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Transatlantische Studien zu Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit –
Transatlantic Studies on Medieval and Early Modern Literature and Culture 3

Arthur Groos, Hans-Jochen Schiewer,
Markus Stock (eds.)

Topographies of the Early Modern City

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Band 3

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Arthur Groos

Introduction

This volume contains a selection of papers from a German-American conference on medieval and early modern culture held at Cornell University on 24-25 September 2004.[1] For this, the third in a series of binational meetings,[2] the organizers selected »Topographies of the Early Modern City« as the theme, inviting germanists, historians, and art historians to discuss aspects of city culture ranging from representations of the city to urban spatial and social practices. The current interest in space as a changing cultural production is usually traced back to Henri Lefebvre's seminal *La Production de l'espace* (1974),[3] though it might be more accurate to emphasize the belated translation into English (1991), which in the last decade has helped fuel what some scholars are now calling »the spatial turn«,[4] a development that also includes the medieval and early modern periods.[5] The essays collect-

1 The conference was supported by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft and the Max Kade Foundation, Cornell's University Lecture Committee, College of Arts and Sciences, Society for the Humanities, Institute for German Cultural Studies, Departments of Architecture and German Studies, and the program in Renaissance Studies. Production of this volume has been facilitated by Hans-Jochen Schiewer at Freiburg, who generously involved his staff in the setting and production of proofs. We are especially grateful to Leonard Keidel for assuming the major part of this task in midstream and helping us see the project through to the end.

2 The first was held at Cornell in 2000, the second at Göttingen in 2002 – see Kulturen des Manuskriptzeitalters, ed. Arthur Groos/Hans-Jochen Schiewer, Göttingen 2004.

3 The Production of Space, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith, Oxford 1991. On Lefebvre, see most recently Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre, ed. Kanishka Goonewardena *et al*., New York 2008; Christian Schmid, Stadt, Raum und Gesellschaft: Henri Lefebvre und die Theorie der Produktion des Raumes, Vienna 2005.

4 Spatial Turn: Das Raumparadigma in den Kultur- und Sozialwissenschaften, ed. Jörg Döring/Tristan Thielmann, Bielefeld 2008; The Spatial Turn: Interdisciplinary Perspectives, ed. Barney Warf, New York, in press.

5 See esp. Medieval Practices of Space, ed. Barbara A. Hanawalt/Michal Kobialka, Minneapolis 2000. Also, for example, Raum und Raumvorstellungen im Mittelalter, ed. Jan A. Aertsen/Andreas Speer, Berlin /New York 1998; Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages, ed. Mayke de Jong/Francis Theuws, Leiden 2001; Dawn Marie Hayes, Body and

ed here, mostly though not exclusively devoted to cities in Germanic countries (Nuremberg, Cologne, Vienna, Ghent, Munich, Amsterdam, Florence, Rome), broach a wide variety of topics: the dissemination and control of city images, carnival practices and the performance of social/religious dissent, narrative constraints in fifteenth-century urban historiography, Christian humanism and the controversy over Jewish books, the Carthusian influence on the spiritual topography of a city, the humanist agenda in the triumphal arches for an imperial entry, the evolution of three-dimensional city models, transposing Renaissance Italian song models into a transalpine social context, and the emergence of the city views known as *vedute*.

The prominence of the visual in these essays is not surprising, and constitutes an obvious reflex of the growing interest in imagining and imaging cities in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century culture. Inasmuch as we sometimes take this development for granted, it may be helpful to pause for a moment on two examples of city encomia (*Städtelob*),[6] which reflect a changing experience of the city from the social to the spatial across a span of eighty years. The first poem in praise of a German city, Hans Rosenplüt's ›Spruch von Nürnberg‹ (1447),[7] though aware of its status as a new genre (*news geticht*, 3), generates its praise not so much by attempting to visualize the city's particular topographical space as by asserting its uniqueness through a series of lists.[8] Nuremberg, more than almost any other city, is distinguished by five charitable institutions, managed by the council: the Zwölfbrüderhaus, two orphanages, the care of lepers at Easter, the endowment of poor girls with dowries, the weekly distribution of provisions to the homeless. It is adorned

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Sacred Space in Medieval Europe, 1100-1389, New York 2003; John Rennie Short, Making Space: Revisioning the World, 1475-1600, Syracuse, N.Y., 2004; Defining the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe, ed. Andrew Spicer/Sarah Hamilton, Aldershot/Burlington 2005; Women's Space: Patronage, Place, and Gender in the Medieval Church, ed. Virginia Chieffo Raguin/Sarah Stanbury, Albany 2005; People and Space in the Middle Ages, 300-1300, ed. Wendy Davies *et al.*, Turnhout 2006.

6 See esp. Hartmut Kugler, Die Vorstellung der Stadt in der Literatur des deutschen Mittelalters, Munich 1986.

7 The poem will be cited from the edition by Friedrich and Erika Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Deutsche Literatur im späten Mittelalter, Reinbeck 1971, I, 203-211.

8 Also marked as part of a series of items: *noch eins* (15); *noch . . . ein ding* (347); and asserted as being in no other city, in *keiner stat* (337, 349) or like no other, *nyndert geleichen* (290, 296).

by seven »jewels« (*kleinet*, 83): the walls and moat, the surrounding forest, a quarry, the Kornhaus, the Schöner Brunnen, the river, and the relics of Christ's crucifixion. If the emperor scoured the earth for the products of all the various *artes*, he would discover that everything everywhere can be found in this one city, *die kunst find er in Nürnberg all* (215), thanks to its industrious merchants and artisans. And: the city is one of five *heillige stet* in the Christian world (Jerusalem, Rome, Trier, Cologne, Nuremberg).

Except for naming two buildings and a fountain, the ›Spruch von Nürnberg‹ conveys little sense of the city as a distinct spatial topography. The list of *kleinet*, for example, commingles natural features of the landscape with buildings and monuments. To be sure, those natural features are exploited commercially by the city's inhabitants, which suggests that Rosenplüt's imagined city is primarily a middle-class social space, rather than a geographical or architectural one. This in turn may explain why the list of *almosen* alternates specific institutions with specific practices, the common denominator being charitable activity in general. The central social focus, of course, is the city's merchants and artisans, who make up the longest list, and provide the leading indicator of Nuremberg's unique stature: *dor vmb ich nürnberg preis vnd lob / wan sie leit allen steten ob / an kunstreichen hübschen mannen* (285-87). Not surprisingly, though, what begins as the fifth of Rosenplüt's series of lists (*noch find ich ein ding*, 347) does not contain a list, but a singularity, *das allerweislichest werk / das ich in keiner stat nye fant* (348f.), the wise city council, whose rule – superior to that of aristocratic courts or guilds – collectively shepherds all its citizens, and guarantees the peace that is the foundation of communal prosperity.

Although an emphasis on urban social values (including praise for the council, the intended recipient of both poems) also underlies Hans Sachs's ›Ein lobspruch der statt Nürnberg‹ (1530), the representation of the city as a spatial presence nearly eighty years later seems to reflect, or even anticipate, some of the representational practices discussed in this volume.[9] The general frame plays with conventional late medieval material – in this instance the narrator falls asleep in a *locus amœnus*, where he dreams of a marvelous garden resembling paradise.[10] Upon awaking, an aged herald appears and takes him to Nuremberg to explain

9 Hartmut Kugler, Die Stadt im Wald, in: Hans Sachs: Studien zur frühbürgerlichen Literatur im 16. Jahrhundert, ed. Thomas Cramer/Erika Kartschoke, Bern/Las Vegas 1978, pp. 83-104.

10 Cited by page and line number according to: Hans Sachs, Werke, vol. 4, ed. Adalbert von Keller, Tübingen 1870 (= BLVS 105).

the allegorical correspondences between the elements of the dream garden and the imperial city, a process that organizes the remainder of the narrative. While this is happening, however, the narrator and the herald also undertake a walk that places the allegorical decoding in the context of a new spatial experience, moving through a terrain that appears measurable (and thus knowable topographically) to the city *drey-vierteyl meyl* away (191.35). The ensuing lines attempt to make the city accessible to the reader in a way unimagined by Rosenplüt: as a visual experience of three-dimensional urban space.[11] That experience begins with an emphasis on differences in elevation, as the herald and narrator move *auffwertz* (191.39) to the imperial castle and from there across a drawbridge to a point from which they can gaze down on the entire city enclosed within its protective walls: *abwertz auff eym platz, / Darauff da lag der edel schatz / In einer rinckmawren im thal* (192.11-13).

Moreover, this experience is shared by two viewers, the narrator and the herald. The former simply takes pleasure in being able to encompass the entire city in his field of view, which appears to his unpractised eye as an immeasurable multitude (*unzelich zal*) of buildings of different sizes and styles: *Do sach ich ein unzelich zal / Heuser gepawen hoch und nieder / In dieser state hin und wieder / Mit gibel-mawern undterschieden, / Vor fewer gwaltig zu befrieden, / Köstlich tachwerk mit knöpffen, zinnen* (192.14-19). The omniscient herald, however, shifts the mode of perception from unreflected seeing (*sehen*) to measured looking (*schawen*), and proceeds to survey all the streets and inventory the city's contents:

Schaw durch die gassen uberal,
Wie ordenlich sie sein gesundert
Der sein acht und zwaintzig fünff hundert
Gepflastert durch-auss wol besunnen,
Mit hundert sechzehen schöpff-brunnen,
Wellich stehen auff der gemein
Unt darzu zwölff rörprunnen fein,
Vier schlag-glocken und zwo klein hor.
Zwey thürlein und sechs grosse thor
Hat die stat und eylff stayner prucken,
Gehawen von grossen werck-stucken.
Auch hat sie zwölff benandter bergk
Unnd zehen geordneter märck
Hin unde wieder in der stat,
Darauff man find nach allem rat

11 Indeed, the verbs *schawen* or *sehen* occur five times in lines 192.8-24.

Allerley für die gantze menig
Zu kauffen umb ein gleichen pfennig,
Wein, korn, ops, saltz, schmaltz, kraut, ruben,
Auch dreyzehen gemein bad-stuben,
Auch kirchen etwan auff acht ort,
Darinn man predigt gottes wort. (192.24-193.5)

The two types of viewing imagined here form a sequence. The first, and more general (or more naïve), evokes the sensual pleasure in seeing an entire city from the bird's eye perspective that became popular during the sixteenth century. The second, focused by a controlling gaze, is more complicated. Within the conventions of late medieval allegory, there is nothing unusual about a herald, experienced in the conventions of blazon, decoding the dream's apparent paradise in terms of Nuremberg. However, the venue here is explicitly identified as the imperial residence, which also implies that the herald's perspective is a regicentric one, the view that the emperor – sojourning here while itinerating through his domains – would have of his imperial city. As such, the herald's gaze also indulges in the practice of measuring and inventorying that was to have such a profound impact on the technologies of power in the ensuing century. And it is surely no coincidence that this verbal representation of a visual experience is centered on Nuremberg, the city of Dürer, whose treatises geometry and proportion appeared in the years immediately before Sachs's poem.

Given Nuremberg's centrality in the history of German culture,[12] a topos that figures in representations ranging from mapmaking, histories, and encomia of the city to Richard Wagner's ›Meistersinger‹,[13] it

12 On Nuremberg as the imagined ›center‹ of Germany, see STEPHEN BROCKMANN, Nuremberg: The Imaginary Capital, Rochester, NY 2006.

13 Cf. the pilgrimage map by Erhard Etzlaub, published for the jubilee year of 1500, discussed by SMITH (below, pp. 17f.). The topos of Nuremberg's centrality seems to have originated with Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, ›Europa‹ (chap. 39); it was then taken up by Hartmut Schedel's ›Buch der cronicken‹ (Nuremberg 1493), fol. ci^{r} (*vñ schier in dē mittel teutschs lāds gelegē*); by the first German poet laureate, Conrad Celtis, in his ›Norimberga‹ (chap. 2), ed. ALBERT WERMINGHOFF, Freiburg 1921, p. 107, and the epigram ›In Norimbergam‹ (no. 80), in Fünf Bücher Epigramme, ed. KARL HARTFELDER, Hildesheim 1963, p. 119; and by humanists such as Johannes Cochlaeus, ›Brevis Germaniae descriptio‹ (1512), chap. 4 (›De Norinberga, Germaniae centro‹), ed. KARL LANGOSCH, Darmstadt 1960, p. 74. Hans Sachs's famous *Wahnmonolog* in Act III scene 1 of ›Die Meistersinger‹, which – not fortuitously – involves the poet sitting in his study perusing an old folio volume (Schedel's ›Nuremerg Chronicle‹?), picks up

is hardly surprising that this city provides the focus for four of our articles. The plenary lecture of Geoffrey Chipps Smith, placed here as an introductory chapter, surveys the imaging of Nuremberg in city views from the late fifteenth to the early seventeenth centuries. The first, and most famous, view of the city appears strategically placed near the beginning of the chapter on the Christian era in Hartmut Schedel's ›Liber chronicarum‹ (1493) – a selectively accurate representation of prevailing patrician interests. Its impact in the ensuing decades is evidenced by appropriations such as the second edition of the city's legal code and Conrad Celtis's ›Quattuor libri amorum‹. Hans Lautensack's monumental etchings of 1552, with their laudatory presentation of prosperous laborers in a peaceful setting, were dedicated to the city council and widely preserved within a council context, which suggests its increased control of the city's image. This also seems to be the case in a civic view directly related to the Peace of Augsburg as well as in the new edition of the legal code of 1564. During the 1580s and 1590s, the Nuremberg council took the further step of commissioning a series of medals appropriating the city view, overtly marking it as a symbol of their wise rule in a time of economic decline.

Fifteenth-century *Fastnachtspiele* or Shrovetide plays have attracted considerable attention in recent decades, in part because they appear to provide attractive material for exemplifying a variety of socio-theoretical approaches. Volker Mertens uses a differentiation between the plays as performance and their literary manifestation as written texts to re-examine two approaches that have been especially dominant: a model of subversion based on Michail Bakhtin's theory of the carnavalesque, and Dietz-Rüdiger Moser's religious model of compensation or affirmation. A reading of two plays attributed to Rosenplüt, ›Der Bauer und der Bock‹ and ›Das Eggenziehen‹, suggests that the former is not subversive but affirms the social order, while the latter is not the expression of unrestrained sexuality but exorcises social-sexual anxieties – late medieval Nuremberg is not *Sex and the City*. Other types of plays with anti-semitic or anti-aristocratic topics presuppose an understanding of contemporary political developments, and would seem to represent the interests of the council or the community in general. As performances, *Fastnachtspiele* seem to have functioned as rituals of self-assurance across class boundaries, confirming the existing socio-political and sexual order of the late medieval urban community. As

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the contemporary topos: *Wie friedsam treuer Sitten, / getrost in Tat und Werk, / liegt nicht in Deutschlands Mitten / mein liebes Nürenberg*!

literary texts they became something else, enabling the reader to be both performer and audience in a new form of theatre with its own rules and literary reality.

Eckehard Simon's study of the Reformation in the Nuremberg carnival shifts our focus from the comic consolidation of urban consciousness in the Shrovetide plays to a more contested performance space within the city – the annual *Schembartlauf*, Germany's most extravagant carnival event. It involved a dance and procession of the city butchers that was accompanied by masked escorts, a privilege purchased from 1479 on by the sons of patrician and elite families, who often built an elaborate carnival float or *Hölle*. Surprisingly, the city council appears to have been more concerned with regulating this event than the *Fastnachtspiele*, particularly during the years immediately preceding the city's official conversion to Lutheranism, when early popular support manifested itself in various forms of satire during the procession. In 1539, however, the maskers went so far as to satirize the unpopular Andreas Osiander, a leading Protestant reformer and preacher at St. Lorenz, apparently with the tacit consent of the council. The *Schembartbücher* of leading Nuremberg families provide a richly illustrated source for reconstructing the details of the ›ship of fools‹ float and the participants involved in the incident, one that roused the ire of Martin Luther himself and reverberated in city history.

David Price focuses on the significance of Rome for northern humanism, as exemplified by the career of Johannes Reuchlin and his entanglement in the controversy over burning Jewish books between 1510-1520. Reuchlin's trips to Rome, especially the third and last in 1498, had established him as the leading northern humanist, and his contacts with Jewish scholars and booksellers in this emerging center of Christian Jewish studies enabled him in turn to become the leading Christian Hebrew scholar. In 1510, however, Reuchlin's defense of Jewish writings provoked a charge of heresy, the adjudication of which was eventually referred to a commission of high church officials in Rome. In the ensuing ›Roman affair‹, Reuchlin's faith in Roman humanism was often verified in print, and in 1516 the papal commission even reached a decision on his behalf, but issued no formal verdict. Unfortunately, the verdict of Pope Leo X against him in 1520, eight days after issuing the first papal condemnation of Luther's writings, suggests that the crisis of the Protestant schism diminished the intellectual pluralism of Renaissance Christianity, foreclosing the possibility of developing a humanist discourse of Christian tolerance toward Judaism.

In tracing the impact of mysticism on confessional Cologne, KIRSTEN CHRISTENSEN considers the ways in which the Carthusians of St. Barbara discretely influenced the spiritual topography of their city. Though prevented from participating in active engagement with Lutheranism, they responded to the challenge of the Reformation through their ongoing efforts to emphasize inner renewal as the most lasting means of personal and institutional reform. The copying and publishing activities of the order were central to their mission, providing not only members of the order, but also other religious and lay people with access to mystical and other writings. Moreover, in their selection of texts and above all in the prefaces to them, they engaged with specific elements of the Protestant threat. In the 1530s, the Carthusians made an innovative change in their publication program by publishing the mystical works of two living women, Maria van Hout and an anonymous compatriot, subsequently resettling Maria and two sister religious to Cologne, and thus securing for the convent and the city living exempla of spiritual renewal. In ensuing decades, the Carthusians also strove to mold and re-form the spiritual contours of their city by supporting financially the Jesuits' proselytizing efforts.

Renaissance festivals and festive entries have often been the focus of recent studies involving the interaction of itinerating sovereigns and the cities under their rule. MARKUS STOCK demonstrates that the entry of Charles V and Prince Philip II into Ghent on 13 July, 1549, did more than engage the usual spatial practice of temporarily changing the topographical features of the cityscape by erecting a programmatic series of triumphal arches *à la antique*, in this instance celebrating exemplary rulership and successful *translatio imperii*. In five arches featuring exemplary rulers from five successive ages (David/Solomon; Philip of Macedonia/Alexander the Great, Vespasian /Titus; Charlemagne/ Ludwig the Pious, Dietrich of Alsace/Philip of Alsace), humanist author Jan Otho drew upon the intellectual endeavors of humanist historiography and language history in connecting each arch not only with a particular historic period but also with a particular historic language (Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Old High German, medieval Flemish). In so doing, he also articulated a coherent and unified humanist historical consciousness of the past.

Renaissance Italian song types did not transpose easily into the traditional musical space of the German love lyric. In a detailed study devoted to Leonhard Lechner's song collections between 1576 and 1589, initially written for Nuremberg musical clubs and then for the Hohenzollern court at Hechingen, GERT HÜBNER argues that Lechner

did not succumb to Petrarchism, as is usually argued; rather, the German love-song tradition was sufficiently varied to subsume the Petrarchan model into its own multiplicity of stances. Such plurality was possible, however, largely because the song texts were not bound to humanistic conceptual models and textual traditions, but instead were adapted to serve the purposes of the composer. Indeed, analysis of the collections themselves reveals principles of organization that rely on a pluralistic discourse rather than the basic oxymoronic conceit of Petrarchism: dialogic groupings of songs about fortune and misfortune in love in order to appeal to a broad spectrum of emotions, of which *das Menschlich gemüt* is *sehr bedürfftig*.

Whereas our opening and concluding essays discuss a variety of ways in which cities were rendered two-dimensionally, Helmut Puff investigates the history and implications of three-dimensional models in the conceptualization of early modern urban space. He begins with descriptions by Vasari and Benedetto Varchi of the model of Florence secretly constructed for Pope Clement VII in preparation for his siege of the city in 1529-30. Kept in his private chambers, the model served as a scopic device that enabled the Pope and commander to follow the course of the siege from afar. Although also providing a visual technology for the elite viewer, the city models of five Bavarian *Residenzstädte* constructed several decades later by Jakob Sandtner for Duke Albrecht V constitute a uniformly designed and produced set meant to be considered as an ensemble. Although the unified territorial space embodied in the models served as an icon for the ongoing process of subjecting Bavarians to their ruler-prince, their placement in Munich's *Kunstkammer* also testifies to their value as precious artifacts. Products of the art of turnery, highly prized in aristocratic circles, they may have been used as a technology of power for planning, but were also appreciated as objects that generated viewing pleasure.

Most essays in this volume focus on a particular event or historical period; Matthias Meyer's has an unusual double focus on the fifteenth and twentieth centuries. He begins by examining several sources for reconstructing a spatial sense of Vienna in the fifteenth century, a period that experienced not only the Turkish invasions, but also a brief interlude of peace and the eventual decline of the city's wealth. The ›Österreichische Chronik der Jahre 1454 bis 1576‹ and Jacob Unrest's ›Österreichische Chronik‹ convey a topographical image different from the one that can be abstracted from the archaeological record, often foregrounding narrative interests at the expense of topographical precision, while the notes of doctor and university

professor Johannes Tichtel provide information on his life outside the university, especially economic details. These sources were the main focus of a 1925 dissertation on fifteenth-century historiography by the future novelist Heimito von Doderer, who used episodes from them in vivid journalistic essays that drew attention to medieval Vienna as a place of both alterity and continuity in the unstable post-WWI world.

The final chapter by STUART M. BLUMIN moves us ahead a century from the Nuremberg images at the beginning of this volume, engaging a larger European venue for the emergence of a new artistic genre in city centers such as Rome, Paris, and Amsterdam: *vedute* or »views« of inner urban buildings, piazzas, and streets or canals. Developed in the second half of the seventeenth century by artists such as Israel Silvestre, Reiner Nooms, Giovanni Battista Falda, and Lievin Cruyl, *vedute* were to flourish well into the nineteenth century, even establishing themselves in the New World. Realistic or documentary in character, they elevate the city in importance from background to subject, focusing on close or medium-range scenes inside the city. Equally important, they were conceived not as individual prints, but as part of a series of images, drawn and engraved for volumes intended to reach transient or distant as well as local markets. *Vedutismo* appears to have developed in cities with impressive projects for modernization and improvement, and its principal market seems to have been northern European travelers, particularly aristocratic British tourists interested in finding models and inspiration for their own urbanizing projects at home.

Jeffrey Chipps Smith

Imaging and Imagining Nuremberg

Civic consciousness was by no means unique to the Renaissance.[1] The advent of printing, however, presented new means for creating and communicating images of cities. Published laudations and depictions of local skylines liberally mixed fact and fiction with civic pride. The benefits of positive city representations were quickly recognized by town councils. Almost as quickly, many towns sought to control how they were being depicted. My essay addresses the imaging of Nuremberg from the late fifteenth to the early seventeenth centuries. Nuremberg's artists were among the earliest and most adept practitioners of civic imaging in the Holy Roman Empire. I shall focus primarily on city views, though this is by no means the only way to image a town.

Shortly before the jubilee year of 1500, Nuremberg cartographer and compass maker Erhard Etzlaub prepared a ›Roadmap of Central Europe‹.[2] Printed by Georg Glockendon the Elder, the woodcut was designed to guide pilgrims through Germany to Rome. Using one of Etzlaub's compasses and the instructions at the bottom of the print, the travelers could calculate distances and determine the best routes to their ultimate goal of Rome, which, of course, was placed at the top of the map. Besides portraying the territory covered by this symposium, this exquisite early map gives pride of place to Etzlaub's adopted

1 I wish to thank Hermann Maué, to whom this article is dedicated, Jane Carroll, and Lisa Kirch for their assistance. Parts of this essay initially were presented in talks at the College Art Association conference in New York in 1990 and Harvard University in 1991. Carl Joachim Classen, Die Stadt im Spiegel der Descriptiones und Laudes urbium in der antiken und mittelalterlichen Literatur bis zum Ende des zwölften Jahrhunderts, Hildesheim 1980; Heike Weishaar-Kiem, Lobschriften und Beschreibungen ehemaliger Reichs- und Residenzstädte in Bayern bis 1800, Mittenwald 1982; Hartmut Kugler, Die Vorstellung der Stadt in der Literatur des deutschen Mittelalters, Munich 1986; Klaus Arnold, Städtelob und Stadtbeschreibung im späten Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit, in: Städtische Geschichtsschreibung im Spätmittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit, ed. Peter Johanek, Cologne 2000, pp. 247-268.

2 40.2 by 28.5 cm. Fritz Schnelbögl, Life and Work of the Nuremberg Cartographer Erhard Etzlaub (†1532), Imago Mundi. A Review of Early Cartography 20 (1966), pp. 11-26, esp. no. 2; Fritz Schnelbögl, Dokumente zur Nürnberger Kartographie – mit Katalog, Nuremberg 1966, pp. 5-7.

city. He located Nuremberg at the center of his map, literally at the heart of Europe, a symbolic position that matched the Nurembergers' perception of their city's importance within the Holy Roman Empire. The word Nuremberg, like Rome, is written in a larger font than other cities, and in some impressions of the map the name is underlined.[3] Quite deliberately, Nuremberg is far easier to find than its commercial rivals, Augsburg and Ulm, or its episcopal seat, Bamberg.

The first printed view of Nuremberg remains the most famous of all (Fig. 1). In 1493 Michael Wolgemut and Wilhelm Pleydenwurff's two-page prospect of the city appeared in Hartmann Schedel's ›Liber Chronicarum‹. The ›Nuremberg Chronicle‹, as it is better known, was the most ambitious publishing project of the period. Anton Koberger, the city's leading publisher, printed 1,500 copies of the Latin edition and 1,000 of the German edition, which his many agents sold across Europe. Schedel's chronicle uniquely offers a universal history set within a universal geography or what HARTMUT KUGLER has termed a chorographically accented account of the world.[4] This point is stressed in a surviving advertisement, which singles out the book's remarkable cityscapes. It claims that

Sz nihil hacten[s] *in luce*[m] *prodijt.q doctorum hominum et cuiuscu*[m]*qz mediocriter instituti voluptate*[m]. *magis augere et accumulare possit* […]. *Ex cuius lectione tantaz voluptate*[m] *tibi lecturo promittere* […]. *ymagines proprijs que[m]qz insignibus antiquitatis depictas videbis. Veru*[m] *etiam clarissimay vrbui[m] et regionu*[m] *vniuerse Europe situ*[m]. *vt que qz inceperit floruerit. morataqz fuerit / Quoy omnium cu*[m] *gesta, facta, sapienterqz dicta intueberis omnia viuere putabis. Vale et hunc librum e manibus tuis elabi non sine*.[5]

3 JEFFREY CHIPPS SMITH, Nuremberg, A Renaissance City, 1500-1618, exh. cat., Austin 1983, p. 91 (impression in the National Gallery of Art, Washington).

4 HARTMUT KUGLER, Nürnberg auf Blatt 100. Das verstädterte Geschichtsbild der Schedelschen Weltchronik, in: Stadt-Ansichten, ed. JÜRGEN LEHMANN/ECKART LIEBAU, Würzburg 2000, pp. 103-123.

5 GRAHAM POLLARD/ALBERT ERHMAN, The Distribution of Books by Catalogue from the Invention of Printing to A.D. 1800, Based on Material in the Broxbourne Library, Cambridge 1965, pp. 4-5, 38-39; ADRIAN WILSON, The Making of the Nuremberg Chronicle, Amsterdam 1976, pp. 208-209; ELISABETH RUCKER, Die Schedelsche Weltchronik, Munich 1973; KUGLER, Vorstellung [note 1]. Also see GEORG WACHA, Stadtansichten als historische Quelle, in: Städtische Kultur in der Barockzeit, ed. WILHELM RAUSCH, Linz 1982, pp. 35-52. The oldest known view of Nuremberg, dating around 1480, is in the background of the *Krell Altarpiece* in St. Lorenz's in Nuremberg. JOHANNES VIEBIG *et al.*, Die Lorenzkirche in Nürnberg, Königstein im Taunus 1971, p. 47.

(nothing like this has hitherto appeared to increase and heighten the delight of men of learning and of everyone who has any education at all [...]. Indeed, I venture to promise you, reader, so great delight in reading it that you will think you are not reading a series of stories, but looking at them with your own eyes. For you will see there [...] views of the most famous cities and places throughout Europe [...]. Farewell, and do not let this book slip through your hands.)

Schedel's strong appeal to our sense of sight is matched by the richness and variety of Wolgemut and Pleydenwurff's prints. The Latin edition contains 1,809 woodcuts using 645 different woodblocks. The city views are most memorable, especially since the great majority of towns were represented for the very first time. The arm-chair traveler of 1493, whether at home in Lübeck or Lisbon, was treated to recognizable depictions of Rome, Venice, Constantinople, Jerusalem, Vienna, Prague, and a host of German towns. Yet all cities were not created equal. Nuremberg was given clear pictorial primacy. Of the 27 towns accorded the prestige of a two page layout, only the prospect of Nuremberg on folios 99^{v}-100 totally fills both pages and excludes all non-header texts so that nothing distracts the reader's contemplation of the city.

Schedel's placement of Nuremberg within the chronicle was carefully chosen. KUGLER makes the interesting observation that the view of Nuremberg was originally intended for folios 92^{v}-93.[6] Besides folios 99^{v}-100 (C) being numerically more memorable, especially when rendered in Roman numerals, the move situates the section on Nuremberg near the beginning of a new chapter of the book on the Christian era or the Sixth Age of the world (folios 95-258). The Fifth Age (folios 64-94) covers history from the Jewish captivity in Babylon up to the moment prior to the birth of Christ. Schedel constructed a fictive Roman origin for Nuremberg alongside his accounts of Regensburg (folios 97^{v}-98) and Vienna (folios 98^{v}-99), two cities actually established by the Romans. In his text (folio 100^{v}), Schedel inventively if erroneously traced the name Nuremberg (Neroberg or Norica) to Emperor Tiberius Claudius Nero (r. 14-37 C.E.). Cologne (folios 90^{v}-91) and Augsburg (folios 91^{v}-92), two other true Roman foundations, were placed at the end of the previous chapter before the birth of Christ. In actuality, Nuremberg was a new city; the oldest reference to it dates to about 1050.

6 KUGLER, Nürnberg [note 4].

Wolgemut and Pleydenwurff's Nuremberg is imposing and selectively accurate. The woodcut shows an impressively large town ringed securely with defensive walls, innumerable watchtowers, and, at the northern summit, a well-fortified castle. The prominent Habsburg double-headed eagle over the Frauentor, in the left foreground, identifies Nuremberg as an imperial free city, a special status it had enjoyed since the late thirteenth century. The artist stresses the majestic towers of St. Lorenz and St. Sebaldus, respectively the two main parish churches for the south and north halves of the city, which is bisected by the Pegnitz River. A host of other church spires, such as St. Egidien's or the Benedictine monastery at the right, and gate towers grace the skyline. Wolgemut displays street after street of imposing stone houses. The choice of stone implies wealth but also, to some viewers, Nuremberg's building codes that required the first two storeys of all houses to be constructed in stone to lessen the risk of fire. The level of detailing in these buildings and the fairly meticulous care in their placement surpass any of the chronicle's other city views. Readers and viewers, that is, the literate and semi-literate across Europe could hardly fail to be impressed by this conception of Nuremberg's grandeur.

Hartmann Schedel's accompanying text (folios C verso and CI) celebrates many of the same features, for he stresses that Nuremberg is admirably fortified, prosperously housed, and blessed with impressive churches. Text, image, and Nuremberg's careful placement within the chronicle accent, too, the city's uniquely Christian and Holy Roman identity. Schedel ends his description of the city on folio 101 with a discussion of the holy relics and imperial regalia. In 1423 Emperor Sigismund designated Nuremberg the permanent guardian of the imperial regalia and holiest relics, which included the Holy Lance that pierced Christ's side and a piece of the True Cross. Amid great ceremony a year later, Sigismund transferred these sacred objects to the city, where they were placed in a silver casket and suspended from the vaults of the church of the Heilig-Geist-Spital for safekeeping. The three crosses arranged in the foreground of the woodcut allude not to civic justice but to these sacred objects, which were displayed annually after Easter during Nuremberg's most important fair.

This description is followed immediately by a short text (folio 101) and a full-page woodcut (folio 101^{v}) about Christ's commandment to St. Peter and the other disciples to build his Church and to spread the Christian message throughout the world (John 13-17). The print shows Christ and the apostles seated together as he delivers his order. Thus the texts and images of these pages portray Nuremberg as an

ancient imperial city yet one fully rooted in and still living its Christ-given mission of faithfulness.

The spirit of Wolgemut and Pleydenwurff's woodcut matches the enthusiastic description of Nuremberg written in 1458 by Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, the imperial poet laureate and secretary, shortly before he was elected Pope Pius II (r. 1458-64).[7] The text is part of his broader description of Germany. It begins,

Noricorum oppidum, flumine Pegnizia intersectum – nam hodie Franconibus / datur – preterire non possumus. Dic, rogamus, – nam hinc uxorem duxisti / castissimam eque ac pulchram –, quenam facies huius urbis, qui splendor, que / amenitas, que delitie, qui culture queve forma regiminis! Quid illi ad civitatem / omni ex parte perfectam desiderare quispiam potuerit? Quis venientibus e / Franconia inferiori et procul spectantibus eius urbis aspectus! Que maiestas, quod / decus ab extra visentibus! Quis intus nitor platearum, que domorum munditie! / Quid sancti Sebaldi templo magnificentius, quid[m] *splendidius divi Laurentii / delubro! Quid arce regia vel superbius vel munitius, quid fossa, quid menibus / illustrius! Quot ibi civium edes invenias regibus dignas! Cuperent tam egregie / Scotorum reges quam mediocres Norimberge cives habitare!*

(Nuremberg, which is divided by the Pegnitz into two parts, we cannot / here pass over; today it is considered in Franconia. Say, please – you have / beheld there your just as virtuous as beautiful wife. What a view this city offers! / What splendor, what a pleasing location, what beauty, what culture, what an / excellent government! Nothing is missing here to make it such a perfect civic / community! Coming from lower Franconia and seeing the city in the distance, / what grandeur, what magnificence it offers to the approaching viewer. And then / within the city how neat the streets, how elegant the houses! What is there more / glorious than the church of St. Sebaldus, what more splendid than the / church of St. Laurentius, more majestic and mighty than the castle, and / more praiseworthy than the moat and the city walls! How many homes / of townsmen can one find here worthy of a king! The Scottish kings / would have wished to live as elegantly as the average burgher of Nuremberg.)

These remarks, published in 1485 and cited by Schedel, are worthy of a modern chamber of commerce, yet typify the tenor of most con-

7 **Aeneas Silvius, ›Germania‹ und Jakob Wimpfeling: ›Responsa et Replicae** ad Eneam Silvium‹, ed. Adolf Schmidt, Cologne 1962, pp. 55f. [with Latin text]; Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Deutschland, ed. August Buck, Cologne 1962, pp. 102f. [with German translation]; August Buck, Enea Silvio Piccolomini und Nürnberg, in: Albrecht Dürers Umwelt, ed. Gerhard Hirschmann/Fritz Schnelbögl, Nuremberg 1971, pp. 20-28. Wilfried Krings, Text und Bild als Informationsträger bei gedruckten Stadtdarstellungen der Frühen Neuzeit, in: Poesis et Pictura. Festschrift für Dieter Wuttke zum 60. Geburtstag, ed. Füssel/Knape, Baden-Baden 1989, pp. 295-335.

temporary descriptions. Such literary encomia, even though written in Latin, reached a more limited audience than prints ultimately would.

The art of portraying cities was still quite new in 1493. The best precedent was Erhard Reuwich's woodcuts of Venice and Jerusalem illustrating Bernhard von Breydenbach's ›Peregrinatio in terram sanctam‹, published in Mainz in 1486.[8] The Utrecht artist accompanied von Breydenbach, deacon of Mainz Cathedral, on his pilgrimage from Venice to the Holy Land and back (April 1483-January 1484) to authenticate the voyage pictorially. Using multiple woodblocks printed on several sheets of paper, which were then glued together at the edges and folded to fit within the book, he had far more space for depicting these two towns than did Wolgemut. Reuwich's Venice woodcut measures 162 cm. wide. By contrast, Wolgemut's view of Nuremberg is only 42 cm. wide.

Young Albrecht Dürer learned the art of making city views while a pupil in Wolgemut's workshop from 1486 to 1489. He may well have participated in creating the illustrations for the ›Nuremberg Chronicle‹. On his first Italian journey, in 1494-95, Dürer independently depicted Innsbruck, Trent, and other sites.[9] Several years later he created the exquisite watercolor of Nuremberg from the southwest.[10] Rendered from a much lower vantage point than Wolgemut's woodcut, Dürer locates his imaginary viewer in a field outside the city. The vista extends from the castle at right to the pilgrims' hospital church of Heilig Kreuz in the distant center to the cemetery church of St. Johann at the far left or west side. Dürer made the watercolor for his own edification and apparently not as a model for a print or painting. Creating city views for a larger audience was a path that Dürer chose not to pursue.

Nuremberg's government was not directly involved in sponsoring Wolgemut's view, yet I believe that the ideas invested in the woodcut reflected prevailing patrician attitudes. As proudly stated in the colophon, the book's entire publication was financed by Sebald Schreyer and Sebastian Kammermeister, his brother-in-law. These

8 Horst Appuhn/Christian von Heusinger, Riesenholzschnitte und Papiertapeten der Renaissance, Unterschneidheim 1976, pp. 39-55 on city views, especially 39, 44 and fig. 30; Elisabeth Geck, Bernhard von Breidenbach. Reise ins Heilige Land, Wiesbaden 1977 – 2nd ed., plates between pp. 20-21 (Jerusalem) and 44-45 (Venice).

9 Walter Koschatzky, Albrecht Dürer. Die Landschaftsaquarelle, Vienna 1971, nos. 5-7, 9-10, 15; Peter Strieder, Albrecht Dürer. Paintings, Prints, Drawings, trans. Nancy M. Gordon/Walter L. Strauss, New York 1982, figures 118, 243-244 for Innsbruck.

10 Strieder, Dürer [note 9], figure 248 (formerly Bremen, Kunsthalle).

two wealthy patricians were important members of the city's power elite. Schreyer occupied one of the city's most sensitive posts as lay superintendent of St. Sebaldus church. In 1483 Schreyer directed the city council as it adopted Germany's first written legal code based upon Roman law, one that defined the breadth of the council's legal jurisdiction. This text, known as the ›Reformation‹, was originally published in 1484 with Wolgemut and Pleydenwurff's woodcut frontispiece showing Nuremberg's triple coat of arms and its patron saints, Sebald and Lorenz.[11] This civic commission marked the first of several collaborations between Schreyer and Wolgemut.

Fourteen years later, in 1498, the council authorized a new edition of the legal code. This time, however, the original frontispiece design was supplemented with a simplified copy of Wolgemut's city view.[12] St. Sebald and St. Lorenz, flanking the three coats of arms, float over the city prospect. The vista provides a tangible visual embodiment of the physical city to balance the spiritual and political manifestations of Nuremberg expressed by the saints and armorials above. Wolgemut's conception of a peaceful, prosperous town now adorns an official city document.

Literary descriptions and encomia, like Schedel's, stressed Nuremberg's central geographic location and political status within the Holy Roman Empire. Authors ranged from Hans Rosenplut in 1447[13] to local teachers and humanists, including Johannes

11 ›Disz ist die Reformacion der Statut vnd Gesetze‹, Nuremberg, Anton Koberger, 1484. Wolfgang Leiser, Nürnbergs Rechtsleben, in: Nürnberg. Geschichte einer europäischen Stadt, ed. Gerhard Pfeiffer, Munich, 1971, pp. 171-176, especially 175f.; Phillip Norton Bebb, The Lawyers, Dr. Christophy Scheurl, and the Reformation in Nürnberg, in: The Social History of the Reformation, ed. Lawrence P. Buck/Jonathan W. Zophy, Columbus 1972, pp. 52-72, especially 56f.; Gothic and Renaissance Art in Nuremberg 1300-1550, exh. cat., New York/Nuremberg/Munich 1986, no. 84; Quasi Centrum Europae. Europa kauft in Nürnberg 1400-1800, ed. Hermann Maué *et al.*, exh. cat., Nuremberg 2002, p. 280, no. 92.

12 ›Die Reformacion der Statut und Gesetze der Stat Nüremberg‹, Augsburg, Johannes Schönsperger, 1498; Michael Baxandall, The Limewood Sculptors of Renaissance Germany, New Haven 1980, p. 7, fig. 3.

13 Rosenplüt praised the city's seven jewels, which included the walls, the Beautiful Fountain in the Hauptmarkt, and the imperial relics. Karl Schäfer, Des Hieronymus Braun Prospekt der Stadt Nürnberg vom Jahre 1608 und seine Vorläufer, Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg 12 (1896), pp. 3-84, here 6; Otto Anders, Nürnberg um die Mitte des 15. Jahrhuderts im Spiegel ausländischer Betrachtung, Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg 50 (1960), pp.

Cochlaeus and Eobanus Hessus, to enlightened civil servants, such as Christoph Scheurl, to Nuremberg's most famous shoemaker, poet, and Meistersinger Hans Sachs, to Conrad Celtis, the imperial poet laureate.[14] Celtis played a critical role in the gradual awakening and publicizing of Nuremberg's identity. Inspired by flattering civic eulogies, such as Leonardo Bruni's patriotic history of Florence of about 1403, Celtis composed the ›Libellus‹, or ›Little Book‹, about Nuremberg in 1495.[15] Dedicated to the city council, the text extolled Nuremberg's government, physical characteristics, and people. Celtis frequently exaggerated, as when he claimed that 365 towers, one for each day of the year, ringed the city.

Although the council only awarded Celtis the modest sum of 20 gulden, the poet commanded a loyal local following. Through the assistance of Sebald Schreyer and the other patrician members of the Sodalitas Celtica, the ›Libellus‹ was published together with Celtis's immensely successful ›Quattuor libri amorum‹ in Nuremberg in 1502. This second text, the ›Four Books of Love‹, provides an allegorical description of the union of the German lands. The frontispiece by Albrecht Dürer depicts Philosophy, the queen of the Muses, surrounded by the four great world cultures: those of Egypt, Greece, Rome, and

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100-112.

14 Schäfer, Braun, pp. 4-8; Johannes Cochlaeus, ›Brevis Germanie Descriptio‹ (1512), ed. and tr. Karl Langosch, Darmstadt 1969, pp. 74-93; Ingrid Keck, Die ›Noriberga Illustrata‹ des Helius Eobanus Hessus, Frankfurt 1999; Walter Gebhardt, *Et foveat dives Laetum Noriberga poetam*: Erasmus Laetus und das Nürnberger Städtelob im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert, Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg 89 (2002), pp. 47-62.

15 ›Libellus de origine, situ, moribus et iustitutis Norimbergae‹, Nuremberg 1502. Hartmann Schedel's personal copy is in Munich, BSB, 4° Rar. 446, pp. 81-107 verso; it immediately follows Celtis's ›Quattuor libri Amorum‹. Albert Werminghoff, Conrad Celtis und sein Buch über Nürnberg, Freiburg im Breisgau 1921; Lewis W. Spitz, Conrad Celtis. The German Arch-Humanist, Cambridge, MA, 1957, pp. 35-44; Günter Hess, Von der Kunst zu überleben: Die Scheltrede des Conrad Celtis an den Rat von Nürnberg (Oden III, 11), in: Handbuch der Literatur in Bayern, ed. Albrecht Weber, Regensburg 1987, pp. 163-174; Gesa Büchert, Celtis und Nürnberg, in: Amor als Topograph. 500 Jahre *Amores* des Conrad Celtis. Ein Manifest des deutschen Humanismus, ed. Claudia Wiener [*et al.*], exh. cat., Schweinfurt 2002, pp. 107-114; Klaus Arnold, Die ›Norimberga‹ des Konrad Celtis. Entstehung und Überlieferung, Pirckheimer-Jahrbuch für Renaissance und Humanismusforschung, 19 (2004), pp. 110-116.

Germany.[16] Like Schedel before him, Celtis claimed that Germany, not Italy, was the true seat of contemporary culture and that Nuremberg was its capital. As if to illustrate his point, either Celtis or Schreyer commissioned Hans von Kulmbach, Dürer's pupil, to replicate Wolgemut and Pleydenwurff's portrait of Nuremberg. This is the only city scene in the book. It is relevant to note that in 1502, around the time of the book's printing, the council adopted strict censorship laws that required its approval of all texts published in Nuremberg and from 1513 all prints.[17]

Wolgemut and Pleydenwurff's prospect of Nuremberg defined the city for over a half-century.[18] In 1552 a pair of more refined images appeared. Hans Lautensack created two monumental etchings that represent the city from the east and from the west (Fig. 2-3).[19] Three copper plates, with a combined measurement of about 30 by 150 centimeters, were needed to print each impression. Neither Wolgemut's woodcut nor the many interim views could match the veracity, indeed audacity, of Lautensack's etchings. The artist rendered the city, its buildings,

16 Matthias Mende, Dürer und der Meister der Celtis-Illustrationen. Paragone um 1500 in Nürnberg, in: Wiener, Amor [note 15], pp. 27-37, also no. 1.

17 Arnd Müller, Die Zensurpolitik der Reichsstadt Nürnberg von der Einführung der Buchdruckerkunst bis zum Ende der Reichsstadtzeit, Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg 49 (1959), pp. 66-169.

18 The city council possessed several models of Nuremberg, some commissioned and some donated to the council in hope of a generous payment. Veit Stoss, the noted sculptor, made a now lost relief map of Nuremberg, This may have anticipated Hans Beheim's detailed model of 1540 now in Munich (Bayerisches Nationalmuseum), for which the council awarded him 40 gulden. In 1543 Georg Pencz, city painter, and Sebald Peck (Beck?), a sculptor, produced an elaborate relief plan of Nuremberg at the request of the city council. ›Oberstleutnant Mayer-München‹, Relief Nürnberg vom Jahre 1540 im Nationalmuseum zu München, Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg 20 (1913), pp. 261-274; Schnelbögl, Dokumente [note 2], pp. 11-12, 75. Nuremberg's skyline appeared in numerous prints, most of which had little or no political intentions. There were also several broadsheets showing comets and meteorological phenomena occurring above the city. Axel Janeck, Zeichen am Himmel. Flugblätter des 16. Jahrhunderts, exh. cat. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg 1982, nos. 10, 21, 27, 29-30, 35-36.

19 Annegrit Schmitt, Hanns Lautensack, Nuremberg 1957, nos. 50-51; Charles Talbot/Alan Shestack, eds., Prints and Drawings of the Danube School, exh. cat. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven 1969, no. 104; Smith, Nuremberg [note 3], nos. 163-164.

and its countryside with painstaking precision. The inscription above the city's coats of arms reads »A Truthful Portrait of the Praiseworthy Imperial Town from the East [literally: against the ascent of the sun]« (*Warhafftige Contrafactur der Löblichen Reychstat Nuremberg gegen dem Aufgang der Sonnen. 1552*). The term *contrafactur/conterfactur*, or »counterfeit«, used here, was then synonymous with portraiture from life. Painters and sculptors who made portraits are often referred to as *Conterfetter* because of the realism of their art. To reassure the viewer of his absolute fidelity to nature, Lautensack included an artist, presumably a self-portrait, diligently working under the appreciative gaze of his fellow citizens. He is sketching outdoors or, as one would say in German, *nach dem Leben,* to prove his scrutiny of the actual walls and buildings.[20] The gentleman tipping his hat to the artist is a prosperous patrician, perhaps intended to signify an elder of the government. Others, including the implied viewer a bit farther back, look on in admiration and as witnesses, as if art has opened their eyes to Nuremberg's beauty for the first time.

Each print set offers a broad panoramic view, though not the bird's eye or godly vantage point employed in Jacopo de' Barbari's famed map of Venice of 1500, which had been commissioned by a Nuremberg merchant, or Hans Weiditz's woodcut of Augsburg of 1521.[21] Instead the viewer is placed in the role of a spectator, like Aeneas Silvius or Dürer, gazing towards Nuremberg from the surrounding countryside. City and landscape are nicely balanced here, as neither dominates.

The unprecedented immediacy of Lautensack's vision heightens its impact. The eastern series begins in the fields south of the Frauentor. The view extends past the towers of St. Lorenz, St. Sebaldus, and the castle to the Laufertor and to the village of Wöhrd to the northeast. In addition to cataloguing Nuremberg's imposing physical attributes, Lautensack invests his vision of the city with a decidedly positive mood. Its burghers and workers are shown dutifully toiling. These peasants till the soil, harvest the grain, and transport their wares to Obstmarkt or fruit market in the center of Nuremberg. They are not the unhappy underclass that had rebelled in 1525. They are now united in purpose with their city. Their contribution is acknowledged

20 Peter Parshall, *Imago contra facta.* Images and Facts in the Northern Renaissance, Art History 16 (1993), pp. 57-82; Claudia Swan, *Ad vivum*, naer het leven. From Life: Defining a Mode of Representation, Word & Image 4 (1995), pp. 353-354.

21 Juergen Schultz, Jacopo de' Barbari's View of Venice: Map Making, City Views, and Moralized Geography Before the Year 1500, Art Bulletin 60 (1978), pp. 425-474.

just like that of the merchants who drive their heavily ladened wagons towards the city gates. The citizens have created an impressive city and mastered the poor sandy soil, a point made repeatedly in earlier literary accounts. A harmony exists between man and nature, between city and countryside.

Lautensack's pictorial encomium rivals its great literary predecessor. He successfully conveys the physical city of towers and walls as well as the ideological city; that is, the face that Nuremberg and its patrician government would like to be publicized. Lautensack's intent is stated in the last two lines of the left-hand inscription of the eastern view: *Illius hic turres et moenia pinximus urbis, / Immensus fuerat pingere dona labor* (Here we have drawn the towers and walls of this city; to paint its riches was too great a task). Lautensack repeats the sort of literary topos employed earlier by Dürer in his portrait of ›Philipp Melanchthon‹ of 1526 where the artist claims he »was able to depict the face of the living Philipp; the learned hand was not able to depict his mind« (*Viventis potvit dvrerivs ora philippi Mentem non potvit pingere docta manvs*).[22] Both artists, in spite of their disclaimers, attempt to capture those special features of their subjects, whether it is Melanchthon's intelligence through his high brow and intense focus or the bounty of Nuremberg through a myriad of positive details. Lautensack's Nuremberg is peaceful and prosperous.

Who made up Lautensack's audience? Civic records indicate that Lautensack dedicated his prints to the Nuremberg council. They received numerous copies of each print and likely the etched plates. On the 21st of March 1552, the council rewarded Lautensack in return with a gift of 50 gulden, or roughly the equivalent of the annual salary of a printer.[23] In the approximately sixty-year interim since their

22 David Price, Albrecht Dürer's Renaissance. Humanism, Reformation, and the Art of Faith, Ann Arbor 2003, p. 246.

23 *Hannsen Lautensack auf sein Supplizieren gegen der deduzierten Conterfectur der Stadt Nürmberg davon er auch ainem jeden Herrn des Raths ain unausgestrichnen abtruck verordent von meiner Herrn wegen wider mit 50 fl. vereern und Ine deshalb in die Losungstuben weysen*. 21 March 1552 – Staatsarchiv Nürnberg, Ratsverlässe, nr. 1074. **The same date appeared in the Ratsbücher der Reichs-stadt** Nürnberg, nr. 26, fol. 214v: *Dieweil Hans Lautensack die stat Nürmberg mit grossem fleyss abgerysse und conterfeht hat, auch meinen Herrn durch ain supplication ain zierlich ausgestrichens und ainem jeden herrn in sonderhait ain unausgetrichens exemplar vereert und deducirt, ist im dagegen wider fünfzig gulden zuvereern verschafft und er deshalb in die losungstuben geweysen worden per Hans Starck eodem die ut supra* [21. **März 1552]. Cited in** Schmitt, Lautensack [note 19], p. 50 (docs. nos. xxxiv-xxxv).

miserly offering to Conrad Celtis, the Nuremberg council had come to appreciate the benefits of such laudatory civic portraits. The many extant examples of both the eastern and the western views testify to the popularity of Lautensack's prints. Examples, including the several impressions still in the city's possession, were probably displayed in the Rathaus and in the homes of the counselors. Others likely were given to the emperor and the city's allies.

How truthful was Lautensack's ideal view? While his artistic vision is difficult to fault, it is relevant to recall that as he worked on the two etched series in late 1551 and early 1552, the clouds of war were gathering around Nuremberg. On 18 May, less than two months after Lautensack was paid by the council, Albrecht Alcibiades, Margrave of Brandenburg-Kulmbach, a murderous robber baron, looted and burned the countryside around Nuremberg, including many of the *Herrensitze*, or patrician rural estates. The Second Margrave's War (1552-54) left the landscape ravaged and Nuremberg in debt.[24] Perhaps Lautensack voiced his apprehensions in the German text of the western view when he wrote »we can see the royal castle that overlooks the town, which God in his mercy will keep in peace« (*Darzu das kungklich Schloß darauf / Die Stat wird übersehen gar / Die Gott genedig im Fried bewar*). This wish for divine protection is reiterated often in later civic art.

Nevertheless, it was Lautensack's peaceful portrait that would define the city in the public's eyes for the rest of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. His etchings repeatedly provided the models for Hans Weigel (c. 1570) and numerous later printmakers. Already in 1552 a crude two-block woodcut after the eastern view was created to illustrate the re-issuance of Hans Sachs's ›Ein lobspruch der statt Nürnberg‹, originally published in 1530.[25]

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24 Pfeiffer, Nürnberg [note 11], pp. 168-170, pegs Nuremberg's economic losses at 3,267,394 florins due to the war. Gerald Strauss, Nuremberg in the Sixteenth Century, Bloomington ²1976, pp. 184-186.

25 Hans Röttinger, Die Bilderbogen des Hans Sachs, Strassburg 1927, p. 50, no. 375; Die Welt des Hans Sachs, ed. Renate Freitag-Stadler *et al.*, exh. cat. Stadtgeschichtliches Museum, Nuremberg, Nuremberg 1976, no. 228; Hartmut Kugler, Die Stadt im Wald. Zur Stadtbeschreibung bei Hans Sachs, in: Hans Sachs. Studien zur frühbürgerlichen Literatur im 16. Jahrhundert, ed. Thomas Cramer/Erika Kartschoke, Bern 1978, pp. 83-103.

Far more significant is the monumental woodcut of 1559 (Fig. 4).[26] The view is once again the eastern prospect of Nuremberg, although the scene is modeled loosely upon a group of woodcuts and paintings by Lucas Cranach the Younger.[27] The city and the Pegnitz River provide the setting for the baptism of Christ. The cleansing waters flow westerly past Christ and into the city. Nuremberg shares in this spiritual baptism. Attending are, on the left, August, the reigning Elector of Saxony and leader of the Lutheran party, five margraves of Brandenburg, and seven current and past dukes and electors of Saxony, beginning with Friedrich the Wise by the river. Opposite kneel Johann Hus, Martin Luther, Philipp Melanchthon, and other evangelical reformers, as well as, second from the right, Erasmus. Above, an angel carries Nuremberg's coats of arms. Sanctifying the baptism and its localization are God the Father and the Holy Spirit completing the Trinity. The city of Nuremberg is Lutheran by the grace of God and by the actions of its council.

This civic view is related directly to the Peace of Augsburg of 1555 and the subsequent political jostling in Germany, a religious accord between Catholics and Lutherans based upon the concept of *cujus regio, ejus religio*, by which each ruling prince or imperial free city government could now legally select its own confessional affiliation. In this woodcut, Nuremberg, which had embraced Lutheranism in 1525, reiterated its evangelical orientation. Already in February 1558 the council authorized a new visitation for the city and its lands to check on the spiritual education of its citizens and the competency of its clergy. This large woodcut measures over a meter wide. Its scale, material, and design suggest that it was intended for public display rather than for a personal *Kunstkammer*. The artist of this woodcut, with its explicit religious message and prominent Nuremberg arms, was obliged to obtain council sanction before production and distribution of the print.

There is, of course, an important distinction between sanctioning and commissioning a civic image. The council may have ordered the baptism scene, but no supporting documentation exists. The rest of the works to be discussed below were all initiated by the council and

26 Reformation in Nürnberg. Umbruch und Bewahrung, exh. cat., Nuremberg 1979, no. 89; Robert W. Scribner, For the Sake of Simple Folk. Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation, Cambridge 1981, pp. 222-227; Smith, Nuremberg [note 3], p. 35, fig. 28.

27 These images, which depict other towns, date from about 1548 to 1556. Dieter Koepplin/Tilmann Falk, eds., Lukas Cranach. Gemälde, Zeichnungen, Druckgraphik, 2 vols., Basel 1976, II, nos. 347-350.

all specifically reflect its attitude about the city and its government. The majority are, quite frankly, self-congratulatory in character.

In 1564 the council issued a new edition of the Reformation or civic legal code.[28] A local artist known today only as Master M.S. provided two woodcuts (Fig. 5). Situated before a view of the castle and the northwestern corner of Nuremberg in the second illustration are *Respublica*, the personification of the community, and her handmaidens Justice, Peace, and Liberality. The Concord of the city is compared to honey bees working together for the collective good, here specifically identified as gold coins falling from an inverted purse for the betterment of Nuremberg and its worthy needy subjects. As in the ›Baptism‹ woodcut, God appears above to sanction this allegory of good government. He approves of *Respublica*, that is, the patrician council running the city.

This woodcut is a fascinating amalgam of the civic view with its detailed prospect of Nuremberg's skyline found in the 1498 code and of Dürer's woodcut of 1521 for the 1522 edition of the ›Reformation‹ (Fig. 6).[29] In the latter, Holy Justice and Liberality reign while two angels support the city's arms topped by the imperial crown. It is the council acting as God's agent that conducts the justice codified in this treatise. And like the figure of Liberality, the council's collective heart is filled with the flames of civic love for and concern about the material and spiritual well-being of the citizenry. Master M.S. has thematically, if not artistically, amplified the message of Dürer's woodcut. Both of these legal images illustrate the sacred community; that is, the city united by law and faith, peace and concord.

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28 ›Der Stat Nürmberg verneute Reformation‹, Nuremberg: Valentin Geissler, 1564. The title page depicts a triumphal arch with two victories holding the imperial crown of Emperor Ferdinand I; flanking figures of a Roman emperor and Moses; two texts (IMP: CVSTOS LEGVM and LEX DONVM DEI) signifying that laws are given by God and protected by the emperor; and, below, Nuremberg's coat of arms. The woodcut illustrated here appears on page iv (unpaginated). The woodcut was reissued in the identically titled 1595 edition. Kristin E. S. Zapalac, 'In His Image and Likeness.' Political Iconography and Religious Change in Regensburg, 1500-1600, Ithaca, NY 1990, pp. 87f.

29 Dürer's design dates to late 1521, and the block was printed in 1522. Werner Schultheiss, Albrecht Dürers Beziehungen zum Recht, in: Albrecht Dürers Umwelt [note 7], pp. 220-254, here 248f.; Smith, Nuremberg [note 3], p. 117; Albrecht Dürer and His Legacy. The Graphic Work of a Renaissance Artist, ed. Giulia Bartrum, exh. cat., British Museum, London 2002, no. 161 (Willibald Pirckheimer's personal impression).

During the 1580s and 1590s, the Nuremberg council commissioned several objects, ranging from medals to large public monuments, to celebrate its wise rule. In 1585, 1589, and 1593, Valentin Maler created medals for the patrician government (Fig. 7).[30] Each medal was stamped, not cast, which meant that Maler and his patron, the council, went to the expense of producing a die. This normally was done only when a large edition was planned. Furthermore, most known examples are in silver, some with gilt, a showy and expensive material. The targeted audience likely included the council, leading local patricians, and Nuremberg's allies. The 1585 and nearly identical 1589 medals, the latter of which is illustrated here, are the among the earliest civic medals with town views in Central Europe.[31] Lautensack's vista is transformed into a model supported by a Ratsherr, certainly the first treasurer, Nuremberg's highest official. He is the good shepherd dutifully watching over his civic flock, as the staff and lamb indicate. This motif is directly adapted from its popular use in Lutheran art, where it was employed to signify the true Church that, like Christ, guards and nurtures its flock.[32] To his left stand an angel and a craftsman, identified by his anvil. A second angel holding a warning horn and a lance hovers above. The inscriptions from Psalms read: *Nisi Dominus custodierit civitatem, frustra vigilat qui custodit eam* (Unless the Lord preserves the city, the sentry watches in vain [127:1]) and *Imittet angelvs domini in circvitv timentivm evm eripiet eos. Pam XXXIIII* (The angel of the Lord encamps amid those who revere Him and rescues them [Vulgate 33:8; King James 34:7; Luther 34:8]). The pious sentry embodies, of course, the patrician council. On the obverse are the city's arms and the statement that this is indeed a true image of the imperial city of Nuremberg.[33] The significance of this medal is clear: the imperial city,

30 Fritz Zink, Die frühesten Stadtansichten auf deutschen Medaillen und Münzen, Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums (1954-59 [1960]), pp. 192-221, here 200, 208f., nos. 4 and 7; Hermann Maué in Wenzel Jamnitzer und die Nürnberger Goldschmiedekunst 1500-1700, ed. Klaus Pechstein *et al.*, exh. cat., Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, Munich 1985, nos. 674-676; Sven Hauschke, Der Nürnberger Tugendbrunnen von Benedikt Wurzelbauer. Ein reichsstädtisches Monument, Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg 81 (1994), pp. 31-72, here 68f.

31 Medals depicting views of Leipzig (1544), Zürich (c. 1550), and Munich (c. 1576) are earlier. Zink, Stadtansichten [note 30], nos. 1-3.

32 Scribner [note 26], pp. 50-58.

33 »Vera designatio versvs ortvm inclytae civitat: imperia: Norimb: cvm ei: ins.«

protected by its abiding faith in God, is ruled wisely by the patrician government with the harmonious assistance of the artisans. In the mid-1580s with the growing militancy of Wilhelm V, the Catholic duke of Bavaria, and the death of August of Saxony, the leader of the Protestant princes, pressure was building on the Nuremberg council to play a more active political role in Germany.

Maler's composition may have been inspired by a contemporary anonymous colored drawing now in Nuremberg's Stadtbibliothek (Fig. 8).[34] Set on the shoulders of the first treasurer is a model of Nuremberg as seen from the south. The burden of supporting the city is literally and figuratively on his shoulders. He is assisted by the second treasurer, who can be identified by his dress as a patrician. The third member of this triumvirate is a craftsman, certainly the Ratsfreund who represented the artisans in the government. While the latter's participation is significant and represents an advance from earlier governments, he stands aside and is not equal to the others. There is an historical basis for this lack of privilege. With the suppression of a guild revolt in 1348-49, the defeated craftsmen were largely excluded from the patrician-run government. There were eight craftsmen and thirty-four patricians on the Inner Council. These three men are symbolically responsible for the city's well-being, including the administration of justice as indicated by the sword and scale above. Unfortunately, the original purpose and precise date of this loose drawing have yet to be determined.

In 1593 Maler prepared his third medal for the council (Fig. 9).[35] An identical town model is now supported by Justice, Wisdom, and Peace, who stand between two angels. The arms of the city, along with those of the current seven elders of the council, appear on the

34 34.5 x 46.5 cm. Illustrated here is an eighteenth-century copy with text now in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, inv. no. HB 2016 in Kapsel 1313. I wish to thank Heinrich Hofmann of the Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg for this information (letter 28 June 1989). Reformation in Nürnberg [note 26], nr. 6; HAUSCHKE, Tugendbrunnen [note 30], p. 68, fig. 35 (sixteenth-century version); SUSAN TIPTON, *Res publica bene ordinata*: Regentenspiegel und Bilder vom guten Regiment. Rathausdekorationen in der Frühen Neuzeit, Hildesheim 1996, pp. 118-120, on the carrying of city models.

35 ZINK, Stadtansichten [note 30], no. 7; MAUÉ in PECHSTEIN, Jamnitzer [note 30], no. 676. The coats of arms are of the Septemvirn or Seven Elders of the council: Hieronymus Baumgartner, Andreas Imhoff, Julius Geuder, Hans Welser, Joachim Nüzel, Christoph Fürer, and Paulus Harsdörfer. This was reissued in 1595, 1599, and 1600.

obverse. The accompanying texts stress the elders' faith in God as their refuge and the message that *Concordia* permits growth while *Discordia* causes maximum disruption.[36] The same sort of message, albeit without a townscape, was communicated by Benedikt Wurzelbauer's marvelous ›Fountain of the Virtues‹ (1583-89), erected adjacent to St. Lorenz, the great parish church for the south half of the city, along the modern Königstrasse, then, as now, Nuremberg's major north-south thoroughfare (Fig. 10).[37] Justice stands at the apex. Below are six putti bearing Nuremberg's coats of arms and trumpets to herald the city's fame. The remaining virtues – three theological (Faith, Hope, and Charity) and three cardinal (Patience [rather than Prudence], Fortitude, and Temperance) – occupy the lower zone. Commissioned by the council at about the same time as Maler's medals, the fountain very publicly proclaimed the virtues necessary for wise rule.

By the late sixteenth century the Nuremberg council skillfully employed art, including city portraits, to convey specific political messages, to shape opinion, and to affirm its own actions. Where first Wolgemut with Pleydenwurff and then Lautensack offered the world unrivalled vistas of Nuremberg, encomia to its prosperity, peace, and social harmony, the council gradually appropriated the city view as a symbol of its own virtuous rule and displayed these images within the seat of its power. The council's desire to control how Nuremberg's image was perceived by others grew stronger as the city's own economic and political fortunes waned in the later sixteenth century. During the early seventeenth century, an allegorical profile view of Nuremberg was included in the new painted decorations of the Great Hall of the Rathaus.[38] The iconographic program of this cycle

36 CONCORDIA RES PARVAE CRESCVNT. DISCORDIA MAXIMAE DILABVNTVR.

37 The backdrop for the fountain is the west façade of St. Lorenz with its sculpted Last Judgment over the single portal. HAUSCHKE, Tugendbrunnen [note 30], p. 39; JEFFREY CHIPPS SMITH, German Sculpture of the Later Renaissance, c. 1520-1580. Art in an Age of Uncertainty, Princeton 1994, pp. 223-226.

38 Peter Isselburg, ›Emblemata Politica In aula magna Curiae Noribergensis depicta‹, Nuremberg 1617 and 1640; MATTHIAS MENDE, Das Alte Nürnberger Rathaus, exh. cat., Nuremberg 1979, nos. 386d, 386e, 403b, figs. 168a-b; KARL-HEINZ SCHREYL, Emblemata politica. Die Sinnbilder im Nürnberger Rathaussaal, Nuremberg 1980, pp. 73-75, 81 and no. 17; and PECHSTEIN, Jamnitzer [note 30], no. 530. Isselburg's title page includes Prudence and Fortitude in the guises of Athena and Hercules. These were inspired directly by Gabriel Weyer's over-life size paintings, completed in 1613, then on the eastern wall of the Great Hall. Isselburg informed his

appeared before audiences both within and well beyond the city's walls in the engravings accompanying Peter Isselburg's ›Emblemata Politica‹, published in 1617. Then, in 1611, Georg Holdermann created a commemorative wax tablet that paired the portraits of the Seven Elders of the council with a depiction of Nuremberg's skyline.[39] These and Hieronymus Braun's monumental (2.7 x 1.7 m.) aerial prospect of the city of 1608, however, represent the next chapter in the imaging and imagining of Nuremberg, a story perhaps for another day.[40]

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readers that these signify the city council's prudent administration and the fortitude of their defense of the Respublica. The latter is pictorially defined here by the accompanying city view, based on Lautensack's western etching, which is displayed by an angel. Emblem 17, copying a painting on one of the south wall window frames, shows a compressed western view of the Nuremberg. Above, storm clouds dissipate as a glorious rainbow appears. The motto reads, »Secure through this alliance« (*Hoc foedere / tuti*). The accompanying epigram, based upon Genesis 9:8-17, recounts how God told Noah that the rainbow will signal the end of the flood and mark the beginning of the eternal covenant between God and mankind. Here the covenant is between God and Nuremberg, and, by extension, the wise city council and its citizens. Nuremberg is the devout, godly city hoping for a prosperous future.

39 Hauschke, Tugendbrunnen [note 30], pp. 69f., fig. 37.

40 **Braun dedicated the work to the city council.** Schäfer, Braun [note 13]; Helmut Pfadenhauer, Prospekt der Reichsstadt Nürnberg des Hieronymus Braun 1608, Nuremberg 1985, pp. 1-12 and facsimile.

