# *The Penance of St John Chrysostom*
# Lucas Cranach the Elder and Artistic Rivalry

Joanna Sikorska
THE NATIONAL MUSEUM IN WARSAW
HTTPS://ORCID.ORG/0000-0001-9559-0119

ABSTRACT

*The Penance of St John Chrysostom* (H. 1) is a unique work among the prints executed by Lucas Cranach the Elder. The article presents an interpretation of the piece as a showcase of Cranach's artistic prowess, alluding to the origins and function of his art, as well as to the challenges he set for himself. The work was inspired by Albrecht Dürer's engraving from *c.*1496 (H. 54) depicting a surprising interpretation of a legend included in *Der Heiligen Leben*, a work written around 1400 by the Dominican monks of Nuremberg. Cranach's *Penance of St John Chrysostom* proves that the artist understood Dürer's concept, while also introducing significant modifications. He added animals, the choice of which evokes associations with hunting and court menageries. The impulse to engage in such an artistic competition with Dürer's works may have come from the words of praise that Cranach was receiving from the German humanist milieu. Comparisons between the two artists were a frequent motif in such texts, the most noteworthy of which is the eulogy by Christoph II Scheurl (1481–1542). By alluding to the 'courtly dimension' of his art, highly valued at the time, Cranach created a work that was a visual manifesto of his artistic potential and position at the Wittenberg court.

KEYWORDS

Lucas Cranach the Elder, Albrecht Dürer, The Penance of St John Chrysostom, artist rivalry, laudation formulae, Frederick III the Wise, Der Heiligen Leben, Christoph II Scheurl

# *The Penance of St John Chrysostom*
# Lucas Cranach the Elder and Artistic Rivalry[1]

Joanna Sikorska

THE NATIONAL MUSEUM IN WARSAW

HTTPS://ORCID.ORG/0000-0001-9559-0119

In 1505, as an artist no longer young by the standards of the day, Lucas Cranach the Elder (1472–1553) was appointed to the position of painter at the court of Frederick III the Wise (1463–1525) in Wittenberg. The rank of his patron, who was among the most prominent prince-electors in the Empire, confronted Cranach with new challenges of overwhelming proportion. His tasks included devising the setting for ceremonies at the Saxon court, decorating the princely residences, as well as completing numerous commissions from the prince, intended to highlight the status of the client, as the custom of the day dictated.[2] The results of Cranach's efforts must have been more than satisfactory, as he soon earned the praise of his princely patron. In 1508 the artist was granted a coat of arms featuring a winged serpent, which became part of his signature from 1509 onwards. Cranach's status was further confirmed by the fact that in 1508 he was sent on a diplomatic mission to the court of the governor of the Netherlands, Margaret of Austria (1480–1530), in Mechelen (Malines). In a sense, the journey proved a formative experience for Cranach – the people and works he encountered at the time had significant influence on his art.[3] Equally noteworthy was the veritable outpouring of praise that Cranach received at the time from the humanists associated with the Wittenberg court and the newly established university. The formulae of eulogies



fig. 1 Lucas Cranach the Elder, *Portrait of Frederick III the Wise and John the Steadfast*, 1509, The National Museum in Warsaw
photo Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie

directed at the artist contain two recurring themes which illustrate the importance of rivalry in Renaissance culture, present in such key categories of the epoch's art theory as *imitatio*, *aemulatio* and *paragone*. The first of these motifs involved comparing Cranach to the great

fig. 2 Lucas Cranach the Elder, *Tournament with the Tapestry of Samson and the Lion*, 1509,
The National Museum in Warsaw
photo Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie

artists of Antiquity: Apelles, Praxiteles, Zeuxis, Parrhasius.[4] With the recognition of Antiquity as the artistic ideal, such comparisons became a conventional form of praise, which is not to say that they were any less valued or desirable. The other motif, of much more recent origin, involved comparing Cranach to the undisputed master of contemporary art, Albrecht Dürer. The question arises whether this juxtaposition was appreciated by Cranach as much as comparisons to ancient masters.

