of a set of
guild ordinances. There then followed a series of petitions
to the city council. Very often these were refused. If a
formal charter were granted, it usually was of a somewhat

23 "Art" is intended here in the broad sense of skill or
craft.

24 There was one condition for operating an independent
workshop which applied to all craftsmen in the city, including
those practicing the "free arts," and that was Nuremberg
citizenship, either by birth or acquisition. Hampe, Ratsverleihung,
Nos. 719, 1363.

25 The reason most frequently given by the council was an
appeal to tradition: that is to say, the fact that the craft
in question had not formerly had such an organization. In
some cases there was a more forthright explanation, such as the
statement that the maintenance of the "free art" status was more
conducive to the promotion of trade. Ratsbuch No. 9, fol. 172b.
limited nature at first. Thus, while a set period for the apprenticeship and journeyman training was instituted, there usually was not required of the candidate for master status that he complete a "masterpiece" (meisterstück). And while leaders could be elected to represent the craft, these did not have the same status or prestige as those of the full guilds.  

The goal of most craft groups was to achieve the rank of full guild, known in Nuernberg as geschworne handwerke. The title stems from the fact that the elected leaders (geschworne meister) each year took an oath before the city council to faithfully uphold and maintain the ordinances governing the practice of their particular craft. These officials had various responsibilities, most important of which, perhaps, were supervision of the execution of the masterpiece and determination of eligibility to attainment of the master status.  

Those skills which we today would include under the fine arts did not fall into any one single category. Painting, for example, remained a "free art," and thus without any guild organization whatsoever, throughout the first half of the sixteenth century. This is true not only of the more monumental arts.

26 Mummenhoff, "Handwerk und freie Kunst...", No. 12 (1890), 267-268.

27 Mummenhoff, "Handwerk und freie Kunst...", No. 1 (1890), 5-6; Hampe, Ratsverlässe, Nos. 7, 36.
forms of panel and fresco painting, but also of book and manuscript illumination, engraving, and woodcut carving. There were repeated efforts to secure some form of ordinance restricting the practice of these arts: the illuminators petitioned in 1477 and again in 1482, the painters in 1509, the illuminators in 1527 and 1531, the painters in 1534, the illuminators again in 1548. But all were rebuffed by the city council, on the grounds that these crafts should retain their traditional status as a "free art."

28 Hampe, Ratsverlasse, No. 136.
29 Ibid., No. 258.
30 Ibid., Nos. 803, 815, 816; Ratsbuch No. 9, fol. 100a.
31 Hampe, Ratsverlasse, No. 1587.
32 Ibid., No. 1860.
33 Ibid., No. 2049.
34 Ibid., Nos. 2937, 2996.

35 In 1509 the painters attempted to establish a fee of ten gulden for all new artists proposing to practice within the city. The council refused to sanction this innovation but did reaffirm the requirement of citizenship for operating an independent shop. Ratsbuch No. 9, fol. 100a; Hampe, Ratsverlasse, Nos. 803, 815, 816.

36 The illuminators received a type of ordinance finally in 1571, and the painters (and engravers) one in 1596. Neither were granted the status of a full guild, but the painters were allowed to institute a modified type of masterpiece. The general policy of the council is reflected in the reservation which stipulated that even after this date foreign painters of skill and repute would be allowed to practice in the city without hindrance from the guild or its regulations. The 1596 painters' ordinance is printed in Joseph Baader, Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte Nürnbergs (2 vols.; Nördlingen, 1860 and 1862), I, 40-47.
Further crafts or skills which remained "free arts" throughout the first half of the sixteenth century were that of the pottery or ceramic workers and that of the creators of stained glass.

The records are somewhat more ambiguous concerning the guild status of the sculptor. There seems to have been no sculptors' guild as such. That some of the craftsmen practicing this art were subject to guild regulations, however, can be inferred from city council records dating from both the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The most likely explanation can be found in the fact that sculpture at this time was not really considered an independent art.

Stone sculptors often doubled as stone masons and received their early training within this craft guild. Wood carving, on the other hand, often was closely associated with panel painting during the late Gothic period, particularly in the preparation of altars. The famed Veit Stoss thus was skilled both as a painter and a wood carver, and the inclusion of sculptors in the 1509 petition of the painters for a re-

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37 Hampe, Ratsverlässe, Nos. 1839, 2245.
38 Ibid., No. 2048; Mummenhoff, "Freie Kunst und Handwerk ...," column 116.
39 Hampe, Ratsverlässe, Nos. 140, 2325.
41 Huth, pp. 8, 51-53, 57, 58.
trictive ordinance suggests that in Nuernberg some wood carvers may have been associated with this group in its status of "free art." Finally, there is evidence from the late 1530's that other practicing sculptors were subject to the ordinances of the guild of cabinet makers or carpenters specializing in interior furnishing.

Turning to bronze casting or sculpture, an art arising out of the more generalized metal working skills and one particularly characteristic of Nuernberg with its large metal industry, we find yet a different situation. These artists usually belonged to the bronze and coppersmith guild, which was incorporated with formal apprenticeships and the requirement of a masterpiece in 1465. Curiously, even the thimble-makers were incorporated into this same guild during the period 1490–1514.

Still another craft group, the goldsmiths, had achieved full guild status at least as early as 1449 and probably long before. No other group received such close surveillance by the city council and the records are filled with references to the efforts of the authorities to maintain adequate quality controls within this craft, especially regarding the purity of the metals used.

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42 Hampe, Ratsverlässe, No. 815; Ratsbuch No. 9, fol. 100a.
43 Hampe, Ratsverlässe, No. 2325. 44 Ibid., No. 52.
45 Ibid., No. 422; Ratsbuch No. 10, fol. 151a.
46 Hampe, Ratsverlässe, No. 7. 47 Ibid., passim.
Thus, many of the Nuernberg artists belonged to guild organizations of one type or another, a situation which, if allowed to follow the normal course of development, would have afforded protection to the individual craftsman but at the same time would have resulted in an inevitable restriction of the free flow of artistic talent. It was in its repeated intervention to prevent the latter that the city council revealed yet another aspect of its guild policies.

Governmental action at this point could take a variety of forms. We have seen that citizenship was in all cases a prerequisite for the operation of an independent workshop. Artists born in Nuernberg acquired this as a birthright, but the foreign artist coming to practice in the city was required to pay a citizenship fee. The authorities were anxious to attract new talent, however, and the records list numerous cases during this period where citizenship was granted either as an outright gift or at reduced rates to craftsmen reputed to have artistic skills.

48 After 1498, four gulden for those with a total capital of less than 100 gulden, five for those with a capital of 100-200 gulden, and ten for those with more. Albert Gümbel, "Archivalische Beiträge zur Älteren Nürnberger Malergeschichte: III. Die Malernamen der Nürnbergischen Meister- und Bürgerbücher 1363-1534 und der Steuerlisten 1392-1440," Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft, XXIX (1906), 331.

Furthermore, various artists from time to time were allowed to set up their own practice in the city for fairly significant periods, without first acquiring citizenship. Lucas Cranach the Elder, who had fled the plague at Leipzig in 1539, is a case in point, and was allowed to work in Nuernberg for a six-month period. In the 1540's, foreign artists (Netherlandish and Italian) also were allowed to practice in the city under such conditions.

The whole complex of rules governing the admittance and training of apprentices, the relation of master and assistants, and the attainment of the master status was subject to being overridden by the city council, a development which, when it occurred, almost always served to liberalize the guild rules. It was common, for example, for medieval guilds to attempt to exclude those who could not show evidence of honorable birth. The Nuernberg authorities would not tolerate such a restriction and insisted that foundlings be admitted on an equal basis.

Further, the rules limiting the number of assistants any one

50 Hampe, Ratsverlasse, No. 2443.
51 Ibid., Nos. 2947, 2995, 3097.
53 Ratsbuch No. 8, fol. 260a.
master could employ were repeatedly broken, with city council sanction, by artists and craftsmen who had a backlog of commissions to complete. The bronze sculptor Pancraz Labenwolf is mentioned especially frequently in this connection. 54

Probably the greatest single power of the elected leaders of the crafts was connected with the conferring or rejection of the meisterrecht, or full master status. Almost invariably when the guilds chose to pursue policies designed to restrict competition or monopolize trade it was at this point that fresh obstacles to new members were erected. 55

The requirements were quite rigid even under normal conditions. Apprentices and assistants were expected to take their lodging at the home of the master and thus marriage prior to the attainment of the meisterrecht was expressly forbidden. Violation of this rule was supposed to result in a lifelong denial of master status and a condemnation to remain indefinitely engaged in mere piecework. 56 When it was a question of an artist whose talents the city authorities respected, however, the council merely overrode the guild and waved aside the regulation, as the case of Hans Vischer in 1514 clearly reveals. 57

54Hampe, Ratsverlässe, Nos. 1962, 2282, 2438, 2452, 2525, 2794.

55Mummenhoff, "Entwicklung und Blüte. . . .," p. 212.


57Hampe, Ratsverlässe, No. 983.
The regulation was abolished entirely by the council in 1526.\textsuperscript{58}

Occasionally the guild masters would attempt to deny the meisterrecht to workers who had served their apprenticeship elsewhere and thus had not fulfilled local requirements. Taking a dim view of such practice, the city council granted full master status on its own authority.\textsuperscript{59}

The municipal officials took this same step in other instances as well, particularly in cases of infraction of the rules governing completion of the prescribed masterpiece. Thus the leaders of the cabinet-maker (schreiner) guild in 1538 were exhorted to allow the sculptor Sebald Beck, "more talented and famous than them all," to practice his art unmolested although he had not as yet submitted this requirement.\textsuperscript{60} In another notable instance, the tomb monument for Frederick the Wise (1527) created by Peter Vischer the Younger was accepted by the city council as satisfactory completion of the masterpiece, although it did not conform to the ordinances of the bronze and coppersmiths.\textsuperscript{61}

\begin{itemize}
\item[58] Ratsbuch No. 13, fol. 208a.
\item[59] Hampe, Ratsverlässe, Nos. 1424, 1622.
\item[60] Ibid., No. 2325.
\item[61] Vischer's brother Hans encountered similar difficulties. Ibid., Nos. 983, 1563, 1924. The artists may have felt that to complete the normal masterpiece requirements—three everyday household items—was beneath their dignity. It has been suggested, however, that the real difficulty lay in the fact that these two younger sons had not been trained within the
It can hardly be questioned that the guild policies of the city council served to mitigate the more restrictive features of the economic and social controls that guilds usually imposed wherever strong enough to do so. The actual effect of all this upon the artist and his work is hard to measure in any precise way. It is possible that the almost unimpeded inflow of competitive labor served to keep commissions at a lower price level than would have been the case otherwise. Yet it is important to note that, on one hand, commissions everywhere in Germany were modest in comparison to those received by Italian artists, while, on the other, it was possible for an artist such as Dürer to amass a modest fortune. Furthermore, there is no evidence that greater financial compensation necessarily would have resulted in greater art.

It is generally agreed that the cramped and somewhat petty regulations of the guilds sometimes hindered and almost certainly never fostered the full expression of individual craft. Because the guild rules forbade the elder Peter Vischer to train more than one apprentice within a given period, in this case the eldest son Hermann, the younger brothers had been enrolled in allied metal trades. Heinz Stafski, Der jüngere Peter Vischer (Nuremberg, 1962), pp. 41-43.

creative genius. The dynamic and competitive economy resulting from the "free-trade" policies of the patrician government, on the other hand, may well have resulted in the fertilization and stimulation of local arts and crafts through the introduction of new talent and ideas. On balance, thus, it seems fair to conclude that the guild policy of the municipal authorities, although quite probably based more on self-interest than concern for the individual craftsman and his work, in the long run did in fact contribute to the attainment of that leading position in German art which Nuernberg enjoyed during this period.

Another aspect of Nuernberg governmental policy directly affecting the occupational status of the artist deserves attention. Intimately related to the development of an early type of copyright law designed to protect the author and particularly the printer-publisher against unfair competition there arose a group of legal statutes and special decrees which

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63 Arnold Hauser, *The Social History of Art* (4 vols.; New York, 1957), I, 250; Wallace J. Tomasini, "The Social and Economic Position of the Florentine Artist in the Fifteenth Century" (Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1953), p. 132; Mummenhoff, "Entwicklung und Blüte...", p. 209; Stockbauer, p. 37. A good example is the issue which arose when the wood carver Veit Stoss received a commission from Maximilian I for some bronze figures to form a part of the huge Innsbruck tomb project. Despite the protests of the leaders of the bronze and coppersmith guild, the city council, not wishing to offend the emperor, allowed Stoss to proceed with the work. Johannes Stabius, Maximilian's agent in this matter, was asked by the council to place his orders henceforth with the appropriate guild members, in order that further controversy be avoided. Hampe, *Ratsverlässe*, Nos. 1006, 1007, 1008, 1009, 1016.
secured for some works of the graphic arts a certain legal defense against excessive copying and fraudulent imitation.

The concept of original creativity and the correlative right to lay claim to ownership of "intellectual property" developed only slowly in the late medieval and Renaissance periods. Medieval theory, expressed clearly by Thomas Aquinas, denied the creative capacity to man and reserved it for God alone. 64 The principles governing actual working conditions in both the literary and artistic spheres were predicated on the assumption that the cultural heritage (then consisting mostly of antique or scholastic works by authors long dead) was a common property belonging to the population at large. Medieval scribes, and even the early printers, felt free to reproduce manuscripts at will, and indeed were considered to be performing a public service in so doing, in that they made the fruits of scholarship and science more widely accessible. 65

The practices of the artists were little different. Young apprentices and journeymen artists, when travelling abroad during


their wanderjahre, kept sketchbooks in which they recorded ideas drawn from works seen along the way, which then in many cases served as the basis for their own later creations. Then with the rise of the woodcut and the engraving, these, with their wide circulation and low purchase price, began to supplant the sketchbook as a source of inspiration. Indeed it is this branch of art, with its close tie to the rise of printing and its related problems of copyright protection, which called forth the first decrees and legal statutes designed to protect the work of the artist.

The artists themselves meanwhile had begun to put forth claims to a sovereign status superior to that of the mere craftsman. The key figure here is Albrecht Dürer, the first art theorist of the Northern Renaissance. Dürer's concept of artistic genius is most clearly and uncompromisingly stated in an essay written in 1512 but never published; it was intended to serve as an introduction to his treatise on human proportions. The artist is likened to God himself, said to be "inwardly full of figures" and attributed with the ability continually to create something new and unlike anything ever before seen by man.

An artist conscious of such creative powers could be expected to resent the flagrant copying of his work and signature. In January, 1512, the same year as the penning of this bold declar-

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66 Huth, p. 34.  
67 Ibid., pp. 35-36.  
ation, a complaint was lodged with the city officials that someone from out of town was distributing prints (kunstbriefe) in Nuernberg among which were some bearing a fraudulent imitation of Dürer's signature or monogram. The forging of an artist's signature is injurious in at least two ways. First of all, it is an assault upon the integrity of his "personality"; it violates something uniquely individual and in fact may damage his reputation. Dürer undoubtedly was sensitive at this point for he seems to have been more conscious than most of the implications of the artist's personal monogram—"he was the first to sign and date a large percentage of his own studies and sketches even if he had no intention of selling them or giving them away."70

The use of a fraudulent signature also has economic implications. It represents as genuine wares what are in fact only copies. Not only is the artist injured but the customer is deceived as well. At this point there emerges the difficult problem of whether or not the artist's monogram during this period was intended to serve as a general workshop trademark, analogous to those used in other hand crafts to designate the producer and vouch for the good quality of the product.71

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69 Ratsbuch No. 9, fol. 260a; Hampe, Ratsverlässe, No. 905.

70 Panofsky, I, 283.

far as this was the case, one must expect to find that some of the works signed with the master's signature were in fact executed by assistants. The author of a recent Dürer study, however, maintains that the fact that some of Dürer's one-time students and assistants continued to use a variant form of the famed Dürer monogram long after they had become independent masters indicates that the signature was not viewed by them as a workshop trademark but rather as the symbol of a type of spiritual bond between "pupil" and teacher, follower and originator of a style.  

Be this as it may, the viewpoint of the city government is perhaps more relevant. Here one can only guess, but it seems likely that a concern to protect honest trade and the interests of the consumer was at least as instrumental in bringing about a final decision as an awareness of more advanced Renaissance concepts concerning the integrity of the creative personality.

The city council decreed that the fraudulent monogram be removed from the prints in question, with confiscation as the penalty for non-compliance. Significantly, there is no reference to the fact that the actual artistic composition itself obviously was taken from Dürer. The protection afforded then was a very limited one and pertained to only the signature of the artist, not the actual art works themselves.

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73 Ratsbuch No. 9, fol. 260a; Hampe, Ratsverlässe, No. 905.
Aside from legal control over the physical artifacts or wood blocks and copper plates themselves, guaranteed to the artist under provisions of the normal laws governing "real property," protection of the actual content of the work of art came only somewhat later. And as in the case of copyright protection of literary works, general laws were first preceded by "privileges" granted to specific works. The privilege, issued by the pope, emperor, prince, or city government, was a development of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The imperial Reichseigentum had granted one to the publisher of a specific book as early as 1501 and privileges emanating from the chancery of Maximilian I are recorded from 1512. Dürer's widow received a ten-year privilege from Charles V in 1528 pertaining to her late husband's book on human proportions. The motive

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74 A contract (1491) between the publishers and illustrators of Hartmann Schedel's "Weltchronik," which laid down careful stipulations concerning the use and disposal of the wood blocks for the illustrations, was registered not in the city legal records section devoted to personal obligations, but rather in that devoted to property titles, and containing among other entries such things as corporation trademarks and family coats of arms, all of which were treated under the laws pertaining to "real property." Werner Schultheiss, "Nürnberger Beiträge zur Geschichte des deutschen Verlagerechts. Nürnberger Verlagsverträge des 15.-17. Jahrhunderts," Mitteilungen aus der Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg, Vol. III, No. 4 (1954), 8.

75 Rintelen, p. 13; Hase, pp. 229-230.

for granting most of these early imperial privileges was to promote science and learning: only if the initial publisher of a manuscript could be guaranteed a financial return sufficient to cover the considerable costs and labor involved in bringing out a work would it be possible to make accessible to the public the results of current scholarship.  

Where imperial privileges had been granted to one of its citizens the Nuernberg council could move vigorously to defend the individual in question. This is revealed above all in the measures taken to secure compliance with the document Dürer's widow received in 1528 from Charles V. Not only were the local printers warned, but letters of protest were sent to Strassburg, Leipzig, and Frankfurt where illegally printed copies were being sold; a complaint was lodged also with the king of France, for it seems that some of the offending volumes were being printed there. The wording of the communications bespeaks of high admiration for the deceased artist. Yet both the letters and the privilege itself upon which they were based reflect less of Dürer's own exalted view of artistic or creative genius than the late medieval concept of "invention" (Erfindung=Inventio): the "inventor" who has mastered a new art or science,

78 Ratsbuch No. 16, fol. 35b; Hampe, Ratsverlässe, Nos. 1947, 1948. The text of the letter sent to Strassburg is printed in Rupprich, p. 239.  
79 Printed in Rupprich, p. 288.
whether through his own talent and effort or by study abroad, deserves to have guaranteed to him some of the economic returns deriving from his labor.

The Nuernberg city government also granted privileges of a sort, or at least attempted to prohibit local printers from copying certain works within a stipulated period. Thus when Luther complained to the council in 1525 that a work of his had been reprinted in Nuernberg prior to the appearance of the Wittenberg original itself (the manuscript of his "Postillion" apparently had been stolen), the municipal officials issued an order to the printers that none of Luther's books be reprinted within a given length of time. And in July, 1528, one month prior to the imperial privilege granted to Agnes Dürer, the council forbade the artist and former Dürer pupil Sebald Beham and the wood block carver Jheronymus Andreae to publish a book on proportions until that of Dürer had been released. The work in question was felt to be unduly derivative from that of the master.