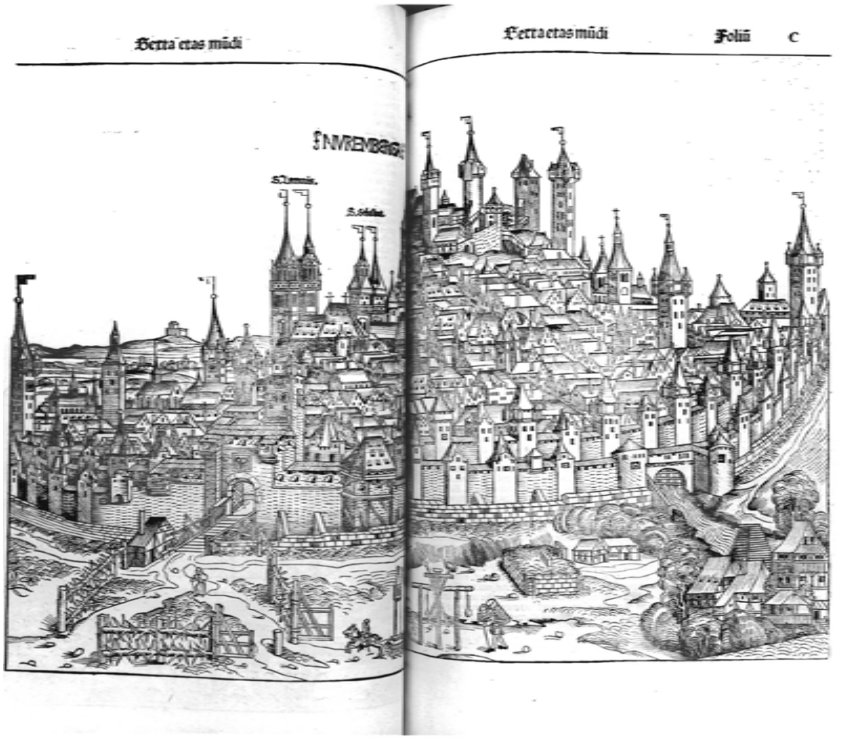
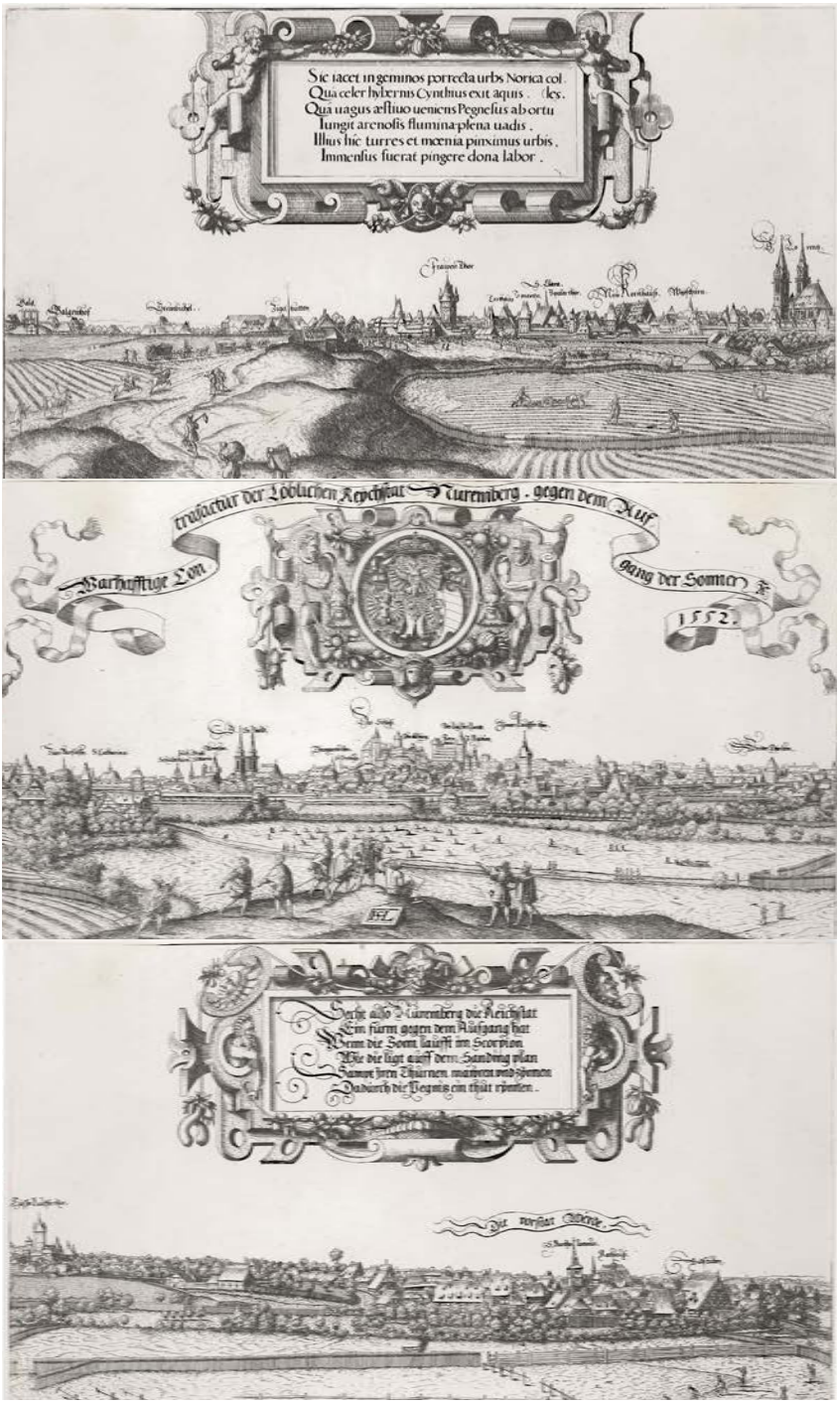


Fig. 1: Michael Wolgemut and Wilhelm Pleydenwurff, View of Nuremberg. Woodcut in Hartmann Schedel, ›Liber chronicarum‹ (Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1493), folio C. [photo: Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin]

Next page:

Fig. 2: Hans Lautensack, View of Nuremberg from East. Etching, 1552 [photo: National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.] (on top left section, center in the middle, right below)



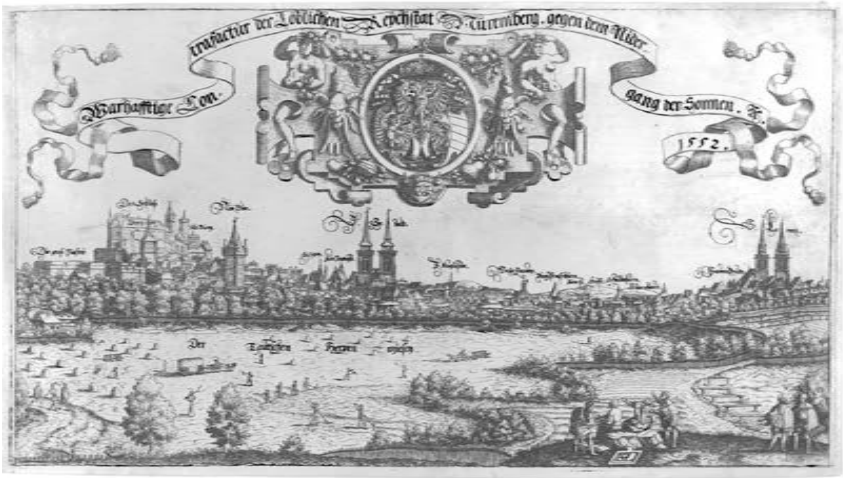


Fig. 3: Hans Lautensack, View of Nuremberg from the West, detail center. Etching, 1552 [photo: National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.]

Fig. 4: Anonymous, Baptism of Christ with a View of Nuremberg. Woodcut, 1559. [photo: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg]

Fig. 5: Monogrammist MS, Respublica with her Handmaidens. Woodcut in ›Der Stat Nürmberg verneute Reformation‹ (Nuremberg: Valentin Geissler, 1564) [Photo: Kroch Library, Rare & Manuscripts-Collection, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York]

Fig. 6: Albrecht Dürer, Sancta Ivsticia. Woodcut in ›Reformacion der Stat Nüremberg‹ (Nuremberg: Friedrich Peypus, 1521 [1522]), folio aa i verso. [photo: Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection, Library Congress, Washington, D.C.]

Fig. 7: Valentin Maler, Allegory of Civic Government. Medal, 1589. [photo: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg]

Fig. 8: Anonymous, Allegory of Civic Government. Colored drawing, second half of the sixteenth century [eighteenth century copy with new inscriptions]. [photo: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg]

Fig. 9: Valentin Maler, Allegory of Civic Government. Medal, 1593. [photo: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg]

Fig. 10: Benedikt Wurzelbauer, Fountain of the Virtues, Nuremberg. Bronze sculpture, 1583-89. [photo: Bildstelle und Denkmalarchiv Stadt Nürnberg]

Volker Mertens

Das Fastnachtspiel zwischen Subversion und Affirmation

Kaum eine spätmittelalterliche Gattung hat in der Forschung der letzten vierzig Jahre so viel Aufmerksamkeit erfahren wie das Fastnachtspiel, obwohl es in der Geschichte der Textüberlieferung eine eher marginale Rolle spielt. Das Fastnachtspiel hat besonders kulturwissenschaftliche Fragestellungen und Antworten provoziert, wobei, wie das magistrale Buch von Eckehard Simon[1] zeigt, die materielle Grundlage dieser Antworten häufig souverän ignoriert wurde. Vor allem zwei Thesen haben die Forschung beflügelt: Michail Bachtins[2] Subversions- und Dietz-Rüdiger Mosers[3] Kompensations- oder besser Affirmationsthese, wobei letztere wenig Erfolg hatte, nicht zuletzt, weil sie religionspädagogisch stark zugespitzt war. In jüngerer Zeit haben mit den Aufsätzen von Bruno Quast[4] und Werner Röcke[5] Relativierungen und Erweiterungen der Diskussion stattgefunden, wobei v.a. Röcke den bislang unbefangen vorausgesetzten Status der Performanz hermeneutisch fruchtbar gemacht hat.[6] Beide bleiben übrigens letztlich der Bachtinschen Subversionsthese eher unreflektiert verhaftet. Das

1 Eckehard Simon, Die Anfänge des weltlichen deutschen Schauspiels. 1370–1530. Untersuchungen und Dokumentation, Tübingen 2003 (MTU 124).

2 Michail Bachtin, Literatur und Karneval. Zur Romantheorie und Lachkultur, Frankfurt a. M. 1996 (Fischer Taschenbuch 7434).

3 Dietz-Rüdiger Moser, Fastnacht – Fasching – Karneval. Das Fest der »Verkehrten Welt«, Graz/Wien/Köln 1986.

4 Bruno Quast, Zwischenwelten. Poetologische Überlegungen zu den Nürnberger Fastnachtspielen des 15. Jahrhunderts, in: Fremdes wahrnehmen – fremdes Wahrnehmen. Studien zur Geschichte der Wahrnehmung und zur Begegnung von Kulturen in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit, hg. von Wolfgang Harms, Stuttgart 1997, S. 205–217.

5 Werner Röcke, Text und Ritual. Spielformen des Performativen in der Fastnachtskultur des späten Mittelalters, in: Mediävistik als Kulturwissenschaft, hg. von Hans-Werner Goetz, Berlin 2000 (Das Mittelalter 5.1), S. 83–100; s. auch Werner Röcke. Literarische Gegenwelten. Fastnachtspiele und karnevaleske Festkultur, in: Die Literatur im Übergang vom Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit, hg. von Werner Röcke/Marina Münkler, München/Wien 2004 (Hansers Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur 1), S. 420–445.

6 Röcke, Text und Ritual [Anm. 5].

Ziel meines Beitrags ist eine Überprüfung der Subversions- und Affirmationsthese, wobei ich an die Performanzdebatte anknüpfe, denn diese scheint mit angesichts der Überlieferungssituation zentral für die Frage nach den Aufzeichnungs- und möglichen Lektüremotiven und damit für die Frage nach der sozialen und ästhetischen Funktion.

Ausgangspunkt muß zunächst die Überlieferung sein, wie sie THOMAS HABEL und ECKEHARD SIMON dargestellt haben.[7] Die erhaltenen Texte sind keine Aufführungs-, sondern Lesetexte. Sie sind weder Spielvorlagen noch Nachbereitungen, sondern, wie schon durch die Mitüberlieferung von Mären nahegelegt wird, literarisierte Texte. Gelegentlich geäußerte Vermutungen, die Wolfenbütteler Handschrift G von Claus Spa(u)n mit 66 Nürnberger und drei Tiroler Fastnachtspielen sowie das Augsburger Fragment A könnten auf eine »mögliche Wiederverwendung bei Aufführungen« hin angelegt sein[8], sind kaum zu beweisen. Bislang wurden die Manuskripte allerdings auch kaum daraufhin untersucht. Die Handschriften wurden zumeist von Berufsschreibern für Angehörige der Oberschicht oder auch für den Verkauf erstellt; diese Beobachtung entspricht dem, was generell über weltliche Bücherbesitzer im 15. Jahrhundert festzustellen ist: Bücher waren in der Hand von »Ehrbaren«, von Kaufleuten und Gelehrten; Handwerker als Bücherbesitzer kommen erst gegen Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts auf.

Wiewohl die erhaltenen Texte also Lesetexte sind, steht außer Frage, daß Fastnachtspiele aufgeführt wurden, und diese Annahme liegt ja sowohl der Subversions-, wie der Affirmationsthese zugrunde, da beide von dem Gemeinschaftsbezug ausgehen und nicht vom einsamen Leser. Ich werde im Lauf der Argumentation auf den Transformationsprozeß eingehen, setze aber auch die Performanz voraus. Dafür gibt es für Nürnberg externe Zeugnisse in den Ratsverlässen, die allerdings erst seit 1468 erhalten sind.[9] Man ist sich jedoch sicher, daß seit Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts an den drei Tagen der Fastnacht, also an *Esto mihi*, am ›geilen Montag‹ und am Dienstag, mitunter auch noch am Aschermittwoch

7 THOMAS HABEL, Vom Zeugniswert der Überlieferungsträger. Bemerkungen zum frühen Nürnberger Fastnachtspiel, in: Artibus. Festschrift für Dieter Wuttke, hg. von STEPHAN FÜSSEL u. a., Wiesbaden 1994, S. 103–134; SIMON, Die Anfänge [Anm. 1].

8 HANSJÜRGEN LINKE, Versuche über deutsche Handschriften mittelalterlicher Spiele, in: Deutsche Handschriften 1100–1400. Oxforder Colloquium 1985, hg. von VOLKER HONEMANN/NIGEL PALMER, Tübingen 1988, S. 527–551.

9 Vgl. SIMON, Die Anfänge [Anm. 1], S. 323.

abends sog. ›Einkehrspiele‹ in Privat- und Wirtshäusern stattfanden, wo ›Bursen‹, d.h. Festgesellschaften versammelt waren, die, zumindest in den Privathäusern, auch Frauen einschlossen. Der Ursprung dieses saisonalen Theaterbrauchs liegt im Dunkeln; man hat verschiedene Traditionen, wie die komischen Szenen in den geistlichen Dramen, lustige Einzelvorträge, brauchtümliche Heischegänge von Schülern und Studenten, den sog. Parthekenhengsten (wie Martin Luther sagte) namhaft gemacht.[10] Anscheinend waren die Spiele Teil eines umfassenderen Fastnachtbrauchtums, das eine Vielfalt von ›Aufführungsformen‹ umfaßte, die Tänze und Umzüge wie Schembart-(also Masken-)lauf oder Männleinlauf einschlossen. Da ›Performativität‹ ein Merkmal so vieler verschiedener Phänomene von der Liturgie über das geistliche Drama bis zu rituell im Ablauf reglementierten Bräuchen ist, sind Herleitungen schwierig. Man wird von einer schwer zu differenzierenden Gemengelage auszugehen haben.[11] Wann aus dem performativen Ereignis Fastnachtspiel ein schriftfähiger Text wurde, läßt sich allerdings erschließen: Hans Rosenplüt dürfte die entscheidende Rolle gespielt haben. Was die Literarisierung bedeutet, darauf wird später einzugehen sein. Wie die Fastnachtspiele vorher ausgesehen haben, wissen wir nicht. Von ›Des Türken Fastnachtspiel‹ haben wir mehrere Fassungen, in denen wir die Reflexe unterschiedlicher Aufführungen zu erkennen meinen. Die Aufzeichnungen knüpfen anscheinend an den theatralen Erfolg der aufgeführten Spiele an, daher dürften sie sich nicht zu sehr von diesen unterschieden haben. Die ersten Handschriften stammen aus den fünfziger Jahren des 15. Jahrhunderts; sie sind bereits sekundäre Sammlungen, vorher wird es – nicht erhaltene – Einzeltexte gegeben haben, ähnlich wie wir sie aus späterer Zeit in der Spaunschen Sammlung (Wolfenbüttel Hs. G, vor 1494) kennen. Zur Zeit der erhaltenen Schrifttexte gab es vermutlich neben den auf Performanz zurückgehenden Spielehandschriften bereits allein für die Lektüre geschaffene. Die gern zitierte Mahnung des Hans Folz, seine Zunftbrüder in der Meistersingergesellschaft sollten zunächst mit Festnachtspielen beginnen, ehe sie sich an Meisterlieder wagten, setzt wohl das Spiel als Lesedrama an:

10 **Vgl. dazu u. a.** Werner Mezger, Narrenidee und Fastnachtsbrauch. Studien zum Fortleben des Mittelalters in der europäischen Festkultur, Konstanz 1991.

11 Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, Für eine Erfindung des mittelalterlichen Theaters aus der Perspektive der frühen Neuzeit, in: Festschrift für Walter Haug/Burghart Wachinger, hg. von Johannes Janota u. a., Tübingen 1992, Bd. 2, S. 827–884.

Facht erstlich mit history an
Oder mit andern dingen
Oder mit fastnacht spillen!
Remd nit in himel zillen
Zum ersten mal![12]

Dennoch besteht kein Zweifel, daß auch die fiktive Performativität der Lesespiele sich auf eine reale Praxis bezieht. Zu diesen Performativitätssignalen gehören v.a. Einleitung und Schluß, wo Ein- und Ausschreier bzw. Herold das Publikum ansprechen, um Aufmerksamkeit bitten und das Spiel ankündigen bzw. am Schluß sich verabschieden, für Anstößigkeiten entschuldigen und erklären, weiter zur nächsten Spielstätte zu ziehen, wobei mitunter sogar konkrete topographische Angaben gemacht werden.[13] Diese Signale markieren – ähnlich wie das Öffnen und Schließen des Vorhangs, bzw. der Lichtwechsel im konventionellen Theater – den Übergang von der Zuschauerwirklichkeit in die Spielrealität, signalisieren Anfang und Ende des Fiktionalitätspakts. Zwar ist nur von wenigen Spielen wie K 106[14] (‘Kaiser Konstantinus‹) eine Aufführung ausdrücklich bezeugt, die Ratsverlässe aus Nürnberg aber, die v.a. die Obszönität in Worten und Gesten rügen und eindämmen wollen, lassen jedenfalls auf eine deutliche theatrale Präsenz dieser Dimension schließen.

Die Tatsache, daß die Fastnachtspiele aus einer Aufführungstradition hervorgehen und diese sowohl ihre schriftliche Produktion wie ihre Lektüre begleitet, ja, in vielen Fällen ihr vermutlich vorausgeht, erlaubt es, die Performanz als hermeneutische Dimension bei der Interpretation der erhaltenen Texte einzubeziehen, das Fastnachtspiel also als performative Gattung zu betrachten. Es ist dabei nicht erheblich, ob für den entsprechenden Text konkrete Aufführungsindizien feststellbar sind, sondern daß ein Fastnachtspiel ›mit der Aufführung im Kopf‹ rezipiert wurde. Die Schreiber, Besteller, Käufer und Sammler der Handschriften kannten den performativen Brauch des Fastnachtspiels, dieser wirkte als hermeneutischer Impuls und so lasen

12 **Die Meisterlieder des Hans Folz, hg. von** August L. Mayer, Berlin 1908 (DTM 12), 91, 38–42.

13 **Fastnachtspiele des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts, hg. von** Dieter Wuttke, Stuttgart [4]1989 (RUB 9415), Nr. 3.

14 **Fastnachtspiele aus dem 15. Jahrhundert, hg. von** Adelbert von Keller, Stuttgart 1853–1858 (Nachdruck Darmstadt 1965/1966); i. F.: K. Vgl. Elisabeth Keller, Die Darstellung der Frau in Fastnachtspiel und Spruchdichtung von Hans Rosenplüt und Hans Folz, Frankfurt a. M. 1992, S. 59–147.

sie die Texte entsprechend, stellten sich Stimme, Mimik, Gestik und Proxemik vor, zu den ›unziemlichen Worten‹ die ›unziemlichen Gebärden‹, die durch die reale oder virtuelle Situativität im Fastnachtstreiben gleichzeitig provoziert wie legitimiert waren. Da auch ›Lektüre‹ nicht notwendig Privatlektüre bedeutet, sondern Vorlesen mit stimmlicher Modulation zur Charakterisierung der Rollen einschloß, ist der Übergang von Lektüre (im Sinne eines Folgens des Texts mit den Augen) zur ausagierten Performanz fließend.

Ich gehe davon aus, daß der Leser sich sowohl als Spieler imaginiert wie als Publikum, sich selbst sowohl auf der einen wie auf der anderen Seite vorstellt und daher die Lust des Tabubruchs sowohl aktiv zu empfinden vermag, wie er auch ihre Bedingung durch die Imagination der Spielsituation mit ihren Lizenzen gegenüber der Alltagskommunikation schaffen kann. Wahrscheinlich wurde die theatralische Aktion weniger deutlich als uneigentlich, als fernes Spiel, empfunden, als das beim neuzeitlichen Theaterstück der Fall ist,[15] v.a. wenn der Zusammenhang mit lebendigem Brauchtum noch eng war. Die Lektüre würde dann den vorgegebenen Text intensiver aneignen als das bei nicht-performativen (oder nicht in diesem Maße performativen) Gattungen der Fall ist. Das erklärt, warum es relativ viele Handschriften von diesem doch eher ephemären Texttyp gibt.

Die soziale und psychosoziale Funktion der Lektüre knüpfte an diese Situativität an, d.h. ›das Theater im Kopf‹ implizierte die jahreszeitliche Ausnahmesituation Fastnacht. Insofern ist es gerechtfertigt, die von Bachtin und Moser behaupteten Funktionen, die von Gemeinschaftsbildung durch Performanz, also den sog. Lachgemeinschaften oder religiös zusammengehaltenen Gemeinden, ausgehen, auch auf die erhaltenen Lektüretexte zu projizieren und zu fragen, ob Kongruenzen feststellbar sind.

Zunächst zu Moser. Er geht davon aus, daß die Fastnacht eine kirchliche Institution ist, die eine komplementäre Funktion in Bezug auf die folgende Fastenzeit hat. In den drei Tagen läuft ein Gegenprogramm gegen die verordnete Bußzeit ab; die *civitas diaboli*, die vorgeführt wird, muß notwendig zugunsten der *civitas Dei* überwunden werden. Die Exzesse der Fastnacht zeigen die existentielle Überwertigkeit von Disziplin und Askese auf. Nicht nur schicken sich die Bürger leichter in die Entbehrungen der Buße, wenn sie die Ausgelassenheit der tollen Tage erlebt haben, sie erkennen auch die Heil-losigkeit der Fastnacht und wenden sich bewußt dem geistlich bestimmten Leben zu. Derartige

15 Gumbrecht, Für eine Erfindung [Anm. 11].

kompensatorische Rituale gibt bzw. gab es in der Kirche, so im Zusammenhang mit dem sog. Eselsfest in der Neujahrszeit (das an nordfranzösischen Kathedralen als Parodie der Flucht der heiligen Familie nach Ägypten gefeiert wurde) oder am Fest der Unschuldigen Kinder die Einsetzung von Kinderbischöfen. Hier findet tatsächlich ein kirchlich institutionalisiertes Entlastungsritual für Kleriker und Chorknaben statt. Für eine vergleichbare kirchliche Steuerung der Fastnacht gibt es jedoch keine Indizien. Daß sie einer heilsgeschichtlichen Chronologie folgt, ist unbestritten; diese bestimmt nicht nur in diesem Punkt das öffentliche Leben im Mittelalter. Der katechetisch-didaktische Wert der Fastnacht im Hinblick auf eine geistliche Metanoia, eine Umkehr, erscheint jedoch so nicht im kirchlichen Schrifttum, sondern mehrfach nur im Fastnachtspiel, z.B. ›Von der vasnacht‹ (K 51). Hier stilisiert diese sich analog zu den großen Heiligenfesten als Vorabend, als Vigil der Fastenzeit, als Vorbereitung der sechswöchigen Askese, ohne die die Entbehrungen nicht auszuhalten wären. Das ist ganz offensichtlich eine Parodie auf die bei Hoch- und Heiligenfesten übliche Vorbereitung durch Gebete und Fasten. Die Fastnacht ist also gerade ›das Andere‹ im Vergleich zur kirchlichen Zeit. Und müßte man nicht annehmen, daß in einer kirchlich gelenkten Fastnacht deutlichere, auch parodistische, Bezüge auf geistliche Rituale auftauchten, ähnlich wie bei den oben genannten Parodie-Festlichkeiten? Wenn auch für Mosers geistliche Kompensationsthese die Belege nicht ausreichen, so ist die strukturelle Grundannahme damit nicht erledigt. Sie ist vielmehr in den beliebten sozial- und sexualpsychologischen Thesen lebendig, die sich vornehmlich auf die postulierte Trägerschicht der sexuell frustrierten Handwerkergesellen beziehen, die hier die Möglichkeit erhielten, ihre Bedürfnisse wenigstens theatral vorübergehend auszuleben. Daß diese These auf falschen Annahmen sowohl bezüglich der Trägerschaft wie auch der sozialen Praxis beruht, wird kurz darzustellen sein.

Zu den Aufführenden geben die Ratsverlässe Informationen her. Es waren Spielrotten unter Leitung eines Hauptmanns, der mutmaßlich der Handwerkerschicht angehörte, sie bestanden aus jungen Männern der Mittel- und Oberschicht. Eckehard Simon hat schon 1986 darauf hingewiesen, daß die Annahme, es habe sich ausschließlich um Handwerkergesellen gehandelt, falsch ist:[16] es war eine ständeübergreifende Truppe, in der für 1475 bezeugt ist, daß junge Leute, »ehrbare Gesellen«, aus der Oberschicht vertreten waren. Allgemein wird

16 Eckehard Simon, Zu den Anfängen des weltlichen Schauspiels, in: Jahrbuch der Oswald-von-Wolkenstein-Gesellschaft 4 (1986/87), S. 139-150.

angenommen, daß Frauen nicht auftraten. Wenn die beiden (nahezu identischen) Nürnberger Polizeiverordnungen von 1468 und 1469, die die obszönen Spiele inkriminieren, davon sprachen, daß *man noch frauenpilde, jung und alt, nymant außgenomen, solche unczymliche wort und geperde, reymens oder in andere weise, nicht uben oder gebrauchen in dheynn wege* [...],[17] so sind das lediglich Inklusionsformeln im Sinne von »alle«. Sie können höchstens darauf verweisen, daß bei den genannten Läufen auch Frauen beteiligt waren.

Nicht nur diese Zeugnisse machen deutlich, daß die Fastnachtspiele nicht eine mittelständisch begrenzte Angelegenheit waren, auch einige Spiele selbst, wie das Constantin-Spiel, das bereits genannt wurde, oder auch ›Die alt und neu ee‹ (K 1) sind thematisch eindeutig für die Oberschicht bestimmt.

Diese Beobachtungen, daß die Fastnachtspiele nicht Angelegenheit der unterprivilegierten Schichten und der durch das Eheschließungsverbot angeblich sexuell frustrierten Handwerksgesellen waren, machen die psychosozialen Erklärungsmodelle obsolet, die ihnen eine Ventilfunktion zuschreiben. Ganz abgesehen davon lebten die ledigen jungen Männer keineswegs enthaltsam, sondern nutzten die Angebote des Prostitutionsgewerbes, das ›zur Verhütung von Schlimmerem‹ von Obrigkeit und Kirche geduldet wurde. In Nürnberg kümmerten sich die städtischen Autoritäten um das öffentliche Frauenhaus, das von einem Pächter geleitet wurde. Polizeiordnungen gaben besondere Bedingungen vor: Nürnberger Bürgerinnen durften nicht Prostituierte sein, Kauf und Verkauf von Frauen, Beschäftigung gegen ihren Willen waren verboten. Die Frauenhäuser, deren Insassinnen besonders gekennzeichnete Kleidung tragen mußten, wollten zwei sozialhygienische Ziele verfolgen: die Bedürfnisse unverheirateter Männer und Reisender zu befriedigen und ehrenhafte von nicht ehrenhaften Frauen klar zu trennen. Letzteres war jedoch nicht in allen Fällen möglich. Denn daneben gab es einen sexuellen Markt für die Beziehungen Unverheirateter, die von wirtschaftlichem Gewinn für die Frauen bestimmt waren, was man als Gelegenheitsprostitution bezeichnen kann. Die ›Winkelweiber‹ lebten nicht in den Frauenhäusern, sondern kombinierten diese Form mit Arbeit im Badehaus, als Wäscherin, Landarbeiterin und Dienst im Haus. Ihre Klienten fanden sie über Kupplerinnen oder auch selbst auf der Straße. Es gab also aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach keine breite Schicht sexuell frustrierter Männer in Nürnberg. Hinzu kamen die Fälle, in denen junge ehrenhafte Frauen ›verführt‹ wurden,

17 Abgedruckt bei Simon, Die Anfänge [Anm. 1], S. 420f., Zitat S. 420.

die dann für den Verlust der Jungfräulichkeit eine Entschädigung einklagen konnten, wie das noch bis zum 1.7.1998 in § 1300 des BGB festgehalten war, dem sog. Kranzgeldparagraphen. Im Fall der Geburt eines unehelichen Kindes stand der ›ehrenhaften‹ Mutter ebenfalls eine Entschädigung zu. Es sind Fälle belegt, in denen die Frauen ihre Verführer öffentlich bloßstellten, um ihre Forderungen durchzusetzen. So sprang in Augsburg eine verführte Magd auf den Hochzeitswagen ihres Verführers und verließ ihn erst, als ihr eine Entschädigung zugesichert wurde.[18]

Diese Zeugnisse sprechen auch dafür, daß die in den Städten praktizierte Sexualmoral keinesfalls so streng war, wie kirchliche Vorschriften glauben machen. Offensichtlich war die Bandbreite geduldeten sexuellen Verhaltens relativ groß. Daher steht neben der Ventilfunktion auch die These, die Obszönität in den Fastnachtspielen sei ein Protest gegen ein repressives Sittengesetz,[19] auf wackligen Füßen.

Damit wäre ich bei der von der Forschung lange favorisierten BACHTIN-These von der karnevalesken Gegenwelt als Kritik an den herrschenden repressiven Verhältnissen, die in unterschiedlichsten Verkleidungen immer wieder auftaucht. Auch diese Annahme hat sich in der neueren Forschung in dieser Einsinnigkeit nicht mehr durchsetzen können. Vielmehr werden, so WERNER RÖCKE, »Brüche und Spannungen der Gesellschaft« sichtbar gemacht, aber auch deren Lösung wird gezeigt. Fastnächtliche Spielformen inszenieren Situationen, die als problematisch oder bedrohlich »für die Gesellschaft anzusehen sind«, »zeigen zugleich aber auch praktische Perspektiven, wie diesen Bedrohungen begegnet werden kann«,[20] wenn auch nur für die begrenzte Zeit. So können – nach RÖCKE – die Fastnachtspiele hier exklusiv und inklusiv zugleich wirken, sie grenzen diejenigen, die sich dem Konsens entziehen, aus und dienen dem Selbstverständnis der Gruppe, affirmieren also letztlich den gesellschaftlichen Verhaltenskodex. Andererseits stehen sie in einer Spannung zu überhöhten moralischen Normen, öffnen sich der »Triebwelt des Menschen, wie sie ist« und versuchen, »die Gefahren des Bösen lachend zu bewältigen« (S. 431). Hier kann sich RÖCKE nicht so recht entscheiden zwischen Affirmation und Korrektur, zwischen der Positivierung einer (wie immer gearteten) Triebwelt und ihrer Perhorreszierung als das »Böse«, das bewältigt werden muß.

Ich will im Folgenden an zwei Fastnachtspielen die bisherige Thesenbil-

18 LYNDAL ROPER, The Holy Household. Women and Morals in Reformation Augsburg, Oxford 1989.

19 MERRY E. WIESNER, Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe, Cambridge 1993.

20 RÖCKE, Literarische Gegenwelten [Anm. 5], S. 422.

dung kritisch überprüfen. Das erste ist ›Der Bauer und der Bock‹ aus dem Rosenplüt-Korpus, ein Text, der schon 1765 die Aufmerksamkeit Gottscheds gefunden hat: Das Spiel ist viermal überliefert (in D, zweimal in G, in P), und gehört damit zu den beliebtesten.[21]

Nach einer Ankündigung durch den Herold tritt der »Herr« auf, dem sein Meier (Bauer) den Käsezins bringt. Er ist dem Herren als aufrichtig und zuverlässig bekannt. Deshalb will er ihm seinen allerbesten Bock für acht Wochen anvertrauen, was der Bauer unter Verweis auf seine und seiner Eltern Ehrlichkeit gern übernimmt. Eine Frau (in G β ist es die Frau des Bauern, eine verharmlosende Variante) wettet mit dem Edelmann um einen hohen Einsatz, nämlich drei gemästete Stiere und vier gute Milchkühe, daß der Bauer seinen Herrn belügen wird. Dieser nimmt, im Vertrauen auf die Ehrlichkeit des Bauern, die Wette an. Vier Vertreter des Publikums warnen vor den Weiberlisten mit drei klassischen Exempla von Liebesnarren, nämlich Aristoteles, Salomon und Samson, der zweite Sprecher benennt die Schwäche der Männer, die auf ihrem sexuellen Begehren beruht, drastisch – und man darf sich entsprechende Gesten dazu vorstellen:

Wir man hab alle ein swachs gemut,
Wenn unns die wasserstang recht glut.
Das ist ein sollicher heymlicher gebrechen,
Das in nyemant kan außgesprechen;
Das bringt unns ein solliche groſse unru,
Das clagen wir frauen, die sagen uns zu,
Das sie unns die kranckheit wollen wenden.
Dasselb stet gantz in iren henden.[22]

Damit ist die Abwesenheitszeit der Frau performativ überbrückt; sie erscheint wieder und kündigt an, der Bauer sei auf dem Weg und werde dem Herren sicher eine Lüge erzählen. Er tritt auf und berichtet ausführlich, daß die Frau ihn verführt und er ihr den Bock als Liebeslohn gegeben habe; dem Vorschlag, seinem Herrn vorzumachen, ein Wolf habe den Bock geholt, sei er nicht gefolgt. Damit hat der Herr die Wette gewonnen, dem Bauern wird für drei Jahre der Zins erlassen und seine Lust hat er obendrein gehabt. Die Frau beschimpft den Bauern; die Spielrotte verabschiedet sich und zieht weiter.

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21 **Vgl. dazu** Ingeborg Glier, Rosenplütsche Fastnachtspiele, in: ²VL 8, Sp. 211–232. Speziell dazu Hedda Ragotzky, Der Bauer in der Narrenrolle. Zur Funktion ›Verkehrter Welt‹ im frühen Nürnberger Fastnachtspiel, in: Typus und Individualität im Mittelalter, hg. von Horst Wenzel, München 1983, S. 77–101.

22 **Fastnachtspiele** [Anm. 13], Nr. 3, V. 87–94.

Der – in frühen Fastnachtspielen seltene – Typ des Handlungsspiels folgt vordergründig dem Schema des betrogenen Betrügers bzw. der betrogenen Betrügerin, fokussiert durch das Motiv der Wette, das sich jedoch nicht auf den Betrug, d.h. die Veruntreuung des übergebenen Gutes, bezieht, sondern auf die Wahrhaftigkeit des vermeintlich Betrogenen, der auf diese Weise als einer der beiden Gewinner dasteht. Doppelte Verliererin ist die Frau: Sie hat ihre sexuelle Gunst billiger verkauft als beabsichtigt, dann hat sie die Wette verloren. Nicht der Bauer ist der letztlich Hereingelegte, sondern sie. Damit wird die Publikumserwartung, die sich mutmaßlich am Typus des dummen Bauern orientiert, unterlaufen. Stattdessen wird ein anderes Stereotyp bedient: das der listigen Frau, die das sexuelle Begehren des Mannes manipuliert und zu ihrem Vorteil einsetzt. Die Tradition dieses Typus wird in den drei Exempla aufgerufen, seine allgemeine anthropologische Relevanz durch den ausführlich zitierten zweiten Sprecher bestätigt. So scheint es, als sei die sexuelle Thematik, die auch durch drastische Formulierungen und ›schandbare‹ Gebärden unterstützt wurde, das Zentrum des Spiels in der Variante der Misogynie, die die Frau als materialistisch orientierte Verführerin denunziert. Wenn wir die oben zitierten Beobachtungen einbeziehen, daß die ›Winkelweiber‹ mit ganz entsprechendem Verhalten zur sozialen Realität der Stadt gehörten, so ist eine Dimension des Spiels sicherlich die Rache der Männer für die Ausnützung ihres Begehrens durch die Frauen. Das ist zweifellos ein schichtenübergreifendes Prinzip. Es funktioniert allerdings weder im Sinn der Aufrechterhaltung einer Scheinmoral, denn die lustvoll geschilderte Verführung wird nicht kritisiert, noch einer saisonalen Öffnung zum Lustprinzip, denn die Frau beschimpft den Bauern, der sie ausgenutzt habe; die bestehende sexual-soziale Praxis wird vielmehr, ganz im Sinn der weltlichen und kirchlichen Autoritäten, als notwendiges Übel akzeptiert. Gleichzeitig wird die sozial angestrebte Differenzierung in ehrenhafte und unehrenhafte Frauen affirmiert: die im Publikum anwesenden ehrenhaften konnten sich von der Frau des Spiels distanzieren. Zu alledem wurde diese von einem Mann dargestellt, der mutmaßlich die sexuellen Konnotationen stark ausgespielt hat und somit durch die Komisierung weiblichen Verhaltens ein weiteres Distanzierungspotential einbrachte, daß das, was die Spielsituation ohnehin umfaßt, noch deutlich intensivierte. Gleichzeitig wird damit die Bedrohung der männlichen Souveränität, die im unbeherrschten, von der Frau manipulierten Begehren liegt, neutralisiert: Wenn ein Mann die sexuell aktive Frau darstellt, gewinnt er indirekt die Herrschaft über sie und damit über sein Begehren. Die Repräsentation des

Geschlechterverhältnisses zielt also nächst der Bestätigung der bestehenden Praxis auf die im Lachen erreichte Distanzierung vom Trieb und nicht auf die Öffnung zum Triebhaften. Daneben steht die Belohnung der Aufrichtigkeit und Verläßlichkeit des Bauern. Bedrohlich für das soziale Gefüge ist weniger die Sexualität (für deren Beruhigung gesorgt ist) als die mangelnde Verläßlichkeit in ökonomisch-sozialen Beziehungen. Das vorbildliche Verhalten des Bauern wird doppelt belohnt: explizit durch die Befreiung vom Zins, implizit durch den kostenlosen Gewinn sexueller Lust.

Damit erweist sich das Spiel als im besten Sinn ›staatserhaltend‹. Es affirmiert den pragmatischen Umgang mit Sexualität, stärkt das Selbstgefühl der Männer und der ehrenhaften Frauen und belohnt die sozial wichtige Tugend der Verläßlichkeit. Weder von einem Verlachen der Moral, noch von einer Befreiung zur Lust kann die Rede sein. Es wird keine ›Gegenwelt‹ gezeigt, sondern die ›richtige‹ Welt, allerdings in komisch zugespitzter Weise. *Ridentem dicere verum et rectum* ist die Devise. Es wird allerdings zu fragen sein, was die Komisierung der Sexualität – und nur darum geht es – bedeutet.

Ein zweites Spiel ist komplexer: das Rosenplütsche (oder Folzsche?) ›Eggenziehen‹ (K 30), das von Röcke[23] ausführlich interpretiert wurde. Es handelt sich um die Literarisierung eines Brauchs, der zur Fastnachtszeit anscheinend relativ verbreitet war: Unverheiratete Frauen, die sich der Ehe entzogen haben, werden wie Zugtiere, Pferde oder Ochsen, unter ein Joch gespannt, um einen Pflug, eine Egge oder einen Block durch die Straßen zu ziehen, wobei Angehörige der Jungmannschaft die Peitsche schwingen. Das Ritual gehört zu den sog. Rügebräuchen[24] und zwar zu den Schadaufzügen wie z.B. das Eselreiten. Anlaß zu solchen Rügebräuchen waren Verletzungen der Gruppennormen, hier des akzeptierten Verhaltens von jungen Männern und Frauen zueinander. Vor allem an Fastnacht oder zur Kirchweih dienten Rügebräuche auch als sozial integrative Scherzveranstaltung, nicht unbedingt als Strafaktion. Das Eggenziehen scheint beides enthalten zu haben: Die Ausstellung der Unverheirateten sollte die Ehe als Gruppennorm bestätigen, andererseits wurden auch männliche Freier ermutigt. Es diente also als Anbahnungsritual, indem die ›verfügbaren‹ Frauen öffentlich vorgestellt und bekannt gemacht wurden, was die von beiden Seiten erwünschte Kontaktaufnahme erleichterte. Ähnli-

23 Röcke, Text und Ritual [Anm. 5]; Röcke, Literarische Gegenwelten [Anm. 5].

24 Karl S. Kramer, Rügebräuche, in: HRG 4, Sp. 1898–1201.

chen Zwecken dienten bis weit ins 20. Jahrhundert Kirchweihbräuche wie das ›Versteigern‹ lediger Mädchen. In welchem Umfang eine Demütigung der Frauen beabsichtigt und verwirklicht war, ist nicht eindeutig zu sagen, es ist jedoch durchaus vorstellbar, daß die Tatsache des bewußten ›Mitspielens‹ in einem Ritual eine persönliche Kränkung der beteiligten Frauen zumindest relativierte. Das ergab sich schon dadurch, daß es um eine bestimmte Gruppe und nicht um Einzelpersonen ging. Das war anders beim herbstlichen Haberfeldtreiben, das bei Hans Sachs belegt ist:[25] Eine junge Frau, der man Unzucht vorwarf, wurde in ein Haberfeld und wieder zurückgetrieben; das Haberfeld gilt als die schlechteste und späteste Viehweide.[26] Dennoch ist nicht zu bestreiten, daß auch das Eggenziehen aggressiven und repressiven Charakter haben konnte.

Im Rosenplütschen Eggenziehen wird das Ritual als fastnächtliches Spiel inszeniert, allerdings nicht im Hinblick auf die Ehe als Gruppenzwang, sondern auf den Geschlechtsverkehr: Die eingespannten Frauen machen keinen Gebrauch von ihren Sexualorganen, obwohl sie die Männer sexuell reizen, wie es in der Rede des Knechts heißt:

Das si zu gayl nit werden gar.
Laß sie die knaben nit plicken an,
Das kein der truller auff werd stan.[27]

In der Aufführung wurde der Text wahrscheinlich von einer entsprechenden Geste begleitet. Daher scheint es mir weniger um die ›Zähmung des weiblichen Blicks‹ zu gehen, als um die Demonstration der männlichen Potenz in der Evokation des Phallus, ein in den Fastnachtspielen mehrfach wiederkehrendes Motiv. Die Rede des Knechts führt die Belohnung für die Roßtreiber an; jeder soll ein Pferd erhalten, der Knecht imaginiert gleich einen Geschlechtsakt:

So will ich meins beim ars beschlagen,
Wann es mich auff dem pauch muß tragen.[28]

Ebenso der nächste Sprecher, der Menknecht:

Wann es kumt schir ein mol die zeit,
Das man euch ungesatelt reit.[29]

25 **Fastnachtspiele** [Anm. 13], Nr. 197.
26 Ruth Schmidt-Wiegand, Haberfeldtreiben, in: HRG 1, Sp. 1888.
27 **Fastnachtspiele** [Anm. 13], Nr. 5, V. 14–16.
28 **Ebd.**, V. 23f.
29 **Ebd.**, V. 29f.

Hier wird ein Sinn des Brauchs, nämlich die Anbahnung sexueller Beziehungen (aber nicht der Ehe!) thematisiert. Dann werden die Frauen vorgeführt: Die erste hat Schönheitsmängel (zu denen auch, heute erstaunlich, lange Beine gehören) und ist *treg und faul*.[30] Die zweite ist das Opfer übler Nachrede geworden, sie sei keine Jungfrau mehr. Die dritte hat ihren Verlobten an eine sexuell willfähigere und aktivere Frau verloren, die vierte hatte einen zu zurückhaltenden Bräutigam, der ihren ›Nachthunger‹ zu befriedigen sich nicht traute. Die fünfte wurde verleumdet, sie sei schwanger, die sechste ist beim Geschlechtsverkehr erwischt worden, verhält sich jedoch nun enthaltsam, weil er schmerzhaft war, und die letzte ist trotz ihrer sexuellen Attraktivität nicht gefragt, weil sie unehelicher Abkunft ist. In den Reden der meisten Frauen werden implizit Ängste der Männer thematisiert: die Besorgnis, eine nicht ehrenhafte Frau zu ehelichen, ein Kind untergeschoben zu bekommen, der stereotypen weiblichen Unersättlichkeit ausgesetzt zu sein, eine frigide Frau zu heiraten, auf eine ›Unehrliche‹ hereinzufallen. Nur die Häßlichkeit der ersten hat nicht diese Beängstigungsdimension. Das Lachen über die Anderen dient der Entängstigung der jungen Burschen. Es geht, so verstehe ich das Spiel, weder um ein Unterlaufen des Rügebrauchs, wie Röcke meint, noch um eine implizite Affirmation der Ehe, sondern um eine Umfunktionierung zum Exorzismus männlicher Ängste. Das wird besonders deutlich, wenn man auch hier berücksichtigt, daß die jungen Frauen von Männern gespielt wurden. Die Bedrohung wird durch das spielerische Ausagieren durch einen Mann entmythisiert. Die Gefährdung männlicher Souveränität durch die Unverfügbarkeit der weiblichen Sexualität wird im theatralen Geschlechtswechsel als aufhebbar vorgeführt.

Für die Frauen im Publikum bedeutet die Theatralisierung des Rügebrauchs mit männlichen Darstellern ebenfalls eine Distanzsetzung. Die Gründe für das Nichtgelingen einer Eheanbahnung werden durch die Travestie komisiert. Der Ausschreier am Schluß spielt mit der Travestie, wenn die Stutendarsteller mit den ›besseren‹, d.h. den richtigen Stuten im Hurenhaus verglichen werden:

Got gesegen euch, wirt! wir mussen farn,
Schwingen das futer in den parn
Und furlegen den unsern gurren.
Wann ir sie aber wolt heyssen huren,
So hett irs mit uns nit gut.
Wir wissen wol, ein pessere stut
Leyt in dem dorff, haist das hurhaus,

30 Ebd., V. 38.

Wenn wir getzogen haben auſs
Der jungen fulen mer dan vil.[31]

Da in der mittelalterlichen Gesellschaft die Position einer Frau maßgeblich durch die Ehe bestimmt wird, ist ein Mißlingen dieses ›normalen‹ Lebenslaufs bei den Frauen vermutlich angstbesetzt. Die Vorstellung, zu den Frauen mit unsicherem sozialen Status zu gehören, wie die anfangs genannten »Winkelweiber«, die Wäscherinnen und Baderinnen, ist kaum von der Faszination sexueller Freiheit geprägt, die damit verbunden war, sondern von der Angst vor sozialem Abstieg. Das Fastnachtspiel konnte dazu führen, diese Angst wegzulachen bzw. bei den Verheirateten das Gefühl zu entwickeln, auf der richtigen Seite im Leben zu sein. Ob sich daraus eine ›reflexive Distanz‹ zum Rügebrauch ergibt, wie Röcke will,[32] scheint mir eher zweifelhaft.

Die bisher behandelten Fastnachtspiele dienen der Selbstvergewisserung der Stadtbürger im standesübergreifenden Rahmen, nicht der Infragestellung öffentlicher Moral. Angesprochen werden je besondere Bedürfnisse der Männer und Frauen, aber nicht im Sinn der Kompensation von sexueller Frustration, sondern der Abwehr sexueller und sozialer Ängste. Die Vorstellung einer zügellosen Sexualität, die befreiend wirkt, ist modern und nicht auf das 15. Jahrhundert übertragbar, eine von den Interpreten gern gefeierte positive Anarchie der Lust ist ein heutiges Konstrukt, *Sex and the City* und nicht spätmittelalterliches Nürnberg.[33]

Dieser Einschätzung der Thematisierung von Sexualität widerspricht die Komisierung der Sexualität durch offenkundige Lust am verbalen und gestisch-performativem Tabubruch, die ja die zitierte Kritik des Rats hervorgerufen hat. Trotz aller mutmaßlichen Differenz zu heutigen Sensibilitäten beim Sprechen über und gestischen Evozieren von sexuellen Handlungen, scheinen die Spieler auch damals bewußt Grenzen überschritten zu haben in den zumeist metaphorischen, aber deutlichen Benennungen und gestischen Ostentationen der Sexualorgane und des Geschlechtsakts, selbst wenn man die performativen Lizenzen in Rechnung stellt. Zwei Dimensionen sind dabei von Interesse: erstens die sprachliche

31 Ebd., V. 105–113.

32 Röcke, Literarische Gegenwelten [Anm. 5], S. 424.

33 Zu Sexualität im Fastnachtspiel vgl. wiederum Elisabeth Keller [Anm. 14]; Hedda Ragotzky, Pulschaft und Nachthunger. Zur Funktion von Liebe und Ehe im frühen Nürnberger Fastnachtspiel, in: Ordnung und Lust. Bilder von Liebe, Ehe und Sexualität in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit, hg. von Hans-Jürgen Bachorski, Trier 1991, S. 427–445; Hagen Bastian, Mummenschanz, Sinneslust und Gefühlsbeherrschung im Fastnachtspiel des 15. Jahrhunderts, Frankfurt a. M. 1983.

Affirmation männlicher Potenz: den *ocker* (das Messer) *schleifen*, ›Pfeile‹ in den rauhen Köcher stoßen. Auch das weibliche Begehren wird zur Steigerung der männlichen Position eingesetzt, die zitierte Frigidität nicht als mögliches Versagen des männlichen Partners, sondern der Frau evoziert. Die letzte der ›Stuten‹ spricht von der erfolgreichen Zurichtung für das männliche Begehren:

Ich bin gewest bei allen tentzen
Und tet mein průst gar hoch auff sprentzen,
Die sein als hertt, sie mochten knacken.
Dazu han ich zwen groß arß packen
Und einen kocher, der ist rauch;
Stoßt man pfeil darein, so gen sie in pauch.
Noch hat man nye gescheuhet das.[34]

Die zweite Dimension besteht in der Sexualisierung der Publikumsphantasie, die zu einer allgemein erotisierten Stimmung beiträgt und die Aufnahme sexueller Kontakte erleichtert. Das wird jedenfalls der Fastnacht in dem bereits zitierten Spiel ›Von der vasnacht‹ (K 51) vorgeworfen. Das geschieht vornehmlich seitens des Anwalts der Frauen, natürlich in angemessen doppelzüngiger Form, da auch diese Rede ein Teil der generellen Strategie zur Stimulierung der Phantasie ist.

Das obszöne Sprechen inszeniert sich allerdings als situative Transgression, so daß die Grenze damit anerkannt wird. Es geht also nicht um eine Infragestellung des Sittengesetzes, auch nicht um ein Ausprobieren von Anarchie, sondern, im Gegenteil, um die Affirmierung der sprachlichen, gestischen und sexuellen Ordnung. So fügt sich auch die Obszönität in die festgestellte Funktion des Fastnachtspiels als ordnungsstabilisierendes Phänomen.

Wenn in den zitierten Polizeiordnungen die obszönen Worte und Gesten eingedämmt werden sollen, so spricht das nicht für die Subversionsthese. Die genannte erotisierte Situation ist nur bis zu einer gewissen Intensität akzeptabel, da (wie in der angeführten Anwaltsrede gesagt) sonst Übergriffe gegen die ›ehrlichen‹ Frauen zu befürchten waren und Promuskuität, auch situative, ein sozialer Abstiegsgrund sein konnte; im ›Eggenziehen‹ wird das ja thematisiert. Daher bestand, trotz grundsätzlichem Einverständnis mit der sozial-sexualen Pragmatik, die Gefahr einer Störung der Ordnung nicht im Sinn einer ›Anarchie der Lust‹, sondern sexueller Nötigung von Frauen. Denn daß bei diesen generell ein Interesse an fastnächtlicher Promiskuität bestanden hätte, ist wohl eine Männerphantasie.

34 **Fastnachtspiele** [Anm. 13], Nr. 5, V. 95–101.

Eine andere, jedoch ganz vergleichbare Funktion bei der Affirmation der bestehenden politischen und sozialen Ordnung haben die Fastnachtspiele mit gesellschaftspolitischen Themen wie die berüchtigten antijüdischen Spiele von Hans Folz[35] und die adels- und ritterkritischen Repräsentationen.

Die antijüdischen Motive bei Folz, v.a. das vielzitierte Bild der Judensau mit zoophilen und skatologischen Implikationen, rekurrieren auf gute Kenntnisse der Bibel und entsprechende theologische Literatur. Für die hörenden oder lesenden Rezipienten wird so ein Verständnishorizont eröffnet, den nur die Gebildeten wirklich erkennen und würdigen konnten. Diese sind also zumindest als Teil-Publikum angesprochen. Die antijüdische Propaganda entsprach zur Entstehungszeit der offiziellen Politik des Nürnberger Rats, der sich seit dem Jahre 1473 bemühte, die Vertreibung der Juden beim Kaiser zu erreichen, was ihm im Jahre 1499 gelang. Es bestehen also deutliche Korrespondenzen mit der Tagespolitik, wobei nicht erkennbar ist, in welchem Maß Folz darauf reagiert oder sie beeinflußt hat. Jedenfalls bedient er ökonomische und soziale Interessen v.a. der Oberschicht. Sein Publikum aber umfaßte zweifellos weitere Schichten, auch die Drucke seiner Offizin, die er von 1479-1488 betrieb, zielten auf Handwerker und städtische Ackerbürger.[36] Der Anspruch des Rats, die Interessen der Gesamtgemeinde zu vertreten, wurde von Folzens Stücken unterstützt.

Entsprechendes gilt für die adelskritischen Fastnachtspiele. Das einzige Rosenplüt namentlich zugeschriebene Spiel ›Des künig von Engellant hochzeit‹ (K 100) ist schon im Jahre 1898 als »Hohn des freien Reichsstädters gegenüber dem sich überhebenden Fürstenstand« gekennzeichnet worden.[37] Ritter erscheinen in ›Die verdient ritterschaft‹ (K 47) als Versager im Turnier. In den beiden Tugendproben ›Das vasnachtspil mit der kron‹ (K 80) und ›Der Luneten mantel‹ (K 81) zeigen sich die Herrschenden als ebenso eitel wie unmoralisch. Das Spiel ›Vom Babst, Cardinal und von Bischoffen‹ (K 78) kritisiert

35 Dazu Edith Wenzel, *Do wurden die Juden alle geschant*. Rolle und Funktion der Juden in spätmittelalterlichen Spielen, München 1992.

36 Matthias Schönleber, *Der juden schant wart offenbar*. Antijüdische Motive in Schwänken und Fastnachtspielen, in: Juden in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters, hg. von Ursula Schulze, Tübingen 2002, S. 163–182.

37 Theodor Hampe, Die Entwicklung des Theaterwesens in Nürnberg von der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhundters bis 1806, in: Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg 12 (1898), S. 87–306, hier S. 110.

Ämterkauf und schlechte Herrschaft, es geht vielleicht konkret gegen Dietrich Schenk von Erbach, Bischof von Mainz, der sich 1448-1453 am Städtekrieg gegen Nürnberg beteiligte. Die politischen Fastnachtspiele setzen ein außenpolitisches »Hintergrundwissen« voraus,[38] das nur in der Oberschicht vorhanden gewesen sein kann. Hier ergibt sich ein Befund ähnlich dem bei den antijüdischen Spielen: Vertreten werden die Intentionen des Rats bzw. die der Stadtgemeinde. Es geht allenfalls mittelbar um Handwerkerinteressen, offenkundig jedoch um Propaganda für den offiziellen politischen Kurs. Der hat sich, ebenso wie die oben beobachteten sozialen Verhältnisse, nicht grundsätzlich verändert zwischen dem Aufführungs- und Aufzeichnungszeitpunkt der Spiele, so daß die Affirmation nicht als erledigt zu gelten hatte. Die angesprochenen sexuellen, sozialen und politischen Ängste galten weiter und die Entängstigung durch Komisierung wirkte deshalb über den Tag hinaus.

Ich will Rosenplüt, den anonymen Autor, oder Folz nun nicht zum Propagandaminister der Stadtregierung machen, wohl aber festhalten, daß von Subversion keine Rede sein kann. Das Gegenteil ist der Fall. Das Fastnachtspiel handelt ständeübergreifende Probleme ab im Sinn einer Bestätigung der bestehenden politisch-sozialen und der Geschlechterordnung. Die Szene ist ein Spiegel, der dem Publikum sein eigenes Bild zeigt im Sinn eines Weglachens möglicher Selbstzweifel.[39] Die karnevaleske Gegenkultur ist ein sozialromantisches Konstrukt, ebenso wie die religiös-katechetisch-kathartische Wirkung ein pastoral-adventistisches. Die viel beschworenen subversiven Lachgemeinschaften bildeten eine gesamtstädtische soziale und politische Solidargemeinschaft der Selbstvergewisserung. Lachen, v.a. in Gemeinschaft, kann allerdings auch borniert sein. Und so mag manch einem, manch einer auch nicht wohl gewesen sein beim Lachen. Ein Leser aber brauchte Gruppendruck nicht zu befürchten. Die Lektüre eröffnet ein Verständnis des Fastnachtspiels als eigener literarischer Wirklichkeit, als Typentheater, das nach eigenen Regeln funktioniert, die zwar auf soziale verweisen, aber nicht mit ihnen identisch sind. Wenn das Fastnachtspiel in einer Handschrift mit Mären zusammen steht, so wird es, wie diese, als Literatur (und nicht als Ritual) rezipiert. Der implizite

38 Brigitte Stuplich, *Das ist dem adel ain groſse schant.* Zu Rosenplüts politischen Fastnachtspielen, in: Röllwagenbüchlein. Festschrift für Walter Röll zum 65. Geburtstag, hg. von Jürgen Jaehrling u. a., Tübingen 2002, S. 165–185.

39 Henry Rey-Flaud, Pour une dramaturgie du Moyen Age, Paris 1980, S. 12.

theatrale Charakter ist gerade das, was die Lektüre auch eines eher anspruchslosen Reihenspiels interessant macht: die Möglichkeit für den Leser, ebenso Akteur wie Publikum zu sein, sowohl den verbalen und gestischen Tabubruch kunstvoll zu befürchten, wie ihn lustvoll zu begehen. Damit kompensiert eben die performative Dimension, das ›Theater im Kopf‹, die eher simple Machart der Spiele, fast nur dadurch werden sie zu Literatur. In zweifacher Hinsicht ist das Fastnachtspiel sozial relevant: einmal als Ritual der Selbstvergewisserung der spätmittelalterlichen Stadtgemeinde, dann aber gerade in der Ablösung von dieser Funktion mit der Entwicklung einer eigenen literarischen Rezeption. Und so sind Fastnachtspiele weniger sozial als vielmehr in der Autonomisierung von theatraler Literatur Teil der Avantgarde.

Eckehard Simon

Staging the Reformation in the Nuremberg Carnival[1]

In the evening of March 16, 1539 when Martin Luther was, as customary, talking to friends and guests at the dinner table in his Wittenberg home, he complained about an incident that had taken place four weeks before at the Nuremberg Carnival. One of Luther's table companions then living in his spacious house – the former Augustinian monastery – was his friend Anton Lauterbach, deacon at the Wittenberg parish church of St. Mary.[2] The next morning Lauterbach recorded in his diary what the great Reformer had said. Luther »mentioned the malice of certain Nurembergers who in contempt of the Gospel and to the consternation of preachers had, in the recent Carnival, revived the most impious spectacle *Schonpara*«, as Luther calls it, »which« – he added, lapsing into German – »they have not put on in fifteen years«. »David said it best«, Luther »responded with sighs« – quoting Psalm 51, 6 –»›Behold thou desirest the truth‹. God does not want sin.«[3] What offended Luther was a public spectacle that young men of Nuremberg's upper classes had staged on February 17 and 18 during the dancing and running of the famous Carnival they called *Schembart*, a word that Luther (or Lauterbach) did not understand. As the show float that the maskers pulled through the streets, they had built a sailing ship on wheels. On this ›ship of fools‹ stood one of the guisers dressed as a bearded Lutheran pastor whom everyone recognized as Andreas Osiander, preacher of St. Lorenz church, who had been instrumental in bringing Lutheran reforms to

1 For allowing me to read their *Schembart* books and for providing photographs, I wish to thank the Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg (Dr. Christine Sauer) and the Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nürnberg (Dr. Eberhard Slenczka). I offer special thanks to the Bayerisches Staatsarchiv Nürnberg (Dr. Ursula Schmidt-Völkersamb) for permitting me, for the sake of accuracy, to transcribe the *Ratsverlässe* entries from the original booklets.

2 See Martin Brecht, Martin Luther. Vol. 3: Die Erhaltung der Kirche 1532-1546, Stuttgart 1987, p. 244.

3 *Norimbergensium malitiam indicabat, qui in despectum euangelii et odium praedicatorum in proximis carnispriviis iterum impüssimum spectaculum, Schonpara, erexerunt, das sie ihn 15 jaren nicht gethan haben. Respondit suspiriis: Optime dicit Dauid: Ecce enim veritatem dilexisti. Gott wil nicht peccatum haben.* D. Martin Luthers Werke, Kritische Gesamtausgabe. Tischreden, vol. 4, Weimar 1916, rpt. 1964, pp. xiv, 297, no. 4406.

Nuremberg. Devils and other Carnival grotesques crowded around Osiander, one holding a backgammon board, another dangling keys over his head. On Shrove Tuesday or Mardi Gras, February 18, the *Schembarters* had stopped the ship in front of the town hall, and – with gunpowder pipes blazing – stormed it with ladders, set it on fire and burned it to ashes, after – one hopes – the monstrous crew had abandoned ship.

Luther knew Nuremberg well ever since he had first visited the city in October 1518 on his way to meeting Cardinal Cajetan in Augsburg. He respected Osiander's work in reforming Nuremberg churches and was familiar with his sermons.[4] Nuremberg had taken the lead in reforming its churches and monasteries after March 1525, and Luther often referred to the city – then at the height of its economic and cultural power – as »Germany's eye and ear«.[5] In a 1530 sermon on how to school children in the new faith, Luther – recycling an ancient rhetorical simile – praised Nuremberg's schools as exemplary: »Nuremberg shines forth in German lands like a sun among the moon and stars. Whatever is done there has a powerful effect on other cities«.[6] Luther therefore reacted with anger when he heard that the Carnival maskers had, as it were, roasted a leading Lutheran preacher, although, as we will see, he also regarded Osiander as fanatically rigid in insisting on ›individual‹ rather than ›general‹ confession. It was the first time, Luther may have sensed, that the *Schembart* guisers – who had earlier gleefully lambasted the old church – turned on an authority figure of the new religion.

By 1539, the *Schembartlauf* had been run for at least a century and become famous as Germany's most splendid and extravagant Renaissance Carnival. To organize dance and procession had always been a privilege of the Nuremberg butchers. According to Nuremberg chroniclers, Emperor Charles IV bestowed this right on the butchers in 1349 to reward them for not joining other craft guilds in rebelling against the Patrician town council. Such a ›*Handwerkeraufstand*‹, as Wolfgang

4 Brecht [note 2], pp. 307f.

5 **»Auge und Ohr Deutschlands«. See Die Reformation in Nürnberg: Umbruch und Bewahrung**, ed. Karl Georg Kaster *et al.*, Nuremberg 1979 (Schriften des Kunstpädagogischen Zentrums im Germanischen Nationalmuseum Nürnberg 9), p. 64.

6 *Denn Nurnberg leucht warlich jnn ganzs Deudsches land wie eine sonne unter mon und sterne, und gar krefftiglich andere Stedte bewegt, was da selbst im schwang gehet* […]. D. Martin Luthers Werke [note 3], vol. 30, Zweite Abteilung (1910), p. 518, 10.

von Stromer has shown, never took place. A number of ›honorable‹ patricians, merchants and some craftsmen – who sided with the Wittelsbach dynasty – revolted briefly against the authority of Charles IV. Because town chroniclers in Zurich, Lucerne, and Bruges explain customary Carnival privileges granted to butchers in similar ways, we must regard this explanation as a fabrication.[7] The oldest Carnival ritual the butchers performed was a male group dance known as the *Zämertanz*. By holding leather rings resembling sausages, the costumed butchers formed a long winding chain. The lead and rear dancers held staffs with ram and ox heads, emblematic of their trade. Wearing animal disguises (hobby horse, ox, unicorn), fellow butchers supervised the dance. To the beat of pipes and drums, the chain of dancers would form intricate circles as it footed forward and backwards through the Nuremberg streets. The butchers were performing this ring dance by 1397 when the city council rewarded their »dancing« with public money (Simon [note 10], no. 318). The treasurer's entry does not tell us whether other butchers wearing masks known as *Schembart* were escorting the dancers at that time. According to the so-called *Schembart* books – which I introduce below – the butchers instituted such masked escorts in 1449. These maskers, the *Schembartläufer*, were charged with clearing the streets for the dancing butchers and keeping the Carnival crowds at bay. That is why they carried spears and mortar pipes – hidden in leaf clusters – from which they fired gunpowder known as *feuerwerck*. In 1475, according to the *Schembart* books, the maskers built their first carnival float, the *Hölle*, a dragon on a sled, ancestor of Osiander's ship of fools. Assembling in a house or tavern, the dancers and maskers would start performing at the castle hill, move down to the city hall, shuffle across the marketplace, cross over the Pegnitz bridge to the city's southern side, foot a leap dance in front of the bordello, stop at the Teutonic Knights Hospice on their way back to city hall square, where on Ash Wednesday they would turn their ›Hell‹ into ashes.

Research on the *Schembartlauf* is based on the *Schembartbücher,* some eighty richly illustrated manuscripts that families of Nuremberg's governing elite commissioned from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centu-

7 See Wolfgang von Stromer, Die Metropole im Aufstand gegen König Karl IV. Nürnberg zwischen Wittelsbach und Luxemburg, Juni 1348 – September 1349, Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg [henceforth MVGSN] 65 (1978), pp. 55-90; Horst Brunner/Erich Strassner, Volkskultur vor der Reformation, in: Nürnberg – Geschichte einer europäischen Stadt, ed. Gerhard Pfeiffer, Munich 1971, pp. 199-207, here p. 200.

ries to commemorate their male ancestors who had participated in the masked revels.[8] Resembling costume and heraldic books, the *Schembart* chronicles are concerned with recording the names of the maskers together with their family arms, depicting the splendid and expensive costumes they designed each year and the imaginative ›Hell‹ floats they built. None was written before 1540.[9] What they report becomes distorted as generations of Nuremberg *Briefmaler* enscribe and illuminate new copies. While I was gathering records of early non-religious plays in the Nuremberg State Archive, I noticed that the city council – whose monthly minute books I was excerpting – was much more concerned with regulating the *Schembart* Carnival than Shrovetide theater. The council was at times beset by a veritable mania to control the revels. Its annual orders, permissions, demands, and commands not only offer new technical information (on ›Hell‹ sleds and costumes), but demonstrate that the city council considered the *Schembart* Carnival an official civic function designed to display the imperial city's wealth and cultural power. I was able to transcribe some 300 orders the council issued, between December and March, to regulate the annual Carnival revels. The *Schembart* books, these records demonstrate, omit some years when the revels were actually staged, show gaps in listing ›Hell‹ floats, do not always date events correctly, and exaggerate the number of maskers. As family chronicles based on oral tradition and hearsay, they are covered by a patina of legend-making that thickened over time. I publish the most informative council orders, the majority for the first time, together with Nuremberg theater records in my study on the beginnings of non-religious German theater. In a section of my Nuremberg chapter I sketch out the most important findings.[10]

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8 Among selective publications to cite here are Samuel L. Sumberg, The Nuremberg Schembart Carnival, New York 1941; Hans-Ulrich Roller, Der Nürnberger Schembartlauf. Studien zum Fest- und Maskenwesen des späten Mittelalters, Tübingen 1965 (Volksleben, Untersuchungen des Ludwig Uhland-Instituts der Universität Tübingen 11); Jürgen Küster, Spectaculum vitiorum: Studien zur Intentionalität und Geschichte des Nürnberger Schembartlaufes, Remscheid 1983; Samuel Kinser, Presentation and Representation: Carnival at Nuremberg, 1450-1550, Representations 13 (1986), pp. 1-41.

9 Lazarus Holzschuher wrote the oldest *Schembart* book that can be dated. Combining descriptions of the costumed runners with historical notes, as do the scribes of many *Schembart* books, Holzschuher – who died in 1544 – dates his last entry 1541. See Nuremberg, Bayerisches Staatsarchiv, Reichsstadt Nürnberg, Handschriften 21, fol. 11^{v}, 164^{v}.

10 Eckehard Simon, Die Anfänge des weltlichen deutschen Schauspiels,

In the first half of this paper, I should like to use the newly discovered city council minutes together with other evidence to reconstruct the 1539 Osiander Carnival that so offended Martin Luther. It was not a harmless adolescent prank. The city council appointed one of their own, Jacob Muffel, as head captain to organize the Carnival and to supervise the 150 upper-class young men who flocked to participate. What turned town councilor Muffel and his friends against Andreas Osiander? What had Osiander said and done to provoke such a public baiting? What caused the *Schembarters* to politicize the revels and to turn the pastiche, for the first time, against a prominent authority of the Lutheran church?

In the second half of the paper, I look back to examine – again with the help of newly unearthed council orders – how Carnival revelers had, in the early 1520s, first staged the Lutheran Reformation, how early popular support for Luther had manifested itself in revelers satirizing the old church. *Schembart* and Christmas revelers dress up as monks, nuns, priests, and Popes. The maskers ride a monk on the Wheel of Fortune that constituted their ›Hell‹ sled for 1523. At the 1522 Carnival, a playmaking ensemble tries to stage a play satirizing the Pope. This constituted the first time, as I hope to show, that followers of the new religion attempt use the stage as a public medium and comes a year before Niklaus Manuel dared to put on his anti-papal Carnival plays in the Bern marketplace (1523).

I. Attacking Andreas Osiander in the Ship ›Hell‹ of 1539

To reconstruct the roasting Osiander received in 1539 and the ways popular dislike of the old church manifested itself in the Carnival of the early 1520s, I need to summarize what the newly uncovered council minutes tell us about the *Schembart* Carnival (see SIMON [note 10], pp. 333-343). *Schembart* or *Schempart* – puzzling to some investigators[11] – was the ordinary term the council minutes use for face mask. Because town guards had trouble identifying revelers who wore masks, the city council – as was the case in many towns – restricted their use as a matter of public safety. The council normally allowed only revelers escorting the dancing butchers to don masks. Thus the term *Schembart* came to designate

1370-1530, Untersuchung und Dokumentation, Tübingen 2003 (MTU 124), pp. 333-343 and records 318-460.

11 See HERBERT MAAS, Schembart und Fasnacht. Eine Rückkehr zu alten Deutungen, MVGSN 80 (1993), pp. 147-159.

the masked procession itself and *Schembarter* the masked and costumed runners. Starting in 1479, sons of patrician and elite families known as ›honorable‹ (*erbern*) purchased the masking privilege from the butchers for an annual fee. From 1506 on, the council itself decided to whom to grant the *Schembart*; in 1514 it started appointing captains (*hauptman*) and in 1516 began paying the ›rental fee‹ to the butchers. The council thus increasingly viewed the magnificent procession that attracted flocks of visitors to the Carnival as a way to polish Nuremberg's public image. The young patricians and merchants, numbering some twenty to forty each year, were happy to display their wealth in exquisitely tailored and embroidered costumes cut from expensive cloth, wearing scarfs and sleeves studded with pearls.

A shock troop consisting of male and female devils, ›peasants‹ and Wild Men and Women ran ahead of the maskers. These wild people were so popular that the councilors routinely refered to the *Schembart* maskers as *wilde mendlein*.[12] They donned bear skins the city arsenal furnished. According to council orders from the 1520s, the maskers built their *Hölle* sleds in the castle's barbican, a walled-off area where they were safe from prying eyes. The city put arsenal carpenters at their disposal and supplied lumber free of charge. These sleds were sophisticated mechanical show pieces (castle, dragon, elephant, Venus garden, oven baking fools, cannon firing ›old women‹), manned by puppets and by live revelers enacting a dumb show. Scholars, notably folklorists, have speculated for years why the guisers called this float ›Hell‹. *Hölle*, it turns out, was the name Nuremberg gunsmiths gave to an artillery wagon on which they mounted rotating cannons. To frighten the enemy, they fired the largest cannon from inside a dragon's jaw, the Hellmouth of medieval iconography and religious theater.[13] The maskers, then, borrowed the term from the gun wagon. It was perhaps not by chance that the first ›Hell‹ attested (1475) was a dragon. This military heritage also explains why the *Schembarters* shot gunpowder (*feuerwerck*) from float barrels as well as from handheld pipes.

The city council, the minutes show, took the Carnival show seriously and controlled it as it would a major civic function. It annually

12 For a recent study of the Wild Man in the European Carnival, see Samuel Kinser, Why is Carnival so Wild?, in: Carnival and the Carnivalesque. The Fool, the Reformer, the Wildman and Others in Early Modern Theatre, ed. Konrad Eisenbichler/Wim Hüsken, Amsterdam 1999 (Ludus: Medieval and Early Renaissance Theatre and Drama 4), pp. 43-87.

13 Johannes Willers, Die ›Hölle‹ in der Waffentechnik, Jahrbuch für Volkskunde, n.s. 15 (1992), pp. 212-220, pp. 212, 215, 217, 219.

commands the town musicians to play for the butchers' dance and the town guards to provide security. It orders the butchers to perform their revels even when, in certain years, they would prefer to omit them. When certain butchers petition that they are not able to dance (frailty of old age, wife has died recently), the council orders them to walk alongside the dancers. The masked runners have to register their names and costumes with the magistrate (*Pfänder*) who supervises the crafts on the council's behalf. The *Pfänder*, in turn, has to reward the dancers and maskers by treating them in his house to wine and meat-filled pancakes (*Fastnachtskrapfen*).

The city council begins preparing for the 1539 Carnival on January 25. Because »the young need to have some fun« (*der Jungen wollt auch kurzweil gelassen werden muſs*), it orders the *Schempart*, according to ancient custom (*alten prauch nach*), to be leased for two days from the butchers who are to perform their dance.[14] It delegates the councilors P. Grunther and H. Rieter to recruit the captains (*hauptleut*). On January 27, the council permits one Martin von Ploben (read Plauen), serving in the city militia [see n. 30], to be one of the captains. It then »asks and orders« Jacob Muffel to be head captain (*soll her Jacob Muffel zu eim oberhauptman gebetten vnd verordnet […] werden* [RV 898, fol. 32^{v}]). Jacob Muffel (d. 1569), we should note, was one of their own. The council had elected him in 1537 as one of the »junior burgomasters«.[15] The council also asks Grunther and Rieter to negotiate with one or two »honorable young husbands« (*Erbern Jungen Ehemennern*) who are to assist Muffel so that the whole show might transpire »more decorously«, *damits desto sittlicher zugeen möcht* (RV 898, fol. 32^{v}). Joachim Tetzel (d. 1576/77) – whom the council would elect junior burgomaster in 1545 – must have been one of the »honorable« married men the councilors wished to appoint as third captain. Two days before the two-day revels start, on February 15, the council orders the city pipers to play for the butchers and two town guards to ride escort. In line with »ancient custom«, the city fathers also grant them »two peasants«.[16] These were presumably

14 Council minute books to be cited RV: Nuremberg, Bayerisches Staatsarchiv, Reichsstadt Nürnberg, Rep. 60a, Verlässe des Inneren Rats. Here RV 898, fol. 31^{r}.