In 1509, most likely in the aura of success surrounding the mentioned events in his life, Cranach chose to engage with an artistic medium that enabled a more widespread distribution of his works. He executed a series of prints that, as was no doubt the intention of his princely patron, deliberately promoted the Wittenberg court as an important centre of art and culture. This propagandistic dimension is clearly apparent in the printed images of Frederick III (fig. 1)[5] and the series of woodcuts depicting tournaments organized at the court to celebrate the Feast of All Saints, which was given a magnificent setting in Wittenberg due to the local collection of holy relics (fig. 2).[6] Still in 1509, Frederick III's relic collection became the subject of a separate publication (*Dye zaigung des hochlobwirdigen hailigthums der stifftkirchen aller hailigen zu Wittenburg*), for which Cranach provided woodcut illustrations.[7] It proved a busy year for the artist, as it was also when he completed the engraving *The Penance of St John Chrysostom* (fig. 3). Thus far, the work has not been given much attention in the relevant literature, even though it is unique in a number of ways.[8] This article presents its interpretation as a showcase of Cranach's artistic prowess, alluding to the origins and function of his art, as well as to the challenges he set for himself.

fig. 3 Lucas Cranach the Elder, *The Penance of St John Chrysostom*, 1509, The National Museum in Warsaw
photo Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie

*The Penance of St John Chrysostom* is a special work in Cranach's print oeuvre even in terms of technique and its correlation with the subject matter. It is the largest (25.6 × 20 cm) engraving ever made by Cranach. Throughout his career, the artist completed only nine engravings, only two of which – including the work in question – were not portraits.[9] Relevant literature tends to repeat the entrenched opinion that Cranach abandoned the labour-intensive and time-consuming technique of engraving – as it required him to carve into the copper plate himself – in favour of woodcuts, which allowed for a different organization of work and left the carving of the matrix to a specialist: a woodblock cutter (German *Formschneider*). *The Penance of St John Chrysostom* proves that the decision not to use the technique of engraving was not related to any lack of skill, since it showcases Cranach's ability to deftly create a coherent vision of bountiful nature with all its variety of textures and precision of detail. Emphasizing this finesse, one needs to remember that although the period saw a qualitative revolution in woodcut printing, it was engraving that still had the reputation of the most suitable technique for displaying artistic mastery. It gained such prominence due to the fame and accomplishments of Martin Schongauer, and later Albrecht Dürer. The achievements of Jacopo de' Barbari, who was Cranach's predecessor at the Saxon court, may also have played a role in this particular case. With free-flowing yet precise lines, Cranach managed to depict a forest landscape full of lush vegetation, which provides the backdrop for a depiction of a nude woman with an equally naked, sleeping infant, surrounded by a group of animals. The scene appears to be an affirmation of nature and naturalness in its many aspects. In the background a careful eye will notice the small figure of a naked man crouching on all fours; this hidden motif is the key to recognizing the subject of the print as the penance of St John Chrysostom.

The depiction alludes to a peculiar late-medieval legend, far removed from the historical biography of St John Chrysostom, a patriarch of Constantinople and Father of the Church who lived at the turn of the fifth century. According to the story, John Chrysostom retired to the wilderness to live the life of a hermit. Driven by



fig. 4  Albrecht Dürer, *The Penance of St John Chrysostom*, *c.*1496, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
photo public domain

gusts of eldritch wind, the emperor's daughter, who had been picking flowers in a forest grove, ended up in his cave. Following this surprise encounter both succumbed to carnal desires. Afraid that he might be tempted again, John Chrysostom threw the woman off a cliff. Convinced of her death and realizing the depth of his sin, John began his penance. And since he had acted like a beast, he chose to live like one, crawling on all fours and waiting for a sign that his crime might be forgiven. That moment came years later, when the imperial court was preparing for a baptism ceremony. The infant demanded to be baptized by John Chrysostom and would not accept anyone else. Hunters set out to search for the hermit, and the hirsute 'savage'