It was but a short step to privileges protecting actual art works, that is, woodcuts and engravings. The city council

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80 See Rintelen, p. 14.
81 Ratsbuch No. 13, fol. 41a; Hase, pp. 233-234.
82 Ratsbuch No. 14, fol. 228b-229a, 249a; Hampe, Ratsverlässe, No. 1621.
83 As early as 1511 Dürer was claiming the protection of imperial privileges for his woodcut editions. It has been suggested that he was bluffing, that had he actually possessed
issued several of these in the 1530's and 1540's. The first example documented in the city records concerns a portrayal of the siege of Vienna by the Turks which the artist Nikolaus Meldemann undertook to prepare in October, 1529. The council at that time promised him protection against copying for a period of one year. In fact, the city officials had a direct interest in this particular work as they had extended the artist a loan to finance its completion. Already in February, 1530, Hans Guldenmund was forbidden to produce and sell a similar composition because Meldemann had invested considerable time and expense in his version. Later in the same month Guldenmund was informed that he eventually could publish his own print, but not until the original had been issued and sold. But progress on the officially sanctioned work was slow and there followed a series of further protective restrictions.

Similar privileges followed. In November, 1530, Albrecht

the privileges he surely would have printed them as an appendix to the works in question. Max von Boehn, Albrecht Dürer als Buch- und Kunsthändler (Munich, 1905), pp. 18-19.

The relevant documents can be found in Ratsbuch No. 15, fol. 81a and b, 92a, 95a. Also Hampe, Ratsverlässe, Nos. 1731, 1740, 1750, 1754, 1759, 1766, 1772.

In fact, the council confiscated his preparatory drawings.

Enforcement of observance of the privileges was eased by the fact that in Nuernberg, as elsewhere, copyright laws of this type were closely associated with the restrictive regulations requiring prior censorship of all printed material. See especially the council decree of 1527. Ratsbuch No. 13, fol. 266b.
Glockendon obtained a protective grant of one year's duration for his woodcut composition of a stag hunt. In May, 1532, the council forbade Hans Guldenmund to publish a copy of Dürer's large woodcut of the "Triumphal Chariot of Maximilian I." In this case Dürer's widow was advised that if she consented to purchase Guldenmund's wood blocks the city would stand half of the expense. Early in 1541 the council issued to an artist a one year privilege protecting his "painting of a bird". Finally, in 1548, an illuminator was instructed not to make copies of a composition upon which others were already engaged.

The next step in protecting the creation of the artist was to supplant the isolated privilege pertaining to individual works of the graphic arts with legislation affording blanket coverage to the entire medium. When this finally transpired, it was as a result of the development of a more advanced general copyright law. Already in 1529 the council had issued a warning to the printers henceforth not to copy each others material, or at least until the original edition had been published and sold.

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87 Ratsbuch No. 15, fol. 138a; Hampe, Ratsverlässe, No. 1803.
88 Ratsbuch No. 16, fol. 7b; Hampe, Ratsverlässe, Nos. 1916, 1917, 1918.
89 Hampe, Ratsverlässe, No. 2567.
90 Ibid., No. 3082.
91 Ratsbuch No. 15, fol. 51a.
In December of the following year the printers were reminded again of the provisions of the law ("das gesetz nachdruckens und nachschneiders halben"); among those affected were not only the printers themselves but also those preparing book illustrations.\textsuperscript{92}

The preceding, rather tentative steps finally culminated in the inclusive Nuernberg copyright law of 1561.\textsuperscript{93} In addition to literary works of all kinds, there is specific reference to the graphic arts. The motives listed for enacting the legislation are those with which we are already familiar: reprinting results in excessive damage to those\textsuperscript{94} who have created the works and expended great costs in their publication. Copying or printing of any work within a six-month period from the appearance of the original was made a punishable offense with a fine of ten gulden plus confiscation.

The copyright law of 1561 definitely represents an advance,

\textsuperscript{92}Hampe, Ratsverl\ssse, No. 1812.

\textsuperscript{93}The text is printed (with the date of "circa 1550") in Baader, Beiträge zur. . . , 79–80. For the correct date, plus reference to the Reichspolizeiordnung of 1548 which preceded the Nuernberg law, see Schultheiss, pp. 9, 11.

\textsuperscript{94}"die solche büchlein, gemälde und schrifften anfenglich erfunden, gedicht, geschnitten und mit Verlegung derselben vil costung darauf gewendet haben." The failure to make a sharp distinction between author and publisher is common to the law of the time. In the case of the graphic arts, where the artist usually was his own publisher, this is of relatively slight significance.
in that it establishes a set duration for the term of coverage and a set penalty for violation. It must be admitted, however, that the protection offered is a rather modest one, perhaps too slight effectively to discourage potential offenders. A similar copyright law enacted in Basel as early as 1331 set a time limit of three years and fixed the fine at 100 gulden.95

If we consider the copyright measures of the Nuernberg government as a whole, three general types of protection are apparent. First, against fraudulent copying of the artist's personal signature; second, assistance in enforcing the provisions of imperial privileges granted to Nuernberg residents (something requested of all governmental authorities by the terms of the privilege itself); and, finally, protection of the author, artist, or publisher's claim to the first printing rights, as the agent responsible for the initial appearance of the work.

On the other hand, it must be emphasized that the policies of the city government demonstrated little concern for the work of the artist or author beyond insuring that he obtain from it a just financial return. The relatively modern notion that an individual creation contains something indelibly personal and that accordingly the author has a permanent right to its contents, or the "ideas" expressed therein—in other words the right to

95 Rintelen, p. 21.
"intellectual property" as such— is totally absent. 96

The Nuernberg artist entered the second half of the sixteenth century as yet relatively unencumbered by guild regulations and to some degree protected against loss of the fruits of his labor through excessive imitation. This of course does not mean that he had freed himself from the craft tradition of the Middle Ages. The policies of the city council were not intended to and did not have this effect. Aside from exceptions such as Albrecht Dürer, it is doubtful if the artistic community itself really understood or desired the artistic sovereignty implied by the new doctrines of creative genius—as witness the repeated requests for a guild ordinance. 97 But if the occupational status of the artist remained largely unaltered by a governmental policy which found its origins above all in a concern to promote industry and commerce, it

96 Statutes relating to the copying of artistic ideas or motifs of course would be extremely difficult to enforce. Furthermore, it is not a question of mere mechanical reproduction, such as in the printing of pirated literary copy. For the artist who would successfully carve a wood block or engrave a copper plate, even one based on the designs of someone else, must himself possess considerable skill. Adolf Isenschmid, Das Verlagsrecht an Werken der bildenden Kunst und der Verlagevertrag (Bern, 1912), p. 5.

seems likely that art itself was furthered—in one case by the stimulation of competition and in the other by its maintenance within just boundaries.
CHAPTER THREE

MUNICIPAL ARCHITECTURE

Nuernberg has always based an important part of its claim to be considered an art center of significance upon the Gothic and Renaissance structures which make up the city. As many of these arose under the sponsorship of the municipal government, no discussion of the relationship of the city council to the arts can be complete without some consideration of public architecture.

All municipal building projects in Nuernberg found their origin within the city council itself, but the execution of the construction program was entrusted to the Bauamt, that is, the Board of Works, or Building Commission. This Bauamt played a role of great importance in the development of the city. Medieval building lodges had never been permitted in Nuernberg, for the council, ever fearful of threats to its sovereignty, would not tolerate institutions with such a distinct corporative nature.

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By the latter part of the fifteenth century the Bauamt maintained a payroll of more than 200 laborers. Inevitably attracting the best available building talent, it constituted the major reservoir of construction personnel in the area. Furthermore, the pay scale and working conditions established for the municipal workmen served as a model for all employer-employee relations in Nuernberg's private construction industry.

At the head of the Bauamt there stood the official known as the Baumeister. The Baumeister was invariably a member of the patriciate and throughout the period under discussion appointment to this post automatically carried with it a seat as one of the eight alte genannte within the small or ruling council. Due to fairly long terms of service (an average of about twelve years during the first half of the sixteenth century) there was established a high degree of continuity.

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3 Lexer, p. 59.


5 Dating from the latter part of the fourteenth century the responsibilities of this position were entrusted to a single official. Before this time they were shared by several council members to whom were assigned the supervision of specific tasks. Ibid., p. 3.

6 Staatsarchiv, Nuernberg. Aemterbüchlein, Nos. 23-70.
As one of the government positions which involved virtual full-time employment, the appointment rated a commensurate salary. 8

The various duties of the Baumeister are best described in the Baumeisterbuch written in the latter part of the fifteenth century by Endres Tucher, who held the post for several years during this period. Conscious of the lack of any systematic guide manual delineating the numerous responsibilities pertaining to the office, Tucher proceeded to prepare one, drawing upon both the written records available to him and the oral tradition. 9

The result is a work quite remarkable both for its comprehensive scope and its rational organization. More than a century later it still served as the basic set of instructions for new appointees to the post. 10

The responsibilities of the Baumeister were indeed very broad. Aside from the supervision of all municipal construction, 11 including walls and fortifications, he cared for the maintenance of streets, bridges, and public fountains. He was in charge of the municipal quarries. The entire fire-fighting and prevention mechanism fell under his leadership. Finally, enforcement of the

7 Aemterbüchlein, Nos. 10-70.
8 Lexer, pp. 243, 247.
9 Ibid., p. 13.
11 Sometimes an added individual was appointed to help supervise a specific project. Ratsbuch No. 14, fol. 32b.
municipal building code was entrusted to him and the personnel of the Bauamt. 12

The Baumeister was above all an administrator who, on behalf of the city council, maintained a constant supervision over the operation of the Bauamt and the completion of tasks set for it by the municipal government. An important part of these administrative duties was connected with financial management. Each year he submitted a detailed financial report to the council, which then was audited carefully. 13 Further, annual reports were made concerning the current status of building projects under construction and an inventory of materials on hand, in order that preparations could be made for the coming year. 14

12 Lexer, passim. For administration of the building code, see especially pp. 272ff. As might be expected, the building code regulations concerned themselves largely with such considerations as fire prevention and the like. Yet the basic requirement of municipal inspection and approval of all proposed new private construction could, in a negative fashion, at least, become a factor of some importance in determining the architectural forms and even styles employed. The most interesting example falls somewhat later than the time-span under consideration and concerns the so-called Pellerhaus, Nuernberg's most palatial Renaissance patrician home, constructed in the years 1602-1607. The original designs, heavily Italianate in nature, were strongly objected to by neighbors on the grounds that the completed building would not fit in well with the surrounding late-Gothic structures. The builder was forced to submit a succession of modified plans, finally securing official approval for a design which sacrificed most of the Italianate or Renaissance features, except for some incidental decorative motifs. Reinhold Schaffer, Das Pellerhaus in Nürnberg (Nuernberg, n.d.), pp. 22-23, 47.

13 Lexer, p. 240.  
14 Ibid., pp. 32, 241.
On the other hand, the Baumeister served also as a liaison between the council and the technicians to whom the actual construction was entrusted, representing the latter within the inner ranks of the government. At one time he had enjoyed the right to hire and dismiss all construction workers, but dating from the latter half of the fifteenth century had retained this only in connection with the lower personnel, employment of the leading technicians having been assumed by the council itself.15

The traditional view concerning the office of the Baumeister has assigned to occupants of the post a very subordinate role in the actual design of buildings. On the assumption that the only road then open to the acquisition of those skills which today we associate with the profession of the architect, that is actual experience as a practicing mason or carpenter, was closed to the patrician council members, it has been asserted that the Baumeister inevitably lacked the competence necessary to active participation in this phase of the building program.16 Recently this interpretation has been challenged, on the grounds that it limits too narrowly the means whereby knowledge and experience in the building craft were obtained. The typical council member had travelled widely, in some cases had acquired experience in military engineering, may have had contact with

15 Ibid., p. 245.

mining principles as a result of wide-ranging industrial and commercial interests, and, finally, often had gained some acquaintance with mathematics and the natural sciences as part of a liberal arts education.\textsuperscript{17}

In fact it has been demonstrated that, by the end of the sixteenth century, at least, it was very possible for a patrician Baumeister to attain considerable skill in the principles of architectural design. Among documents left at the death of Wolf Jacob Stromer, who occupied the post from 1589, there are approximately 500 plans, designs, and drawings, many of them by his own hand.\textsuperscript{18} Yet, it is significant that none of his predecessors left such a legacy, and there is, in fact, no real evidence that any Baumeister serving during the period under consideration had more than a layman's understanding of the technical aspects of design and construction.

The real municipal architect, if indeed such a term can be employed at all,\textsuperscript{19} was the official filling the post immediately subordinate to that of the Baumeister. The nature of this position can best be understood through a study of the

\textsuperscript{17}Lore Sporhan-Krempel, "Wolf Jacob Stromer 1561-1614, Ratsbaumeister zu Nürnberg," MVGN, LI (1962), 299-300.

\textsuperscript{18}Ibid., p. 309.

\textsuperscript{19}Use of this particular term is not characteristic for the city records of the period. For a useful discussion of the question, see Nikolaus Pevsner, "The Term 'Architect' in the Middle Ages," Speculum, XVII (1942), 549-562.
career of its most significant occupant in the first half of the sixteenth century, Hans Beheim the Elder.

Until recently little was known of Beheim's early life, but it now has been shown that he was already a master stone mason of some renown before being called to Nuernberg about 1490. The city records then document his appointment to an official position in 1491, the reconfirmation of his municipal employment for a ten-year period in 1500 (by which time he already had completed several important city commissions), and finally his appointment as Anschicker auf der Peunt (in effect, municipal architect) in 1503. He held the latter post until his death in 1538.

As an experienced mason, Beheim was the real technical leader of the city building program and the director of the work force. His major responsibility lay not in working with his hands, but rather in the realm of design and supervision. Characteristically, the city records speak of plans, drawings, and scale models which he produced for the use of the city

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21 Hampe, Ratsverlässe, No. 441.
22 Ibid., No. 589.
23 "Peunt" was the designation for the municipal construction yards.
24 Ratsbuch No. 7, fol. 260b.
fathers in their counsels concerning projected construction projects. On the other hand, his personal stone mason's sign, known from his work prior to coming to Nuernberg, is not found on local buildings, thus constituting further evidence of his previous departure from the realm of personal hand labor.

Beheim was a forceful personality and an architect of considerable skill. His successful completion of a long series of building projects won for him fame and prestige and eventually he came to dominate even the patrician Baumeister, his superior both socially and officially. This is particularly well reflected in a city council decree dating from 1520 in which it is stated that he is not to be interfered with, even by the Baumeister himself. None of his immediate successors attained such a sovereign status.

25 Stadtarchiv, Nuernberg. Spital No. 2272a; Ratsbuch No. 10, fol. 113b; No. 11, fol. 271a; Stadtrechnungen No. 182, fol. 10a, 12a.


27 Printed in Mummenhoff, Das Rathaus. . . , p. 166.

28 In view of contemporary Italian developments and the fact that even neighboring Regensburg employed the painter Albrecht Altdorfer as a municipal architect, it is interesting that there is no record of the Nuernberg city council entrusting a building commission to an artist, such as Albrecht Dürer for example, who had some familiarity with construction theory and practice. See Emil Reich, "Albrecht Dürer als Architekt und die Klosterkirche in Gnadenberg (Oberpfalz)," Zeitschrift für Bauwesen, Vol. LXXVI, No. 1 (1926), 23-28.
Aside from Beheim there were a few additional masons and carpenters involved in design and planning. A contract (1514) recording the employment of one of these lesser officials explicitly states that no hand labor would be required of the appointee. Again, municipal records contain numerous references to designs and scale models, and there are cases also of the occupants of these posts being sent abroad, to Italy and the Netherlands, to observe foreign construction principles and practices, particularly in the realm of fortifications.  

It is in connection with this latter type of commission that we gain some valuable added insight concerning the city council as an architectural patron. For here, where the very security and survival of the city was at stake, there is evident the greatest willingness to expend large amounts of money and adopt progressive ideas. The prime example is the calling of the Italian engineer, Antonio Fazuni, to lead work on the new fortifications erected around the castle, 1538–1545.  

29 Mummenhoff, Das Rathaus... , p. 187.  
30 Stadtrechnungen No. 182, fol. 225a; No. 183, fol. 257a.  
31 For Fazuni's appointment, Ratsbuch No. 19, fol. 18a–19a. In connection with the construction of these fortifications there arose two interesting works calling upon the skills of local artists. The council paid the painter Hans Beham forty gulden in 1540 for a wood-carved scale model of the city. Stadtrechnungen No. 183, fol. 119a. It has been noted that the fortified area around the castle is executed with particular care, while the remaining buildings, although in the proper scale and proportions, are very schematized in presentation, with no attempt at rendering individual characteristics. Thus
Fazuni's appointment is significant first of all in that, aside from this type of work, foreign architects were not employed by the council. Secondly, Fazuni received an annual salary (700 gulden) which exceeded many times over that granted to any of the local masters.\(^{32}\) Content to employ designers schooled above all in local and traditional methods insofar as general construction projects were concerned, the city fathers spared neither effort nor expense to insure that the new fortifications were built according to the most advanced engineering principles.\(^{33}\)

A survey of the municipal buildings erected during this half-century period discloses the lack of a corresponding progressiveness in the realm of architectural stylistic concepts. The works of Beheim and his associates must be

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\(^{32}\) He also received a generous 400 gulden gift upon completion of the project. Stadtrechnungen No. 183, fol. 125b, 234b.

\(^{33}\) It must not be overlooked, of course, that the city walls themselves had an important aesthetic function, something of which the city fathers were well aware. Hatsbuch No. 17, fol. 43a.
viewed above all as a final culmination of the older Gothic tradition. It was a building program which achieved a harmonious synthesis with what had been inherited from previous generations, preserving the integrity of that which was old, without introducing much in the way of new, or, more precisely, Italian Renaissance ideas.  

There really was no notable construction program during this period. The absence of significant commissions is especially apparent during the latter two decades, precisely when one would expect to find a greater penetration of Renaissance stylistic concepts. Also, the conservative cast of that which was created may derive in part from the severely practical nature of the tasks set. The construction of a large municipal granary (1498-1502), a partial remodelling and enlargement of the City Hall (1514-1522), the completion of a

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34 One of Beheim's admirers attributes to the master the role of a sort of early pioneer in city planning and development, in the sense that his many buildings helped give the city an architectural coherence which raised it to a total work of art. See Eberhard Lutze, "Hans Behaim der Ältere," Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft, Vol. V, No. 4 (1938), 181-182. If one wishes to speak in these terms, it probably would be wise to avoid thinking of city planning as having reference to a rational and self-conscious program involving preconceived goals. More appropriate is Mumford's characterization of the "organic" city planning of the Middle Ages in general, which "moves from need to need, from opportunity to opportunity, in a series of adaptations that themselves become increasingly coherent and purposeful...." Lewis Mumford, The City in History (New York, 1961), p. 302.

35 Ratsbuch No. 7, fol. 242b-243a.

36 Ratsbuch No. 10, fol. 113b, 222b.
hospital begun long before (1487-1527), to name some of the more important ones; these do not appear to be commissions providing the architect an effective challenge to his full creative powers.\textsuperscript{37}

A group of interesting documents written by Beheim in connection with the latter of these projects, the completion of the Holy Ghost Hospital, reveal as clearly perhaps as the buildings themselves the basic principles underlying his service to the city.\textsuperscript{38} Work had begun on this commission as early as 1487, but faced with the difficult technical problem of spanning the Pegnitz river with a part of the structure, as well as the more practical consideration of conforming the edifice to the purpose at hand and the money available for its realization, Beheim's predecessors had fumbled badly and eventually work

\textsuperscript{37}There is some indication that Beheim sensed this and was frustrated by his situation. His work on the City Hall, thought by many to constitute a real achievement, was dismissed by the master himself, according to the report of one contemporary, as mere patchwork. It seems likely that he desired the opportunity to build an entirely new edifice better suited to reflect the wealth and power of the city. G.W.K. Lochner (ed.), Des Johann Neudörfer Schreib- und Rechenmeisters zu Nürnberg Nachrichten von Künstlern und Werkleuten daselbst aus dem Jahre 1547. . . (Vienna, 1875), p. 3.