15 See Gunter Zimmermann, Prediger der Freiheit. Andreas Osiander und der Nürnberger Rat 1522-1548, Mannheim 1999 (Mannheimer historische Forschungen 15), p. 341 n. 115.

16 *Den Metzgern zu jrem tanntz dj Statpfeiffer, auch 2 knecht vergonnen vnd verfügen das Jnen altem prauch nach 2 pauern geben werden.Burger[meister] J[unior], waldheren* (RV 899, fol. 26^{r}).

butchers dressed up as peasants. The bumbling peasant – embodying pleasant and unpleasant body functions – was the standard fool of the Nuremberg Carnival and its Shrovetide plays. Peasants helped, as other minutes show, clear the streets for the dancers.

These three captains – one of them a sitting councilor, the second to become one a few years later – must have come up with the idea of building a ship of fools to satirize Andreas Osiander. Pious declarations notwithstanding, the council surely knew what they were up to and could have halted the ›Hell‹ pastiche on Carnival Monday (February 17), had they so desired. The *Schembart* was after all, as the minutes show, their great show. The council, I suspect, must have harbored some resentment against Osiander and not have minded that young councilors were going to ridicule him in public. The 150 revelers whom von Ploben, Tetzel, and Muffel were – according to the *Schembart* books – able to recruit, represent the largest number ever to run the *Schembart*. This also suggests that Osiander was unpopular. The revelers dressed up in silk adorned with gold and purple stripes: baggy pantaloons, coats and sleeves slit and ribboned in the newest Spanish fashion (Küster [note 8], pp. 110f.). They wore pearl necklaces and, like Morris dancers, belted bells around waists and knees (see Fig. 1). They assembled in the Customs House (*Zollhaus*) tavern where Nuremberg ›gentlemen‹ would gather to drink (Roller [note 8], p. 229).

After February 15, curiously enough, the council minutes mention nothing further about the 1539 Carnival. Why such silence? I shall return to this question. To determine what happened on February 17 and 18, we have to rely on town chronicle reports and on brief accounts the *Schembart* books give. The latter mainly describe and illustrate Osiander's ship of fools. Let us examine three such illustrations in order to reconstruct what happened and look for clues.

All *Schembart* book illustrations agree that the 1539 ›Hell‹ consisted of a one-masted sailing ship – with sail furled – rolling on wheels. The *Schembarters* had built a ship only once before, in 1506. This float appears to have been, perhaps significantly, the first one to satirize a contemporary event. According to Peter Bräunlein, the maskers were mocking a Portuguese trading ship venture of March 1505 in which the Nuremberg merchantman ›Hieronymus‹ took part.[17] The Nuremberg merchants Hirschvogel and Imhoff were funding this

17 Peter J. Bräunlein, Das Schiff als ›Hölle‹ im Schembartlauf des Jahres 1506, Jahrbuch für Volkskunde, n. s. 17 (1974), pp. 197-208.

venture. Five fools manning the wheeled ship and a corpulent drinker lifting a tankard (see SUMBERG [note 8], p. 223, plate 38) symbolized the ›foolish‹ risks the merchant adventurers were taking. For Reformation-age people the ship had other powerful associations. The sailing ship is the traditional image of the Christian church. »The Ship of Salvation«, as a 1512 woodcut depicts it, sailing »over the sea of life« resembles the Osiander vessel the *Schembarters* built.[18] Lutheran broadside artists, as SCRIBNER [note 18] shows, delighted in depicting the ship of the papal church foundering in heavy Reformation seas. Given the enormous popularity of Sebastian Brant's ›Narrenschiff‹ (1494), the Nuremberg maskers must also have viewed Osiander's vessel as a ›Ship of Fools‹. In a reversal typical of the carnivalesque mind, the ship of fools is bereft of water, its natural element: it pitches on wheels over the cobbled streets.

At ship center, leaning against the mast, all miniatures depict a heavy-set man, wearing a beret, the black robe of a preacher, and sporting a thick trimmed beard. As the oil portrait Georg (Jörg) Pencz painted of him in 1544 shows (Fig. 2), our masker bears a striking resemblance to Andreas Osiander. Let me briefly sketch Osiander's career. After he had studied at Ingolstadt, the Augustinian monastery of Nuremberg appointed him to teach Hebrew in 1520. There he befriended Johann von Staupitz, vicar general of the Observant Augustinians and Luther's mentor, heard about Luther's reforms and became an early *Martinianer*. In 1522, the city council appointed him ›evangelical‹ preacher at St. Lorenz church, and Osiander soon emerged as the spiritual leader of the Nuremberg Reformation. He spearheaded the evangelical preachers who debated articles of the old and new faith with Catholic theologians in the religious colloquium (*Religionsgespräch*) the city council convened in the *Rathaus* hall in March 1525. Emerging victorious, Osiander supported the city council in reforming Nuremberg's churches and monasteries, starting in April 1525. He backed the council's reforms with theological arguments.[19]

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18 For a reproduction of this woodcut and similar ships, see R[OBERT] W. SCRIBNER, For the Sake of Simple Folk. Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation, Cambridge 1981 (Cambridge Studies in Oral and Literate Culture 2); revised and augmented edition Oxford 1994, pp. 108f., pl. 80 and 108-115.

19 See GOTTFRIED SEEBASS, Das reformatorische Werk des Andreas Osiander, Nuremberg 1967 (Einzelarbeiten aus der Kirchengeschichte Bayerns 44), pp. 73, 90, 95f., and especially Zimmermann [note 15], *passim*.

Yet some prominent Nurembergers did not like Osiander. Willibald Pirckheimer turned against him in 1524 as the learned Humanist began to deplore the excesses of Lutheran reforms. Pirckheimer critized Osiander's expensive clothes, accused him of being a luxury-loving gourmet, and deplored the costly furnishings of his house (SEEBASS [note 19], pp. 209f.). Osiander's lifestyle – he married three times – contrasted sharply with the puritanical spirit of his sermons. He preached against Carnival revels, which he castigated as remnants of the papal church originating in pagan rites. This must have made him unpopular with young men like Jacob Muffel and his friends, who continued their Carnival mummings, dances and parties even after the churches became Lutheran.[20]

A few *Schembart* books illustrate the Osiander Ship of 1539 twice, attesting to the popularity of the incident. This is the case for what scholars regard as one of the oldest *Schempart Buech*, dated to *ca.* 1550, on which SUMBERG [note 8] based his pioneering study of 1941.[21] The picture inserted into the running chronicle, the smaller and simpler version, depicts only the ship float and its crew without the *Schembart* maskers attacking it (Fig. 3). On its deck, two grotesquely clad maskers surround Osiander, a fool is mocking the beholder, and another – standing on the bow – is steering the ship. Three other guisers – a fool sounding a trumpet, a physician examining a urine flask, an astrologer checking the ship's course with a sextant – busy themselves in the bannered crow's nest. The devil masker standing on Osiander's right is showing him a backgammon board while a key hangs from a pole sticking out the gable window of the chapel-like stern castle. The gaming board and the key (or two keys) offer clues, as we will see, to the controversy that led Jacob Muffel and his associates to satirize Osiander. The larger version (Fig. 4) depicts how the *Schembarters*, advancing from the right like a huge army, are about to storm the Osiander ship that apprentices are pulling into the square fronting Nuremberg's city hall. On the top right, one can see the choir of St. Sebald church, still standing there today. This densely peopled watercolor is one of seven large paper sheets once folded into the manuscript, which the Stadtbibliothek [note 21] now keeps in a separate folder. These seven posters depict great *Schembartlauf*

20 EMIL REICKE, Geschichte der Reichstadt Nürnberg von dem ersten urkundlichen Nachweis ihres Bestehens bis zu ihrem Übergang an das Königreich Bayern (1806), Nuremberg 1896, repr. 1983, pp. 258f.

21 **Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. Nor. K. 444, Schembartbuch der Pikkertschen Sammlung.**

moments, including the butchers' ring dance (see SUMBERG [note 8], p. 214), that Nuremberg families commissioning the books must have wanted most to remember.

This well-known poster visualizes many features of the *Schembart* Carnival familiar to us. The maskers, identically costumed, brandish spears and fire gunpowder from pipes hidden in leaf clusters. Four giant Wild Men, armed with tree-like clubs, support the attack. Four town guards on horseback dressed as heralds – one (a town piper?) beating a drum – are escorting and keeping check on the revelers. Climbing up two ladders, four *Schembarters* are beginning to storm the ship. Nine grotesques defend Osiander's bark, three armed with mortar pipe, javelin and hook, two hurling stones. Cannons blaze from the stern castle. Two guisers standing in the crow's nest – the fool bugling, the astrologer here measuring a globe – appear to be less concerned. In depicting a host of revelers and the entire marketplace scene the poster differs from the companion drawing in the same manuscript. This also goes for the two symbols we are tracking: here Osiander himself is holding both the backgammon board and the key. In an Osiander ship a Nuremberg artist – perhaps Jost Amman – drew about a generation later, a masker dangles two keys from the crow's nest, high above our stern preacher (Fig. 6).[22] We often find such variations in *Schembart* book illustrations. They caution us not to read the Osiander-ship drawings – as *Schembartlauf* scholars tend to do[23] – as accurate depictions of what happened in front of Nuremberg's town hall on February 18, 1539. The pictures are no more reliable than the written accounts of the *Schembart* books.

Andreas Osiander had often preached against gaming and gambling. This probably prompted Jacob Muffel and his fellows to mock the preacher with a backgammon board. Perhaps the board alludes to a remark Osiander made in May of 1533 about his fellow preachers. They preferred board games to studying the Bible, he asserted, and therefore taught the false doctrine of general absolution.[24] It was on this issue – absolving the congregation as a whole from sin before

22 **Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Hs. 5664** (16th century, second half), fol. 65r. **See** LOTTE KURRAS, Norica: Nürnberger Handschriften der frühen Neuzeit, Wiesbaden 1983 (Handschriften des Germanischen Nationalmuseums Nürnberg 3), pp. 48f. and Abb. 2.

23 **See** SUMBERG [note 8], pp. 181-183 and ROLLER [note 8], pp. 138-140.

24 *Was er dafur konne, das die anderen prediger spacirengehen und im preth spilen und nit fleissig studiern.* ZIMMERMANN [note 15], p. 319.

communion – that Osiander created the greatest controversy.[25] Since 1533 he had attacked the Lutheran pastors' practice of dispensing general absolution. Inasmuch as a minister had the authority to grant or withhold absolution, he argued, it was proper that he should dispense it individually, in private confession, declaring general absolution to be the handiwork of the devil (SEEBASS [note 19], p. 256). Only private confession was appropriate to the »office of the keys« (*potestas clavium*) a Lutheran pastor holds. With the key or two keys dangling out of reach over the Osiander guiser – which must have been the original intent – the *Schembart* maskers were ridiculing Osiander's view on private confession.[26] When meeting with the city councilors Koler and Schürstab in March 1533, Osiander accused them of having robbed him of »the key that binds« (*Bindeschlüssel*), the power to ban or excommunicate. Now they wished to defile (*besudeln*) »the key that unlocks« (*Löseschlüssel*), that is, the pastor's power to absolve the sinner in private confession (ZIMMERMANN [note 15], p. 315). Lazarus Spengler, its long-time secretary (1507-1534), led the council in opposing Osiander's views (ZIMMERMANN [note 15], pp. 321-323). Against the council's wishes, however, Osiander insisted on preaching on the doctrine of private absolution. Thus many Nurembergers knew about the controversy.[27] Even Luther – who was to lament the roasting Osiander received – thought confession for all believers to be the only feasible practice, and regarded Osiander as arrogant and overbearing in insisting on individual confession (BRECHT [note 2], pp. 307f.).

After the 1533 controversy about the office of the keys, the city council began to consider Osiander a radical and stubborn troublemaker. In years to follow, the council often opposed his views. In January 1537, the city fathers voted against Osiander's proposal that Nuremberg join the league of Protestant cities known as the Schmalkaldic League, which would have meant turning against Charles V, the Catholic emperor (ZIMMERMANN [note 15], pp. 384-386). Osiander's public spats with the more cautious and more conversative council, then, together with his puritanical preaching against Carnival and gaming must have prompted Muffel, von Ploben, and Tetzel to make

25 See chapter 8, ›Offene Schuld‹ und Allgemeine Absolution, in: ZIMMERMANN [note 15], pp. 309-341.

26 On this point, see Andreas Osiander d. Ä, Gesamtausgabe in 10 vols., ed. GERHARD MÜLLER/ GOTTFRIED SEEBASS, Gütersloh 1975-1997. Vol. 7: Schriften und Briefe 1539-1543 (1988), p. 358.

27 See KEITH MOXEY, Peasants, Warriors, and Wives. Popular Imagery in the Reformation, Chicago 1989, p. 15.

him the object of public ridicule in the 1539 *Schembartlauf*. Since the city council, to which Jacob Muffel belonged, resented Osiander, it did not intervene to stop the spectacle. Like the ship, the keys must have resonated with associations. The keys of St. Peter – two keys laid across each other – had always been the papal coat of arms (SCRIBNER [note 18], pp. 80-82, 103). Lutheran reformers had purposefully put the two keys to new use, as shown by the panel ›The Sacrament of Confession‹ that Lucas Cranach the Elder painted as part of his altarpiece for Wittenberg's parish church. The first key ›unlocks‹ the remorseful sinner, the second ›locks up‹ the impenitent sinner.[28]

The *Schembart* maskers, the standard histories of Nuremberg report, were not content with ridiculing Osiander in public. After burning the ship, they allegedly went to the preacher's house who, understandably alarmed, had taken the precaution of barricading the doors and windows to keep them out. The enraged Osiander, the accounts continue, lodged a complaint with the city council. Reacting with anger, the city council sentenced the three captains to time in the prison tower, the *Luginsland*, and expelled Jacob Muffel from the council. The councilors also decided to put an end to the *Schembart* Carnival for all time.

As far as I am able to determine, EMIL REICKE was first to describe the outcome of the 1539 Osiander *Schembartlauf* this way in his 1896 history of Nuremberg (REICKE [note 20], pp. 259f.). Listing no source, REICKE was presumably following the report Johannes Müllner gives in part III of his ›Annalen der Reichsstadt Nürnberg‹ (1623), which MICHAEL DIEFENBACHER has recently published.[29] Müllner appears to be quoting accounts he found in *Schembart* books which report that the »captains were consigned to the tower«[30] after Osiander had complained to the council. *Schembartlauf* scholars cite REICKE's report – the irreverent *Schembarters* get their just desserts – as historical fact. So do the historians GOTTFRIED SEEBASS ([note 19], p. 278) and GUNTER ZIMMERMANN ([note 15], pp. 340f.) in their important Osiander studies of 1967 and 1999. However, the 1539 protocol books of the

28 **See Martin Luther. An Illustrated Biography, ed.** PETER MANNS, New York 1982, pl. 57.

29 **Johannes Müllner, Die Annalen der Reichsstadt Nürnberg von 1623, Teil** III: 1470-1544, ed. MICHAEL DIEFENBACHER, Nürnberg 2003 (Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kultur der Stadt Nürnberg 32), p. 684.

30 **Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Hs. Merkel 4°** 412, p. 63: *deſs wegen die schömbardts heuptleuten vff dem thurn gemüst hetten.*

city council, as I noted, mention none of these alleged incidents and measures. Reading these booklets, one marvels that nothing happening in Nuremberg escapes the councilors' notice. Hence their silence on this matter is very strange. Had Osiander filed a compaint, the council secretaries would have recorded it the way they did all petitions. The February and March 1539 protocol books do not mention Osiander. The minutes also routinely note whom the council punishes, why and what the sentence is to be. To omit this in the case of three prominent young Nurembergers – being locked up in the tower is no small matter – would go against all rules. If the councilors had indeed expelled one of their own, Jacob Muffel, their deliberations would have left a paper trail. This is not what happened. On Thursday, February 20, 1539 the council authorizes councilor *J*[acob] *Muffel* to execute a routine order they are issuing (RV 899, fol. 30^{r}). The Tuesday following, February 25, the council asks J. Muffel and P. Grunther to carry out their decision that Endres Imhof and Mathes Löffelholtz serve as burgomasters for the next month and join the Council of Five (RV 899, fol. 35^{v}). Jacob Muffel continued to serve on the city council until 1542 as one of eight so-called *Alte Genannte*, becoming junior burgomaster again in 1542 (Zimmermann [note 15], p. 340 n. 115).[31]

When on January 19, 1540, the city council denies the butchers' request to run the *Schembart* again, it asks the councilor B. Imhof to explain to them »in kind words« that it could not grant their wish »for good reasons and because of rising prices«.[32] The butchers continue to put on their *Zämertanz* after 1540, however, and visit the *Pfänder*'s house to collect their Carnival pancakes. Every seven years, at Carnival, the cutlers continue to perform their celebrated sword dance (Simon [note 10], pp. 326-333). For both dances, the council, as before, sends the town minstrels to play tunes and the town guards to supervise and control the crowds. The council permitted the *Schembart* Carnival to run again in at least two years, 1588 and 1600 (Simon, pp. 342f.).

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31 The council, on February 21, 1539, grants Martin von Ploben's request to leave what appears to be his position in the city militia and asks the military captains (*Kriegsherrn*) to pay him off with a lump sum: *Dweil mertin von ploben vrlaub vom diennst begert / soll mans Jme geben / vnd Jme mit 40 lbs. abfertigen* (RV 899, fol. 30^{r}).

32 *Den fleischhackern jr begern des Schemparts lauffen halben mit guten worten ablainen man kenn solichs auß guten vrsachen vnd von wegen der theurung nit gestaten / Jnen soll aber erlaubt sein / nach altem geprauch der krappfen beim pfenndter zuholn. Her B. im Hoff* (RV 912, fol. 6^{v}).

How do we explain this disconnect? The reports Reicke appears to be following were, I suspect, written by latter-day Lutheran chroniclers, like Johannes Müllner, who wished to gloss over the inaction of the city council. Punishing the impious *Schembart* maskers for mocking the distinguished Lutheran pastor who reformed Nuremberg's churches was, they must have reasoned, the only outcome the 1539 *Schembart* could have had. It was only right that it led to the demise of the ancient Carnival. The silence of the minute books suggests instead that the city council did nothing. It did not expell the ringleader, Jacob Muffel. It did not decide to terminate the *Schembart* Carnival after 1539.

II. Carnival Revelers Bait the Old Church (1520-1525)

Before we examine how *Schembart* maskers and other Carnival mummers satirized the Roman Catholic Church, we need to explain why the Nuremberg city council – before reforming its churches in 1525 – reacted so fiercely toward anyone showing public support for Luther. By December of 1517, the jurist Christoph Scheurl, Luther's friend, had obtained a copy of the broadside *Disputatio pro declaratione virtutis indulgentiarum*, better known as the Ninety-Five Theses that Martin Luther had, according to tradition, posted on the door of Wittenberg's Castle Church, most likely on November 1, 1517. Scheurl asked Caspar Nützel, a city councilor, to translate the tract into German.[33] On August 23, 1518, the city council administered a »tongue lashing« (*streffliche red*) to Friedrich Peypus for printing – at the request of the Nuremberg Augustinians – »a little German tract by Dr. Martin Luther dealing with indulgences«.[34] This was typical of the way the council reacted to any kind of early support for Luther, even after 1522 when it appointed, as we saw, evangelical preachers like Andreas Osiander to its churches. The reason lies in the unique control the council exercised over Nuremberg's churches.

Nuremberg belonged to the diocese of the bishop of Bamberg. During the fifteenth century, however, the city council had, with

33 See Hans Volz, Martin Luthers Thesenanschlag und dessen Vorgeschichte, Weimar 1959, pp. 44-48.

34 *Fritz peipus puchtrucker vmb das er auff ansuchen der augustiner münnich ain teutsch tractetlin d. Martin luters on wissen vnd erlaubnuss ains rats gedruckt hat ein streffliche red sagen* […] (RV 626, fol. 23r). See also Theodor Hampe, Archivalische Miszellen zur Nürnberger Literaturgeschichte, MVGSN 27 (1928), pp. 251-278, here p. 260.

the Pope's blessing, gained control over its churches. As protector, it asserted the right to collect taxes from church property and insisted on approving priests the Bamberg bishop appointed. By the end of the century, the bishop complained that the imperial city was undermining his jurisdiction. Having assumed unique control over their churches, the city councilors watched Luther's activities with special anxiety.[35] The imperial diet that outlawed Luther at Worms in 1521 often met in Nuremberg. The city frequently had to host the emperor in its ancient imperial castle. And Charles V, as noted, was a devout Catholic.

The council's protocols during the years before 1525 show how worried the council became as Lutheran enthusiasts baited the old Church and displayed their allegiance to the new faith. Let me cite a few examples. On November 27, 1520, the council sentences the physician and almanach writer Sebald Busch to the prison tower for two months because he added to his printed Almanac for 1521 a woodcut caricature ridiculing the Pope and his priests.[36] The council was especially determined, as this decision shows, to prevent pictures from circulating which even »simple folk« (Scribner [note 18]), unable to read, could understand. In 1522, on March 3, it forbids the public sale of »images of Luther with the holy spirit«, no doubt copies of Hans Baldung Grien's engraving – Grien was Dürer's favorite student – depicting Luther with nimbus and dove (Scribner [note 18], p. 19, pl. 9).[37] A year later, on March 24, 1523, the council condemns a woman to time in the pitch-dark dungeon below city hall for selling printed broadsides depicting »the Pope and Luther«. There the town guards – who routinely tortured prisoners – are to find out how she obtained them.[38] On the days following Easter of 1523 unnamed persons provoked the council's ire by singing »at night a lewd song« about »monks, priests, and nuns« to the melody of the ancient Easter hymn *Crist ist erstanden.*

35 **Die Reformation in Nürnberg** [note 5], pp. 72f.

36 Arnd Müller, Zensurpolitik der Reichsstadt Nürnberg. Von der Einführung der Buchdruckerkunst bis zum Ende der Reichsstadtzeit, MVGSN 49 (1959), pp. 66-169, here p. 82.

37 *Abschaffen die pildnuß des lutters mit dem hailigen gaist offenmlich fail ze haben. Burgermaister* (RV 673, fol. 20^{r}). See also Theodor Hampe, ed., Nürnberger Ratsverlässe über Kunst und Künstler im Zeitalter der Spätgotik und Renaissance (1449), 1474-1618 (1633), Wien/Leipzig 1904 (Quellenschriften für Kunstgeschichte und Kunsttechnik des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit, n. s. 11) vol. 1, p. 205, no. 1339.

38 *Die frawen so getruckte brief darinn der babst vnnd luter gemalt [faylgehabt?] jns loch legen lassen vnnd zu redhalten wo ir die her kumen* (RV 687, fol. 27^{v}). See also Hampe [note 37], p. 210, no. 1381.

On April 16, the council orders the town guards to throw such blasphemous carolers into the dungeon. According to follow-up orders the council issues on April 29 and 30, the town guards – sensing how the tide was turning – were reluctant to carry out the order.[39] During these years, the council was in fact gradually introducing Lutheran reforms. Like autocratic rulers throughout history, the councilors took these repressive measures to keep popular support for Luther from leading to public disorder.

Ridiculing Priests, Monks, and Indulgence Bulls

Aside from singing lewd songs, Nurembergers showed their contempt for the old church by parading around dressed as priests, monks, nuns, and Popes. They did so not only at Mardi Gras but also during the Carnival-like revels of Christmas and New Year, during the Twelve Days of Christmas. On December 23, 1523, the council asks councilors Volkmer and Rumel to find out who the people were who were walking – with pipes and drums – through the streets at night dressed as priests and nuns.[40] They turn out to be a band (*rotte*) of upper-class young men (*erbern gesellen*), the fellows who ran the *Schembart*. On December 31, the councilors sentence those who had paraded in »priests' and monks'« habits to four days and nights in the prison tower, sparing the pipers and drummers.[41] Such »indecorous gangs« (*unzimliche rotten*), as the council calls them, appear to have done their Christmas and Carnival mumming quite frequently. A year later, on January 1, 1525, the council issues a precautionary edict addressed to the *pfendter* to prohibit »gangs and Carnival bands« from going around wearing the

39 *Den Statknechten beuelhen wo Sy bey nacht das vnzüchtig lied von münnichen pfaffen vnd nunnen auff die melodey: crist ist erstanden singen hören sollen Sy dieselben personen Jns loch legen. Burgermaister* (RV 689, fol. 9[v]). See also Hampe [note 34], p. 262.

40 *Zu erfaren wer / die sein die nechtins in pfaffen vnd nunnen clayder auf die gassen mit pfeiffen vnd trummen gangen vnd herwider bringen* (RV 698, fol. 4[r]).

41 *Die erbern gesellen so newlich bey nacht mit ainer Rott in pfaffen vnd munnichsclaidern auff die gassen gangen sein soll man ain yeden ausserhalb pfeiffer vnd trümmel slager straffen vier tag vnd nacht auff ain thurn* […] (RV 698, fol. 8[r]). In his Annalen of 1623, Johannes Müllner remembers this incident: *Zu Eingang deß Jahrs* [1524] *haben etliche erbare junge Gesellen Mummereyen angestellet in Munchen- und Pfaffenklaidern. Die hat der Rath deswegen mit dem Thurn gestrafft* (Müllner, ed. Diefenbacher [note 29], p. 500).

habits of monks and nuns.[42] Mummers were so fond of these costumes that they continued to strut around in them long after the council reformed the churches in 1525. During the Carnival days of 1529, the council allows revelers to go mumming in »a decorous manner«, but not in clerical dress.[43] Just before the Reformation debate began in March 1525, on Shrove Tuesday (February 28), the council reacts with anger when learning that a presumably clerical mummer had, in mocking fashion, arranged for a crucifix to be carried ahead of him. It orders councilor P. Grunther to find out who the culprit was.[44] A year before the Osiander scandal, in 1538, Carnival mummers were still parading in clerical habits, this time dressed as Popes (*Jn Bapstkleidern*). The council asks A. Tetzel and W. Tucher to investigate who put them up to donning such outfits. Greatly miffed, the council at once bans all mumming for the remaining Carnival days.[45]

Mindful of such anti-clerical mummings, the council was concerned from early on that the *Schembart* maskers might deride church authorities in one of their ›Hell‹ floats. Two weeks before the 1522 Carnival, on February 14, the council asks councilors W. Bömer and W. Stromer to inform the *Schembart* captains to depict nothing in their ›Hell‹ that might offend church people.[46] This did not stop Hanns Tucher and Martin von Ploben, the *Schembart* captains of 1523,

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42 *Abstellen die rotten vnd vaßnachten bey tag oder nacht in munnichs oder nunnens ordens leie claydern zegen. Vnd solhs dem pfendter anzesagen den trummelslagern solhs zu vnndtersagen* (RV 711, fol. 20r).

43 *Zwischen hie vnd weyßen suntag* [Invocavit, February 14] *noch mummerey gstatten zimlicher weiß, doch nit jn gaistlichen klaidungen. Burg[ermaister]* (RV 766, fol. 10r). See also Hampe [note 34], p. 264.

44 *Zu erfaren wem in diser vaßnacht gespöts weiß ein crucifix sey vor getragen* (RV 713, fol. 22r). See also Gerhard Pfeiffer, ed., Quellen zur Nürnberger Reformationsgeschichte. Von der Duldung liturgischer Änderungen bis zur Ausübung des Kirchenregiments durch den Rat (Juni 1524 – Juni 1525), Nuremberg 1968 (Einzelarbeiten aus der Kirchengeschichte Bayerns 45), p. 52, no. 361.

45 *Eritag 5. Martij* (fol. 28r) […] *Die faßnachten so vorgestern* [Carnival Sunday] *Jn Bapstkleidern gangen / alle beschicken darvmb zv red halten / vnd sonderlich aus weß anrichtung vnd erdichtung solch rüstung geüebt als dan widerpringen. A. Tetzl, W. Tucher.*

Das faßnacht geen alltwendig abstellen / der massen / das auf morgen niemant mehr jn einich schempart oder vngewonlicher kleidung sich finden lassen soll / bey eins Rats straff. M. Lofflholz, J. Volckher (RV 886, fol. 29v).

46 *Den hauptleuten des Schemparts vnndersagen / daz Sy zu der Hell nichtzit geprauchen so der gaistlicheit zewider sein mög. W. bömer, W. stromer* (RV 673, fol. 8r. Simon [note 10], no. 456).

and their forty maskers from constructing as their ›Hell‹ a Wheel of Fortune on which they strapped a guiser dressed as a monk. The pastiche appears to be part of the popular reaction against the papal legate Francesco Chieregati who, on January 3, had demanded before the diet meeting in Nuremberg that the city arrest the »evangelical« preachers and the prior of the Augustinian monastery (ZIMMERMANN [note 15], p. 54). On Ash Wednesday, February 18, the council finds out what the *Schembarters* are doing and quickly issues an order to cease and desist.[47] The order may have come too late: the maskers had run with their ›Hell‹ on Shrove Tuesday; on Ash Wednesday, as the reader remembers, they would usually burn it down in front of the city hall.

When we turn to the *Schembart* books to find out what actually happened, we find that they are not very helpful. They depict the 1523 ›Hell‹ as a square castle on a sled with four corner turrets and three arrow slits. Standing inside the courtyard, the top of a wheel can be seen. Some illustrations show four fools, three of them touching or pushing the wheel (Fig. 7). Identifying this as a *schleiffmühl*, the chroniclers explain that the maskers ground these fools on a wheel, presumably to smooth out their rough edges.[48] Other *Schembart* books claim that the 1523 ›Hell‹ depicted a Wheel of Fortune (*glücksrad*) on which rode men or fools.[49] This claim is, as the council order shows, correct. The ›Hell‹ illustration in SUMBERG's lead manuscript (Nor. K. 444 [note 21], fol. 66[r]) – Nuremberg, ca. 1550 – comes closest to depicting what Tucher and von Ploben must have devised in 1523 (Fig. 8). Three figures are clutching the wheel, a fool is rising, a bearded gentleman is sitting on top, a married woman is sinking. The fourth figure found on the traditional Wheel of Fortune we could imagine as a monk being crushed at the wheel's bottom, an act the castle walls hide. The image of the Wheel of Fortune resonated in an age that was changing the world (see SCRIBNER [note 18], pp. 117-122). In 1534, Georg Pencz drew a splendid Wheel – blindfolded Dame Fortune cranks it while God's hand tucks on reins around her neck, moneyed princes and churchmen rise

47 *Hannsen tucher vnnd martin von bloben die hawptleut des schemparts zubeschiken vnnd sowie sie einen munich oder annder vnzelhs* [?] *vff dem glucksrad zu der hell Jetzen machen laßen abzustellen* […] (RV 686, fol. 15[v]). See also GÜNTER VOGLER, Nuremberg 1524/25. Studien zur Geschichte der reformatorischen und sozialen Bewegung in der Reichsstadt, Berlin 1982, pp. 47-51.

48 *Ihr Höll war ein schleiffmühl / darauff man Narrn Schliffe*. Ms. Nor. K. 444 [note 21], fol. 66[r].

49 See ROLLER [note 8], pp. 135, 216, 228; SUMBERG [note 8], pp. 173-176.

and fall – to illustrate Hans Sachs's broadside *Das waltzend glück*.[50] The 1523 council order cautions us again not to trust the *Schembart* books as historical witnesses. In this case they blunted a politically loaded image – riding a monk on Fortune's Wheel – that appears to have been directed against the papal legate Chieregati.

The 1523 *Schembart* maskers may have expressed their support for Luther with another barbed image. According the several *Schembart* books, one of the 1523 maskers ran in a coat made entirely of indulgences with papal seals, holding a large *Ablassbrief* in his right hand (Fig. 9). We cannot be certain about the date.[51] The 1523 council protocols make no mention of the incident. Some *Schembart* books assign the indulgence masker to the 1522 *Schembartlauf* (Roller [note 8], pp. 73f.). Most picture this guiser without date among the imaginative costumes the maskers wore over the years (Sumberg [note 8], p. 107). Reformation historians like Scribner (1978 [note 55], p. 305) accept the 1523 date, which goes back to Reicke (1896 [note 20], p. 257). If the indulgence-masker ran through the Nuremberg streets in 1523, he must have stood out and attracted special attention. The rule was for all maskers – forty-eight ran in 1523 – to dress in identical costumes.

Indulgences, as one knows, promised believers who bought them that God would release their souls early from the fires of purgatory – by months or years, depending on the price. Rome had sold indulgences for generations to raise money. On March 31, 1515, the Medici Pope Leo X had issued a bull of indulgence in order to fund the completion of St. Peter's and to help the Archbishop of Mainz pay back money he had borrowed from the Fuggers.[52] Selling indulgences was controversial in Nuremberg before Martin Luther made it a national issue by posting the Ninety-Five Theses in 1517. Luther's mentor, Johann von Staupitz, vicar general of the Augustinians, preached against indulgences in December 1516 in the Nuremberg church of St. Veit. The jurist Christoph Scheurl – who belonged to the *Sodalitas Staupitziana* – translated the sermons into German and Friedrich Peypus

50 See Georg Piltz, ed., Ein Sack voll Ablaß. Bildsatiren der Reformationszeit, Berlin [1983], p. 95; Scribner [note 18], p. 118, pl. 89.

51 *Schembart* books dating the indulgence runner to 1523 are Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Amb. 54 2°, fol. 254^{v}, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Merkel Hs. 2° 866, fol. 69^{v}, and Hamburg, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, cod. 55b in scrin., Nuremberg, *ca.* 1580-1600. For the last, see Karl Drescher, ed., Das Nürnbergische Schönbartbuch nach der Hamburger Handschrift, Weimar 1908, p. 20.

52 Martin Brecht, Martin Luther. Sein Weg zur Reformation, 1483-1521, Stuttgart 1981, pp. 176-181.

printed them in 1517 (Reformation [note 5], pp. 78f.). In October 1517 – ironically enough – Leo X granted an »eternal indulgence« to the Nuremberg faithful who would go to Lenten confession in St. Sebald church or in the church of the Holy Spirit Hospital.[53] Nurembergers must therefore have been debating indulgence-selling as a major public issue by the time of the 1518 *Schembartlauf*.

The *Schembart* book miniatures of the indulgence-masker – the papal crossed keys on the two large seals (SUMBERG [note 8], p. 107) suggest that indulgences are meant – uniquely feature a text that illustrators inscribe on the costume, mostly one or two words on each indulgence (Fig. 9). Since indulgence sales provoked protest in Nuremberg, one would expect the inscription to bristle with fighting words. What we decipher instead is a harmless ditty, a drinking song, inviting readers to join the revels of jolly Carnival brothers (see ROLLER [note 8], p. 72). This is another case, I suspect, where the conservative upper class families who commissioned our memorial books were keen to gloss over any political issue the maskers may have raised. A nameless artist illustrating a *Schembart* book in the eighteenth century (Fig. 10) is the only one I know to inscribe on the indulgences a paraphrase of the well-known adage attributed to Johann Tetzel: »When the coins clink in the money box, the soul leaps from purgatory«.[54] ROBERT SCRIBNER mentions the Nuremberg indulgence-masker in his seminal ›Reformation, Carnival and the World Turned Upside-Down‹.[55] The indulgence runner of 1523, SCRIBNER suggests, would not have been allowed »without some tacit approval by the council«. This may explain, perhaps, why the protocol books are silent.

53 ULRICH KNEFELKAMP, Das Heilig-Geist-Spital in Nürnberg vom 14.-17. Jahrhundert. Geschichte, Struktur, Alltag, Nürnberg 1989 (Nürnberger Forschungen, Einzelarbeiten zur Nürnberger Geschichte 26), p. 274.

54 **Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Merkel Hs. 2°** 866, fol. 70r. *So bald die Seel erblast / erlöset durch den Ablaſs / Wann das Geld in Beuttel klingt / so bald die Seel aus dem feg feuer springt. Ban zur Ablaſs / Halber Ablaſs*. On the two indulgences the masker is holding: *Ablaſs Brief / pro 10 lbs. Absolviert.*

55 **In Social History** 3 (1978), pp. 303-329, here p. 313. **For an expanded** German version, see SCRIBNER, Reformation, Karneval und die ›verkehrte Welt‹, in: Volkskultur. Zur Wiederentdeckung des vergessenen Alltags (16.-20. Jahrhundert), ed. RICHARD VAN DÜLMEN/NORBERT SCHINDLER, Frankfurt a. M. 1984, pp. 117-152.

1522: A Would-Be Carnival Play Satirizing the Pope

What prompted the city councilors on February 14, 1522, as we saw, to order the *Schembart* captains not to display anything in their ›Hell‹ that might offend the clergy, were plans to stage an anti-papal Carnival play of which they had just been informed. During the Carnival days to start in two and a half weeks (March 2, Carnival Sunday), an unnamed ensemble was planning to stage a Carnival play (*vasnacht spil*) »in which a Pope would be walking in a chorister's robe (*Chormantel*)« while someone would »carry a three-barred cross (*ein dryfach creutz*) – the papal cross (SCRIBNER [note 18], p. 74, pl. 51) – before him«. This is to stop at once, the council orders. It instructs the councilor S. Paumgartner to go to the Holy Spirit Hospital and give the custodian (*sacristen*) a »tongue lashing« (*ein strofflich red*) for lending out a chorister's robe for this purpose. He is to retrieve it at once.[56] The prospect of a Carnival play *in bäpstlicher claydung* so alarmed the councilors that they repeat the ›seize-and-desist‹ order the very next day, February 15.[57]

The unnamed players were probably planning to stage their Carnival pageant in the marketplace, which would explain why the councilors were so quick to stop it: the marketplace was their territory. Five years before, on Carnival Sunday 1517 (February 14), the council had allowed an ensemble to stage *ain vaßnachtspil* in front of the city hall (*vor dem rathaus*), that is, on the north side of the Hauptmarkt. This was the area next to the choir of St. Sebald where the *Schembart* maskers, as the reader remembers, would set their ›Hell‹ float afire. The council instructed the building commissioner (*Paumeister*) to have his carpenters assemble a platform (*pruck*), recycling posts and planks set up for a tournament (SIMON [note 10] no. 451). In 1506, the city fathers had similarly allowed the town poet Genßkleprrer and his troupe to put on a play on Carnival Sunday after church (*nach der predig*). This 1506 *faßnachtspil* – Willibald Pirckheimer, councilor and Humanist, was asked to supervise it – must also have been staged in the marketplace (SIMON 437). Marketplace performances – as Basel and Bern records attest – were usually scheduled for Carnival Sunday

56 *Das vasnacht Spil dar Jnnen ein babst in aim Chormantel get vnd im ein dryfach creütz wirdet vorgetragen, ganntz abstellen vnd dem sacristen im Spital ein strofflich red sagen daz er zu solhen spil den chormantel hat dargelihen vnd daz er den widrum zu sein handen nem* (RV 673, fol. 8r. SIMON [note 10] no. 456).

57 *Denen mit dem vaßnacht spil in bäpstlicher claydung nochmalen zesagen das si solhs spils müssig sten. B. Paumgartner* (RV 673, fol. 9r. SIMON 457).

(*Esto mihi*), the only day when merchants did not need the square to set up shop and when townfolks had the leisure to watch a lengthier performance.

The chorister's robe the custodian lent the players for their Pope to wear suggests that the Holy Spirit Hospital near the Hauptmarkt was somehow involved. In a charitable tradition of long standing, the city educated twelve poor but talented choir boys in the Hospital school, paying the salary of the Head Master, whom the council would appoint. Anthoni Tucher was serving as schoolmaster in 1522 (Knefelkamp [note 53], p. 374). The choristers of Holy Spirit, as two records attest, put on plays. A petition survives from about 1503 in which the choristers ask the city councilors, in deferential and flowery words, to be allowed to perform – in a decorous manner (*tzuchtiger weis*) – »an entertaining play in verses« (*ain kurtzweylichs spil in reymen*) (Simon 432). Five years earlier, in 1498 the city council had permitted them to stage a play with the understanding that they would not ask spectators for money (Simon 419). This suggests that they performed the play – which according to a follow-up order featured a court (*mit dem gericht*) (Simon 420) – in public, perhaps in the marketplace.

The Holy Spirit Hospital was the only Nuremberg church that had a tradition of performing plays: during the Easter Vigil and on the afternoon of Good Friday. These were probably Latin plays, chanted under the crucifix on Good Friday to mourn Christ's death and at the Easter tomb to celebrate his resurrection. The former was presumably a ›Marienklage‹, popular in German churches, in which the Virgin Mary – usually with the help of the other Marys and John the Evangelist – grieves over her crucified son. The clergy acting and chanting these plays must have included the twelve choristers. The council, by imperial charter, exercised direct control over the affairs of Holy Spirit, a hospital or hospice for the sick and needy that the wealthy merchant trader Konrad Groß had built in the 1330s. In this church, in a shrine suspended from the ceiling, the council kept the legendary imperial crown jewels.[58] The minutes of the council therefore record all decisions the councilors make as they supervise the hospital. After mulling the decision over for a year, the council orders in April 1498 that the hospital church clerics are no longer to perform the Easter play.[59] The council does not explain this decision, which strangely

58 For a detailed history of Holy Spirit Hospital, see Knefelkamp [note 53].

59 See Bernd Neumann, Geistliches Schauspiel im Zeugnis der Zeit. Zur Aufführung mittelalterlicher religiöser Dramen im deutschen Sprachgebiet, München/Zürich 1987 (MTU 84/85), nos. 2334, 2335.

anticipates what was to happen in other German churches during the Reformation. In March of 1523 – by now expecting the Lutheran reforms – the council puts an end to the Good Friday laments in the hospital church which it had exempted from the 1498 order (NEUMANN [note 59], no. 2337).

According to our handbooks, the playwright Niklaus Manuel of Bern (ca. 1484-1530) – who was also an outstanding painter and an able town administrator – was the first to use the marketplace stage to support the Reformation. On Carnival Sunday (February 13) 1523, young fellows staged Manuel's *faſsnacht spyl* ›Vom Papst und seiner Priesterschaft‹ in the Kreuzgasse, Bern's civic and judicial center. Manuel attacks priests (derided as ›Totenfresser‹) who enrich themselves with funeral fees, shows Swiss farmers, exploited by indulgence sales, rebelling against the papacy, and enacts the Pope as warlord.[60] A week later, on Sunday, February 20, Manuel followed this with a processional Carnival pageant on the Kreuzgasse that visualized the contrast between a humble Jesus and the arrogant and haughty Pope, whom Manuel brands the »Turkish emperor«.[61]

That the clergy and choristers of Holy Spirit Hospital – the custodian excepted – had something to do with the 1522 anti-papal Carnival play, remains conjecture, since the authority of the Roman Church may still have prevailed there in 1522. We might prefer to ascribe this bold stage venture to a secular Carnival band, one of the *rotten* that craftsmen and merchants formed to put on Carnival plays in Nuremberg houses, taverns, and the marketplace. Written by an early Luther enthusiast, the play satirizing the Pope must have existed by February 14, 1522. The council, one would surmise, found out about it when the play went into rehearsal. The Nuremberg author of this lost Carnival play was a Reformation pioneer. He almost managed to put on an anti-papal satire in the Nuremberg marketplace one year before Niklaus Manuel succeeded in doing so in Bern.

Epilogue

The baiting of Andreas Osiander was an incident the city of Nuremberg did not soon forget. Osiander himself appears to refer to it when he

60 PAUL ZINSLI/THOMAS HENGARTNER, eds., Niklaus Manuel. Werke und Briefe. Vollständige Neuedition, Bern 1999, pp. 125-180.

61 **›Von Papst und Christi Gegensatz‹**, ZINSLI/HENGARTNER, pp. 181-188.

preached a sermon on the Ten Commandments in 1542. Not only do people who break the commandments with their debauchery not mend their ways, Osiander thunders, but »they make fun of the preachers, mock them and turn the whole business into a Carnival play«.[62] Aside from commemorating the Osiander ship in *Schembart* books, Nuremberg painters continued to draw large color posters of the type transmitted in one of the oldest such manuscripts [note 21. On July 19, 1571, a painter named Hieronymus Beheim, about whom we know little (SUMBERG [note 8], p. 18), aroused the ire of the city council by offering a poster depicting »the Hell and Osiander« (*mit der hell vnd Osiander*) for sale in the marketplace. The councilors not only inform Beheim of their »serious displeasure« (*ernstlich misfallen*), but order the town guards to take the painting (*das gemehl*) away from him and cut it to pieces.[63] This did not stop the practice. A watercolor poster of the kind Beheim must have painted – anonymous and dating from about 1600/1610 – survives in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum (Fig. 5).[64] Comparing it with the older poster (Fig. 4) – painted about 1550 – one notices that memories of the Osiander ship, visual and otherwise, are beginning to fade. Far fewer *Schembart* maskers are attacking the Osiander float; cannons no longer fire from the ship's afterdeck castle; the painter makes no attempt to simulate waves on what appears to have been a cloth curtain hiding the wheels. His earlier colleagues had adorned the sea with a naked man riding a whale (Fig. 3) and a floating mermaid (Fig. 4). The maskers no longer fire gunpowder from their mortar pipes. Mocking Andreas Osiander on the ship of fools, then – a spectacle Martin Luther condemned in March of 1539 – occupied a niche in Nuremberg's cultural memory for generations to come. It did so, I suggest, because the city council secretly sided with councilor Jacob Muffel, having a score to settle with the puritanical and arrogant preacher, and silently condoned that Muffel and his associates turned the ancient *Schembart* Carnival for the first time against a leader of the Lutheran church.

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62 […] *man hat die prediger noch darzuo gehonet, verspottet und ain faßnachtspiel darauß gemacht*. Osiander, Schriften und Briefe [note 26], p. 358.

63 *Jheronimusen Beheim dem Maler sol man meiner Herren ernstlich misfallen anzeigen das Er den letzeren Schempert mit der hell vnd Osiander gemahlt vnd offennlich am Marckt fail gehabt und Warnen Auch das gemehl Zerschneiden vnd jn nit wider geben. J. Bammberger* (RV 1332, fol. 12[r]). See also HAMPE [note 37], vol. 2, p. 34, no. 31.

64 **Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Graphische Sammlung, HB** 2354, Kapsel 1280.

The present study is part of a larger investigation that examines the role that theater of all kinds – from Carnival street-theater to Protestant Passion plays – played in fostering and resisting the Reformation. I take my cue from the inspiring essay ›Reformation, Carnival and the World Turned Upside-Down‹ that the late Bob Scribner published in 1978 [note 55]. In his subsequent book ›For the Sake of Simple Folk‹ (1981, revised edition 1994), Scribner refers to some of the Nuremberg street theatricals I examine here (Osiander ›Hell‹, pp. 71-74), placing them into the larger context of ›Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation‹.[65] The public baitings Nuremberg Carnival revelers staged of priests, monks, indulgence sales, and the papacy occurred in the years 1520 to 1525 when, as Scribner notes (1978 [note 55], p. 304), »the Reformation can most clearly be called a spontaneous and popular movement«.

65 **See also** Robert W. Scribner, Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany, London/Ronceverte, WV 1987.

Fig. 1: A 1539 *Schembart* masker in costume, shouldering a spear and firing gunpowder from a pipe hidden in a cluster of leaves. Note lip-ring and three family coats of arms, presumably those of the captains von Ploben, Tetzel, and Muffel. Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. Nor. K. 444, ca. 1550, fol. 67^{v}. Published with permission of the Stadtbibliothek, Nuremberg.

Fig. 2: Andreas Osiander, pastor of St. Lorenz Church. Oil panel by Georg Pencz, Nuremberg, 1544. Rome, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pod. II 374. From Seebaß [note 18], frontispiece, published with permission of the Vatican Library, Rome.

Fig. 3: Simple version of the ship ›Hell‹ of 1539 satirizing Andreas Osiander. Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. Nor. K. 444, fol. 68r. Published with permission of the Stadtbibliothek, Nuremberg.

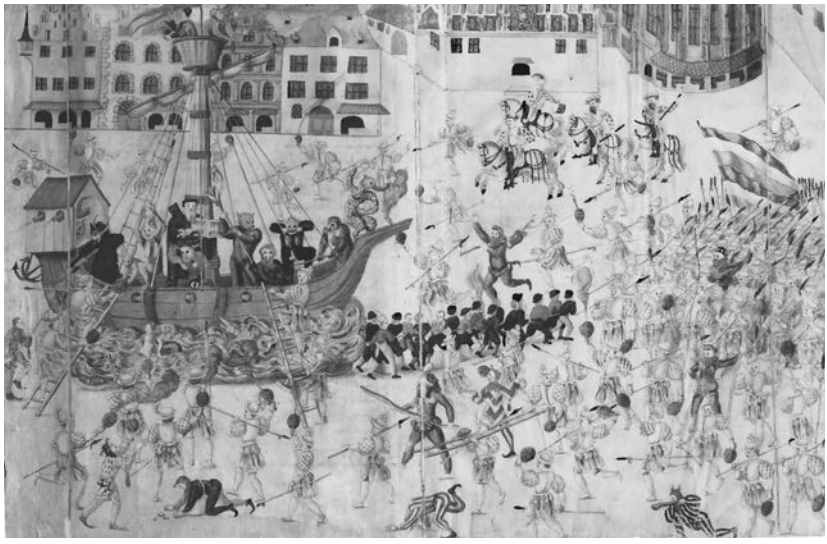

Fig. 4: *Schembart* maskers and Wild Men storming Osiander's ship of fools in front of the Nuremberg town hall on February 18, 1539. Note choir of St. Sebald Church at upper right. Watercolor poster from *Schembart* book, Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. Nor. K. 444, ca. 1550 [see fig. 1, 3]. Now framed and kept in separate folder as no. II. Published with permission of the Stadtbibliothek, Nuremberg.

Fig. 5: *Schembart* maskers attacking the Osiander ›Hell‹ ship of 1539. Anonymous watercolor drawing, 31,4 x 57 cm, ca. 1600/1610. Nuremberg, **Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Graphische Sammlung**, HB 2354, Kapsel 1280. Published with permission of the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, **Nuremberg.**

Fig. 6: The Osiander ›Hell‹ ship of 1539. Colored pen-and-ink drawing, perhaps by Jost Amman. The physician is here showing a urine flask to Osiander, one of the three devils is climbing up the mast. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Hs. 5664 (16th century, second half), fol. 65r. Published with permission of the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg.

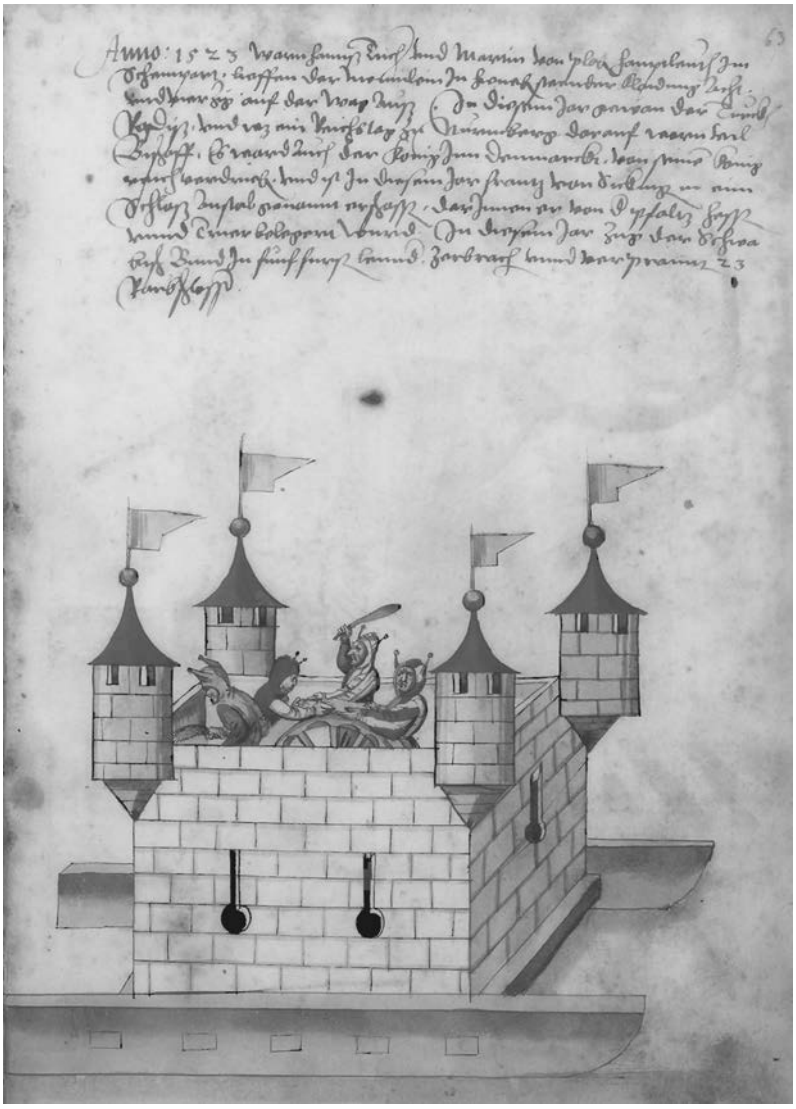

Fig. 7: The ›Hell‹ sled of 1523: Castle with four corner turrets and three arrowslits. In courtyard four fools, three pushing or touching a wheel, originally the Wheel of Fortune. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Hs. 5664, fol. 63r. Published with permission of the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg.

Fig. 8: The ›Hell‹ sled of 1523. In the courtyard a fool, a bearded man, and a married woman are riding Fortune's Wheel. Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. Nor. K. 444, fol. 66^{r}. Published with permission of the Stadtbibliothek, Nuremberg.

Fig. 9: A *Schembart* masker, probably in 1523, wears a coat made of indulgences with seals. Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. Nor. K. 444, fol. 76r. Published with permission of the Stadtbibliothek, Nuremberg.

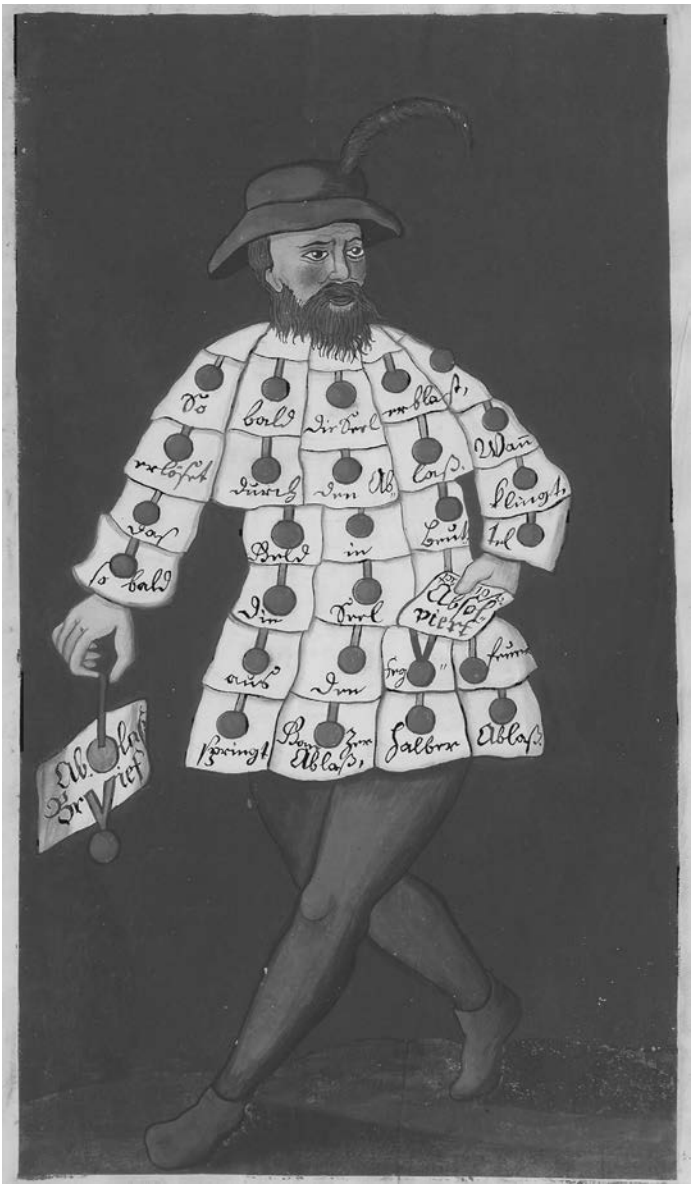

Fig. 10: Eighteenth-century version of the indulgence-masker, with inscription paraphrasing the notorious Tetzel ditty. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Merkel Hs. 2° 866, fol. 70r. Published with permission of the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg.

David H. Price

Reuchlin and Rome: The Controversy over Jewish Books, 1510–1520

This essay, as the title indicates, raises a fairly specific question: What did Rome mean to Johannes Reuchlin during the lengthy controversy over his defense of Jewish books?[1] I do not pose this question as a basis for a comprehensive re-evaluation of the Reuchlin Affair. Rather, I want to draw attention to a crucial but overlooked feature of the controversy: the intellectual affinities that developed – both before and during the controversy – between Reuchlin and leading humanists at the Roman Curia.

It was a distinctive feature of his career that Reuchlin styled himself the first Northern humanist, a diplomat and scholar, whose credentials were recognized at the Roman Curia. The connections he nurtured with Rome were so profound and so intellectually productive that Reuchlin felt confident the Roman Curia validated his positions on the significance of Hebrew studies for Christianity. Even his defense of Jewish writings in 1510, which ignited the controversy, depended heavily on citations of canon law and papal precedents. Moreover, in the heated debates that ensued, the papal court appears repeatedly on the side of Reuchlin against the Dominican Inquisition. In important ways, the Reuchlin Affair documents that Rome's intellectual stature among Northern humanists was rising in the 1510s, even if concerns about venality and the expansion of secular authority persisted. This is significant, in part, because of the prominence of the Reuchlin controversy: its discourse should be an important element in any assessment of how Rome was perceived in Northern Europe in the 1510s, the tumultuous decade during which Reformation movements found traction in the Holy Roman Empire.[2] Furthermore, in the specific

1 Research for this project was conducted primarily at the Klau Library of Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion (Cincinnati), which has unusually deep holdings in pamphlets relating to the Reuchlin Affair as well as in Renaissance Hebraica. I wish to thank the entire library staff, especially Dr. Daniel J. Rettberg, Arnona Rudavsky, and Laurel S. Wolfson, for much assistance. Above all, I am deeply grateful for the advice and support I have received over the years from Dr. David J. Gilner, Director of Klau Library.

2 Luther embraced Reuchlin, though Reuchlin never supported Luther's

context of the thwarted attack against Jewish culture, the discourse of the Reuchlin Affair suggests that Rome in the second decade of the sixteenth century would be an unlikely ally of any attempt to expel Jews en masse from the Holy Roman Empire. Largely predisposed to maintaining Jewish legal rights and privileges, the Papal Curia was also developing into a center of Christian Jewish studies, an innovation that became clearly noticeable as the Reuchlin controversy unfolded.

It was inherently logical that Reuchlin's new point of departure in Hebrew philology would initiate a decade-long conflict among professors and rulers from many parts of Europe. Nevertheless, the first shot fired in this intellectual war was not at all academic. In 1509, Emperor Maximilian issued an imperial mandate authorizing a certain Johannes Pfefferkorn to confiscate all Jewish books in the Holy Roman Empire and destroy those, especially the Talmud, that were in any way injurious to Christianity.[3] Pfefferkorn had emerged as the most prominent anti-Jewish campaigner in the Holy Roman Empire. His first four anti-Jewish tracts (published between 1507 and 1509) had gone through an astounding twenty-one printings.[4] The early tracts had the avowed goal of promoting conversion, but, in 1509, with the backing of members of the Franciscan Order

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movement. In fact, Reuchlin parted ways with his relative and protégé Philipp Melanchthon over the latter's support of Luther. Nonetheless, in 1519, Reuchlin did include a letter of support from Martin Luther in his ›Illustrium virorum epistolae‹, Hagenau: Anshelm, 1519, fol. C3^{v}-C4^{r} (also in Reuchlin, Briefwechsel, ed. Ludwig Geiger, Stuttgart 1875, no. 277 [p. 311]). As late as 12 September 1519, Reuchlin sent greetings to Martin Luther in a letter to Melanchthon. The letter is also interesting because Reuchlin referred to Luther by a Greek name that Luther only used for a brief period: *Martinus Eleuterius* [Martin the Freeman]. See Reuchlin, Briefwechsel, ed. Geiger, no. 280 (pp. 356f.): *Iterum feliciter vale atque Martino Eleuterio*.

3 In recent years, several scholars have assessed Pfefferkorn's anti-Jewish writings. See Heiko A. Oberman, The Roots of Anti-Semitism, trans. James I. Porter, Philadelphia 1984; Hans-Martin Kirn, Das Bild vom Juden im Deutschland des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts dargestellt an den Schriften Johannes Pfefferkorns, Tübingen 1989; Ellen Martin, Die deutschen Schriften des Johannes Pfefferkorn: Zum Problem des Judenhasses und der Intoleranz in der Zeit der Vor-Reformation, Göttingen 1994; and Elisheva Carlebach, Divided Souls, New Haven 2002. Extracts from two of Pfefferkorn's tracts have been translated by Erika Rummel, The Case Against Johann Reuchlin, Toronto 2002, pp. 53-81.

4 The number of imprints is based on the excellent bibliography in Martin, Schriften des Johannes Pfefferkorn.

(and the immediate support of the Dominicans as well), he began advocating, first and foremost, the destruction of Jewish books.[5]

The ultimate goal in his new stratagem of destroying Jewish writings was the extirpation of Jews from the entire empire. Hitherto, expulsions in the empire had been carried out on a territory-by-territory basis, through negotiated agreements between territorial authorities and the emperor, often with the involvement of ecclesiastical authorities. This process resulted in many expulsions, to be sure, but it presented obvious complications to anti-Jewish agitators. The process was typically slow, requiring a careful political campaign in each place, sometimes without success. Regensburg, for instance, repeatedly failed to secure permission for an expulsion in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century.[6] The city of Nuremberg required some twenty-five years of concerted effort to obtain permission to expel all its Jewish citizens (which it accomplished by 1499),[7] and also had to pay a heavy tax to the emperor. Furthermore, as Pfefferkorn himself lamented, Jews expelled from one territory often got permission to settle in another.[8] For example, since 1425, Jews could not reside in Cologne, but were allowed to live in nearby Deutz, from which they continued to conduct business in Cologne. This legal situation in the Holy Roman Empire was fundamentally different from that in other places, such as England, France, Spain, and Portugal, where Jews had suffered mass expulsions. An important result of this complexity was that Jews remained in many significant places in the Holy Roman Empire despite extremely high levels of hostility.

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5 On the significance of the mendicant orders as the major forces behind late medieval anti-Jewish agitation, see Jeremy Cohen, The Friars and the Jews, Ithaca 1982, and František Graus, Pest, Geissler, Judenmorde: Das 14. Jahrhundert als Krisenzeit, Göttingen 1988.

6 The final expulsion of Jews from Regensburg in 1519, undertaken in the confusion following the death of Maximilian I, was illegal. The city was forced to pay the emperor a yearly tax assessment for the former Jewish community until the eighteenth century. See Raphael Straus, Regensburg and Augsburg, trans. Felix N. Gerson, Philadelphia 1939, and R. Po-chia Hsia, The Myth of Ritual Murder, New Haven 1988, pp. 66-85.

7 On the history of the expulsion of Jews from Nuremberg, see Markus Wenninger, »Man bedarf keiner Juden mehr«: Ursachen und Hintergründe ihrer Vertreibung aus den deutschen Reichsstädten im 15. Jahrhundert, Vienna 1981, and also David Price, Albrecht Dürer's Renaissance, Ann Arbor 2003, pp. 169-93.

8 See Johannes Pfefferkorn, ›Furtrag wie die blinden Juden yr Ostern halten‹, Cologne: n.p., 1509, fol. D2^{r}.

With a ban on Jewish books, Pfefferkorn aimed to separate Jews from their culture and faith. The attack against the Talmud had figured prominently in the history of anti-Jewish campaigns in France, Spain, and even parts of the Holy Roman Empire, especially in the recent campaign in Nuremberg.[9] The approach had two clear advantages for the anti-Jewish forces. One was that the ugly accusations against Jewish writings would stoke the fires of Christian anti-Semitism. It would repeatedly ›prove‹ that the Jews deserved to be reviled by Christians. The other was that this tactic did not require any new imperial legislation. Pfefferkorn was able to claim that several legal justifications for destroying Jewish writings were already in place: the books were blasphemous, libelous, injurious to Christianity and even heretical, all of which were offenses already covered by imperial law and, thus, binding everywhere. Once possession of their books was declared illegal, Jews would ›voluntarily‹ leave the empire, or, failing that, once those illegal books had been confiscated and destroyed, the Jews would eventually melt into the great mass of professing Christians.

Not surprisingly, the imperial mandate ran into legal problems as soon as Pfefferkorn began to execute it. Maximilian therefore decided to solicit expert opinion. He asked Reuchlin, two other individual scholars, and four university faculties for a legal and theological assessment of the mandate. Johannes Reuchlin, author of the first printed Hebrew grammar book and lexicon (1506), was widely credited as the founder of Christian Hebrew studies.[10] Yet, he also commanded immense prestige in the Holy Roman Empire as a prominent lawyer and judge.[11] Among all the experts consulted on this question, he was by far the greatest authority on imperial law. Reuchlin, moreover, ended up in a minority of one when, in an unusually detailed brief (which he soon published),[12] he argued that the mandate lacked sufficient legal or

9 See, for example, David Price, Hans Folz's Anti-Jewish Carnival Plays, Fifteenth Century Studies 19 (1992), pp. 209-228, on the Nuremberg attacks against the Talmud.

10 Reuchlin's ›De rudimentis linguae hebraicae‹ (Pforzheim: Anshelm, 1506) was a major breakthrough for humanism and Christian biblical studies, enabling the likes of Martin Luther and Ulrich Zwingli to study Hebrew.

11 For a thorough study of Reuchlin's legal career, see Markus Raphael Ackermann, Der Jurist Johannes Reuchlin (1455-1522), Berlin 1999.

12 The tract, first published in 1511 as part of Reuchlin's ›Augenspiegel‹, appeared in a modern edition – Johannes Reuchlin, ›Gutachten über das jüdische Schrifttum‹, ed. and trans. Antonie Leinz-von Dessauer, Stuttgart 1965 – and in a critical edition: Johannes Reuchlin, Sämtliche Wer-

religious justification. In a letter to a prominent Roman Jew, Reuchlin would later claim that it was upon reading his recommendation that Emperor Maximilian ordered that the Jewish »books be returned to their owners«.[13] Central European Jewry let out a collective sigh of relief. To Josel of Rosheim (the leading sixteenth-century advocate of Jewish causes in the Holy Roman Empire), Johannes Reuchlin was »the savior of our people, […] a good and wise man, […] a miracle within a miracle«, who, despite the perils in doing so, would defend the Jewish faith as the foundation of the truth.[14] Nonetheless, a heavy burden fell on Reuchlin's shoulders in the form of a potent heresy charge, brought against him by the Inquisitor General, Jacob van Hoogstraeten.[15] The charge was that one of Reuchlin's tracts, the ›Augenspiegel‹, was »impermissibly favorable to Jews«.[16]

At this point, the controversy over Jewish books expanded into something even broader. The heresy charges against Reuchlin inspired humanist scholars as well as a number of rulers to take a stand. It also energized an old guard of sorts – an anti-Jewish, somewhat anti-humanist, substantially pro-scholastic group, including many

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ke, volume 4, part 1, Schriften zum Bücherstreit, ed. WIDU-WOLFGANG EHLERS et al., Stuttgart 1999, pp. 27-64. It has been translated by PETER WORTSMAN, Recommendation Whether to Confiscate, Destroy and Burn All Jewish Books, New York 2000.

13 Johannes Reuchlin, Briefwechsel, ed. MATTHIAS DALL'ASTA/GERALD DÖRNER, Stuttgart 1999, 2: 433 (no. 228): *Caesar autem, dominus noster clementissimus, iis, quae hac de re sentiebam et cogitabam, perlectis et accurate perpensis illos libros antea undique congestos possessoribus redidi iussit.* See ISIDOR KRACAUER, Actenstücke zur Geschichte der Confiskation der hebräischen Schriften in Frankfurt a. M., Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums 44 (1900), pp. 114-26, 167-77, 220-34, for an account of how the Frankfurt Jewish community stopped the confiscation before Reuchlin was consulted.

14 Quoted (in my English translation) from Josel of Rosheim's memoirs, as edited by ISIDOR KRACAUER, Rabbi Joselmann de Rosheim, Revue des Ètudes Juives 16 (1885), p. 88. See also LUDWIG FEILCHENFELD, Rabbi Josel von Rosheim: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland im Reformationszeitalter, Strassburg 1898, p. 22; and SELMA STERN, Josel von Rosheim: Befehlshaber der Judenschaft im Heiligen Römischen Reich Deutscher Nation, Stuttgart 1959, p. 41.

15 On Hoogstraeten, see HANS PETERSE, Jacobus Hoogstraeten gegen Johannes Reuchlin: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Antijudaismus im 16. Jahrhundert, Mainz 1995.

16 The charges appear in a few publications, including the ›Acta iudiciorum inter F. Jacobum Hochstraten inquisitorem Coloniensium et Johannem Reuchlin‹, Hagenau: Anshelm, 1518, fols. A2^{r}-B1^{r}.

members of the Dominican and Franciscan orders.[17] In that fateful decade, some partisans in the Reuchlin Controversy published their views; several did so repeatedly. Records – most of them published at the time – indicate that the following authorities took a position: the emperor, the emperor-to-be (they took different sides), the king of France, individual princes of the Holy Roman Empire and beyond, including princes of the church, some fifty sovereign cities, faculties of theology, leading individual professors and, finally, the Pope. Even the Pope to be, Adrian of Utrecht (soon to be Adrian VI), took a forceful position on the Reuchlin controversy.

Johannes Reuchlin's Experiences in Rome

Reuchlin visited Rome three times, in 1482, 1490, and 1498. The first trip actually marked the beginning of his long career in government. Fresh out of law schools, with elegant degrees from Orléans and Poitiers, he was recruited at the last second for the entourage of Count Eberhard of Württemberg's pilgrimage to Sixtus IV's Rome. Eberhard, who had recently founded the University of Tübingen (1476), went as a religious pilgrim and as ruler of a northern territory attempting to enter the mainstream of international Renaissance culture.[18] In particular, Württemberg wanted to cultivate strong ties to the papacy as it undertook monastic reforms and sought ecclesiastical support for the University of Tübingen. With those goals in mind, Eberhard brought along his most distinguished professors. But why, at the last second, did he add an unknown, inexperienced, twenty-seven year old lawyer to the entourage? Reuchlin was hired for his humanist Latin: when he spoke Latin, it sounded European, not Swabian.[19] This was

17 **See** James Overfield, A New Look at the Reuchlin Affair, Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History 8 (1971), pp. 165-207, for his proposal that the central issue in the Reuchlin Affair remained the status of Jews and that it was not a major battle between humanism and scholasticism. Overfield's correction of one-sided characterizations is quite valuable. Nonetheless, the Reuchlin Affair was a controversy both over Judaism and over the future course of humanism. In its rediscovery of the Hebrew Bible, Renaissance humanism had to face the ferocity of Christian anti-Semitism.

18 **See** Dieter Mertens, Eberhard im Bart und der Humanismus, in: Eberhard und Mechthild, ed. Hans-Martin Maurer, Stuttgart 1994, pp. 35-81.

19 **See** Max Brot, Johannes Reuchlin und sein Kampf, Stuttgart 1965, p. 53.

crucial because Eberhard was seeking recognition from Rome for the cultural politics of Württemberg.