was soon brought to the court. When the story of the sin and the extreme penance came to light, the forest was searched once more, this time to retrieve the bones of the imperial daughter. Miraculously, she was found alive and unchanged by the passage of time. In this form, the story is recounted in *Der Heiligen Leben*, a collection of legends written in prose around the year 1400 by the Dominicans of Nuremberg. The work enjoyed immense popularity, as evidenced by the nearly 200 extant manuscripts and over 40 printed editions published by 1521.[10] It has been adapted numerous times in both prose and verse. The first illustrated edition came out of Günther Zainer's press in 1471, as one of the earlier works published by that prominent Augsburg printer. The legend of John Chrysostom echoes fables of enslaved and miraculously rescued princesses and stories of wild men, which were highly popular at the time.[11] The strangeness of the legend was also used to fuel Reformation polemics: in 1537 Luther referred to it in his pamphlet *Die Lügend von S. Johanne Chrysostomo*, mercilessly mocking the more bizarre elements of the story.[12]

Thus far, analyses of Cranach's *Penance of St John Chrysostom* have focused on the conclusion that the work was directly inspired by Dürer's engraving from circa 1496 (H. 54; fig. 4), which presents an unconventional interpretation of the legend.[13] Dürer not only shifted the main character of the story to the background, but also depicted the woman from the legend in an unusual way: sitting naked among the rocks, her hair unbound, breastfeeding an infant. When searching for non-artistic reasons for such a nonstandard depiction, one may point to the motif of the princess being found with an adult [sic] son, present in the rhyming version of the legend (*Meisterlied*), which was included in a manuscript dated to circa 1516–1518, but presumably recounting an earlier tradition.[14] In Dürer's engraving, the subject of St John Chrysostom's penance seems merely a pretext to depict the female nude and to study rock formations. The nude, which at the time was still a novelty north of the Alps and could be considered an artistic and academic challenge, was among the more important subjects in Dürer's early prints. Significantly, Dürer often included it in depictions that eluded straightforward interpretation.[15]



fig. 5 Albrecht Dürer, *The Dream of the Doctor*, *c.*1498, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
photo public domain

In many of these works, only the general concept or overall subject was discernible, for instance a reference to a popular proverb (*The Dream of the Doctor*, *c.*1498, H. 70) (fig. 5) or to stories about women abducted by sea creatures, not necessarily inspired by Greco-Roman mythology (*Sea Monster*, *c.*1498, H. 66).[16] Dürer seems to have applied the same approach to *The Penance of St John Chrysostom*. On the one hand, he chose a well-known story from a book written in Nuremberg and popular in the region.[17] On the other, he deliberately shifted the focus onto the most 'risqué' episode in the tale. By focusing on the circumstances and the consequences of succumbing to carnal desires, he was not only able to depict a nude female, but also introduce an element of surprise and ambiguity.[18]

fig. 6 Albrecht Dürer, *Rock Landscape with Tower and Wanderer*, 1490–1492, Albertina, Vienna
photo public domain

Rock formations, which constitute the other actual subject of the engraving, were also among the more important motifs in Dürer's early works. He was hardly the only artist with an interest in making such studies, as rock formations of various shapes were well within the repertoire of traditional workshop models, prepared to be used in the background of various scenes. Dürer himself included rocks in numerous drawing studies from the 1490s (fig. 6), and, understandably, also in his paintings and prints from that same period.[19] The artistic potential of the motif is clearly apparent in the engraving *St Hieronymus in the Wilderness* (H. 57),[20] in which the scenery consists of rock walls whose nearly abstract forms allowed the artist to showcase his mastery in rendering the nuances of light and shadow using only black lines (to paraphrase the famous eulogy of Dürer's art by Erasmus of Rotterdam).[21] Scholars tend to see

such stylized rocks, almost anthropomorphic at times, as an important feature of Franconian art. It is also present in the works of Dürer's predecessors, for instance the circles of Hans Pleydenwurff and Hans Traut, as well as in works by the Master LCz.[22] If this hypothesis is correct, one may assume that the frequent use of rock motifs by the young Dürer, who elevated landscape art to a new level of realism, may have been a kind of demonstration of the origins of his art – both in the artistic and geographical sense (the inspiration for his drawing studies most likely came from the quarries near Nuremberg).