\textsuperscript{38}Spital No. 2272a. Technically this was not perhaps a direct city commission, as the hospital was a private charitable institution. It had, however, come under the direct supervision of the council, long before, as a consequence of stipulations laid down by the founder in the original charter.
came to a virtual standstill. In the opening years of the sixteenth century Beheim was appointed by the council to carry the task to its completion.

In a hand-written booklet (1511) intended as an explanation of the new blueprints he submitted, Beheim tells of how preceding work on the project had suffered, first of all, from the lack of a complete overall design. Various other errors had followed until by the time Beheim took command the situation was such that, had work continued along previous lines, the inmates of the institution would have found themselves deprived of both light and ventilation.

Beheim proceeded to prepare a new set of blueprints, including a master design, as well as proportionally correct extracts and reductions thereof, intended for use by the various workmen. If he should not be able to finish the commission himself, those who followed would have a sure guide. Finally, there is expressed the pious wish that through his contribution God, the city council, and the hospital residents all would be honored; a note of confident yet humble service repeated in the letter accompanying transmission of the documents to his superior, the Baumeister.

The completed structure, generally considered one of

39 Ratsbuch No. 8, fol. 233b–234a.

40 Spital No. 2272a.
Nuernberg's most picturesque late-Gothic buildings,⁴¹ may be taken as representative of virtually all the municipal architecture of the period. Foregoing experimentation with the new Italian Renaissance forms, it concentrates on a conscientious adherence to the inherited wisdom and techniques of late medieval craftsmanship.

⁴¹ Illustrations of this as well as other buildings created by Beheim for the city can be found in Wilhelm Schwemmer, \textit{Nuernberg. Historische Entwicklung einer deutschen Stadt in Bildern} (Nuernberg, 1960).
CHAPTER FOUR

DECORATION OF THE NUERNBerg CITY HALL

The City Hall, uniquely suited to symbolize the joint communal life of the municipality, became in Nuernberg as elsewhere the focus of an important aspect of the city art program. From an early date the ruling officials sought to make it a worthy representation of the wealth and power of the community.

The first City Hall in Nuernberg which was built expressly and solely to house the municipal government was a Gothic structure which arose in the years 1332–1340. Its predominant feature was the Great Hall, a vast chamber which could facilitate large assemblies and serve as the center of political receptions. In addition to this Great Hall, which stood one floor above ground level, there were smaller chambers in an annex to the north and small shops leased to private merchants at the street level. To this basic structure gradually were added other components but neither these nor the various remodelling projects, such as that led by Hans Beheim the Elder 1514–1522, changed essentially the configuration of

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1Mummenhoff, Das Rathaus... , pp. 11ff.
the original and most important portion of the building. The first major alteration came in the form of a new Baroque facade erected 1616-1622.²

The walls of the Great Hall were decorated with mural paintings from an early date, most probably from the origins of the building itself.³ Although cleaned and restored at least twice, they had again fallen into a state of deterioration by the latter part of the fifteenth century, as described in the chronicle (1488) of Sigmund Meisterlin.⁴ Thus it was a matter of necessity that, in the art patronage of the city council in the coming years, there should figure importantly a project to renovate and redecorate this important chamber.

It is generally assumed that the immediate impetus, when the work actually was undertaken at the beginning of the third decade of the century, was the prospect of an imperial Diet or Reichstag to be held in Nuernberg.⁵ The first we learn of the

²Ibid., pp. 123ff.

³Albrecht Kurzwelly, Forschungen zu Georg Pencz (Leipzig, 1895), p. 13; Mummenhoff, Das Rathaus... , p. 38.


⁵According to provisions of the Golden Bull of 1356 each newly-elected emperor was to hold his first Reichstag in Nuernberg. Charles V, elected in 1519, chose to hold the assembly at Worms instead, due to an outbreak of the plague at Nuernberg.
project is a council decision in April, 1521, that a select group of members confer regarding the paintings and report back to the full council. There is nothing further mentioned in the records until a mid-August decree definitely establishes that the hall is to be painted after a design by Albrecht Dürer. One month later there is another decree which mentions a second design and also the fact that several painters are to be employed in order that the task may be completed before the onset of winter. Then in December of the same year it is agreed within the council that Dürer shall be requested to submit a bill which then would form the basis of deliberations among the seven alte herren who would actually decide how much the artist should be paid. Finally, early in 1522, Dürer received 100 gulden for his "great effort" and the designs which he contributed.

6 Preceding this, in the year 1520, a new wooden vaulted ceiling had been erected over the Great Hall. Mummenhoff, Das Rathaus. . ., pp. 89-90. In the same year the emperor's personal quarters at the imperial castle in Nuremberg were repainted and the ceiling decorated with the coats of arms of his various dominions, at city expense. Ratsbuch No. 11, fol. 313a.

7 Mummenhoff, Das Rathaus. . ., p. 90.

8 Hampe, Ratsverlässe, No. 1319.

9 Printed in Mummenhoff, Das Rathaus. . ., p. 322.

10 Hampe, Ratsverlässe, No. 1333.

11 Stadtrechnungen No. 182, fol. 100b.
The major artistic task in the decoration of the Great Hall was the adornment of the huge north wall which stretched the length of the building and was unbroken by windows. Three mural compositions were applied; from left to right the "Calumny of Apelles," the so-called "Pfeiferstuhl," and the "Triumphal Chariot of Maximilian I." The first two apparently were painted from independent designs made especially for use in the City Hall, whereas the latter was a somewhat modified reproduction of a composition created by Dürer previously for the emperor Maximilian.

Thematically, the first is the most interesting of the compositions (Figure 1). It is based on a passage from the classical Greek author, Lucian, which served as the inspiration for many Renaissance works of art, the most famous being Botticelli's painting. Lucian wrote a rather didactic and moralistic essay on the evil effects of calumny or slander. In it, he describes a painting attributed to the Greek painter Apelles who supposedly had been falsely accused of treason by an envious rival artist at the court of the king whom he served. His name was cleared eventually but not before the entire episode had made such a strong impression upon him that he decided to paint an allegorical representation of the incident which had nearly worked his destruction. Lucian describes the composition as follows:

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On the right of it sits a man with very large ears, almost like those of Midas, extending his hand to Slander while she is still at some distance from him. Near him stand two women—Ignorance, I think, and Suspicion. On the other side, Slander is coming up, a woman beautiful beyond measure, but full of passion and excitement, evincing as she does fury and wrath by carrying in her left hand a blazing torch and with the other dragging by the hair a young man who stretches out his hands to heaven and calls the gods to witness his innocence. She is conducted by a pale ugly man who has a piercing eye and looks as if he had wasted away in long illness; he may be supposed to be Envy. Besides, there are two women in attendance on Slander, egging her on, tiring her and tricking her out. According to the interpretation of them given me by the guide to the picture, one was Treachery and the other Deceit. They were followed by a woman dressed in deep mourning, with black clothes all in tatters—Repentance, I think, her name was. At all events, she was turning back with tears in her eyes and casting a stealthy glance, full of shame, at Truth, who was approaching.

Although a German translation of this selection from Lucian had been published as early as 1516 and Melanchthon's Latin edition in 1518, it is generally assumed that the source for Dürer was his close friend, the great humanist scholar Willibald Pirckheimer. Already in 1503 Pirckheimer wrote to Conrad Celtis that he had translated numerous dialogues of the Greek writer.


14 Förster, p. 89. A woodcut illustration of the "Calumny", dated 1515, adorning the back side of the title page.

15 Förster, pp. 98-99.

and there is good reason to believe that some of Dürer's artistic compositions as early as 1505 were directly based on descriptions taken from Lucian and transmitted by his scholar friend.\textsuperscript{17} During the years 1520–1522 Pirckheimer was again preoccupied with translating this author and it is natural to assume that the literary source for Dürer's design resulted from this activity.\textsuperscript{18} An undated letter to Pirckheimer from a humanist friend asking for a translation of this passage, which, along with a painting based upon it, was to be used as a gift to a prince, most likely stems from this same period and reveals that this particular artistic theme was a popular one in humanist circles.\textsuperscript{19}

The "Calumny" was an appropriate work to adorn this portion of the wall surface, for the municipal court held its sessions in the west end of the Great Hall. Artistic compositions stressing justice and based on antique authors were of course not a new development. Meisterlin in his chronicle informs us that the original City Hall murals were based on "historien" taken from Valerius Maximus, Plutarch, and Gellius, and were supposed to incite the council members, judges, and chancery personnel to justice.\textsuperscript{20} The new work created by Dürer and his

\textsuperscript{17}Ibid., pp. 82–83.

\textsuperscript{18}Ibid., p. 94.


\textsuperscript{20}Meisterlin, pp. 154–155.
pupils had the merit of employing the allegorical manner of presentation so popular in the Renaissance.

There are certain departures from Lucian's description noticeable in this composition. Most apparent is the addition of three new figures: Haste, presented as a young woman motioning the entourage forward toward the completion of the unjust judgment; Error, depicted as a peasant-like figure who grins maliciously at Truth to the rear, while gesturing with both arms as if to point out what he has succeeded in bringing to pass; and Punishment, a woman holding the sword of execution. It may well be that this expansion of the cast of the drama being acted out stemmed first of all from the need to fill out the space at the disposal of the artist. But the additions are valid from a thematic point of view, particularly with reference to the didactic function of the composition in its judicial setting. Should anyone fail to draw the intended moral from the tale, an inscription was added, next to the

21 The work no longer exists. It and the other murals were severely restored early in the seventeenth century and destroyed completely during the course of the Second World War. There remains a drawing of the theme (Figure 1) in the Albertina in Vienna (dated 1522) which is attributed to Dürer by Winkler and to Dürer's assistants by Panofsky. Friedrich Winkler, Die Zeichnungen Albrecht Dürers (4 vols.; Berlin, 1936-1939), IV, 92; Panofsky, II, 146.

22 Förster, p. 96.
figure of the judge, which read: "Ein Richter soll kein Urthel geben/Er soll die Sach‘ erforschen eben."23

To turn to the next mural, the "Pfeiferstuhl," is to depart from the realm of moralistic allegory and enter that of pure decorative fancy. The scene portrays the municipal band playing out over the chamber from an illusionistically painted Renaissance balcony (Figure 2). The identity of the musicians can be deduced from the coats of arms which they wear. Next to the band there stands a group of individuals whose function is not entirely clear. It has been supposed that they are merely spectators observing the festivities below, but their pre-occupation with the book which one of them holds makes more likely the suggestion that they are intended to represent Nuernberg’s famed Meistersingers.24

This small and lighthearted composition, generally attributed to Dürrer’s student and assistant Georg Penz,25 is an entirely appropriate reflection of the important use of the

23Mummenhoff, Das Rathaus. . . , p. 95. A bronze relief plaque formerly mounted over a doorway on this same north wall and probably dating from the 1521 restoration reads: "Eins manns red ist eine halbe red/Man soll die teyl ver- hören bed."

24Kurzwelly, p. 29.

25Winkler, IV, 92; Kurzwelly, p. 30.
Figure 2

The "Pfeiferstuhl," Mural Painting in the Great Hall of the City Hall.

City Hall for other than solemn affairs of state. Receptions for visiting dignitaries and even jousting tournaments were held in this large chamber. But most frequently it served as the locale of dances for members of the patriciate. These were not open to the general population. A policy formally inaugurated by the city fathers in 1521, and merely ratifying what was already common usage, established that only members of specified leading families were to be invited. Thus the City Hall in Nuernberg as in many other cities became what has been termed "a sort of collective palace for the patriciate."

The third of the large mural compositions, the "Triumphal Chariot of Maximilian I," was well suited to commemorate yet another function of the Great Hall. For here there were held many assemblies of the leaders of the German Empire: congresses of local princes, gatherings of allied city-states, and frequent imperial Diets. Nuernberg, traditionally loyal to the emperors, had enjoyed particularly close ties to Maximilian, and it was fitting that there should be created in the City Hall a monumental testimony to this relationship.

The design again stemmed from Dürrer, but in this case not

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27 Ratsbuch No. 8, fol. 209b, 369a, 426a.

28 Ratsbuch No. 12, fol. 14b; Meyer, pp. 32-33.

29 Mumford, p. 273.

30 See below, pp. 109-112.
originally as a city commission. As early as 1512 the artist had been asked by Maximilian to contribute the most important segment of a huge woodcut series entitled the "Triumphal Procession," sponsored by the imperial court. A preliminary pen and ink sketch was completed shortly thereafter. Pirckheimer, serving as a scholarly adviser to the project, then decided that this fairly simple composition should "be elaborated into a full-dress allegory." This delayed matters considerably and a final drawing was not submitted and approved until March, 1518. Before the design could be executed as a woodcut, Maximilian died. Fearing that the entire project was doomed to failure, Dürer kept the drawing for himself.

When in the summer of 1521 Dürer was called upon by the municipal government for assistance in decorating the City Hall, he may well have offered the completed "Triumphal Chariot" drawing as his first contribution. For the artist had returned from the Netherlands only in July and by August 11, the city council had decided to proceed on the basis of a Dürer design. If this be true, then the second drawing referred to in the records of September could be assumed to be the "Calumny" composition.

In any case, the "Triumphal Chariot" drawing became the basis for one of the two large murals created in the Great
Hall. The most significant divergence from the drawing found in the wall painting is the relative diminution of the size of the chariot and the elimination of the emperor's family. After Maximilian's death, it may have seemed more appropriate "to interpret his 'triumph,' not as a dynastic manifesto but as a personal apotheosis."35

It would be natural to assume that the council would not stop with merely painting the north wall of the Great Hall, but, as a part of the same renovation process, proceed to adorn the other walls as well. Due to the destruction wrought by time and man, however, there exists a great deal of uncertainty about the matter. The evidence provided by surviving documents and artifacts is at best ambiguous.

Prior to the destruction of the City Hall there existed yet in modern times murals or fresco type paintings on the east and south walls. Those on the east wall, it is agreed, stem from the seventeenth century.36 On stylistic grounds, the compositions framing the Gothic windows on the south wall have

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34 And in the 1522 woodcut version published independently by Dürer. Kurzwelly notes that it apparently was the need to adapt the drawing to use in the City Hall that originally stimulated this compositional alteration. Kurzwelly, p. 33.

35 Panofsky, I, 180.

36 Mummenhoff, Das Rathaus, . . . , p. 120; Kurzwelly, p. 37.
been described as either original creations of this later period or sixteenth-century works severely renovated as a part of the extensive work done in the City Hall in the early part of the seventeenth century. The latter supposition was strengthened considerably by Kurzwelly's discovery that several of these works correspond to engravings by Georg Penz and other pupils of Dürer.37

There were portrayed on the south wall historical examples of justice, devotion to duty, conscientious administration of the law, wisdom, courage, noble disposition, and so on; nine drawn from classical antiquity and one from the Christian legends.38 The humanist Eobanus Hessus in his (1531) description of the city of Nuernberg speaks of a series of representations of the deeds of just rulers and godlike men located in the City Hall.39 It is therefore likely that the works in question arose before this time and that the engravings, dated 1535 and 1553, were created later. The exact date of the execution of the wall paintings still remains an open question, with only the assumption that the council would have completely renovated the chamber at one time to support linking them with the murals discussed earlier.40

39Ibid., pp. 48-49.
40Ernst Mummenhoff, "Dürers Anteil an den Gemälden des grossen Rathaussaals und der Ratsstube," MVGN, XVI (1904), 246-248. Kurzwelly believes that they were created at the beginning of the 1530's. Kurzwelly, p. 50.
There remains to be considered another drawing, signed by Dürer and dated 1521. The work obviously is intended for the adornment of a building. Shown are three medallion-shaped compositions which fill the spaces between tall Gothic windows. The subject matter of the scenes portrayed is drawn from the Bible and classical antiquity and contains one central theme—the triumph of woman over man. The actual figures represented are Bathsheba and David, Delilah and Samson, Phyllis and Aristotle.

Scholars are generally agreed that the drawing has some association with the City Hall project; there is cited in support of such an assumption the date of the work and the conformity of the drawing to the architecture of the building. The question remains: Why is it that this design was not actually used when the murals were created? Mummenhoff and Winkler consider the themes portrayed unsuitable for a chamber where the solemn affairs of state were carried out, exclusively by men. According to this view the drawing may be seen as a somewhat playful sketch, made before the final choice of subject matter. Panofsky, however, correctly observes that the Great Hall served also for dances and that Dürer may have wished to place on at least one

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41 Winkler, IV, No. 921.

42 Mummenhoff, "Dürers Anteil . . ," pp. 244–245; Panofsky, II, 146; Winkler, IV, 91.

wall a series of works, which, although in a more satirical vein, still preserved a moralistic tone. Be that as it may, the ultimate decision was to employ more conventional themes.

Turning to the plastic arts we encounter an interesting wood sculptural group stemming from the same period and related in subject matter to the paintings, particularly the "Calumny" composition. The work, known as the "Unjust Judge," was originally located above the door of the Ratsstube, or smaller chamber, in which the governing council held its regular meetings. This interesting group has a rather mysterious background.

The earliest preserved documentary evidence comes from an inventory of art objects in the City Hall made in 1627, in which the writer lists the work and attributes it to no less a figure than Albrecht Dürer. Modern authorities of course reject the association with the famed Nuernberg painter, while at the same time generally agreeing that the work arose in the early decades of the sixteenth century. For a long time, however, there was no consensus of opinion as to its creator. Then in the 1930's Theodor Hampe, without naming a specific artist, attributed the

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44 Panofsky, II, 146.
45 Now in the German National Museum, Nuernberg.
46 Baader, Beiträge zur... I, 13.
48 Ibid.
group to an Augsburg-schooled artist trained in miniature
sculpture. Finally, in 1942, Georg Lill definitely ascribed
the work to the Augsburg medalist Hans Schwarz, an attri­
bution now accepted by the Germanisches National-Museum.

Hans Schwarz's presence in Nuernberg during the years 1519-
1520 is documented and if the work actually does stem from him
it must have originated during this period. On the other hand,
the absence of any reference to it in the city records is puzzling.
It is entirely possible that the sculptural group was commissioned
by a private individual and donated to the city. Although such
art endowments were far more common in the churches than in
secular public buildings, there is a similar example in the
"dragon chandelier" (designed by Dürrer, carved by Veit Stoss)
given to the City Hall by the first treasurer, Anton Tucher
II, in 1522.

The "Unjust Judge" is a worthy counterpart to the "Calumny"
mural. Again the subject matter is the administration of justice,
but in this case the appeal is not so much literary and intel­
lectual as visual and emotional. The rich man, dressed in
patrician garb, purchases with his money a favorable judgment
while the poor man can only supplicate in vain for a more equi-

50 Georg Lill, Hans Leinberger, der Bildschnitzer von
Landshut (Munich, 1942), pp. 274-275.
51 Deutsche Kunst und Kultur im Germanischen National-
52 Lill, p. 275. 53 Grote, Die Tucher... , pp. 76-77.
table decision. In its original setting, the group contained two small additional figures; that of an angel hovering above the poor man and that of a devil or demon above the patrician.\textsuperscript{54}

The sculptural composition, in subject matter at least, breathes more of the spirit of the Christian Middle Ages than the Renaissance.