Indeed, it was Reuchlin who scored the cultural coup of the pilgrimage. Upon the embassy's arrival in Rome, he decided to attend the advanced Greek seminar that Joannes Argyropoulos was conducting in the Vatican Library, recently constructed by Sixtus IV. When Reuchlin entered the seminar room (presumably the Biblioteca Graeca), Argyropoulos publicly challenged him, apparently seeing a chance to put a northern barbarian in his place. Reuchlin's performance became legendary. He flawlessly read and translated a passage from Thuycidides at sight. Argyropoulos's response was utter amazement: »Greece has flown across the Alps«.[20] Reuchlin's success was Württemberg's triumph. The Swabians had arrived at Rome, capable of conducting diplomacy in the new style and meeting the new standard that Rome was establishing.

The second trip to Rome was a diplomatic representation of Württemberg with more specific goals. This time Reuchlin, now an experienced and trusted statesman, was in charge. He represented Württemberg at a congress Pope Innocent VIII had convened to discuss the Turkish question – what should be done to counter the contraction of Christendom and expansion of Islam in Eastern Europe? Nothing tangible came of this congress. It was also during this trip that Reuchlin received his own ›humanist baptism‹. Ermolao Barbaro, the Venetian ambassador to the Roman Curia, conferred the Greek name *Capnion* [little smoke] on Reuchlin.[21] The Roman setting for this honor added significantly to the cachet of the name. Reuchlin also ›romanized‹ his identity in his coat of arms, which suggests a Roman *ara pacis* with a wisp of smoke rising from it. The motto is the *ara Capnionis* [Altar of Reuchlin].

The third trip, in 1498, entailed a moment of crowning glory. This time Reuchlin served as ambassador to the holy city for Elector Philipp

20 Melanchthon narrated this story in his oratorical biography of Reuchlin. See Melanchthon, Corpus Reformatorum 11: col. 1005. In the dedication of his ›De arte cabalistica‹ (1517) to Pope Leo X, Reuchlin claimed that he was first to lead Greek culture back to Germany: *ego primus omnium Graeca in Germaniam reduxi.* See Reuchlin, Briefwechsel, ed. Dall'Asta/Dörner [note 13], 3: 420-8 (no. 309).

21 *Capnion* derives from Greek word *kapnos* [smoke] and the diminutive suffix *-iôn.* ›Reuchlin‹, of course, sounds in German as if it were derived from *Rauch* [smoke] and the diminutive suffix *-lein.*

of the Palatinate. Philipp needed a dispensation for the marriage of his son, Ruprecht, and his son's first cousin, Elizabeth of Bavaria. More importantly, the elector had been excommunicated as the result of an ecclesiastical complaint against his efforts to reform the Monastery at Weißenburg. Reuchlin handled the Weißenburg issue aggressively – those monks were corrupt, and, by stooping to a game of legal chess, they had merely outmaneuvered Philipp. Reuchlin carefully framed his diatribe against the Weißenburg monks with an unconditional endorsement of papal authority. Directly addressing Alexander VI, Reuchlin emphatically asserted the doctrine that Christ

tuis istis clavibus spiritualibus atque caelestibus non solum aliquantulam terrae glebae, verum et universum hoc orbis terrarum spacium contulit.[22]

(conferred to these your spiritual and heavenly keys authority over not only some tiny clod of earth but, indeed, over the entire expanse of the world.)

He delivered these words in the recently constructed Sistine Chapel with its ample illustrations of the ›power of the keys‹, as, most famously, in Perugino's brand-new ›Christ Giving the Keys to St. Peter‹.

Some fifteen years later, Reuchlin's lawyer at the Roman Curia would label his client the »Orator of Papal Holiness«, an epithet earned by this speech.[23] The papal address of 1498 was so well received that Aldus Manutius printed it immediately as an honor to Reuchlin – a distinction of the first order, for Reuchlin's papal address is one of only two works by a northern humanist with an Aldine imprimatur.[24] (The other Northerner so honored was Erasmus.) Once again, Reuchlin had gone to Rome to gain recognition as a humanist from the North. An elegant speech delivered before His Holiness in the Sistine Chapel, and printed by Aldus Manutius – all of this put Rome's imprimatur, as it were, on Reuchlin as the model for Northern European humanist culture.

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22 Reuchlin, ›Illustrium virorum epistolae‹ [note 2], fol. n3^{v}. Excerpts from the speech were translated into German by Adalbert Weh in: Hans-Rüdiger Schwab, Johannes Reuchlin: Deutschlands erster Humanist, Munich 1998, pp. 105-110.

23 See Reuchlin, ›Acta iudicorum inter F. Iacobum Hochstraten Inquisitorem Coloniensium et Iohannem Reuchlin‹ (Hagenau: Anshelm, 1518), fol. F8^{r}.

24 Reuchlin also conferred with Aldus about plans to create a trilingual college (Latin, Greek, Hebrew) in the Holy Roman Empire and to move Aldus's scholarly press there. See Reuchlin, Briefwechsel, ed. Dall'Asta/Dörner [note 13], 1: 313-17 (no. 97).

Rome and Hebrew Humanism

The third trip to Rome also had an immense impact on Reuchlin's Hebrew studies. In 1492, between his second and third trips to Rome, and at the relatively advanced age of 37, Reuchlin finally began his study of Hebrew in earnest. He was a quick study. In 1494, he published his first scholarly work, ›De verbo mirifico‹ [On the Miracle Making Word], a tentative effort to apply some elements of Jewish Kabbalah to Christianity. According to Max Brod, it is the first publication by a Christian author that portrayed Jews and Judaism favorably;[25] it certainly stressed the value of the Jewish tradition for Christianity. The scholarship, however, was amateurish, and Reuchlin was keenly aware of his shortcomings and the need to advance his Hebrew studies. Rome, as it turned out, was the ideal place for acquiring a firmer grasp on Hebrew.

For one thing, Reuchlin used the occasion to make important acquisitions of Hebrew books. On the same day that he delivered his speech before Alexander VI, the book-hound acquired a rare manuscript of the ancient Aramaic paraphrase of the Prophets (the Targum of Jonathan).[26] No less a figure than Lawrence Behem, the major-domo of Alexander VI, accompanied Reuchlin as he called on Roman Jews. Some seventeen years later, Behem recalled this adventure as one of his most precious memories. We might also reflect on what this says about Reuchlin's status as well as papal interest in advancing his Hebrew studies. Overall, the Jews of Rome had relatively good relations with Alexander VI, and Behem's presence probably made them more willing to deal with Reuchlin as he searched for Hebrew books.[27] By the time the book-hunt was over, Reuchlin's quarry bag was stuffed with trophies, including grammatical works by David Kimchi, that would be the basis of his epochal publication of the ›De rudimentis Hebraicis‹.[28]

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25 Brot, Johannes Reuchlin [note 19], p. 84.

26 See Karl Preisendanz, Die Bibliothek Johannes Reuchlins, in: Johannes Reuchlin 1455-1522: Nachdruck der 1955 von Manfred Krebs herausgegebenen Festgabe, ed. Hermann Kling/Stefan Rhein, Sigmaringen 1994, pp. 75f., and Matthias Dall'Asta, Bücher aus Italien, in: Reuchlin und Italien, ed. Gerald Dörner, Stuttgart 1999, p. 28.

27 See Reuchlin, ›Illustrium virorum epistolae‹ [note 2], fol. C1^{v}-C2^{v}, and Reuchlin, Briefwechsel, ed. Dall'Asta/Dörner [note 13], 3: 236-41 (no. 236).

28 The most important were David Kimchi's two books of Hebrew grammar. Reuchlin acquired the second volume of the grammar, which actually contained a Hebrew dictionary, as a printed book (Naples, 1490);

In all likelihood, Reuchlin would not have been able to write his Hebrew grammar were it not for this final trip to Rome. The Hebrew books, though crucial, were one thing. More important, Reuchlin was able to arrange private Hebrew lessons with one of the most revered biblical commentators in the entire Jewish tradition – Obadyah Sforno, whose commentary on the Torah is still printed in Rabbinical Bibles. The phenomenally learned Sforno was distinctive in maintaining contact with Christians in Rome, especially at the papal court. Once again, it must have been the court's recommendation that induced him to tutor Reuchlin in finer points of Hebrew grammar and Judaism. Naturally, Reuchlin paraded this connection in the preface to his own Hebrew grammar book: *qui* [i.e., Sforno] *me quotidie toto legationis tempore perquam humaniter in Hebraicis erudivit non sine mercedis impendio* (he, in a most kindly way, gave me lessons every day during the entire embassy).[29] After all, a Sforno in one's academic pedigree spoke volumes. Sforno's character probably left an imprint on Reuchlin's attitude toward Jews as well. Reuchlin, impressed that some rabbis taught that righteous people outside of the covenant of Israel would find redemption,[30] cited this as a powerful argument against the assumption that Jews were hostile to the Christian religion. Although there are many possible sources for Reuchlin's knowledge of this concept,[31] Sforno was noteworthy for stressing it.[32]

Rome was not only the ideal place to encounter learned Jews and study Jewish culture, but also an increasingly important center of Christian Jewish studies. Reuchlin naturally took special pains

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he acquired the first volume, the grammar section, as a manuscript. See Ludwig Geiger, Johann Reuchlin, Leipzig 1871, p. 112, for speculation that Reuchlin could have known Kimchi's lexicon ever since his first trip to Italy. The lexicon was first printed in 1480.

29 Reuchlin, Briefwechsel, ed. Dall'Asta/Dörner [note 13], 2: 37 (no. 138). *Humaniter* has a hint of ›in the manner of a professor of the humanities‹.

30 See Reuchlin, Sämtliche Werke [note 12], 4/1: 54. See Tosefta, Sanhedrin XIII 2.

31 For instance, John of Capistrano railed against a »terrible idea« that Jews teach, namely that »everyone can be saved in his own faith«, in one of his anti-Jewish sermons delivered in the Holy Roman Empire. See Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson, Jewish-Christian Disputation in the Setting of Humanism and Reformation in the German Empire, The Harvard Theological Review 59 (1966), pp. 377f.

32 See Ovadiah Sforno, Pentateuch Commentary, ed. and trans. Raphael Pelcovitz, Brooklyn, 1987, 1:339, a note to Exodus 19:5, »The righteous of all people are without a doubt dear to me«.

to stress the Hebrew studies of churchmen in Rome. In one of his other epochal works, the ›Ratschlag ob man den juden alle ire bücher nemmen/ abthün vnnd verbrennen sol‹ (Recommendation Whether to Confiscate, Destroy and Burn All Jewish Books), Reuchlin wrote:

vnd das bapst Sixtus der vierd hab bevolhen die selben cabalischen bücher in lateinische sprach zü transferirn vnd zü tolmetschen/ vnserm glauben zü sunderm nutz/ der selben bißher allain dreü zü latinischer zungen kommen sind,[33]

(Pope Sixtus IV had ordered that these very books of the Kabbalah be translated into Latin and thus be made accessible for study, since they would be of particular importance for our Christian faith)

and, similarly, that Pope Innocent VIII endorsed the Kabbalah as a valuable source for Christian research.[34] Reuchlin also celebrated Alexander VI as the Pope who vindicated the Christian study of the Kabbalah specifically by ending the heresy proceeding against Pico della Mirandola.[35] For Reuchlin, Alexander VI was not the corrupt, nepotistic, worldly Borgia Pope; rather, he and his court embodied the ideals of his Christian Hebrew scholarship. The Renaissance papal tradition, which he knew firsthand from his three trips, validated his own Jewish studies, so he argued.

There may be a degree of exaggeration in Reuchlin's claims about the late fifteenth-century papacy's enthusiasm for Hebrew studies. Nonetheless, in the final two decades of Reuchlin's life – and even partially under the influence of his own scholarship – Rome arguably did emerge as the capital of Christian Jewish studies. The Roman cultivation of Jewish studies expanded initially under Julius II and, then, with great vigor during the papacy of Leo X. Leo established a chair for Hebrew at University of Rome in 1514. He licensed a Hebrew printing press at Rome and also in Venice, famously granting Daniel Bomberg a papal license for the printing of the Talmud (12 volumes, printed in Venice), the primary target of the Pfefferkorn campaign.[36] He also sponsored the research of Santi Pagnini, whose

33 Reuchlin, Sämtliche Werke [note 12], 4/1: 49f.

34 Reuchlin, 4/1: 49.

35 Reuchlin, 4/1: 49: *Also hat sein hailigkait* [i.e., Alexander VI] *durch iren flyß erfunden das graff Johanns obgemeldt gütten füg seins schreibens vnd lernens inn Cabalischen büchern gehabt hat/ vnd des halb sein büch Apologia genant durch ain breve apostolicum bestettet anno domini 1493.*

36 Daniel Bomberg, though a Christian, published nearly two hundred Hebrew books. He depended on learned Jewish editors for all of his projects. In 1520-23, he became the first to publish complete editions of both Talmuds.

new literal translation of the Hebrew Bible would exert enormous influence on many of the Protestant vernacular Bible translators of the Renaissance.[37] Under Leo, other high churchmen in Rome began supporting Hebrew studies: Cardinal Domenico Grimani, Cardinal Adriano Castellesi,[38] and especially Giles of Viterbo, prior general of the Augustinian Order (as of 1506) and Cardinal (as of 1517).

The Reuchlin Affair, or the Roman Affair?

Reuchlin referred to his heresy trial as the *res Romanae*, the ›Roman Affair‹ or ›Roman case‹.[39] Rome had actually begun directing the course of the legal case during the first phase of the proceedings, specifically from the moment in 1513 when Reuchlin filed an appeal to Rome concerning the venue of his trial, arguing that his accuser, Jacob van Hoogstraeten, was acting as both prosecutor and judge by convening a trial in his own jurisdiction at Mainz.[40] The Curia agreed and transferred the case to Speyer. The Bishop of Speyer issued a clear and remarkable verdict on 29 March 1514 – a total vindication of Reuchlin that required the Dominican Inquisitor on pain of excommunication to pay all the defendant's court costs. The Roman Curia, however, agreed to hear Hoogstraeten's appeal. Eventually, Leo X appointed two judges from the College of Cardinals, Domenico Grimano[41] and Pietro Accolti, who eventually formed a large commission of approximately twenty associate judges to assess the case. All the jurors we know of were high clerics, mostly members of the College of Cardinals. Reuchlin was not present at his trial in Rome. In consideration of his advanced age – he was 59 in 1514 – Grimano, who had been appointed on the explicit recommendation of Reuchlin, granted him the privilege of not appearing in person at his own heresy trial.

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37 Santi Pagnini's literal translation of the Bible was not published until 1528 (during the pontificate of Clement VII), even though the research had been sponsored by Leo X.

38 See John D'Amico, Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome: Humanists and Churchmen on the Eve of the Reformation, Baltimore 1983, pp. 16-19.

39 Reuchlin, ›Illustrium virorum epistolae‹ [note 2], fol. f1^{v}.

40 See Geiger, Johann Reuchlin [note 28], pp. 290ff. Though outdated by many discoveries, this remains the best biography of Reuchlin.

41 For a general study of Grimano, see Pio Paschini, Domenico Grimano: Cardinale di San Marco, Rome 1943.

The Roman Commission reached a decision but not a formal verdict on 2 July 1516, also a complete victory for Reuchlin. It sustained the Speyer verdict, according to one account, on the strength of seventeen assents against only a few condemnations.[42] (One known dissent was from Sylvester Prierias, himself a Dominican and soon to be the driving force at Rome against Martin Luther.) All that remained was for the Pope to issue a final verdict reflecting the Commission's decision. With fitting allusion to the Roman context, Ulrich von Hutten celebrated this moment by publishing a lengthy poem: ›Triumphus Capnionis‹ (Hutten probably had written most of this poem by 1514). In the 1518 imprint, Hutten portrayed the triumph over the Dominicans at the papal court as nothing less than the rebirth of Germany.[43]

What stands out in the documentation, nearly all of which was either published or intended for publication, is that the Roman Curia remained a constant source of confidence to Reuchlin as the case was adjudicated. In fact, Reuchlin, a consummate legal strategist, had decided that his best hope for success lay in securing Rome as the venue for his trial. In a Hebrew letter, written probably by September 1513, Reuchlin asked Bonet de Lattes, a Roman Jew, to use his influence at the papal court to keep the jurisdiction for the case in Speyer or to have it transferred to Rome immediately.[44] An acquaintance of Reuchlin from his Roman pilgrimages, Lattes had been the head physician for the Popes ever since Alexander VI, and Reuchlin thought he was Leo's physician. However, Lattes may have been dead (indeed, no reply to this letter survives).[45] Lattes was also the dayyan of the Roman Jews and the major source of contact between the papacy and the Jewish community. He, too, had probably smoothed over Reuchlin's entrée into the Jewish community in 1498. In 1514, on Reuchlin's instructions, his Roman attorney, a certain Caspar Wirt, filed a brief requesting that any appeal of the case be heard in Rome because it was the only jurisdiction with a sufficient number of scholars who studied

42 There are several different accounts of the voting in the surviving sources. See especially Martin Gröning's letter of 12 September 1516, in Reuchlin, Briefwechsel, ed. Dall'Asta/Dörner [note 13], 3: 316-47 (no. 291), esp. lines 174ff., where Gröning records that »three or four« of Reuchlin's worst opponents voted against him.

43 See Ulrich von Hutten, Opera quae reperiri potuerunt omnia, ed. Edward Böcking, 7 vols., Leipzig 1859-1861, 3:413-48.

44 Reuchlin, Briefwechsel, ed. Dall'Asta/Dörner [note 13], 2:427-45 (no. 228).

45 See Reuchlin, Briefwechsel, 2:439, for assessment that Bonet de Lattes may have been dead by May 1510.

the three holy languages that Reuchlin cited in his offending pamphlet, the ›Augenspiegel‹.[46] Thus, Rome was the only possible venue with the intellectual competence to judge Reuchlin's Christian Jewish studies properly.

During the ten long years of controversy over Jewish books, Reuchlin published several polemics and apologies to support his cause, but also managed to devote himself to research. He used the final years of his life to make contributions to three areas of humanist studies: the history of early Christianity, Hebrew philology, and the Kabbalah. The specific contributions include such items as a Latin translation of a Greek biography of Constantine, a translation of Athanasius's commentary on Psalms, an important tract on Hebrew grammar, an edition of the seven penitential Psalms in Hebrew and Latin,[47] a translation of a medieval Hebrew wedding poem (by Joseph Ezobi), and a major study on the Jewish Kabbalah. It was an ambitious scholarly program.

Reuchlin portrayed his research as being allied specifically with the aspirations of Roman humanism, for example, dedicating the Commentary on the Psalms to a powerful papal protonotary, Jacob Questenberg (12 August 1515).[48] The new tract on Hebrew grammar, which includes the earliest known printing of Hebrew with musical notation, was dedicated to Cardinal Adriano Castellesi, who sponsored humanist Hebrew studies, studied Hebrew himself, and served on the papal commission that exonerated Reuchlin's writings on Jews.[49] ›De arte cabalistica‹, the work Reuchlin viewed as his most important accomplishment, was dedicated to none other than Leo X (1517). In the dedication, Reuchlin claimed with considerable justification: *Assilit huic meae puritati tota ferme urbs Romana* (nearly the entire city of Rome is defending my integrity).[50] The Vatican librarian, Philipp Beroaldus the

46 See the letter of 25 April 1514 in Reuchlin, Briefwechsel, ed. Dall'Asta/Dörner [note 13], 3: 40-51 (no. 238).

47 Reuchlin's Hebrew edition of the seven penitential Psalms (printed with a Latin translation by Reuchlin) would be the basis for Martin Luther's first German translation of scripture, his ›Sieben Busspsalmen‹ of 1517.

48 See Gerald Dörner, Jacob Questenberg – Reuchlins Briefpartner an der Kurie, in: Reuchlin und Italien [note 26], pp. 149-79.

49 Unfortunately for Reuchlin, Adriano Castellesi's influence at Rome evaporated when he was implicated in the Petrucci plot of spring 1517. Nonetheless, Reuchlin included a tribute to Castellesi in the ›Illustrium virorum epistolae‹ (1519), well after Castellesi's fall from favor.

50 Reuchlin, Briefwechsel, ed. Dall'Asta/Dörner [note 13], 3: 427 (no. 309).

Younger, conveyed the Pope's gratitude for the dedication in a letter of 25 May 1517: *Libros tuos Pythagoricos pontifex legit avide ut res bonas solet* (The Pope read your books on the Kabbalah avidly, as is his wont when reading good things).[51] Reuchlin published his dedication to the Pope and the papal endorsement of his scholarship in a volume of letters in 1519, a work I will explore below.

Rome publicly reciprocated Reuchlin's admiration. The great churchmen of Rome not only endorsed Reuchlin in their letters, some also applied his Jewish studies to their own theological endeavors. A few even dedicated their efforts to Reuchlin himself. A significant example is Giorgio Benigno Salviati, titular Archbishop of Nazareth at Rome (*Romae archiepiscopus Nazarenus*), formerly a well-respected humanist professor,[52] and a member of the high-profile commission appointed by Pope Leo X to hear Reuchlin's case. Benigno was proud to claim that he was the first commissioner to submit his assessment, a ruling in favor of Reuchlin. In 1517, he wrote and published a work called the *Defensio praestantissimi viri Ioannis Reuchlin* for distribution in the North.[53] In the dedication to Maximilian, Benigno characterizes Reuchlin from Rome's perspective as the premier humanist of the North, one of the very few to have had an impact in culturally advanced Italy:

Nunc Romae archiepiscopus Nazarenus existens, inter alia quae scripsi, hunc quoque tractatulum, in Ioannis Reuchlin Germani vtraque in lingua, vel potius in omni (nam & Chaldaeam & Hebraeam complectitur) facundissimi, vtraque in philosophia & diuina & humana praestantissimi, commendationem, per modum dialogi editum, ad te Inuictissime Caesar transmitto.[54]

(Now I, living at Rome as the Archbishop of Nazareth, have written, among other things, this tract, or rather this commendation of Johannes Reuchlin of Germany, a man most eloquent in both languages [i.e., Latin and Greek] or rather in every language – he comprehends Hebrew and Aramaic – and most distinguished in both divine and human philosophy.)

Benigno not only promotes Reuchlin as the humanist ideal but also suggests that he has received greater recognition in Rome than in Germany. And he scolds Germany for its reluctance:

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51 Reuchlin, ›Illustrium virorum epistolae‹, fol. C1^{r} (also in Reuchlin, Briefwechsel, ed. Dall'Asta/Dörner [note 13], 3: 450 [no. 313]).

52 On Benigno, see Donald Weinstein, Girolamo Savonarola, Princeton 1970, pp. 242f., especially for his connections to Leo X and the Medici.

53 A facsimile reprint is in the appendix to Elizabeth von Erdmann-Pandžić/Basilius Pandžić, Jurai Dragišić und Johannes Reuchlin, Bamberg 1989.

54 Benigno, ›Defensio praestantissimi viri Ioannis Reuchlin‹, fol. B4^{v}.

Eum itaque virum, qui tantopere illustrauit, glorificauit ac magnificauit patriam, nonne ipsa patria illustrare, glorificare, & magnifacere deberet?[55]

(Shouldn't a man who brings honor, glory and esteem to his country receive honor, glory and esteem from his own country?)

The most massive publication that emerged from Rome in support of Reuchlin is a book of 622 folio-size pages by Pietro Galatino, ›Opus de arcanis catholicae veritatis‹.[56] It includes such extensive quotation from the Talmud and other sources in Hebrew that it was necessary to arrange for the great Jewish printer Gershom Soncino to do the presswork, even though the peripatetic Soncino was then in Ortona (on the central Adriatic coast of Italy). The work finally appeared in 1518. One of its prefatory letters is by the Emperor Maximilian (dated 1 September 1515), who encourages Galatino to defend the emperor's »imperial councilor, Johannes Reuchlin«. The work, however, unfolds as an illustration of what Reuchlin's scholarship could lead to: the Christian co-option of Jewish learning on the one hand, and the application of the Talmud to the goal of converting Jews to Christianity on the other. In fact, it is designed as a massive elaboration of medieval arguments, perhaps first articulated by Pablo Christiani in 1263,[57] that the Talmud offers proof that Jesus was the true messiah. Much of Galatino's tract is derived from Raymond Martini's ›Pugio Fidei‹. Reuchlin was deeply gratified that this work was dedicated to him and his cause. But although Galatino's weighty book, undeniably rich in Hebrew learning, was a tribute to Reuchlin, its anti-Jewish stance is actually typical of the direction that Reuchlin's supporters were starting to take.[58] It is important to recall that Reuchlin himself always expressed a traditional Christian view of the exclusivity of human redemption through Christ, and did not question the fundamental possibility of legally expelling Jews from territories within the empire.[59]

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55 Benigno, ›Defensio‹, fol. C1[r].

56 Pietro Galatino, ›Opus de arcanis catholicae veritatis‹ (Ortona: Soncino, 1518).

57 See Cohen, The Friars and the Jews [note 5], pp. 103ff., on Pablo Christiani see especially p. 113: »Friar Pablo began (i.e., at the 1263 Disputation at Barcelona) by saying that he would prove from our Talmud that the messiah of whom the prophets testify has already come«.

58 See, for example, Winfried Frey, Die ›Epistolae obscurorum virorum‹ – ein antijüdisches Pamphlet?, Archiv Bibliographia Judaica 1 (1985), pp. 147-72.

59 Moreover, as I explore in a larger study of the Reuchlin Affair, Reuchlin himself initiated this very discourse by arguing that, among other things,

The sturdiest column in the Roman edifice of Reuchlin's defense was his publication of the ›Illustrium virorum epistolae‹ in 1519. More than any other, this publication represented the unity of Rome and Reuchlin. The second volume (the first volume is a reprint of letters Reuchlin published in 1514) begins with a reprint of Reuchlin's speech in the Sistine Chapel before Alexander VI[60] and, otherwise, prints many letters from and to the most distinguished churchmen of Rome. One letter from Rome recounts a conversation in which Francesco Poggio beseeched Pope Leo X:

Pater Sancte, Ego sumam mihi parteis Reuchlin, et volo stare loco ipsius. Legi suas lucubrationes omneis, quas habere potui. Homini fit iniuria. Cui Pontifex post multa respondit. Noli curare, Poggi, non feremus, ut quicquam mali patiatur hic vir.[61]

('Holy Father, I will take the side of Reuchlin, and I wish to stand in his place. I read all of his research, all that I was able to get. An injustice is happening to that man.' After a while, the Pope responded to him: 'Poggio, don't worry. I will not allow that man to suffer any harm.')

Volume Two ends with the announcement that a third volume, devoted entirely to the *res Romanae*, is in preparation.

Perhaps the most significant among the Roman correspondents in Volume Two of the ›Illustrium virorum epistolae‹ is Giles of Viterbo.[62] As I have mentioned, Giles was prior general of the Augustinian

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the research he was conducting on Hebrew scholarship would ultimately contribute to the task of converting Jews, something that he mentions but does not stress in his ›Ratschlag‹ and his cabalistic tracts. Nonetheless, after facing the immense public pressure created by Pfefferkorn and Hoogstraeten, Reuchlin did resort to the argument that Hebrew research by Christians would abet missionizing the Jews. He also openly proclaimed, as of 1511, that all the Jews who failed to embrace Christianity would suffer »eternal damnation« (See ›Ain clar verstendnus‹, in Reuchlin, Sämtliche Werke, 4/1: 191 and 195; and ›Augenspiegel‹, 4/1: 144.) Reuchlin's stance is one of the difficult issues for the analysis of the affair, for the very defense of Reuchlin resulted in the development of a specifically humanist discourse of anti-Semitism.

60 The speech appears in Reuchlin, ›Illustrium virorum epistolae‹ (1519), fol. n3^{v}-o4^{r}.

61 ›Illustrium virorum epistolae‹ [note 2], fol. B3^{v} (and in Reuchlin, Briefwechsel, ed. Dall'Asta/Dörner [note 13], 3: 403 [no. 305]). The letter, written by Paulus Geraeander, is probably from early 1517.

62 See Francis X. Martin, Friar, Reformer, and Renaissance Scholar: Life and Work of Giles of Viterbo, 1469-1532, Villanova, PA 1992.

Order.[63] He was also one of the great humanist cardinals of Leo's Rome, well known for his determination to support reform of the church, especially to enforce high standards of discipline among the clergy. Inspired by Reuchlin's Hebrew grammar and by the speculations of Pico della Mirandola, Giles had immersed himself in Hebrew studies. Like Reuchlin, he was especially interested in the application of Kabbalistic mysticism to the Christian faith. He wrote a short study of the Kabbalah in 1517 and a larger one in 1532, neither of which was published until the twentieth century. Under the mistaken impression that the ›Zohar‹ originated in ancient Palestine, Giles expended great effort in 1514 to import a manuscript of this basic Kabbalistic work from Damascus.[64] For years, Giles supported Elijah Levita, one of the greatest Jewish grammarians of the Renaissance. As Levita himself noted, »there was a great outcry against me«[65] among the Jews for teaching Christians the Torah and Hebrew. But Rome was emerging as the place where scholars like Sforno and Levita were willing to collaborate with increasingly benevolent Christians. In fact, Levita and his family lived for thirteen years as devout Jews in the Roman palace of Cardinal Giles of Viterbo. Levita dedicated a number of works to Giles – one was his great tract on biblical Hebrew, ›Sefer ha-Bahur‹, also printed in Rome with the official approbation of Leo X.

Giles wrote several letters in support of Reuchlin, four of which were published in the ›Illustrium virorum epistolae‹ of 1519. One bestows the honor of affiliate membership in the Augustinian Order on Reuchlin, his brother Dionysius, and his sister Elizabeth.[66] Another expresses heart-felt thanks for receiving a copy of Reuchlin's ›De arte cabalistica‹ (24 May 1517).[67] Most important, the volume prints a letter from 1516 in which Giles praises Reuchlin for having »saved the Talmud from the fires«. Giles concludes his endorsement as follows: »in your trial, on which we have labored this summer in this dangerous

63 An audience with Giles was the object of Martin Luther's famous trip to Rome in 1510-11. See Martin Brecht, Martin Luther, trans. James L. Schaf, 3 vols., Minneapolis 1985-93, 1:98-105.

64 John O'Malley, Giles of Viterbo on Church and Reform, Leiden 1968, p. 87.

65 O'Malley, Giles of Viterbo, p. 83.

66 See Reuchlin, ›Illustrium virorum epistolae‹ [note 2], fol. B4^{r}-C1^{r} (Reuchlin, Briefwechsel, ed. Dall'Asta/Dörner [note 13], 3:369-73 [no. 297]); Martin, Friar, Reformer, and Renaissance Scholar [note 62], p. 165; and O'Malley, Giles of Viterbo [note 64], p. 76.

67 ›Illustrium virorum epistolae‹ [note 2], C1^{r} (Reuchlin, Briefwechsel, ed. Dall'Asta/Dörner [note 13], 3: 448-9 [no. 312]).

heat, we understand that we have defended and preserved not you but the law and not the Talmud but the Church. It is not that Reuchlin has been saved by us but that we have been saved by Reuchlin«.[68]

Conclusion and Speculation

In 1519, Reuchlin announced the imminent publication of a third volume of letters, devoted exclusively to the *res Romanae*. This book never appeared, though several of the letters intended for it do survive in manuscript.[69] Why didn't this volume appear? The likely answer is that on 23 June 1520, just eight days after signing ›Exsurge Domine‹ (the first papal condemnation of Luther's teachings),[70] Leo X issued a verdict against Reuchlin, reversing the decision of the Roman commission of 1516 as well as his own vow not to allow Reuchlin »to suffer any harm«. According to the bull, Reuchlin's ›Ratschlag‹, as published in the pamphlet ›Augenspiegel‹, was »impermissibly favorably to Jews and therefore injurious to Christianity. It must be destroyed«.[71]

The sweep of history after 23 June 1520 indicates that, despite the spread of Jewish studies and despite Reuchlin's defense of Jewish rights, Renaissance humanism did not develop a discourse of Christian respect or toleration of Judaism. Reuchlin's first positive portrayal of a Jew in Western Christian literature did not set a precedent that others would follow. Worse than that, humanists unquestionably developed an anti-Semitic discourse as part of the defense of Reuchlin and Hebrew studies. Indeed, Jaroslav Pelikan was justified in his recent claim that »all of this new Christian Hebraism actually served only to exacerbate the separation between Jews and Christians« and that »Christian Kabbalah, likewise, only made things worse between Jews and Christians, for now even the esoteric science of the *Zohar*, once

68 *Denique in hoc iudicio tuo ubi hac aestate pericoloso aestu laboravimus, non te sed legem, non Thalmud sed ecclesiam, non Reuchlin per nos, sed nos per Reuchlin servatos et defensos intelligimus*. ›Illustrium virorum epistolae‹, fol. B4^{r} (Reuchlin, Briefwechsel, ed. Dall'Asta/Dörner [note 13], 3: 381 [no. 300]).

69 These survive largely in a manuscript in the State Library of Berlin. They were published in the nineteenth century as part of Gottfried Friedländer, Beiträge zur Reformationsgeschichte. Sammlung ungedruckter Briefe des Reuchlin, Beza und Bullinger nebst einem Anhange zur Geschichte der Jesuiten, Berlin 1837, pp. 1-124.

70 See Brecht, Martin Luther [note 63], 1:390f. The bull was not published until 24 July 1520.

71 See Geiger, Johann Reuchlin [note 28], p. 451.

the exclusive property of the rabbis, could be pressed into service of Christian dogma«.[72]

The Reuchlin Affair reveals that in the 1510s Rome had energetically embraced humanist research, including the new field of Jewish studies. There is insufficient evidence to argue that Rome was poised to cultivate a more benign basis for Christian-Jewish relations over the long term. Nonetheless, under the impact of humanism, Leo X and, subsequently, his cousin Clement VII improved relations between the papacy and Jews. But the recovery of Hebrew and the emergence of the Christian study of Judaism rapidly lost any potential at Rome for strengthening Christian-Jewish relations. This occurred over time as the crisis of the Protestant schism diminished the intellectual pluralism of Renaissance Christianity. Leo's stunning verdict against Reuchlin's defense of Jews was arguably the first casualty of the Reformation. While the outcome certainly did not end Hebrew studies in Rome, it did anticipate the harsh paradigm of the Catholic-Protestant-Jewish dynamic that would soon emerge. As the Counter Reformation began in earnest, toleration of Jews plunged to its nadir in the Papal States.[73] As of the 1550s, Jews in the Papal States were subject to the Inquisition; some were burned at the stake; a strict system of ghettoes was imposed in 1555 (›Cum nimis absurdum‹), and in 1569 (›Gens Hebraeorum‹) Jews were expelled from all parts of the Papal States except the ghettoes of Rome and Ancona. The emblematic figure for crushing all types of heresy – Christian or Jewish – was Paul IV, whose pontificate was a turning point in Roman-Jewish relations. As Kenneth Stow puts it, »the policy launched by Paul IV came as a shock«.[74] In a historically symbolic act of 4 September 1553 (a day that also happened to be Rosh Ha-Shanah), Cardinal Giovanni Pietro Carafa (the future Paul IV) restarted the inquisitional fires in Rome to incinerate the Talmud, the record of the rabbinic tradition that Johannes Reuchlin had passionately defended and Pope Leo X had graciously licensed. This aggressive anti-Jewish policy was consolidated by legislation of Clement VIII in 1593 (›Caeca et obdurata‹) and remained in place until the Napoleonic era.

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72 Jaroslav Pelikan, Whose Bible Is It?: A History of the Scriptures through the Ages, New York 2005, p. 159.

73 See Kenneth Stow, Catholic Thought and Papal Jewry Policy 1555-1593, New York 1977. This remains an extremely valuable analysis of the anti-Jewish policies of the counter-Reformational papacy, even if Stow may have placed too much emphasis on the goal of missionizing the Jews.

74 Stow, Catholic Thought, p. xvii.

Let us return to the conclusion of the momentous ›German question‹ that the church faced in the 1520s: the response to Luther. Johannes Reuchlin, arguably the pioneering Christian biblical humanist of the Holy Roman Empire, had been in full alliance with Roman humanism against the Dominican Inquisition, especially against its alleged intimidation of humanism, which his partisans decried as ›obscurantism‹.[75] While Reuchlin accepted the verdict of Rome, many, if not most, of his German supporters did not. In fact, Reuchlin's supporters were upset that he submitted to Rome's authority, and many immediately embraced a new champion in Luther. Some, such as the imperial knight Ulrich von Hutten and the condotiere Franz von Sickingen, would be among the most daring early advocates of Luther.[76] By 1520, Leo X had little choice but to condemn Luther. The Reuchlin Affair, however, entailed a much more difficult political calculus. On the one side was the need, in the face of Luther's heretical movement, to stabilize the position of the Dominicans in the Holy Roman Empire.[77] That, however, required a reversal of the dominant Roman position throughout the course of the controversy. Moreover, rehabilitation of Reuchlin's Dominican foes entailed straining or, in part, severing the growing alliance between German and Roman humanists.

75 Most famously in the satire ›Epistolae virorum obscurorum‹ (1515 and subsequent expanded editions).

76 Luther, however, would repudiate their support by 1521.

77 This connection of the verdict to the Luther Affair has been accepted by historians with one exception. For the skeptical view, see the valuable essay by Heiko Oberman, Johannes Reuchlin: Von Judenknechten zu Judenrechten, in: Reuchlin und die Juden, ed. Arno Herzig/Julius H. Schoeps, Sigmaringen 1993, p. 55 (especially footnote 60).

Kirsten M. Christensen

Mapping Mysticism onto Confessional Cologne

In 1509, the Cologne Carthusians published a Latin translation of the ›Spieghel der volcomenheit‹ (Fig. 1), written by Hendrik Herp, a primary representative of the contemplative spirituality promoted by followers of the *devotio moderna*.[1] Peter Blomevenna, who became prior of Cologne's Charterhouse of St. Barbara in 1507, had worked diligently on the translation of Herp's work from Middle Dutch for thirteen years. In his foreword to the translation Blomevenna candidly anticipates readers' resistance to Herp's exaggerated style and inexact mode of expression, but urges them to focus instead on the deep mysteries that are at the heart of the work and that clearly made it worth his many years of effort:

[…] *intencio auctoris non est dubia exponere aut de articulis fidei disputari, ubi summa diligentia circa proprietatem verborum et loquendi modum requiritur, sed profunda quedam archana, que contemplanti anime eveniunt, insinuare. Ideoque modo utitur loquendi hyperbolico, ut eorum excellentiam indicet, sciens quousque credatur sibi.*[2]

(It is not the author's intent to set forth dubious points or to dispute articles of faith, for which the utmost care concerning the proper meaning of words and the manner of expression is required; but rather [it is his intention] to penetrate certain profound secrets that arise from the contemplation of the soul. And so he employs a hyperbolic style of discourse in order to point out their excellence, knowing those very things in [in which] he firmly believes.)

While Blomevenna's apology is obviously a concerted attempt to relieve readers of anxiety over Herp's ambiguous mystical language, it is simultaneously an expression of the power of that language. Blomevenna thus implies a preference for contemplation over disputation, for deep spiritual exploration over cerebral word play, for internal over external change, thereby articulating the principles of reform that consistently guided him and his Carthusian brothers both before and after him.

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1 ›Directorium contemplativorum‹, title page, UBuStB Cologne, Sign.: AD+S330.

2 Hendrik Herp, O.F.M., Spieghel der Volcomenheit, ed. P. Lucidius Verschueren, O.F.M., Antwerp 1931 (Tekstuitgaven van OGE 1/2), p. 3. Thanks to my colleague Eric Nelson for his expert assistance with the translation.

Fig. 1: ›Directorium contemplativorum‹, title page, UBuStB Cologne, Sign.: AD+S330. Reprinted with permission.

The Herp translation exemplifies the efforts of Cologne's Carthusians to influence the spiritual topography of their beloved city by mapping mysticism onto its often tormented surface. Their efforts did not allow them, in any direct sense, to »carry the day« or to »provide answers to the issues stirred up« by Protestant reformers, but their reformist imprint on fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Cologne is nevertheless unmistakable, and indeed most visible in the thread of mysticism that is woven throughout their work.[3] This thread has

3 Sigrun Haude, The Silent Monks Speak Up. The Changing Identity of the Carthusians in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries, Archiv für

always been visible in their well-documented efforts to collect, copy, and publish mystical texts. It is also evident in the relationships they fostered with women religious, with the Dominicans and other orders in and around Cologne, and, unforgettably, with the Jesuits. Their promotion of mystical theology was always in the service of reform – of self or church. Their every reform effort thus had at its core a belief that mystical theology, especially when practiced in a contemplative life, could, as SIGRUN HAUDE expresses, »not only help people to steer clear of heresy, but also find one's self« in »a vivifying union with God.«[4]

The near conflation of contemplation and reform in the Carthusian context might seem perplexing at first glance, since the vigorous engagement with the outside world that reform requires seems to contradict the commitment to solitude and silence needed for contemplation, and for which the Carthusian order is famous. HAUDE and others, however, have effectively refuted the need to see this as a conflict. Engagement with the outside world was a growing necessity, as Carthusian communities began to be established in large metropolises such as Cologne, in contrast to the more remote areas where the earliest communities arose. Moreover, HAUDE notes, there are no real indications that the Cologne Carthusians resisted their increasing interactions with representatives of civic and church life.[5] On the contrary, they seem to have embraced these activities as a natural outgrowth of the order's focus on prayer for others. Simply put, they could not on the one hand pray in their cells for the souls of their fellow citizens and then on the other hand ignore those citizens or

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Reformationsgeschichte 86 (1995), pp. 124-140, here p. 139.

4 HAUDE, p. 139.

5 WERNER BEUTLER explores the apparent paradox that the Cologne Carthusians' reputation was strongest, both in the city and within the order, when they were at the height of their outward focus. See WERNER BEUTLER, Weltabgeschieden und weltzugewandt zugleich. Die Kölner Kartause St. Barbara im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert, in: Die Kartäuser und ihre Welt. Kontakte und gegenseitige Einflüsse, ed. JAMES HOGG, Salzburg 1993 (Analecta cartusiana 62/1) pp. 189-226, here pp. 189f.
CHAIX also discusses the near unassailability of the Cologne Carthusians' reputation for spiritual integrity within the order and the city, as well as among reformers and political leaders, in spite of, or indeed because of, their vigorous extramural involvement. GÉRALD CHAIX, La Gloire de Dieu, l'honneur de Bruno et la sainteté de Cologne. Les tâches de la Chartreuse Sainte Barbe, in: Die Kölner Kartause um 1500, ed. WERNER SCHÄFKE, Cologne 1991, pp. 271-274, here p. 271.

the forces at work in the city. These civic and church forces motivated the Cologne Carthusians toward reform long before Luther came on the scene. Their efforts had always included two elements: the desire both for a renewal of Christian life and for a fundamental reform of ecclesiastical conduct, but always within the established system.[6]

The Carthusians were remarkably consistent in responding to perceived weaknesses in an individual or the church through carefully selected mystical texts. In fact, the copying of texts, especially those by mystical authors, had been a defining characteristic of Carthusian life from the order's foundation in 1140. The *consuetudines*, or written customs, of the Carthusians underscore the primacy for the silent monks of the book as spiritual conveyor: *Libros* […] *studiosissime volumus fieri, ut quia ore non possumus, dei verbum minibus predicemus*.[7] The customs also dictate that a complete set of bookmaking tools, including a pulpit or desk, quills, chalk, pumice stones, horns (to serve as inkwells), a knife, a scraper, a compass, awls, etc. be available in every cell.[8] Thus the Cologne Carthusians' vigorous copying efforts were wholly in the spirit of the order's commitment to the book, a commitment that was always in the service of spiritual rather than scholarly inquiry.

The scribal activity at St. Barbara necessarily led to the establishment of a charterhouse library almost immediately after the monastery's founding in 1334. In 1451 a fire completely destroyed both the monastery and its library, which at the time was almost certainly the largest manuscript collection in Cologne. In the wake of this devastation the Carthusians energetically set about rebuilding both the structures and the collection. As Joachim Vennebusch describes, this rebuilding effort is an astonishing testimony to the Carthusians' love of books. By 1500, less than 50 years after the fire, the library already contained more than 500 manuscripts. In all but a few cases (i.e., those that had been on loan when the fire occurred) these were new acquisitions from

6 See Joachim Vennebusch, Die Bücher der Kölner Kartäuser. Zur Geschichte der Klosterbibliothek (1451-1794), in: Die Kartause in Köln. Festschrift der evangelischen Gemeinde Köln zum 50. Jahrestag der Einweihung der Kartäuserkirche in Köln zur evangelischen Kirche am 16. September 1978, ed. Rainer Sommer, Cologne 1978, pp. 77-104, here p. 98.

7 »We desire that books be […] zealously produced, so that we can at least proclaim the word of God with our hands, if not with our mouths.« Guiges I, Coutumes de Chartruese, Paris 2001 (Sources chrétiennes 313), p. 224. The *consuetudines* were written in the 1120s by Prior Guigo I, before the Carthusian order was officially established.

8 See Guigues I, Ch. 28 ›De utensilibus cellae‹, p. 222.

numerous sources: some purchases from dealers with specially targeted funds from donors, some gifts from various Cologne clerics, especially several on the faculty of the university. Some were written by paid scribes from items on loan from neighboring monasteries. The majority of these new manuscripts, however, came from the quills of St. Barbara's own tireless monk-copyists.[9] The rebuilt manuscript collection showcased the Carthusians' devotion to content over form, to speedy production and legibility over aesthetics. Nearly all the new acquisitions were on paper, not parchment, and decorative initials, borders, or miniatures were nowhere to be found in the collection. However, sturdy leather bindings with metal supports were standard.[10]

Unlike many other medieval libraries, the Cologne Carthusians' collection also defied easy categorization. It comprised both patristic and scholastic texts, and, crucial to this discussion, mystical and devotional texts from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Among these were the works of John Tauler and Henry Suso, Ludolf of Saxony (a Carthusian), John Ruusbroec, and many works stemming from the *devotio moderna* movement, including the writings of Gert Groote, Hendrik Herp, and numerous copies of Thomas a Kempis' ›Imitatio Christi‹.[11] All these works underscore the Carthusians' commitment to support and renewal of the contemplative life of the individual. Their collection of texts by various early exponents of church reform, including many by Jean Gerson, for example, also highlights their commitment to renewal of the church.

We know from library records that the collection was open not just to the Carthusians. Hugo Loher, who in 1538 at the tender age of 20 became librarian at St. Barbara, lamented the disarray in the library that was, he claimed, due to his negligent predecessors and, it appears, to the library's vigorous lending activity. He recorded his observations in the library register.[12] His frustration with the state of things led him to codify a series of new rules for the library's use that tell us something of the

9 Vennebusch [note 6], p. 79.

10 Vennebusch, p. 81.

11 Vennebusch, pp. 82f. For a comprehensive look at the library's manuscript holdings, see Richard Bruce Marks, The Medieval Manuscript Library of the Charterhouse of St. Barbara in Cologne, Salzburg 1974 (Analecta cartusiana 21-22). See also: Gérald Chaix, Les Traductions de la Chartreuse de Cologne au XVI[e] siècle, in: Kartäusermystik und –mystiker. Dritter Internationaler Kongress über die Kartäusergeschichte und –spiritualität, vol. 5, ed. James Hogg, Salzburg 1982 (Analecta cartusiana 55), pp. 67-78.

12 *Registrum in usum bibliothecarii,* 1538-1794. Cologne, Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln, Kartäuser Rep. u. Hs. 12.

library's ›life‹. Loher's rules included a requirement that one return one's own books, as well as a ban on third-party lending and on letting outsiders into the library without permission because too many books had, in the past, made it out hidden in the sleeves of students and monks. His notes also indicate that new acquisitions had to be approved by the prior. By the time Loher became librarian, the Cologne Charterhouse's library included printed texts, many of which were Carthusian productions. The advent of printing had accelerated their well-established proliferation of mystical texts, although hand copying continued for many years.

Their numerous translations of mystical texts were an attempt to reach a broader clerical or learned audience, since they were mostly from German or Dutch vernaculars into Latin. They published Laurence Surius' translations of Tauler, Suso, and Ruusbroec. They also published numerous editions of these same writers; Tauler was especially popular. They also published editions of Gertrude the Great and Mechthild of Hackeborn, as well as the writings of Catherine of Siena. Their choice of Catherine is particularly notable because of her reputation as the epitome of the contemplative life in the service of church reform. Certainly their most ambitious printing effort – and, Gérald Chaix argues, their most ardent response to the Reformation – was their edition of the works of their own prolific predecessor, Dionysius (or Denis) van Rijkel, also known as Denis the Carthusian (d. 1471).

Denis van Rijkel's erudition and voluminous production make the Carthusian choice to publish him self-evident. His nearly 200-work œuvre includes commentaries on the Bible, the writings of Peter Lombard, Aquinas, Pseudo-Dionysius, and Cassian, to name just a few, and many of his own treatises, including his major work, ›De contemplatione‹ (1440-45). The commonplace that *qui Dionysium legit, nihil non legit* certainly explains the Carthusians' affinity for Denis, yet their interest lay not just in his grand erudition. Denis' own letters and works, as well as several important biographies, attest to his spiritual gifts, especially his frequent receipt of visions, revelations, and lengthy trances. His frequent designation as *doctor ecstaticus* was apparently well earned and made Denis an apt choice for promotion in an age that seemed to have strayed from such gifts.[13]

13 See Gérald Chaix, Réforme et contre-réforme catholiques. Recherches sur la Chartreuse de Cologne au XVI[e] siècle, vol. 1, Salzburg 1981 (Analecta cartusiana 80-81), pp. 211-243, for a thorough discussion of the Carthusians' »enterprise gigantesque« of publishing Denis' œuvre. See also Adam Wienand, Dionysius Ryckel (1402/03-1471), in: Die Kartäuser. Der Orden der schweigenden Mönche, ed. Marijan Zadnikar/Adam Wien-

Indeed, in the case of Denis van Rijkel, as in others, Carthusian publishing efforts were clearly shaped by the events of the Protestant Reformation. Direct responses were far more limited from Carthusians than from other orders, and might even be called »timid« in comparison.[14] Nonetheless, they did produce a number of polemical texts, such as Peter Blomevenna's ›Candela evangelica‹,[15] in which he juxtaposes ›night‹, symbolizing major Lutheran doctrines, with a candle representing their refutation.

Arguably the most interesting direct Carthusian response to a reformation threat was focused not on Wittenberg, but on Münster and the Anabaptists. They did this in two ways: first, through polemical forewords in the various volumes of their edition of Denis' œuvre (between 1530 and 1536), and then through a significant portion of Blomevenna's treatise ›Assertio Purgatorii‹, published in 1534 in Latin and in 1535 in the vernacular.[16] Although one might see the use of the dedications of their Denis volumes as opportunistic, since this almost certainly made it easier to find support for these expensive editions, they were also motivated by an impetus, as HAUDE describes, toward »pastoral care« and a desire »to checkmate the Reformation«, an endeavor for which they saw Denis' mysticism as ideally suited.[17] The Carthusians' interest in the Münsterites is particularly noteworthy in the context of Cologne, for it was Cologne's Dominicans who had, to that point, most ardently opposed Luther and his followers. But the Dominicans offered no response whatsoever to the Anabaptists, apparently not sharing the Carthusians' sense that they were »a new, distinct threat demanding special attention«.[18] In concert with these targeted responses to Protestantism, the Carthusians' primary focus on editing and translating contemplative mystical texts continued unbroken. It is thus clear that they saw a return to or focus on the inner life as the most enduring vehicle for reform in the church.

Their many printing efforts were well suited to, and at times well coordinated with, other efforts in the city to respond to Protestantism. Members of Cologne's theological faculty, for example, wrote numerous forewords to Carthusian editions and translations. The Carthusians'

AND, Cologne 1983, pp. 256-275.

14 HAUDE [note 3], p. 137, n. 73.

15 Peter Blomevenna, ›Candela evangelica‹, Cologne 1526.

16 HAUDE [note 3], p. 132, notes that Blomevenna never mentions Münster, but that »the theological articles he refuted were those advanced by the Münsterites.«

17 HAUDE, p. 131.

18 HAUDE, p. 130.

many close ties with the university aligned them with the body that had condemned several of Luther's teachings as heretical in 1519, a full six years before any official response from the archdiocese, and five years before the Carthusian general chapter responded. The Carthusians also associated closely with Cardinal Johannes Gropper, who led the efforts of the diocese, ultimately in vain, to clarify contested teachings and practices in search of a middle ground of Catholic reform in the late 1530s. Their association with Gropper allied the Carthusians against Cologne's own infamous archbishop, Hermann von Wied, who was supported and counseled by Martin Bucer and Phillip Melanchthon and finally deposed in 1547.[19]

Although they associated with crucial players in Cologne's response to Protestantism, the Carthusians themselves were forbidden to read, discuss, or dispute Reformation writings. This accorded with long-established warnings within the order against engagement in specific intellectual disputes or realms of inquiry, from canonical law to alchemy.[20] A library user's ordinance, issued in 1536 by prior Gerhard Kalckbrenner, includes an express ban on works by Luther and Erasmus.[21] The holdings of the library at St. Barbara in Cologne reflect this directive from the general chapter. None of Luther's or Calvin's texts and only a few minor Reformation writings by Melanchthon and Zwingli were found there, while the writings of Catholic opponents to Protestantism existed in great numbers, including many by Johannes Eck. The library also held a diverse array of Jesuit writings, including an important copy of Ignatius of Loyola's *Ejercicios espirituales* (Spiritual Exercises), sent as a gift from Spain by Peter Faber in 1546.[22]

Thus, although the Cologne Carthusians responded, in some cases vociferously, to the Protestant Reformation, it did not dominate their reformist agenda. Even in their most polemical texts, their energies centered not on refuting Protestantism, but on highlighting the strength of Catholicism. As their copying and printing activities reveal, they did this primarily through the vigorous proliferation of texts that revived long-established contemplative or mystical traditions, as if the very life of the church depended on it.

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19 See Wilhelm Janssen, Das Erzbistum Köln. Vom Spätmittelalter bis zum Kölnischen Krieg, Kehl am Rhein 1995, pp. 36-43, for a succinct look at the roles of Gropper, Bucer, and Wied in Cologne's reform efforts.

20 James Hogg, Kartäuser, TRE XVII, p. 669.

21 ›Ordinationes sive constitutiones quadem in librorum receptione observanda‹. Located in the ›Registrum‹ cited in note 12 above.

22 Vennebusch [note 6], p. 99.

The Carthusians also fostered a unique genre of mystical texts, a *florilegium* or sort of reader-response journal, written for the edification not only of the scribe, but also of his fellow monks. These texts might contain excerpts from mystical, devotional, scriptural or patristic texts, along with references to other works, with space left for notes, which sometimes comprised very personal commentaries from the monk-scribe on a particular passage's significance or application to his life. The Cologne library catalog contains signatures and descriptions of several of these small handwritten volumes. Their presence in the library clearly indicates that they were written to be shared for the comfort and edification of the community. GERARD ACHTEN argues that

Fig. 2: Laurentius Surius, ›Vitae sanctorum‹, Cologne 1618. Reprinted with permission.

these little volumes prefigure the vast body of ›Trostbuch-Literatur‹.[23]

This mapping of mysticism and devotion through texts onto the spiritual landscape of the Charterhouse and of Cologne continued to define the character of the Carthusians of St. Barbara into the later sixteenth century. An engraving from around 1580 illustrates this reputation quite concretely (Fig. 2). It depicts Laurence Surius, the prolific Carthusian translator and hagiographer, in his cell, wearing the traditional white-hooded robe of the order. He is surrounded by books and indeed is in the process of writing his great collection of saints' lives (1570-1575), which was the main recognized collection prior to that of the Bollandists. Surius' cell window is wide open, inviting the viewer's eye to move from the devotional text, from Surius' intent, contemplative gaze, and from the cell, out into the city to a full side view of the church of St. Barbara.[24] The artists' rendering of perspective thus subtly, yet unmistakably, proclaims the Carthusian belief in the crucial need for the influence of devotional literature and private contemplation on the church as a whole.

In the early 1530s, the Carthusians made a stunning shift in their publication program by publishing mystical works by two women: ›Der rechte wech zo der evangelischer volkomenheit‹ (1531), by the beguine Maria van Hout, and ›Die evangelische Peerle‹ (1535) by an anonymous contemporary of Maria.[25] The mystical theology of these women, who may well have known one another, certainly dovetailed with the texts the Carthusians had previously published. But one simple fact – that both women were alive when their works were published – radically distinguished them from all other authors in the publishing program of St. Barbara and introduced an element of potential risk into their publication efforts. As Maria van Hout's editor Gerhard Kalckbrenner noted in his foreword to her text, this author, although she wrote in the tradition of the great mystics before her, was not yet *versichert* (»assured«, of salvation or sainthood, we

23 Gerard Achten, Die Kartäuser und die mittelalterlichen Frömmigkeitsbewegungen, in: Schäfke, Die Kölner Kartause um 1500 [note 5], pp.138-145, here p.140. See also Haude [note 3], p. 127.

24 Laurentius Surius, ›Vitae Sanctorum Ex Probatis Authoribus & Mss. Codicibus [...]‹, Cologne 1618. Cologne, UBuStB Köln, Sign. GBIV7342+A-1/3.

25 ›Der rechte wech zo der evangelischer volkomenheit‹, Cologne 1531; ›Die evangelische Peerle‹, Utrecht 1535.

can presume).[26] Arnold of Tongeren, theologian at the University of Cologne, to whom the work was dedicated, uses this same conceit in his response to the dedication:

Und wie wail ich die persoin – die dit buechlyn gemacht hait – niet kenne und sy noch in den hoffen und niet in der sicherheit mit uns levet soe bynn ich doch durch fuerige kraft des syns der worden als ich dat gelesen hain hertzlich beweicht wordenn.[27]

(Although I do not know the person who wrote this little book and [although] she is still living with us in hope and not yet in assurance, I was nonetheless greatly moved by the fiery power of the meaning of the words when I read it.)

The urgency of the Reformation apparently made the risk of publishing an ›unassured‹ author suddenly acceptable. The Carthusians eagerly presented Maria to their readership as an embodiment of the *via contemplativa* that all the Carthusians' previous efforts had served to endorse.

Like Maria van Hout's ›Der rechte wech‹, ›Die evangelische Peerle‹ also includes an introduction with biographical information about the author – an anonymous, living religious woman – aimed at establishing her piety and thus the validity of her writings. Gérald Chaix calls the author of the ›Perle‹ »l'autre grande 'invention' des Chartreux«, the first being Maria van Hout.[28] Although Chaix's term »invention« suggests a deliberate exaggeration on the part of the Carthusians, the hagiographically oriented presentation of these women authors seems simply to be further testimony to the Carthusian desire to promote, in a programmatic but sincere way, vernacular mystical literature by contemporary women authors as a means of both substantiating and strengthening faithfulness in the church.

Although ›Die evangelische Peerle‹ enjoyed a much wider distribution than Maria van Hout's works, Maria's story is the only one we really know, and it is compelling. The Carthusians not only published her texts, they also published her as a living mystical text and in the process changed the spiritual relief of Cologne in an unprecedented way. Maria van Hout was head of a small beguine community in Oisterwijk (Brabant). She came into contact with the Carthusians when Gerhard Kalckbrenner, procurator at St. Barbara under Blomevenna (and later Blomevenna's successor as prior), traveled to Oisterwijk on convent business in 1530. At this first encounter Maria presented Kalckbrenner

26 ›Der rechte wech‹, fol. A6^{r}.
27 ›Der rechte wech‹, fol. A3^{v}.
28 Chaix, Réforme, vol. 1 [note 13], p. 206.

with at least some of her devotional writings. He was deeply moved by her mysticism and upon his return to Cologne began corresponding with her while immediately preparing the texts she had given him (written in her native Brabant dialect) for publication (in a sort-of hybrid Ripuarian/Dutch). He accomplished the preparation of her text with astonishing speed, publishing ›Der rechte wech‹, which included her mystical texts and some of her correspondence with Kalckbrenner, Blomevenna, her confessor, and other women religious, in 1531, just a year after he had met her. It was printed a second time that same year. The Carthusians published a second text attributed to Maria, ›Dat paradijs der lieffhavender sielen‹, in 1532.[29]

One portion of Maria's ›Der rechte wech‹ had a particularly powerful and lasting influence over the spiritual life of Cologne and beyond. Although it was published anonymously, portions of one of the book's treatises, Maria's Exercise on the Five Wounds, were translated into Latin, as well as into several vernaculars, including almost immediately into English, and published, in most cases naming her as author.[30] One of these versions enjoyed publication into the eighteenth century. Maria's Five Wounds exercise, with its rosary-like cycles of prayers focused on the suffering Virgin, accorded with and even appears to have influenced the Carthusians' christo- and marian-centric devotions.[31] Thus Maria's life and works were apparently in timely confluence with new – or newly pressing – devotional needs in the church.

In the wake of the publication of Maria's ›Der rechte wech‹, the Charterhouse chronicle records a resolution of 1532 to provide for Maria and two of her sister beguines by bringing them to Cologne to live:

Prior totusque conventus sub sigillo omniumque subscriptione consensuerunt in alimentatione trium virginum de Osterwijk in vita contemplativa virtumque perfectione probe institutarum si Coloniae domicilium figerent.[32]

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29 ›Dat paradijs der lieffhavender sielen‹, Cologne 1532.

30 The English translation is found in a book belonging to Anne Bulkeley (MS Harley 494). See Alexandra Barratt, Continental Women Mystics and English Readers, in: The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Women's Writing, ed. David Wallace/Carolyn Dinshaw, Cambridge 2003, pp. 240-255.

31 See my previous discussion of this Five Wounds exercise in: The Gender of Epistemology in Confessional Europe. The Reception of Maria van Hout's Ways of Knowing, in: Seeing and Knowing. Women and Learning in Medieval Europe, ed. Anneke Mulder-Bakker, Turnhout 2004 (Medieval Women. Texts and Contexts 3), pp. 97-120.

32 7 September 1532, *Chronologia Carthusiae Coloniensis*. This chronicle, cur-

(The prior and the entire convent agreed – with a seal and a signature from everyone – to provide food, if they settle in Cologne, for the three maidens of Oisterwijk, who stand firm in the contemplative life and in the perfection of virtues.)

Although the resolution was upheld by the Carthusian general chapter, it was not realized until 1545, when Maria arrived in Cologne with two sister religious from her community in Oisterwijk, whom the chronicle lists as Ida Jordanis and Eva. There is no direct information regarding the thirteen-year delay in bringing the women to Cologne, but the postponement can likely be attributed, at least in part, to the unusual nature of the undertaking. Since the Carthusians are a strictly contemplative, sequestered order, arrangements for the beguines to live adjacent to the monastery had no precedent, nor indeed has there ever been a similar case in the subsequent history of the order. Also, since financial concern for the beguines was clearly a main motive behind the resolution, the relocation of the women might have been deemed less crucial in the wake of the prolonged efforts of Nicholas Esch, a young priest and spiritual associate of the Cologne Carthusians, himself a native of Oisterwijk and a pastor to beguines in Diest, to build the Oisterwijk beguines a new house. He finally accomplished this in 1539. But since the Carthusians persevered to bring Maria and her sisters to Cologne even after the new house in Oisterwijk was completed, their interest was clearly more than philanthropic. Indeed, they demonstrated that they saw in Maria a remarkable faith and that they desired to secure her spiritual influence for the monastery and the city. In fact, by the time of

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rently housed in the Carthusian central archives in Farneta (Lucca), was compiled by Johannes Lotley (1620-1686), who served as both procurator and prior of the Charterhouse of St. Barbara. Latin text quoted in Johann Baptist Kettenmeyer, Uit de Briefwisseling van eene Brabantsche Mystieke uit de 16e Eeuw, OGE 3 (1927), pp. 278–293; 370–395, text on p. 292. Kettenmeyer also discusses the chronicle in: Maria van Oisterwijk (†1547) und die Kölner Kartause, Annalen des historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein 144 (1929), pp. 1-33, here p. 2, n. 1. See also De Brieven uit 'Der rechte wech' van de Oisterwijkse Begijn en Mystica Maria van Hout, ed. and trans. J. M. Willeumier-Schalij, Louvain 1993, p. 5, n. 12.

Johann Jacob Merlo published excerpts of this chronicle in his article on the monastery's artwork, Kunst und Kunsthandwerk im Karthäuserkloster zu Köln, Annalen des historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein 45 (1886), pp. 1-52, esp. pp. 27-52. Joachim Deeters *et al.* also reprint excerpts of the chronicle in: Quellen zur Geschichte der Kölner Kartause, in: Schäfke [note 5], pp. 26-67. See pp. 24-25 for a description of Merlo's edition.

the 1532 resolution and in the ensuing years, her piety was well-known to Carthusians in Germany and the Low Countries, and belief in the efficacy of her prayers and spiritual gifts was widespread.

The Carthusian resolution to support Maria and her sisters secured for the convent and the city a vibrant interface with a woman who not only wrote about, but clearly applied the mystical teachings the Carthusians found so compelling as a source of inner and ecclesastical reform. A significant body of correspondence makes clear that Maria was a visible and oft-visited presence in Cologne who associated with and served as spiritual mother to the Carthusians and the Jesuits. The arrangement was apparently mutually beneficial. Maria and her sisters were freed from the dire financial circumstances that had long characterized their life in Oisterwijk, thus allowing them space and energy to expand fully into their devotional lives. Maria also seems to have taken advantage of her proximity to the Carthusians' world of books. We know, for example, that she liked to read the works of Tauler, which existed in great abundance in the library at St. Barbara. She also may have been interested in understanding the confessional conflicts, for there is a record that she requested permission to read heretical books, a request that was, not surprisingly, denied.[33]

Interestingly, the presence of Maria van Hout and her sisters brought beguines back to Cologne after a long absence. Beguines had disappeared from the cityscape, at first gradually, after their condemnation at the Council of Vienne in 1311/12, and then with shocking speed after 1421, when Cologne's archbishop Dietrich, under Rome's direction, and with the support of the guilds who resented the unregulated beguine commerce, clamped down on the dozens, possibly hundreds of beguine houses in Cologne, erasing them almost entirely from the city by the early sixteenth century.[34] The Carthusian support of the Oisterwijk beguines in the midst of the Reformation, especially their desire to have them in Cologne, might then also be seen as a rejection of Rome's long-standing suspicion of these uniquely independent, sometimes spiritually gifted religious women.

Maria van Hout was clearly a profoundly significant element in the Carthusian promotion of mysticism in the service of reform. She

33 In a letter dated 17 June 1547 Canisius reports to fellow Jesuit Leonhard Kessel and his other Jesuit brothers in Cologne that the Cardinal had approved Maria's request for a portable altar, but not for heretical readings. Beati Petri Canisii Epistulae et Acta, 1541-1556, ed. Otto Braunsberger, Freiburg i.B. 1896, vol. 1, p. 251.

34 For a dated but detailed study of beguines in Cologne see: Johannes Asen, Die Beginen in Köln, Teil 1, Annalen des historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein 111 (1927), pp. 81-180.

also serves as a link to the Jesuits, another element of this Carthusian endeavor. Peter Canisius, ›der deutsche Apostel‹, head of the first Jesuit community in Germany, knew Maria van Hout. During his early studies in Cologne, beginning in 1536, Canisius worked under the guiding hand of Nicholas Esch, then a priest at Saint Gereon parish and close associate of the Carthusians. Esch arranged for Canisius to stay at the peaceful and intellectually vibrant Charterhouse of St. Barbara. While there Canisius would have heard of Maria van Hout and read her writings. He subsequently made the vow of chastity in preparation for entering the Carthusian order. Although he maintained close ties to the Carthusians throughout his life, he chose instead to join the newly formed Society of Jesus in 1543 and shortly thereafter brought the order to Germany by establishing a Jesuit community in Cologne.

In his confessions, written around 1570, Canisius alludes to the influence of Maria and those in her circle by mentioning the *bonarum sanctarumque mentium*[35] with whom he had contact in many cities, including Oisterwijk. Then he speaks specifically of the women religious of these areas:

Laudo et extollo Sanctum nomen tuum in sponsis tuis, ijsque virginibus admirandae virtutis, et antiquae simplicitatis, et probatae pietatis, quarum monitis et exemplis, imo et vaticinijs me saepius excitare, terrere, fouere et impellere uoluisti, ut et tibi propior fierem, et mihi notior, et alijs utilior, et in via spiritus vigilantior essem. Credo gratiae tuae donum fuisse…cum ego huiusmodj seruis et ancillis tuis electis adiungerer saepe. Illis quam caeteris opulentioribus adesse malebam, illorum hortationes, consilia, preces magnipendebam, cum illis colloquia pia miscebam.[36]

(I praise and extol your holy name for your brides, those virgins of remarkable virtue […] through whose warnings, examples, even prophecies you often wanted to inspire, deter, encourage and persuade me to draw closer to you, to get to know myself better, to be of greater use to others, and to be more vigilant in the spiritual life. I believe that it was a gift of your grace…for I met often with these, your chosen servants. I preferred their company over that of other respected persons. I highly valued their exhortations, counsel, advice and prayers, and shared sacred conversations with them.)

The well-documented correspondence between Canisius and other Jesuits, and between Canisius and Maria van Hout herself, further reveals her spiritual influence and the esteem in which she was held by this theologian and his colleagues. In a letter of 30 October 1546, for example, to Stephanus Delen, a dean in Arnhem who was apparently

35 »good and holy souls«, Beati Petri [note 33], p. 21.
36 Beati Petri, p. 21.

experiencing some spiritual distress, Canisius relates that he had asked Maria to write to Delen [...] *ut in eorum quoque scriptis consoletur spiritus tuus.*[37] ([...] so that your spirit might also be comforted through [her] letters). Several months later Canisius communicated to his fellow Jesuits in Cologne:

Scripsi ad Priorem Carthusiae, cum Tridenti agerem: illius ac fratrum Carthusiensium omnium precibus, imprimis vero matris Mariae ac sororum eius desideriis me commendate.[38]

(I wrote to the prior of the Carthusians while I was in Trent to commend me to his prayers and to those of all the Carthusian brothers, but most of all to the prayers of mother Maria and her sisters.)

In March 1547, due to an outbreak of the plague in Trent, the Council was temporarily moved to Bologna.[39] It was most likely while residing there that Canisius wrote his only surviving letter to Maria van Hout, one that highlights her role for him as a spiritual mentor:

Myn alderliefste moeder in Christo, […]*ic moet u laete weeten* […] *dat ic na den liechaem ghesont ben.* [...] *Maar na die siele te spreeken eijlaes blijve ic vlau, law, traech ende vol ghebreeken, alsoo dat ic mij scamen mach voer God ende voer die menschen, ende sonderlinghe voer u, dewelke mij soe ghetrauwelick dickwils vermaendt heef tot die volcommenheit des oprechtens* (sic) *leevens.*[40]

(My dearest mother in Christ […]. I must let you know […] that I am healthy in body, […] but my soul […] remain[s] feeble, halfhearted, slothful and full of infirmities, so that I should be ashamed before God and before the people, and especially before you, who have so often and faithfully admonished me to the perfection of the upright life.)

Maria van Hout died on 30 September 1547, not long after receiving this letter. When Canisius received the news, apparently not for several months, he wrote to the Cologne Jesuits on 2 January 1548: *Orbavit*

37 Beati Petri, p. 229.

38 Letter of 12 April 1547. Beati Petri, p. 249.

39 See Beati Petri, p. 246 (letter from Canisius to the Cologne Jesuits): *Nam posteaquam Tridentina synodus ob saeuientem pestem Bononiam transferri coepit.* (Now, because of the brutal plague, the Tridentine synod will be transferred to Bologna).

40 Manuscript fragment in Munich, Archiv Oberdeutsche Provinz SJ, Can. 21, fol. 59a. Reprinted and edited in: P. J. Begheyn. Een brief van Petrus Canisius aan Maria van Oisterwijk, OGE 61 (1987), pp. 376-380; text of letter on p. 380. Although no date is visible on the letter fragment, Begheyn surmises, based on Canisius' mention of times that were *seere periculoes* (very dangerous), that it was likely written in the spring of 1547 from Bologna.

vos dominus matre de Oesterwick, sed orat opinor et illa pro nobis orphanis in coelis.[41] (The Lord has robbed you of the mother of Oisterwijk, but I imagine that she pleads for us orphans in heaven.) The Carthusians buried Maria in their Chapel of St. Mary. They also entered her name in their death register. Although this necrology contains the names of many outsiders besides Maria, the others all appear to have been benefactors.[42] Werner Beutler explains that the pious reputation of the monks made the Charterhouse an extremely desirable burial site among Cologne residents and non-residents alike, many of whom made donations to assure themselves a place. The monastery even received permission from the General Chapter on at least one occasion to bury more than the four outsiders allowed annually by the order's statutes. The commerce associated with donations for burial sites was so heavy in the period around 1500 that the charterhouse even had the means to engage in major real estate ventures and in lending money.[43] Maria van Hout's burial at St. Barbara, however, unlike that of other outsiders, was clearly due to her reputation for sanctity, and not to finances.