Cranach appears to have understood Dürer's concept perfectly. His *Penance of St John Chrysostom* is more than just a simple reference, which could be achieved by placing a female nude in the foreground and hiding the figure of St John Chrysostom in the background of the composition.[23] Like Dürer, Cranach turns
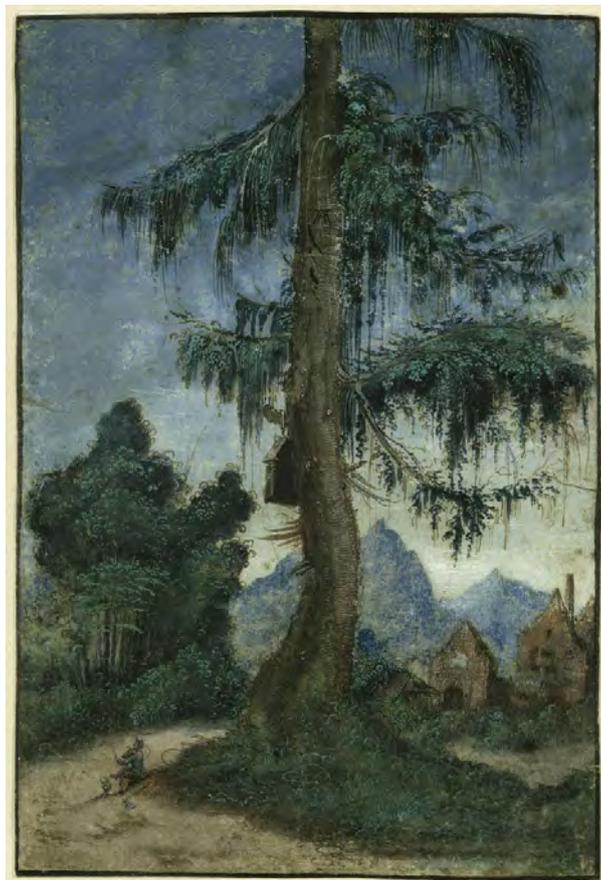
fig. 7 Albrecht Altdorfer, *Landscape with Spruce*, c.1522, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett
photo Jörg P. Anders

fig. 8 Albrecht Dürer, *Columbine*, c.1495–1500?, Albertina, Vienna
photo public domain

the landscape into a character in the depiction. This time, instead of rocks partially obscuring a wide vista with buildings by the water in the distance, the scenery features hills with rocky slopes covered with varied and lush vegetation, such as trees with twisted crowns with overhanging clusters of branches and leaves. Similar motifs were often depicted by artists from the so-called Danube School, whose work not only gave landscape art a more prominent status, but helped it become an autonomous genre (fig. 7).[24] Cranach's awareness of this trend is apparent even in his early works, made during his stay in Vienna.[25] While it is impossible to judge whether the landscape in the engraving under scrutiny was indeed intended to refer to the South German, Danubian or Germanic origins of Cranach's art, the flora depicted is certainly more than simply a neutral background.[26] Directly behind the figure of the woman, a careful observer will notice a small plant which – due to the characteristic shape of its flowers – may be identified as a columbine (*Aquilegia*). According to the immensely popular herbals of the day, the plant had numerous healing properties, but was also recognized for its beauty.[27] Due to the shape of its flowers, the columbine was associated with an elaborate set of religious symbols and often included in depictions of such subjects, which would explain the appeal of having studies of this plant among workshop patterns. One obvious example in this context is the study of a columbine made by Albrecht Dürer circa 1495–1500 (Albertina, Vienna) (fig. 8).[28] It seems reasonable to assume that the presence of this botanical detail in Cranach's print was intended to affirm his analytical approach to nature, thereby assuring that, in line with the expectations of both art theorists and audiences of the day, the artist drew inspiration from proper sources, and that such practices had trained his hand as well as his eye.[29]