A more classical work is the so-called "Fuggergitter," a monumental bronze dividing screen erected in the west end of the Great Hall of the City Hall in 1540. From a functional point of view its purpose was to separate the municipal court, located in this area, from the remainder of the chamber. Aesthetically it constituted one of the chief glories of the City Hall.

The screen had a curious history. It was originally commissioned from the Peter Vischer foundry in Nuernberg by the Fuggers of Augsburg, in 1512. Jakob Fugger and his brothers were at this time building a family burial chapel in the west choir of St. Anna Church in Augsburg and the screen was intended to close off this chapel from the main body of the sanctuary.\textsuperscript{55}

Apparently work on this commission did not begin until 1515 when Hermann Vischer, son of Peter the Elder, took the project in hand. After drawing some of the preliminary designs, Hermann

\textsuperscript{54} Hampe, \textit{Nürnberg}, p. 196.

Vischer died in 1517. Other members of the workshop continued the task but progress was slow.

Meanwhile new problems had arisen. The heirs of the deceased Fugger brothers complained that the completed portions of the screen did not conform to the original specifications. While this controversy continued work on the screen came to a standstill. Finally in August, 1529, an agreement was reached between the heirs of Peter Vischer the Elder and the Fuggers according to the terms of which the Fuggers gave up all claim to the completed portions of the screen plus the 1437 gulden which they had already poured into the project. The Vischers lost the commission but retained control of the screen, which they were free to dispose of in any way they chose.

Their first step was an unsuccessful attempt in February and March, 1530, to sell it to the Nuernberg city council as scrap metal. Obviously impressed with the "künstlich gemacht gitter," the council finally decided in July of that same year to purchase the work, at the rate of six gulden per hundredweight. The cost amounted to 940 gulden. After

56 Simon Meller, Peter Vischer der Ältere und seine Werkstatt (Leipzig, 1925), pp. 156-159.
57 Lieb, pp. 138-139.
58 The contract is printed in Mummenhoff, Das Rathaus... pp. 251-252.
59 Hampe, Ratsverlässe, Nos. 1752, 1762. 60 Ibid., No. 1778.
61 The relevant document is printed in Albert Gumbel, Neue archivialische Beiträge zur Nürnberger Kunstgeschichte (Nuernberg, 1919), p. 36.
several months of storage in the municipal armory, it was de-
cided that the screen should be installed in the west end of
the Great Hall.\footnote{Ratsbuch No. 18, fol. 152b, 192b, 208b; No. 19, fol. 43a, 85a, 214a, 233b.} But again there were delays. Various
factors, above all the not insignificant costs involved in
completing the work, prevented action from being taken and the
screen remained in the armory for another five years.

The city council finally was prodded into action by the
threat of losing the work altogether. Rumors were abroad that
a certain nobleman desired it for his newly-built castle. In
order to forestall a request which they felt they could not
deny, the council decided once again to erect the screen
("zu einer Zierd und schönheit"), this time with more haste so
that they might counter any inquiry with the fait accompli.\footnote{Printed in Mummenhoff, Das Rathaus... , pp. 252-253.} A contract\footnote{Ratsbuch No. 17, fol. 171a and b.} was drawn up with Hans Vischer in May, 1536,
providing that Vischer complete the work within six months time,
furnishing all necessary materials himself and installing it at
his own cost. The council would pay him eighteen gulden per
hundredweight for all new parts.

Still, completion of the work was delayed. The records over
the next four years are filled with entries noting the frequent
partial payments in advance requested and received by Vischer.\footnote{Hampe, Ratsverlässe, No. 1833.}
The screen, of course, had to be altered somewhat to accommodate it to its new purpose; thus the council instructions to the artist in April, 1537, to mold a new Latin inscription. When warnings to speed up the project and to accept no other new commissions achieved nothing, Vischer finally was told that if he did not finish by Christmas of 1539 he would be thrown in the tower. The latter threat seems to have had the desired effect. By April, 1540, the screen was ready to install.

By the time the work actually was completed, Vischer had come to feel that the agreed upon price was not adequate compensation for his labor and expenses. He complained particularly of the rise in the cost of materials and labor over the preceding four years and requested that instead of the eighteen gulden per hundredweight for the new work he be paid twenty-one gulden, plus five gulden per hundredweight for preparing the previously completed portions. The council refused this, with the statement that had Vischer completed the work within the stipulated period of six months he would not have suffered from the inflationary price rise. They would, however, grant an additional two gulden per hundred for preparation of the sections.

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66 Hampe, Ratsverlasse, No. 2240.
67 Ratsbuch No. 20, fol. 35b.
68 Ibid., fol. 130a.
69 The text of Vischer's request is printed in Gümbl, Neue archivalische... pp. 40-41.
made earlier, a concession recommended by the masters of Vischer's guild.

As a matter of fact, when the accounts were finally settled with Vischer, a payment scale allowing for three different price ranges was used. Of the 15,677 (German) pounds which the screen weighed when purchased by the city in 1530, 13,789 were reused in their original condition and Vischer received two gulden per hundredweight for cleaning and preparing this portion. About 912 pounds had been melted down and recast; for this Vischer was paid twelve gulden per hundred. And for the 7829 pounds of totally new work (or more than one third of the total weight of the finished screen), Vischer was reimbursed at the rate of eighteen gulden per hundredweight. After deducting fifty-eight gulden for scrap metal which Vischer had gained from the original work and adding a gift of 120 gulden upon total completion of the project, the cost came to slightly more than 1855 gulden. To this must be reckoned the original purchase price in 1530; altogether the city had invested more than 2796 gulden in this art work, a not inconsiderable sum for an object with a purely decorative function.

Because a period of twenty-eight years lapsed between the

71 Stadtrechnungen No. 183, fol. 130a. For supplementary printed source materials drawn from other city records, see Gumbel, Neue archivialeiche. . . , pp. 41-45.

72 It replaced an earlier wooden screen.
original Fugger commission and the eventual installation of the screen in the City Hall, and due to the participation of several members of the Vischer foundry upon this work, it is difficult to determine how far the completed screen diverged from the original specifications and to what degree the final version was based upon the wishes of the Nuernberg city government. Nevertheless, drawing upon a study of pieces mentioned in the itemized list submitted by Hans Vischer, it has been possible to ascertain with reasonable certainty that while the two end sections had already existed before the Fuggers gave up their claim to the work, the central portion was completed only later. This then should be identified with the section which Hans Vischer created totally new for the city council. The completed panels which Vischer melted down and recast apparently were the relief sculptures containing the Fugger coats of arms originally, and the Nuernberg coats of arms in the final version. Yet another accommodation had to be made. The screen was too short for its new location and thus the Nuernberg artist Sebald Beck was

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73 This problem is made immeasurably more complicated by the fact that only a small portion of the work remains in existence. The remainder was sold for scrap in the early part of the nineteenth century, by order of the Bavarian government, in order to help pay the city's debts. Four relief panels found their way into a private collection in France. Of the remaining we have only sketches and drawings.

74 Meller, p. 157.
commissioned to make stone pilasters with sculptured relief decoration to fill the gap between the screen and the wall at either end. 75

The overall design, stemming from Hermann Vischer, is that of an Italian Renaissance architectural facade (Figure 3). The work is composed essentially of eight capital-topped columns supporting an architrave, frieze, and cornice; the whole unit being broken by three doorways. The frieze panels are decorated with battling "wild men," humans struggling with centaurs, satyrs, garlands, festoons, and the like.

Immediately above the two side doors are located triangular gables filled with allegorical figures such as strength, justice, and moderation, surrounded by griffins, pelicans and various imaginary beasts. Over the side doorways semicircular arches represent in relief sculpture the Nuremberg city coats of arms (Figure 4). Capping the entire work is the pediment of the architectural structure surmounting the central doorway, which contains the image of God-the-Father.

The ornamentation, particularly of the frieze, betrays some lingering Gothic influences. 77 Yet the screen taken as a

75 See the list by Vischer in Gümbel, Neue archivalische . . . , p. 42.

76 Stadtrechnungen No. 183, fol. 143a.

Figure 3

The City Hall Dividing Screen; A Modern Pictorial Reconstruction.

Reproduced from Simon Meller, Peter Vischer der Altere und seine Werkstatt. Leipzig: Im Insel-Verlag, 1925.

Figure 4

The City Hall Dividing Screen (Detail).

Reproduced from Simon Meller, Peter Vischer der Altere und seine Werkstatt. Leipzig: Im Insel-Verlag, 1925.
whole is very Italianate for the German art of the first half of the sixteenth century. In only one instance does the Nuernberg architecture of the period attain to the classicism of this work.\(^{78}\) The chief credit for such advanced design of course goes neither to the city fathers who finally purchased the screen nor to Hans Vischer who completed it; the real authors of its Renaissance classicism were Hermann Vischer and the Fuggers who initially commissioned the work.\(^{79}\) Yet to the city government must go at least the credit for recognizing in it an artistic creation worthy of a large investment of municipal funds.

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\(^{78}\) The so-called Hirsvogelsaal, built for a patrician merchant by Peter Flötner (1534).

\(^{79}\) While the overall design stemmed from Hermann Vischer, the original decorative motifs apparently were the work of his brother Peter. Stafski, pp. 47–48.
CHAPTER FIVE

ART AND IMPERIAL POLITICS

An important part of Nuernberg municipal art patronage had its inception in state ceremonial arising from the city's situation within the German Empire. As one of the largest, wealthiest, and most powerful of the free imperial cities, Nuernberg inevitably was drawn into an extensive involvement in the affairs of the realm. Moreover, a series of historical circumstances, particularly its traditionally close association with the emperor, combined to accord to the city the status of a sort of quasi capital of Germany.

From the time of its origins as a settlement clustered at the foot of a royal castle, Nuernberg had maintained an intimate and somewhat unique relationship to the German crown. The emperors had been the continual source of those concessions which guaranteed the city its liberty. In turn, the townsmen responded with a loyalty which won for them even further privileges. This mutually rewarding relationship found concrete expression in the Golden Bull of 1356 which stipulated that the first Reichstag or Diet of each newly elected emperor should be held in Nuernberg.¹

In many ways Nuernberg was uniquely fitted to serve as a capital city. Its geographical centrality and location at the hub of a dense complex of trade routes made it a favorable site from the standpoint of accessibility. Furthermore, it had the facilities for hosting, in style and comfort, large numbers of people. Aeneas Sylvius had remarked of the city's spacious homes that they would have been the envy of even the kings of Scotland. And quarters for the emperor himself were maintained in a state of continual preparedness at the royal castle in the city.

Further honors came to Nuernberg. In 1423 the Emperor Sigismund awarded to it perpetual custody of the imperial insignia and relics. Maximilian I in particular felt at home in the city and visited it many times, often remaining for a considerable length of time. Then in the opening years of the sixteenth century and later under Charles V, the Reichsregiment, or Imperial Council of Regency, instituted as a consequence of the imperial reforms had its seat there.

It is an interesting and very significant fact that Nuernberg was able to maintain these traditions throughout the period of religious controversy accompanying the Reformation.

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3 For the following, see the excellent article by Hans Baron, "Religion and Politics in the German Imperial Cities During the Reformation," The English Historical Review, LII (1937), 405-427, 614-633.
This is especially remarkable in view of the early and open adoption of Protestantism by the municipal government. Factors of self interest undoubtedly played a role here. The commercial life of the city was heavily dependent upon the maintenance of an effective central government, even that of a Catholic Charles V. Furthermore, Nuernberg looked to the emperor for assistance in protecting the extensive territory outside the city walls which it had originally acquired under the imperial patronage. Charles, for his part, had encouraged the constitutional claims of the cities and used his influence to beat down within the Reichstag proposed policies which would have been injurious to the commercial centers.

But there were ideological factors at work as well. For one thing, many municipal leaders apparently felt that the natural community of interests between them and the crown might eventually induce Charles to pursue a more tolerant middle course in confessional questions. Equally important, inherited psychological and sentimental ties to the Empire, very strong in Nuernberg, acted in a subtle fashion to cause the formulators of the city's foreign policy to arrive at different conclusions in politico-religious questions than other

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4 "Imperial patriotism, pride in the Empire with its ancient constitution, its imperium, and the freedom of its cities took a stronger hold of the citizens of Nuremberg than of any other German city." Baron, p. 617.
Protestant allies. Thus, while even Luther eventually came to agree that the Protestant princes could oppose the emperor on purely constitutional grounds, Lazarus Spengler, the influential city secretary, convinced the Nuernberg council that any such resistance would be both unconstitutional and unchristian. Although often isolated from other Protestant powers, Nuernberg tenaciously pursued its own path of Lutheranism at home and loyal devotion to the emperor in external affairs.

This continuity of policy was responsible for the fact that in matters of state ceremonial there was less disruption and transformation over the decades than one might expect in such an era of turmoil. Nevertheless there was a certain amount of change, as can be seen from a consideration of the imperial insignia and relics preserved in Nuernberg during this period. This collection contained two groups of artifacts: a set of objects (crown, sword, coronation robes, etc.) symbolically associated with the German Empire and a number of religious relics.

The entire collection had acquired a religious significance far overshadowing any secular associations it may have had, long before it found its way to Nuernberg. Already in the fourteenth century the imperial insignia were being attributed in origin to religious saints, particularly Charlemagne who had been

\[5\text{Ibid.}, \text{ pp. 416ff.}\]
canonized in 1165. In 1354 Pope Innocent VI created a special church feast to commemorate the chief object of the joint collection—the "Holy Lance"—and the imperial regalia were scarcely mentioned in the document. The later bull of 1424 similarly stressed the religious nature of the whole collection by associating with it the granting of special indulgences. Thus it is not surprising that at the annual Nuernberg Feast of the Imperial Insignia, the secular regalia should be displayed as relics of Saint Charlemagne.

The presence of these venerated objects in Nuernberg called forth almost from the very beginning art expenditures by the city government. In the year 1430 the vaulted ceiling of the Holy Ghost Church above the place where they were stored was painted at city expense. Similarly the room in the Schopper house where the regalia and relics were placed at night for safekeeping during the annual Feast of the Imperial Insignia was decorated with paintings in the same year. It was for

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6 Julia Schnelbogl, "Die Reichskleinodien in Nuernberg 1424-1523," MVGN, LI (1962), 85ff. For the actual dates of origin for the various objects, much later than Charlemagne of course, see pp. 83-84.

7 Ibid., p. 86.

8 Ibid., pp. 95, 152.

9 Ibid., p. 122.

10 Ibid., pp. 101ff.

11 The insignia and relics were displayed to the public from a specially-erected platform in the central market. Each night they were stored in a chamber set aside in the so-called Schopper house.
this same chamber that Albrecht Dürer created his double panel painting of Charlemagne and the Emperor Sigismund—the two figures most associated in the popular mind with the regalia and relics: one with their origins, the other with their transfer to Nuernberg.

Early in 1513 Dürer received an eighty-five gulden payment from the city council specifically for this work. ¹² We know from one of the artist's signed and dated preliminary drawings, however, that the commission must have been given at least as early as 1510. ¹³ And on the basis of this, it seems likely that the city requital to Dürer of sixty gulden in July, 1511, "für 2 pild" also relates to this painting, as a partial preliminary payment. ¹⁴

The artistic genesis of the double panel can be followed fairly closely from the many drawings which Dürer left. The earliest of these is a preliminary sketch of the total com-

¹²Stadtrechnungen No. 181, fol. 520a.

¹³Winkler, II, No. 504.

¹⁴Staatsarchiv, Nuernberg. Stadtrechnungsbelege, No. 1085a. The initial payment may have been made upon the occasion of Dürer's showing or presenting to the council a pair of preliminary portrait panels done in shoulder length. Alfred Stange, "Zwei neu entdeckte Kaiserbilder Albrecht Dürers," Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte, XX (1957), 18-19.
Although not dated, the fact that the attire in which Charlemagne is garbed is incorrectly rendered establishes it as prior to the carefully detailed studies of the individual pieces of the imperial insignia. While lacking the solemn austerity of the completed painting, the drawing surpasses the latter in spontaneous charm. Both emperors are shown in three-quarter profile. The white-bearded Charlemagne, wearing a heavy mantle with a broad ermine collar, bears on his head a huge Gothic crown, while Sigismund wears a laurel wreath. Each holds a scepter in one hand and the imperial orb in the other. The shortened, somewhat hunched, figure of Sigismund has to make way for a cluster of coats of arms (some as yet uncompleted) adorning the upper portion of the panel.

Dürer at this point undoubtedly sensed a need to examine more carefully the individual items of the regalia in order to render them more accurately in the finished painting. The result is a series of painstaking drawings of the coronation robes, imperial crown, imperial sword, imperial orb, and imperial glove. The artist's concern for accuracy at this

15 Winkler, II, No. 503.

16 Winkler, II, 151-152.

17 Panofsky notes that the representation of Charlemagne here provides somewhat of a "legendary or fairy-tale-like conception of grandeur." Panofsky, I, 132-133.

18 Winkler, II, Nos. 504, 505, 506, 507, plate XXVI.
point is evinced by the fact that even the exact length of the imperial sword was designated by a piece of string attached to the original sketch. Dürer was fortunate, of course, in that the presence of the regalia in Nuernberg permitted a close and minute inspection of the individual objects.

The completed painting incorporated the results of the artist's careful studies into a work considerably more accurate from an archeological point of view than the initial preliminary drawing. Charlemagne, of course, no longer wears the high Gothic crown—it has been transferred to Sigismund—and in place of a scepter holds the authentic imperial sword. The fur-trimmed mantel has given way to the proper coronation robes. Further, the coats of arms above Sigismund's head have been completed and in some cases altered.

Aside from these scholarly details, the most noticeable alteration is the shifting of the figure of Charlemagne from the profile to an almost frontal view. Thus a rigidity or formality lacking in the original sketch is introduced and imparts to the seated emperor that hieratical aspect common in royal portraits. Sigismund also has gained somewhat in stature, although still clearly dominated by the figure of his predecessor. His features are modelled upon an older portrait, while those accorded to Charlemagne suggest to some modern scholars a

19Winkler II, 151-152.
likeness of Johann Stabius, Maximilian's court historiographer. 20

Dürer's final version may be said to possess some of both the strengths and weaknesses of "official" art. To later generations it is valuable as an historical document, not only of the imperial insignia but also of the prevailing conception of the emperorship. Particularly in the image of Charlemagne, presented as "a kind of secular God the Father," 21 is this of interest.

From the viewpoint of contemporaries the work undoubtedly served well the purpose for which it was intended, that is, to adorn the storage chamber of the imperial insignia and relics with representations of the two emperors who had figured so importantly in their history. The jewel-like precision of detail 22 in the painting itself suited well the schatzkammer setting. If judged from the standpoint of modern taste, however, appreciation for this particular aesthetic


21 Panofsky, I, 132-133. Fifteenth-century representations of Charlemagne did not portray him in the coronation robes. Dürer has been credited with creating a new and enduring pictorial concept of the founder of the Holy Roman Empire. Strange, p. 16.

22 Panofsky, I, 132-133.
quality may be counteracted somewhat by regret that the monumentality and accuracy of the "official" version were achieved only at the expense of some of the charm and freshness of the initial sketch.\textsuperscript{23}

Later in the second decade of the sixteenth century, the city council made a significant addition to the relic collection itself.\textsuperscript{24} In the city documents for the year 1518 there is reference to a payment of 299 gulden to the goldsmith Hans Krug for two reliquaries.\textsuperscript{25} One was created to hold a fragment of the "Holy Tablecloth" used at the Last Supper, the other a "fragment of the apron worn by Our Lord during the washing of the feet." The exact origin of the relics themselves is unknown.\textsuperscript{26}

The commission was given by the three leading municipal officials, whose names are found inscribed on the base of each reliquary. This is not surprising, as supervision of the imperial insignia and relics was entrusted to these men at the pinnacle of the Nuremberg government. From the very beginning

\textsuperscript{23} Winkler, II, 151-152.