The Carthusians' secure financial standing, as it turns out, proved advantageous to Peter Canisius and his Jesuit community (including the Jesuits in Spain), who were too new to enjoy such security on their own. What Haude calls the »curious marriage« of the proselytizing Jesuits with the ›silent‹ Carthusians thus had its practical reasons.[44] Rather, the Jesuits powerfully embodied the ideals of the Carthusians to reach the church through renewal, reform, and devotion, so the monks of St. Barbara gladly offered their monetary and spiritual backing to the Jesuits' energetic mission.[45] They were instrumental, for example, in getting Jesuit teachers into Cologne's schools, to name just one of their forms of support.

The Carthusians of St. Barbara persistently, if for the most part undramatically, strove to mold and re-form the spiritual contours of their city from decades before until decades after the Protestant Reformation.

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41 Beati Petri [note 33], p. 258.

42 See Karthäuser-Nekrolog. Cologne 1780, fol. 143r. Cologne, Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln, GA 132.

43 See Beutler [note 5], p. 198.

44 Haude [note 3], p. 125, note 5.

45 See Haude, p. 139; also Rainer Sommer, Die Kölner Kartause 1334-1928. *Stat crux dum volvitur orbis,* in: Die Kartause in Köln [note 6], pp. 7-65, here esp. pp. 46-50. Also Vennebusch [note 6], pp. 98f..

Anton Woensam's famous panoramic woodcut of Cologne from 1531, in which fluttering putti proclaim the presence of the city's many orders and parishes, represents Carthusian strivings as part of widespread church influence across the growing Rhenish metropole. Woensam's Carthusian cherub hovers serenely above the church of St. Barbara (Fig. 3).[46]

The Carthusians' main tool in their shaping of the city was the interior life, which they fostered through sometimes unlikely avenues. Their vision of reform always began in the soul and radiated out to the city and the church. Whether editing or translating the works of the church's great mystics, responding directly to specific moments of Protestant threat in polemical writings, providing a new urban and spiritual home for Maria van Hout and her circle of mystically gifted women, or financing the Jesuits' proselytizing efforts, the Carthusian focus never wavered from inner reform or from a return to Christ's teachings. They saw the contemplative life as the only true source of lasting reform. And although they did not respond in the visible ways their Jesuit brothers did, the cumulative effect of their endeavors is a testament to their vision of the reformative and salvific potential of mysticism. This hopeful vision might best be understood in Steven Ozment's elegant sentiment that »mysticism was a refined challenge… to the regular, normative way of religious salvation. It fed on the de facto possibility of the exceptional […]. [and] […] set forth […] the latent revolutionary possibilities of the Christian religion«.[47]

46 Rheinisches Bildarchiv, Sign.: 36 757, detail.

47 Steven Ozment, Mysticism and Dissent. Religious Ideology and Social Protest in the Sixteenth Century, New Haven 1973, p. 1.

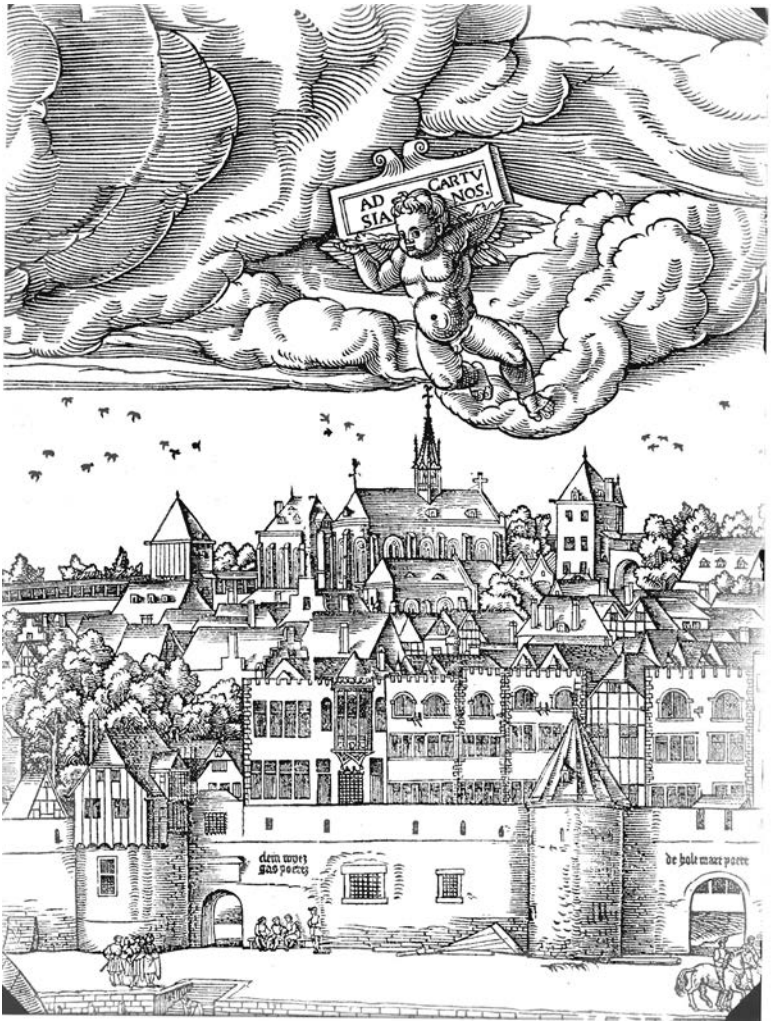

Fig. 3: Anton Woensam, Panoramic woodcut of Cologne (1531), detail. Rheinisches Bildarchiv, Sign.: 36 757. Reprinted with permission.

Markus Stock

Diachronic Topography

The Old High German Inscriptions for the Entry of Prince Philip II of Spain into Ghent (1549)[1]

On July 13, 1549, Philip II of Spain, the designated heir of the Habsburg domains in the Low Countries, entered the city of Ghent together with his father, the emperor Charles V. The procession into and through the city passed several *tableaux vivants* representing allegories of princely virtues and was accompanied by musical performances. The most important components of the entry, however, were five triumphal arches, temporarily erected at five different places in the city.

To be sure, the Ghent entry was not the climax of Philip's tour, which was designed to establish and confirm him as the rightful heir to his father's domains and to renew the bonds between the troubled (and troublesome) cities of the Low Countries and the Habsburg rulers. The temporary festival architecture for the Antwerp entry several weeks later, for example, surpassed the one in Ghent by far,[2] and the splendor of the festivities at Binche in August 1549 was much more

1 The foundations for this paper were laid during a research year at Cornell University in 2003/04. I wish to thank the Humboldt Foundation for granting me a Feodor Lynen research stipend. The interdisciplinary topic made it necessary to ask for help: I am grateful to Elie Bienenstock for his patient explanations of the Hebrew texts, Anne-Laure Van Bruaene for providing information on the local history of Ghent, Ernst Hellgardt and Norbert Kössinger for sharing their expertise on the reception of Old High German in the sixteenth century, Regina Toepfer for her advice on the reception of Greek in the sixteenth century, Jeff Turco and Claudius Sittig for their helpful suggestions, the Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent, the Rare Books and Manuscript Collection at Cornell University, and the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen.

2 Cf. Wouter Kuyper, The Triumphant Entry of Renaissance Architecture into the Netherlands. The Joyeuse Entrée of Philip of Spain into Antwerp in 1549, Renaissance and Mannerist Architecture in the Low Countries from 1530-1630, 2 vols., Alphen aan den Rijn 1994; Jochen Becker, ›Greater than Zeuxis and Appeles‹: Artists as Argument in the Antwerp Entry of 1549, in: Court Festivals of the European Renaissance. Art, Politics and Performance, ed. John Ronald Mulryne/Elisabeth Goldring, Aldershot 2002, pp. 171-195.

noted (in fact, it became a model of Renaissance festival culture).[3] Nor does the Ghent entry stand out in terms of its overall design, the visual interplay between ephemeral architecture in classical manner and allegorical pictures and scenes, which is pervasive in sixteenth-century entries and has often been described by Renaissance researchers.[4] Even thematically, the Ghent entry does not differ substantially from Philip's entries into other cities in the Low Countries. In fact, the themes of the Ghent *tableaux* match the thematic focus of Philip's whole tour: examples of the successful transfer of power from father to son, they served as an argumentative affirmation of the imperial political agenda.

What makes this entry special, however, is the articulation of a definite Humanist program, displayed not in the exempla themselves but in the accompanying inscriptions on the five triumphal arches. The inscriptions' author or compiler was one of the most learned men of Ghent, a school-master named Jan Otho, who taught Latin and Greek in a school for ancient languages he himself had founded. Judging from the first arch with Hebrew inscriptions, he might even have taught Hebrew. Part of a larger network of Flemish humanists around the influential Utenhove family of Ghent, Otho was a prominent intellectual figure in the city until 1557, when he and his family left for

3 Alfred Kohler, Karl V. (1500-1558). Eine Biographie, Munich 1999, p. 109, notes that the Binche festival achieved proverbial quality: value judgments like *más brava que las fiestas de Bains* (greater than the festivities at Binche) hint at its exemplary character.

4 Jean Jacquot, ed., Les Fêtes de la Renaissance, 3 vols., Paris 1956-75; Roy Strong, Art and Power. Renaissance Festivals 1450-1650, Suffolk 1984; Mulryne/Goldring [note 2]; on triumphal arches see esp. Hans Martin von Erffa, Ehrenpforte, in: Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte 4 (1958), cols. 1444-1504. On the Ghent entry, Marcel Lageirse, La Joyeuse Entrée du prince héritier Philippe à Gand en 1549, Anciens pays et assemblées d'états – Standen en Landen 18 (1959), pp. 31-46 [a shorter version of this paper was published in Jacquot, vol. 2, pp. 297-306]. On the Old High German inscriptions, see Leonard Forster, Old High German in Ghent in 1549, in: Modern Dutch Studies. Essays in Honour of Peter King, ed. Michael Wintle/Paul Vincent, London/Atlantic Highlands 1988, pp. 105-115; Gilbert de Smet, Brugse Humanisten aan de wieg van de Germaanse filologie, Academia Analecta. Medelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van Belgie 57,1 (1995), pp. 21-36; Berta Raposo, Eine frühe Tatian- und Otfrid-Rezeption im spanischen Kontext, in: Germanistentreffen Deutschland – Spanien – Portugal. Dokumentation der Tagungsbeiträge, ed. Werner Roggausch, Bonn 1998, pp. 127-134.

Duisburg, apparently because of difficulties with the Inquisition.[5]

The language on each arch corresponds to the historical examples acted out in the *tableaux*. Each arch focuses on one exemplary ruler and his successor on the throne:

Table 1: The Arches erected for the entry of Philip of Spain into Ghent (1549)

Position	**Language**	**Exemplary rulers**	**Source of Inscriptions**	**Style**
1	Hebrew (and Latin)	David/Solomon	Hebrew Bible	Tuscan
2	Greek (and Latin)	Philip of Macedonia/ Alexander the Great	Agapetus Diaconus, Isocrates	Doric
3	Latin	Vespasian/Titus	?	Ionic
4	Old High German (and Latin)	Charlemagne/ Ludwig the Pious	Tatian, Otfrid	Corinthian
5	›Medieval Flemish‹ (and Latin)	Dietrich of Alsace, Count of Flanders (†1168)/ Philip of Alsace	?	Composite

Before examining the inscriptions themselves, especially the one in Old High German, I would like to elaborate on their cultural context. To concentrate only on the inscriptions could be dangerously reductive, inasmuch as they reveal much of the new philological interest that forms one of the cores of Renaissance humanism and can only be grasped within the wider context of this new cultural frame. Furthermore, the

5 The Ghent city council commissioned Jan Otho to plan the event, as we are informed in Otho's description [see list below, no. 1], c2^{r-v}: *Historiarum vero rerumque exhibendarum ordinem & arcuum triumphalium, & spectaculorum inscriptiones, Senatus Gand. Ioanni Othoni Ludimoderatori mandauit.* On Otho, see Paul Bergmans, Otho (Jean), in: Biographie Nationale 16 (1901), cols. 365-370, and Johan Decavele, De dageraad van de reformatie in Vlaanderen, 2 vols., Brussels 1975 (Verhandelingen van de Koninglijke Academie van Belgie, Klasse der Letteren 37, Nr. 76), pp. 99-101; de Smet [note 4].

inscriptions are embedded both in the intricate architectural, theatrical and pictorial codes connected to the arches and in the larger context of the entry and its interventions into urban space. Above all, it is the cultural significance of these inscriptions more than their literal meaning that make them such a powerful illustration of the humanist historical agenda.

The Entry as Urban Practice of Space

Strictly speaking, Renaissance entries do not affect the topography of a city. One could even argue that urban geography resists the enormous symbolic and theatrical machinery that forms the framework for the entry. But even though the prince's entry did not alter the topography of the city, it could change the city's appearance by means of all sorts of temporary constructions and theatrical devices. As a practice of space, the ruler's entry affected the structure of power and visuality in early modern urban culture. I will suggest how the inscriptions and their manifest intertextuality functioned within the entry as a cultural practice.

1. Power

Entries are formalized acts both of ruling and acknowledgement of that rule. Entering and progressing through urban space and the accompanying acts are rooted in medieval imperial practice. The entry serves as a means to renew the feudal contract between ruler and city and to reassure both parties of its validity. It would be wrong to think that this basic function is devalued or driven to the background by the increasingly sophisticated artistic mise-en-scène of the sixteenth-century imperial entry. The amassing of aural and visual signs[6] does not obscure the basic political function of the entry, but highlights it.[7]

6 The amassing of signs can convey additional meaning: as a whole it can serve both the reputation of the entering ruler and the city or special social groups in the city (guilds, foreign merchants). This was especially true for Philip's Antwerp entry; see Becker [note 2].

7 Strong [note 4], p. 11.

2. Visual dominance of temporary architecture

The temporary arches and other structures built to honor the ruler alter the shape of the city, creating an interplay of everday urban appearance and festive architecture.[8] The city assumes a symbolic »overlay«,[9] which adjusts it visually to the entering ruler, his family and his dynastic symbols. These ephemeral constructions, as Jesse Hurlbut suggests, must have dominated city space, displaying the temporary overwriting of everyday burgeois space by an aristocratic semiotic practice in an effort to make the meeting of city and ruler a festive, extraordinary event.[10] In one of the Ghent examples, the illustration actually seems to represent the dominance of the entry architecture over immobile city buildings: In the woodcut of the fifth arch (Fig. 5), architectural structures can be seen beyond the arch. The arch dominates the picture and the buildings, literally framing them. This is due not only to the fact that the woodcut is supposed to depict the arch as its main object (in which case the artist could have left the background out of the picture), but also that it hints at the embedding of the arches in urban space and their domination of that space.

3. The importance of festival texts

The written word plays a decisive role in disseminating the event, and also in creating and memorizing its meaning. Festival texts – books, pamphlets, and broadsheets with or without illustrations accompanied the entries[11] and helped propagate the ruler's and the city's mutual

8 Elie Konigson, L'Espace théatral médiéval, Paris 1975, pp. 110f. (›La voie royale‹) and pp. 195-204 (›La rue théatralisée‹).

9 Strong [note 4], p. 86. Without any doubt, Philip's entry followed a formerly established entry route; on earlier entries into Ghent see Jeffrey Chipps Smith, *Venit nobis pacificus Dominus:* Philip the Good's Triumphal Entry into Ghent in 1458, in: »All the world's a stage[...]« Art and Pageantry in the Renaissance and Baroque, ed. Barbara Wisch/Susan Scott Munshower, University Park 1990, pp. 259-290; Peter Arnade, Realms of Ritual. Burgundian Ceremony and Civic Life in Late Medieval Ghent, Ithaca, N.Y., 1996.

10 Jesse D. Hurlbut, Immobilier et cérémonie urbaine: Les joyeuses entrées françaises à la fin du moyen âge, in: Civic Ritual and Drama, ed. Alexandra F. Johnson/Wim Hüsken, Amsterdam/Atlanta 1997 (Ludus 2), pp. 125-142, here pp. 131f.

11 Sometimes they seemed even to precede them; see Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, Early Modern European Festivals – Politics and Performance, Event and Record, in: Mulryne/Goldring [note 2], pp. 15-25, here p.

splendor as well as their special political agendas: »The rhetorical character of entries is to be seen most clearly in their literary manifestation, that, is, in the so-called festival books.«[12] Despite their idealizations, these texts are the main sources for research on the entries.[13] The Ghent entry was well-documented, as the following list of publications demonstrates:

1. Otho, Jan: Brevis descriptio eor. quae a S.P.Q. Gand. Philippo Austri. Caro. V. Cæsar., Princip. Flandriar. filio et haeredi et futuro Prinicipi Flandriar. exhibita fuere Gandavi, [...] tertio idus julii Anno 1549. Ghent: Manilius 1549. The text was reprinted in Franciscus Modius, Pandectae triumphales, siue, pomparum, et festorum ac solemnium apparatum [...] tomi duo. Frankfurt: S. Feyrabend, 1586, vol. 1, book 2, $y2^{r}$-$z3^{r}$.
2. [Van de Velde, Franciscus:] Arcus triumphales quinque que a S.P.Q. Gand. Philippo Austr. Caroli. imp. principis Flandriarum filio, et hæredi et futuro principi Flandriarum exhibiti fuere Gandavi anno MCCCCCXLIX, tertio idus jul. Franciscus Veldius geographus et architectus Gandens. Antwerp: Liefrinck 1549.
3. Declaratie van der triumphe bewezen den Hooghe gheboren Prince van Spaengien / Philips / des Keisers Chaerles von Oostenryc sone / binnen der stad van Ghend / in Vlaender, den xiij july anno M.D.XLIX. Ghent: Manilius 1549.[14]
4. Mit was Triumph und Ehrerbittung ein Erbar Rathe unnd gemein der stat Gendt in Flandern, den Durchleutichsten und Hochgeporn fürsten und Herren / Herren Philipsen Printzen zu Hispanien / [...] daselbst zu Gendt unterthenigst entpfangen und eingefüret haben [...]. Würzburg: Myller 1549.
5. Calvete de Estrella, Juan Christóval: El felicíssimo viaje del muy alto y muy poderoso príncipe Don Phelippe [...]. Antwerp: Nucius

22.

12 Jochen Becker, Entries, Fireworks, and Religious Festivals in the Netherlands, in: Spectaculum Europæum. Theatre and Spectacle in Europe (1580-1750), ed. Pierre Béhar/Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, Wiesbaden 1999, pp. 705-720, here p. 714.

13 Given the propagandistic nature of some, if not most, of the texts, one is well advised to question whether they should be seen as factual representations at all. See Watanabe-O'Kelly [note 11], pp. 22f.

14 See P. J. Goetghebuer, Entrée triomphale de l'Empereur Charles-Quint, Messager des sciences historiques, Ghent 1864, pp. 233-253, here p. 249; de Smet [note 4], p. 24. This text was not available to me. Goetghebuer also mentions a Dutch text that according to him follows Calvete's Spanish account: Inhulding van Philips van Spanje, te Gent, als graef van Vlaenderen, den 14 july 1549. Door Ph. Blommaert; de Smet [note 4], who also presents a list of texts related to the Ghent entry (pp. 24f.), does not mention this text.

1552. [ed. Paloma Cuenca, Madrid 2001].
6. Álvarez, Vicente: Relación del camino y buen viaje que hizo el príncipe de Espana Don Philipe [...], ed. José María de Francisco Olmos/Paloma Cuenca. Madrid 2001. French trans.: Relation du Beau Voyage que fit aux Pays-Bas, en 1548, le prince Philippe d'Espagne, Notre Seigneur, trans. M.-T. Dovillée. Brussels 1964.

The most elaborate source is Calvete de Estrella's Spanish travel description (no. 5), published in 1552. But there are also contemporary festival texts. The most important is a Latin description by Jan Otho (no. 1), who planned the entry and wrote the inscriptions (that the planners themselves would publish festival descriptions was not at all unusual).[15] Calvete's text draws heavily on Otho's description and is in part a mere translation of the earlier text.[16] A series of woodcuts of the arches was published in the year of the entry (no. 2). They identify Ghent's architect Franciscus van de Velde as the arches' designer, and he may also have been the creator of these woodcuts, the only known copy of which is now in the University Library of Ghent.[17] Finally, a German description (no. 4) was published in Würzburg. Whereas Calvete de Estrella follows Otho's description, the German text presents additional information drawn from independent sources or witnesses of the event.

4. Style and antiquity

The festival architecture of Renaissance entries temporarily classicizes the mostly medieval appearance of early modern cities. The Ghent entry follows the contemporary fashion of presenting arches *muy a la antigua*, »much in the antique style«,[18] as Calvete de Estrella puts it.

15 »Den Entwurf des Programms, mit dem die Vorbereitungen zum Bau der E[hrenpforte] anfingen, übertrugen die Auftraggeber in der Regel nicht einem Künstler, sondern einem Gelehrten. [...] Die Entwerfer des Programms waren häufig auch die Verfasser der mehr oder weniger ausführlichen Beschreibungen, die die Ereignisse und Dekorationen verewigen sollten«; von Erffa [note 4], cols. 1483f.

16 A similar case was noted by Becker [note 2] for the descriptions of Philip's Antwerp entry.

17 For more details see Lageirse [note 4] and de Smet [note 4]. The five woodcuts at the end of this chapter appear with the kind permission of the Universeitsbibliotheek Gent.

18 *La architectura de cinco arcos, que en Gante uvo, fue maravillosa y muy a la antigua*; Calvete de Estrella [see the above list, no. 5], p. 187. On the classical heritage of the Renaissance triumph, see Margaret M. McGowan, The Renaissance Triumph and Its Classical Heritage, in: Mulryne/Goldring

This refers in the main to the architectural forms, but also to certain ornamental aspects and some of the inscriptions. For its architectural forms, the entry seems to draw heavily on Sebastiano Serlio's books on architecture, which disseminated examples of classical architecture throughout sixteenth-century Europe. Outside Italy, these books were first published in the Low Countries: Coecke van Aelst of Antwerp printed Serlio's fourth book (on columns) in 1539.[19] In 1546, the translation of the third book (on antique buildings) was published by him.[20] It seems obvious that the planners of the Ghent entry knew the basic principles conveyed by Serlio, especially the five orders of style,[21] and that they tried to achieve comprehensiveness by using different styles for each arch. In their spatial arrangements of the arches, they even followed Serlio's sequence of styles, starting with a rusticated Tuscan arch and ending with a Composite one.[22] Thus, the sequence of historical events is harmonized with the stylistic orders, which in themselves according to Serlio, mark different stages of cultural development.[23] If one looks at the well-planned positioning of the arches, it becomes clear that the sequence of styles was meant to reveal itself literally step by step to the prince and his entourage. This effect can have been intelligible only to a select few, but exclusiveness and a serious educational effort in fact go hand in hand.[24]

[note 2], pp. 26-47.

19 Orig. 1537; cf. Arthur Groos, The City as Text: The Entry of Charles V into Nuremberg (1541), in: The Construction of Textual Authority in German Literature of the Medieval and Early Modern Periods, ed. James F. Poag/Claire Baldwin, Chapel Hill/London 2001 (University of North Carolina Studies in Germanic Languages and Literatures 123), pp. 135-156, here p. 140. I had access to the copy of the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen: Sebastiano Serlio, Reglen van Metselrijen / op de vijue manieren van Edificien / te wetene / Thuscana / Dorica / Jonica / Corinthia / enn Composita [...], Anwerp: Coeck van Aelst 1549; cf. Becker [note 2], p. 175, on additional translations: »in 1542 followed a German edition [...]; in 1545, the French edition of the fourth book came out«.

20 Becker [note 2], p. 175. Orig. 1540 (cf. Groos [note 19], p. 140).

21 Serlio [note 19].

22 The planning of the architecture for the entry seems to have been a collaboration between Jan Otho and the city architect, Franciscus van de Velde. On van de Velde, see Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart, ed. Hans Vollmer, vol. 34, Leipzig 1940, p. 200.

23 John Onians, Bearers of Meaning. The Classical Orders in Antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance, Princeton 1988, pp. 271f.

24 Much could be said about the inner unity of the program displayed in

The last of the arches bears Latin and pseudo-medieval Flemish inscriptions (Fig. 5) and follows the most elaborate of these orders, the Composite order. But some of the inscriptions of this arch also draw on classical models, although they are thematically set in the High Middle Ages. The central inscription, S.P.Q. Ganda (Senatus populusque Ganda), points to the Roman model S.P.Q.R., exchanging the *Romanus* with *Ganda* for Ghent.[25] This is a common device in Renaissance entries, which were often modelled on Roman imperial triumphs. Arthur Groos pointed out the same device in Charles V's entry into Nuremberg eight years earlier, where the abbreviation S.P.Q.N. (for Nuremberg) is used.[26]

To summarize: The Ghent entry not only changes the city's appearance by the use of temporary classicizing architecture but in following Serlio it also stages a theoretical reflexion on the classical models and their history, and it does so by its diachronic sequence of styles. Furthermore, it maps the stylistic sequence into a historical one, leading from the Old Testament to the Flemish Middle Ages.

5. Mediality and the role of written language

Renaissance entries rely on effects achieved through a high degree of intermediality. By this I mean not only the interplay of statues, arches, symbols and imagery, drama, music and song, but also the effects of fireworks and the like.[27] Even the temporal and spatial aspect of the ruler's procession through the city can be incorporated to heighten the effect – the positioning of different stylized arches along the entry

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the arches. The attempt to make things fit is visible everywhere. The integration of the columns of Hercules are one example of this: Together with Charles V's motto *plus ultra* (more beyond) they are a stock element in imperial entries at the time, illustrating the frontier-defying vastness of the Habsburg empire. In the Ghent entry the columns are positioned – in a historically ›correct‹ way – on the top of the Greek arch (Fig. 2). Thus, they hint at the origin of the symbol in Greek mythology. The fact that the title illustration of the German festival description [see the above list, no. 4] places the columns of Hercules together with Charles' motto and the Habsburg insignia further hints at the importance of the symbol for the Ghent entry and for the public image of Charles in general.

25 The original SPQR is found on the Roman arch [see Fig. 2] of the Ghent entry; this is also noted in the descriptions by Jan Otho and Calvete de Estrella [see the above list, nos. 1 and 5].

26 Groos [note 19], p. 148.

27 That fireworks were part of the festivities in Ghent is noted in the German festival description [see the above list, no. 4], a2^{r-v}.

route, as mentioned above, is one example of framing the beholder's movement through the city. The different media and the special spatial and temporal order of the entry serve the overall artistic and propagandistic design.[28] Although written language is only one medium among many, it can be a very important one – and, as I would like to suggest, is especially important in the case of the Ghent entry.[29]

The inscriptions on triumphal arches in the sixteenth century were mostly in Latin or the language spoken in the respective cities. Of course, the use of Latin had a signalling function in two ways: a) following the classical Roman model, it was *à l'antique*, to quote a fashionable stock phrase of Renaissance festival books; b) it was the *lingua franca* of learned people in Europe.

By using Hebrew and Greek inscriptions, the first and the second Ghent arch deviated spectacularly from this rule, and the respective characters of these languages themselves ensured a heightened attention (Fig. 1 and 2).[30] This holds true even if most of the beholders would not have been able to read and understand them – one could even argue that they attract attention because of their unintelligibility. To be sure, Greek and Hebrew inscriptions were used as early as 1520, during an entry of Charles V into Antwerp; but this was on a far more modest scale.[31] What makes the use of different ancient

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28 Cf. Gerhart von Graevenitz, Mythos. Zur Geschichte einer Denkgewohnheit, Stuttgart 1987, pp. 131-144, on the entry of Henri II into Rouen (1550).

29 It is important to remember the warning of Watanabe-O'Kelly [note 11], pp. 22f., not to overestimate the inscriptions within the totality of all aspects of a renaissance entry. Researching the Ghent entry, however, seems to make it necessary to take a close look at the inscriptions (without neglecting the whole), because the inscriptions convey the extraordinary historical program of the event. The German description [see the above list, no. 4], which seems to be independent of Otho, does not present the humanist program in the same detail. Thus, one has to bear in mind that the historical program may not have been as important for recipients as it seems to have been for its creator.

30 The German description [see the above list, no. 4], a5^{v}, also mentions the wealth of languages displayed during the entry: *An allen Brettern vnnd Sesseln* [...] */ war auch Judisch / Greckisch / Lateinisch / Italianisch / Frantzosich* [!] */ Flammisch trew vnd lieb angeschriben.*

31 Cornelius Graphaeus, La tres admirable [...] triumphante entree du [...] Prince Philipes [...] en la tres renommee florisante ville d'Anvers. Anno 1549. Antwerp: Coeck van Aelst 1550, d2^{r}, remembers this detail of Charles V's earlier Antwerp entry in his description of Philip's 1549 entry into Antwerp. In Charles V's 1520 entry into Antwerp, Hebrew and Greek

languages so extraordinary in the case of the Ghent entry is not only the elaborateness of the Greek and Hebrew inscriptions but also the use of what was meant to be Flemish of the High Middle Ages on one arch (Fig. 5) and of Old High German inscriptions on another (Fig. 4). An entire humanist program[32] of antiquity becomes visible here, one that seems to define *antiquitas* not only in terms of classical culture but also incorporates the German and Flemish past. The Old High German inscriptions in particular must have seemed alien despite the readability of their Latin characters: They were – at least the genuine ones were – some seven centuries old and surely not easily intelligible.[33]

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were only used for the motto of the entry, *fides et amor*, which appeared in several places throughout the entry in the different ancient languages. Graphaeus complains that the Antwerp motto was subsequently used elsewhere, which made it necessary for the Antwerp planners to switch to another motto (*fide nunquam polluta*) in 1549. This complaint might have been aimed at Otho: He used *fides et amor* as the motto for the Ghent entry of 1549, which preceded the Antwerp entry organized by Graphaeus. Thus, Graphaeus's remark might have hinted at the strongly felt competition between the cities with respect to their imperial entries.

32 On the humanism in the Low Countries, see JOZEF IJSEWIJN, The Coming of Humanism to the Low Countries, in: Itinerarium Italicum. The Profile of the Italian Renaissance in the Mirror of Its European Transformations. Fs. Paul Oskar Kristeller, ed. HEIKO A. OBERMAN/THOMAS A. BRADY, Leiden 1975, pp. 193-301; IJSEWIJN, Humanism in the Low Countries, in: Renaissance-Humanism. Foundations, Forms, and Legacy. Vol. 2: Humanism beyond Italy, ed. ALBERT RABIL, Philadelphia 1988, pp. 156-215; JAMES K. CAMERON, Humanism in the Low Countries, in: The Impact of Humanism on Western Europe, ed. ANTHONY GOODMAN/ANGUS MACKAY, London/New York 1990, pp. 137-163; HESSEL MIEDEMA, Die Niederlande: Wieso Renaissance? in: Die Renaissance im Blick der Nationen Europas, ed. GEORG KAUFFMANN, Wiesbaden 1991 (Wolfenbütteler Abhandlungen zur Renaissanceforschung 9), pp. 405-428; ELSA STRIETMAN, The Low Countries, in: The Renaissance in National Context, ed. ROY PORTER/MIKULAS TEICH, Cambridge 1992, pp. 68-91. There is, however, no reference to Jan Otho in either of these surveys. For sixteenth century humanists from the Low Countries exiled in Germany, see the study by PETER ARNOLD HEUSER, Jean Matal. Humanistischer Jurist und europäischer Friedensdenker (um 1517-1597), Köln/Weimar/Wien 2003 (for Otho, see pp. 275f.).

33 Some of the lines are from Otfrid, others from the ›Tatian‹. Otfrid possibly wrote his ›Evangelienbuch‹ between 863 and 871 (see WERNER SCHRÖDER, Otfrid von Weissenburg, in: ^{2}VL 7, cols. 172-193, here col. 174); the ›Tatian‹ translation was possibly made in the second quarter of the ninth century (see ACHIM MASSER, ›Tatian‹, in: ^{2}VL 9, cols. 620-628, here col.

The arches presented examples of past good rule and dynastic succession. They drew on traditions of imperial legitimation: the idea of a *translatio imperii* is behind all the examples. In this function they aimed at the present and at Charles' and Philip's political agenda. But by incorporating languages conceived both as ancient and as linguistically appropriate representations of the past they also construed a remoteness, a historicity, of the exempla, a pastness of the past. All this makes the arches and their inscriptions stand out from the otherwise rather conventional entry, and all this makes it necessary to look at the written elements of the entry in greater detail.

The Pastness of the Past

A detailed study of all the arches would be rewarding (for each in its own way): the Greek arch (Fig. 2), for example, quotes among others the sixth-century Byzantine author Agapetos Diaconus;[34] the Hebrew arch (Fig. 1) quotes from the first Book of Kings (thematically very close to the respective *tableau vivant* on David and Salomon). The inscription highest up on the arch is from another, thematically remote part of the Hebrew bible, Ecclesiastes, which was widely used in other Jewish contexts. The inscriptions create a consciousness of the past by reusing ancient writing from different cultural backgrounds. This re-creation reveals a significant – and I would like to argue, typically humanist – reversal of the medieval technique of dealing with

620).

34 Calvete de Estrella [see the above list, no. 5], p. 193; see also Jan Otho's description [list no. 1], a4^{r}. For a German translation of Agapetos, see Byzantinische Fürstenspiegel. Agapetos, Theophylakt von Ochrid, Thomas Magister, trans. Wilhelm Blum, Stuttgart 1981 (Bibliothek der griechischen Literatur 14); the equivalent of the first inscription on the arch is found in chapter 15 (*ibid*., p. 63). Otho taught Greek in his school in Ghent. One of his pupils, Carel Utenhove, even dedicated two Neo-Greek epigrammata to him (see Griechischer Geist aus Basler Pressen, ed. Frank Hieronymus, Basel 1992 [Publikationen der Universitätsbibliothek Basel 15], entry GG 59, p. 77); on the study of Greek in Renaissance humanism see H. Kaemmel, Der Unterricht im Griechischen nach der Lehrverfassung der protestantischen Schule des 16. und 17. Jarhunderts, Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik 96 (1867), pp. 373-393, 533-552; Otto Kluge, Die griechischen Studien in Renaissance und Humanismus, Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Erziehung und des Unterrichts 24 (1934), pp. 1-54; Handbuch der deutschen Bildungsgeschichte, Bd. 1, ed. Notker Hammerstein/August Buck, Munich 1996, pp. 239f.

historical pastness: medieval texts generally medievalize[35] historical events, persons, or languages. Here, historical distance is highlighted by quoting the respective old languages; it is a distance created by means of philology.[36]

The same technique is used with the Old High German arch (Corinthian order; Fig. 4), whose inscriptions I would like to analyze in greater detail. The origin of the genuine Old High German inscriptions is, as EDWARD SCHRÖDER and others have noted, quite spectacular:[37] They are from Otfrid's ›Evangelienbuch‹ and the Old High German ›Tatian‹, both texts of the ninth century. In the sixteenth century, they were not known beyond a few specialized humanist circles.[38] The inscription[39] on the left side of the arch is originally from Otfrid's

35 For this term, see BENEDIKT KONRAD VOLLMANN, Ulrich von Etzenbach, ›Alexander‹, in: Positionen des Romans im späten Mittelalter, ed. WALTER HAUG/BURGHART WACHINGER, Tübingen 1991(Fortuna vitrea 1), pp. 54-66, here p. 60.

36 ERNST HELLGARDT, Originalität und Innovation. Konzepte der Reflexion auf Sprache und Literatur der deutschen Vorzeit im 16. Jahrhundert, in: Innovation und Originalität, ed. WALTER HAUG/BURGHART WACHINGER, Tübingen 1993 (Fortuna vitrea 9), pp. 162-174, here p. 168, highlights such a new »distanzierte Reflexion auf die eigene Vorzeit« and the »Erkenntnis historischer Diskontinuität« as an epochal humanist signature of the sixteenth century concerning the treatment of older vernacular language material.

37 EDWARD SCHRÖDER, Zum ersten Bekanntwerden Otfrids, ZfdA 44 (1900), pp. 317f.

38 On the reception of Old High German texts in the early modern period, see ERNST HELLGARDT, [...] *nulli suo tempore secundus.* Zur Otfridrezeption bei Johannes Trithemius und im 16. Jahrhundert, in: Sprache – Literatur – Kultur. Studien zu ihrer Geschichte im deutschen Süden und Westen. Fs. Wolfgang Kleiber, ed. ALBRECHT GREULE/UWE RUBERG, Stuttgart 1989, pp. 355-375 (on the Ghent arch, pp. 372f.); HELLGARDT, [...] *der alten Teutschen spraach und gottsforcht zuerlernen.* Über Voraussetzungen und Ziele der Otfridausgabe des Matthias Flacius Illyricus (Basel 1571), in: Festschrift Walter Haug und Burghart Wachinger, ed. JOHANNES JANOTA, Tübingen 1992, vol. 1, pp. 267-286; HELLGARDT, Originalität und Innovation [note 36]. On the contribution of humanists from the Low Countries to Germanic philology, see ROGER G. VAN DE VELDE, De studi van het Gotisch in de Nederlanden. Bijdrage tot een status quaestionis over de studie van het Gotisch en het Krimgotisch, Ghent 1966, pp. 15-111; FOSTER [note 4]; DE SMET [note 4]; KEES DEKKER, The Origins of Old Germanic Studies in the Low Countries, Leiden/Boston/Cologne 1999 (Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 92), pp. 9-57.

39 Like the other inscriptions on the arches, the Old High German lines were included in Otho's description [see the above list, no. 1], a4^{v}-b1^{r}, and also

›Evangelienbuch‹ (I, 1, 59 and 64):

SIE SINT SO SAMA KUANI SELPSO THIO ROMANI ZI WAFANE
SNELLE SO SIN THIE THEGAN ALLE

Jan Otho probably obtained the Otfrid quotations from the ›Rerum Germanicum libri tres‹ by Beatus Rhenanus, published eighteen years before the Ghent entry.[40] Beatus Rhenanus cites the Old High German lines from Otfrid to prove that the Franks – and with them Charlemagne – spoke German, and this is exactly the context in which the quotations appear on the Ghent arch.[41]

The inscriptions directly above the space in which the *tableau vivant* took place and on the right hand side of the arch are from the Sermon on the Mount section of the Old High German ›Tatian‹ (XXII, 9 and 12):

SALIGE SINT MAND VVARE WANTA THIE BESIZZENT ERDA
SALIGE SINT THIE THAR SINT MILTHERZE WANTA SIE
FOLGENT MILTIDVM

These quotations were probably taken from a manuscript that was later in the possession of the eminent Bruges humanist Bonaventura

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in Calvete's text [list no. 5], pp. 195f.; the inscription directly underneath the space in which the *tableau vivant* on Charlemagne and Ludwig the Pious was performed [see Fig. 4] is missing both in Otho's and Calvete's account. Hellgardt, Otfridrezeption [note 38], p. 372, gives the Old High German lines as they appear in Calvete's description. The lines presented here are taken from the woodcut [Fig. 4]. All woodcuts are reprinted together with Lagreise's ground-breaking study of the Ghent entry [note 4]; the woodcut of the Old High German arch is also reprinted in Strong [note 4], plate 62, Foster [note 4], p. 106, and de smet [note 4], after p. 28.

40 **Beatus Rhenanus, ›Rerum Germanicum libri tres‹, Basel 1531, p. 107; cf.** Hellgardt, Otfridrezeption [note 38], pp. 371f. The fact that a second edition of Beatus Rhenanus' book was published in 1551 (see Sigrid von der Gönna, Beatus Rhenanus und Otfrid von Weißenburg. Zur Otfrid-Überlieferung im 16. Jahrhundert, ZfdA 107 [1978], p. 248-257, here p. 248) hints at the popularity of the book in humanist circles. The few lines in this book were the first printed Otfrid quotations (Hellgardt, Originalität und Innovation [note 36], p. 163).

41 **Calvete de Estrella [see the above list, no. 5], p. 195:** *lengua Franconica antigua (que es la que usò Carlo Magno y agora, si no es en libros antiguos de historias, no se halla*).

Vulcanius.[42] Inasmuch as he was a pupil of Jan Otho, some sort of connection is probable, although there is no direct evidence.[43] In this case, the manuscript must have been available to humanists like Jan Otho as early as 1549, perhaps, as FORSTER assumes, through Georg Cassander in Cologne. Cassander was Otho's friend, would later employ Bonaventura Vulcanius as his secretary, and was a leading figure in the humanist beginnings of Germanic philology.[44] This manuscript is now lost.

Although Jan Otho obviously went out of his way to quote genuine Old High German from two different sources, it is important to note that he probably added texts of his own as well. Indeed, as SCHRÖDER observed, the inscription highest up on the arch (*THIE FURIST IST GOTES BILIDI*) is ›Old High German‹ incorrectly reconstructed,[45] most probably by Jan Otho himself. Moreover, it is also likely that the inscription that is found only on the woodcut and not in the descriptions of the event (*EIN REHT INTI GOUT* [!] *CVNING IST GOTES BILIDI*) was invented by Otho. Here, we see a kind of productive reception, a creativeness in writing new phrases in an extinct language to create a pastness of the past.

To sum up: Following the example of other Renaissance entries, the organizer of the Ghent entry, Jan Otho, tried to transform the usual urban environment *à l'antique*, changing this environment into an urban complex designed to celebrate exemplary rulership and successful *translatio imperii*.[46] The Ghent entry represents an ambitious

42 Bonaventura Vulcanius gives excerpts from this manuscript in his ›De literis et lingua Getarvm siue Gothorvm [...]. Quibus accesserunt Specimina variarum linguarum [...]‹, Leiden 1597, pp. 54-57; cf. EDUARD SIEVERS, Tatian. Lateinisch und althochdeutsch mit ausführlichem Glossar, zweite neubearb. Aufl. Paderborn 1892 (Bibliothek der ältesten deutschen Litteratur-Denkmäler 5), p. xv; PETER F. GANZ, MS Junius 13 und die althochdeutsche Tatianübersetzung, PBB 91 (1969), pp. 28-76, here p. 33; HELLGARDT, Originalität und Innovation [note 36], p. 167.

43 FORSTER [note 4], p. 111 (see also DECAVELE [note 22], p. 90). The ties between Otho and Vulcanius seemed to have lasted throughout Otho's life: Vulcanius mentions a meeting with Otho in Duisburg in 1574 in a letter to Adrian van der Myle. Correspondance de Bonaventura Vulcanius pendant son séjour à Cologne, Genève et Bâle, ed. H. DE VRIES DE HEEKELINGEN, La Haye 1923, p. 61.

44 FORSTER [note 4], pp. 111-113.

45 SCHRÖDER [note 37], p. 319; see also FORSTER [note 4], p. 112.

46 Cf. STRONG [note 2], p. 86, on the Italian entries of Charles V.

attempt to exhibit a coherent and unified humanist program of history. The arches must have dominated the immediate vicinity in which they were erected, overruling other urban features. They certainly dominate the extant descriptions of the event. In the main, their inscriptions document what can be perceived as the core of Jan Otho's program: an interest in the past, expressed in the appropriation of genuinely old language texts and the productive creation of ›new old‹ material. Although this program was virtually brought out on the streets, it was also a typical humanist program by being an exclusive, elitist affair: only a very few would have been able to decipher it.[47] But this might not have been the important issue here. The overall scheme, this immense exposition of learnedness does not necessarily aim at being understood; it could have aimed mainly at being admired.

The term I have used to summarize the historical consciousness behind the inscriptions, an interest in the pastness of the past, is borrowed from T. S. Eliot. In his famous proto-intertextualist poetics of the high modernist mode, ›Tradition and the Individual Talent‹, Eliot stresses the importance of »a perception not only of the pastness of the past but of its presence.«[48] In the context of the humanist breaking away from medieval models of the past, however, the reverse seems to be at play. In this re-use and re-creation of ›ancient‹ languages, a new perception of the pastness of the past becomes visible. By this, I do not mean to say that this past was not used in view of the present. All examples aim at a current political issue, the planned dynastic transfer from Charles V to Philip II of Spain. But it is a notable change in historical perception that Jan Otho connects Alexander the Great or Charlemagne to the languages they supposedly used. Thus, the Ghent entry participates in forming a new cultural signature and propagates it at the same time. The fact that this is done in a public urban space and that the city council pays money both for the planning and for the materials[49] hint at the symbolical value that is connected with this new, this genuinely humanist form of historicity. Reflecting historical discontinuity as well as linguistic appropriation, Jan Otho and the Ghent entry are participating in the cultural signature of early modern

47 Perhaps Otho's Latin description was available even at the time the entry took place. On this function of festival texts, see Watanabe-O'Kelly [note 11], p. 22.

48 T.S. Eliot, Tradition and the Individual Talent, in: Selected Essays, London ^{3}1951, pp. 13-22, here p. 14.

49 Lagreise [note 4], pp. 45f.

humanism.[50] Part of a larger movement *ad fontes*, Otho's rediscovery and creative use of Old High German fits well into the intellectual endeavour of humanist historiography and language history.

50 Cf. Paul Joachimsohn, Geschichtsauffassung und Geschichtschreibung in Deutschland unter dem Einfluß des Humanismus, erster Theil, Leipzig/Berlin 1910; Joachimsohn, Tacitus im deutschen Humanismus, in: Gesammelte Aufsätze. Beiträge zu Renaissance, Humanismus und Reformation; zur Historiographie und zum deutschen Staatsgedanken, ed. Notker Hammerstein, Aalen 1970, pp. 275-295; Ulrich Muhlack, Beatus Rhenanus, Jakob Wimpfeling und die humanistische Geschichtsschreibung in Deutschland. In: Annuaire des amis de la bibliothèque humaniste de Sélestat 35 (1985), pp. 193-208; Muhlack, Geschichtswissenschaft im Humanismus und der Aufklärung. Die Vorgeschichte des Historismus, Munich 1991; Hellgardt [note 36].

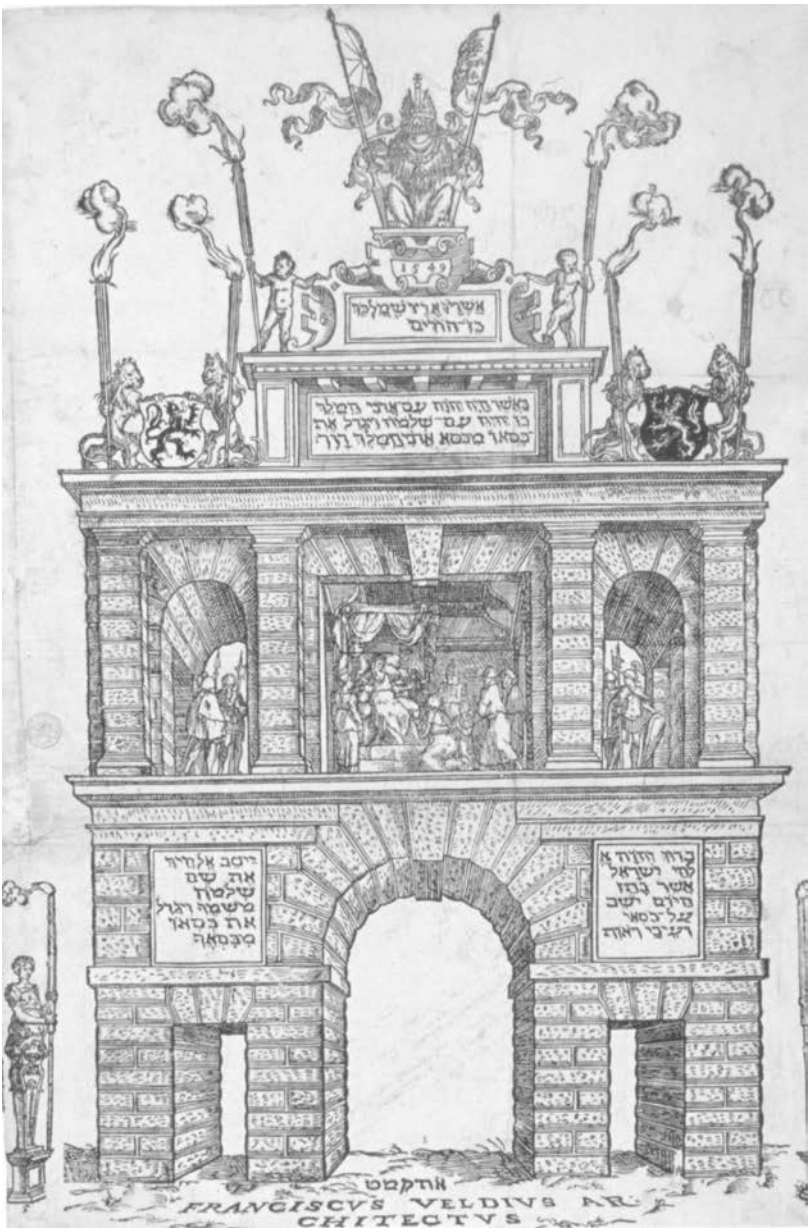

Fig. 1: Franciscus van de Velde: ›Arcus triumphales quinque [...]‹, Antwerp: Liefrink 1549, Tuscan Arch. Published with permission of the Universiteitsbibliotheek Ghent. The (Christian!) year is in Hebrew letters at the bottom of the page.

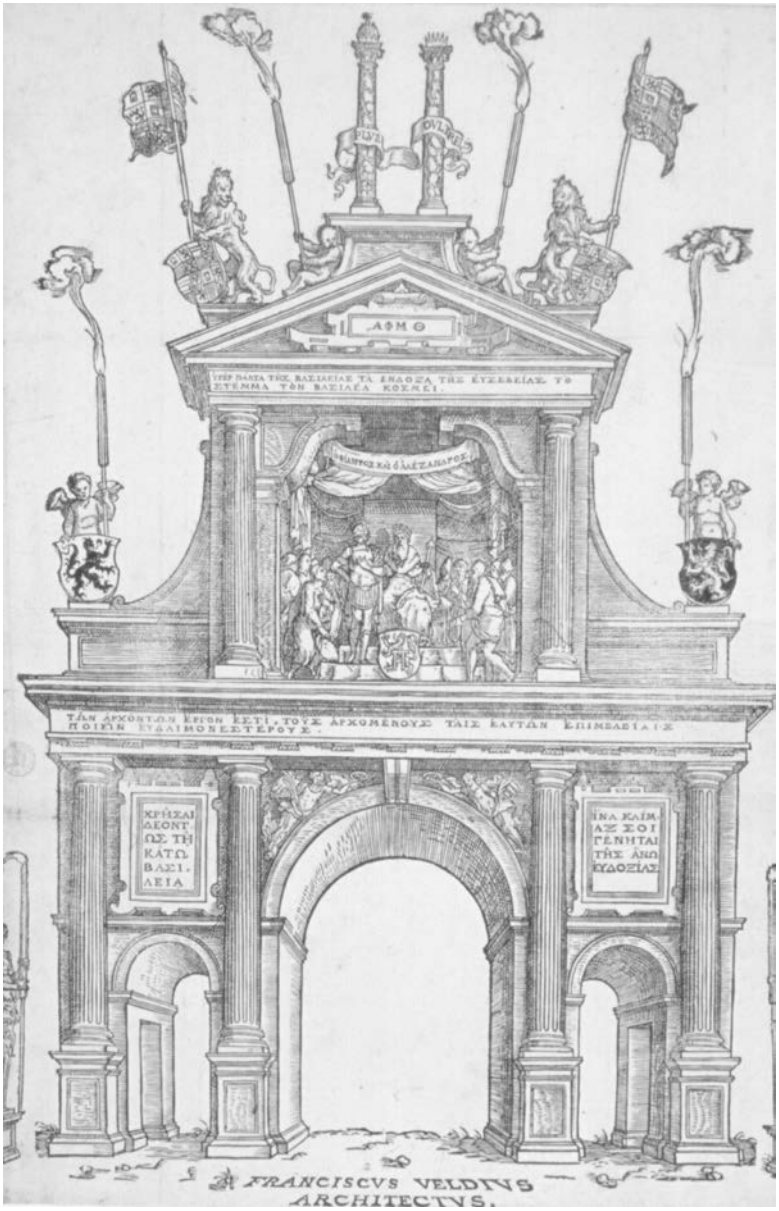

Fig. 2: Franciscus van de Velde: ›Arcus triumphales quinque [...]‹, Antwerp: Liefrink 1549, Doric Arch. Published with permission of the Universiteitsbibliotheek Ghent.

Fig. 3: Franciscus van de Velde: ›Arcus triumphales quinque [...]‹, Antwerp: Liefrink 1549, Ionic Arch. Published with permission of the Universiteitsbibliotheek Ghent.

Fig. 4: Franciscus van de Velde: ›Arcus triumphales quinque [...]‹, Antwerp: Liefrink 1549, Corinthian Arch. Published with permission of the Universiteitsbibliotheek Ghent.

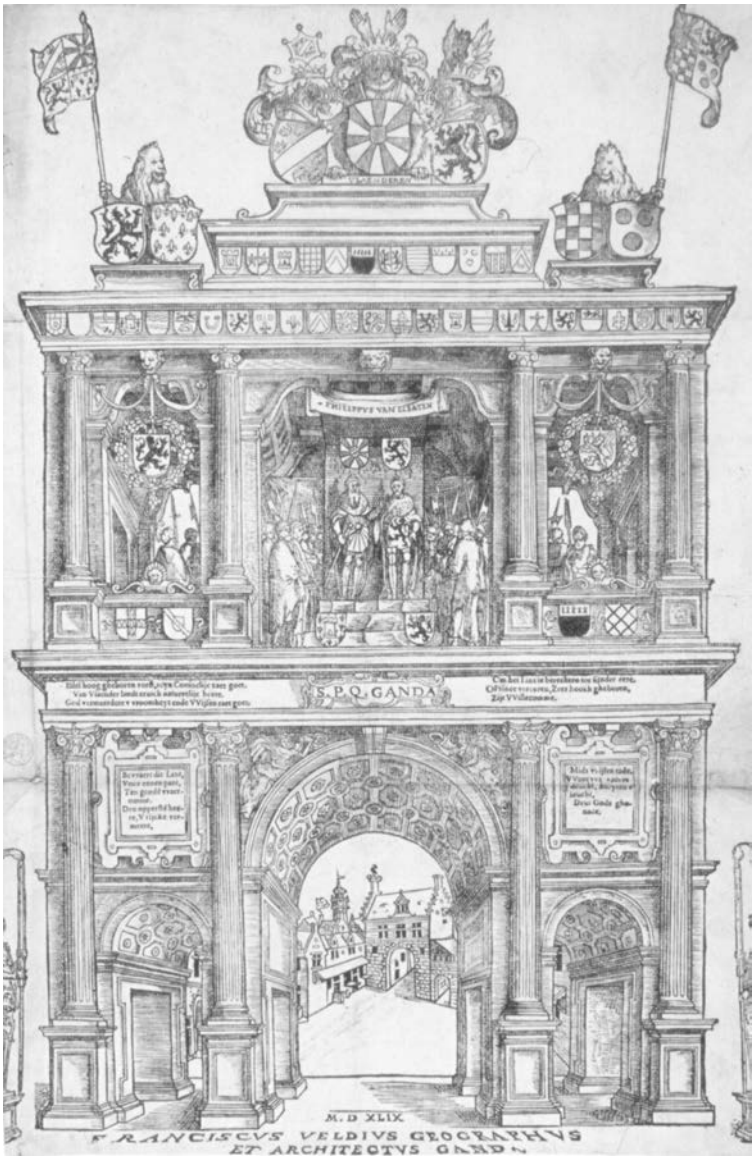

Fig. 5: Franciscus van de Velde: ›Arcus triumphales quinque [...]‹, Antwerp: Liefrink 1549, Composite Arch. Published with permission of the Universiteitsbibliotheek Ghent.

Gert Hübner

Dieweil solcher abwechslung das Menschlich gemüt sehr bedürfftig

Leonhard Lechners Liebeslieder

In den Jahren 1574 und 1576 erschienen in Nürnberg zwei Sammlungen deutscher Lieder, die ihres großen Erfolgs wegen eine neue Mode auslösten. Die historische Innovation war eine musikalische, nämlich die Orientierung am Vorbild der Villanelle, eines in Italien schon seit einiger Zeit beliebten Typus des Kunstlieds.[1] Italienische Villanellen sind – prototypisch verkürzt beschrieben – zumeist dreistimmig komponierte Lieder mit zumindest teilweise homophoner Stimmenführung und auf einen Höreindruck angelegt, den die Musikhistoriker gern mit Etiketten wie ›einfach‹ und ›leicht‹ bezeichnen. Das unterscheidet sie von den polyphonen Tonsätzen, die die deutschen Komponisten des 16. Jahrhunderts bevorzugt hatten. Der wichtigste deutsche Typus, das Tenorlied, war in den 60er Jahren zwar bereits der Konkurrenz anderer Kompositionsweisen ausgesetzt; an der Polyphonie hielten auch sie indes fest.[2]

Autor der ersten erwähnten Sammlung war der Niederländer Jakob Regnart, der in ihrem Erscheinungsjahr 1574 als Sängerknabenpräzeptor am Wiener Kaiserhof Maximilians II. angestellt war und 1576, als Rudolf II. die Residenz verlegte, mit der Hofkapelle nach Prag wechselte.[3] Der Autor der anderen Sammlung, ein junger Mann namens

1 Einen Überblick bietet Donna G. Cardamone, Villanella – Vilotta, in: ²MGG Sachteil 9 (1998), Sp. 1518-1530.

2 Rolf Caspari, Liedtradition im Stilwandel um 1600. Das Nachleben des deutschen Tenorliedes in den gedruckten Liedersammlungen von Le Maistre (1566) bis Schein (1626), München 1971.

3 Jacob Regnart, ›Kurtzweilige Teutsche Lieder / zu dreyen Stimmen / Nach art der Neapolitanen oder Welschen Villanellen‹, Nürnberg 1574. Ausgabe: Jakob Regnart's deutsche dreistimme Lieder nach Art der Neapolitanen nebst Leonhard Lechners fünfstimmiger Bearbeitung, hg. von Robert Eitner, Leipzig 1895, Repr. New York 1966. Einen Überblick bietet Michael Zywietz, Regnart, Jacob, in: ²MGG Personenteil 13 (2005), Sp. 1439-1443. Zu Regnarts Liedern vgl. Gert Hübner, Die deutschen Villanellen Jakob Regnarts, in: Deutsche Literatur und Sprache im Donauraum, hg. von Christine Pfau/Kristýna Slámová, Olomouc 2006, S. 237-259.

namens Leonhard Lechner, war seit 1575 als Schulgehilfe an St. Lorenz in Nürnberg beschäftigt.[4] Lechner benutzte für seine Kompositionen bereits zwei Texte aus Regnarts Sammlung, deren Erfolg sich auch daran ablesen läßt, daß sie 1576 schon zum ersten Mal nachgedruckt wurde.

Ein Problem bei der Produktion deutscher Villanellen waren die Texte. Die musikalische Form war auf die Vers- und Strophenformen italienischer Villanellen abgestimmt, die sich erheblich von denen der deutschen Liedtradition unterschieden. Regnart brach deshalb mit der bei deutschen Tonsetzern verbreiteten Gewohnheit, ältere Texte für neue Kompositionen zu benutzen. Die Texte seiner Villanellen sind, angesichts ihrer metrischen Formen, zweifelsohne eigens für die Villanellenkomposition angefertigt. Sie stammen, wie NICOLE SCHWINDT jüngst wahrscheinlich machte,[5] wohl zumindest teilweise von Ludwig Haberstroh, der zunächst Sänger an der Münchner Hofkapelle und seit 1572 Nachrichtenagent für den bayerischen Herzog am Wiener Hof war. Im zeitgenössischen Sinn freilich waren die Texte einfach Bestandteil von Regnarts Liedern: Die Villanellenmode änderte nichts am Desinteresse an der Textautorschaft deutscher Lieder; Autorschaft blieb Tonsetzerautorschaft.

Lechner seinerseits hatte deutsche Villanellen wahrscheinlich nicht erst in Gestalt der Regnart-Sammlung, sondern bereits als Sängerknabe an der Landshuter Hofkapelle kennengelernt, die der älteste Sohn Herzog Albrechts V. von Bayern, der spätere Herzog Wilhelm V., zwischen 1568 und 1570 unterhielt. Ihr Kapellmeister, der Niederländer Ivo de Vento, experimentierte, wie SCHWINDT zeigte, noch vor Regnart mit Villanellenkompositionen auf deutsche Texte.[6] 1572 veröffentlichte er in München unter einem Titel, der keinen musikalischen Typus angab – *Newe Teutsche Lieder mit dreyen stimmen* –, eine Liedersammlung, die neben zwölf traditionellen Tricinienkompositionen auch sieben – nicht als solche gekennzeichnete – Villanellensätze auf deutsche Texte ent-

4 Leonhard Lechner, ›Newe teutsche Lieder / zu drey Stimmen / Nach art der Welschen Villanellen‹, Nürnberg 1576. Ausgabe: Leonhard Lechner, Werke, Bd. 2, hg. von UWE MARTIN, Basel [usw.] 1969. Einen Überblick zu Leben und Werk bietet MARLIES ZEUS, Leonhard Lechner. Ein Musiker der Renaissance in seiner Zeit, Berlin 1999.

5 NICOLE SCHWINDT, »Philonellae« – Die Anfänge der deutschen Villanella zwischen Tricinium und Napolitana, in: Gattungen und Formen des europäischen Liedes vom 14. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert, hg. von MICHAEL ZYWIETZ [u.a.], Münster 2005, S. 243-283.

6 SCHWINDT [Anm. 5].

hielt.[7] Er benutzte dafür jedoch Texte in der konventionellen Art der deutschen Lieddichtung des 16. Jahrhunderts, die sich zum Teil auch schon zuvor nachweisen lassen. Anders als Regnart betrachtete er, wie SCHWINDT schreibt, »die deutsche Villanella als ein primär musikalisches, nicht literarisches Phänomen«.[8] Die Verwendung traditioneller deutscher Vers- und Strophenformen machte freilich auch Kompromisse bei der musikalischen Komposition nötig.

Die neu gedichteten Texte der Regnart-Villanellen ihrerseits zeigen zumindest teilweise, daß die musikalische Orientierung am italienischen Vorbild auch eine Rezeption der Textinhalte nahelegte. Italienische Villanellen waren üblicherweise Liebeslieder und erheblich vom Petrarkismus beeinflußt. Auch wenn sie die typischen petrarkistischen Motive nicht immer in ganz ernsthafter Manier benutzten, bezogen sie sich doch oft auf das Konzept der zugleich bitteren und süßen, zugleich schmerzlichen und beglückenden Liebe, das die Kenner bereits im 16. Jahrhundert mit der Autorität Petrarcas verbanden.

Jakob Regnart und Leonhard Lechner genießen vor allem in musikhistorischen Arbeiten den Ruf, zumindest mit einigen Liedern Vorläufer des deutschen Petrarkismus zu sein.[9] Diese Einschätzung geht zurück auf RUDOLF VELTENs 1914 erschienene, erste literaturwissenschaftliche Monographie zum sogenannten ›italianisierten Lied‹.[10] Sie blieb bis heute zugleich die letzte, denn nach ihr verlor sich das germanistische Interesse an der außerordentlich produktiven Liebes-

7 Ivo de Vento, ›Newe Teutsche Lieder mit dreyen stimmen, wölche lieblich zu singen vnd auff allerley Instrumenten zugebrauchen‹, München 1572. Edition: Ivo de Vento, Sämtliche Werke, Bd. 4, hg. von NICOLE SCHWINDT, Wiesbaden 2003 (Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Bayern N.F. 15); vgl. SCHWINDT [Anm. 5].

8 SCHWINDT [Anm. 5], S. 258.

9 LINI HÜBSCH-PFLEGER, Das Nürnberger Lied im deutschen Stilwandel um 1600, Diss. masch. Heidelberg 1944; CASPARI [Anm. 2]; SARA E. DUMONT, German Secular Polyphonic Song in Printed Editions 1570-1630. Italian Influences on the Poetry and Music, 2 vols., New York/London 1989; außerdem die in Anm. 12 genannten Arbeiten von UWE MARTIN.

10 RUDOLF VELTEN, Das ältere deutsche Gesellschaftslied unter dem Einfluß der italienischen Musik, Heidelberg 1914 (Beiträge zur neueren Literaturgeschichte N.F. 5); vgl. GERT HÜBNER, Christoph von Schallenberg und die deutsche Liebeslyrik am Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts, in: Daphnis 31 (2002), S. 127-186. Keine Berücksichtigung findet die Rezeption italienischer Vorbilder bei BERND PRÄTORIUS, »Liebe hat es so befohlen«. Die Liebe im Lied der Frühen Neuzeit, Köln [usw.] 2004 (Europäische Kulturstudien 16), wo die Entwicklung des deutschen Liebeslieds vom späteren 15. Jahrhundert bis in die Barockzeit verfolgt wird.

lieddichtung zwischen Regnart, Lechner und den 30er Jahren des 17. Jahrhunderts.[11]

Die folgenden Überlegungen sollen den Faden wieder aufnehmen; sie gelten in erster Linie dem historischen Profil der Petrarkismusrezeption in der deutschen Liedlyrik des späteren 16. Jahrhunderts. Es handelte sich dabei, meiner Überzeugung nach, gewissermaßen um eine Petrarkismusrezeption mit beschränkter Haftung. Die traditionelle deutsche Liebesliedlyrik verfügte, so die These, über Qualitäten, die eine Umstellung der Textproduktion auf Petrarkismus einige Zeit lang verhinderten (und die womöglich auch die Einführung des petrarkistischen Lesegedichts nicht eben begünstigten). Im Fall Leonhard Lechners bietet die Quellenlage die Möglichkeit, diese Qualitäten vergleichsweise genau vorzustellen.

Das liegt daran, daß sich der kulturelle Ort seiner Lieder relativ gut rekonstruieren läßt. Insbesondere ist der Zusammenhang zwischen dem Phänomen des mehrstimmig komponierten weltlichen Kunstlieds und der kulturellen Topographie einer Stadt, Nürnbergs nämlich, in diesem Fall konkreter als sonst beschreibbar. Dabei habe ich zunächst im wesentlichen einen Forschungsstand zu referieren, der auf den Arbeiten des Musikhistorikers Uwe Martin gründet.[12] Martin hat sich auch allerhand Gedanken über die Texte von Lechners Liedern gemacht, die angesichts des germanistischen Desinteresses am Gegenstand jedoch ohne literaturwissenschaftliche Resonanz blieben. Auf der Grundlage seiner Ergebnisse will ich nach der poetischen Konstruktion der Liebe in Lechners Liedern fragen und den kulturgeschichtlichen Aspekt dabei so perspektivieren, daß ein Zusammenhang mit dem poetologischen erkennbar wird.

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11 In der jüngsten, 2004 erschienenen Literaturgeschichte des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts kommt sie beispielsweise nicht vor – freilich kommt in dieser Literaturgeschichte auch sonst keine Liebeslyrik vor: Die Literatur im Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit, hg. von Werner Röcke/Marina Münkler. München, Wien 2004 (Hansers Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur 1).

12 Uwe Martin, Der Nürnberger Paul Dulner als Dichter geistlicher und weltlicher Lieder Leonhard Lechners, in: Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 11 (1954), S. 315-322; Martin, Historische und stilkritische Studien zu Leonhard Lechners Strophenliedern, Diss. masch. Göttingen 1957; Martin, Die Nürnberger Musikgesellschaften, in: Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg 49 (1959), S. 185-225; Martin, Paul Dulner als Textdichter des Komponisten Leonhard Lechner (ca. 1553 bis 1606), in: Daphnis 26 (1997), S. 187-198.

Uwe Martin hat in mehreren Publikationen auf einen Liedtext hingewiesen, der in Lechners dritter Sammlung deutscher Lieder aus dem Jahr 1577 vertont ist.[13] Er steht gewissermaßen im Fluchtpunkt meiner Überlegungen und soll deshalb gleich zu Beginn zitiert werden:

O Lieb wie süß und bitter/
Ein brennend sehnlich not/
Vol trawren forcht und zitter/
Bist erger dann der todt/
Ein anfang aller freud und leid/
Wie Petrarcha dich nennet/
Ein süsse bittrigkeit.

Es handle sich, schreibt Martin dazu, *um einen in dieser Zeit ganz seltenen Fall, wo es mit hohem dichterischen Vermögen gelang, rein petrarkistischen Gehalt deutschsprachig, in leicht abgewandelten italienischen Metren gültig zu formulieren.*[14] Ich glaube nicht, daß dieser Text für Lechner und sein Nürnberger Publikum einen ›rein petrarkistischen Gehalt‹ in dem Sinn hatte, den wir heute damit verbinden. Um diese Behauptung etwas weniger abwegig erscheinen zu lassen, unternehme ich eine kleine Reise durch die Liedsammlungen, die Lechner zwischen 1576 und 1589 in Nürnberg drucken ließ.

1. Villanellen 1576 oder: Die Nürnberger Musikgesellschaften

Die Villanellensammlung von 1576 widmete Lechner dem *Erbarn vnd Weisen Herrn / Hans Pfintzing von Henfenfeld / des kleinern Raths / der löblichen Reichstatt Nürnberg.*[15] Hans Pfintzing war Mitglied einer Musikgesellschaft, die bereits 1572 und 1575 in Widmungsvorreden zu Liedersammlungen Ivo de Ventos auftaucht.[16] Sie bestand ausschließlich aus Mitgliedern des kleineren und größeren Rats, darunter etlichen Angehörigen von Patrizierfamilien. Leider tritt diese – von Martin auf den

13 Leonhard Lechner, ›Newe Teutsche Lieder / mit Vier vnd Fünff Stimmen‹, Nürnberg 1577, Nr. 12. Ausgabe: Leonhard Lechner, Werke, Bd. 3, hg. von Uwe Martin, Kassel/Basel 1954, hier S. 58-60. Eine Einspielung findet sich auf der CD: Leonhard Lechner, Newe Teutsche Lieder, Weser-Renaissance Manfred Cordes, cpo 999370-2 (1995).

14 Uwe Martin, Begleitwort, in: Leonhard Lechner, Werke, Bd. 3. ›Newe Teutsche Lieder mit vier und fünff Stimmen‹, 1577, hg. von Uwe Martin, Kassel/Basel 1954, ohne Seitenzahl.

15 Werke, Bd. 2 [Anm. 4], S. XIII.

16 Martin 1959 [Anm. 12], S. 197f.

Namen ›Ratsgesellschaft‹ getaufte – Vereinigung ausschließlich in Widmungsvorreden zutage, so daß sich das Phänomen ›Musikgesellschaft‹ nur mittels eines Seitenblicks erhellen läßt.

Etwas genauere Einsichten ermöglicht die Quellenlage nämlich bei einer anderen, 1568 gegründeten Musikgesellschaft, der ›Musikalischen Krentzleinsgesellschaft‹, deren Ordnung erhalten blieb.[17] Die ›Krentzleinsgesellschaft‹ war weniger exklusiv; neben einigen Ratsmitgliedern finden sich Angehörige der städtischen Bildungsgruppen: Schulrektor, Pfarrer, Diakon, Arzt, Jurist, Altdorfer Professor. Jenseits der sozialen Unterschiede teilten die Mitglieder beider Gesellschaften freilich die humanistische Bildung. Etliche waren den typischen Nürnberger Bildungsweg gegangen – vom städtischen Gymnasium (dessen Organisation seinerzeit Melanchthon besorgt hatte) zum Studium zuerst in Wittenberg (vor der Altdorfer Universitätsgründung) und dann in einer der norditalienischen Städte, zu denen die Nürnberger intellektuelle und materielle Beziehungen gleichermaßen unterhielten.[18] Die Mitgliederzahl der ›Krentzleinsgesellschaft‹ begrenzt die Ordnung auf dreizehn; Neuaufnahmen setzten Todesfälle voraus. Man traf sich jeden zweiten oder dritten Mittwoch von Mittag bis halb fünf Uhr bei einem der Mitglieder zum gemeinsamen Musizieren.