The true novelty of Cranach's interpretation of *The Penance of St John Chrysostom* lies in the fact that he included animals, whose presence is not directly implied in the text of the legend. In making this choice, the artist once again demonstrated his knowledge of current trends.[30] It was in that period that the presence of animals began to take on a new aspect in art,

religious scenes being no exception. Animals were often used to convey complex meanings transcending 'simple' symbolism and referring to the geographical, historical or cultural diversity of the fauna, which had become the subject of study in the developing empirical sciences.[31] In his engraving, Cranach chose to include a very specific selection of animals. By depicting a stag, a roebuck and a pheasant, he evoked associations with courtly menageries and hunting, a pastime for the elites, not with the fauna of the Middle East, where the story of St John Chrysostom was supposed to have taken place. The addition of venatic overtones is a reference to one motif in the legend of St John Chrysostom known from earlier iconography, namely illustrations for *Der Heiligen Leben*, which include a scene of the hermit being discovered by a hunter. A good example of such a depiction is a woodcut in Conrad Fyner's edition published circa 1481. It shows John Chrysostom in the company of two dogs and a hunter blowing his horn.[32] An analogous illustration in the Nuremberg edition by Anton Koberger, published in 1488, includes a hunter on horseback with a hunting horn in hand. He is depicted at a bizarre *en face* angle and positioned between the figures of the emperor's daughter and the hermit, who are headed towards the cliff, and the penitent, hirsute John Chrysostom crawling on all fours (fig. 9).[33]

At the turn of the sixteenth century, owing to Maximilian I, hunting gained special importance in the Holy Roman Empire. Not only was the Habsburg Emperor an avid hunter, he also made the pastime a significant element of his propaganda, as evidenced by many of his art commissions.[34] To the minds of the day, the significance and meaning of the hunt went far beyond 'simple' entertainment for the court – it was interpreted both as an introduction to the art of war and as an allegory of good governance.[35] The image of the emperor as a hunter was deeply ingrained in the minds of his contemporaries, as evidenced by the sixteenth-century interpretation of *St Eustace*, an engraving made by Albrecht Dürer circa 1501 (H. 60) (fig. 10). This depiction of a hunting saint is believed to be



fig. 10 Albrecht Dürer, *St Eustace*, *c.*1501,
Albertina, Vienna
photo public domain

fig. 11 Lucas Cranach the Elder, *The Stag-Hunt*, *c.*1506,
The National Museum in Warsaw
photo Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie

a likeness of the Habsburg ruler.[36] Hunting was also a valued pastime at the Saxon court of the emperor's cousin, and Cranach's art reflects that trend.[37] As early as 1506, the artist accompanied Frederick III on a six-month hunting expedition organized near Coburg Castle. Venatic motifs are present in Cranach's prints from that period (fig. 11), as well as in the painted decoration of the interiors of the princely residence (*Große Hofstube*).[38] The illusion effects achieved in the latter work were mentioned in eulogies of Cranach's talent as a painter, since they evoked associations with the most famous artists of Antiquity and their ability to imitate nature and deceive the eye.[39] One work that should be mentioned in this context is *Oratio doctoris Scheurli attingens litterarum prestantiam, nec non laudem ecclesiae collegiatae Vittenburgensis*, published in Leipzig in 1509 by Martin Landsberg.[40] The author was Christoph II Scheurl (1481–1542), a Nuremberg-born humanist, diplomat, professor of law and rector of the University of Wittenberg. In his private life, Scheurl was a friend of Dürer's, and was well known to Lucas Cranach, as evidenced by the fact that the latter artist painted a portrait of Sheurl in 1509 (Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, on loan from the Freiherr von Scheurl Family Foundation) (fig. 12).[41] Cranach must have been aware of the publication, since he made the illustration depicting the Collegiate Church in Wittenberg for it, and the work itself opens with a letter of dedication addressed to Cranach, extolling his virtues and talent with several ancient *topoi* about art applied in its text.[42] Scheurl's *Oratio* also contains words of praise directed at Cranach by humanists associated with the Wittenberg university.[43] The artist is compared to an entire host of ancient masters, most notably Apelles and Zeuxis, and described as *pictor celerrimus* (the 'fastest', most capable painter).[44] The quality that earned Cranach the most praise was his ability to imitate nature, and the illusion-making properties of his art. Aside from lauding Cranach's portraits, the sitters of which looked 'lifelike', the dedication mentions the illusion effect achieved in depictions of hunting. Scheurl discusses deer antlers painted so authentically that real birds attempted to alight on them (a reference to a *topos* known from Pliny – a tale of birds flocking to grapes painted



fig. 12 Lucas Cranach the Elder, *Portrait of Christoph Scheurl*, 1509, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, on loan from the Freiherr von Scheurl Family Foundation
photo © Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg / Dirk Messberger

by Zeuxis),[45] and a depiction of a deer that dogs at the court were barking at (a reference to another story of artistic rivalry recounted by Pliny – the *topos* of 'Apelles' horses' which neighed at the sight of a steed painted by the artist).[46] The text also contains an account of Cranach's tasks at the court, which included accompanying the princes on their hunting trips and using the time to paint in his characteristic 'quickest' (*celerrimē*) manner.[47] Thus, the motif of hunting in Cranach's works was linked not only to his duties as a court painter, but also to the artistic mastery that allowed him to deceive the senses of his audience and compete with nature itself.[48] All of these anecdotes echo Pliny's accounts of artistic rivalry, including the most famous one – between Zeuxis, who could deceive birds with his painted grapes, and Parrhasius, who won the competition by painting a curtain covering a picture so skilfully that even Zeuxis himself fell for the trick.[49] The question

of primacy over other artists, underlying the rivalries described by Pliny, is likely to have been important to Cranach. In another section of his eulogy, Scheurl – a native of Nuremberg – stated that Cranach deserved to be called the foremost painter of the century – second only to one: the 'indisputable genius', Albrecht Dürer.[50] Being lauded as the runner-up of that artistic rivalry may have spurred Cranach, an artist of considerable renown and status in Wittenberg, to take up the gauntlet. One may hypothesize that the impulse for tackling Dürer's print came from such words of praise and the repertoire of laudations used therein.

In this context, *The Penance of St John Chrysostom* appears to be a deliberate act of emulating Dürer's work. Cranach's original contribution was to give the work a courtly

dimension through adding references to hunting. He used a motif that was not only familiar to him, but was even regarded as his speciality and was highly valued in humanist circles.[51] Significantly, this was not the first instance of Cranach engaging in artistic rivalry in the field of printmaking. On the contrary, Cranach found the idea of competing with other artists – reminiscent of the ancient *agon* – particularly appealing at that time, not only as a printmaker.[52] Examples of creative reinterpretation of known and admired prints can already be found among his early works. In 1506 he executed two woodcuts: *The Torment of St Anthony* (H. 76), inspired by the famous print by Martin Schongauer (H. 54),[53] and *St George* (H. 83) (fig. 13), which echoes Dürer's engraving on the same subject, from circa 1502–1503 (H. 55)[54]. In 1507–1508,