\textsuperscript{24} Leather cases were provided, at city expense, for several items of the insignia and relics in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Schnelbögl, p. 101.

\textsuperscript{25} Stadtrechnungen No. 182, fol. 31b.

\textsuperscript{26} Hermann Fillitz, Die Insignien und Kleinodien des Heiligen Römischen Reiches (Vienna, 1954), p. 42.
Figure 5

Reliquary for a Fragment of the "Holy Tablecloth."

Courtesy of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.
the city fathers had taken care to keep the collection free from clerical control. The Holy Ghost Church, the normal storage place of the insignia and relics, was directly under council patronage and city officials even had the prerogative of selecting the clergy to officiate at their annual display.  

The two reliquaries are virtually identical. Both consist of a jeweled rectangular case mounted upon a slender shaft culminating in a circular base (Figure 5). At the top of each, three putti cavort upon a semi-circular lunette adorned with intricate gold filigree. A glass window in front permits viewing of the relics. On either side of the glass, figures of Saints Lawrence and Sebald—the two patron saints of Nuernberg—guard the costly contents. The symbolic association with the city is expressed also in the Nuernberg coat of arms stamped into the embossed leather case made for each of the two works. The only features distinguishing one reliquary from the other are the engravings incised into the back panel of each. The scenes portrayed represent those episodes of the life of Christ which relate to the individual relics themselves (Figure 6). It has been speculated that book illustrations by the artist Hans Schäufelein served as models for these engravings.

Aside from a partial restoration of the coronation robes

27Schnelbögl, pp. 89–90.

28Fillitz, p. 64.
Figure 6

Metal Engraving on the Back Panel of the "Holy Tablecloth" Reliquary.

Courtesy of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.
in preparation for the ceremonies following the election of Charles V—entrusted to the nuns at St. Clara convent by the city council—there was little opportunity for further municipal patronage in this area due to the intervention of the Protestant Reformation. After 1523 the Feast of the Imperial Insignia, with its relic veneration and granting of indulgences, was abolished forever. But the relics and regalia were preserved faithfully in the Holy Ghost Church until shortly after the French Revolution when the advancing French armies threatened their safety. Although no longer publicly displayed they were shown privately to visiting dignitaries and the imperial insignia, used also for succeeding coronations, retained at least their secular significance as the symbols of the German Empire.

This secularization of state ceremonial, while at the same time preserving as much continuity as possible, is demonstrated also in the pageantry associated with official receptions granted to visiting German monarchs. The occasional presence of the king or emperor in Nuremberg marked a high point in the cultural as well as political life of the city. Aside from rendering homage to the sovereign, the municipal officials could add considerably

29 Ratsbuch No. 11, fol. 313b; Hampe, Ratsverlässe, Nos. 1263, 1264.
30 Schnelböggl, p. 129.
to the fame and prestige of the city by sponsoring an elaborate and costly display.\(^{31}\)

The earliest such receptions of which there are records tended to stress the ecclesiastical aspect. There was a clerical procession and relic display; the high point in the proceedings came with a Mass in the older and more prestigious of the parish churches.\(^{32}\) After the introduction of the Reformation the Catholic rulers refused to enter the Nuernberg churches, while the city officials for their part eliminated the relic display and clerical procession as vestiges of Catholicism.\(^{33}\) There remained the alternative of developing a purely secular form of ceremonial appropriate to a community with the rank and power which Nuernberg boasted.

The new pattern found its fullest expression in the pageantry arising out of the visit to the city by Charles V in 1541. Although Charles' brother Ferdinand had made several appearances in Nuernberg, this was the first entry of the emperor himself (occasioned by his trip to the imperial Diet held at Regensburg). Because of the tense political situation within the Empire, the council was especially concerned that the sovereign's initial impressions of Nuernberg be favorable ones.

\(^{31}\) For an interesting discussion of this whole topic, see the study by Kircher.

\(^{32}\) Kircher, pp. 9, 26-27.

\(^{33}\) Ibid., pp. 45, 47-48, 55.
Elaborate preparations were made. Initially greeted by a salvo of cannon fire, Charles later enjoyed the spectacle of a costly and cleverly contrived fire works display. The entire population of Nuernberg appeared before the City Hall to pay homage to the emperor, which the latter received from a platform specially built for the occasion.\textsuperscript{34}

But more interesting from an artistic point of view is the adornment of the streets along which the emperor's cavalcade proceeded en route to the imperial castle at the north end of the city. Here there was found a replacement for the older clerical processions.\textsuperscript{35} In this case the royal spectator himself became a participant, with the display stationary.

Renaissance Italy was the source for the new developments.\textsuperscript{36} A series of ten festoons or garlands, made of greenery and bearing coats of arms as well as painted and carved fruit, were hung at intervals over the route of the "triumphal entry."\textsuperscript{37}

\textsuperscript{34} Staatsarchiv, Nuernberg. Kronungsakten No. 1, fol. 132a and ff.; Kircher, pp. 49ff.

\textsuperscript{35} Kronungsakten No. 1, fol. 127b. The precedent had been set actually with the 1540 reception of Ferdinand.

\textsuperscript{36} The official documents explicitly refer to the garlands and festoons as Italianate. Kronungsakten No. 1, fol. 127b.

\textsuperscript{37} Ibid., fol. 149a. The description of the garlands and festoons found in a long poem of Hans Sachs on the entrance of Charles V into Nuernberg deserves to be quoted:

\begin{quote}
Zehen gar köstlich triumph-bogen
Wurden über die gassen zogen,
Dardurch sein mayestat soll reyten,
\end{quote}
At the end of the procession, adjacent to the castle itself, there stood the major achievement of the entire program—a magnificent triumphal arch.

This triumphal arch, the first built in Nuernberg for an imperial visit, was a monumental work. Thirty painters and sculptors labored "day and night" to complete it and the festoons in time for the reception. Although only a temporary wood construction, we can gain a good idea of its configuration as

Sehr lustig zu sehen von weyten.
Da ward auss grünen gwechs her glantzen
Granat-öppfel und pomerantzen,
Melaun, cucumeri und feygen,
Kürbiss und ander frücht so eygen
Und so lüblich abconterfect,
Der yede festin voller steckt,
Köstlich geschmück allesander,
Doch eine anderst denn die ander
Mit arma, thollen, fransen und knöpfen,
Welschen gewechsen und löwen-köpffn.
An yeglicher zwey wappen henckten
Seiner erbland und Königreich, schwenckten
Vom Kornmarkt biss untert Vesten.


38 Krönungsakten No. 1, fol. 135b.
both pictorial and literary descriptions have been preserved.\textsuperscript{39}

The basic structural features were a large central portal, surmounted by a pavilion-type platform, plus extensions on either side broken by smaller doors (Figure 7). The central portal was sufficiently large to allow three mounted horsemen to pass through abreast, whereas the side entrances were intended more for persons on foot. The upper platform was to be occupied by the city musicians, who, accompanied by the organist of St. Sebald Church playing a portable organ, were to perform each time the emperor entered or departed.\textsuperscript{40}

The triumphal arch was elaborately ornamented. Columns and pilasters supporting an architrave, frieze, and cornice flanked the central portal. Atop the cornice there were putti unfurling a banner which bore a laudatory Latin inscription. Between the column and pilaster on either side of the portal

\textsuperscript{39}The best source is the official account compiled at the request of the city council, which contains both verbal description and a pictorial reproduction (Figure 7). Staatsarchiv, Nuernberg. Losungsamt, Akten No. 19. There is also a woodcut illustration extant, perhaps based on a drawing by the Nuernberg artist Peter Flöchner. Ernst Friedrich Bange, Peter Flöchner (Leipzig, 1926), p. 41. It had to be printed in Frankfurt as the Nuernberg council forbade the local printers to issue any works pertaining to the reception. Ratsbuch No. 20, fol. 211b.

\textsuperscript{40}Kronungsakten No. 1, fol. 149b-150a; Ratsbuch No. 20, fol. 210a.
Figure 7

Contemporary Pictorial Representation of the Triumphal Arch Built for the Entry of Charles V in 1541.

Courtesy of the Staatsarchiv, Nuernberg.
there were represented allegorical figures of Prudence, Justice, Fortitude, and Modesty.\(^41\)

The most curious feature is the huge two-headed eagle which surmounted the entire arch. City workmen had contrived a means of animating the figure and, as the emperor's party approached, it bowed and flapped its wings. Much to the astonishment of the visiting Spaniards, it then revolved and repeated these motions as the sovereign departed.\(^42\)

It is not entirely clear to whom should go the major credit for the design of the triumphal arch. From an administrative point of view, preparations for the reception of the emperor were under the direction of the military leaders of the city.\(^43\) But there is no reason to believe that any of these

\(^{41}\) Losungsamt, Akten No. 19, fol. 52b.

\(^{42}\) Kronungsakten No. 1, fol. 150a. This and other features of the triumphal arch made a strong impression on the imaginations of local inhabitants as well, as can be seen from a section of the same poem by Hans Sachs:

*Da wurd auffgericht nach dem besten
Ein köstlich ehrenpforten noch
Übert gass, sechzig werckschuch hoch,
Het zwo thür und ein grosse pforten,
Künstlich geschmuckt an allen orten,
Zierlich bekleydet hin und her,
Als ob sie merbelstaynen wer,
Mit welsch columnen und capteln,
Mit schön gesimsen und hol-keln.
Daran waren auch gar künstlech
Wappen der vierzehen königreich.*

Sachs, "Kayserlicher mayestat. . . .", p. 382.

\(^{43}\) Kronungsakten No. 1, fol. 133b.
patrician council members had a part in the technical execution of the project. The city records do list some artists employed to make the festoons and garlands used in the more modest reception of Ferdinand in the preceding year (1540). There we find the names of the city painter Georg Penz and the sculptor Sebald Beck, among others. It probably would be safe to assume that these same men played an important role in the preparation of the triumphal arch as well.

Whoever was chiefly responsible for the design of the triumphal arch, the structure marks a significant development in the city art patronage program. It is the first creation on a monumental scale and originally commissioned by the city itself which reflects a thorough penetration of the architectural ideals of Renaissance classicism. As such, it

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44 Ibid., fol. 117a. There is listed also the name of Jörg Römer, to whom Neudörfer dedicated his "Nachrichten" or early history of Nuernberg art.

45 The whole concept of the triumphal procession and triumphal arch stemmed from Italy. A comparison of this work with the famous woodcut triumphal arch created for Maximilian I provides an interesting comment on the change in taste over a generation. The 1541 triumphal arch was stored away by the city and used again, with modifications, for the 1570 entry of Maximilian II. Ratsbuch No. 20, fol. 210b; Hampe, Ratsverlässe, No. 2859; Kircher, p. 111.
provides interesting material for speculation on what course the municipal construction program might have followed had these same ideals prevailed there as well.

There remains to be considered yet another facet of the relationship between imperial politics and Nuernberg municipal art patronage—the extensive use of gifts by the city council in the interests of diplomacy and the promotion of good will. The giving of gifts was an important policy of state, one which had surprisingly great budgetary significance for the city treasury. 46 For when it was a question of securing the favor of those in positions of power and influence, the normally thrifty city fathers spared no expense.

Many of the gifts, of course, were of no significance artistically. The most common of all was but an extension of generous hospitality; thus the presentation of large amounts of wine and food, particularly fish, to dignitaries visiting in the city was an almost daily occurrence. 47 The council

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46 See the tables listing the various segments of the city budget, including expenditures for gifts, printed for the entire half century, in Paul Sanders, Die reichsstädtische Haushaltung Nürnbergs (Leipzig, 1902), pp. 782-783.

47 Staatsarchiv, Nuernberg. Amts- und Standbücher, No. 321 (Schenkbuch von 1340 bis 1656), title page. (Hereafter cited as "Schenkbuch"); Stadtrechnungsbelege, passim.
occasionally made the present of a horse or firearms to a prince. Philip of Hesse received a copy of Dürer's book on fortifications.⁴⁸

But probably the most common gift, aside from food, was an object of the silversmith's or goldsmith's art. The Nuernberg council gave out literally hundreds of these over the fifty-year period under discussion. It is difficult at this late date to assess the relative artistic merit of this type of work. For, aside from the fact that the gifts for the most part were sent out of the city, items made of silver and gold have always been particularly vulnerable to the threat of the smelting pot in times of financial distress.

Despite such problems, the literary documents give some notion of the nature of these objects and many must have been impressive works. Not surprisingly, some of the most elaborate were intended for members of the imperial court. In 1532, Charles V, at Regensburg for the Diet, was presented with a silver gilded beaker with raised portraits (or coats of arms) of the seven electors.⁴⁹ The gift itself cost about 300 gulden and was filled with 2000 newly-minted Nuernberg gulden. When Ferdinand entered Nuernberg in 1540, he received a "double" beaker with carved cameo figures costing 450 gulden and filled

⁴⁸Stadtrechnungsbelege, No. 28.
⁴⁹"Schenkbuch," fol. 4a; Stadtrechnungen No. 182, fol. 352b.
with 1000 new Nuernberg gold gulden. As the Emperor Charles V himself visited the city in 1541, the city fathers gave him a silver goblet bearing raised figures "artfully" representing the seven planets and their effects. It cost 460 gulden and contained, when presented, 2000 Nuernberg gulden. And in 1549, Nicholas von Granvelle, counselor to Charles V and the recipient of several other costly gifts from the Nuernberg government, was presented in Brussels with two solid gold bowls costing 2007 gulden.

There were also men of power and influence outside the royal court. Thus Jakob Fugger, who had extended his good services in helping the city of Nuernberg and Duke George of Saxony arrive at a peaceful settlement, received for his trouble (1517) a "beautiful gilded beaker with forty-eight carved figures of cameo" with the value of 625 gulden. Among ecclesiastical dignitaries, the Bishop of Würzburg acquired (1512) a silver drinking vessel upon the lid of which

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50 "Schenkbuch," fol. 4b.; Stadtrechnungen No. 183, fol. 10la.
51 "Schenkbuch," fol. 4b-5a; Stadtrechnungen No. 183, fol. 128a.
52 "Schenkbuch," fol. 268b-269a; Stadtrechnungen No. 183, fol. 349a.
53 "Schenkbuch," fol. 284b; Stadtrechnungen No. 182, fol. 21a.
the labors of the twelve months were "very artfully carved in cameo."\textsuperscript{54}

The name of Albrecht Dürer is closely associated with two art works employed in this manner as gifts. In 1504 the Nuernberg government sent city councilman Hans Harsdörfer to the court of Vladislav, King of Bohemia and Hungary, to conduct negotiations concerning some disputed property Nuernberg had acquired by military conquest. As a part of the itemized list of expenses incurred on his diplomatic mission which Harsdörfer later submitted to the Nuernberg officials, we find an entry for forty-five gulden for "a beautiful illuminated panel" (or sheet), made by Albrecht Dürer and his assistant.\textsuperscript{55} Harsdörfer reported that the work, a gift to King Vladislav, had been received with great pleasure.

The exact nature of this painting is not certain as art scholars have not succeeded in identifying it with any known surviving work. Albert Gümbel is of the opinion that the term "illuminated" most likely designates a tempera or water-color painting.\textsuperscript{56} Judging from the price, it must have been a

\textsuperscript{54}"Schenkbuch," fol. 186b; Stadtrechnungen No. 181, fol. 525a.

\textsuperscript{55}"It(em) ein huebsche gelümmnirte taffell, so mir Albr(echt) Torer und sein diner gemacht haben. . . ." The document is printed in Gümbel, Neue archivalische . . ., p. 23 and Ruprich, Dürer . . ., pp. 245-246.

\textsuperscript{56}Gümbel, Neue archivalische . . ., p. 22.
not insignificant work. The identity of the assistant also remains an open question.

A decade and a half later Dürer again was called upon to create a work to be used as a gift, this time for the newly-elected Emperor Charles V. As noted earlier, the election of Charles in 1519 led to excited expectation of an impending imperial Diet to be held in Nuernberg. It was hoped that the emperor himself would attend. The city council, already accustomed to presenting large amounts of fresh Nuernberg mintage as gifts, determined to prepare a special commemorative coin or medal in honor of the emperor and bearing his portrait. It would be given to him in large numbers although the intention was that the artistic merit of the work surpass its purely monetary value.57

Dürer proceeded to prepare a drawing, assisted by the advice of Pirckheimer. The assignment proved to be difficult. The city fathers wished to do justice to the strict Spanish ceremonial now prevailing at the court and questions of heraldry and the proper inscriptions arose.58 The preliminary design was sent to the city secretary Lazarus Spengler, who was at Augsburg, with instructions that he consult the court historiographer Johann Stabius. Should Stabius inquire as to the use to be made

57 Baader, Beiträge zur... , II, 39-40.
of the information, Spengler was supposed to hint that the city
council intended to decorate the City Hall or imperial castle.
The gift was to be maintained as a surprise.  

Spengler inquired about a number of things. First,
concerning the correctness of the coats of arms of the various
lands under Habsburg dominion which were to encircle (as border
decoration) the portrait on one side of the medal and the
imperial eagle on the other. Secondly, concerning the nature of
the imperial eagle itself. Finally, there was a question about
the appropriateness of a specific motif, two pillars or columns
between which there was to appear a crown and an inscription
of the motto chosen by Charles ("plus ultra").

Dürer's initial design apparently has perished. But several
medals from the original minting, stamped in silver, have been
preserved. Representing in both form and function something

59 Baader, Beiträge zur... II, 39-40; Rupprich,
Dürer... pp. 265-266.
60 Baader, Beiträge zur... II, 39-40; Bernhart, p. 6.
61 Early in 1522 the Nuernberg goldsmith Hans Kraft re­
ceived a payment of 257 gulden from the city: 150 for engraving
the stamp and 107 for his labor in minting 167 of the coins or
medals. Stadtrechnungen No. 182, fol. 102a. Apparently this
entry in the city records has until now escaped notice, for as
recently as 1963 an exhibition catalog referred to the medal as
"von unbekanntem Stempelschneider." Münze und Medaille in
Franken. Ausstellung im Germanischen National-Museum...
(Nuernberg, 1963), p. 28.
of a compromise between a coin and a medallion, the work is
notable for its size and the depth of the relief. The date
also is noteworthy, for it is not 1519 or 1520, the period when
the project was undertaken, but rather 1521. Thus the council
had decided to go ahead and issue the medal even after it had
been long apparent that Charles' first Diet would be held
elsewhere and that the new emperor would not be coming to
Nuernberg.

62 This is one of several examples from the early period
in German medallion art which bear a close relationship to the
art of engraving stamps for personal or official seals. Münze
und Medaille. . . , p. 25.
CHAPTER SIX
THE ORIGINS OF A CITY
ART COLLECTION

Art collections in the modern sense of the term, that is, based on systematic acquisitions of art works chosen primarily for aesthetic enjoyment and display, scarcely existed in Germany during the early part of the sixteenth century. Nor was there a true municipal art museum at any time during the period under discussion. Yet the city government gradually came into the possession of a group of paintings and other independent art objects which had neither an ecclesiastical nor an architectural function and which established at least the basis for a municipal art collection, one of the earliest in Germany.¹

The artist Albrecht Dürer provided the city its most important acquisition with his donation in October, 1526, of the two panels constituting the monumental representation of the "Four Apostles." Along with the painting itself Dürer

sent to the city council a letter in which he explained his reasons for making the presentation.\(^2\) He had intended for some time to give the council a specimen of his painting, as a memorial ("gedechtnus"). Up until this point, however, he had not considered any of his works to be adequate. The particular work in question was one upon which he had expended a great deal of effort and he could think of no one more worthy to receive it than the honorable city fathers. Thus he humbly requested that they accept his "little present."