Am Tag des ›Krentzleins‹ hatten die Mitglieder halbwegs asketisch zu leben, damit die Musik ihre moralische Wirkung entfalten konnte. Diese gründet die Vorrede der Ordnung – mit Luther-Topik – darauf, daß die

hochlöbliche Kunst Musica mit Jrem lieblichen thon eine gabe Gottes ist, auch die bösen begirden und naigungen des menschlichen gemüths dermassen Jm Zaum helt und regiert, das sy die traurigkeit Jnn Freud verwandelt, die klainmutigen tröstet den schmertzen vnd arbeit lindert, vertreibt sorg, nimbt Zorn neyd vnnd haſs, gibt guttigkait, freud, scherpft die vernunfft, verhindert affterreden und dergleichen schedliche ding.[19]

David als Harfenspieler und Psalmist dient, nach alter Tradition, als Beweis für den gottgewollten Rang der Instrumental- wie Vokalmusik. Was den Gesang anbelangt, spricht die Ordnung von Gotteslob und -dienst, wonach in erster Linie an die Pflege geistlicher Lieder zu denken wäre.

Die historische Bedeutung der Nürnberger Musikgesellschaften beruht indes darauf, daß sie ein identifizierbarer Ort auch der Pfle-

17 Abgedruckt bei Martin 1959 [Anm. 12], S. 188-194.
18 Martin 1959 [Anm. 12], S. 201.
19 Martin 1959 [Anm. 12], S. 189.

ge mehrstimmiger weltlicher Lieder sind. Konkret nachweisen – und nicht bloß mit einer eher ungefähren Vorstellung vom ›geselligen Musizieren‹ verbinden – läßt sich diese Pflege nämlich sonst nur bei den Hofkapellen, die Lieder als Tafelmusik aufführten. Der vornehmeren ›Ratsgesellschaft‹ widmete bereits Ivo de Vento 1572 und 1575 Sammlungen auch mit weltlichen Liedern.[20] Lechner selbst dedizierte 1577 seine dritte Liedersammlung, die geistliche und weltliche Lieder enthält, einer weiteren Nürnberger Musikgesellschaft, die aus sieben unverheirateten jungen Patriziern bestand und bei MARTIN deshalb ›Juniorengesellschaft‹ heißt.[21]

Die oben erwähnte Widmungsvorrede an Hans Pfintzing in Lechners erster Liedersammlung rechtfertigt die Musik zunächst auf ganz ähnliche Weise wie die Ordnung der ›Krentzleinsgesellschaft‹.[22] Über die gewohnte, ursprünglich auf geistliche Lieder gemünzte lutherische Topik hinaus verteidigt Lechner jedoch eigens die ausschließlich weltlichen Lieder seiner Sammlung. Man solle zwar vornehmlich *Geistliche vnd Biblische Text* singen, doch entfalte die Musik ihre Wirkung auch mit weltlichen, die zu aller Zeit gesungen worden seien, *Dieweil solcher abwechslung das Menschlich gemüt sehr bedürfftig / welchs nicht immerdar mit trawrigen Gesangen erschrecket / Sondern auch bißweilen mit frölichen Liedlein erfrischet werden muß*. Es seien nämlich *die Menschlichen hertzen vngleicher weiß geartet vnd gesinnet / Müssen derhalben / nach gestalt der sachen / jetzt erschrokken und trawrig / bald aber frölich gemacht werden / Wie solchs die Kunstreiche Musica artlich vnnd meisterlich kan*. Allerdings dürften die weltlichen Lieder *die fines verecundiae nicht vberschreiten*. Nur weil die vertonten *weltliche Text / kein vnzüchtige leichtfertigkeit / auch kein Ehrenrhürige schmach / schand oder laster / in sich halten*, könne er es überhaupt wagen, seine Sammlung einer Obrigkeitsperson zu dedizieren.[23]

Die Rechtfertigung weltlicher Lieder mit der affektiven Abwechslung ist fadenscheinig, weil es durchaus fröhliche geistliche und durchaus traurige weltliche Lieder gibt; Lechners Villanellensammlung

20 MARTIN 1959 [Anm. 12], S. 197f.

21 MARTIN 1959 [Anm. 12], S. 200.

22 Es gebe *nechst Gottes wort / kein bequemer und füglicher mittel / auch kein krefftigere Artzney / als die edle vnd schöne kunst Musica. Dann dieselbige / neben andern vilfeltigen nutzbarkeiten / so jetzt zu erzelen vnnötig / alle böse vnd vnordentliche affecten lindert / oder auch gar hinweg nimbt / vertreibt die Melancholischen gedancken / erfrewet alle betrübte hertzen / munttert auff die erschrockenen / macht frölich vnd erquicket die trawrigen / vnd wirfft in summa alles leid vnd vnglück zu rück*. Werke, Bd. 2 [Anm. 4], S. XIII.

23 Werke, Bd. 2 [Anm. 4], S. XIV-XV.

etwa enthält eine ganze Reihe von Liebesklagen. Der Gedanke einer an die Textthematik geknüpften Abwechslung zwischen traurigen und fröhlichen Liedern scheint mir gleichwohl wichtig. Dieser Gedanke bestimmt nämlich von Lechners zweiter Sammlung an unübersehbar (obschon bisher noch nicht gesehen) die Auswahl der weltlichen Liedtexte und ihre Anordnung.[24]

In der ersten Sammlung ist eine planmäßige Zusammenstellung fröhlicher und trauriger Lieder noch nicht zu erkennen, aber auch hier zeigt sich bereits die Neigung zu durchdachter Textauswahl. Von den siebzehn Liedtexten sind nur vier nicht schon zuvor belegt; die meisten stehen in Georg Forsters zwischen 1539 und 1556 ebenfalls in Nürnberg gedruckten Liedsammlungen.[25] Wie Ivo de Vento setzte Lechner Villanellen auf deutsche Strophenformen; dies konnte er, weil er sich kompositionstechnisch weniger konsequent als Regnart auf den italienischen Stil einließ.[26] Infolge der Textauswahl findet sich in der gesamten Sammlung kein Petrarkismus, auch nicht in den neuen Texten und den beiden von Regnart übernommenen.[27]

Die Sammlung beginnt und endet mit einem Lob der Musik; dazwischen erstreckt sich ein Panoptikum der thematischen Liedtypen, die für die deutsche Liebeslieddichtung des 16. Jahrhunderts charakteristisch sind.[28] Den Anfang macht mit Lied 2 eine durch erfahrenes

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24 Dies gilt unabhängig davon, daß die Kompositionen in den ersten beiden Sammlungen außerdem nach Tonarten geordnet sind. Vgl. zu diesem Ordnungsprinzip Uwe Martin, Begleitwort, in: Werke, Bd. 2 [Anm. 4], S. X-XI.

25 Nachweise in Werke, Bd. 2 [Anm. 4], S. 69-71. – Textausgabe: Georg Forsters ›Frische Teutsche Liedlein in fünf Teilen‹, hg. von M. Elizabeth Marriage, Halle a.d.S. 1903 (Neudrucke dt. Literaturwerke d. XVI. u. XVII. Jhs. 203-206); Texte und Melodien: Georg Forster, ›Frische Teutsche Liedlein‹, hg. von Kurt Gudewill [u.a.], 5 Bde., Wolfenbüttel 1942, 1969, 1976, 1987, 1997 (Das Erbe deutscher Musik 20, 60-63).

26 Martin spricht im Begleitwort zur Ausgabe [Anm. 4], S. VIII-IX, von einzelnen homophonen Sätzen, »polyphonierenden Auflockerungen des homophonen Satzes« und schließlich zusammenfassend von einer »polyphonen Grundkonzeption der Lieder«, Schwindt [Anm. 5], S. 265, von einer »Fusionierung von Tricinien- und Villanellen-Idee«.

27 Nr. XII *Ohn dich muß ich mich aller freuden maßen* (Regnart 1576, Nr. 1); Nr. XVI *Nun hab ich doch einmal erlebt* (Regnart 1576, Nr. 7). Beide Texte hat Lechner in der Sammlung mit Regnart-Bearbeitungen 1579 noch einmal vertont.

28 Vgl. dazu, anhand der Forster-Sammlungen, Horst Brunner, Die Liebeslieder in Georg Forsters ›Frischen Teutschen Liedlein‹ (1539-1556), in: Deutsche Liebeslyrik im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert, hg. von Gert Hübner,

Leid begründete Absage an die Liebe, die in den Entschluß zu einem neuen erotischen Unternehmen mündet; Lied 16 feiert am Ende der Reihe die Freude über den Liebeserfolg. Dazwischen stehen Liebeswerbung, Klafferschelte, Treueversicherung, Klagen über Abschied, Abweisung, mangelnde Kontaktmöglichkeit (*meiden*), räumliche Trennung, Mißtrauen und Eifersucht. Es ist ganz offensichtlich, daß damit verschiedene Arten von Liebesbeziehungen, nämlich geglückte und mißglückte, und verschiedene Phasen von Liebesbeziehungen, nämlich traurige und freudige, abgeschritten werden. Dies greift eine Möglichkeit auf, die die deutsche Liebesliedtradition des 16. Jahrhunderts mit ihren verschiedenen thematischen Liedtypen bot – im Gegensatz zur stets gleichen petrarkistischen Konstellation.

2. Villanellen 1577 oder: Liedästhetik als Text-Musik-Programm

Im Jahr 1577 ließ Lechner eine zweite Villanellensammlung drucken, die er einem weiteren Mitglied der musikalischen ›Ratsgesellschaft‹, Anton Geuder zu Hörlsberg (Heroldsberg), widmete.[29] Sie enthält 21 Lieder, darunter sechs mit vorher nicht belegten Texten; der Rest stammt aus älteren Sammlungen, vor allem wieder aus den Forsterschen.[30] Erneut ist kein Petrarkismus auszumachen. Die Textzusammenstellung ist nun aber genauer kalkuliert.

L 1		*Durch wald und tal*	Jagdallegorie (*unfall* vs. *glück*)
L 2		*Ach hässigs glück*	Klage über Unglück
L 3		*Mein treues hertz*	Untreue des Geliebten
L 4	= Hollander	*Sie acht vielleicht mein treu*	Zweifel der Geliebten an der Treue
L 5	= Hollander	*Jagen hetzen und federspil*	Jagdglück

Amsterdam/New York 2005 (Chloe 37), S. 221-234.

29 Leonhard Lechner, ›Der ander Teyl Newer Teutscher Lieder [...]‹, Nürnberg 1577. Ausgabe: Werke, Bd. 2 [Anm. 4].

30 Nachweise in Werke, Bd. 2 [Anm. 4], S. 69-71. Forster wie Anm. 25 (die Texte stehen teilweise auch in weiteren Sammlungen); Christian Hollander, ›Newe Teutsche Geistliche vnd Weltliche Liedlein [...]‹, München 1570; Orlando di Lasso, ›Newe Teutsche Liedlein mit Fünff Stimmen‹, München 1567; ›Fünff vnd sechzig teütscher Lieder, Straßburg‹ (P. Schöffer, M. Apiarius) o. J. [1536].

L 6	= Forster	*Wer sich allein auf glück*	Glücksrad
L 7	= Forster	*Glück wiederstell*	Wunsch nach Glück
L 8	= Forster	*Patientiam muß ich han*	Geduld im Unglück
L 9		*Welcher all pein*	Warnung vor der Liebe
L 10	= Lasso	*Frau ich bin euch*	Liebeswerbung
L 11	= Forster	*Ich stell leicht ab*	Untreue der Geliebten
L 12		*Mein große lieb*	Liebesblindheit vs. Vernunft
L 13	= Forster	*Willig und treu*	Treueversicherung
L 14	= Forster	*Man sicht nun wol*	Untreue der Geliebten
L 15	= Forster	*Man spricht was Gott*	Dank an Gott für die Richtige
L 16	= Forster	*Ach lieb ich muß dich lassen*	Abschiedsklage
L 17	= Schoeffer	*Geduld um schuld*	Geduld im Unglück
L 18	= Forster	*Was nit soll sein*	Geduld im Unglück
L 19	= Forster	*Ich reu und klag*	Abschiedsklage
L 20	= Forster	*Des spielns ich gar kein glück*	Kartenspielallegorie (Liebesklage)
L 21		*Fried ich oft mach*	Liebesklage

Die Sammlung beginnt mit einem Lied über Glück und Unglück (*unfall*) bei der Jagd, das sich als Liebesallegorie zu erkennen gibt. Lied 2 bringt eine Klage über das Unglück, die nicht explizit auf die Liebe bezogen ist. Lied 3 ist ein Frauenlied, in dem die Untreue des Geliebten beklagt wird; seine Tücke werde das Unglück erschleichen. In Lied 4 klagt ein Liebender über den Zweifel der Geliebten an seiner Treue.

Die nächsten vier Lieder thematisieren die Liebe erneut nicht explizit. Lied 5 handelt vom Jagderfolg, Lied 6 vom Glücksrad, Lied 7 bringt den Wunsch nach Glück zum Ausdruck, Lied 8 rät zu Geduld im Unglück. Es folgen sieben Lieder über Glück und Unglück in der Liebe: Lied 9 warnt vor der Liebe als der größten Pein auf Erden; Lied 10 ist eine Liebeswerbung mit der Forderung nach Beglückung in kurzer Zeit; Lied 11 enthält eine Absage an die untreue Geliebte, die im Gegensatz zum Liebenden mit zuviel gutem Glück beladen sei; Lied 12 kontrastiert Liebesblindheit und Vernunft; Lied 13 bringt eine Treueerklärung, Lied 14 eine weitere Absage an die untreue Geliebte; in Lied 15 dankt der Liebende Gott dafür, daß er die Richtige gefunden hat, was ihm als Aufstieg im Glücksrad erscheint.

Im nächsten Block rahmen zwei Abschiedsklagen (Lied 16 und 19) zwei Lieder über Geduld im Unglück (Lied 17 und 18). Hier wird das Bemühen, Lieder in ein dialogisches Verhältnis zueinander zu setzen, besonders augenfällig. Die Ermahnung oder der Entschluß zu Geduld im Unglück ohne ausdrücklichen Bezug auf die Liebe ist ein konventioneller Texttyp der deutschen Lieddichtung; die Nachbarschaft zur ebenfalls konventionellen Klage über den unfreiwilligen Abschied zweier Liebender bezieht die Geduld einerseits auf die topische Situation und zeigt dabei andererseits, wie der spezifischen Notlage zu begegnen ist. Am Ende der Sammlung stehen zwei Liebesklagen: Lied 20 ist eine Kartenspielallegorie auf das mangelnde Glück; in Lied 21 beschließt der Liebende, es trotz des Mißerfolgs *auf bessers glück* weiter zu versuchen.

Daß die auf den ersten Blick bunte Reihe konsequent auf das Begriffspaar Glück und Unglück angelegt ist, machen gerade die Lieder deutlich, die nicht explizit von der Liebe handeln, durch die Anordnung aber auf sie bezogen werden. In vielen Texten kommen die Wörter *glück* und *unfall* ausdrücklich vor, die anderen Texte sind mittels der Zusammenstellung auf das Thema fokussiert. Lechner verleiht der Liedsammlung damit ein klares thematisches Programm: In der Liebe gibt es Glück und Unglück, aber nicht in Gestalt der bittersüßen petrarkistischen Schmerzfreude, sondern in Gestalt glücklicher und unglücklicher Beziehungen und Beziehungsphasen.

Wenn man sich nun von den Musikhistorikern über Lechners erfolgreiches Bestreben belehren läßt, den Affektwert von Texten musikalisch abzubilden[31] – ein Bestreben, das ihn von Regnart unterschied und das eher der Madrigal- als der Villanellenkomposition entstammt –, dann läßt sich folgender Bogen zum Abwechslungsprinzip aus der Vorrede zur ersten Villanellensammlung schlagen: Lechner wollte seine Abnehmer sowohl mit fröhlichen als auch mit traurigen Liedern bedienen. Zu diesem Zweck suchte er die Texte, deren Affektwert er musikalisch umsetzte, sorgfältig aus. Eine Voraussetzung seines Zugriffs ist die Typenvielfalt der deutschen Liebeslieddichtung. Lechners Programm besteht in einer reflektierten Liedästhetik, die Musik und Texte gleichermaßen erfaßt, nicht einfach in einem konzeptionslosen Festhalten an der deutschen Tradition. In diesem Programm trafen sich der Komponist und seine primären Adressaten. Denn natürlich liegt die Vorstellung nahe, daß die Musikgesellschaft den angebotenen

31 Hübsch-Pfleger [Anm. 9], S. 28-34; Martin 1957 [Anm. 12]; Dumont [Anm. 9], S. 165-190.

Kontrast zwischen traurigen und fröhlichen Liedern aufgreift, indem sie sich einen entsprechenden Block aus der Liedersammlung vornimmt, oder indem sie die Zusammenstellung als Anregung für eigene Reihenbildungen versteht. Das ermöglicht jene Affektregulierung, die den Nutzen weltlicher Lieder auch für lutherische Stadtbürger begründet.

3. Lieder 1577 oder: Petrarkismus I

Nach der zweiten Villanellensammlung ließ Lechner noch im selben Jahr 1577 eine dritte Sammlung deutscher Lieder drucken, die er der ›Juniorengesellschaft‹ widmete.[32] Sie enthält keine Villanellen, sondern (ebenfalls nach italienischem Vorbild) madrigalisch durchkomponierte, vier- und fünfstimmige Tonsätze auf geistliche und weltliche Texte. Wegen der Gliederung in vier- und fünfstimmige Kompositionen bietet die Sammlung zwei Blöcke mit zusammen sieben Liebesliedern. Drei davon haben vorher nicht belegte Texte, darunter die eingangs zitierte Liebesklage mit der Berufung auf Petrarca (Lied 12). Die sechs anderen Liebeslieder, alte wie neue, aktualisieren traditionelle deutsche Liedtypen: Klage über das durch die Klaffer begründete Unglück (Lied 6), Freude über die zugängliche Geliebte (Lied 7), Abschied mit dem Kontrast zwischen glücklichem Beisammensein und schmerzlicher Trennung (Lied 8), Treueversicherung und -ermahnung (Lied 13), Lob der beglückenden Qualitäten der Geliebten (Lied 14), Frauenlied mit Abschiedsklage und Treueversicherung (Lied 15).

In diesen Liedern bringt die Liebe, wie in der deutschen Lieddichtung üblich, entweder Freude oder Leid. Wenn sie beides zugleich bringt, liegt das nicht am paradoxen Zusammenfall gegensätzlicher Affekte, sondern daran, daß dem Einverständnis der Liebenden äußere Mißlichkeiten entgegenstehen – entweder bedrohen die *klaffer* den guten Ruf, oder einer der beiden muß in die Fremde. Gegen solches Leid hilft die *treue*, die deshalb auch im Zentrum jener Liebeskonzeption steht, die das liebeslyrische System der deutschen Liederbuch-Lieder des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts beherrscht.[33] Wenn die Liebe aus-

32 Leonhard Lechner, ›Newe Teutsche Lieder / mit Vier vnd Fünff Stimmen [...]‹, Nürnberg 1577. Ausgabe: Leonhard Lechner, Werke, Bd. 3, hg. von Uwe Martin, Kassel/Basel 1954.

33 Zum Liebeskonzept in der deutschen Liederbuch-Liebeslyrik des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts, für die ich wegen der historischen Stellung zwischen Minnesang und Barocklyrik die Bezeichnung ›mittleres System‹ vorschla-

schließlich Freude bringt, liegt das am beiderseitigen Einverständnis; wenn sie ausschließlich Leid bringt, an der Untreue einer Seite. Der Unterschied zur petrarkistischen Schmerzfreude zeigt sich besonders deutlich, wenn die affektiven Auswirkungen der weiblichen Qualitäten thematisiert werden: Während der petrarkistische Liebende ihretwegen charakteristischerweise Freude und Schmerz zugleich erfährt, erweisen sie sich in der deutschen Tradition gewöhnlich als beglückend. Lied 14 der Sammlung, einer der vorher nicht belegten Texte, ist ein typisches Beispiel:

Auf sie hab ich mein hertz gestelt/
der ich das sing zu gfallen/
jr weiß und gberd mir wol gefelt/
Auff erd für andern allen/
jhr freundlichkeit vil freud mir geit/
jhr roter mund zu aller stund/
mein junges hertz erlöst von schmertz/
sie kann mir leid vertreiben
drumb liebet mir jr freundlich zier
auff erd vor andern weiben.

In der Umgebung solcher Texte entsteht der Eindruck, Lechner habe mit der petrarkistischen Liebesklage in dieser Sammlung ein ebenso dezidiert wie offensichtlich anderes Konzept der Liebe plaziert. Der Eindruck wird dadurch befestigt, daß der Text ausdrücklich die Autorität für dieses Konzept nennt und es damit identifizierbar macht. In einem deutschen Liebeslied dieser Zeit stellt das eine Besonderheit dar. Unter Humanisten waren im 16. Jahrhundert die Unterschiede zwischen literarischen Liebeskonzepten – der Liebe Petrarcas, der Liebe Ovids und der Liebe Platons – freilich nicht unbekannt; und wo man diese Unterschiede identifizieren wollte, benutzte man dazu, nicht anders als wir, die Namen der verschiedenen Autoritäten.[34]

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ge, vgl. GERT HÜBNER, Die Rhetorik der Liebesklage im 15. Jahrhundert. Überlegungen zu Liebeskonzeption und poetischer Technik im ›mittleren System‹, in: Deutsche Liebeslyrik im 15 und 16. Jahrhundert, hg. von GERT HÜBNER, Amsterdam/New York 2005 (Chloe 37), S. 83-117.

34 Vgl. KLAUS W. HEMPFER, Die Pluralisierung des erotischen Diskurses in der europäischen Lyrik des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts (Ariost, Ronsard, Shakespeare, Opitz), in: GRM 38 (1988), S. 251-264; KLAUS W. HEMPFER, Intertextualität, Systemreferenz und Strukturwandel: die Pluralisierung des erotischen Diskurses in der italienischen und französischen Renaissance-Lyrik (Ariost, Bembo, Du Bellay, Ronsard), in: Modelle des literarischen Strukturwandels, hg. von MICHAEL TITZMANN, Tübingen

So evident das petrarkistische Liebeskonzept bei Lechner als ein spezifisches namhaft und kenntlich gemacht scheint – das für moderne Interpreten scheinbar Offensichtliche könnte doch mit einem historischen Mißverständnis einhergehen. Meine Skepsis beruht darauf, daß dieser Text als einziger unter den Liebesliedern der Sammlung keine spezifische Liebesbeziehung oder -situation thematisiert, sondern die Liebe als Abstraktum behandelt. Auf der Ebene des Begriffs kann man nämlich auch vor dem Horizont der deutschen Tradition sagen, daß die Liebe sowohl süß als auch bitter ist, weil sie sowohl Freude als auch Leid bringt. Nur hätte das einen anderen Sinn als den petrarkistischen, nämlich keinen paradoxen. Die Liebe ist manchmal süß und manchmal bitter, manchmal auch beides zugleich aus unterschiedlichen Gründen, nicht jedoch beides zugleich aus demselben Grund. Petrarca dient, in der generalisierten Aussage, als Autorität für etwas, was er nicht meinte, nämlich für Lechners Programm.

Das Lied selbst ist als Trauergesang diesem liedästhetischen Programm integriert. Die madrigalische Komposition arbeitet konsequent den Leidaffekt heraus und setzt melismatische Kontraste – erwartungsgemäß – auf *süß und bitter*, *freud und leid* sowie *süsse bittrigkeit*.[35] Die für Lechner typischen fröhlichen Gegengewichte zur Erfrischung folgen auf dem Fuß: Lied 13 feiert die *treue*, mit der in deutschen Liebesliedern dem die Liebesbeziehung von außen bedrohenden Leid zu begegnen ist. Im oben schon zitierten Lied 14 erweisen sich die affektiven Auswirkungen der weiblichen Qualitäten als beglückend – mit amplifikatorischen Melismen auf *sing zu gfallen*, *wol gefelt*, *freud mir geit* und *vor andern weiben*. Der Petrarkismus, wie ihn Lechner versteht, wird als trauriges Liebeslied dem ästhetischen Musik-Text-Programm integriert, das auf der Tradition der deutschen Liebeslieddichtung beruht. Ich sehe keinen Hinweis darauf, daß er als etwas vom diesem Programm konzeptionell Verschiedenes aufgefaßt wäre.

1991 (Studien und Texte zur Sozialgeschichte der Literatur 33), S. 7-43.

35 Vgl. DUMONT [Anm. 9], S. 174f.

4. Regnart-Bearbeitungen 1579 oder: Petrarkismus II

Lechners vierte Liedersammlung erschien 1579.[36] Sie ist der *Erbarn Musicalischen versammlung*, das heißt der ›Ratsgesellschaft‹ gewidmet, deren Mitglieder die Vorrede namentlich aufzählt. Abgesehen von vier Madrigalen mit italienischen Texten am Schluß[37] und einem deutschen Lied enthält sie ausschließlich Bearbeitungen von Villanellen aus Regnarts ersten beiden Sammlungen von 1574 und 1577,[38] auf deren Texte Lechner jedoch fünfstimmige Kompositionen setzte. Die konsequente homophone Einfachkeit, die Regnarts Erfolg begründete, ist dabei zugunsten komplizierterer, eher polyphoner Sätze aufgegeben.[39] Gewonnen ist die Möglichkeit, die Affektlage der Texte musikalisch abzubilden. Lechners Vorgehen läßt sich wohl nur mit der Annahme erklären, es habe ein Interesse an Regnarts Texten in Verbindung mit anspruchsvolleren Kompositionen gegeben. Eben dies meint offenbar auch die Bemerkung in der Vorrede, die Drucklegung erfolge, um jenen *zu gratificieren vnd dienen / so solche Text mit mehr stimmen zu singen lust hetten.*[40]

Die ersten beiden Villanellensammlungen Regnarts enthalten zusammen 44 Lieder, von denen Lechner 21 für seine Neuvertonungen benutzte. Die Musikhistoriker haben die Frage nach seinem Selektionsprinzip gestellt, aber nicht geklärt.[41] Ähnlich wie in seiner Villanellen-

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36 **Leonhard Lechner, ›Newe Teutsche Lieder / Erstlich durch den Fürnemen** vnd Berhümbten Jacobum Regnart / Röm. Key. Mai. Musicum / Componirt mit drey stimmen / nach art der Welschen Villanellen. Jetzund aber (denen / so zu solcher art lust vnd lieb / zu dienst vnnd gefallen) mit fünff stimmen gesetzet [...] Con alchuni madrigali in lingua Italiana‹, Nürnberg 1579. Ausgabe: Leonhard Lechner, Werke, Bd. 5, hg. von Konrad Ameln, Kassel [usw.] 1970.

37 **Der Dichter der ersten beiden Texte ist unbekannt, der dritte Text stammt** aus Petrarcas ›Trionfi‹. Alle drei handeln nicht (ausdrücklich) von der Liebe. Der vierte Text, der die Untreue der Geliebten beklagt, stammt von Guarini. Nachweise in Lechner, Werke, Bd. 5 [Anm. 36], S. 101.

38 **Regnarts dritte und letzte, von Lechner nicht benutzte Villanellensamm**lung erschien 1579.

39 Martin 1957 [Anm. 12], S. 181-199; Dumont [Anm. 9], S. 175f.; Konrad Ameln, Begleitwort, in: Werke, Bd. 5 [Anm. 36], S. VI-IX.

40 **Werke, Bd. 5 [Anm. 36], S. XIV.**

41 Konrad Ameln, Begleitwort, in: Werke, Bd. 5 [Anm. 36], S. VII. Martins 1957 [Anm. 12], S. 182f., Vermutung, es handle sich um einen »repräsentativen Querschnitt«, mit dem Lechner »einen Ausgleich zwischen gemütvoll deutscher Naivität und italienischer Gefühlsemphase und Selbstreflexion angestrebt« habe, bleibt unspezifisch.

sammlung von 1577 hat Lechner die Lieder indes recht offensichtlich so ausgewählt und angeordnet, daß sich ein Spektrum unterschiedlicher Erfahrungen mit der Liebe ergibt. Dabei lassen sich häufig Liedpaare, vereinzelt auch Dreier- und Viererblöcke ausmachen, die die Texte in dialogische Beziehungen unterschiedlicher Art bringen.

L 1	= R 1	*Ohn dich muß ich mich*	Treueversicherung mit Abschiedsmotiv
L 2	= R 44	*Sagt mir jungfrau wohere*	Werbung und Klage
L 3	= R 2	*Wann ich gedenk der stund*	Abschiedsklage
L 4	= R 4	*Ach hartes hertz*	Werbung und Klage
L 5	= R 5	*Lieb und vernunfft*	Liebesklage (Begehren vs. Vernunft)
L 6	= R 23	*Wann ich den gantzen tag*	Liebesklage (Traum von der Geliebten)
L 7	= R 26	*Jungfrau ewr wanckelmut*	Schelte der untreuen Geliebten
L 8	= R 28	*Daß ir euch gegen mir*	Lob der zugänglichen Geliebten
L 9	= R 14	*Glaub nit das ich kündt sein*	Treueversicherung vs. *klaffer*-Verleumdung
L 10	= R 21	*Kein größer freud*	Liebesglück vs. *unfall*
L 11	= R 37	*Der süsse schlaf*	Trennungsklage (keine remedia gegen *verlassen*)
L 12	= R 30	*Nun irrt mich nicht*	Gemeinsames Glück nach Leidenszeit
L 13	= R 24	*Ey das ich mich nit schamme*	Liebesklage (hartherzige Geliebte, Beständigkeit)
L 14	= R 41	*Diß ist zeit die mich erfreut*	Liebeserfolg nach langem Leid
L 15	= R 35	*Weil du dann wilt gen mir*	Liebeserfolg nach Ärger über die Geliebte
L 16	= R 31	*Ach Gott was soll ich singen*	Liebesklage (*lieb ohn ziel und maßen*)
L 17	= R 3	*Nun bin ich einmal frey*	Glück, da kein Liebesverhältnis
L 18	= R 38	*Das du von meinetwegen*	Frauenlied: Rat zu Geduld (erst Bitteres, dann Süßes)
L 19	= R 27	*Jungfrau ewr scharpffe augen*	Liebesklage (Freude und Leid wegen ihrer Qualitäten)
L 20	= R 43	*Nach meiner lieb vil hundert*	Frauenlied (*arme maid*): der Geliebte will sie nicht
L 21	= R 18	*Ach schwacher geist*	Liebesklage (hartherzige Geliebte, Herz in Flammen)
L 22		*Will uns das maidelein*	Auswechslung des erotischen Objekts

Bei Lied 16 und 17 ist die Relation besonders auffällig, weil sie auf einer Formulierungsallusion beruht: Einmal weiß der Liebende vor Liebesleid nicht, was er singen soll (Lied 16, Initium); dann singt er fröhlich, weil ihn die Liebe gerade verschont (der Refrain von Lied 17 lautet *Des mag ich wol mit lust ein liedlein singen*). Manche Liedpaare kontrastieren Liebessituationen: die untreue Geliebte und die zugängliche (Lied 7 und 8), das einsame Leid und das gemeinsame Glück (Lied 11 und 12). Manche Gruppen ergeben Abläufe von Situationen: Klage über das abweisungsbedingte Leid (Lied 13), Freude über den Erfolg nach langem Leid (Lied 14 und 15). Manche Paare kommentieren einander gegenseitig: die generellere Klage über das unkontrollierte Begehren und die spezifischere über den Angsttraum von der Geliebten (Lied 5 und 6), der spezifischere Kontrast von Treue und *klaffern* und der generellere von Glück und *unfall* (Lied 9 und 10).

Lechner hat diese Reihe, in der die Affektlagen wieder mit den Situationen wechseln, zunächst ausschließlich mit solchen Texten Regnarts bestritten, die nach den thematischen Konventionen der deutschen Liebesliedtradition gedichtet sind. Petrarkistische Anklänge kommen im letzten Liedblock (18-22) ins Spiel. Lied 18 ruft zunächst die Leitwörter ›süß‹ und ›bitter‹ auf, freilich im Rahmen einer ganz unpetrarkistischen Konstellation: Eine willige Umworbene rät ihrem Verehrer dazu, das bittere Leid geduldig zu ertragen, bis Gott für Süße sorgen wird. Dahinter steht die viele Lieder durchziehende Vorstellung, daß ein junges Paar eine Zeit äußerer Hindernisse überstehen muß, bevor es heiraten kann.

Den Mittelpunkt von Lied 19, einer tatsächlich halbwegs petrarkistischen Liebesklage, bildet das Motiv der zugleich Freude und Leid evozierenden Qualitäten der Geliebten. Von ›halbwegs‹ petrarkistisch muß die Rede sein, weil den weiblichen Part eine *jungfrau* spielt: Auch hier ist die Konstruktion der Beziehung so angelegt, daß sie für eine spätere Legitimierung offen bleibt; auch hier soll die Bitternis, die sich den nicht verfügbaren weiblichen Qualitäten verdankt, einmal zu reiner Süße legitimer Verfügbarkeit werden. Dies gehört meiner Überzeugung nach zu jenen Kriterien, die für Lechner und sein Nürnberger Publikum die *fines verecundiae* ausmachten. Natürlich liegt es nahe, dabei zunächst an den Ausschluß von Obszönem zu denken. Grundlegender war aber womöglich, daß Liebeslieder von Beziehungen zu handeln hatten, deren Ausrichtung auf die Ehe die poetische Konstruktion offen hielt. Die *jungfrau* lag diesseits der Anstandsgrenze; bei der petrarkistischen *donna* wäre das weniger sicher gewesen.

So ergibt sich eine *jungfrau* mit donnaesken Eigenschaften. Lied 19 lobt unter anderem die *adelig gebärden* der Umworbenen, die *großen schmerz* verursachen. Es ist typisch für Lechners kontrastive Lieddialogisierung, daß darauf ein Frauenlied (20) folgt, in dem eine *arme maid* vor Leid verschmachtet: Sie hat hunderte von Verehrern, von denen sie nichts wissen will, während der eine, den sie liebt, kein Interesse an ihr zeigt. Dies perspektiviert wiederum den Sinn der anschließenden, erneut halbwegs petrarkistischen Liebesklage (21), in der das steinerne Herz der Geliebten verzehrende Flammen verursacht.

Vor allem in Lied 19 wird die petrarkistische Affektlage tatsächlich als eine im spezifischen Einzelfall paradoxe entwickelt. Die Paradoxie erscheint jedoch als diachron auflösbar, und innerhalb der Liedreihe ist sie nichts weiter als eine Konstellation unter anderen: Die um Schmerzentsorgung angeflehte Umworbene und der Schmerz wegen einer Hartherzigen stehen neben dem Rat einer willigen Geliebten zur Geduld und der Klage einer vielfach, aber nicht vom Richtigen Umworbenen.

Diesen Liedblock, der Petrarkistisches in das Panorama unterschiedlicher Liebeskonstellationen integriert, beschließt ein 22. Lied, dessen Text als einziger nicht aus Regnarts Villanellensammlungen stammt:

Will und das maidelein nimmer han/
rot Röslein auf der heiden/
so wollen wirs nun faren lan/
ein anders wolln wir nemen an:/
ein schöns ein jungs ein reichs ein frums
nach adeligen sitten.

Das Lied vom Heidenröslein ist, mit mehreren Strophen, im 1602 erschienenen Liederbuch des Druckers Paul van der Aelst überliefert.[42] Die Strophe, die Lechner ans Ende seiner Regnart-Bearbeitungen stellte, lautet dort so:[43]

Wann mich das mägdlein nit mer will,
röslein auf der heiden,
so will ich weichen in der still

42 ›Blumm vnd Außbund Allerhand Außerlesener Weltlicher Züchtiger Lieder und Rheyen‹, Deventer 1602.

43 Zitiert nach: Alte hoch- und niederdeutsche Volkslieder, hg. von Ludwig Uhland, 2 Bde., Stuttgart 1844-1845, Nr. 56; vgl. Deutscher Liederhort, hg. von Ludwig Erk/Franz M. Böhme, Bd. 2, Leipzig 1894, S. 242f.

und mich von ir tun scheiden.
so will ich sie auch faren lan
und will ein anders nemen an,
ein schöns, ein jungs, ein reichs, ein frums
röslein auf der heiden.

Die *adeligen sitten* in Lechners Schlußvers haben ein Pendant am Ende der bei van der Aelst vorangehenden Strophe, wo das Röslein freilich selbst *von eren hoch geboren* ist. Neben dieser Differenz fällt vor allem diejenige zwischen dem ›ich‹ und dem ›wir‹ als Sprecherinstanz auf. Da das Lied vom Heidenröslein bei van der Aelst als traditionelle Abschiedsklage erscheint, liegt die Annahme nahe, daß Lechners generalisierender Plural einen bereits bekannten Liedtext abändert.

Als Abschluß des letzten Liedblocks der Sammlung entwickelt dieser Text aparte dialogische Bezüge. Man kann ihn als Reaktion jener Liebhaber verstehen, die von der *armen maid* in Lied 20 verschmäht werden und sich einem erotischen Objekt wie der – halbwegs petrarkistischen – *jungfrau* zuwenden wollen, deren *adelig gebärd* Lied 19 lobt. Die Strophe gewinnt dann einen zusätzlichen poetologischen Sinn, den das pluralische *wir* unterstützt: Weg von der traditionellen *maid*, hin zu einem vornehmeren Verehrungs-, Dichtungs- und Gesangsobjekt.

Aber die vorangehenden Klagen über dieses Verehrungsobjekt tauchen den Beschluß in Ironie: Es wäre wenig gewonnen, wollte man beim steinernen Herzen den Mißerfolg bei der *maid* kompensieren. Auf der poetologischen Ebene besteht die Ironie darin, daß eine unübersehbar traditionelle Diktion dem Beschluß zum Ausdruck verhilft. In unseren Liebesliedern, soll das wohl heißen, gab es immer schon, was die Texte nach italienischem Geschmack zu bieten haben – die der vornehmen *jungfrau* angemessene Diktion nämlich; indes gibt es sie bei uns neben der dem Heidenröslein angemessenen Diktion.

Mir scheint damit auf den poetischen Vorteil verschiedener Optionen verwiesen zu sein. Was für den Petrarkismus das poetisch Interessante ist, nämlich die immer und ewig bittersüße Liebe, hätte für Lechners Liedästhetik eine Konzentration auf die Liebesklage bedeutet. Ein Komponist, der die Affektlagen der Texte musikalisch abbilden und dabei ein Abwechslungsprinzip verfolgen wollte, das zugleich das weltliche Kunstlied ästhetisch rechtfertigte, hätte sich dadurch einen poetischen Nachteil eingehandelt: Lechner hätte seinen Kompositionen stets Texte mit demselben Affektwert zugrunde legen müssen. Da boten das Heidenröslein und die vornehme *jungfrau* zusammen allemal mehr – und dazu ordnungsgerechtere – Möglichkeiten als die *donna* al-

lein. So zeigen Lechners Liedersammlungen besonders deutlich, weshalb die deutsche Liebeslied-Dichtung der heraufziehenden petrarkistischen Alternative standhielt: Nämlich weil es eine Texttradition gab, deren thematisches Typenspektrum jene Abwechslung ermöglichte, der *das Menschlich gemüt sehr bedürfftig*.

5. Lieder 1582 oder: Textautorschaft und Textqualität

Lechners fünfte Liedersammlung aus dem Jahr 1582 enthält, wie die dritte von 1577, madrigalisch durchkomponierte vier- und fünfstimmige Sätze auf geistliche und weltliche Texte.[44] Die sieben Liebeslieder (Nr. 12-16 fünfstimmig, Nr. 22-23 vierstimmig) sind durch Auswahl und Anordnung thematisch auf ›die Richtige‹ respektive ›die Falsche‹ und auf den Zusammenhang zwischen Liebe und Ehe zentriert; innerhalb des thematischen Schwerpunkts sind die Texte wieder in Kontrastverhältnisse gebracht: In Lied 12 – der Text ist bereits bei Forster belegt – dankt der Liebende Gott dafür, die Richtige gefunden zu haben; der Eheanklang wird schon im Initium hergestellt (*Man spricht was Gott zusamen füg*). In Lied 13 versorgt Christus den zum ehewilligen Paulus bekehrten Junggesellen-Saulus mit einem *Frewlein*, das er in seine Pflege nehmen möge. In Lied 14 beklagt der Liebende den Verlust eines *Meidleins*, das niemals vergessen zu können er einmal geglaubt hatte. Lied 15 setzt mit der Topik der Trennungsklage ein (*Ellend bringt mir schwere pein*), um dann zu enthüllen, daß das *ellend* in Gestalt der zänkischen Ehefrau zuhause wartet. Lied 16 bekundet die exklusive Liebe zum (topischen) *Frewlein im grünen rock*. Lied 22 gelobt lebenslange Liebe bis zum Grab; Lied 23 bereut den frühen Wunsch nach einer Ehefrau und warnt vor dem unwiederbringlichen Verlust der Freiheit.

Verändert ist in dieser Sammlung das Prinzip der Textauswahl: Die Mehrzahl der vertonten Texte findet sich nicht in älteren Sammlungen. Einen Reflex dieser Neuerung weist die Widmungsvorrede an Wenzel Jamnitzer auf, der dem kleineren Rat angehörte, nach Ausweis der Quellenlage jedoch keiner der Musikgesellschaften.[45] Lechner rühmt ihn als Musikfreund und fährt dann fort, er habe *vber dise teutsche Textlein / so von*

44 **Leonhard Lechner, ›Newe Teutsche Lieder / mit fünff vnd vier Stimmen‹,** Nürnberg 1582. Ausgabe: Leonhard Lechner, Werke, Bd. 7, hg. von KONRAD AMELN, Kassel [usw.] 1974.

45 **Dies und das Folgende nach** MARTIN 1954 und 1997 [Anm. 12].

E. E. W. Kunstuerwanten einem her kommen / mein geringe Composition gemacht.[46]

Uwe Martin hat mit detektivischer Ambition versucht, diesen Kunstverwandten zu identifizieren: Jamnitzer war Goldschmied; unter den Mitgliedern des ›Musikkrentzleins‹ findet sich mit Paul Dulner tatsächlich ein Berufskollege.[47] Ein lateinisches Epigramm Paul Schedes, der von 1581 bis 1584 – nach einer längeren Italienreise – in Nürnberg lebte, rühmt Dulner als Musikliebhaber und als Dichter von *carmina*. Lied 13 der Lechner-Sammlung von 1582 enthält eine Selbstapostrophe des Sprechers, der sich vom Junggesellen-Saulus zum ehebereiten Paulus gewandelt zeigt – ein Witz, der an Reiz gewinnt, wenn Paul als Dichtername bekannt ist. 1583 widmete Lechner Dulner eine Motetten-Sammlung. Martin ist sich sicher, daß Dulner die anderweitig nicht belegten Liedtexte nicht allein der Lechner-Sammlung von 1582, sondern auch der früheren und späteren Sammlungen dichtete.

Seine Hypothese gewinnt an literaturgeschichtlicher Relevanz durch die passende Deutung einer Bemerkung Lechners in der Vorrede zu seiner (unten eingehender besprochenen) sechsten Liedsammlung aus dem Jahr 1586:

Es hat vor etlich wenig zeit / einer der Music sonderer liebhaber vnnd verstendiger / mir über die hundert schöner lustiger weltlicher Teutscher text / so erst durch jne selbs neu gesetzt / überantwort / mich darinnen zuersehen / vnd so sie mir gefellig / meiner gelegenheit nach / derselben ein theil oder all zu Componiren heimgestellt. Weil dann solche Text vilen / der teutschen Poeterey wolerfaren / nicht übel gefallen,

habe er etliche davon komponiert und drucken lassen.[48]

Da nun insgesamt zwölf Texte der Lechner-Sammlungen von 1586 und 1589 auch in den Liedersammlungen des Nürnberger Komponisten Franz Joachim Brechtel vertont sind und Martin sich der stilistischen Ähnlichkeit zwischen sämtlichen von Brechtel vertonten Texten und allen von Lechner vertonten, nicht aus älteren Sammlungen bezogenen Texten sicher ist,[49] hat er den in Frage kommenden Bestand bei

46 Werke, Bd. 7 [Anm. 44], S. XIV. E. E. W. (Eurem Ehrbaren Weisen) ist die Ratsherrntitulatur.

47 Dulner ist seit 1553 in Nürnberg belegt, wurde 1563 Geschworener der Goldschmiede, 1584 Mitglied des größeren und 1586 des kleineren Rats; vgl. Martin 1957 [Anm. 12], S. 319.

48 Leonhard Lechner, ›Neue lustige Teutsche Lieder / nach art der Welschen Canzonen / mit vier stimmen‹, Nürnberg 1586. Ausgabe: Leonhard Lechner, Werke, Bd. 9, hg. von Ernst Fritz Schmid, Kassel [usw.] 1958, S. XIV.

49 Martin 1957 [Anm. 12], S. 49f. und 118f. – Franz Joachim Brechtel, ›Neue

Brechtel und Lechner gezählt – und siehe, die Zahl beträgt fast *über die hundert*, nämlich 98.

Literaturgeschichtlich verlockend ist diese weit ausgreifende Konstruktion nicht zuletzt, weil in ihrem Gefolge das einzige größere Textautorkorpus weltlicher Lieder aus der Zeit um 1600 neben demjenigen Christoph von Schallenbergs greifbar würde.[50] Die Unwägbarkeiten liegen allerdings auf der Hand: Mit dem *Kunstuerwanten* in der Vorrede zur Sammlung von 1582 könnte auch bloß ein Musikliebhaber gemeint sein. Die Selbstapostrophe im Paulus-Lied könnte sich nur dem Thema verdanken. Daß das Wort *gesetzet* in der Vorrede zur Sammlung von 1586 die Bedeutung ›gedichtet‹ hat, ist nicht unmöglich; der Überantworter könnte die Texte aber auch selbst ›komponiert‹ haben. Gemeint wäre dann womöglich Brechtel, dessen Lieder offenbar älter sind als die Drucke. (Freilich könnte der Textdichter dann immer noch Dulner sein.) Vor allem aber reichen die von MARTIN genannten Textähnlichkeiten[51] angesichts der Konventionalität deutscher Liedtexte in der Zeit um 1600 kaum aus, um die Annahme eines einzigen Dichters zu rechtfertigen.

Auch wenn MARTINs Konstruktion eine gewisse Plausibilität besitzt, dürfte die Germanistik kaum bereit sein, einen Dichter Paul Dulner in die Handbücher aufzunehmen, dessen Werk ausschließlich aus unsicheren Zuschreibungen besteht. Literarhistorisch wichtiger wären meines Erachtens andere Folgerungen aus den beiden zitierten Vorreden: Lechner hatte erstens ein reflektiertes Interesse an der poetischen

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kurtzweilige Teutsche Liedlein mit dreyen Stimmen / nach Art der Welschen Villanellen‹, Nürnberg 1589; ›Neue kurtzweilige Teutsche Liedlein / mit vier vnd fünff stimmen nach art der Welschen Canzonetten‹, Nürnberg 1590; ›Kurtzweilige neue Teutsche Liedlein / mit vier stimmen / nach art der Welschen Canzonetten‹, Nürnberg 1594.

50 Christoph von Schallenberg. Ein österreichischer Lyriker des XVI. Jahrhunderts, hg. von HANS HURCH, Tübingen 1910 (Bibl. d. lit. Vereins Stuttgart 253). Ein Autorkorpus, aber leider ein namenloses, ist vermutlich auch im ›Raaber Liederbuch‹ überliefert: Das Raaber Liederbuch. Aus der bisher einzigen bekannten Handschrift zum erstenmal hg., eingeleitet und mit textkritischen und kommentierenden Anmerkungen versehen von EUGEN NEDECZEY, Wien 1959 (SB d. Österr. Akad. d. Wiss., Philos.-hist. Kl., 232. Bd., 4. Abhandlung). Vgl. zu beidem HÜBNER [Anm. 10], mit weiterer Literatur. Im Fall der Regnart-Villanellen gibt es keine Hinweise darauf, wie viele und welche der Texte von Haberstroh stammen; vgl. SCHWINDT [Anm. 5].

51 Vgl. MARTIN 1957 [Anm. 12], S. 317-319 (Vers- und Strophenbau, »ursprünglich kraftvolle und ausdruckshafte Sprachgestaltung«, »realistische Bildlichkeit«).

Qualität der Texte, die er vertonte; offensichtlich ließ er sich diese Qualität im Fall neu vertonter Texte von Experten bestätigen. MARTIN sieht die Andeutung auf Schede gemünzt; bemerkenswert ist indes zunächst das Qualitätsbewußtsein als solches. Lechner nannte zweitens trotzdem keinen Textautor. Auch wenn das in Vorreden, die die Texte immerhin eigens zum Thema machen, halbwegs merkwürdig scheint, muß es wohl als Indiz dafür gelten, daß es kein hinreichendes Interesse an der Textautorschaft von Liedern gab.

Man konnte demnach Wert auf gute Liedtexte legen und doch keinen Wert darauf, wer sie produziert hatte. Der Liedtext war eine Dienstleistung für den Komponisten, dessen Tonsetzerautorschaft – durchaus im Sinn des humanistischen Autorkonzepts – seinen Ruhm begründete; dem Ruhm seines Dichters diente der Liedtext nicht, weil er nicht unter das humanistische Autorkonzept fiel. Das moderne Interesse an Textautoren darf nicht den Blick dafür verstellen, daß die Zeitgenossen unser Interesse nicht teilten: Lechners Lieder waren für sie, einschließlich der Texte, immer L e c h n e r s Lieder. Ebenso wenig darf freilich Georg Forsters gern zitierte, in der modernen Forschungsgeschichte durchaus unglückselig wirkende Bemerkung aus der Vorrede seiner ersten Sammlung, er habe die Lieder *nicht der Text, sondern der Composition halben* drucken lassen,[52] den Blick dafür verstellen, daß anderen auch die poetische Seite des Phänomens Lied mehr als eine bloße Notwendigkeit war.

6. Kanzonen 1586 (2. Auflage 1588) oder: Lieder für den Hof

Im Jahr 1584 verließ Lechner Nürnberg (gerade rechtzeitig vor der Pestepidemie von 1585, die offenbar auch den Musikgesellschaften den Garaus machte[53]), um die Stelle des Kapellmeisters am – katholischen – Hohenzollernhof in Hechingen anzutreten. Dort zerstritt er sich allerdings mit dem Grafen, floh 1585 heimlich und wurde als Komponist an der Hofkapelle Herzog Ludwigs von Württemberg in Stuttgart angestellt. 1586 ließ er in Nürnberg seine sechste Liedersammlung drucken, die 1588 in einer zweiten, erweiterten Auflage er-

52 Ed. MARRIAGE [Anm. 25], S. 4.

53 Vgl. MARTIN 1959 [Anm. 12], S. 224. Die Gesellschaften sind nach 1585 nicht mehr belegt, und etliche Mitglieder starben an der Pest. 1588 wurde eine neue Gesellschaft gegründet, die bis zu den 1629 einsetzenden Kriegswirren aktiv war.

schien.[54] Die oben schon erwähnte Widmungsvorrede ist an Herzog Ludwig gerichtet; es kann kein Zweifel daran bestehen, daß Lechner die Lieder als Tafelmusik für die fürstliche Hofkapelle komponierte.

Der Wechsel von der Stadt an den Hof und die damit verbundene Änderung der primären Adressaten zeitigte bemerkenswerter Weise keine Konsequenzen für die Zusammenstellung der Texte gemäß dem liedästhetischen Programm, das Lechner in seinen für die Nürnberger Musikgesellschaften bestimmten Sammlungen entwickelt hatte. Lechner exportierte es gewissermaßen an die Hofkapelle und versorgte damit die fürstliche Tafel ebenso, wie er zuvor die städtischen Hobby-Sänger bedient hatte. Die Verbreitung im Druck konnte demgemäß auf einen durch geselliges Musizieren in der Stadt begründeten Bedarf ebenso zielen wie auf den der Höfe.

Die Sammlung enthält ausschließlich weltliche Lieder (25 in der ersten, 30 in der zweiten Auflage) und stellt sich damit in die Reihe der Villanellensammlungen und der Regnart-Bearbeitungen. Komponiert sind die Lieder, wie das Titelblatt anzeigt, *nach art der Welschen Canzonen / mit vier stimmen*. Der Begriff Kanzone[55] signalisiert die Orientierung an einer zweiten italienischen Modewelle, auf der Lechner erneut als Vorreiter unterwegs war. Italienische Kanzonen besetzen kompositionstechnisch den Zwischenraum zwischen Villanelle und Madrigal, zwischen eher homophoner Einfachheit und polyphoner Komplexität. Wie Villanellen sind sie gewöhnlich Strophenlieder und nicht durchkomponiert; anders als Villanellen sind sie gewöhnlich vier- oder fünfstimmig gesetzt. Die Prinzipien der Textauswahl und -anordnung sind dieselben wie in der 2. Villanellensammlung von 1577 und in den Regnart-Bearbeitungen von 1579, obwohl nur noch drei Texte bereits früher belegt sind.

L 1	*Mit tanzen und mit springen*	Lob der Musik
L 2	*Wo jemand lust zum bulen hat*	Absage an die Liebe (bringt nur Schaden)
L 3	*Der weiber gmüt erkent man nit*	Unaufrichtigkeit der Frauen

54 Leonhard Lechner, ›Neue lustige Teutsche Lieder / nach art der Welschen Canzonen / mit vier stimmen‹, Nürnberg 1586. Ausgabe: Leonhard Lechner, Werke, Bd. 9, hg. von Ernst Fritz Schmid, Kassel [usw.] 1958.

55 Überblick bei Ruth I. DeFord, Canzonetta, in: ²MGG Sachteil 2 (1995), Sp. 431-433; Walther Dürr, Die italienische Canzonette und das deutsche Lied im Ausgang des XVI. Jahrhunderts, in: Studi in onore di Lorenzo Bianchi, Bologna 1960, S. 71-102.

L 4	= Forster	*Gott grüß mir die im grünen rock*	Freude über die Geliebte (grün = Anfang/Hoffnung)
L 5	nur ^{2}1588	*Welcher wird mir ein bringen*	Trinklied
L 6		*Verzeuch mir noch ein kleine weil*	Frauenlied: Mahnung zu Geduld
L 7		*Hört was sich hat zutragen*	Erzähllied: Frau weist häßlichen Verehrer ab
L 8		*Gott bhüte dich*	Abschiedsklage mit Treueversicherung
L 9		*Wer ist der doch den jamer*	Liebesklage (abweisende Geliebte)
L 10	nur ^{2}1588	*Ach wer wird mir mein geist*	Liebesklage (abweisende Geliebte)
L 11	nur ^{2}1588	*Ich weiß ein blum*	Allegorisches Lob des Veilchens
L 12		*Mir hab ich gänzlich*	Verteidigung der Liebe (bringt auch Freude)
L 13		*Angst pein und schmertzen*	Trennungsklage
L 14		*Ach schönes bild*	Liebesklage (abweisende Geliebte)
L 15		*Mein gsell laß ab*	Konkurrent soll Werbung aufgeben
L 16		*Gleichwie ein schiff*	Beständige Werbung trotz Mißerfolg
L 17		*Far immer hin*	Schelte der untreuen Geliebten
L 18		*Die mir mein hertz mit freud*	Lob der freundlichen und aufrichtigen Geliebten
L 19		*Die heimlich pein*	Liebesklage (Augen verraten verschwiegenes Leid)
L 20		*Von ir bin ich gewiesen ab*	heiterer Objektwechsel nach Mißerfolg
L 21	nur ^{2}1588	*Von hinnen muß ich scheiden*	Dialoglied: Abschiedsklage (Leid und Treue)
L 22		*Grün ist der Mai*	Mailob (Freude)
L 23		*Der bulschaft hab ich gnug*	Klage über Mißerfolg und Spott der anderen
L 24		*Beid jung und jung*	Nur jung-jung und alt-alt passen zusammen
L 25	nur ^{2}1588	*Nun hab ich ruh*	Glück nach langem Leid
L 26		*In eren lieb ich einen helt*	Frauenlied: geheime, aber treue Liebe bis zur Heirat

L 27		*Es waren zwei beisamm allein*	Erzähllied: Entdeckung eines Liebespaars
L 28	= Forster	*Man sicht nun wol wie stet*	Ironisches Lob der untreuen Geliebten (Str. 2-4 neu gegenüber Forster und Lechner 1577)
L 29		*Was ich begert ist mir versagt*	Klage über Geliebte, die nur auf Geld achtet
L 30	= Regnart	*Nun seh ich mich endlich*	Schelte der untreuen Geliebten

Auch die neuen Texte sind durchweg nach den thematischen Konventionen der deutschen Liebesliedtradition gedichtet. Allein die beiden Liebesklagen 9 und 10 bringen den Schmerz auf eine hyperbolische Weise zum Ausdruck, die sich mit petrarkistischen Usancen assoziieren läßt. Freilich ist die damit aufgerufene Situation wieder als eine unter anderen in eine Reihe gestellt, die erneut ein Panoptikum glücklicher und unglücklicher Erfahrungen mit der Liebe bietet. Wie in den älteren Sammlungen sind die charakteristischen Paar- und Gruppenbildungen zu beobachten, die dialogische Beziehungen zwischen den Liedern herstellen:

Der frustrierten Absage an die Liebe und der generalisierten Misogynie (Lied 2-3) steht der hoffnungsfrohe Neuanfang gegenüber (Lied 4); mit den Leiderfahrungen (Lied 8-10 und 13-14) kontrastieren die Freudeerfahrungen (Lied 11-12); der Schelte der untreuen Geliebten (Lied 17) entspricht das Lob der freundlichen (Lied 18). Der Frau, die einen Verehrer ermutigt, folgt jene, die einen unerwünschten abweist (Lied 6 und 7); der Aufforderung an einen Nebenbuhler, die Bemühungen endlich einzustellen, folgt die Bekräftigung der Entschlossenheit, trotz Mißerfolgs an der Werbung festzuhalten (Lied 15 und 16). Traurige und heitere Reaktionen auf unterschiedliche Situationen thematisieren die Lieder 19-23 im Wechsel. Am Ende stehen zwei Dreiergruppen: Die erste ist auf äußere Schwierigkeiten fokussiert, die einem einverständigen Liebespaar im Weg stehen (Lied 25-27), die zweite auf beziehungsinterne Glückshindernisse (Lied 28-30).

Fraglos sind auch diese Texte – sie gehören, der oben zitierten Vorrede zufolge, zu jenen, die Lechner *überantwort* wurden – nicht schon so gedichtet, daß sie zueinander bei entsprechender Sequenzierung in Dialogizitätsrelationen treten. Dazu sind die Übereinstimmungen nicht spezifisch genug. Lechner hat sie – seiner *gelegenheit nach* – so sortiert, daß die vom Liedtypenrepertoire bereitgehaltenen thematischen Aspekte jene Kontrastverhältnisse ergeben, die die Grundlage für sein

liedästhetisches Musik-Text-Programm darstellen. So konnte auch der fürstlichen Tafel zu Stuttgart jene affektive Abwechslung zuteil werden, derer *das Menschlich gemüt sehr bedürfftig*. Eingeübt hatte Lechner das Prinzip freilich am städtischen Gemüt.

7. Lieder 1589 oder: Petrarkismus III

Die siebte, 1589 in Nürnberg gedruckte Liedsammlung,[56] die Lechners letzte blieb, führt noch einmal die Kernaspekte des Programms zusammen. Lechner litt seit den neunziger Jahren bis zu seinem Tod unter einem sich zunehmend verschlechternden Gesundheitszustand, der seine Produktivität einschränkte; einige weitere – hier nicht mehr behandelte – Liedkompositionen blieben handschriftlich im Nachlaß erhalten.[57]

In der Widmungsvorrede an Herzog Ludwig unternahm Lechner, wie in der ersten Villanellensammlung von 1576, eine Rechtfertigung weltlicher Lieder, deren Argumentation auf den fürstlichen Adressaten gemünzt, stärker auf die traditionell anerkannte Erholungsfunktion der Musik ausgerichtet, in der Substanz ansonsten aber unverändert ist. Den Argumentationsansatz liefert die biblische Erwähnung von Sängern und Sängerinnen am Hof König Davids (1 Sam 19,35), die Lechner zufolge belegt, daß dieser *nicht allein ein Geistliche Music beim Gottesdienst / sondern auch sonsten bey der Königlichen Tafel ein Music zu seiner recreation vnd ergetzung gehabt: da ohne zweifel nicht allein geistliche / sondern auch weltliche lieder (jedoch solche / inn denen kein vnerbarkeit) singen lassen*. So habe er in der vorliegenden Sammlung dann auch beides komponiert, wo doch die Fürstliche Gnaden zur Tafel *jetzt geistliche Muteten / Psalmen vnnd andere geistliche Gesang / jetzt weltliche Lieder mit lust zu derselben ergetzung / vnter so vilen vnnd wichtigen geschefften / anhören: (da doch E. F. G. nach dero Christlichem gemüt / schampare / vnzüchtige vnd leichtfertige Lieder nicht leiden mögen)*.[58] Das herzogliche ästhetische Interesse glich aus Lechners Sicht nicht nur jenem Davids, sondern auch jenem der Nürnberger Musikgesellschaften; so brauchte das ästhetische Angebot nicht verändert zu werden. Es ist freilich nicht einfach der Protestantismus, der Stadt und

56 Leonhard Lechner, ›Neue Geistliche vnd Weltliche Teutsche Lieder / mit fünff vnd vier stimmen‹, Nürnberg 1589. Ausgabe: Leonhard Lechner, Werke, Bd. 11, hg. von Konrad Ameln, Kassel [usw.] 1980.

57 Ausgabe: Leonhard Lechner, Werke, Bd. 13, hg. von Walther Lipphardt, Kassel [usw.] 1973.

58 Werke, Bd. 11 [Anm. 56], S. XII.

Hof verbindet und Lechners Programm erklärt: Lutherischer wäre, wie die Rechtfertigungsargumentationen implizit zu erkennen geben, die Beschränkung auf geistliche Lieder gewesen. Lechner verkaufte dem Hof vielmehr sein aus der Stadt mitgebrachtes, ursprünglich auf die Nürnberger Adressaten zugeschnittenes Sortiment.

Die Sammlung stellt sich in eine Reihe mit den ebenfalls weltlich-geistlich gemischten Vorgängern der Jahre 1577 und 1582. Wie in diesen ergeben sich wegen der Unterteilung in fünf- und vierstimmige Kompositionen zwei Blöcke mit Liebesliedern (6-11 und 18-23). Deren Texte sind, von einer Ausnahme abgesehen,[59] vorher nicht belegt; neun von ihnen sind jedoch auch in der ebenfalls 1589 in Nürnberg gedruckten Liedersammlung Franz Joachim Brechtels vertont.[60] Lechners Tonsätze folgen, von zwei madrigalisch durchkomponierten Ausnahmen (5-6) abgesehen, dem Typus der italienischen Kanzone. Im ersten Block der Liebeslieder findet sich nochmals Petrarkistisches, dessen Einbindung in den Kontext der Liederfolge das zeitgenössische Verständnis erkennen läßt:

L 6	*Der Mey vil schöner blümlein bringt*	Mailob
L 7	*Amor würd deine freud*	Die Liebe macht Süßes bitter, man soll sie meiden
L 8	*Auff dich allein steht all mein grund*	Liebeserklärung: Ehewunsch, äußeres Hindernis
L 9	*Ejn Vesten starck*	Je bitterer die Blüte der Liebe, um so süßer die Frucht
L 10	*Jch hab gnugsam verstanden*	Warnung vor Verleumdern und Liebesversicherung
L 11	*Hertzlich thut mich erfreuen*	Mailob mit Blumensymbolik (Lob der Liebe)

Ähnlich wie die Sammlungen von 1576 und 1586 nach einem Lob der Musik eine Absage an die Liebe an den Anfang stellen, setzt dieser Block fünfstimmiger Liebeslieder nach dem Mailob (Lied 6), das wie üblich die Freude thematisiert (*dem menschen ist auch bas zu mut / weil sich alles erfrischen thut*), mit einer Warnung vor der Liebe ein (Lied 7). Sie ist

59 Nr. 11 (*Hertzlich thut mich erfreuen*) findet sich auch bei Georg Rhaw, ›Bicinia gallica, latina, germanica‹, Wittenberg 1545 und in mehreren weiteren Sammlungen. Lechner hat den Text aus Jacob Regnart, ›Newe kurtzweilige Teutsche Lieder / mit fünff stimmen‹, Nürnberg 1580; vgl. den Nachweis in Werke, Bd. 11 [Anm. 56], S. 109.

60 Vgl. Anm. 49.

nicht auf einen spezifischen Fall bezogen, sondern generalisiert und an Amor adressiert. Der Vorwurf lautet zunächst, daß es prinzipiell keine Liebesfreude ohne Leid gibt, später etwas genauer, daß die Liebe nach der Freude stets Leid bringe. Dies ist als Anklang an die petrarkistische Antithese von Süßem und Bitterem formuliert (Str. 6):

Wiewol du Amor süß/
bringst du letzt doch verdrieß/
Machst weinen auß dem lachen/
pflegst süsses bitter zmachen/
kanst freud in leid verkeren/
die gscheiden bald bethören.

Das darauf folgende Lied (8) bringt eine Liebeserklärung, die die traditionelle Liebeskonzeption der deutschen Lieddichtung in geradezu prototypischer Weise aktualisiert (Str. 1):

Auff dich allein steht all mein grund
allhie auff diser erden/
ich hoff vnd wart stettigs der stund/
das du mit dein geberden
mir ehelich sollest werden.

Da der Liebende jedoch vorerst, ohne eigenes Verschulden, nicht bei der einzig Begehrten sein kann – das übliche äußere Hindernis –, hilft nur Geduld und Treue gegen die unvermeidliche Leiderfahrung. Die Liebe erscheint als eine Art vorehelicher Bund, dessen Qualität die angestrebte Legitimierung gewissermaßen schon vorwegnimmt.

Lied 9 schließt eine weitere generalisierte Reflexion über die Liebe an, die erneut in die süß-bitter-Antithese mündet. Vorangestellt sind drei Vergleichsobjekte: Je schwerer die Festung zu erobern, um so größer der Ruhm des Siegers (Str. 1); je schwerer der Sieg in der Schlacht, um so größer die Freude an der Beute (Str. 2); je schwerer der Sturm auf dem Meer, um so größer die Freude über die Ankunft im Hafen. So auch in der Liebe (Str. 4):

Also die lieb auch spat vnd frü/
je bitterer sie in der blü/
je süsser sie dann in der frucht
letzlich mit der zeit wirdt versucht.

Dies behauptet in aller Offensichtlichkeit eine gegenüber Lied 7 umgekehrte Abfolge des Süßen und des Bitteren. Beide Lieder treffen sich

jedoch in der diachronen Auflösung der petrarkistischen Paradoxie: Die Liebe ist bei näherem Hinsehen nicht gleichzeitig süß und bitter, sondern erst süß und dann bitter oder umgekehrt.

Lied 10 aktualisiert dasselbe Liebeskonzept wie Lied 8, nur daß das äußere Hindernis hier durch die konventionelle Rolle der Verleumder, der *klaffer*, konkretisiert ist. Sie schwärzen den einen Partner beim andern an, in diesem Fall mit der Behauptung melancholischer Disposition (Str. 2):

Sie warnen dich vnd sagen/
du solt dich mein entschlagen/
ich hab all tritt ein traurigs gmüt
vnd steck voll angst vnd schmertz/
hab auch kein freundlich hertz.

Der Liebende räumt seine tatsächlich vorherrschende Traurigkeit ein; deren alleiniger Grund sei jedoch, daß er die Geliebte meiden müsse. Änderten sich die Umstände, werde alles gut (Str. 4):

Möcht ich aber dein gniessen/
so solst warhafftig wissen/
das all mein leid inn fröligkeit
sich wirdt wenden als bald/
dabey mich Gott erhalt.

Das letzte Lied (11) des Blocks lobt, wie das erste, den Mai, der Freude und *wollust* bringt; insbesondere lobt es jedoch seine Blumen: das Röslein auf dem Feld, das Vergißnitmein im Garten, die Wegwarte, den Wolgemut, den Holunder, das Jelängerjelieber. In der Blumensprache der deutschen Liebeslieddichtung sind diese Pflanzen konventionelle Zeichen für bestimmte Qualitäten der Geliebten oder für den Entwicklungsstand ihrer Geneigtheit.[61] Das abschließende Lied integriert dem Mailob auf diese allegorische Weise ein Lob der glücklichen Liebe.

Die Konzeption der Liedfolge ist ziemlich offensichtlich: Die Lieder 6 und 11 bilden einen Rahmen, der ausschließlich die Freude thematisiert. Lied 7 steht mit seiner Akzentuierung des Leids im Kontrast zu Lied 6 und bietet mit der Konzentration auf das Bittere als Konsequenz des Süßen – in der für Lechners Liedfolgen typischen Figur der einleitenden Liebesskepsis – den generalisierten Ausgangspunkt für alles

61 Wilhelm Wackernagel, Die Farben- und Blumensprache des Mittelalters, in: Wilhelm Wackernagel, Kleinere Schriften, Bd. 1, Leipzig 1872, S. 143-240.

Weitere. Lied 8 liefert eine situative Konkretisierung zu Lied 7: Keine Liebe ohne Leiderfahrung, da keine Liebe ohne äußere Hindernisse. Freilich dementiert die Aussicht auf die Überwindung des Hindernisses zugleich die Generalisierung der Leiderfahrung in Lied 7. Lied 9 greift dieses Dementi auf und stellt mit der Konzentration auf das Süße als Folge des Bitteren eine generalisierte Antithese zu Lied 7 dar. Lied 10 bietet mit der oben zitierten vierten Strophe eine situative Konkretisierung zu Lied 9: Das von außen kommende Leid wird sich in Freude wandeln. Lied 11 dementiert mit dem Lob der Liebe zum Abschluß Lied 7 nochmals radikal und schließt den Rahmen.

Womöglich ist dies die gelungenste Sequenzierung von Liebesliedern in Lechners Sammlungen: Der Wechsel zwischen generalisierten Reflexionen und spezifischen Situationen, die verschiedenen Relationierungen von Freude und Leid und schließlich die Konstruktion des Rahmens, in dem am Ende der optimistische Blick auf die Liebe aufgeht, stellen besonders ergiebige Beziehungen zwischen den Texten her. Die zweifellos als Petrarca-Reminiszenz verstandene süß-bitter-Antithese wird auch hier, wie schon in der Sammlung von 1577, nicht zur Konstruktion einer konkreten petrarkistischen Liebeskonstellation benutzt, sondern erneut nur zur Formulierung einer generalisierten Liebeskonzeption. Schon die Formulierung dieser Konzeption löst die petrarkistische Paradoxie diachron auf. Wie die Kontextualisierung in der Textreihe zeigt, handelt es sich aber ohnedies nicht um eine wirklich petrarkistische Konzeption, denn die situativen Konkretisierungen beziehen sie auf das konventionelle Liebeskonzept der deutschen Liedtradition. Von der autoritativen Geltung eines petrarkistischen Konzepts kann vor diesem Horizont keine Rede sein: Wenn der Mai kommt, ist Schluß mit jeder, auch mit der süßen, Bitternis, weil nur die süße Freude herrscht – oder, mit dem Ende von Lied 11 gesprochen: *Der zeit will ich geniesen / dieweil ich pfenning hab / vnd den es thut verdriessen / der fall die stiegen ab*.

Im zusammenfassenden Rückblick zeigt sich, was Lechners liedästhetisches Programm Sammlung für Sammlung zu erkennen gibt: Indem es das thematische Typenspektrum des deutschen liebeslyrischen Systems des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts zum Zweck der musikalischen Affekt-Abwechslung benutzt, dokumentiert es die historische Qualität dieses Systems – nämlich sein Angebot unterschiedlicher Konstellationen und Situationen. An Vielfalt war die deutsche Tradition dem Petrarkismus überlegen. Diese Vielfalt war so lange eine entscheidende Qualität, wie Liebeslyrik Liedlyrik war. Deshalb brach das deutsche

System angesichts der petrarkistischen Liebeslieder aus Italien nicht zusammen; es vermochte die petrarkistischen Motive vielmehr ohne Schwierigkeiten zu integrieren und die eigene Vielfalt dadurch weiter zu vergrößern.