fig. 13 Lucas Cranach the Elder, *St George*, 1506, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
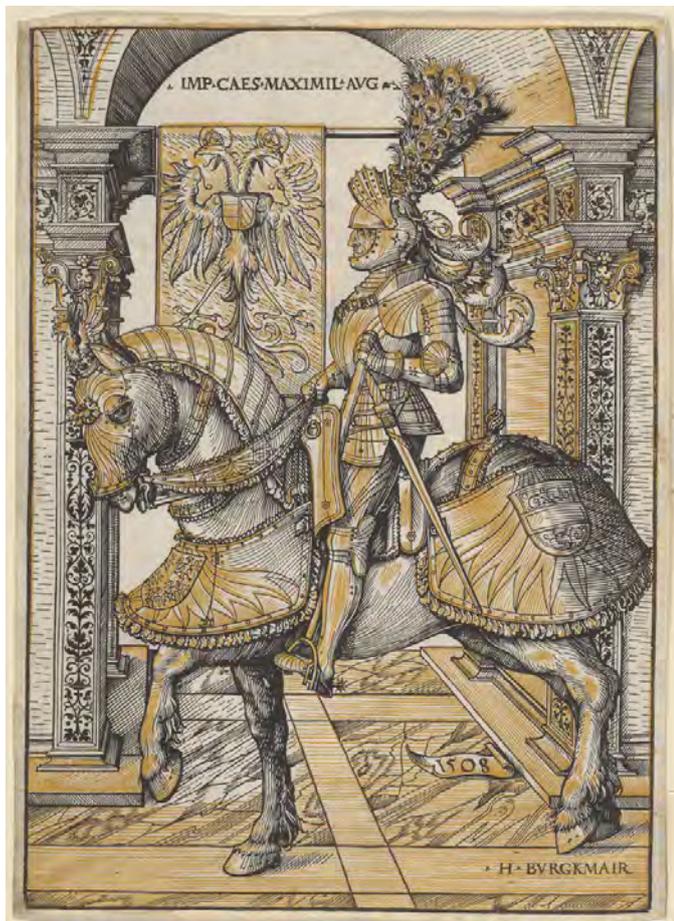photo public domain

fig. 14  Hans Burgkmair the Elder, *Equestrian Portrait of the Emperor Maximilian I*, 1508, Art Institute of Chicago
photo public domain



fig. 15  Lucas Cranach the Elder, *St Christopher*, *c.*1509, Minneapolis Institute of Art
photo public domain

Cranach took part in a rivalry concerning graphic arts that unfolded between Augsburg and Wittenberg and involved an exchange of gifts between Konrad Peutinger (1465–1547), who was Maximilian I's advisor in matters of art, and Cranach's patron, Frederick III.[55] Cranach's contribution was a colour woodcut depicting St George on horseback (H. 81), most likely executed in 1507. In response to this gift, two equestrian portraits by Hans Burgkmair the Elder (1473–1531) were sent from Augsburg the following year. The works, depicting St George and Maximilian I (H. 253, H. 323), were 'milestones' not only in the history of colour printing, but also in the perception of that medium as an important instrument of political propaganda (fig. 14).[56] The unspoken question about pre-eminence in the field of colour woodcut must have been important to Cranach, since in the year 1509 – crucial for the present analysis – he made two prints using this visually attractive technique: *Venus and Cupid* (H. 105) and *St Christopher* (H. 79) (fig. 15). Early impressions of both prints were dated 1506, which prompted scholars to suggest that Cranach had deliberately backdated them in order to take credit for the innovation of using the technique of colour woodcut to produce single-sheet prints. According to this hypothesis, the artist considered the mentioned woodcuts as the next step in the competition. They were intended to convince the public that works executed in that innovative and luxurious technique had already been in Cranach's repertoire for several years. If the presence of the date 1506 is to be considered a deliberate falsification, the artist's determination would be understandable, given that the competition involved works made using expensive materials, with propagandistic value and erudite associations, addressed to an audience of the ruling elite.[57]

fig. 16 Albrecht Dürer, *The Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand*, 1508,
Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna
photo public domain