The council was pleased with the gift but insisted upon rewarding Dürrer for his effort. A delegation was sent to inquire of him what he asked for the work and in case he asked nothing to report back to the council (actually, the seven alte herren), in order that an honorarium or return gift could be decided upon.\(^3\) Shortly thereafter the city records document a payment of 100 gulden to the artist, plus a twelve-gulden gift to his wife and two gulden to his servant.\(^4\)

The painting, one of Dürrer's most famous works, consists of two matching rectangular panels which represent in larger-than-life size the Apostles John and Peter on the one side, Paul and Mark on the other.\(^5\) The holy men are recognizable

\(^2\)Printed in Rupprich, Dürrer... , p. 117.

\(^3\)Ratsbuch No. 13, fol. 158a; Hampe, Ratsverlässe, Nos. 1527, 1529.

\(^4\)Stadtrechnungen No. 182, fol. 203a.

\(^5\)Mark of course was not actually an Apostle, but rather an Evangelist.
both from the attributes with which they are portrayed (Peter holds a key, etc.) and the inscriptions found at the base of both panels. The latter consist of texts taken from the Biblical writings of the four, preceded by an admonition that worldly regents in these times of peril take care not to accept "human seduction" in place of the Word of God. The passages quoted all pertain to the danger presented by "false prophets" and "damnable heresies."^6

These are essentially the known facts concerning Dürer's monumental creation.7 The attempt to penetrate beyond to the real meaning of the work and Dürer's full intentions in presenting it as a gift to the city immediately encounters a mass of scholarly interpretation, much of it contradictory. To whom does the warning against "false prophets" actually refer? Is it in fact a warning? In what sense is the painting to be understood as a memorial? And why would Dürer, normally a

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^6Printed in Rupprich, Dürer. . . . , pp. 210-211.

^7The statement of Johannes Neudörfer, who actually wrote the inscriptions on the panel for Dürer, that the four figures represent the "Four Temperaments" must be accepted as valid. Lochner, p. 133. As Panofsky makes clear, a picture of four holy men was not used as an excuse to paint the "Four Temperaments," but rather the latter were employed as a means of characterizing the "Four Apostles." Panofsky, I, 234-235.
thrifty or even frugal man, make the gift of such a costly work to the city?

The first of these questions is today the least controversial. At one time it was thought that the Biblical selections were perhaps intended to warn the city fathers against the possibility of slipping back into the "errors" of Catholicism. It has been pretty generally agreed for a long time now, however, that the passages most likely were directed against the religious radicals of the day—the sectarians, Anabaptists, and rebellious peasants. Over against both of these viewpoints there stands the suggestion contained in a recent study that the Biblical texts actually represent less of a warning or admonition than a testimonial, or that in fact they constitute part of the memorial.

It would perhaps be most natural to assume that aside from constituting a sort of religious testament on Dürer's part the painting was intended to be a personal memorial, the artist's

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8 Panofsky maintains that both the Papists and the radical reformers were the target of this assault, adduces as evidence the fact that when the panels were transferred to Catholic Munich early in the seventeenth century the inscription was sawed off. Panofsky, I, 234.

final legacy to the city. Thus Dürer speaks of his long-time intention to present a work to the council. When he finally did so he was already within two years of his death. The wording of the city records moreover definitely implies that the gift was viewed as Dürer's own memorial, to himself as it were ("ein tafel mit vier bildden zue seyner gedechnis gemacht"). Thus Dürer's gesture has been construed as the first example north of the Alps of an artist dedicating his epitaph to the secular authorities rather than the church—imbued with the ideals of the humanists, the great master sought to insure the immortality of his name by arranging that one of his greatest works hang in a place of honor, in the City Hall, to be seen by the leading men of the community.

The creation and donation of the monumental "Four Apostles" painting also has been seen as a strong apology for art and the work of the artist in a time when there was abroad a type of religious radicalism which often led to iconoclasm and the destruction of religious imagery. The credibility of this view seems at first to be weakened by the observation that a Reformation-minded council would be a somewhat inappropriate

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10 Ratsbuch No. 13, fol. 158a.

11 Grote, "Vom Handwerker...", p. 41.

recipient and custodian for a "medieval" religious panel. Yet we shall see that the city authorities in fact did prove to be a strong force for the preservation of the ecclesiastical art of preceding centuries.

Among the most recent and certainly the most ingenious interpretations to emerge from the continuing scholarly pre-occupation with this work of art is the fascinating study by Gerhard Pfeiffer. According to this view the painting was intended above all to stand as a memorial to the establishment of the new Lutheran school known as the Melanchthon Gymnasium. Pfeiffer notes that the previous analyses raise many troublesome questions. For example, why should Dürer wish to point his warning, if indeed it is a warning, at events already in the past? The council had publicly embraced Lutheranism in the preceding year and there was little likelihood of a return to Catholicism. On the other hand, the problem of religious radicalism had reached both its peak and in effect its solution with the expulsion from the city of the Anabaptist teacher Hans Denk and his followers, also in 1525. Another difficulty: Would an artist even of Dürer's stature presume to issue warnings in the imperative to the authoritarian and patrician city council?

13 Pfeiffer, "Die Vorbilder...", p. 6.
14 Ibid.
15 Ibid., pp. 10-11.
16 Ibid., pp. 26-27.
Building upon an older tradition of associating the features of Dürer's Apostle John with those of Philip Melanchthon, Pfeiffer proceeds to identify the remaining three Apostle representations as portraits of other figures closely connected with the Wittenberg humanist in setting up the new addition to Nuernberg's educational system. Thus St. Paul and St. Peter bear the traits of Joachim Camerarius and Michael Rotting, two of the teachers selected by Melanchthon, while the features of St. Mark suggest those of Hieronymus Baumgartner, a Nuernberg patrician who had been particularly effective as a personal link between Melanchthon and the Nuernberg council.  

The portion of the inscription usually interpreted as an admonition to the city authorities that they hear the warning voiced by the Apostles is given a new meaning by Pfeiffer. Playing upon the imprecision and inconsistency evinced in Dürer's grammatical usage, he suggests that the phrase, "darauf horen die trefflich vier männer—ire warnung," is written in the indicative rather than the imperative voice. Thus it simply means that the contemporary figures ("trefflich vier männer") portrayed in the panels do heed the Word of God as expressed in the writings of the Apostles and thus merit inclusion in an art work intended to commemorate the triumph of religious orthodoxy.  

17 Ibid., pp. 12ff.  
18 Ibid., pp. 26ff.
Pfeiffer's thesis, provocative as it is, suffers from the defects often found in attempts to push beyond verifiable facts; the evidence upon which it is based can be attacked as either too subjective or too circumstantial. The author himself admits the risks involved in identifying the physical likenesses of men long dead with the features portrayed in a painting. Furthermore, the fact that the work was donated late in 1526, or more than a year and a half after the expulsion of the religious radicals, has been interpreted too narrowly. The preparatory drawings date from 1525. But more significant, the city records make clear that the Anabaptist danger was far from extinct even in 1526. The authorities continued to concern themselves with this problem for years thereafter and it can not have been a certainty at this early date that the religious revolution would not continue to swing to the left.

Turning to the third of our questions, why did Dürer make a gift of such a costly work of art? Was it in fact intended as a gift? The artist's own statement seems clear enough. It has been suggested, however, that the painting originally was intended to serve a different purpose and was presented to the council only after the initial commission had been cancelled. The very size and particularly the shape of the panels suggest possible use as wing sections for a large altarpiece. Furthermore, the figure of St. Paul obviously was altered somewhat during the course of the painting. Panofsky in particular makes a vigorous
argument to show that the work which eventually became the "Four Apostles" was begun several years before as part of a large triptych which, if completed, would have ranked as the greatest of all Dürer's paintings. That the entire work was not completed perhaps can be ascribed to the introduction of Protestantism. In any case, Dürer presumably was left with the uncompleted portions to dispose of.

The donation of an art work to a prominent personage in the hope of receiving a suitable honorarium or return gift certainly would not be unique. We know from Dürer's diary that he was disappointed when Margaret of Austria, Governor of the Netherlands, did not respond to his attempt to "give" her a portrait of Maximilian I. In 1548 Georg Penz dedicated to the Nuernberg council an "artfully executed" painting of St. Jerome for which the city officials paid the donor eighty gulden. The significance of this latter example has been disputed on the grounds that it occurred more than two decades after the case in question and during a period when the practice of building art collections already had begun. Yet there are numerous

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19 Panofsky, I, 225ff.

20 "Lady Margaret in particular gave me nothing for what I made and presented her." Wm. Martin Conway (ed. and trans.), The Writings of Albrecht Dürer (New York, 1958), p. 123.

21 Stadtrechnungen No. 183, fol. 338a.

22 Grote, "Vom Handwerker...", p. 42.
similar instances recorded throughout the 1530's and 1540's.

To be sure, we are dealing with what are for the most part rather minor works. In 1529 the city presented six gulden to an unspecified artist who had donated a painting of the "Triumph of Christ."\(^{23}\) The following year Nikolaus Meldemann received six gulden for two works dedicated to the council, his portrayal of the siege of Vienna by the Turks and a representation of the "virtues of age."\(^{24}\) The war against the Turks figured in another work presented to the council, this time in 1533. The object in question was a small book containing the coats of arms of those participating in the "crusade," for which the artist was given twelve gulden.\(^{25}\) In April of the following year, Paul Lautensack gave the council a painting ("gemalte tucher") and in return obtained an honorarium of ten gulden.\(^{26}\)

Two transactions of this type are recorded in 1537. In the early part of the year Hans Guldenmund received an unspecified compensation for a composition (woodcut?) of the emperor's triumphal chariot which he presented the council,\(^{27}\) while a few months later an Augsburg artist was paid ten gulden

\(^{23}\) Ratsbuch No. 15, fol. 58a.
\(^{24}\) Ibid., fol. 105a; Hampe, Ratsverlässe, No. 1768.
\(^{25}\) Ratsbuch No. 16, fol. 77a.
\(^{26}\) Stadtrechnungen No. 182, fol. 386b; Hampe, Ratsverlässe, No. 2033.
\(^{27}\) Hampe, Ratsverlässe, Nos. 2225, 2237.
for his gift of a book with woodcut illustrations of the emperor's dynasty.\textsuperscript{28} In mid-1541 the painter Hans Bayr donated a model or drawing of the city, for which he received eight gulden.\textsuperscript{29}

A similar work, but depicting the city of Algiers, brought Hans Guldenmund four gulden.\textsuperscript{30} Two years later the same artist dedicated to the municipal government a file of emperor portraits which in turn prompted a return gift of ten gulden.\textsuperscript{31} Also in 1543, the court painter for the Duke of Prussia was paid twelve thaler for portraits of the duke and duchess which he had presented to the city.\textsuperscript{32}

A mere recital of the foregoing works should indicate that neither the Dürrer nor Penz donations stand alone or are unusual, except perhaps for the scale and value of the paintings involved. When we add to our consideration the fact that more than two decades prior to the gift of "Four Apostles" literary works such as that of Celtis had been presented to the city in full expectation of a commensurate financial reward\textsuperscript{33} and that similar examples pertaining to musical compositions are recorded at least as early as 1529,\textsuperscript{34} it becomes clear that indeed there was an established pattern. In the absence of art galleries, museums,
and other institutions to which the artist could turn, a tradition apparently had grown up whereby the city government itself accepted the proffered work and granted a suitable remuneration. It seems very likely that Dürrer would have been aware of this, and he can hardly have been surprised when the council insisted on rewarding him for his "gift." All this of course does not alter what Dürrer himself said about the painting when he called it his memorial or testament, and the fact that he did receive payment for it need not be taken as evidence that a desire for financial reward was his dominant motive.

Dürrer's monumental creation was accorded a place of honor in the City Hall. Other works of his soon followed. The very same day on which the gift of the "Four Apostles" came up for discussion within the council it was decided to move the portraits of the emperors Charlemagne and Sigismund to a "convenient" place in the municipal chambers. Due to the abolition of the Feast of the Imperial Insignia, the panels no longer served any meaningful function in their previous location.

We are less well informed of the circumstances surrounding the transfer of several other paintings by Dürrer to the City Hall.

35 Reference has been made to the fact that the presence of good friends of Dürrer within the council would have assured him of a good chance of just payment in any case. Pfeiffer, "Die Vorbilder...", pp. 28-29.

36 Hampe, RatsverlHisse, No. 1530.
The works in question are two of his famous self-portraits, those of 1498 and 1500, the portrait of the artist's father (1497), and the 1507 Adam and Eve panels. Grote supposes that Dürrer's widow may have bequeathed these works to the city. Hans Rupprich, however, points out that Eobanus Hesse, in his Latin poem or eulogy composed immediately following the death of the artist, speaks of the eternal fame which will be ensured to Dürrer in the form of the picture bearing his features preserved by the governing authorities. Rupprich is inclined to identify this passage as a reference to the self-portrait of 1500 and concludes from this evidence the likelihood that Dürrer himself made a gift of the work to the council sometime before his death.

Lucas Cranach also was represented by works in the possession of the municipality. In 1522 Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony, presented the council with a composition from his workshop portraying the Virgin and Child. Sometime later the city authorities acquired Cranach portraits of the three Saxon Electors of the Reformation period — Frederick the Wise, John the Steadfast, and John Frederick — perhaps as a gift.

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37 Schwemmer, "Aus der Geschichte...", p. 98.
38 Grote, "Vom Handwerker...", p. 42.
39 Rupprich, Dürrer Schriftlicher... , pp. 300-301.
40 Schwemmer, "Aus der Geschichte...", p. 98.
41 Ibid. Perhaps it would not be entirely erroneous to link this acquisition with a reference in the city records for 1532 — the same year the third of these Saxon rulers came to
Figure 8

The "Hallerbuch"; View of the Cover.

Courtesy of the Staatsarchiv, Nuernberg.
Thus by the middle of the sixteenth century the city government already possessed a valuable collection of panel paintings. Meanwhile there was added an important specimen of the art of book illustration or illumination. The work in question is the so-called "Hallerbuch," a huge hand-written volume of 550 folio pages. The book, essentially an elaborate genealogical registry of the leading families of Nuernberg plus illustrations of their coats of arms, was handed over to the council early in 1537.

Although the work was once thought to have been a gift of its author, the patrician council member Conrad Haller, it is clear that it actually was a sort of city commission. The municipal records contain the text of an itemized list of expenses which Haller submitted to the city government. In addition to the entries we find there the statement that Haller undertook the project (in 1533) at the bidding of Christoph Kress, one of the three captains at the peak of the Nuernberg government. Kress presumably chose Haller because it was known that the latter for years had preoccupied himself with the genealogy and history of his own family. In January,

power—where we learn of the city council's decision to ask the painter Georg Penz to make a copy of "the kaiser portraits" for the prince of Saxony. Hampe, Ratsverlässe, No. 1937.

42Stadtrechnungsbelege, No. 61; printed in Gümbel, Neue archivalische. . ., p. 26.

43Franz Heinrich, "Das Geschlechterbuch des Konrad Haller," Archivalische Zeitschrift, II (1877), 256.
1537, Haller was paid a total of 272 gulden: 172 gulden expenses, an honorarium of 100 gulden for his own effort, and twenty gulden for his stepson who had helped him gather the materials and actually transcribed the text of the book.  

In the itemized bill which Haller submitted he stated by way of describing the purpose of preparing the book that it was intended to honor the city council and serve as a monument to the leading families of the community ("erbern geschlechten"). He expands on this theme in the opening pages of the volume itself and relates that, after reflecting upon the departure of his ancestors and those of the other patrician council members (all of whom were closely related by marriage), it seemed to him only a decent gesture of respect to them and the merciful Creator who had granted Nuernberg such a salutary government to compile a fitting memorial. Aside from reflecting thanks and praise to God, the work should serve to stimulate in the young an appreciation for an honorable mode of life and good Christian virtues.

44 Stadtrechnungen No. 183, fol. 16b.
45 The "erbern" families comprised a social category somewhat broader than the true patriciate, one which included members of the large as well as small or ruling council.
46 Staatsarchiv, Nuernberg. Nürnberger Handschriften No. 211 (Hallerbuch), fol. la and b. (Hereafter cited as "Hallerbuch").
The first portion of the book is devoted to a list of a number of German emperors, princes, nobles, and ecclesiastical dignitaries, giving along with an indication of the individual's dynastic origins a brief historical description, with particular reference in many cases to the relationship of the person in question to the city of Nuernberg. Following this we find a series of entries on other figures or events of particular importance to the community; a short passage on St. Sebald, patron saint of Nuernberg, for example. More interesting perhaps is the description of a fifteenth-century jousting tournament staged in the central market square by members of the local patriciate. The names of all the participants are recorded, along with the prizes given. The highlight of this particular section is a double-page fold-out illustration of the joust.47

All the preceding, however, serves merely as an introduction to the main body of the volume which is given over to a genealogical and historical registry of the leading Nuernberg citizens. There are listed the names of eighty-one patrician families eligible to membership in the small or inner council. This is almost twice the number still surviving at the time of the writing of the book. From a document written by a different hand and affixed somewhat later to the front of the work we

47"Hallerbuch," fol. 57ff.
Figure 9

The "Hallerbuch"; Coat of Arms of Christoph Tetzel, Head of the Nuernberg City Government.

Courtesy of the Staatsarchiv, Nuernberg.
Nicht lesbarer Text auf der Seite 159.
learn that the patrician families were recorded in the order in which they had entered the council.

It is interesting to compare this list with that drawn up in 1521 by the seven alte herren with the purpose of determining who should be invited to dances in the City Hall. The latter contains three categories establishing a rank ordering based upon the antiquity of the family or the date of its admittance into the ranks of the Nuernberg patriciate. The two lists do not entirely coincide. For example, four names from the second category of the 1521 list appear in the "Hallerbuch" registry before category number one (1521) is exhausted. And so on. But in general there is evident an approximate general agreement or consensus regarding the priority to be accorded the various members of Nuernberg's patrician aristocracy. Entries pertaining to thirty-eight "honorable" but non-patrician families round out the work. A final note regarding the genealogical data recorded in the "Hallerbuch": it was not considered to have any legal validity.

48 Meyer, pp. 32-33.

49 Haller lists as the sources of his information: his own knowledge and experience, various literary documents such as letters and marriage certificates, burial monuments, and the coats of arms displayed in the Nuernberg churches on altar panels and stained glass windows. "Hallerbuch," fol. 1lb.

50 Ratsbuch No. 21, fol. 197a and b.
The "Hallerbuch" is an important specimen of the arts of book-making and book-illustration as practiced in Nuernberg in the 1530's. It is bound in wood covered with white leather (Figure 8). The four corners of the covers on both sides are protected by molded brass mountings. Plaques of chased metal-work bearing the two Nuernberg coats of arms adorn the front and back. Although now somewhat worn, the pages originally were gold-gilded on all three edges.

Turning to the interior of the book we find more than twenty full-page illustrations, many more of half-page size,

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51 Aside from the "Hallerbuch" the city council seems not to have been a particularly significant patron of this type of art. Some of the other examples listed in the city records: in 1510, twenty-three woodcut initials or capital letters for the "Ewiggelt puchlein," Stadtrechnungen No. 181, fol. 477b; in 1520, a minor book illumination, Stadtrechnungen No. 182, fol. 77a; in 1526 the illuminator Nikolaus Glockendon received two gulden for some work for the chancery, Stadtrechnungen No. 182, fol. 203b; in 1533, four illuminations or illustrations for the "burger unnd Maister puch," Stadtrechnungen No. 182, fol. 366a; in 1534 there is record of a small sum paid for the illumination of the so-called "Ratzettl" or "Ratsgang," a list of the newly-elected city council members, Stadtrechnungen No. 182, fol. 387a. From an artistic point of view the most important of these minor works is the woodcut title page illustration for the 1521 edition of the "Reformacion der Stat Nuremberg," Nuernberg's legal code. The city records document a seven-gulden payment for having the wood block prepared but neither the artist nor the wood carver is listed. Stadtrechnungen No. 182, fol. 101b. A woodcut composition of the imperial and Nuernberg coats of arms by Albrecht Dürer has been identified as the work in question. Panofsky, II, 45.
and literally hundreds of coats of arms (Figure 9). Among the larger paintings are a series of portraits, many of them displaying the proud Nuernberg patricians clad in full armor (Figure 10). Other compositions stress family religious piety and represent tomb monuments or ancestors kneeling before the family altar in a local church.