Eine Voraussetzung dafür war, daß Liedtexte nicht dem Ruhm des Textautors, sondern dem des Tonsetzers dienten. Der Liedtext konnte unter diesen Umständen nicht in den Strudel humanistischer Nachahmungs- und Überbietungspoetik geraten, die nur im Verbund mit humanistischer Textautorschaft eine Funktion hat. Der Liedtext war folglich nicht auf ein konzeptionelles Modell verpflichtet, das im Spiel der Einzeltextreferenzen überbietend fortgeschrieben wird; seine Qualität war seine Offenheit, die Integration und Vielfalt ermöglichte. Angesichts einer blühenden, vielfältigen und eigenen Qualitätsvorstellungen verpflichteten Liedlyrik mag vielen die Etablierung volkssprachlicher Liebes-Leselyrik im Sinn des humanistischen Dichtungsbegriffs vielleicht nicht als die dringlichste Aufgabe erschienen sein.

Das konzeptionelle Modell des deutschen liebeslyrischen Systems und seine implizite Poetik verhinderten indes, daß die Rezeption petrarkistischer Vorbilder konzeptionellen Petrarkismus im orthodoxen Sinn ergab. Lechners Liedersammlungen zeigen durch ihre programmatischen Textzusammenstellungen ein anderes Verständnis des Petrarkismus als das heute gängige: Petrarca steht, wie die Kontextualisierungen einschlägiger Lieder in Lechners Liederfolgen erkennen lassen, nicht als Autorität für ein distinktes Liebeskonzept, sondern für die in der deutschen Liebeslyrik des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts fest verankerte Ansicht, daß die Liebe manchmal glücklich und manchmal leidvoll ist. Im Lied wurde die bittersüße Liebe nicht nur sprachlich, sondern auch konzeptionell eingedeutscht; dabei trat jener paradoxe Charakter, der ihren eigentlichen Glanz ausmacht, in den Hintergrund.

Helmut Puff

The City as Model

Three-Dimensional Represenations of Urban Space in Early Modern Europe

In 1529, Pope Clement VII, bent on regaining Medici control over Florence, prepared to lay siege to the city. To plan the campaign, he ordered that a new map of the city, its defenses, and its environs be drawn up »segretamente« (secretly).[1] When the sculptor Niccolo del Tribolo[2] joined the clock- and instrumentmaker Benvenuto di Lorenzo della Volpaia in executing the task, he suggested creating a plan in relief rather than a two-dimensional map. Giorgio Vasari, who tells the story in his *vita* of Tribolo, adds that a three-dimensional representation provided *a ciò meglio si potesse considerar l'altezza de' monti, la bassezza de' piani e gl'altri particolari.*[3]

The elaborate preparations paid off. By 1530, when troops entered the city after a ten-month siege, Florence once again came under Medici rule. Although the relief model of Florence with its surroundings might have played only a minor, if any, role in the Medici's victory, the historical outcome seems to vindicate the tremendous efforts the artists made to produce what Vasari called this *cosa nel vero rara e maravigliosa.*[4]

Approaching the historical semantics of the city model in early modern Europe faces intriguing challenges. Three-dimensional renderings of urban spaces have rarely been subjected to scholarly examination. The visual workings of models have conventionally been taken for granted, and authors tend to approach them as easily legible wonders

1 Giorgio Vasari, ›Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori scultori e architettori‹, vol. 5, Novara 1967, p. 449; Giorgio Vasari, Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects, trans. Gaston du C. de Vere. London 1996, vol. 2, pp. 227f., here p. 227.

2 Vasari, ›Le vite‹ [note 1], p. 419, calls him a »pittore.« In his ›Storia fiorentina‹ (ix.28), Benedetto Varchi calls the same artist a »scultore«: Benedetto Varchi, ›Storia fiorentina‹, Florence 1963, p. 549.

3 Vasari, ›Le vite‹ [note 1], p. 449; Vasari, Lives [note 1], p. 227: »better consideration of the height of the mountains, the depth of the low-lying parts, and all other particulars.«

4 Vasari, ›Le vite‹ [note 1], p. 450; Vasari, Lives [note 1], p. 228 «rare and marvellous« object.

of verisimilitude. David Buisseret, one of the few scholars to give these objects more thorough consideration, aptly describes them as »the least abstract of all representational types.«[5] This essay attempts to put critical pressure on understandings that view city models as vehicles of the authentic, since the contexts for which these models were made point to levels of signification that take us beyond their rendering the environment with exactitude. Surveying was a new science with political implications; models were instruments that could serve as planning devices or as weapons in the context of military campaigns; and the knowledge contained within these small-scale representations demanded secrecy. Models thus functioned within the frame of early modern rulership, while also excelling in artistry. I will discuss two examples, Vasari's account of the Florence model mentioned above, and the sixteenth-century collection of the dukes of Bavaria. Through these contexts, I will embark on a historical exploration of the most elusive kind, wrestling with the ways in which these marvellous objects might have been appreciated.

A Rare and Marvellous Object

In early modern warfare, relief models were cherished as something of a miracle weapon. In 1521, the Grand Master of the Knights Hospitallers, Philippe de Villiers de l'Isle Adam, had a model of the city and fortress of Rhodes made to prepare for an imminent attack by Suleiman II. In this case, the ›miracle‹ did not happen as it did in Florence less than a decade later. After an extended siege, the Ottoman Empire emerged victorious. Another Medici Pope, Leo X, Clement's uncle, received the model of Rhodes as a gift, however.[6] Military science

5 David Buisseret, Modeling Cities in Early Modern Europe, in: Envisioning the City, ed. David Buisseret, Chicago 1998, pp. 125-143, here p. 141.

6 Isabelle Warmoes, Musée des Plans-Reliefs. Historic Models of Fortified Towns, Paris 1999, p. 7; Albert Gabriel, La Cité de Rhodes, Paris 1921, p. 116. The scale model of Rhodes probably served as a planning device in upgrading the port's fortifications and bastions before the attack. See Ernle Bradford, The Shield and the Sword. The Knights of St. John, London 1972, p. 110; Helen Nicholson, The Knights Hospitaller, Woodbridge 2001, pp. 59-67. According to Benedetto Varchi, Pope Clement came to own the model. He does not mention it as his commission: *un modello di legname, il quale ebbe opoi papa Clemente e lo tenne in camera sua tutto il tempo che egli vivette* (Benedetto Varchi, ›Storia fiorentina‹ [note 2], p. 549).

was a growth industry during this war-prone era, and its practitioners saw vast applications for scale models.

In order to ensure legibility, three-dimensional renderings of urban space relied on and corresponded to existing forms of representation. To begin with, architectural models of buildings, well attested in antiquity, had been in use since at least the fourteenth century.[7] In their hands, donor figures and patron saints, whether painted or sculpted, often hold miniature buildings or places with which they were identified – a form of representation that proliferated toward the end of the Middle Ages and linked embodied sainthood with individual buildings or entire towns.[8] Models required the beholder to train his or her gaze; realia and their small-scale replicas had to be related systematically.

City portraits executed in high relief also emerged in a close nexus with other, two-dimensional, modes of topographical representation.[9] Images of cities had already become a focal point of interest by 1493, as exemplified by the so-called »Nuremberg Chronicle«, which presented a comprehensive world history with lavish imagery.[10] This extraordinay printing venture featured an unprecedented number of urban skylines, some meticulously rendered actual portraits, others used to image a number of cities.[11]

Despite these precursors, miniature models of cities and their environments were still something of a novelty in the sixteenth century. Vasari lavishes extraordinary praise on the maquette created by Volpaia and Tribolo, calling it a »truly rare and marvellous« object (*cosa nel vero rara e maravigliosa*).[12] To be sure, *rara* and *maravigliosa*

Vasari's account does not acknowledge potential sources of inspiration, as if the artist's *ingenio* were solely responsible for its creation.

7 Architekturmodelle der Renaissance. Die Harmonie des Bauens von Alberti bis Michelangelo, ed. Bernd Evers, Munich 1995.

8 Elizabeth Lipsmeyer, The Donor and His Church Model in Medieval Art from Early Christian Times to the Late Romanesque Period, Ph.D., Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ, 1981.

9 See The Dutch Cityscape in the 17th Century and Its Sources, Amsterdam 1977; Città d'Europa. Iconografia e vedutismo dal XV al XVIII secolo, ed. Cesare de Seta, Naples 1996.

10 Cf. Hartmut Kugler, Die Vorstellung der Stadt in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters, Munich 1986.

11 Hartmann Schedel, Weltchronik. Kolorierte Gesamtausgabe von 1493, ed. Stephan Füssel, Cologne 2001. Cf. Martin Kirnbauer, Hartmann Schedel und sein »Liederbuch«. Studien zu einer spätmittelalterlichen Musikhandschrift, Bern 2001.

12 The description does not spell out whether Vasari had himself seen the object.

held manifold meanings in his *vite*, both epithets functioning as summarizing descriptors. Here, the phrase seeks to express the tremendous effect such objects had on the viewer, while at the same time relating them to other objects (*rara*).[13] It also links the sculpted urban terrain to the category of the curious and the wondrous.[14]

Although the model does not survive, it is noteworthy that it merited extensive description, for descriptions of such models are themselves rare. Vasari's account even has a parallel in Benedetto Varchi's »Storia fiorentina« (History of Florence), written in 1547/48. This vast chronicle revolves around the decade of change between the Medici's ousting and their rise as dukes of Tuscany, and includes a short passage on the same relief model.[15]

Both accounts reveal some of the »secrets« that went into the model's construction. Vasari as well as Varchi stress, for instance, the elaborate geodetical measurements necessary to produce Florence *en miniature*, a project that took considerable time, six months according to Varchi.[16] Vasari reveals that the artists were staying out

tutta la notte a misurar le strade e segnar le misure delle braccia da luogo a luogo e misurar anche l'altezza e le cime de' campanili e delle torri, intersegnando con la bussola per tutti i versi et andando di fuori a riscontrar con i monti la cupola, la quale avevano segnato per centro.[17]

(all night to measure the roads and to mark the number of *braccia* between one place and another, and also to measure the height of the summits of the belfries and towers, drawing intersecting lines in every direction by means of the compass, and going beyond the walls to compare the height of the hills with that of the cupola [of Florence's cathedral], which they had marked as their center.)

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13 A similar description appears in the context of Lorenzo Ghiberti's *vita*: *la più rara e maravigliosa cosa che si possa veder* – an expression referring to bronze ornamentation made for a Florentine church. The project was finished by Ghiberti's grandson, Bonacorso, and it is his work that is praised in this context. See Giorgio Vasari, Lorenzo Ghiberti, in: ›Le vite‹, vol. 3 (testo), ed. Rosanna Bettarini, Florence 1971, p. 101.

14 Lorraine Daston/Katharine Park, Wonders and the Order of Nature 1150-1750, New York 1998; in particular their discussion of »Marvellous Particulars«, chapter four, pp. 135-172.

15 While Vasari's account is mentioned frequently, previous scholarship on city models seems to have overlooked the fact that Varchi introduced the same model into his ›History of Florence‹. The one account doesn't seem to rely on the other. Because of its length, I will treat Vasari's primarily and draw Varchi in only as a comparison. Thanks to Tom Willette for having pointed me in Varchi's direction.

16 Varchi, ›Storia fiorentina‹ [note 2], p. 549.

17 Vasari, ›Le vite‹ [note 1], p. 450; Vasari, Lives [note 1], p. 227.

Varchi concurs that the two artists were working at night, thus avoiding the hustle and bustle so characteristic of Florentine life.[18]

Both writers also provide information on the materials used in translating the newly collected topographical data into a relief model. [P]*erché fusse più leggiera* (for the sake of lightness), Vasari explains, the two artist-artisans used cork.[19] By contrast, Varchi says it was made of ›legname‹ or wood.[20] Based upon these descriptions the model might have been composed of cork elements mounted on a wooden base. But assuming so would presuppose that we can read the two accounts with their specific contexts into one another. In any case, the model's supposedly light weight made it easier to transport. If we follow Vasari, it consisted of several pieces and thus was smuggled out of the city *in alcune balle di lana* (in some bales of wool).[21] Apparently, the economically thriving city could not be sealed off. Even in times of conflict, Florence depended on the mobility of people, goods, and knowledge.

The model's scale can be inferred from information we possess. According to Vasari's version, Pope Clement had asked for one mile of plateau around the city (one Florentine mile equals 1654 m). The model's dimensions are given as four *braccia* (c. 225 cm).[22] If these measurements were carried out, it would mean that the scale amounted to c. 1:1470. This is not unlikely in light of the model's function. While most early models of cities adopted a much smaller scale, models representing cities or fortresses and their surroundings commonly used a larger scale. With this scale, it might even have been possible to see *dentro le piazze e le strade* (the squares and streets within), as Clement had wished.[23]

Vasari locates the value of this »rare and marvellous« thing in its utility and, one might add, the evidence it provides of the artist's protean ability to be useful, especially to the house of Medici. Throughout the military campaign, Clement VII apparently kept the model in his private chambers, where he was able to follow the army's every move without being physically present at the theatre of war. The

18 Cf. Varchi, ›Storia fiorentina‹ [note 2], p. 549, on this point: *non lavorando se non la notte, per non essere, secondo l'uso del popolo di Firenze, impediti dalla gente*. We are left to wonder how it was possible to survey terrain in the dark.

19 Vasari, ›Le vite‹ [note 1], p. 450; Lives [note 1], p. 227.

20 Varchi, ›Storia fiorentina‹ [note 2], p. 549.

21 Vasari, ›Le vite‹ [note 1], p. 450; Vasari, ›Le vite‹ [note 1], p. 227.

22 Cf. Ronald Edward Zupko, Italian Weights and Mesaures. From the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century, Philadelphia 1981.

23 Vasari, ›Le vite‹ [note 1], p. 449; Lives [note 1], p. 227.

model thus served as a scopic device – an instrument that allowed the Pope and commander to survey the course of military activity from afar. More specifically, it helped to translate information from one register to another: messages in the form of *lettere e gl'avisi* (letters and despatches) could be converted into the sense of sight, as if this instrument annihilated the distance between Rome and Florence.[24]

The differences between the two descriptions are revealing, not least because they provide us with traces of the different contexts in which such models were placed and understood: Vasari tells the story of the ingenious artists. In their indefatigable ability mimetically to model urban topography, Volpaia and Tribolo become indispensible to the ruler – a story emphasized by the notion of the secrecy of their activity. Varchi's short account performs an equally interesting but entirely different rhetorical move. Intriguingly, this writer claims to model his own description on the model in question when he launches into an excursus on Florence's historical topography (which makes it probable that he saw the model first-hand).

This claim has something of a biographical resonance. Before the first Medici Duke, Cosimo I, invited Varchi back to Florence in 1543, he was counted among the most prominent members of the anti-Medicean party, having defended the republic in 1529/30 and participated in a failed coup to wrest control from the Medici in 1536. Good reasons might have existed, therefore, not to delve into the military episode associated with the model of Florence and its environs. Under Varchi's pen, the model became a historian's tool, providing him with a window onto Florence's past as well as a model for his own writing of history. In its ability to conjure up the changing city in its entirety, this »rare and marvellous« object became an emblem for visual accessibility and truthful representation.[25]

Visual Technologies of Urban Space

Cities posed tremendous challenges to the *kunst der perpsectiff* or »art of perspective«, to quote Hans Sachs[26] – challenges that seem to have

24 Vasari, ›Le vite‹ [note 1], p. 450; Lives [note 1], p. 228. Varchi, ›Storia fiorentina‹ [note 2], p. 549 only mentions that Clement kept the model in his chamber all his life (*lo tenne in camera sua tutto il tempo che egli vivette*).

25 Varchi, ›Storia fiorentina‹ [note 2], p. 549.

26 Quoted from Frühneuhochdeutsches Wörterbuch, ed. Ulrich Goebel/Oskar Reichmann, vol. 3, Berlin 1998, col. 1536 (Hans Sachs, 1565, 23,

attracted increasing numbers of artisans, artists, and printers in the sixteenth century. Portraitists of cities had to command vast numbers of buildings and forge them into a unified vision.

In 1500, Jacopo de Barbari created a masterful print that purported to show a geometrically exact view of Venice from an imagined viewpoint, with an unprecedented wealth of urban detail. In effect, this masterpiece of monumental size provides a plenitude of viewpoints integrated into one image of a city spread out before the viewer. It solves the problem of providing access to this sea of islands, canals, and buildings by suggesting, among other things, that a bird would see the curvature of the globe. *A volo d'uccello* (as its mode of representation is described on this print) means »bird's flight,« a description that captures the sense of movement through space better than »bird's-eye view«.[27] It is in this context of visual experiments in perspectival seeing that city views of any kind as well as urban scale models gained legibility. Such ways of seeing have since been standardized, but they were still being formed in the period under consideration.

Like maps, views of individual cities were predicated on the interface of applied mathematical knowledge and artisanal expertise. Rendering the city required cooperation across crafts and disciplines in which divisions between *artes liberales* and *artes mechanicae* disappeared. In this rarefied milieu, projects of mapping the urban world by means of a measuring gaze were pursued systematically. Such endeavors in urban topography connected northern centers such as Nuremberg or Augsburg with the efforts in perspectivism that had been launched in Italy in particular. Jacopo de' Barbari, for instance, collaborated with the German printer Anton Kolb, who was himself a friend of Albrecht Dürer and died a court artist in northern Europe.

Dürer was in fact something of a patron saint for these visual innovations. In the decades after his death, interest in recording urbanity visually and spatially was traced back to his vast œuvre, which included watercolors of cityscapes as well as city portraits;[28]

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27 See the excellent catalogue, *A volo d'uccello.* Jacopo de' Barbari e le rappresentazioni di città nell'Europa del Rinascimento, Venice 1999.

28 I am using city views, vedute, and portraits in contradistinction to cityscape: »'a painting, drawing or print of a prospect of a city or a part of a city, such as can be taken in at a glance from one point of view.' The latter restriction is important, because it excludes most of the profiles, panoramas, bird's-eye views and the like. Such views were generally composed of a number of separately observed parts which, although they were combined to form one picture, cannot be taken in at a glance« (The Dutch Cityscape

his interest in measuring the human body to serve his art lent itself to the expansion of the interface between geometry and the arts to include urban spaces. Dürer, moreover, had pioneered new ground for the artisan-scholar. He epitomized the fusion of ingenious artisanal expertise with the claims to learning *in imaginibus*. Not surprisingly, Georg Braun, editor of the first comprehensive atlas of city views, invoked Dürer's guiding spirit in the preface to the work's third volume.[29]

The growing interest in city views during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries coincided with the first three-dimensional models of cities. Dürer's Nuremberg as well as Augsburg seem to have pioneered three-dimensional representations of urban space north of the Alps: both cities were centers of printing whose output included capital-intensive, extraordinary ventures alongside more conventional fare. Their famous instrument-makers supplied surveyors with tools to measure buildings and spaces. These cities without universities also engendered social milieus in which humanist scholars and artisans mingled and exchanged ideas. Finally, the strategic position of both cities as mercantile centers with close ties to the north of Italy enabled urban elites to follow the pulse of technological and artistic innovation south of the Alps.[30]

Under the aegis of urban topography as a new expertise, many forms of representation flourished. Yet models executed in scale were distinct from two-dimensional urban representations. Cities in relief had a pronounced edge over their two-dimensional rivals and relatives:

[note 9], p. 10).

29 Georg Braun, ›Beschreibung und Contrafactur der vornembster Stät der Welt‹, ed. Max Schefold, Plochingen 1965-1970, vol. 3, (*)r; see also Georg Braun, ›Civitates orbis terrarum‹, 1572-1618, ed. R. A. Skelton, Cleveland 1966.

30 Andrew John Martin, Stadtmodelle, in: Das Bild der Stadt in der Neuzeit: 1400-1800, ed. Wolfgang Behringer/Bernd Roeck, Munich 1999, pp. 66-72. The three models of Nuremberg manufactured in sequence seem to have been made in response to the council's 1538 decision to update the city's fortifications: Hans Sebald Beheim, Nuremberg (1540); Hans Payr, Nuremberg (1541); Georg Pencz/Sebald Peck, Nuremberg (1543). Hans Rogel portrayed Augsburg in relief (1560-1563). On the cultural milieu, for Nuremberg, see David Hotchkiss Price, Albrecht Dürer's Renaissance. Humanism, Reformation, and the Art of Faith, Ann Arbor 2003; Nürnberg 1300-1550; Kunst der Gotik und Renaissance, ed. Gerhard Bott, Munich 1986; on Augsburg, Geschichte der Stadt Augsburg. 2000 Jahre von der Römerzeit bis zur Gegenwart, ed. Gunther Gottlieb, Stuttgart 1984.

they solved a problem that haunted city views and maps – how to render elevation. As Vasari indicates, mapmakers of the sixteenth century were unable to render the natural terrain with any degree of exactitude. Conversely, models were sensorily accessible from various angles, offering themselves as summae of multiple urban views. Their intrinsic multiperspectivism amounted to a revolutionary change in representing city spaces. What is more, unlike maps and views of cities, which were usually printed and therefore available in multiple copies, models were one of a kind – a fact that must have appealed to commissioners and collectors.[31]

Modeling Bavaria

The assumption that scale models provided a visual technology for the elite viewer, most prominently the prince or ruler, is borne out by a pioneering text, Samuel Quiccheberg's (1529-1565) ›Inscriptiones vel tituli theatri amplissimi‹ of 1565, where so-called *exempla ex arte fabrili* make an appearance. Composed for Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria, this treatise is one of the incunabula of modern museology.[32] On little more than 60 pages, Quiccheberg's ›Inscriptiones‹ offered an all-encompassing blueprint for a *kunstkammer* or cabinet of curiosities. »Artisans' models of edifices, for instance, of houses, castles, temples, cities, castra, and fortifications made of little wooden slats, paper, and feathers, sometimes ornamented with colors« ([*a*]*edificiorum exempla ex arte fabrili: ut domorum, arcium, templorum, urbium, castrorum, munitiornum, ex asserculis, chartis, pinnulisque combinata: ac coloribus forte ornata*) figure in the catalogue's first »class«, a section that makes a collector's identity manifest.[33] City models thus are said to belong to items such as genealogies, portrait galleries, maps, vedute, representations of events, processions, and stuffed animals.

As far as we know, the ducal collection was still in its beginnings in 1565. It did not yet feature three-dimensional renderings of cities or

31 This is not entirely true of Sandtner's models that are the subject of the following section. The modelmaker copied some of them himself.

32 Der Anfang der Museumslehre in Deutschland. Das Traktat ›Inscriptiones vel Tituli Theatri Amplissimi‹ von Samuel Quiccheberg, ed. Harriet Roth, Berlin 2000. (I will quote this volume under Quiccheberg's name when citations refer to the edited text and under Roth if it concerns the editor's extensive criticism on this text.)

33 Der Anfang der Museumslehre [note 32], p. 44.

fortresses. Quiccheberg's text might have offered a stimulus to fill this »gap« in the collection. After all, the ›Inscriptiones‹ was a two-pronged publication: it constituted a theoretical treatise on the *kunstkammer* as an image of the ordered world, but also served as a practical manual on what to collect and how to build a collection. It would take only a few years after Quiccheberg's ›Institutiones‹ appeared in print before the first such model entered the Bavarian ›theatrum‹ or museum.[34] By the end of the 1560s, the wood turner and modelmaker Jakob Sandtner started to work on a series of models portraying Bavarian cities for the duke.

Not accidentally, the cities represented in scale were centers of ducal administration, the so-called ›Residenzstädte‹ or seats of government within the duchy: Munich (1570),[35] Landshut (1571),[36] Ingolstadt (1572),[37] and Burghausen (1574).[38] The model of Straubing, home of Jacob Sandtner, is distinguished from the other models by its different scale and earlier date of completion, 1568.[39] This fact has given rise to the notion that it might have been the Straubing model that inspired the duke's decision to commission renderings of other places in a similar fashion. Be that as it may, the models' material presence at

34 Sandtner's models count among the oldest objects in the Munich *kunstkammer*'s inventory. For Renaissance understandings of museums, see PAULA FINDLEN, The Museum. Its Classical Etymology and Renaissance Genealogy, in: Museum Studies. An Anthology of Contexts, ed. BETTINA MESSIAS CARBONELL, Oxford 2004, pp. 23-50.

35 199 x 189 cm, scale c. 1:616 to 1:750. Limewood, partly polychrome. Inv. No. Mod 1.

36 193 x 155 cm, scale c. 1:750. Limewood, partly polychrome. Inv. No. Mod 2.

37 160 x 160 cm, scale c. 1:685.

38 221 x 108 cm, scale c. 1:662.

39 81 x 64 cm. On Sandtner's life, see ADOLPH FREIHERR VON REITZENSTEIN, Die alte bairische Stadt in den Modellen des Drechselermeisters Jakob Sandtner, gefertigt in den Jahren 1568-1574 im Auftrag Herzog Albrechts V. von Bayern, Munich 1967, pp. 6-7. More than in subsequent generations of modelmakers, Sandtner became an artist-artisan with name recognition. Johann Baptist Seitz built a model of nineteenth-century Munich (1841-1863), explicitly referring to Sandtner's example (FRANZ SCHIERMEIER, »Relief der Haupt- und Residenzstadt München«. Das Stadtmodell von Johann Baptist Seitz 1841-1863, ed. RENATE EIKELMANN, Munich 2000). See also Josef Dinges from Landsberg, who referred to a copy he made of Sandtner's model of Burghausen when offering his services to the German Archaeological Institut in 1933 (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rom, »Allg. Korr.-Dinges.«). Thanks to Elizabeth Sears for having supplied me with this reference.

court brought these administrative strongholds into the center of the newly formed Bavarian state, the city of Munich. Together, the models, now at the Bavarian National Museum (Munich), constitute one of the oldest, if not the earliest, existing collections of maquettes.

These models differ in kind from the one commissioned by Clement VII for the siege of Florence. Full-scale representations manufactured for military functions usually represented a settlement together with its surrounding terrain, as did Tribolo's and Volpaia's, making such instruments useful for planning attacks or updating defense systems. In Zurich, for instance, Hans Ulrich Bachofen and Hans Conrad Gyger created a wooden model of the city and its environs (c. 1625) that served as a planning device for erecting new fortifications (built after 1642). While the dense texture of the built urban environment is rendered in red paint only (much like in a city map of today), the elevated buildings – churches, towers, major buildings as well as buildings outside the city walls – were executed in profile. Thus, military planners were able to measure the effects of artillery fire from the city's hilly surroundings.[40]

The city models in the Bavarian National Museum, by comparison, did not function as a vehicle of military knowledge production. The models of Straubing, Munich, Landshut, Ingolstadt, and Burghausen show the cities and their fortifications only, without the urban hinterlands critical to military planning. The models were carved out of limewood, a pliable material commonly used for Gothic sculpture in Germany. While individual houses and buildings retained the quality of the wood, thus blending the sea of roofs and gables into a whole, unbuilt areas were painted with a striking green color and supplied with generic miniature trees. Importantly, these wooden ›Residenzstädte‹ all share the same principles of production and design, which yields a uniform look that transforms the objects into a collection of cities meant to be viewed as an ensemble.

With all their naturalist excess, these models still deviated from the actual urban space. Some distortions and omissions are obvious: Sandtner's Munich has few chimneys, for instance. Habitations are further unified in their look, since the three-dimensional map did not render one of Munich's most distinctive features, painted house façades. More importantly, the width of streets is exaggerated, as is the height of signature buildings such as churches, towers, and castles.

40 Zurich, Swiss National Museum, 1:3000. 1627. 62.5625. See Otto Sigg, Das 17. Jahrhundert, in: Geschichte des Kantons Zürich, Zurich 1996, pp. 320f., 351f.

These changes are apt to heighten the viewer's impression of unity and grandiosity, greatly aggrandizing the urban ensemble. Distortions and omissions also connect full-bodied representations in the form of models with representations on paper, where similar such distortions were introduced in order to assist graphic clarity.[41] The ›Civitates orbis terrarum‹ or ›Beschreibung vnd Contrafactur der vornembster Stät der Welt‹ says as much, when Georg Braun, the editor, explains that such visual adjustments allow *daß der Leser in alle Gassen vnd Strasen sehen / auch alle gebäw vnd ledige platzen anschawen kan*.[42]

In our age of global positioning systems it is hard to imagine the tremendous efforts necessary to build models that were accurate, or seemed to be. Their production required intensive measurements *in situ*, as the geodetic data were collected from scratch. If Sandtner cooperated with a professional in creating the database necessary for his models, no trace of this collaboration remains.[43] The extensive data collection that must have preceded the models' production echoes Vasari's and Varchi's accounts of how the Florence model was made. In Sandtner's case, years lay between the dates of completion for individual models, proudly noted on the objects themselves. Significantly, Sandtner obtained a ducal permit to enter into every building in order to complete the task of measuring what was to be carved in wood. In Ingolstadt, not even monasteries were exempt from the duke's spatial carte blanche.[44] This move signals a profound rupture with the habitual respect for property ownership and spatial differentiation, levelling the body politic for the purpose of surveying the terrain – a process that reflects and replicates the political project of the prince's empowerment over his people and lands.

Although the prince's subjects were made to co-operate, they

41 Max Schefold, Einleitung, in: Beschreibung [note 29], vol. 1 (Kommentarband), Plochingen 1965, p. 10: »Die klare Gliederung und leichte Überschaubarkeit des Stadtganzen erforderte die Überbetonung der Straßen und Plätze – im Falle von Venedig (I, 44) die der Kanäle – doch geschah dies auf Kosten der Häusergruppen, die dadurch allzu sehr eingeengt wurden; so war der Wunsch, jedem Gebäude, jedem Bürgerhaus gerecht zu werden, kaum zu erfüllen.«

42 Braun, Vorwort, in: Beschreibung [note 29], vol. 3 (1581), rpt: Stuttgart 1968, (*)r.

43 Reitzenstein, Die alte bairische Stadt [note 39], p. 12.

44 [...]*wo der* [*Sandtner*]*, in Klöster und Hauser deshalb zu ersehen begert, wie es des Werkes Nothdurft nach thun muszt, dasz er jedes Orts eingelassen und ihm die Besichtigung nicht geweigert werde* (regarding Ingolstadt). Quoted after Reitzenstein, Die alte bairische Stadt [note 39], p. 8.

benefited little from the execution of the resulting plans, as few visitors were able to view these marvellous objects, stored in Munich's newly erected *kunstkammer*.[45] The models' creation thus encapsulates the project of forging the territorial state – a project that unfolded over centuries. In reality, the dialectic of ducal elevation and the populace's subjection never succeeded to the degree that the models with their clean-cut sense of space would suggest. The duke's ideal city (the city as subject to the prince) and the burghers' city (the urban community with its medieval charters and the right to self-government) continued to vie for power, status, and distinction throughout the early modern period. The rationally organized, unified territorial space embodied in the models thus served as an icon for the subjection of Bavarians to the ruler-prince.

The artisan-maker received considerable remuneration. For the model of Munich alone, the duke payed Sandtner the enormous sum of about 300 florins in several instalments.[46] To mark the commission's completion, the model of Burghausen features a golden inscription, still visible today.[47] Its text celebrates the work as a crowning achievement of the cooperation between the patron, Duke Albrecht of the re-united »upper and lower Bavaria«, and the model's maker, the artisan Sandtner, whose name appears toward the inscription's end:

Anno Domini M.D.LXXIII. HAT DER DVRCHLEYCHTIG HOCHGEBORN FVRST VND HERR ALBRECHT PFA(L)ZGRAV BEY RHEIN HERZOG IN OBERN VND NIDERN BAIRN SEINER FVRSTLICHEN GNADEN SCLOS VND STAT BURKHAVSEN WIE ES ZV DER ZEIT GESTANDEN IST DVRCH IACOB SANDTNER IN GRVNT LEGEN LASSEN.

The term *in grunt legen lassen* translates as »to measure geometrically«. Geographers and topographers used this term frequently in the sixteenth century, especially with regard to surveying and rendering

45 There are indications that gifts provided access for select viewers of the Munich *kunstkammer* between 1578 and 1611. See ROTH, Der Anfang der Museumslehre [note 32], p. 263. Johann Wolfgang Freymann payed Sandtner *6 kreuzer* in 1571 to see his model of Munich, probably in Sandtner's worksop. See REITZENSTEIN, Die alte bairische Stadt [note 39], p. 7.

46 REITZENSTEIN, Die alte bairische Stadt [note 39], p. 7. INGO SCHWAB, Zeiten der Teuerung: Versorgungsprobleme in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts, in: Geschichte der Stadt München, ed. RICHARD BAUER, München 1992, p. 166 speaks of 131 fl.

47 Other models probably also showed inscriptions. Only remnants seem to have survived. I was unable to inspect the evidence myself.

urban environments in various media. Predecessors of these models in Augsburg and Nuremberg were described with the same formula, a fact signalling how the Bavarian models partook of a tradition of making urban models.[48] But *grunt* resonates more broadly, connecting different dimensions of the endeavor. For one, *grunt* registers on the level of depth, thereby pointing to the artifact's plasticity. At the same time, in the sixteenth century, *grunt* also served as the German translation for the Latin *ratio*. As such, it was a magic word, frequently used to characterize the systematic foundations of knowledge, especially as they were used in the training of others. The term *grunt* is therefore apt to foreground the significant role given to manual expertise in the context of the new »vernacular science«, to use Pamela Smith's coinage for early modern appreciation of manual skill as the basis of scientific achievements.[49] With this inscription, Sandtner boldly declared himself a creator in ducal service.

Artistry and Mastery

Sandtner's trade, the art of turnery, warrants a closer analysis. In the milieu of South German courts, turning advanced to an activity appropriate for nobles.[50] Sixteenth-century technological innovations had made possible

48 See Martin, Stadtmodelle [note 30], p. 69. Quiccheberg had moved to Nuremberg as a boy and spent time in Augsburg before starting to work for Duke Albrecht, cf. Der Anfang der Museumslehre [note 32], pp. 4-6, 279, 304-308, 310-311. See also Reitzenstein, Die alte bairische Stadt [note 39], p. 8, with a similar inscription on a model of Ingolstadt, a smaller copy of the one in the Bavarian National Museum: ANNO. 1571. IAR. HAT. HERZOG. ALBRECHT. DIES. LOBLICHE. STAT. DVRCH. IACOB. SANNDTER. IN. GRYNDT. LEGEN. LASEN. MIT. ALLEM. WIE. ES. ZVE. DISSER. ZEIT. GESTANDEN. IST. VND. HAT. DIESE. STAT. 5000. SCHRIT. Vm. SICH. WARDT. BVRBENMAISTER. HERR. VLRICH. VISCHER. With its focus on the city and the mention of the mayor, it is probable that it was meant to be kept in Ingolstadt.

49 Pamela Smith, The Body of the Artisan. Art and Experience in the Scientific Revolution, Chicago 2004, pp. 148, 237. Interestingly enough, on p. 148, the expression appears as »vernacular ›science‹«.

50 Klaus Maurice, Der drechselnde Souverän. Materialien zu einer fürstlichen Maschinenkunst, Zurich 1985. On p. 121, Maurice quotes from ›Kurtzer Unterricht von der Dreh-Kunst‹, published under the pseudonym Christian Drexelius but rendering the art of Johann Martin Teuber (1740). The preface summarizes the traditional frame of thinking about turnery:

the manufacturing of oval and various other geometrical shapes. Products fresh off the lathe, whether of wood or of ivory, were highly prized for their material manifestation of applied geometrical theory. Quiccheberg, theorist and designer of Munich's *kunstkammer*, recommended that a *theatrum* include a turning room in its layout,[51] and Duke Wilhelm IV, Albrecht V's father, had already set up such a workshop at his Munich residence.[52] Wilhelm V, Albrecht's son and successor, was the Bavarian duke who brought the most advanced practitioner of this art, Giovanni Ambrogio Maggiore, from Milan to Munich.[53] The rise of this craft was, like that of the three-dimensional city portraits, tied to the traffic of practical-scientific knowledge and its experts across the Alps.[54]

As with other innovating crafts, turnery was enveloped in secrecy. It required an expert hand able to master the complex interplay between movement and machinery, but turners, as protégés of princes, shared the secrets of their trade with patrons and their patrons' friends and relatives.[55]

»The noble art of turning should prevail over other arts because its very origin is of God's hand. Let common people strive after other handcrafts, the art of turning is a work worthy only of the gods. When this was seen by the electors, princes and kings they decided to turn with the greatest of pleasure.«

51 Quiccheberg, Der Anfang der Museumslehre [note 32], p. 256.

52 Dorothea Diemer, Giovanni Ambrogio Maggiore und die Anfänge der Kunstdrechselei um 1570, in: Jahrbuch des Zentralinstituts für Kunstgeschichte 1 (1985), pp. 295-342, here p. 302.

53 Berndt Baader, Der bayerische Renaissancehof Herzog Wilhelms V., Leipzig 1943, pp. 265-267.

54 Georg Hoefnagel, one of the major contributors to Hogenberg's city atlas, also painted at least the outside of one of the stacking boxes. See Diemer, Giovanni Ambrogio Maggiore [note 52], pp. 311f.

55 Maurice, Der drechselnde Souverän [note 50], p. 56, on the Dresden court and its employment of turners; Diemer, Giovanni Ambrogio Maggiore [note 52], pp. 307f. See also Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, The Management of Knowledge at the Electoral Court of Saxony in Dresden, in: Ways of Knowing. Ten Interdisciplinary Essays, ed. Mary Lindemann, Boston 2004, pp. 53-65. See also Princely Splendor. The Dresden Court 1580-1620, ed. Dirk Sindram/Antje Scherner, Milan 2004. As a great courtesy, some of the trade's most advanced and cherished practitioners were sent from one court to the next to share their trade (cf. Diemer, Giovanni Ambrogio Maggiore [note 52]). As early as 1578, however, treatises also started to appear in print which published the knowledge of turnery with an elite audience of readers and bookbuyers (cf. Maurice, Der drechselnde Souverän).

Emperor Maximilian I,[56] Duke Albrecht V,[57] Wilhelm V, Maximilian I of Bavaria, and Emperor Rudolph II took an avid interest in a trade whose lathe-turned products filled beholders with awe over their beautiful, wondrous, and rare nature.[58] Turning the lathe even became a princely pastime and something of a craze,[59] spreading from the Wittelsbachers and Habsburgs to other courts across Europe.[60] As gifts, lathe-turned utensils became tokens of affection between rulers. Collectors sought to include lathe-turned objects in their collections. As a result, »displays of turning [became] an essential feature of princely collections by the late sixteenth century.«[61] The courtly art of turnery thus operated as a »language of noble communication«, as KLAUS MAURICE puts it in a seminal book on the subject.[62]

But what was at stake in the aristocratic display of artisanal skill? To be sure, transformations and metamorphoses between separate realms of God's universe, between *naturalia* and *artificalia*, stood at the center

56 Emperor Maximilian I, grand patron of Dürer, is known to have been a lathe-turner. He also commissioned scale models. His lathe still survives; see MAURICE, Der drechselnde Souverän [note 50], p. 19. Maximilian owned a model of a fortified tower, the Luginsland tower (Augsburg); see ANTOINE DE ROUX/NICOLAS FAUCHERRE/GUILLAUME MONSAINGEON, Les Plans en relief des places du roy, Paris 1989, p. 52 n. 2, and BUISSERET, Modeling Cities [note 5], p. 125. For the Augsburg connection, see above and with regard to Quiccheberg MARTIN, Stadtmodelle [note 30], p. 71.

57 A goblet, potentially wrought by Albrecht V, is on display in the same hall of the Bavarian National Museum where the city models are kept today. See a photograph in MAURICE, Der drechselnde Souverän [note 50], p. 59 (fig. 48).

58 These descriptive registers appear in a letter by Maria of Austria to Wilhelm V of Bavaria of January 9, 1575. DIEMER, Giovanni Ambrogio Maggiore [note 52], p. 328: *den gannzen dag dar auf gefundert wies nur zu gen mues*, *etwas seltzams*, and *schon*.

59 DIEMER, Giovanni Ambrogio Maggiore [note 52], *passim*.

60 JOSEPH CONNORS, *Ars tornandi*. Baroque Architecture and the Lathe, in: Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 55 (1990), pp. 217-236. Pamela Smith also mentions Franciscus dele Boë, Sylvius, a Dutch scientist who owned a turning machine and the Swedish general Carl Gustav Wrangel. The castle he had built for himself at the end of his life, Skokloster, contained a lathe room (finished in 1677). SMITH, The Body of the Artisan [note 49], p. 236.

61 WALTER S. MELION, Love and Artisanship in Hendrick Goltzius's ›Venus, Bacchus and Ceres‹ of 1606, in: Art History 16 (1993), pp. 60-94, esp. pp. 82-84.

62 MAURICE, Der drechselnde Souverän [note 50], p. 16.

of the *kunstkammer*.[63] Turnery also had ethical implications, showing a prince as adverse to slothful behavior.[64] As an activity, turning the lathe was considered highly educational – teaching, among other things, the laws of mechanics – as well as being enjoyable and therapeutic.[65] But what most attracted rulers to becoming artificers above all was a sense of mastery they gained over the material world. The ruler-turner projected an image of himself as creator of objects approximating perfection and beauty. In the sixteenth century, such a notion conjured up associations with God as the first artifex and the mythical inventor of the trade. The art historian WALTER S. MELION links this princely occupation with the perfection of the circle, reminiscent of God's creation (though oval-shaped objects stole the show above all other lathe-turned products).[66] In this symbolic context, machinery figured as »both metaphor and model«:[67] according to KLAUS MAURICE, »[t]he machine was the model for any authoritarian order determined by a single individual« and a metaphor for the political order at large.[68]

Turning, with its multiple appeals for sixteenth-century princes and collectors, provides an important frame for understanding how models in scale were understood. By focusing on such objects we can grapple with the exceptional interest models and products off the lathe aroused among cognoscenti. A thank-you note from Archduke Karl of Austria to his brother-in-law, Wilhelm of Bavaria, records an unusually detailed response to one lathe-turned object, a gift. He describes this object as a »curious (also: rare) work of the lathe (*selzams draxlwerck*), the like of which« he had »never seen. Nor can I gauge (*ausreiten*)«,[69] he

63 HORST BREDEKAMP, The Lure of Antiquity and the Cult of the Machine, Princeton 1995. Reviewers have remarked that this interest in transformations marked early collections, many of which were themselves transformed into treasure collections in the seventeenth century. See KLAUS MINGES, Die Sammlung als Medium des Weltbildes, in: Kunstchronik (April 1994), pp. 229-235.

64 In a vain echo of an earlier ideal, Karl Albert, Elector of Bavaria, provided instructions in 1733 for the education of his nephews, Maximilian and Clemens, in which turning is mentioned as possible leisure activity, an alternative to playing pool. FRIEDRICH SCHMIDT, Geschichte der Erziehung der Bayerischen Wittelsbacher, Berlin 1892 (Monumenta Germaniae paedagogica 14), p. 216.

65 On the last point, see CONNORS, *Ars tornandi* [note 60], pp. 225f.

66 MELION, Love and Artisanship [note 61].

67 MAURICE, Der drechselnde Souverän [note 50], p. 140.

68 MAURICE, Der drechselnde Souverän [note 50], pp. 140f.

69 The Frühneuhochdeutsches Wörterbuch lists the following explanations, among others, for *ausreiten*: »etwas ausrechnen, durch eine mathematisch-

added, »how it got made«. He consulted his own turner, a man named Hans, who did not tire of looking at this object and went on to consult on this marvel with his father, a turner himself, one suspects. »In truth, I cannot look at it enough [myself],« admits Archduke Karl. »It seems so strange to me that it should have been turned.«

The object of admiration does not survive in this case. But reading this letter puts us in a position to grasp one of the prominent specular responses to lathe-turned objects, incredulity. Incredulity invited the gaze to linger, to go back, and to investigate the object's conundrum.[70] »Turnery«, to quote Joseph Connors, »is an art which delights in straining the limits of tool credibility.«[71] Products off the lathe obfuscated the very conditions of their making, thus calling attention to how they were made. As a result, turned objects became the focus of intense scrutiny and the topic of extended conversations. Our letter points to a courtly context in which artisans were called in to debate the marvels of the lathe with nobles and rulers (many of whom were aspiring experts and practitioners themselves).[72] Turned objects promised to tie the recipient to the giver through extensive specular engagement.

At first sight, precious objects and scale models have little in common. Obviously, representations in relief are not themselves small-scale. But they scale down the natural environment. Seeing *en miniature* was in fact a modality highly treasured and often practiced among sixteenth-century elites. Thus viewed, city models took their place among other miniature objects of artisanal skill such as boxwood carvings, coral reef sculptures, coins, medals, goldsmithwork, and the

logische Operation herausfinden, feststellen« and »etw[as] der Größe e[iner] S[ache] entsprechend erkennen, ergründen, etw[as] vollständig ermessen« (Frühneuhochdeutsches Wörterbuch [note 26], vol. 2, Berlin 1993, col. 1235).

70 Diemer, Giovanni Ambrogio Maggiore [note 52], p. 328 (document 4a).

71 Connors, *Ars tornandi* [note 60], p. 223. Cf. Maurice, Der drechselnde Souverän [note 50], p. 8: »Unnatural forms began to take shape on the machines that were being developed, forms that could not possibly be worked by hand but could be made by machines, with multiple axes, in a crosswise, longitudinal and elliptical structure.«

72 Intricately interwoven shapes, like the ivory *Contrefaitkugel* (1582), now in the Museo degli Argenti (Palazzo Pitti) in Florence were all the rage. On display in the Uffizii's tribuna since its opening in 1589, this gift of the Bavarian Duke Wilhelm V to the Duke Franceco I of Tuscany features a portrait of the giver's family hidden in one of the shapes. The *Contrefaitkugel* satisfied the demands for scopic connoisseurship and garnered the height of admiration. See Diemer, Giovanni Ambrogio Maggiore [note 52], pp. 296-301, 330.

like – refined and visually stunning *objets d'art* that were on display in the *kunstkammer*. All these objects fed a certain microscopophilia. Tellingly, the sixteenth century saw the gradual introduction of the microscope into visual praxology – a scopic device whose advocates claimed that it unlocked whole new worlds to the gaze.[73] City models, on the other hand, presented the familiar in a different perspective and on a different scale: by miniaturizing the world, they made urban spaces accessible to sensual experience in a new way.

City models and the precious lathe-turned objects may thus share a visual code: they were made for beholding; they were at the center of an, at times, secret knowledge production that involved the material world; they miniaturized dimensions found in this world; they were meant, above all, for the ruler; in short, they were »rare and marvellous«. Yet a quality that we may compare to the »reality effect« described by Roland Barthes distinguishes the city models' appeal from other such small and precious objects.

The Politics of Urbanism

Models executed in scale make urban space experiential in a particular fashion. Unlike actual cities, models are devoid of what makes a city a city, the imprint of human life. Models show the city as *urbs*, the city's built environment, not as *civitas*, the urban community, to quote an ancient distinction, recently taken up by Richard Kagan.[74] Space as expressed in urban models typically drowns out the multitude of social relations encoded in actual cityscapes: ownership of buildings or lots, for instance, or areas defined by specific human activities such as various markets or the work-related topography of the urban environment. The particular abstraction at play in city models thus veils the social makeup of urban spaces, turning them into a realm of pure representation. Devoid of human interaction and social signification, the city as model presents itself as an instrument. Three-dimensional urban portraits are »conceptualized space«, to quote Henri Lefebvre.[75]

73 Catherine Wilson, The Invisible World. Early Modern Philosophy and the Invention of the Microscope, Princeton 1995, p. 75.

74 Richard L. Kagan, *Urbs* and *Civitas* in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Spain, in: Envisioning the City [note 5], pp. 75-107.

75 Henri Lefebvre, The Production of Space, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith, Oxford 1991, p. 38.

Notably, Sandtner's models were related to other projects of princely representation in Bavaria. Philip Apian's (1531-1589) pioneering map of Bavaria (1556-1558/1568) pursued a similar agenda of measuring and mapping the Duke's territory.[76] Viewed in this context, the city models commissioned by Duke Albrecht V manifested a grand political project, the transformation of the duchy of Bavaria into a territorially and confessionally unified state.[77] As Renate Eikelmann puts it, these endeavors »expressed the changed relationship which the ruler now had with his [lands].« For the first time, »these models enabled the unification of the Bavarian duchies to be registered with their material qualities by means of the new scientific methods of surveying.«[78] Apian's and Sandtner's projects celebrated not only the political unity of Bavaria (since 1505/1506), but also showcased the technological advance of the new state and expressed a particular vision of ruler-centered statehood.

Albrecht V was one of several dukes to advance the duchy's cause. Among other projects, this necessitated the creation of a capital – a Munich that would be able to mirror the ambitious Wittelsbach claims to political and aristocratic preeminence among Catholic rulers in the empire and beyond. Albrecht and the ducal administration therefore sought to transform Munich from a medieval town into a ducal residence.[79] In Munich, the city where the models are still exhibited, the

76 Max Georg Zimmermann, Die bildenden Künste am Hof Herzog Albrecht's V. von Bayern, Strasbourg 1895 [reprint: Baden-Baden 1971], pp. 59-61; Reitzenstein, Die alte bairische Stadt [note 39], p. 5. Apian received the commission in 1556. He finished the original, monumental in size, in 1563, and published a smaller version in 1568. The gallery of maps in the Vatican and the Map Room in the Palazzo Ducale (or Palazzo Vecchio) in Florence are different but comparable projects that intertwine innovative knowledge production, here with regard to mapping, and particular visions of rulership.

77 Cf. the recent study by Ulrike Strasser, State of Virginity. Gender, Religion, and Politics in an Early Modern Catholic State, Ann Arbor 2004.

78 Renate Eikelmann, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum. Handbook of the Art and Cultural History Collections, Munich n.d., pp. 130f. The document which regulated succession for the duchy and mandated territorial unity for subsequent generations went back to 1506. This so-called *Primogenitur-vertrag* was challenged briefly by the claims of Duke Ernst in 1554, however, at the beginning of Albrecht V's reign. One must suspect, therefore, that these conflicts were much on people's minds. Cf. Max Spindler, ed., Handbuch der bayerischen Geschichte, vol. 2, Munich 1967, p. 336.

79 Critics have portrayed the dukes of Counter-Reformation Bavaria in often contradictory ways, as paragons of religious piety characteristic of the confessional state as well as art lovers who wrecked the duchy's finances

duke conspicuously undermined the magistrates' right to govern the city, seeking to take control of urban affairs. Albrecht also took steps to form a religiously uniform urban society. He forced non-Catholic residents to leave, among them some of the wealthiest burghers.[80] The duke demanded, moreover, that the city employ undercover informers to spy on Protestant activites in 1567. Citizenship and work for the city had to be limited to proven Catholics. In 1569/1571, thirty-eight persons were expelled from the city for their Protestant leanings after the duke's vigorous intervention.[81]

In this political, religious, and cultural context, urbanism arose as an important vehicle for the new confessional state. The state's power to reconfigure the architectural space became manifest in momentous reconstruction projects. Duke Wilhelm V, the Pious, continued his father's endeavors, launching a building project in the heart of Munich the likes of which had not been seen in the post-Reformation empire. In its urbanistic dialogue with the ducal residence, the palatial Collegium, home of the Jesuit Order, epitomized the alliance of secular power with post-Tridentine Catholicism. The facade of the Collegium's church features statues of Bavarian dukes, including those of Albrecht and Wilhelm, alongside Jesus and the church's parton, St. Michael. For this complex alone, eighty-seven houses were razed.[82]

In this changing urban environment, modeled urban spaces had to be updated in order to fulfill their functions as a technology of power, as a planning device, or as a quasi-cinematic tool to avoid discrepancies of reference. Of the models now on display in the Bavarian National Museum, only Munich, where the dukes had their residence, was reworked, at least once, probably in the early seventeenth century. The new fortifications, additions to the palace, and the Jesuit Collegium of St. Michael were updated – building projects that testified to the dukes' grand remodeling of their territory's capital.[83]

This formation of a politically and confessionally united territory

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through their lavish support for various arts, and the trail of enormous debts that their commissions and collectomania left behind. A focus on objects like Sandtner's city models may enable us to see how these two developments are in fact closely related.

80 Hans-Joachim Hecker, Um Glaube und Recht: Die ›fürstliche‹ Stadt 1505 bis 1561, in: Geschichte der Stadt München [note 46], pp. 159f.

81 Cf. Strasser, State of Virginity [note 77], p. 17.

82 Reinhard Heydenreuther, Der Magistrat als Befehlsempfänger. Die Disziplinierung der Stadtobrigkeit 1579 bis 1651, in: Geschichte der Stadt München, ed. Richard Bauer, Munich 1992, p. 205.

83 Eikelmann, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum [note 39], p. 131.

was riddled with complications, if not contradictions. Increasingly, the ducal administration engaged in measures to enforce religious conformity among its subjects. The ducal cartographer and surveyer, the eminent Apian, was forced to leave the University of Ingolstadt on account of his religious beliefs.[84] In fact, recipients of salaries from the ducal coffers were the first to be targeted. In 1575, for instance, Sandtner was exhorted to stay with »the old and true Catholic religion« before he received payment of a yearly pension of 50 florins; unlike Apian, who left Bavaria for the University of Tübingen, Sandtner seems to have complied: the sum was paid.[85]

Bavaria's claim to political distinction found its architectural expression, among other projects, in the first building erected to house a *wunderkammer* in Europe, the *Kunstkammer* (later, *Münze* or mint) of the Munich *Residenz* (1563-67). Its plans were designed, at least in part, by the *kunstkammer*'s ideologue, Samuel Quiccheberg, and executed by the architect Wilhelm Egkel.[86] The *Kunstkammer* is where the city models were on display in the sixteenth century and where Quiccheberg's commanding vision of a universal collection, housed in an appropriate structure, became at least a partial reality.

Theatrum, Quiccheberg's main descriptor of the *kunstkammer*, aptly captures the various layers of meaning at play in the production and reception of city models and similar objects.[87] *Theatrum* associates the world in its entirety. It gestures towards the nexus of microcosm and macrocosm, but it also designates the world – the world of ideas as well as the world of material creation – as a moral universe. Nowhere else but in the theatre, as Frances Yates has shown, could the various, often contradictory Renaissance interests in the past and in the present, in antiquity and Christianity, be accommodated or even converge.[88]

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84 According to an »Instruction« about Albrecht's V education from 1541, Apian was one of the prince's teachers: *Dieweil es ain kurtzweilig Ding ist, auch sonnderlichn ainem fürsten nützlich unnd wol ansteet der Cosmographia unnd Geographia ainen verstanndt zu haben, solle der Apianus alle tag den Jungen Herrn Jn disen khunsten, auch rechnen unnd anderm ain stund lernen.* Quoted from SCHMIDT, Geschichte der Erziehung [note 64], p. 6.

85 REITZENSTEIN, Die alte bairische Stadt [note 39], p. 8: »d(er) alten wahren Catholischen Religion.«

86 The Antiquarium, also built by Egkel, followed between 1569 and 1571 to house the duke's collection of antiques – a building that, among other features, showed 102 painted vedute of places in Bavaria.

87 On the title page, the word »theatri« sticks out. It is rendered in capital letters in a large font (see Der Anfang der Museumslehre [note 32], p. 35).

88 FRANCES A. YATES, Theatre of the World, London 1969.

Significantly, the term *theatrum* connects Quiccheberg's treatise to other prestigious publishing ventures, Theodor Zwinger's ›Theatrum vitae humanae‹ (1565),[89] for instance, an enormous compendium of all human knowledge; Abraham Ortelius's groundbreaking ›Theatrum orbis terrarum‹, the first world atlas, published in 1570; the ›Civitates orbis terrarum‹ – a comprehensive city atlas, conceived as an urban companion piece to Ortelius and published by Georg Braun;[90] and Jacques Besson's ›Theatrum instrumentorum et machinarum‹ of 1578, a pioneering publication on engineering as well as the lathe.[91] Quiccheberg distinguishes his own from these other *très grands projets*, however, by taking their authors to task for using *theatrum* metaphorically. Their theatres were imagined, his, in contrast, evokes the notion of actual spaces with actual objects.[92] In the fully sculpted thing lies the dividing line for Quiccheberg between a museum or *theatrum* in the metaphorical sense of the word and one in the true sense. Laying claim to both universality and plasticity nevertheless had a price: his vision for the *theatrum* could only be realized through miniaturization.

The vast reach of Munich's *theatrum* is revealed, among other things, by the fact that the collection of cities on display in Munich's *kunstkammer* also included a model of Jerusalem.[93] Though unsigned, it was executed with the same finesse and on a scale similar to the other models. This Bavarian Jerusalem bears little resemblance to the city's actual topography, presenting a mere fantasy of the Holy City, a vaguely oriental urban scenario with its flat roofs. For the Munich court, a representation of Jerusalem in scale did not have to conform

89 Roth, Der Anfang der Museumslehre [note 32], pp. 9, 15, 16, 272f. Zwinger's text is one of the few mentioned in Quiccheberg's own (p. 108). Zwinger and Quiccheberg knew each other since 1548 (p. 5).

90 The title varies. It also appeared as Theatrum orbis civitatum. At any rate, Braun uses the descriptor *theatrum* in the preface to the third volume (1581): *in diesem vnserm Theatro* (Braun, ›Beschreibung‹ [note 29], vol. 3, (*)v.).

91 Maurice, Der drechselnde Souverän [note 50], p. 104 (figs. 7 and 8).

92 Quiccheberg, Der Anfang der Museumslehre [note 32], pp. 106-109. One may think here of the anatomical theatre. Note, that while in Basel he might have connected with the famous anatomist Felix Platter, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 14f., 273. For Quiccheberg, who had travelled extensively in Italy, Giulio Camillo's theatre of memory provided an important model, *ibid.*, pp. 9f., 12, 25-34, 230, 241, 301f. and p. 111.

93 Documents testify that Sandtner built a model of Rhodes at the end of his life of which there are no further traces. Reitzenstein, Die alte bairische Stadt [note 39], p. 10. See above for the model of Rhodes, 1521.

with the standard of verisimilitude imposed by the proximity of the ›Residenzstädte‹ to Munich. But the model enables the viewer to glimpse a geographically distant and symbolically central location for Catholic Christians. The worldly and heavenly Jerusalem had anchored many medieval *mappae mundi* like the Ebstorf world map.[94] In Munich, it also enhanced the ducal collection on a temporal level; the model of Jerusalem pointed to past history and future salvation. The model's two palaces suggest that we are looking at the Holy City during the time of Christ, since the second temple is still intact and Herod's palace appears on an adjacent hill. In other words, the modeled Jerusalem provided a full-scale view of a past that had tremendous significance for the Christian believer.[95]

The princely collection was thus anything but an ornamental byproduct of grand political ambitions. The *Kunstkammer* lay at the very heart of Albrecht's self-fashioning as a Catholic ruler in the empire.[96] Regarding courtly cultivation of the arts, the dukes of Bavaria competed with the foremost rulers of Europe, emulating, among others, the Medici dukes in their patronage.[97] The two meanings of *repraesentatio*, that of political representation and that of rendition, in this case scientific, come together, however uneasily, in these objects.

By approaching the semantics of city portraits in three dimensions, this essay has attempted to make city models, an object many readers will

94 Birgit Hahn-Woernle, Die Ebstorfer Weltkarte, Stuttgart 1987.

95 Reconstructions of ancient cities were also part of Georg Braun's multi-volume city atlas, a printing venture contemporary with the Bavarian collection of models (1572-1618). See, for instance, different reconstructions of the historic Jerusalem (1,53; 2,54; 4,58/59) of which the one in the first volume has some resemblance to the Munich model. Ancient Rome (2, 49; 4,54/55) and Ostia (4,53) were also included. Georg Braun, ›Beschreibung‹ [note 29].

96 In the words of Uta Lindgren with regard to Duke Albrecht V: »afin d'avoir une image de sa souveraineté et la connaissance exacte de son pays, les représentations – cartes et plans-reliefs – revêtaient une importance primordiale.« Uta Lindgren, Les Plans-reliefs de Bavière au XVI[e] siècle, in: Actes du colloque international sur les plans-reliefs au passé et au présent, ed. André Corvisier, Paris 1993, pp. 167-173, here p. 169.

97 While Albrecht V employed agents to buy ancient coins, gems, and sculptures for the ducal collection, Wilhelm V travelled himself to Italy, a grand tour *avant la lettre*, among other things, to buy relics. See Sigmund Riezler, Albrecht V., in: Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, 1 (1875), rpt: Berlin 1967, pp. 234-237, here p. 237; Riezler, Wilhelm V., in: *ibid.,* XLII (1897), rpt: Berlin 1971, pp. 717-723.

have seen, look a little less familiar. As much as the archival record allows, my argument has discussed why such objects were produced and how they were understood in the sixteenth-century contexts for which they were created. Duke Albrecht's collection of city models, now in the Bavarian National Museum, is of interest because as one of the first collections of its kind, it solicited a fair number of records. In Munich's *Kunstkammer*, the ›Residenzstädte‹ *en miniature* functioned as a multiform technology of power for the ruler in the newly configured confessional state. Models such as these with their uniform aesthetic code might have served as planning devices, though we know little about their impact. We need not underestimate, however, the degree to which these same objects were able to generate viewing pleasure. The use of various materials, paints, and elaborate techniques to render sites city-like exceeded by far what was called for in terms of practical utility. Relief models were therefore artifacts whose making positioned them as luxurious competitors in urban perspectivism. As fancy objects, they were »princely toys«,[98] apt to reflect on the authority of the ruler, the ruler as artifex and commander of his own realm. But they were also objects that called attention to the complicated processes that went into their making.

98 Jean Meyer, Le Concept des plans-reliefs sous Louis XIV, in: Actes du colloque international sur les plans-reliefs au passé et au présent, ed. André Corvisier, Paris 1993, pp. 11-13.

Matthias Meyer

Narrating Vienna: Then and Now

Topographies of a city have a way of inscribing themselves into language. Although place-names in general may be descriptive, many street names in German cities often provide insights into their social, functional and/or geographical topography: Hoher Markt, Krämergasse, Jüdengasse, Obere Bleiche, Lohweg. One could easily produce a ›Catalogue Aria‹ of names that perpetuate a topography of a city that has long vanished. These topographies can be researched, and the development of a city retraced, not only through the study of names and maps but also through archaeology. In many cases we have a very detailed knowledge of how a city looked in earlier centuries. Vienna is no exception: its architectural and topographical history for the Middle Ages is densely documented and well researched.

The early medieval city occupied much of the site of the Roman settlement. As is quite common, the city was essentially bipartite, with an eastern *Bürgerstadt* or citizens' quarter and a western part, consisting of the Babenbergerhof, the residence of the ruling nobility, and the adjacent Jewish quarters.[1] During the Middle Ages, mainly in the thirteenth century, the Viennese old town expanded considerably, thus forming a core that now comprises the first borough of Vienna. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the city was clearly organized into quarters. In the western part of the city were mainly textile crafts, in the eastern part shoes and leather products. The New Market, for instance, was first mentioned in 1234; in the fourteenth century it became the centre of every business connected with transportation, from smiths to wagon builders, as well as the centre of the city's trade in flour.[2] One could describe the location of different businesses at some length, but one could also detail the social layout of the city, for instance noting where the upper echelons of the citizens lived. Around

1 This early division remains clearly visible for some time; cf. map 1 (»Die Wiener Altstadt, Bauliche Gliederung 1566«) in: Elisabeth Lichtenberger, Die Wiener Altstadt. Von der mittelalterlichen Bürgerstadt zur City, Textband, Kartenband, Vienna 1977. The ghetto was dissolved in 1421 with the banishment of the Jews from Vienna. However, there were Jews living again in Vienna in the later fifteenth century (though not many).

2 Lichtenberger [note 1], pp. 29f. Cf. also her map »Die Wiener Altstadt. Gruppierung der Handwerker 1566«.

1450, the city had about 25000 inhabitants, including the outskirts or *Vorstädte*. About 10000 inhabitants were not regular citizens; they belonged to the lower strata, with Jews and itinerants accounting for only 500, while prostitutes and beggars made up about 2000. The rest was nearly equally divided between citizens proper on the one side, and court, clergy, and the university on the other.[3]

Although Vienna was centrally located on important European thoroughfares, trade played a somewhat limited role in the life of the city: the Viennese participated largely as intermediaries between long-distance companies in Germany or Italy and local Austrian trade. Equally important for the income of the citizens were the surrounding vineyards, but, again, the business was mostly local. Vienna never became one of the great wine-trading cities: for example, in not-too-distant Passau, Viennese only accounted for 12% of the overall number of wine merchants. The standard explanation for this limited role in long-distance trade is that capital was usually tied up in local vineyards, and in loans extended to the rulers of Austria or the Emperor – a situation that led to financial disaster in the middle of the fifteenth century, when the major trade routes moved away from the Danube (mainly, but not exclusively due to the beginning Turkish invasion) and the connection between Vienna and the surrounding vineyards was severed[4] – a point to which I will return.

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3 Cf. the following table:

I. Bürger:	Erbbürger	3000	
	Kaufleute	5000	8000
II. Unterschicht:	Handwerksgesellen	3000	
	selbständig erwerbstätige Frauen	500(?)	
	Taglöhner, Dienstboten	4000	
	Juden, fahrendes Volk	500	
	Dirnen, Bettler	2000	10000
III. Hof, Adel		3000	
Geistlichkeit		2000(?)	
Universität		2000(?)	7000

Cited from Lichtenberger [note 1], p. 34. It follows a controversial population estimate of K. Schalk, Das Wiener Handwerk um die Zeit des Aufstandes von 1462 und die Bevölkerungszahl von Wien, Jahrbuch für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich (Wien), 13/14 (1914/15), pp. 300-346. Questioned, without suggesting other figures, amongst others, by Otto Brunner, Die Finanzen der Stadt Wien von den Anfängen bis ins 16. Jahrhundert, Studien aus dem Archiv der Stadt Wien 1/2, Vienna 1929.

4 Lichtenberger [note 1], pp. 39-41.

All this information – and much more in the same vein – has been gathered from the nineteenth century on from archeological evidence and the city archives by historians such as OETTINGER,[5] BRUNNER,[6] and PERGER;[7] LICHTENBERGER gives a short but comprehensive overview. But what can be discovered about this topography in texts relating to Vienna in the fifteenth century, a period that saw not only the advent of Turkish invasions, but also a short moment of Austro-Hungarian peace, and – most important – the end of the citizens' wealth? The texts I will be examining here are the ›Österreichische Chronik der Jahre 1454 bis 1467‹[8] and the notes of Johannes Tichtel;[9] in addition, I take into account Jacob Unrest's ›Österreichische Chronik‹.[10]

I begin with the ›Österreichische Chronik der Jahre 1454 bis 1467‹, an anonymous text transmitted in two manuscripts[11] that occasionally evince remarkable factual differences.[12] Both were printed in the eighteenth century, but there is no modern critical edition. I have used the Giessen-manuscript as printed by SENCKENBERG.[13] The chronicles are not an annalistic account of the events in and around Vienna,

5 KARL OETTINGER, Das Werden Wiens, Vienna 1951.

6 Besides the work cited, cf. OTTO BRUNNER, Die Politik der Stadt Wien im späten Mittelalter. Historische Studien, A.F. Pribram dargebracht, 1929; BRUNNER, Neue Arbeiten zur älteren Handelsgeschichte Wiens, Jahrbuch des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Wien 8 (1949/50), pp. 7-30.

7 RICHARD PERGER, Die Grundherren im mittelalterlichen Wien, Teil I-III, Jahrbuch des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Wien 19/20 (1963/64), pp. 11-68, 21/22 (1965/66), pp. 120-183, 23/25 (1967-69), pp. 108-182.

8 Cf. WINFRIED STELZER, ›Österreichische Chronik von 1454 bis 1476‹, ²VL 7, cols. 116f.

9 Johannes Tichtel's Tagebuch, 1478-1495, ed. TH[EODOR] G. VON KARAJAN, in: Fontes rerum austriacarum. Erste Abteilung: Scriptores, 1. Band: Joh. Tichtel, S. v. Herberstein, J. Cuspinian, G. Kirchmair, Vienna 1855, pp. 1-64.

10 Jakob Unrest: ›Österreichische Chronik‹, ed. KARL GROSSMANN, München 1978 (rpt. Weimar 1957 = Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum germanicarum, Tom. 11).

11 The two complete manuscripts are: Gießen UB cod. 352 and Vienna ÖNB cod. 2908.

12 There is a later translation into Latin: Vienna ÖNB, cod. 9027.

13 HEINRICH CHRISTIAN FREIHERR VON SENCKENBERG, Selecta ivris et historiarvm. tvm anecdota tvm iam edita, sed rariora. qvorvm tomvs V. Fasciculus I.: Anonymi Chronicon Avtriacum [!] ab anno 1454 vsque ad annvm 1467. Ex MSCTO cvm qvibvsdam observationibvs Francofortis ad Moenum 1739.

although some traces of that approach remain. The text is structurally divided into three main narratives. The first part reviews the last years of Hungarian and Austrian King Ladislaus Postumus, his death in 1457, and ensuing upheavals. The second and main part details the subsequent conflict between Duke Albrecht VI of Austria and his brother, Emperor Friedrich III. The last part recounts events of 1463-1467 after the death of Albrecht (and is sometimes concerned with the actions of Matthias of Hunyad, later crowned as the Hungarian king Matthias Corvinus). The text most often takes the City Council's point of view, siding with the Emperor wherever possible. The anonymous author was obviously very closely connected to the Council. The person most plausibly identified as the author is the Viennese town clerk (*Stadtschreiber*) Ulrich Grießenpeckh; the ›Chronicle‹ also ends with the year of Grießenpeckh's death, which is suggestive, if not conclusive evidence.

The author seems to have started with the idea of narrating the conflict between Albrecht and Friedrich as well as justifying the role of Vienna in it, but then added an account of the peaceful reign of Ladislaus Postumus as a prequel to put the conflict into perspective.[14] He started soon after the death of Albrecht in 1463, and continued writing, since the hero of his narrative, Friedrich, was still living. But he could not gain sufficient distance from his material to provide an equal epic breath for the events of the remaining three years, which are mostly filled with minor characters and events related in a comparatively unstructured narrative.

The topographical picture transmitted by this text is completely different from the one we can abstract from the archeological record. There is only a limited sense of place embodied in the ›Chronicle‹, since the author wrote for an intended Viennese audience, and could dispense with specifying location. Thus, if the City Council is suddenly and treacherously incarcerated by the mayor, the author does not mention where the incarceration took place, but he specifies that the Council was incarcerated in t w o groups, because its warring factions were invited separately to a purportedly secret meeting. As this example demonstrates, what is said about the topography of the city is determined by the narrative action. Accordingly, few buildings are mentioned with any degree of frequency: the Castle (the residence of the Emperor), the Praghaus (where Albrecht resides); the bridges

14 The author's depiction of Ladislaus' reign is somewhat contrafactual, giving the young king an autonomy of action he probably never had – and constructing a peaceful past that never existed.

in and around Vienna, since they are often the sites of duels and combat, and ceremonial encounters between the Emperor or Albrecht on the one side and the emissaries of the city on the other, or between the Emperor and the kings of Hungary or Bohemia. To cite just one example:

Des obgenanten Jars [1458] *am Montag und Erichtag vor Sanct*[us] *Michlstag kham der Ervvölt Khünig von Böhaimb zue der aussern Thonavv Pruekh, zue dem füegt sich der Römisch Khaiser unzt zue der Mittern Pruekh, da hett man auffgemacht zvvey gezelt, und thett darnach pottschafft dem Ervvölten von Böhaimb, den vveisten zvven Ritter under den Armen über die Pruekh, und alss Er nahent gegen den Römischen Khaiser, da khnüet er ni-//der und erbatt sich demüttiglich gegen dem Khaiser, der Khaiser In auffzauch, und füertt In nüder das gezeltt, daselbst sie und Ir baider Rath, thâdingten,* [...] (73f.)[15]

The consultations result in payment of a considerable ransom for a Viennese citizen imprisoned in Prague. It is important in this passage that the citizens of Vienna and the Emperor act in accord, with Friedrich obviously fulfilling the wishes of the City Council, an implication made more obvious by the fact that on the following pages the Viennese are presented as perfect hosts.

The prominent role of the bridges as part of the city defenses is emphasized in narrations about the many assaults on Vienna during the fifteenth century: the aggressors were, among others, Herzog Albrecht and the Emperor during their conflict over dominion in Austria, the King of Bohemia, and the King of Hungary, not to mention a host of minor nobles. The Viennese perspective of all the texts emerges from the fact that the bridges are usually held against the enemy, and seldom fail.