The illuminations, mostly of rather mediocre artistic quality, are unsigned. The itemized bill of expenses which Haller compiled lists the names of five painters employed on the work: Asmus Kyrsbach, who received 106 gulden; Nikolaus Stör, twenty-nine gulden; Hieronymus Behaim, slightly more than five gulden; Georg Penz, three gulden; Hans Plattner, two gulden. Two of the portraits, those of Haller and Christoph Koler the Elder, betray the hand of an artist considerably more skilled than the others and have been attributed to Penz, a competent follower of Dürer.53

Aside from art works of the type previously discussed, the city government also possessed large holdings of silver. Throughout the period under discussion, and particularly during

52. Gold leaf, used quite liberally in the first portion of the book, tends to be replaced by silver. This perhaps represents a concession made necessary by the high cost of the work.

53. Gümbel, Neue archivalische. . . , p. 26; Meister um . . . , p. 155.
Figure 10

The "Hallerbuch"; Portrait of Christoph Tetzel, Head of the Nuernberg City Government.

Courtesy of the Staatsarchiv, Nuernberg.
the 1530's and 1540's, the council made heavy purchases from local silver and goldsmiths. Many of these objects sooner or later were used as gifts. Others became a part of the permanent collection of the city, which served chiefly to provide the table settings used for state banquets and festivities. Included were some pieces with little functional value and which were intended chiefly as ornamentation.

The most significant of these works is the monumental table decoration purchased from the goldsmith Wenzel Jamnitzer in December, 1549. A bill or statement included among the city financial records provides the key documentation. From it we learn that Jamnitzer received a reimbursement of 1230 gulden. An ornamented leather case for the tablepiece cost another eighty gulden. Judging merely from the size of these payments it is apparent that the object in question is something out of the ordinary. Modern art scholars, in fact, are inclined to view it as the outstanding creation of a man who is considered to have been Renaissance Nuernberg's most important goldsmith.

54 Stadtrechnungsbelege, Nos. 62, 124, 125.
55 Stadtrechnungsbelege, No. 124.
56 It is described in this document as: "Ein Schöne Silber vergulte Credenz auffs zierlichst gemacht."
The centerpiece is a large work, fully 100cm in height and 42cm in breadth. It weighs almost twenty-five pounds (11.34 kilograms). Jamnitzer used most of the techniques available to a goldsmith at that time in creating his masterpiece. Perhaps the major portion is of cast or moulded silver, but embossed or chased work also figures importantly. Some of the foliage was made by form-pressing or stamping. Engraving was used for still other portions of the decoration, and, finally, the vase at the pinnacle of the work is of enamel.

Viewed in the simplest terms the table setting may be considered a flower or fruit bowl mounted upon a high pedestal, tall enough to place the main mass of the work above the eye level of those sitting at the table and thus assuring that no one's vision be impeded (Figure 11). It consists essentially of a base portion, simulating a rocky and vegetation-covered mound, upon which there stands a rather voluptuous feminine figure who in turn bears on her head the large basin or bowl. Capping the entire structure is a decorative vase filled with grasses and flowers.

The unifying theme of the work and its ornamentation is the concept that man's needs and pleasures are all provided by "Nature." The symbolic feminine figure represents "Mother Earth." A profuse abundance of animal and plant life serves as

58 The work is partially gold-gilded.

59 Bergau, "Der Merkelsche...", p. 248.
Figure 11

The Jamnitzer Table Setting (1549).

Courtesy of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
adornment: turtles alternate with inscription plaques at the very foot of the base; interlaced serpents and vegetation encircle the rim of the large basin. Suspended beneath the latter we find three putti and three eagles with wings spread. A group of three imaginary beasts, half human and half animal, sit with entwined arms and jointly support the upper ensemble. The theme or ruling concept is repeated in Latin inscriptions on several of the enamel plaques, while the remaining are dedicated to the praise of God.

It has been suggested that Jamnitzer did not create his centerpiece as a direct commission but rather designed and executed it on his own initiative, in order to demonstrate his skill to the world. According to this view the city council merely purchased the completed work. The fact that there is under the base an empty shield or crest suitable to take the coat of arms of an eventual purchaser lends credibility to this opinion. But there is a more probable explanation. The wording of the city document mentioned above strongly suggests that the council did commission Jamnitzer to undertake the project—("Wenzl Janizer machen lassen, . . ."). As for the space intended for a coat of arms, it is possible that the council intentionally left it blank in the event that the tablepiece eventually be used as a gift.

That the city decided to keep the work instead is a tribute to the good taste and judgment of the ruling officials. In fact the initial agreement with Jamnitzer had gone so far as to stipulate that he produce no similar work within a year's time. After spending such a large sum of money the council wished to insure the uniqueness of its proud new acquisition.

Before leaving the subject of the city art collection it might be worthwhile to review briefly what is known about the maintenance and display of these works. The evidence on this point is rather meager to be sure. Nonetheless, we can gain an idea of where some of the individual works were hung or stored and what steps were taken to preserve them in good condition. Many of the major panel paintings discussed thus far in this chapter seem to have found their resting place in the so-called Regimentsstube in the City Hall, a chamber which derived its name from the fact that the leading governmental officials held their meetings there.

Dürer's "Four Apostles" was hung in this room, perhaps

61 It is mentioned in the silver inventory carried out for the council in 1613; the text of the latter is printed in Mummenhoff, *Das Rathaus*, pp. 265-288.

62 *Stadtrechnungsbelege*, No. 124.

63 Mummenhoff, *Das Rathaus*, p. 72.

64 Schwemmer, "Aus der Geschichte. . .," p. 97.
also his two emperor portraits formerly associated with the imperial insignia. If we may identify the "versamlung stube" mentioned in a 1548 city document in connection with some municipal art works with this chamber we would be justified in adding to the list a portrait of Maximilian I, a picture of the Virgin and one of St. Jerome. The St. Jerome is most likely that given to the city by Georg Penz in the same year. The portrait of the Virgin, on the other hand, could well be that received from Frederick the Wise in 1522.

The document referred to above indicates that new curtains made of fabric from Arles, France were to be installed on the three paintings in question. Smoke and soot seem to have been a problem in the City Hall and these perhaps were intended to protect the surface of the panels from dirt and grime. A decade earlier similar hangings had been placed before the "Four Apostles"; in the same year Georg Penz was paid fifteen gulden to gild the frames of Dürer's great masterpiece.

Many of the smaller compositions, particularly works of the

65 Grote, "Vom Handwerker. . . ," p. 41.
66 Stadtrechnungen No. 183, fol. 338a.
68 Stadtrechnungen No. 183, fol. 64a.
69 Stadtrechnungen No. 183, fol. 63a.
graphic arts or those of a documentary nature, were stored in the city treasury (Losungstube) in the City Hall.70 This is true of the "Hallerbuch" for example.71 The numerous woodcut or engraved sheets presented to the council by domestic and itinerant artists also apparently were allowed to accumulate there.72

70 The room itself was adorned with two panel paintings stemming from the fifteenth century. Mummenhoff, Das Rathaus. . . . , p. 63.

71 See the prefatory note added somewhat later.

72 Stadtrechnungen No. 183, fol. 322b.
CHAPTER SEVEN

THE CITY COUNCIL AS CUSTODIAN OF ECCLESIASTICAL ART

Even the most casual visitor to present-day Nuernberg would be likely to observe one noteworthy fact about its ancient churches and cathedrals. That is, they are virtually art museums, filled with paintings and sculpture dating mostly from the medieval and Renaissance periods. This is particularly significant in that Nuernberg was the first large German city to adopt Protestantism in the early years of the Reformation. In contrast to what happened in many other areas, the overthrow of the old ecclesiastical system did not result here in a simultaneous destruction of the traditional religious art. That this is the case is due in large measure to the ecclesiastical and political policies of the city government. In acting to preserve these art works for the edification and enjoyment of later generations the council performed one of its greatest cultural services to posterity.

Aside from the construction of church buildings, the city council generally was not directly involved in the patronage of ecclesiastical art. The church itself commissioned some
important works, but more typically private donors provided the altar panels, works of sculpture, stained glass windows, and tapestries which constituted the major artistic furnishings.\textsuperscript{1}

To a considerable degree this is true also of vestments and liturgical devices, although items of this type also were purchased with money from the church treasury.\textsuperscript{2}

Yet, in its role as custodian of church funds and property, the city council had become involved in questions affecting ecclesiastical art even in the period prior to the Reformation. Already by the opening of the fourteenth century the commune, acting through the council, had taken upon itself the authority to control the material wealth of the parish churches in Nuernberg.\textsuperscript{3} The council assigned to each local congregation a patrician official drawn from its own ranks and designated as superintendent (\textit{kirchenpfleger}).\textsuperscript{4} The superintendent was in effect responsible for the entire financial administration of

\textsuperscript{1}Wilhelm Schwemmer, "Das M\özenatentum der Nürnberg Patrizierfamilie Tucher vom 14.-18. Jahrhundert," \textit{MVGN}, LI (1962), 18.

\textsuperscript{2}Baader, \textit{Beiträge zur}, I, 76-80.


\textsuperscript{4}The superintendents of the major parish churches in fact usually were men from the highest reaches of the Nuernberg government.
the parish. Beneath the superintendent there stood a subordinate official, also a council appointee and known as the curator (kirchenmeister), who maintained a more routine, day-to-day supervision over church incomes and expenditures. The curator, along with his other responsibilities, saw to the upkeep of the fabric and silver of the church.  

The close cooperation of these municipally-appointed church officers with the city council in the event of major expenditures is to be assumed and is well documented in the case of one of Nuernberg's most famous art monuments. In 1507, the superintendent of St. Sebald Church, Anton Tucher (who also was first treasurer or head of the Nuernberg government), together with the curator and three other influential citizens, including a man who formerly had been curator, undertook to commission a monumental shrine to house the remains of Nuernberg's patron saint, St. Sebald. Tucher obtained permission from the provost of the

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5Theodor Hampe, "Sebald Schreyer vornehmlich als Kirchenmeister von St. Sebald," MVGN, XXVIII (1928), 176ff. It was the sacristan of course who personally cared for these articles and made them available for use by the clergy according to the demands of the liturgical calendar. The sacristan also was a council appointee, and, due to the great value of the sacred vessels and vestments under his care, was required by the city to post a personal bond of 800 gulden. Ratsbuch No. 11, fol. 25a; Hampe, RatsverlMesse, No. 1080.

6Almost two decades earlier a similar undertaking had failed to materialize. Meller, p. 28.
church to assemble freewill offerings in a collection box set up within the cathedral.⁷ Further, business firms and the wealthier citizens of the city were asked to give more substantial individual contributions.⁸

Technically, the city council was not involved in the commission. Yet, when the Peter Vischer workshop, to which the project had been assigned, continued to delay completion of the shrine, the council felt obliged to intervene (1514) and to demand a work speed-up.⁹ Five years later, after the project finally had been completed, it also was the council which made provisions for the transfer of the shrine from the workshop to the church and its erection there.¹⁰

Ultimately, the city government also became involved in the financing of the Sebald shrine as well. When all other sources of revenue proved to be insufficient, Anton Tucher, who, as we have seen, was both superintendent of the church and official head of the Nuernberg state, called upon the wealthiest residents of the community to appear at the City Hall where, during a series of meetings extending over a period of three days (1519), he secured from them enough additional funds to complete payment

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⁸For documents concerning the financing of the shrine, see Meller, pp. 218-238. Also Baader, Beiträge zur... I, 52-54.

⁹Hampe, Ratsverlässe, No. 1005. ¹⁰Ibid., No. 1167.
for the work. Judging from entries in the municipal records it would appear likely that a part, at least, of the later financing of the shrine was handled through the city treasury, for it was from this office that Vischer received his final compensation.

Occasionally during the pre-Reformation period the city council would find it necessary to issue a judgment or decision in issues involving disputes concerning the right of private citizens to endow a new work of ecclesiastical art or replace an older one. Among the more significant examples is a case which arose at St. Sebald Church in August, 1514. The provost, Melchior Pfintzing, along with other unspecified donors wished to replace the tabernacle or "ornamental receptacle for the reserved Eucharist" located above the St. Nicholas altar with a newer, more elaborate one which would cost as much as 1000 gulden. The descendants of the original donors protested on the grounds that the existing tabernacle with its identifying coats of arms was in effect a family memorial and that they alone should retain the right to improve or replace it.

In this instance the council happened to possess the right of presentation to the benefice associated with the altar in

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11 Schwemmer, "Das Mäzenatentum...", pp. 28-29.
12 Hampe, Ratsverlässe, Nos. 1267, 1315.
13 Ratsbuch No. 10, fol. 150a, 153b; Hampe, Ratsverlässe, Nos. 1010, 1011.
question\textsuperscript{15} and it apparently was in this capacity that it received the provost's initial request for permission to proceed with the project. The reply given by the council is typical of its general policy over the years. The provost and his associates were advised to give up their plans. Almost invariably where controversies of this sort were brought to the attention of the city government the decision went to the family of the original donors.\textsuperscript{16} There even are instances where a prospective new benefactor was given permission to replace an altar panel or stained glass windows only on the condition that he leave the previous coats of arms and insignia in place.\textsuperscript{17}

The introduction of the Reformation into Nuremberg made the policies of the city council regarding ecclesiastical art far more crucial. For there was not only the problem of maintaining law and order in the event of iconoclastic violence. The council, in rejecting the Catholic hierarchy and establishing itself as local bishop, henceforth assumed theological direction over the church in addition to the previous surveillance over administrative affairs. Once the authority of the Catholic religion

\textsuperscript{15}This situation was common in Nuremberg.

\textsuperscript{16}Ratsbuch No. 11, fol. 32a; Hampe, \textit{Ratsverlässe}, No. 3005.

\textsuperscript{17}Ratsbuch No. 10, fol. 239b; Hampe, \textit{Ratsverlässe}, No. 1054.
had been destroyed, the fate of ecclesiastical art in Nuernberg lay almost entirely in the hands of the city government.

It sometimes is asserted that there was no Reformation iconoclasm in Nuernberg. While such a statement may be true in the broadest sense, it, like many generalizations of this type, is somewhat of an oversimplification. There is evidence that art works for a time may have been in some danger. Hans Lamparter von Greiffenstein, a knight in the military service of Nuernberg, wrote a letter to city councilman Caspar Nützel late in August, 1524, in which he asked for advice concerning a sepulchral monument for his deceased father which he had commissioned from a Nuernberg artist. He had heard that church art was out of favor in the city and feared that the work might be destroyed.

Early in the preceding year the council had been obliged to post stern public warnings against the desecration of monasteries and consecrated houses of worship. Incidents involving the throwing of stones through church windows were partially responsible for this official action. Finally, it is possible to interpret Dürer's timely defense of Christian art as a response

18 Alfred Stange, Deutsche Malerei der Gotik, IX (Munich, 1958), 1.

19 The text of the letter can be found in Stadt- rechnungsbelege, No. 245.

20 Ratsbuch No. 12, fol. 142a, 143b–144a.
to the threat of iconoclasm; Rupprich believes that the impact of lingering Hussite ideas may have predisposed particularly some members of the lower classes of Nuernberg against religious art even before the onset of the Reformation.  

That there was not more destruction than actually occurred is probably due to a combination of factors. First, unlike Carlstadt, the leaders of radical thought in Nuernberg were relatively peaceable and non-violent. Hans Denk's biographer says of him, for example, that he was an Anabaptist "of the most spiritual type, and antagonistic to all violent and revolutionary methods." The hard line pursued by the city government very probably also served as a deterrent. Quite aside from revolutionary political implications, the patrician council could not be expected to stand by idly and watch the demolishing or looting of costly works of art donated chiefly by themselves and their ancestors.

\[\text{Rupprich, } \textit{Dürers Stellung}, \ldots, \text{p. 10.}\]

\[\text{Alfred Coutts, } \textit{Hans Denck 1495-1527. Humanist & Heretic} \text{(Edinburgh, 1927), p. } 14.\]

\[\text{It would be possible to maintain that the relative absence of iconoclastic destruction arose from the fact that the Reformation really was not a popular movement in Nuernberg. Such a view, however, is not borne out by the historical evidence.}\]

\[\text{It is difficult to determine how much random plundering and looting there may have occurred, quite apart from destruction on religious grounds. There probably was some, particularly in the dissolved monasteries. See Julie Rosenthal, } \textit{Das Augustinerkloster in Nürnberg} \text{ MVGN, XXX (1931), } 31.\]

\[\text{The } \textit{Hallerbuch} \text{ contains a full-page illustration of fifteenth-century members of the Volkamer family kneeling before} \]
Figure 12

The "Hallerbuch"; Portrait of Endres Volkamer and His Wife Kneeling Before the Family-Endowed Altar in St. Lawrence Church.

Courtesy of the Staatsarchiv, Nuernberg.
The Protestant leaders in Nuernberg of course had to develop a new theological justification for ecclesiastical art if the altar panels, statues, stained glass, and the like were to be retained in the churches. The policies adopted followed guidelines laid down in the doctrines of Luther and Melanchthon. Luther taught concerning church art in general that it fell within the area of Christian freedom, its use being neither commanded nor forbidden in the Scriptures. He personally was inclined to favor its retention in the church, partially as a rebuttal to the new legalism of the left-wing reformers.  

Melanchthon, in his Apology for the Augsburg Confession, stressed that while images and relics of the saints were not to be venerated or worshipped, it was appropriate to honor these holy men whose piety reflected well upon God's mercy and grace.  

The views expressed by Lazarus Spengler, the influential

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city secretary, and Veit Dietrich, the leading Lutheran preacher at St. Sebald Church, regarding the place of the saints in the church and the proper function of religious art may be taken as characteristic of the Nuernberg civic and ecclesiastical leaders. In the testament and confession of faith which he wrote at the close of his career, Spengler reaffirms Luther's teaching on adiaphora or those things left free by the Scriptures. Further, although the saints are not to be invoked as intercessories, their pious lives may well be presented as an example. The Virgin also is lauded as a "noble creature," worthy of praise.\textsuperscript{28}

Dietrich approached religious art primarily from a pedagogical viewpoint. Pictures of the suffering and Resurrection of Christ, he maintained, served as a remembrance or reminder, while scriptural art in general was of great use particularly to the illiterate and served as a sort of pictorial Bible. Dietrich, however, made a distinction between Biblical themes and those based on the Christian legends, considering only the former to be legitimate subject matter for art in the church.\textsuperscript{29}

We find this same point expressed in the "Nuernberg 23 Articles of Faith," which were drawn up in 1528 as a guide for


\textsuperscript{29}Klaus, p. 416.
the instruction and examination of the clergy in the countryside and villages immediately surrounding the city. Here it is stated that it would be a good thing if true Biblical art were allowed to remain in the house of worship. But representations based merely upon legend and serving "no other purpose than that one should worship and burn lights before them" tended to foster idolatry. The preachers were to be instructed to warn their congregations that the adoration or worship of images is forbidden in Scripture.

The "23 Articles" deal with another thorny theological problem touching upon ecclesiastical art. That is, was there to be continued the older practice of storing the Host or consecrated bread remaining after the celebration of the Eucharist in a specially-built tabernacle. If not, the towering and majestic structure by Adam Kraft in St. Lawrence Church, for example, a masterpiece of late Gothic sculpture, would become entirely superfluous, as would lesser works as well.

The official version of the "23 Articles" contained the following statement, apparently drawn up by Andreas Osiander who was head preacher at St. Lawrence Church: The practice falls within that area of freedom defined by Luther. On the

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31 Ibid., p. 134.
other hand, it has no positive value, serves neither faith nor love, and thus eventually should be abolished, provided that the weak are not thereby too much offended. Instruction of the people should precede any abrupt changes.\(^{32}\)

Other manuscript drafts of the "23 Articles" contain an opposing viewpoint, which stems from another of the Lutheran theologians. Here the practice definitely is named an abuse because it is not in accord with the manner of celebrating the Eucharist as clearly recorded in Scripture.\(^{33}\) The Brandenburg-Nuernberg Church Ordinances, also of 1528, prescribe that the storing of the Host be abolished and the elements of the communion be consecrated only in the presence of the communicants.\(^{34}\)

Kraft's tabernacle, nevertheless, was not dismantled or destroyed. There are, in fact, only two recorded instances where major works of art were covered or removed from the Nuernberg churches for purely theological reasons during the immediate post-Reformation period. One involves the huge wood carving of the Annunciation created by Veit Stoss and donated by Anton Tucher to the St. Lawrence Church in 1519. This work, made in the form of a giant rose-garland with the figures of the angel and the Virgin enclosed therein, hung suspended from the ceiling of the church. In the period prior

\(^{32}\text{Ibid.}\)

\(^{33}\text{Ibid.}\)

\(^{34}\text{Ibid.}, p. 138.\)
to the Reformation it was kept covered throughout most of the
year and shown only on certain festivals. After the
Reformation the covering remained in place permanently.
According to tradition, this resulted from the denunciations
of the preacher Osiander. Modern scholars suggest other
factors such as the demise of the cults of Mary and of the
rosary.

The only instance in which we hear of the actual removal
of a work of art for theological reasons also involves a
representation of the Virgin. In October, 1529, the council
decreed that an image of Mary ("das schwartzes Maria pild")
be taken from the Church of Our Lady due to continued
"misuse and idolatry."

Aside from these examples, several works of art were re­
moved from the Nuernberg churches for practical reasons. It
was inevitable, perhaps, that the new theology and new order
of worship should eventually lead to what one might call
architectural alterations, that is, changes with a view to
making more efficient use of the space available within the
church building. The central focal point of the Protestant
worship service was the sermon. It became imperative that
the congregation be able to see clearly and, above all, to hear

36 Ibid.
37 Ratsbuch No. 15, fol. 63a; Hampe, Ratsverlässe, No. 1729.
Many of the numerous altars lining the late medieval church thus were now not only somewhat superfluous, they, in fact, constituted a positive hindrance. They obstructed the vision of the participants in the divine services and made it difficult for the spoken word to be heard.

The first change of this type that we learn of apparently was prompted by the prospect of an imperial Diet to be held in Nuernberg. In July, 1542, the council decreed the removal of three altars from the St. Sebald Church. The paintings or upper panels went into storage, while the altars themselves were dismantled. The alteration was to be made discreetly and quickly, in order that all of the work be completed before the opening of the Diet. At the same time a crucifix was moved into the choir from its location near the pulpit.

In October and November of the following year a number of similar changes were made. St. Sebald Church lost another altar and St. Lawrence Church two. A free-standing sculpture (or painting?) and two altars were removed from the St. Giles Church. The dismantling by municipal workmen of four altars in the Hospital Church of the Holy Ghost, if we may believe the account of an ancient chronicler, took place in the still of the night.

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38 Ratsbuch No. 21, fol. 37b; Hampe, Ratsverlässe, Nos. 2664, 2665.

the night and by the light of burning torches. Apparently the
council wished to avoid arousing the ire of the populace, if
at all possible.  

Aside from the major ecclesiastical furnishings thus far
discussed, the cultus or ceremonial of late medieval Catholicism
had required a whole host of additional liturgical devices,
most of which had some artistic significance. One might include
here not only the vessels and silver of the church, but also
such things as vestments, altar hangings, and the like. To a
surprising degree these were retained in the Nuernberg churches,
even after the Reformation. The "eternal lamp" in St. Sebald
Church, for example, was not extinguished. The clergy continued
to use the elaborate and ornate liturgical robes.  

It is true, nonetheless, that many of these costly items
eventually were alienated from the churches. In some cases
they were returned to their original contributors. The Imhof
family asked for and was granted the return of vestments and
vessels donated to St. Lawrence Church for use in celebrating
the Feast of St. Rochus, now discontinued.  

\[40\] Ibid., fol. 434a-435a.  

\[41\] Klaus, pp. 135, 416-417. At the beginning of the
nineteenth century St. Sebald Church still possessed thirteen
vestments stemming from donations of the Tucher family alone.
Grote, Die Tucher. . . , p. 68.  

\[42\] Ratsbuch No. 13, fol. 52b.
obtained permission to melt down and make into a beaker the chalice and other liturgical devices formerly used by their religious brotherhood in services held in a local monastic church. 43

The monetary value of particularly the silver and gold holdings of the monasteries and churches was fully appreciated by everyone. Problems of safe storage and preservation became especially acute with the dissolution of the monasteries and the transfer of their property to the city government. A series of entries in the city records reflect the concern of the council over the years to see that all of these items were inventoried and properly safeguarded. 44

The city government quite early began to consider the possibility of melting down or selling some of the silver and gold now in its possession. An entry of February, 1530, records the decision to postpone any action of this nature for the time being. 45 Later, in 1536, the council discussed whether or not to sell some monstrances from St. Sebald Church. Again it was decided to wait. 46

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43 Ratsbuch No. 12, fol. 292b.
44 Ratsbuch No. 13, fol. 5a, 6a; No. 14, fol. 258b; No. 15, fol. 2a, 32a; No. 21, fol. 196b. Hampe, Ratsverlässe, Nos. 1486, 1675, 1944, 2081, 2244, 2248, 2732.
45 Ratsbuch No. 15, fol. 91a.
46 Hampe, Ratsverlässe, No. 2199.
The exigencies of a costly and ruinous war with the Margrave of Brandenburg-Ansbach finally induced the council to dip heavily into its holdings. In September, 1552, silver and gold items with a total value of almost 16,000 gulden were gathered into the City Hall from the three Nuernberg parish churches, and then taken to the smelter. But despite this there remained enough to make possible large sales during ensuing decades and centuries.

Previous to this, gold and silver from some of the smaller local chapels had been brought to the large cathedrals or parish churches for safekeeping. Ratsbuch No. 21, fol. 196b; Hampe, Ratsverlässe, No. 2732.

Baader, Beiträge zur... I, 91-92.
CHAPTER EIGHT

THE CITY COUNCIL AS AN ART PATRON:
A CONCLUDING EVALUATION

Although the art patronage of the Nuernberg city council shared many similarities with that of other Renaissance benefactors, such as princes or wealthy patricians, it also possessed a special quality of its own, analogous to and indeed derivative from the unique character of the town corporation itself. For, as might be expected, the artistic needs of a municipal government differed from those of a noble ruler or private citizen. On the other hand, the historical traditions and distinct socio-political structure of Nuernberg gave to it a personality unlike that of any other city, and this uniqueness also found expression in the art sponsored by the civic authorities. Ultimately, it was the manner in which the Nuernberg council interpreted the proper role of a municipal art program and the means chosen to implement it that gave to the city's patronage both its distinctive aspect and whatever broader significance it had for general cultural history.

If we examine first the function or purpose of Nuernberg municipal art we find that it was above all utilitarian, that is,
motivated to a large degree by factors external to a purely aesthetic consideration. This in itself was by no means unusual in the first half of the sixteenth century in Germany. It has been shown, for example, that much of the art sponsored by the great princely patrons of the period was essentially "outer-directed," if not to say political, in that it was intended more for the effect which it had upon the viewing public than for the private enjoyment of the patron. But whereas the central tasks of royal or aristocratic art can be characterized as the creation of a brilliant cultural foil to set off the personality of the individual patron or the glorification of his dynasty, the functions of municipal art inevitably were much more generalized ones.

Municipal art, first of all, served to reflect credit upon the power and wealth of the city or town corporation. This most essential quality of communal art, aptly described as "that desire for splendid self-representation," is most clearly recognizable perhaps in works with a purely decorative nature, such as the elaborate City Hall dividing screen or the ornate Jamnitzer table setting. It is, however, characteristic to a

1 Gerhard Händler, Fürstliche Mäzene und Sammler in Deutschland von 1500-1620 (Strassburg, 1933), pp. 104-105.
2 Ibid., p. 107.
greater or lesser degree of virtually all the major commissions and purchases.

Aside from this factor, a didactic or moral purpose is noticeable in some of the art works. The large allegorical painting of justice adorning the interior of the City Hall constitutes the best example of this. It is interesting to note that, unlike the practice in some other towns such as Basel, \(^4\) no Biblical themes were used in the mural compositions.

A religious motivation is apparent in the donation of the emperor portraits and reliquaries to the imperial insignia and relic collection. In contrast to the usual private endowment of ecclesiastical art, however, these were intended chiefly for use and display in a ceremony which, apart from its theological significance, tended to underscore heavily the unique and favored position of Nuernberg within the German Empire. Indeed, the imperial concept itself was a compound of religious and political ideology in which the various strands were scarcely to be separated. A composition such as the mural painting of the "Triumphal Chariot of Maximilian I" no doubt reflects both aspects. The works associated with Charles V breathe more of a purely secular and political spirit.

Although many of the various attributes thus far assigned to Nuernberg municipal art might be designated as "political" in nature, the term must be used with careful qualification. There

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is little evidence of propagandizing, for example. If we examine the subject matter of the various works we find scant reference to domestic or partisan politics. Dürer's "Four Apostles" painting, with its pointed scriptural references, in one sense constitutes an exception, but the inspiration for this work stemmed from the artist and not the council.

Unlike the case in some of the Italian city-states, there simply was not much incentive in Nuernberg for the use of municipally-sponsored art for the achievement of narrowly political purposes. The local patriciate remained relatively free of organized political factions and the government had little difficulty maintaining its stability. In any case, as the chambers of the City Hall usually were not open to the general population, most of the art works commissioned or purchased by the municipal government were relatively inaccessible to public view. One cannot avoid the impression that the real audience which they were intended to impress consisted mainly of visiting princes and dignitaries.

Given the artistic purposes or goals of the city government, it might be relevant to inquire whether or not these were intelligently achieved. For one criterion for judging the

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success of a patronage program surely must be whether or not the artistic resources at the disposal of the patron, be it a certain style or artistic talent, are effectively utilized. With regard to this question it is interesting to note the slow penetration of Renaissance classicism into municipal architecture, that branch of art which by its monumentality and permanence is best suited to enhance the splendor of a city and reflect its power and wealth.

This, perhaps, is partially explained by the relative absence of significant public building during this period, particularly the latter decades of it. Architectural construction once had been the chief contribution of communal art, but by the sixteenth century the city virtually had reached its full extension. 6

More significant, however, is the fact that none of the major patrons in Germany at this time contributed much of real significance in this branch of the arts. 7 It is a barren, or better, a transitional period in German architectural history, the late Gothic style having run its course and the new Renaissance forms not yet fully understood or accepted.

Many of the other art works previously discussed do suggest the approval or at least acceptance of fairly advanced, classical

6Schwemmer, Nürnberg . . , p. 84.

stylistic concepts. It would be foolish to think of the council as avant-garde or pioneering in this respect, but at least there must be admitted an awareness of stylistic change and the intelligence to employ the artistic forms then most acceptable among the educated and cultured segments of society.

What use was made of the artistic talent available to the city? Due to the weakness of the guild system and the sovereign position of the council, the ruling authorities, theoretically at least, were in a position to employ virtually any artist whom they might choose. We find, in fact, that many, although not all, of the outstanding Nuernberg artists of the period did receive municipal commissions at one time or another.

Adam Kraft, the city's greatest stone sculptor, performed several decorative stone plaques for municipal buildings and exercised architectural supervision over a remodelling of the west portal of the Church of Our Lady. Municipal employment of the Peter Vischer workshop, the most significant bronze founding establishment in all Renaissance Germany, already has been discussed. The relations of the council with Veit Stoss, Nuernberg's famed wood carver, were far more problematical.

Stoss came into difficulties with the Nuernberg authorities in the opening years of the century when he was convicted of

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8 For the suggestion of this point, I am indebted to Dr. Fritz Schnebölgl, Director of the Bavarian State Archives, Nuernberg.

9 Schwemmer, Adam Kraft, pp. 11-14.
forging a document. The offense carried a death sentence but
the artist finally got off with being branded on the cheeks,
like a common criminal. The affair deeply embittered Stoss
and the records over the next three decades are one long tale of
difficulties between him and the council. On one occasion he
accused the city of failing to live up to contractual obligations
concerning payment for some projects involving engineering or
construction. There is no record of Stoss performing an art
commission of any consequence for the city throughout this
period. This is not surprising, for the council viewed him as
a quarrelsome and contentious man.

If one were to compile a list of the most significant
artists active in Nuernberg during the first half of the six­
teenth century it probably would contain, aside from those names
mentioned above and that of Dürer, the figure of Peter Flötner.
Somewhat of a universal artist, Flötner worked in many mediums.
The most important work of his to survive into modern times is
a garden house built in the 1530's for a wealthy merchant, con­
sidered to be the first large structure erected in Nuernberg in
a purely Renaissance style. He seems never to have worked for

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10 This affair is summarized in Berthold Daun, Veit Stoss
11 Ratsbuch No. 8, fol. 229a-231a; Hampe, Ratsverlässe,
Nos. 727, 728, 729.
12 Ratsbuch No. 14, fol. 11b.
13 Konrad Lange, Peter Flötner. Ein Bahnbrecher der
deutschen Renaissance (Berlin, 1897), p. 73.
the city. This is unfortunate, for in the opinion both of contemporaries and modern scholars this was an artist whose talents never reached their full potential because of a lack of adequate commissions. 14

Turning to Dürer, we find that the council made use of his talents on several occasions although he never was on the city payroll. Direct municipal commissions include the emperor portraits, the City Hall mural designs, the sketch for the Charles V portrait medallion, and possibly a woodcut title-page illustration for the 1521 publication of the city law code. Works purchased from the master include the painting given Vladislav, King of Bohemia and Hungary, in 1504 and the monumental "Four Apostles." In several instances his advice upon artistic matters was asked by the council: in 1511, concerning repair of the huge Gothic fountain in the central market square; in 1516, in connection with the redecoration of one of the smaller chambers in the City Hall; and in 1517, pertaining to the design for a new city coin. 15

In view of all this it is somewhat surprising to learn that the city council in 1513, at a time when Dürer already was famous all over Europe, declined a request of the Emperor

14 Ibid., p. 74; Lochner, p. 115.

15 Rupprich, Dürer Schriftlicher, . . . , p. 242; Hampe, Ratsverlässe, Nos. 878, 1111, 1112, 1113.
Maximilian that the artist be exempted from his city taxes.  

This was a form of payment to artists used both in Italy and the North.  

The council apparently feared that the concession, once granted, would have to be extended to others. There are further possible considerations. Perhaps it was felt that the city's need of an artist was not frequent or continuous enough to justify such an expenditure. Then, too, an exemption gained by the intercession of the emperor was likely to be viewed as stemming as much from his munificence as that of the city council. Thus Dürer, who had been offered generous pensions by the city governments of both Venice and Antwerp, never was so honored in his home town.

The post of city artist or city painter was not created until in the 1530's. It is true that craftsmen with artistic abilities were regularly employed by the council before that time. Veit Hirsvoegel, a very important figure in the making of stained glass, and his son of the same name both were in turn officially designated as the city glazier.  

16  Upon the urging of the council, Dürer voluntarily agreed to drop the request. Rupprecht, Dürer Schriftlicher... , pp. 77, 109-110.

17  Veit Stoss, for example, had been granted tax exemption in Cracow, Poland. Rudolf Stammler, Deutsches Rechtsleben in alter und neuer Zeit, I (Charlottenburg, 1928), 39. See also Wieruszowski, p. 32.

18  This is not to say that he was not highly regarded by the council. See the study by Grote, "Vom Handwerker...", 26-47.

19  Hampe, Ratsverlässe, No. 1544.
of the two reliquaries for the council in 1518, Hans Kraft, engraver of the Charles V portrait medallion, and Wenzel Jamnitzer, who made the elaborate table setting for the city in 1549, all were goldsmiths who at one time or another were appointed as official engraver to the council.20

By the 1530's the municipal authorities apparently had decided that it would be useful to have an official city painter. The post went first to a rather unimportant figure named Hans Plattner, in July, 1531. He later was dismissed.21 Meanwhile, the services of a more talented artist had been secured. In May, 1532, Georg Penz, one of Dürer's better pupils, was placed on the city payroll with an annual stipend of ten gulden.22 In return, Penz pledged his willingness to accept municipal commissions before all others and to perform for a just fee any services requested of him by the city which fell within the scope of his abilities.23 Penz's work proved to be highly

20Max Frankenburger (ed.), Beiträge zur Geschichte Wenzel Jamnitzers und seiner Familie (Strassburg, 1901), No. 10; Hampe, Ratsverlässe, No. 1925.

21Hampe, Ratsverlässe, Nos. 1872, 2979.

22The employment contract with the council which Penz signed is printed in MVGN, VIII (1889), 246. See also Hampe, Ratsverlässe, No. 1925.

23The practice of granting court artists a moderate annual stipend plus payment for individual works completed was common among princely patrons of the time. Bruck, p. 179; Paul Redlich, Cardinal Albrecht von Brandenburg und das neue Stift zu Halle 1520-1541 (Mainz, 1900), p. 192.
acceptable to the council and in 1539 his pension was increased to twenty-four gulden annually. 24

The various projects sponsored or paid for by the city over the years no doubt provided much useful employment to the members of the Nuernberg art community. This very factor probably represents one of the greatest contributions of the municipal patronage program. Particularly with the demise of religious art commissions during the Reformation, the artist was deprived of much of his previous economic support. The large number of donations or dedications of works of art to the council in the post-Reformation years bears witness to this harsh economic fact.

But the Nuernberg city government really was in no position effectively to replace the traditional donors. Nor could it of itself play a leading role in the development of a new secular iconography or important new artistic forms. The commissions of the council were too sporadic and too unrelated in purpose and subject matter for the development of a true municipal style.

24Hampe, Ratsverlässe, No. 2398.
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AUTOBIOGRAPHY

I was born in Chicago, Illinois, on February 15, 1935. When I was four years old, my family moved to a farm near West Branch, Iowa. I attended the West Branch public school system throughout elementary and high school. After a brief period of farming in partnership with my father, I enlisted in the United States Army for two years. Upon discharge, I resumed my education at the State University of Iowa, in Iowa City, where I majored in the field of history. As a senior, I was elected to Phi Beta Kappa. In February, 1960, I received a B.A. degree, "With High Distinction."

As the recipient of a Woodrow Wilson Fellowship, I chose to pursue graduate study in history at the Ohio State University. In August, 1961, I was awarded the M.A. degree. For the next two years I served as a Graduate Assistant in the Department of History. During the latter year of this period, I taught a course in Western Civilization.

For the academic year 1963-1964, I was awarded a Fulbright Grant for study in Germany and a Woodrow Wilson Dissertation Fellowship. During this time, my wife and I lived in Nuernberg,
Germany, where I carried on the research for my doctoral dissertation. I was awarded the Ph.D. degree by the Ohio State University in March, 1965. In February, 1965, I joined the faculty of the University of Colorado as an Instructor in the Department of History.