The Church of St. Stephan is mentioned far less than one would expect, mostly in connection with celebrations of peace. After the sudden and unexpected death of Albrecht (of which more later), the city of Vienna tries to secure an – at first – uncertain peace with the Emperor, against whom it acted during the previous year. At the conclusion of negotiations there are obligatory festivities:

[...] *und nach solcher Dancksagung wordt verkhundt durch den Legaten wie am Erichtag nach Dorotheen wuerdt werden ain Löblicher Process mit dem hailligthumb umb S. Steffans kirchen, und ain Ambt wuerdt gehalten werden bej dem hailligen Gaist nachdem wuerdt man Inen verkhunden Ain Bull, die aussgangen wer von dem hail-*

15 Quotes from the edition of Senckenberg; ›//‹ marks the beginning of a new page.

ligen vatter dem Babst, die innhielt solchen Antlass, die sie vor nie gehörtt hietten. Und als die Sachen nun all ain Endt hiett wuerden Armb und Reich geschafft zuegehen mit demselben legaten in S. Steffans kirchen, daselbst hueb man an zu singen das Te Deum laudamus mit der Orgel und wuerden geleuttet alle Glockhen zue S. Steffan und andern Pfarrkirchen und Clöstern und in der Stattt [!] *allenthalben auff dem Platz vor den hausern FreudenFeuer* [!] *gemacht, GOtt zue lob und dem Khaiser zue Ehren damit GOtt der HErr verlihe ain seeligen friden dadurch GOtt // gelobt und Reich und Arm in Irem Truebsall getröstet wuerden.* (279f.)

There is a dual aspect to the celebrations: The indulgence and the Te Deum account for religious interests, while the bonfires designate secular celebrations – with the ringing of the bells occupying a middle ground in the festive noise (already present in the specially mentioned organ). Subsequent reports reveal the formulaic nature of this description.[16]

The Castle becomes the focus of one of the most conflict-laden aspects of the topography of Vienna, representing the second (in many instances, the first) centre of power within the city walls after the Council or the mayor. Both rulers of Austria, Emperor Friedrich and Duke Albrecht, can be found in the city, beleaguered in the castle by the people of Vienna or by mercenaries of the mayor. After the death of Ladislaus Postumus, Austria was divided between Emperor Friedrich, Duke Albrecht, and Sigismund, but during the late 1450s and early 1460s Albrecht tried to attain dominance. While Vienna remained on the side of the Emperor according to the ›Österreichische Chronik der Jahre 1454 bis 1467‹, it is clear that the sympathies of the author for the Emperor are even greater than for the City Council. Thus, the narrative of some achievements of Albrecht's campaign come as something of a surprise, although the problems this creates are solved by his death. The author comments on the speculations about an alleged poisoning of Albrecht as follows:

Alss nun durch den Hochvvürdigen Vatter den legaten die underthâdinger und etlich ander, so die Landtschafft darzuegegeben hiett, viel weg und mitl in beeder Herrn sachen fürgenommen und betracht vvuerden die sach doch zue khainer endtlichen beschliessung gefuegen und ziehen möchten, begab sich dass der Allmechtig GOtt aus seiner Gevvalt verhenget über Hertzog Albrechten[17] *ain schvvere Kranckheitt, die Ime alle Glider seines Leichnams so gar zerritt dass er aines gä-//hen Todts starb, ohn alle*

16 Cf. Wolfgang Kirchhofer: Erinnerungen eines Wiener Bürgermeisters 1519-1522. Introduced and ed. by Richard Perger, Vienna 1984 (Schriftenreihe des Instituts für Österreichkunde), p. 64, where the same elements are cited.

17 This in italics in the original.

beruebung der heilligen Sacrament am Freytag vor S. Barbara tag des Morgen zwischen Sechs und Siben uhr vormittag seines Alters im 45sten Jar, und an S. Niclass tag bei seinen voruordern in S. Steffans Pfarrkirchen vvardt begraben. Darnach erstuenden viell Redt in dem gemainen Volckh in der Statt Wienn vvie man sein Gnaden hett vergeben, darauff er durch die Artzt beschautt und judicirt vvordt, Ime vver vergeben, das sich darnach dieselben Artzt vervvunderet und vvolten nicht mehr öffentlich davon reden. Aber ich fürcht leider, dass GOtt der Allmechtig üeber des grossmuettigen Fürsten ain solchen schnellen Todt verhengt hab, darumb, dass er an den Bürgern das unschueldig bluett mehr durch des zeittlichen guettes dann von Verschueldung vvegen liess vergiessen, das taglich von dem Erdtrich zue GOtt umb rach über ime geschrien hatt. (254f.)

Speculations regarding the sudden death of a ruler are commonplace – they are also reported, more sympathetically, in the case of Ladislaus Postumus, and – to take another work into account – in Unrest's ›Österreichische Chronik‹ regarding the death of Matthias Corvinus. Here, however, the bias of the author transforms the death of Albrecht into an exemplary story about the workings of divine providence, thus putting into perspective even the very few positive things recounted about him earlier.

Both Albrecht and Friedrich reside in the castle within the city walls. Thus, the castle embodies the conflict within the house of Austria as well as the conflict between the nobility and the city. Vienna more or less remains on the side of the Emperor, but things begin to change in 1462 when the old City Council is forcibly removed by Albrecht, and a new one installed. The new Council refuses the Emperor the right to enter the city until he renews all of its traditional privileges. Having entered Vienna, the Emperor in turn removes Albrecht's City Council against the wishes of the citizens, who fear a drastic loss of earlier privileges. In a breach of peace, the citizens attack the Emperor in his castle:

Der benannte Röm. Khaiser hett In der burgckh bei Im viell guetter leutt Herrn Ritter und Knecht, als auf zwey hundert die sich ritterlich wehrten, da wardt das hochwûrdige Gesâss des Hauss von Oesterreich also zutrümmert und zuschossen allenthalben, das es klâglich war anzueschauen. (168)

The Emperor is unable to defend the castle, and in the ensuing negotiations he offers the rulership of Austria to Albrecht for a yearly payment of 4000 Gulden – a nominal sum compared to other sums paid for ransom in the text.

But Albrecht does not remain undisturbed for long. Less than a year later, the text unpacks a new and separate narrative – an exemplum

against avarice. It begins with the mayor Wolfgang Holzer, who wants to become richer – behaviour that distances Holzer, the (negative) hero of the exemplum, from the rest of the city, thus effectively distancing Vienna from the unsuccessful politics of this one individual. Holzer wants to repossess Vienna, and secretly manages to bring 400 mercenaries into the city, who attack Albrecht in the castle. Thus the version of the ›Österreichische Chronik der Jahre 1454 bis 1467‹ attempts to downplay the fact that Holzer was in all probability in league with the Emperor. This is apparently due to Holzer's background as an outsider and mere craftsman, and thus removed from the author's sympathies. And while the author has hitherto adhered to the view that Albrecht's stay in the city is not wanted, although not unlawful, he changes his position. He does so literally, since his narrative locates the next scene within the beleaguered castle, a perspective he does not employ elsewhere in the text:

Der Herzog sprach, ist das Er sich wirtt schlagen für unns, so sein wir übel fürgesehen, wann wir den Ersten tag weder Essen noch trinckhen hie haben, wir haben auch khainerley wöhr, dass wir uns geretten möchten. Nun hab ich dem Holzer woll getrawet und hiett nicht gedacht, dass Er mich solt geben auf die Fleischbanck, doch will ich heut sterben, ehe ich jemandts gefangner sein will, rathet nun, was zue thun sey. (203)

This is the stuff of heroic epics – and the author engages this mode of discourse to shift the villain of his main narrative (Albrecht) into position as a positive hero in an intercalated moral tale about the mayor, who is later captured and imprisoned by Albrecht, together with other citizens. Albrecht even allows Holzer's house to be ransacked. At this point in the text, however, it is difficult to see how the author can successfully switch his narrative allegiance back to the Emperor, for even in the tale of Albrecht's vengeance on the conspirators there remain traces of the ›heroic hero‹ presented in this episode. It is mainly his untimely death by illness that redresses the balance. The symbolic value of the castle is made even more obvious after Albrecht's death, when the citizens literally clean it out for the Emperor.

Vienna – as a place for the Emperor, as a seat for a ruling family, as a well-situated and well-protected urban structure – forms the topographical focus of this chronicle. Although it is by definition the place of the Viennese, we do not obtain a detailed picture of the people inhabiting the city beyond the specification of two or more political factions. Generally the author presents them as unified, a stance that is certainly due to his position close to the City Council. But there is also an implied moral: division and false beliefs weaken the resolve of the

city.[18] This is made explicit in a comment on an attack of underpayed mercenaries on the city:

Desselben Jars am Montag nach dem hailigen Palmtage haben sich zuesamen gefuegt gen Mädling woll auf drey tausend Soldner Bohaimb und Teutsch die der Römisch Khaiser und Herzog Albrecht in dem Khrieg in das landt bracht hietten deren Haubtmann war der Watzlab und der von Vettaw, den der Römische Khaiser und sein brueder hertzog Albrecht Iren Sold schuldig waren und khunnten den nit entrichten, darumb sagten sie ab den Fürsten, und zuegen mit gewalt auf dem Wienerberg und fiengen woll auf vier//hundert hauer in weingarten und ander frumb leutt allenthalben umb Wien, derselben sie etlich zue todt schluegen und ettlich hart wundten und die andern fuereten sie gefangen gen Mödling und legten die in ain Kheller über einander, als das vieh, unn martertten die armen leutt um guett dass es GOtt im Himmel möcht Erbarmet haben, darumb Inen der Fürst aus der Statt khain widerstandt thett wann es was in derselben statt VVien solche grosse zwitracht und unainigckhait under den Bürgern und Handwerckhern, dass ainer dem andern seines verderben zue sah, und verdurben also mit ainander. (194f.)

On the other hand, unity leads to victory. The Viennese detect a plan by Albrecht to attack the Nicolai monastery outside the Stubentor:

Alss man das in der Statt innen vvardt, schlueg man an die gloggen, da macht sich auff das Volckh in der Statt und auch die Soldner und besetzten die brückhen und scharmützelten mit des hertzogen Volckh mit Püxen und andern vvaffen Es lieffen auch hinden in den gârten zue das Stattvolckh und namben den feinden etliche pferde, die sie an die zaun bunden hetten und solch scharmûtzeln wehret als bey drey stundten, und als der Fürst vernamb, dass Er und die seinige nichts machten geschaffen da zog er wider aus dem Closter gen Schwechet, und ainer aus den seinen bleib liegendt in der vorstatt dem hett man mit ainer puxen abgeschossen den fuess [...]. (133)

One of the most aggressive acts of Albrecht's mercenaries reported by the author is the killing of laborers in the surrounding vineyards, i.e., within the area usually protected by the city. In fact, throughout the text, this is the major atrocity attributed to the enemies of Vienna – not because of the labourers, but because of the vineyards. In the most telling passage, the Council complains to emissaries from Albrecht during an uneasy truce:

vvie nit christlich vver dass man aus den Gottsheusern Raubheuser machte, und das man khaine khindte bey drey und vier Jaren fahen und die frucht der vveingârten

18 This moral is, again, a commonplace of historiographical texts on Vienna, and applied also the depiction of attacks by Bohemians, Hungarians, and Turks in other chronicles – cf. note 20.

zue pavven vvehren solt, das zuvor in der unglaubigen und ander khriegckh nit vver erhöret vvorden das thetten die so des // hochgebornen Fürsten hertzog Albrechts hielten und seiner gnaden khrieg füerten [...]. (150f.)

This complaint is made in spring 1463; in late autumn 1462 Albrecht forbade work in the vineyard. All news regarding the state of the vineyards is chronicled in detail. Thus, it comes as no surprise that one of the few local meteorological phenomena described in the entire text is an early frost that results in very little, but high quality wine. What from a modern perspective seems to confirm the conception of Vienna as a place of Wine and Women and Song,[19] shows how the economic fortunes of the city were problematically tied to this one commodity.

Thus far I have discussed the few places in Vienna detailed in the ›Österreichische Chronik der Jahre 1454 bis 1467‹, places of politics, the public space of the major historical narratives. During this period, Vienna was often subjected to assaults, and there were severe shortages – most of which are not mentioned in this chronicle. The public space is rarely accompanied by indications of a co-existing private space. While the author clearly adopts narrative constructions from heroic or courtly epics, he also seems to adopt the reticence of these genres in describing the course of everyday life. There is even less sense of place in Jakob Unrest's ›Österreichische Chronik‹, written by someone who did not live within the city walls. But Unrest obviously made use of some important documents, and had access to a considerable collection of news or *zeitungen*.[20] But even here, a very important space within the city is left nearly completely blank: the university. This is partially compensated for by the marginalia of Johannes Tichtel.

Tichtel was a medical doctor, later a professor at the university,[21] who entered brief marginalia in two Avicenna incunabula that he used in his lectures.[22] Since these notes are mainly tied to his business as

19 «Wein, Weib und Gesang« – a phrase originally attributed to Martin Luther – has been turned into the title of one of the most successful waltzes by Johann Strauss jr. (op. 333) and has influenced the European perception of Vienna immensely.

20 A good example is the taking of Vienna in 1485 by Matthias Corvinus from the (absent) Emperor Friedrich III, as narrated in chapters 148-150 of Unrest's ›Austrian Chronicles‹. There is not much detail, and what is reported as detail follows a moral agenda, for the story is again narrated as an exemplum of the (proverbial?) saying: *Aygner nutz, iunger radt und alter neyd, die drew haben Rom zerprochen und Wyenn verloren* (p.156).

21 Winfried Stelzer, Tichtel, Johannes, in: ²VL 9, cols. 920-922.

22 Vienna ÖNB Ink. 3.A.5. The volume contains Avicenna's *Canon*, printed

a doctor, bookkeeping takes up the bulk of the entries, which were certainly not meant to be read by others. While they occasionally contain some elegant Latin phrases, they reveal neither rhetorical nor historiographical aspirations. We obtain information mostly about his medical practice, which includes the treatment of female ailments and surgical operations. Tichtel was obviously highly in demand, travelling (on foot) to Wiener Neustadt and to several surrounding monasteries. With the advent of the plague we find him treating patients and participating in public disputations – until he gets infected by a patient (who is identified by name and soon dies), and then he – in one of the few longer narrative passages – describes the course of his illness, how he treats himself (by opening the bulbous growths), and his convalescence. Although his notes on political events (mainly during the occupation of Vienna by Matthias Corvinus) are often at odds with other sources and most likely incorrect (the same holds for his reports on distant events), he offers something missing in the ›Österreichische Chronik der Jahre 1454 bis 1467‹ and in Unrest's ›Österreichische Chronik‹, namely the ›everyday‹ perspective of a ›normal‹ citizen (although Tichtel was anything but that, being the dean of the Faculty of Medicine).

During the siege of Vienna by Matthias Corvinus, he comments, while accepting bread as a fee, that it was especially welcome, since flour was getting scarce.[23] We also find traces of the hope and desperation that accumulate during a siege: news of approaching ships full of provisions is greeted exuberantly, while uncertain news about a possible defeat of Corvinus in Silesia is carefully analyzed. Tichtel's notes also throw into relief concern about the state of the vineyards, so markedly and inexplicably present in the ›Österreichische Chronik der Jahre 1454 bis 1467‹. We frequently find Tichtel and his wife buying vineyards in the surrounding country:

*Item dominica ante luce ego et vxor emimus vineam dictam ›tueresl am nusperg‹ pro 80 libras d. Item pridie crispini eminus vineam paruam pro sedecim libr. d., ein leytel hunderhalb der heyling stat. **Deus bene faueat.*** (15, 24 October 1486, p. 40)

A considerable portion of his income is tied up in these vineyards, and they comprise, as is made clear in other parts of his notes, an

in 1477.

23 Tichtel has previously accepted bread in lieu of money, but one might well ask whether the good doctor altered the price for his consultations, thus keeping supplies flowing for his growing family.

important source of additional revenue. Tichtel, like others, produces wine not only for the consumption of his family or for export, but also for sale:

Eo die incepi ducillare[24] *vas vini 42 vrnarum, pro 14 denarijs vnam octauam, quod emi 1482 in vindemijs eiusdem anni ex caluo monte. Deus bene faueat oro! Ebibitur feria sexta post iacobi. Recepi libram, 80 denarios.* (23-29 July 1485, p. 35)

He sells wine by the glass in his own yard, thus generating a considerable revenue – unless cheated:

Item in die Egidi incepi ducillare vas vini 32 vrnarum et semis, pro viginti. Quod vinum emi Anno domini 1487, vrnam pro 5 sz., ymo minori precio, ex neuburga, ex vinea domini erhardi plebani in meydling, ex vinea sua puechberg, ex qua habui, preter vngeltum, 75 libras d. Dolo aliquas libras perdidi. (1 September 1490, p. 54)

These notes provide a glimpse into one of the most pernicious problems in Vienna: inflation. As the price of wine escalates, Tichtel's notes swell with complaints regarding the devaluation of his money.

From such marginalia one gets a sense of Vienna as a city related to the one represented in the Austrian chronicles. Although these everyday details add ›local colour‹, the university, a very important factor in Vienna, is still absent. Tichtel's notes do not relate to the university, even if he is a faculty member and his comments are written in the books he frequently uses for his lectures. In fact, we would get a very different picture of Tichtel using material from the archives of the university. This might point to an uneasy relationship between city and university, but could also be due to the differences in both sources: the ›Österreichische Chronik der Jahre 1454 bis 1467‹ focuses on dealings of the City Council, Tichtel's notes on his life outside the university.

I have deliberately used the term ›notes‹ for Tichtel's text, and ›narrative‹ in connection with the chronicles. The author of the ›Österreichische Chronik der Jahre 1454 bis 1467‹ is at his best when he can follow narrative patterns. His principal narrative, a feud between brothers, in which the bad one gains a temporary victory before the good one triumphs through the intervention of God, follows the classic formula for depicting knightly combat. But when this formula becomes inapplicable the author encounters difficulties arranging his material. The rise of Matthias Corvinus is quite indistinct in the

24 *ducillare* means to open a new vat.

›Austrian Chronicles of 1454-1467‹, since the author did not yet know whether he was another villain, and thus lapsed into an annalistic presentation of events, turning to stories about minor nobles who become robber barons and eventually perish. The ›Österreichische Chronik der Jahre 1454 bis 1467‹ thus peters out, the narrative force of its main events lacking. The author even adheres to his narrative scheme when Albrecht is cast for a few scenes in the role of a positive story element in the above-mentioned exemplum of the mayor's greed. How he manages to return to his main narrative with Albrecht as the arch-villain is one of the most fascinating sections in the text.

Tichtel's notes, on the other hand, constitute no narrative, and have no pretense of being one, so that anyone treating them as such will be considerably disappointed. They are neither more nor less than a ledger of family finances, in which Tichtel occasionally abandons his book-keeping mode, and records something of major concern in his life. These exceptions are still related mainly to finances, such as the comments on his wine business; even the report of his illness involves lost revenue. There are occasional divergences from this focus, for instance, when he notes that a cadaver, taken from the gallows and delivered to the faculty of medicine for dissection, proved to be still alive when the scalpel was applied, and was successfully revived. In contrast, the fact of his marriage is barely mentioned. For the entire year 1479 we find notes regarding only his income, with one exception:

Item Sabatho post tiburtii 12 sz., preter 6 d. Item die tiburtij nupsi. Item Sabatho, qui fuit georgii 12 sz. 15 d. (17, 14 April 1479, p. 9)

It would be overinterpreting an account ledger to interpret this disregard as an instance of the alterity of the medieval psyche – rather, if one wants to make much of this sentence, it is striking that it is there at all, since from beginning of his notes (1477) Tichtel has focussed almost exclusively on accounts.[25]

The texts I have discussed so far provide only a partial glimpse into fifteenth-century Viennese life. Without the evidence of archaeology, street names, archival materials, and visual evidence,[26]

25 There is also a different interpretation: Tichtel's marriage was more important for the account ledger than as an emotional highlight. He married a rich widow from a good family, and his first house was bought mostly by her money. An emotional investment in his family (e.g., the celebration of anniversaries) becomes tangible only after the birth of his first children.

26 Anselm Weissenhofer, Die ältesten Ansichten der Stadt Wien. Wien im

our image of Vienna would be incomplete, since the city – while certainly important as a real and symbolic place – remains elusive. The ›Österreichische Chronik der Jahre 1454 bis 1467‹, presumably written by Grießenpeckh, and Tichtel's notes are two of three fifteenth-century texts that are the main focus of a Viennese dissertation entitled ›Zur bürgerlichen Geschichtsschreibung in Wien während des 15. Jahrhunderts‹, submitted in 1925 by HEIMITO VON DODERER, who would later become famous for his novels ›Die Strudlhofstiege‹ and ›Die Dämonen‹, but who after his return from World War I was forced by his parents to enter the university.[27] During his time as prisoner of war in Siberia, Doderer had decided to become a professional writer. While this ambition would eventually meet with success, this was still far in the future; in fact, only after the unexpected success of ›Die Strudlhofstiege‹ (1951) could Doderer actually make a secure living as a writer (and become the Austrian hope for a Nobel prize in literature). Doderer chose his disciplines – history as a major, psychology as a minor – as a preparation for his career as a writer, although his relation to history was sceptical to begin with, and can be encapsulated in the statement: »Geschichte als Wissenschaft ist ein Unsinn.«[28]

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späten Mittelalter. Mit erläuterndem Text, Vienna 1923.

27 This dissertation was never printed. I have used an electronic version from the archives of the Heimito von Doderer-Gesellschaft, Berlin. – The third text used is ›Die Denkwürdigkeiten der Helene Kottaner‹. Doderer later was very ambivalent about his ›career‹ as an historian, but he always maintained that the one objective goal he achieved in this profession was to identify correctly the author of the ›Österreichische Chronik der Jahre 1454 bis 1467‹. Although the second edition of the VL still lists the texts as anonymous, Grießenpeckh is named as the most plausible author, with a reference to DODERER's Dissertation (a mention that would please him immensely). – The following paragraphs introduce material taken from a planned publication on role and function of the Middle Ages in the works of Heimito von Doderer.

28 »Geschichte als Wissenschaft ist ein Unsinn. Nur die sogenannten Hilfs-Wissenschaften sind wissenschaftliche; sie sind die Geschichts-Wissenschaft selbst. Hierin hat Leo Santifaller logischerweise recht, aber: das Ganze ist durchaus nicht der Mühe wert, es sei denn als praktisches Mittel des Existenzkampfes, als utilitärer Vorwand, um einer Amts-Stelle Existenzberechtigung zu verleihen, damit man sie sichere und von ihr lebe. Das aber liegt genau auf der gleichen Ebene, auf welcher der Käs' verkauft wird, die Schuhe gedoppelt, und Toilettenseifen hergestellt werden.« (Heimito von Doderer, Commentarii 1951-1956. Tagebücher aus dem Nachlaß, ed. WENDELIN SCHMIDT-DENGLER, Munich 1976, S. 36). – It is still quite unclear why Doderer specialized in medieval history. There are certain areas of affinity Doderer himself pointed out – such as his belief

During the 1920s he wrote essays for newspapers (31 in a period of 10 years), many related to the Middle Ages. Tichtel – whose life DODERER reconstructed in detail for his dissertation, using the notes as well as university archival material – plays only a minor role in these journalistic writings. The most detailed excerpts from medieval texts are taken from the ›Österreichische Chronik der Jahre 1454 bis 1467‹. Two episodes, reprinted verbatim in a very close translation with a minimum of commentary, contain the most local colour and furnish the most detailed picture of Vienna. The first relates the inflation of 1459 and 1460.[29] Doderer translates the relevant passages from the Viennese manuscript of the chronicle, intervening only rarely. A number of interested parties conspired during this year to reduce the amount of precious metal used in coins in order to skim off the remainder for their own profit. One of the problematic elements of the narrative for the author is the fact that the Emperor is also implicated in these plots. Accordingly, he is is portrayed as reluctant and misinformed, while the Viennese, of course, know from the beginning that the scheme is potentially disastrous. The ensuing currency devaluation is presented in great detail, and suddenly not only prices for bread and wine are mentioned, but also of other commodities as well, including the typically Viennese *Lunglbratn*.[30] Again, it is obvious how this story is accommodated to the author's agenda: the Emperor is – in all probability, contrary to historical fact – presented as innocent, and Vienna is the place where the people have been right from the start.

The other episode Doderer translates for a newspaper article involves the demise of Holzer, whose gruesome death furnishes the climactic touch for the moral tale of the ›Österreichische Chronik der Jahre 1454 bis 1467‹.[31] This poses a problem for the value-system of the medieval author: Holzer is clearly a negative exemplum, and thus must meet a grisly end. But his fellow prisoners belong to the nucleus

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in dragons (there is hardly any literary work of Doderer's where dragons do not play a major role, either literally or metaphorically), but this is certainly the self-mystification of a successful novelist.

29 The story is told as chapter XXVIII in the ›Österreichische Chronik der Jahre 1454 bis 1467‹ (pp. 92-100). Doderer's account appeared under the heading: Inflation 1460 oder: »Der größte Lump bleibt oben«. Wörtlich aus dem Kodex (Handschrift) Nr. 2908 der Nationalbibliothek: Chronik des Ulrich Grießenpeck, Stadtschreiber zu Wien, in: Der Abend, April 6, 1929. I have used an electronic version of the article from the archives of the Heimito von Doderer-Gesellschaft, Berlin.

30 A *lunglbratn* translates as a *faux filet* of beef or pork.

31 I have included the story as translated by Doderer as an appendix.

of the city and are positive figures. Holzer could have been condemned as a foreign upstart (though the text never explicitly does so), but Albrecht also had to revert to his negative role after functioning as Holzer's nemesis. This is achieved by the last words of one of Holzer's fellow prisoners whose death is presented as an atrocity – and whose last words Doderer takes as a verbatim report without asking whether caution might be due because of their narrative function. This might not be a grave criticism for a newspaper essay, but it is surprising that the future novelist Doderer never takes into account the shaping function of narrative patterns (or even questions of genre) in his dissertation.[32] Holzer's end – he is the only one who is not beheaded and is quartered instead – is dramatic, one of the very few instances where the author uses direct quotes, and thus accords Holzer a last heroic moment. The author, however, has the last word: »Und also nahm des Holzers Macht ein gar rasches Ende«.[33] But in giving Holzer this simultaneously shameful and heroic death, he implicates Albrecht who, after having fulfilled his function as Holzer's nemesis, is cast again in a negative light. By taking this episode out of context and reframing it with an introduction that puts Holzer in a positive light, Doderer throws the heroic death of Holzer into relief, while at the same time remodelling the Middle Ages into an archaic otherworld where brutal death is heroically suffered. This is quite at odds with the usual appropriation of the Middle Ages in his other articles: current inflation is paralleled with medieval inflation, current ›intellectual epidemics‹ with medieval ones. Doderer even finds medieval equivalents for sports like racing and betting.

The medieval texts present us with a strange phenomenon: on the one hand, both chronicles have a clearly structured narrative, but little sense of the city as a living and functioning socio-political organism.

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32 Narrative elements in medieval chronicles are rarely the object of research; cf. Christoph März, Geborgte Helden, geliehene Gefühle. Heldenepos und höfischer Roman in Ottokars ›Österreichischer Reimchronik‹, in: Heldendichtung in Österreich – Österreich in der Heldendichtung. Viertes Pöchlarner Heldenliedgespräch (1996), ed. Klaus Zatloukal, Vienna 1997 (Philologica Germanica 20), pp. 123-136. The position of Hayden White regarding the rhetorical in historiography needs to be extended to medieval chronicles and reformulated regarding the inclusion of narrative plots; cf. Hayden White, Tropics of Discourse, Baltimore, Md. 1978 (paperback 1979).

33 This is Doderer's version (cf. appendix); the medieval text has: *und also nambe des Holtzers gewaltt und Reichthumb gar khûrtzlich ain Endt* (›Österreichische Chronik der Jahre 1454 bis 1467‹, p. 212).

At best the city is presented as a body of citizens that by acting as one becomes a literary character rather than a place. Only a few locations attain a certain reality: the castle, the bridges, St. Stephan, the vineyards – and the Hoher Markt as a place of execution. On the other hand we have – in Tichtel's notes – more information about everyday life, but no narrative that connects the fragments of Vienna. Even the common practice of using one's backyard as an impromptu wine-bar must be known to the reader before one can make sense of Tichtel's remarks about his wine vats. Tichtel's disjointed sentences form a coherent narrative only during his illness and when he deals with the siege of Vienna – and then he is quite often wrong. In passages recounting the situation in a city under pressure, the major difference between Tichtel and the earlier ›Österreichische Chronik der Jahre 1454 bis 1467‹ is the loss in confidence: Tichtel is much more timid than the author of the ›Chronicle‹, although even in the earlier text it becomes clear that Vienna's role and importance are decreasing – and thus the main narrative gets fragmented, and in these fragments remnants of former glory can still be found.

Doderer re-uses this material to a different purpose. He does not have to present a unifying story, but is looking for salient details. In his journalistic essays medieval Vienna serves a double purpose: it is a place of alterity, where strange and gruesome things happened; but it is also – much more often, and much more clearly – a place of continuity, where hardly any modern occurrence has no medieval counterpart. Vienna thus becomes the only stable place in the rapidly changing world after World War I. This is, of course, an overly simplistic view, and it is much to Doderer's credit that there is a substantial development in his later medievalism as a writer. But while Doderer's focus on everyday occurrences and psychological detail is quite clear, it is astonishing how very little of it there is. The same holds for the city as a topographical entity: The ›Österreichische Chronik der Jahre 1454 bis 1467‹ and Tichtel's notes take place mostly in Vienna. But late medieval Vienna, while being the main location of these very different texts, would remain, if we were left only with the historical narratives, a rather blank presence.[34]

34 An altered version of this paper, concerning mostly the relation between Vienna and its vineyards, was presented at an informal colloquium celebrating the 60th birthday of Alfred Ebenbauer, to whose memory I want to dedicate this article.

Appendix

Heimito von Doderer, unter dem Pseudonym Dr. Ottokar Stix

Vor dem Schafott
Hinrichtungen aus 5 Jahrhunderten, geschildert von Augenzeugen

II. Wolfgang Holzer

[...] Die Hinrichtung Wolfgang Holzers und seiner Gefährten hat uns ein hoher städtischer Beamter beschrieben, der sie mit eigenen Augen gesehen hat. Hier sein Bericht:

Als der Herzog nun den Holzer in seiner Gewalt hatte, ließ er danach noch Herrn Oswald Reicholf gefangennehmen, ebenso Sebastian Ziegelhauser, Hans Oednacker und Hans Purckhauser. Diese hielt man in der Hofburg fest bis zum 14. April. Danach führte man sie in das »Diebshaus«. Am 15. April wurde ein Wagen hergerichtet mit einer Art von Bühne darauf und vor das »Diebshaus« geführt. Auf den Wagen setzte man nun Herrn Oswald den Reicholf, Herrn Augustin den Ritter (den gefangenen Kommandanten jener in die Stadt gedrungenen kaiserlichen Reiter), Sebastian Ziegelhauser (ein kaiserlich Gesinnter, ehemals auch Bürgermeister), Wolfgang Holzer, Hans Purckhauser und den Höllerbeck, und führte sie auf den »Hohen Markt« vor die Schranne (Gerichtsgebäude). Dort wurde ausgerufen, daß niemand diese Bürger mit Worten ängstigen solle! Danach nahm man Herrn Augustin, den Ritter, vom Wagen und schlug ihm auf dem Hohen Markt das Haupt ab. Sodann führte man die anderen Bürger auf den »Hof«. Dort wurden Schranken aufgerichtet, und es sollten nun alle geviertelt werden. Der Reicholf und auch die anderen riefen das gemeine Volk und die Bürger an, daß sie ihnen die Wohltat erweisen möchten, des Fürsten Gnade für sie zu erbitten, daß man sie mit dem Schwerte richte. So schickten nun die Bürger und das Volk einige aus ihrer Mitte zu dem Fürsten, und ließen Seine Gnaden bitten, jenen das Schwert zu gewähren. Das tat der Fürst. Allein Wolfgang Holzer nahm er aus: den sollte man vierteilen. Als die Boten wiederkamen vom Fürsten und dem Reicholf und den anderen sagten, daß der Fürst sie begnadigt und ihnen das Schwert verliehen habe, da dankten sie ihnen gar sehr. Und als der Reicholf nun den Hals hinstreckte, rief er das Volk an, daß sie Gott für ihn bitten möchten; denn er habe den Tod, den er jetzt leide, nicht verschuldet; sein ganzes Verschulden in jener Sache aber habe er aufgeschrieben und daraus würde man wohl entnehmen,

ob er den Tod verdient habe oder nicht. Und so empfahl er Gott seine Seele. - Der Ziegelhauser bekannte seine Schuld offen: er sterbe darum, daß er dem Herzog keinen Treueid geleistet habe, was er von Rechts wegen auch nicht hätte tun können. Denn er wäre des Eides, den er vor dem römischen Kaiser, als einem natürlichen Erbherren und Landesfürsten, geschworen habe, gar niemals entbunden worden. Es sei auch ihm und den anderen Bürgern der Stadt vom römischen Kaiser verboten worden, seinem Bruder, dem Herzog Albrecht, zu schwören. Ziegelhauser ermahnte dann das Volk und die Bürger, untereinander einig zu sein und die Versöhnung der beiden Fürsten herbeizuführen. Denn wenn dies nicht geschehe, dann werde noch viel größeres Uebel aus alledem entstehen. Daß heute sein Blut vergossen werde, daß sei nur ein kleines Uebel, sagte er. Aber es werde noch so viel Blut vergossen werden, daß man noch lange Jahre davon sprechen würde! - Und empfahl somit seine Seele Gott dem Allmächtigen und reckte hin seinen Hals zu dem Richtschwert. Desgleichen taten die anderen zwei, und so wurden sie durch des Herzogs Machtspruch hingerichtet. Als nun die Reihe an den Bürgermeister Holzer kam, dachte dieser, man würde ihm auch das Schwert zubilligen. Da warf der Henker ein Brett vor ihn hin. Der Bürgermeister sprach: »Wie meinst Du das?« Der Henker antwortete: »Herr, Ihr müßt anders dran.« Der Bürgermeister erschrak und sprach: »Nun, Gott weiß wohl, daß ich einen solchen Tod nicht verdient habe, daß nun mein Leib den Vögeln zuteil werde! Aber Gott, der Herr, ist heute vor acht Tagen an den heiligen Kreuze unschuldig gestorben - also will ich heute auch gerne sterben, wenn es sein Wille ist.« Und er bezeugte vor allen, daß er als frommer Christ sterben wolle. Während der Henker nun an ihm herumhantierte, und ihm den Leib schon bis ans Herz hinauf aufgehackt hatte, hob er das Haupt, schaute sein eigenes Eingeweide an und rief inniglich zu unserer lieben Frau, bis ihm die Seele vom Munde schied. Er wurde in vier Teile zerteilt und diese wurden an Pflöcken aufgehangen vor den Toren gegen die vier Landstraßen hinaus. Außerdem nahm man eine Eisenstange und befestigte sie auf einer Zinne bei dem Vorstadttor zu St. Nikolaus, wo er die Soldaten eingelassen hatte. Auf diese Stange steckte man sein Haupt, als das eines Verräters. Und also nahm des Holzers Macht ein gar rasches Ende.
Der Abend, August 1932.

(Textgrundlage ist eine elektronische Version aus dem Archiv der Heimito von Doderer-Gesellschaft.)

Stuart M. Blumin

The Encompassing City: *Vedutismo* in Early Modern Art and Culture[1]

In the 1640s and 1650s the young French draftsman and engraver Israël Silvestre began to produce views of modern Rome and Paris that may be seen today as a striking new departure in the representation of cities in Western art. Silvestre was not an aesthetic visionary, and his earliest Roman and Parisian views drew upon established modes of topographical art that would seem to have little to do with cities, much less with new ways of representing them on paper or canvas. In particular, they continued a nearly century-old practice of *rovinismo* – the detailed sketching of ancient Roman ruins, mainly by northern artists such as Etienne Dupérac, Maarten van Heemskerck, and Hieronymus Cock, in service to the ongoing revival of interest in classical civilization. Silvestre's earliest views of Rome lay squarely within that tradition, and in my view added little to it. But the focus and form of his work would rather quickly evolve in novel directions – toward the depiction of the modern pilgrimage churches of Rome, some of the humbler churches of Paris, and, within a very few years, the modern city itself, drawn and etched in a manner that, while not entirely without precedent, was innovative in specifiable ways. I would, in fact, specify five attributes of Silvestre's Roman and Parisian views that, when taken together, suggest the emergence of a new artistic genre – a genre that would appear more clearly and forcefully in the 1660s with the Roman views of Giovanni Battista Falda and Lievin Cruyl, the continuing work of Silvestre and of Adam Pérelle in Paris, and the views of a host of engravers and painters in Amsterdam and other Dutch cities.[2]

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1 Some portions of Stuart Blumin's chapter will appear in his The Encompassing City: Streetscapes in Early Modern Art and Culture, Manchester 2008, and are printed here with permission.

2 A brief but good biographical essay on Silvestre is to be found in L[OUIS] E[TIENNE] FAUCHEUX, Catalogue raisonnée de toutes les estampes qui forment l'œuvre d'Israël Silvestre, precédé d'une notice sur sa vie, Paris 1857; rpt. 1969, pp. 1-32. FAUCHEUX's Catalogue is the standard source for Silvestre, whose etchings are generally cited according to their ›Faucheux number‹. Other works on Silvestre include: Israël Silvestre: Vues de Paris, ed. JEAN-PIERRE BABELON, [Paris] 1977, and SIMONETTA PROSPERI VALENTI, Israel Silvestre: Scelta di vedute di Roma, n. p., n.d.

Fig. 1: Israël Silvestre, Piazza e Palazzo San Marco, Rome, ca. 1650. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris. Printed with permission.

These views are, first, close or medium-range scenes of particular parts or focal points of the city, seen from vantage points that are clearly inside the city (Fig. 1). Both scene and vantage point are implicitly encompassed by the city, and by other possible views and viewpoints within this larger whole. The English word *streetscape* might seem to capture this point, but it is the Italian word *veduta* (meaning simply ›view‹) that from a very early date attached itself to the genre, and I will use that term here, not least because the focus of the views themselves was as often the piazza, the canal, or the building or building ensemble as the street.[3] Second, the views of Silvestre and his successors are essentially documentary in character and purpose – *vedute* are topographical representations of the real city, which we may contrast to those idealized or fanciful images more properly called *vedute ideate* or *capricci*. Third, they elevate the city to the subject of the work, as opposed to its background or frame. Saints or armies need not enter the scene in triumph; festivals need not occur; the city itself is (to bor-

3 On the urban meaning of *veduta* see, among others, Fernando Marías, From the ›Ideal City‹ to Real Cities: Perspectives, Chorographies, Models, Vedute, in: The Triumph of the Baroque: Architecture in Europe, 1600-1750, ed. Henry A. Milon, New York 1999, esp. p. 229; Giuliano Briganti, The View Painters of Europe, trans. Pamela Waley, New York 1970; Stefano Susinno, La veduta nella pittura italiana, Florence 1974.

row from the title page of Falda's Roman views) a *nuovo teatro*, a new showplace that is its own performance. Fourth, they are multiple, not singular, and in most instances intended for simultaneous publication and serial viewing – one scene following another, the whole constituting a series of views and viewpoints conveying, in sharp contrast to the traditional ›distant city‹ of real or imagined towers clustered behind a real or emblematic wall, the complexity, the fragmentation, the indeterminacy, of the modern city. And finally, they were drawn and engraved for multiple issue, to reach local and transient markets that were themselves ascending features of the city the views were intended to represent.

We can follow Silvestre's development toward an unencumbered *vedutismo* through three views of the Tempio della Pace (more accurately, the Basilica Massenzio) in Rome. The first, Dupérac's sketch published in 1575, is frontal, factual, and utterly devoid of visual context – an accurately drawn image of a specific ancient ruin, no more and no less (Fig. 2).[4]

Fig. 2: Etienne Dupérac, Tempio della Pace, Rome, from Antoine Lafréry, ›I vestigi dell'antichitá di Roma‹, Rome 1575. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris. Printed with permission.

4 This is one of a series of Dupérac's views of Roman ruins published as ›I vestigi dell'antichitá di Roma‹, Rome 1575.

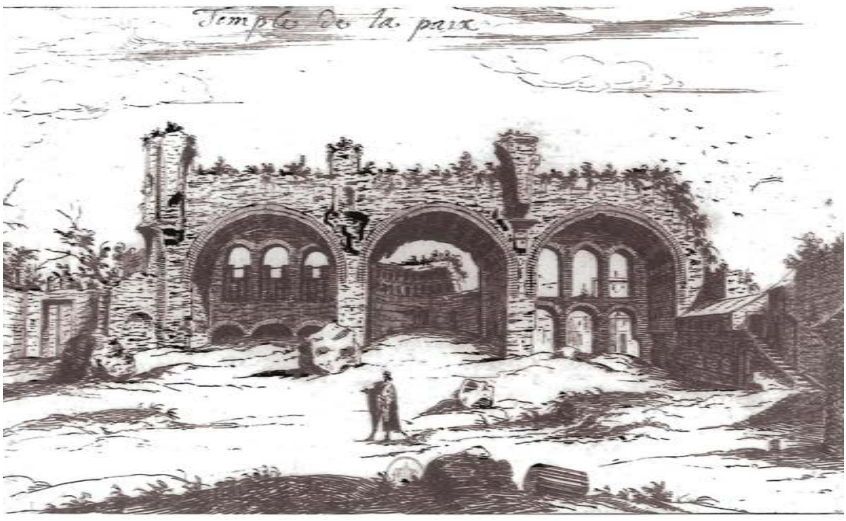

Fig. 3: Israël Silvestre, Tempio della Pace, Rome, ca. 1640. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris. Printed with permission.

Fig. 4: Israël Silvestre, Campo Vaccino, ca. 1650. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris. Printed with permission.

Silvestre's first view of the same site some sixty-five years later is nearly identical, except that the subject is a little further from the picture plane, thereby offering a little more context (Fig. 3). His second, however, is quite different. The ancient basilica, now seen diagonally, recedes into the background as the modern city encroaches on it by means of the Baroque church of Santa Francesca Romana in the right foreground and the humans and animals that give the view its modern (if rather rustic) name, the Campo Vaccino (Fig. 4). This was an important if intermediate step for Silvestre, who would soon supply images of the modern city less freighted with a lingering *rovinismo*, in Rome, Paris, Venice, Lyon, his native Nancy, and elsewhere. His (ca. 1650) view of the southern end of Rome's Piazza Navona, for example, portrays a distinctly contemporary scene within an ensemble of modern structures that betrays nothing of the ancient racecourse that gave shape to the piazza as a whole (Fig. 5).

Silvestre was perhaps the most important of a small number of graphic artists who discovered the city street (or the piazza, or the bend

Fig. 5: Israël Silvestre, Piazza Navona, Rome, ca. 1650. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris. Printed with permission.

of a city canal) as a subject during these years, and who developed the scenic possibilities and strategies of this form of urban representation. Another was the Dutch former sailor, Reinier Nooms (better

Fig. 6: Reinier Nooms (Zeeman), Monkelbaens-Tooren, Amsterdam, 1650-55. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris. Printed with permission.

Fig. 7: Giovanni Battista Falda, Piazza Colonna, Rome, from ›Il nuovo teatro . . .‹, 1665. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris. Printed with permission.

known by his professional cognomen, Zeeman), who drew and etched three small series of Amsterdam views during the 1650s, all with an understandable emphasis on the city's maritime character (Fig. 6).[5] But some of the most striking developments occurred slightly later, during the 1660s, when the further expansion of such work, and the settling upon certain formal attributes in the composition and in the collection of ensembles of close city views, make it possible to speak for the first time of the *veduta* as a genre of secular art. Much of this occurred in Zeeman's Amsterdam, and in Rome, where two major works enhanced and in important respects codified the production of serial printed views. Falda's ›Il Nuovo Teatro delle Fabriche, et Edificii, in Prospettiva di Roma Moderna, sotto il Felice Pontificato di N. S. Papa Alessandro VII‹, published in 1665 by Giovanni Giacomo de Rossi, is a collection of thirty-three medium-sized views (approximately 16.5 by 28.5 centimeters, or 6.5 by 11 inches), all produced in an identical format and impressively printed and bound with title and dedication pages in a unified, thematically coherent volume (Fig. 7).[6] Neither Silvestre nor Zeeman had ever created anything as elaborate, or as large in format, as this. The designation *Libro Primo* on the title page of ›Il Nuovo Teatro‹ suggests, moreover, a series of such volumes, and there were in fact two more collections of Roman *vedute* published under the same title in Falda's lifetime, and two more (one published as late as 1739) by artists who succeeded him in the de Rossi family's employ. Meanwhile, Giovanni Battista de Rossi, who was surely aware of Falda's first efforts even before they were pulled off his cousin Giovanni Giacomo's press, sponsored a series of modern Roman views of his own, commissioning the Flemish priest Lievin Cruyl for the project, and publishing ten of Cruyl's etchings in 1666 as ›Prospectus Locorum Urbis Romae Insign[ium]‹.[7] Cruyl's etchings were larger than Falda's, and much

5 F. W. H. Hollstein, Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, ca. 1450-1700, Amsterdam 1949-2001, vol. 56.

6 Falda's Roman views have been reprinted with a brief but informative introduction by Renata Piccininni as Giovanni Battista Falda: Vedute di Roma nel '600, Rome 1996. They may be found as well in Paolo Bellini, Italian Masters of the Seventeenth Century: Giovanni Battista Falda. The Illustrated Bartsch, vol. 47, part 2, New York 1993. A brief discussion of Falda, his views, and the term *teatro* form the prelude to Richard Krautheimer's widely noted study, The Rome of Alexander VII, 1655-1667, Princeton 1985.

7 The essential discussion of Cruyl and his Roman views is Barbara Jatta's superb study, Lievin Cruyl e la sua opera grafica: Un artista fiammingo nell'Italia del Seicento, Brussels 1992, which also comments extensively

larger than any that Silverstre, Zeeman, or any other predecessor had produced, each measuring some 38 by 50 centimeters (approximately 15 by 20 inches). De Rossi brought them out in a folio volume that is at least as impressive as his cousin's edition of Falda's views. The one original volume I have seen, a presentation volume to Pope Alexander housed today in the Vatican Library, is magnificently printed, bound in leather, and gold-embossed with emblems of the Chigi family. It certainly is not typical; yet, the format alone suggests that Giovanni Battista de Rossi intended this edition of Roman *vedute* to outshine his cousin's in the Roman market. In any case, both publishers, and both artists, seem to have understood that by the mid-1660s the place in this market of the printed and bound series of city views was secure.

The rather sudden development of the *veduta* as a genre by Silvestre, Zeeman, Falda, Cruyl, and a few other graphic artists was paralleled by the view paintings of Jan van der Heyden and Gerrit Berckheyde, whose numerous canvases suggest something of the serial and multiple productions of the Roman, Dutch, and Parisian draftsmen (Fig. 8), and by other contemporary Dutch painters, among whom we might even include, on the strength of two paintings, Johannes Vermeer. It is interesting that these paintings began to appear during the 1660s, at almost exactly the same time that the engraved Roman *vedute* of Cruyl and Falda were bringing the genre to fruition at the opposite end of the artistic axis that stretched from Italy to the Low Countries.[8] The near simultaneity of these departures in subject, viewpoint, style, and form is no doubt important, and compels a close look at the events and conditions of the 1660s, in art and in society, that might have borne upon the genre in some way.

I want first, however, to note briefly the impressive further development of *vedutismo*, in both painting and engraving, through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, although to do so takes me beyond the temporal focus of this volume. The Dutch painted city view was carried to Italy by Gaspar van Wittel, who from around 1680 painted several hundred *vedute*, mostly in Rome but also in other Italian cities,

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on Falda. See also: Barbara Jatta/Joseph Connors, Vedute romane di Lievin Cruyl: Paesaggio urbano sotto Alessandro VII, Rome 1989; Michael Miller/Barbara Jatta, Le vedute romanae di Lievin Cruyl, in: Specchio di Roma barocca: Una guida inedita del XVII secolo, ed. Joseph Connors/Louise Rice, Rome 1991.

8 Berckheyde, van der Heyden, and other Dutch painters, draftsmen, and graphic artists of the city are most conveniently examined in The Dutch Cityscape in the Seventeenth Century and Its Sources, ed. Carry van Lakerveld, Amsterdam/Toronto 1977.

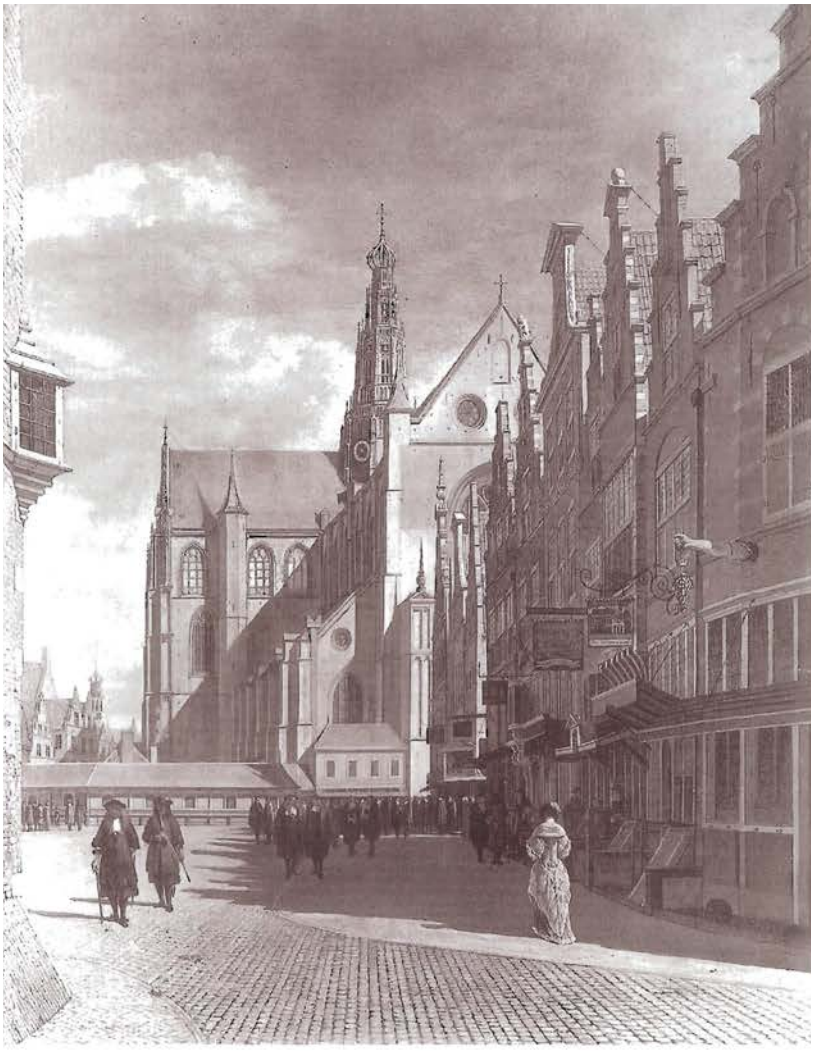

Fig. 8: Gerrit Berckheyde, Grote Markt with Sint Bavokerk, Haarlem, ca. 1670-73. Musées Royaux de Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels. Reproduced with permission.

including Venice, where some credit him with stimulating a notable development of Venetian *vedutismo* that eventually included the paintings and engravings of Luca Carlevarijs, Michele Marieschi, and, more famously, Giovanni Antonio Canal (Canaletto), Bernardo Bellotto, and

Francesco Guardi.[9] Rome was most spectacularly represented during the eighteenth century by the Venetian-born Giovanni Battista Piranesi, but in some ways Roman *vedutismo* reached its culmination in the work of Piranesi's sometime teacher and rival, Giuseppe Vasi, who between 1747 and 1761 published more than 240 faithfully topographical Roman views in ten carefully organized volumes, each devoted to a particular type of structure, institution, or urban space.[10] Giuseppe Zocchi's views of Florence deserve mention here for their sheer beauty, but so too does the work of a variety of lesser and equally forgotten artists working in a variety of cities in Italy, the Dutch Republic, and France.[11] By the second half of the eighteenth century the *veduta* was carried into Germany, which had earlier resisted this innovation while perpetuating older forms of topographical representation, and by the century's end it even appeared in America, in the fine series of Philadelphia views by the English emigrant William Birch and his son Thomas.[12]

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9 Among the many works that could be cited here are: Bernard Aikema/Boudewijn Bakker, Painters of Venice: The Story of the Venetian ›Veduta‹, Seattle 1990; Giuliano Briganti, Gaspar van Wittel e l'origine della veduta settecentesca, 2nd ed., ed. Laura Laureati/Ludovica Trezzani, Milan 1996; Gaspare Vanvittelli e le origini del vedutismo, n. p., 2002; Luca Carlevarijs e la veduta veneziana del Settecento, ed. Isabele Reale/Dario Succi, Milan 1994; Ralph Toledano, Michele Marieschi: Catalogo ragionato, 2nd rev. ed., Milan 1995; W. G. Constable, Canaletto: Giovanni Antonio Canal, 1697-1768, 2nd ed. rev. by J. G. Links, 2 vols., Oxford 1976; Canaletto, ed. Katherine Baetjer/J. G. Links, New York 1989; Stephan Kozokiewicz, Bernardo Bellotto, 2 vols., trans. Mary Whittall, Greenwich, Conn. 1972; Bernardo Bellotto and the Capitals of Europe, ed. Edgar Peters Bowron, New Haven 2001; Dario Succi, Francesco Guardi: Itinerario dell' avventura artistica, n. p., 1993; Francesco Guardi: Vedute, Capricci, Feste [ed. Alessandro Bettagno], Milan 1993.

10 There is a large biographical and critical literature on Piranesi and his Roman *vedute*. The essential guide to his life and work is John Wilton-Ely, The Mind and Art of Giovanni Battista Piranesi, London 1978. See also Wilton-Ely, Giovanni Battista Piranesi: The Complete Etchings, 2 vols., San Francisco 1994. Vasi's ten volume series was originally entitled ›Delle magnificenze di Roma antica e moderna‹. The major plates have been reproduced more recently in a reduced format as Giuseppe Vasi: Views of Rome in the 1700s, 2 vols., Rome 2000.

11 Zocchi's views of Florence were published under the sponsorship of Marchese Andrea Gerini as ›Scelta di XXIV vedute delle principali contrade, piazze, chiese, e palazzi della città di Firenze‹, Florence 1744.

12 Brief mention of Carl Traugott Fechhelm and Johann Georg Rosenberg as view makers in Berlin can be found in Ronald Taylor, Berlin and Its

The *veduta* is found in the early nineteenth century, as well, in the work of several artists, including Luigi Rossini, Domenico Amici, Gaetano Cottafavi, and, a little further along, Charles Meryon, whose mid-century etchings of Paris are among the very few that successfully adapted topographical city view making to the very different aesthetic impulses of the Romantic era.[13] Meryon may have pointed the way to a further evolution of the genre, but it is probably more accurate to describe contemporary and later developments in very different terms, in effect declaring an end to *vedutismo* as we find the city impressing itself with increasing force on artists for whom topographical representation was no longer the motive, nor eventually even the means, for exploring modern city life. The death of the *veduta* is quite possibly as interesting as its birth, but consideration of these latter days of the genre is best left to other occasions. Indeed, I want to focus here on the early, formative days of Silvestre, Zeeman, Falda, and Cruyl, and the question of how and why this interesting new mode of urban visual representation should have appeared when it did in European art.

At first glance, this question appears to admit of a relatively easy answer. From our own perspective in a twenty-first-century urban world shaped by several hundred years of city-based revolutions in global commerce and industry, it is not difficult to understand why European artists of the early modern era should have found new motives and modes for representing the city. It makes particular sense to us that they should have done so in seventeenth-century Amsterdam, the proud

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Culture: A Historical Portrait, New Haven 1997, pp. 85f. The Birch views of Philadelphia appeared in 1800 as ›The City of Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania[,] as it Appeared in the Year 1800[,] Consisting of Twenty Eight Plates Drawn and Engraved by W. Birch & Son‹.

13 Among the various collections of views by the three mentioned Italian *vedutisti* are Rossini's ›I monumenti più interessanti di Roma dal decimo secolo al secolo decimottavo‹, created in 1818 but published later; Amici's ›Raccolta di trente vedute degli obelischi, scelte fontane, e chiostri di Roma . . . ‹, drawn and etched between 1837 and 1842; Cottafavi's ›Raccolta delle principale vedute di Roma e suoi contorni . . . ‹, published in 1843. Meryon's views appeared first in 1852 as ›Eaux-Fortes sur Paris par C. Meryon‹, but Meryon added new views and reworked the original ones for several years after that date. On Meryon see Charles Meyeron, Prints & Drawings, ed. James D. Burke, Toledo/New Haven/St. Louis 1974, and an older but still valuable work: Loÿs Deteil, Meryon, translation by G. J. Renier, New York 1928.

centerpiece of the astonishing economic ascendancy of the newly liberated United Provinces – the center, indeed, of a robust new European capitalism – and the very motor of the Dutch Golden Age in civic life and art. Amsterdam had grown extremely rapidly during the first half of the seventeenth century, was busy surrounding itself with its impressive new geometry of canals, and was constructing buildings that would house an extraordinary array of civic institutions – buildings that would include the New Town Hall, which in the Amsterdamers' conceit was the ›eighth wonder of the world‹.[14] Amsterdam simply had to be painted, drawn, etched, and engraved, and the rapidly developing Netherlandish predilection toward realistic depictions of the

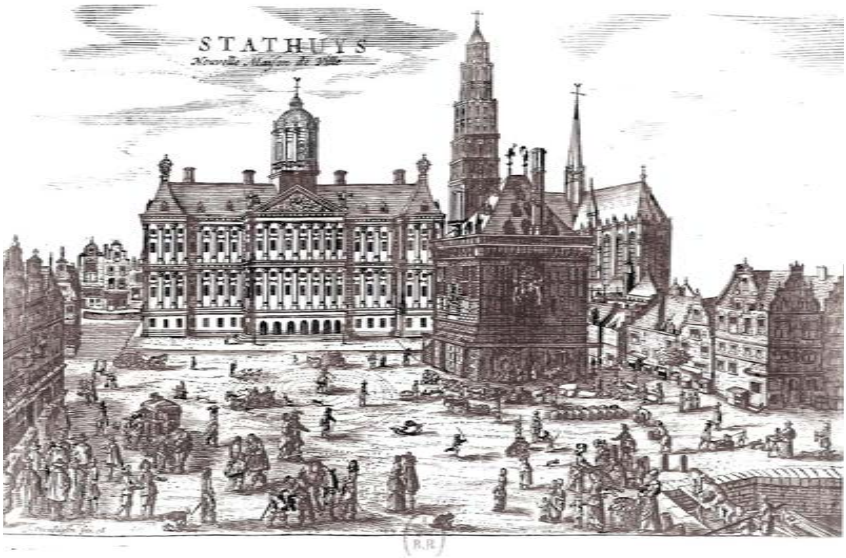

Fig. 9: Jan Veenhuysen (after Jacob van der Ulft), The Dam, Amsterdam, ca. 1665. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris. Printed with permission.

14 A good account of Amsterdam's economic ascendancy is VIOLET BARBOUR, Capitalism in Amsterdam in the Seventeenth Century, Baltimore 1950. The most fascinating analysis of Dutch urban culture in this era is SIMON SCHAMA, The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age, Berkeley 1988. Schama refers to local perceptions of Amsterdam's New Town Hall as the »eighth wonder of the world« on p. 68.

secular world was easily directed toward both broader and narrower ›landscapes‹ of the town. Those narrower ›landscapes‹ would evolve, especially after mid-century, as the new mode of urban visual representation I have been describing, and it is possible to examine and appreciate the many images of, say, the bustling traffic on the Dam in front of the Weigh House, or of ships clustered along the dock adjoining the Herring Packers' Tower, as expressions of the newly intensified urban capitalism that would, when later joined to new technologies of industrial production, transform the world (Fig. 9). The city views of Amsterdam, then, might be said to provide, almost literally, a window on the early phases of a new regime in world affairs, the very making of what we in our own conceit call the modern world.

But we have already seen that this is too simple an explanation, for *vedute* issued from print shops (and slightly later from painters' studios) in cities very different from Amsterdam, and for reasons that would seem to have very little to do with weighing goods and packing herrings – above all in Rome, the home of the papacy and the primary center of both Catholic pilgrimage and a growing secular tourism. Rome calls to mind a very different kind of urban experience in seventeenth-century Europe, and a very different trajectory of urban development. The bases of its modest growth (in a region in which most cities were experiencing population decline) were not merely the revenues derived from pilgrimage and secular tourism, but those derived also from rents, taxes, tolls, fines, and all the other ›feudal‹ and otherwise retrogressive exactions that in various cities drained the countryside of surplus while supporting the appetites – and the ongoing or seasonal urban residence – of kings and Popes, counts and cardinals. Rome was, in short, the quintessential ›parasitic city‹, light years from the capitalistic north, but even more capable than Amsterdam and other commercial ports of impressive embellishment of the urban fabric, and, therefore, at least as attractive to artists and patrons who would set down such achievements on canvas or paper.[15] I would observe here that the etched series of Roman views of Falda and Cruyl were directly inspired by the changes wrought in the Roman cityscape by the builder Pope, Alexander VII. Alexander was obsessed by the need to enhance both the efficiency and the grandeur of Rome. His twelve-year reign was devoted to the straightening of streets, the widening of piazze, and the lining of streets and squares

15 On the ›parasitic city‹ see, for example, Paul M. Hohenberg/Lynn Hollen Lees, The Making of Urban Europe, 1000-1950, Cambridge, Mass. 1985.

with impressive new buildings and building façades as suitable settings for the ceremony and daily life of the papal city.[16] The celebration of Alexander's Baroque *nuovo teatro* was the very purpose of Falda's series, while Cruyl ranged across these and other physical improvements to what was increasingly called ›modern‹ Rome.

Two types of urban development then, not one, underlay the new mode of city view making, and between the two it is probably the less forward-looking, the Baroque project creating the ordered grandeur of the great capital city, that was the more significant during the seventeenth-century formation and even the eighteenth-century maturation of the *veduta* as an artistic genre. But this judgment about what was and what was not ›forward-looking‹ is our own, and surely to some extent that of the seventeenth-century Dutch burgher; it was not that of most Europeans (or at least most European elites) during the early modern era. Nor was it the judgment of the *vedutisti* themselves, including those who worked in ›parasitic‹ Rome. There is a distinctly modern point of view in their work, even apart from the earlier-mentioned elements of a city-focused, narrative-free depiction of the secular world that characterizes their art. Giovanni Battista Falda may have been obedient to powerful and quite traditional patrons and mentors, but I would emphasize his and other artists' participation in a common, modernizing culture rather than a conspiracy of promotion through embellishment and selective representation. City view makers themselves shared and contributed to a new sensibility of urban improvement and their pictures – which sometimes included their own embellishments as well as the accurate detailing of real sites – illuminate the universalizing meanings of ›improvement‹ in seventeenth-century and eighteenth-century urban culture. It is interesting to observe in this connection that *vedutismo* appeared and developed in those cities that provided the most impressive array of physical improvements, and that it did not spread to cities such as Toledo, Siena, Ghent, and Bruges, whose ossifying medieval quaintness would provide visual delight only to later sensibilities. Venice, I should note, was not an exception: it was, during its own transition from capitalist center to ›parasitic city‹ a place of much new building, and of a general physical improvement duly captured in the paintings and engravings of local *vedutisti*.

This argument becomes more complicated when one considers that the major market for Italian city views, and probably those of Paris as

16 Krautheimer, The Rome of Alexander VII [note 6]; Dorothy Metzger Habel, The Urban Development of Rome in the Age of Alexander VII, Cambridge 2002.

well, was among northern European travelers, and particularly those aristocratic British tourists who poured south in increasing numbers to create what became known as the Grand Tour. It was these British landed aristocrats who purchased *vedute*, and they did so principally as *aides-mémoire* of their experience on the European continent. This would not appear to be the group or the motive that would most encourage consideration of city views as interesting artifacts of early modern urbanization. Were the views, in fact, little more than expensive postcards, the casually purchased travel souvenirs of a class and cohort more famously interested in stately rural homes and hunting dogs than in the herring packers of Amsterdam? Does this intrusion of *milordi inglesi* not so much complicate our inquiry into city view making as render it moot?

This marketplace of English and other northern European travelers must be looked at a little more closely. Historians of the Grand Tour have made the interesting observation that the Alpine crossing to which many Grand Tourists subjected themselves was, until the age of Burke and Goethe, universally regarded with dread for its dangers and discomforts. The sublimity of the experience and views – even the views! – was of little apparent interest, and neither, as it happens, were paintings or engravings of such scenes, even though these would have been just as plausibly offered as souvenirs of the Tour as any view of Rome or Venice.[17] The Italian countryside may have offered charm and less discomfort, but it appears that there was no real market for quietly rustic views either, except as it was expressed in an idealized pastoralism, elements of which can be found even in some of the early urban views. The tourists of the Baroque era wanted images of cities, and of places within cities, and an important study by Peter Borsay of the diffusion of urban values and interests through much of the English upper class in the years following the Restoration helps explain why. Many of the great landholders of England reconstructed their country estates during this era, surrounding new or newly expanded and embellished manor houses with gardens and parks, occasionally even moving whole villages of laborers and tenant farmers to improve the physical appearance of the magnificent ensemble revolving around the rural stately home. But these same nobles and gentlemen were also building or renting houses on the gracious new squares of London's West End, and were developing a greatly expanded, distinctly urban social season out of the old pattern of winter residence by king and court. Moreover,

17 See, for example, Christopher Hibbert, The Grand Tour, New York 1969, p. 88.

as BORSAY points out, they participated in and frequently led a similar transformation of dozens of provincial towns. New town houses of ›county families‹ and ›urban gentry‹, assembly halls, fashionable promenades, new town and market halls, churches, avenues, crescents, and squares, all designed according to classical architectural models, gave a new dignity – more to the point, a new urbanity – to English towns that formerly looked and smelled more like country markets than urban centers. It was an elite project, very much like that of the West End, and it expressed what BORSAY calls »the burgeoning appetite of the gentry for an urban life-style and culture.«[18]

The Grand Tour was itself a means for feeding this appetite. To be sure, there were other appetites, social and physical, that were fed as well – James Boswell did not record in his journal any purchases of city views he may have made during his Italian sojourn, but he did record the costs (in *paoli*, not in character, health, or purgatorial tenure) of his nightly transactions with Roman prostitutes.[19] Many youthful tourists of the English upper classes seem to have completed their educations in a similar way, paying more attention to the proportions of Italian meals and women than to those of classical architecture. But to those who were serious about it, or who found time to heed the learned tutors sent with them by anxious fathers, the Grand Tour was also a process of collecting factual knowledge, languages, and ideas, an intellectual program frequently enhanced by forming collections of such physical ›object lessons‹ as fossils, plants, and antique coins and statues. Central to this program was the study of classical architecture, which was best and most thrillingly carried out amongst both the ruins of ancient Rome and the Renaissance reinterpretations of classicism in a variety of Italian cities.[20] To acquire a series of Italian city views was, therefore, but a natural extension of the traveler's more serious purposes, and a natural addition to whatever other collections he was forming for his gallery and cabinet back in England. It is reasonable to suggest also that these views helped inform their physical interventions in the fabric of English cities and

18 PETER BORSAY, The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town, 1660-1770, Oxford 1989, p. 223.

19 HIBBERT, Grand Tour [note 17], p. 144.

20 General histories of the Grand Tour invariably emphasize this point. See, in addition to HIBBERT's study: JEREMY BLACK, The British Abroad: The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century, New York 1992; Grand Tour: The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century, ed. ANDREW WILTON/ILARIA BIGNAMINI, London 1996; The Age of the Grand Tour . . ., [ed. PAUL and ELIZABETH ELEK/MOIRA JOHNSTON], New York 1967.

towns. Borsay demonstrates, indeed, that even Venetian models, which seem so unlikely, could be carried into the English townscape.[21] The English gentleman's interest in cities – his ›appetite‹ for urbanity – is what helps us understand why Italian city views, and perhaps French and even Dutch views as well, ought not to be dismissed as trivial souvenirs of frolicsome travel. It may be useful to recall at this point that the gentility that English lords and squires brought to their country estates, and that served for so long as the cultural and behavioral foundation of their social distinction, was born and nurtured in Italian courts that were themselves city-based.[22]

This point can be made in a rather different way by extending somewhat the persuasive argument by Jan de Vries that stagnant or declining urban population statistics have caused us to understate the significance of expanding urban systems in early modern Europe. According to De Vries, the systemic interactions of cities with their agricultural and proto-industrial hinterlands, and with each other in a gradually coalescing continental economy, were more important than specific setbacks in the size or apparent economic health of any particular places in that system. Urban system integration was laying the foundations of the more obvious economic and urban revolutions to come.[23] The Grand Tour, I would argue, was a dimension of that expanding system, and so, too, were the still earlier Italian journeys of artists from the Low Countries, France, and Germany. It partly overrode, in the case of Protestant Englishmen particularly, religious animosities that had bloodied the continent for generations. It overcame difficulties and dangers of travel, and even contributed to the pacification of travel and trade routes across the continent. More important, though, was its contribution to the intensifying cultural and aesthetic connections between Italy and northern Europe. The Grand Tour, I would argue, was both cause and effect of the diffusion of an urban-centered Italian Renaissance beyond the Alps, and a component, therefore, of the integration of European high culture around more and less Baroque expressions of the Italian classical vocabulary in literature, painting, sculpture, architecture, and urban design. The visual vocabulary of the latter two arts was expressed

21 Borsay, English Urban Renaissance [note 18], p. 48.

22 Lauro Martines, Power and Imagination: City-States in Renaissance Italy, New York 1979.

23 Jan de Vries, European Urbanization, 1500-1800, Cambridge, Mass. 1984, pp. 253-58. For a comprehensive survey of the early modern European city, including the larger systems to which it belonged, see Christopher R. Friedrichs, The Early Modern City, 1450-1750, London 1995.

in various ways. The best known and most widely recognized of these were architectural treatises. City views – those mere postcards – were another.

If we are permitted, then, to invest some significance in these views, we can allow ourselves a closer consideration of those specific elements of the genre I identified at the outset. I am particularly taken by the exploratory spirit that suffuses many of them, and that seems inherent in the striking shift of viewpoint they represent – from the real or constructed hill across the river valley, or from the eye of the bird, both of which provide the definitive, whole view of the city (with a few of its distinguishable details and none of its street life), to the various street-level or slightly above street-level positions within the encompassing city, twenty or two hundred points of view that imply many hundreds more. The series of *vedute*, in its very incompleteness, invokes the view not seen around the next corner, and suggests the city that lies behind as well as in front of the viewer. It is a city that cannot be fully known and cosmographically or otherwise definitively represented. At the same time it is the r e a l city, ›drawn from nature‹ (early-modern *vedutisti* had few problems with that paradoxical term); hence, its complexity is that of the world, not of some abstract theological or philosophical system. Does this begin to resemble the empirical investigations of the secular world that mark the new science and that lead us to the Enlightenment's encyclopedic conceptions of nature and civilization? It should. As *vedutismo* developed into the eighteenth century it more and more resembled the Enlightenment's search for systematic, classifiable knowledge of the world, and it is worth noting here that Vasi's thorough and well-classified volumes of accurate views were published during just those years that Diderot and d'Alembert were publishing the first volumes of their ›Encyclopédie‹. The completeness that Vasi sought was not, I rush to add, pursued by most other *vedutisti*, who may have preferred to have left that view around the corner unexplored, or who simply could not take on the modern city in all its complexity and mystery. We arrive here, perhaps, at a contradiction, or at least an irony, given the *vedutisti's* celebration of the attempts of princes and burghers to introduce order, rationality, and comprehensibility to the tangle of the old city's streets, lanes, and courts. The *vedutisti* embraced the new, classical urban order, and proclaimed this order (capitalist or Baroque) as the essence of modernity. But, however inadvertently, by showing us a city we cannot fully grasp – more, by bringing us face to face with its mysteries – they also anticipated an urban modernity more like our own.

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