After successfully competing with Burgkmair, who was just entering the circle of 'imperial' artists and also had excellent artistic pedigree as a collaborator of Erhard Ratdolt and a student of Martin Schongauer himself, it was the natural next step for Cranach to confront Albrecht Dürer. The name and works of the Nuremberg-based master, whom prominent humanists hailed as the greatest contemporary artist in Germania, were well known in Wittenberg. While personal relations between Cranach and Dürer are still little known,[58] a network of acquaintances and connections in which a foreground figure was Frederick III, who had been commissioning works from Dürer as early as in the 1490s, constitutes a clear link between the two artists.[59] While references to the works of the Nuremberg-born master can also be found in Cranach's earlier works, it is in the period under analysis that the desire to confront Dürer's art was fuelled by a number of new impulses, which likely affected the nature of that artistic relationship.[60] The practice of juxtaposing the two artists, which had become nearly habitual for Wittenberg humanists, could have been one such stimulus. Other possible

catalysts include Cranach's stay in Nuremberg in January 1508, and also the fact that Frederick III commissioned Dürer to paint another work for the All Saints Collegiate Church in Wittenberg, an edifice that played an important role in the agenda of enhancing the prestige of the new capital of the Ernestine line of the House of Wettin.[61] Completed in 1508, the *Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand* (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna) (fig. 16) proved to be a masterpiece in many ways: as a landscape, a combination of ancient history and the contemporary subject of confrontation with the Ottoman Empire, and a medium of self-representation.[62] In the centre of the composition, Dürer depicted himself together with Konrad Celtis (1459–1508), who passed away before the painting was completed. Celtis was one of the most influential German humanists, awarded the title of *poeta laureatus*.[63] He was well known to both Dürer and Cranach: he crossed paths with the latter artist in Vienna, as he had been associated with the University of Vienna since 1497. Around the same time Celtis wrote his *Epigramme*, which cemented Dürer's status by calling him 'the second Apelles'.[64] The artist recognized the significance of such praise, and used this reference in many instances of self-representation, the most prominent example of which is the self-portrait he made in 1500 (Alte Pinakothek, Munich) (fig. 17).[65] In *The Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand*, Dürer employed another grand artistic theme, which may have seemed particularly attractive after his recent stay in Italy. The image of two characters depicted against the background of dramatic scenes of martyrdom and cruelty resembled the journey through the circles of Hell described in the *Divine Comedy*.[66] The vision of a Germanic Dante and a Germanic Vergil was perfectly in line with Frederick III's plans to transform Wittenberg into a prominent centre of humanist thought and art. Cranach, who thrived in these circles and was familiar with their rhetoric,[67] would not have felt indifferent towards such a display of Dürer's 'presence' in Wittenberg or such self-creation.

In this context, *The Penance of St John Chrysostom* appears to be more than just a simple emulation of Dürer's print, but rather a multidimensional, erudite manifesto of the challenges faced by a court artist and the skill



fig. 17 Albrecht Dürer, *Self-Portrait with Fur-Trimmed Robe*, 1500, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen – Alte Pinakothek, Munich
photo © Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen – Alte Pinakothek, Munich

required to be one. Cranach drew on a whole arsenal of devices: from the choice of technique, to competing with Nature and alluding to the courtly aspect of his art. That last element is consistently emphasized by the patron's coat of arms hanging from a tree, and the tablet bearing the artist's signature and coat of arms (granted to him only a year prior), seemingly abandoned in the foreground. The result is a work which, to the circles associated with the court in Wittenberg, would have been a clear declaration of Lucas Cranach's talent and artistic potential.

Translated by Julita Mastalerz

## NOTES

1     The present text was written as part of the research project *Auto(re)prezentacja rytowników w XV–XVI wieku. Retoryczność wizerunku – 'self-fashioning' epoki – status profesji* [The self-(re)presentation of printmakers in the fifteenth and sixteenth century. The rhetorical nature of image – the 'self-fashioning' of the age – status of the profession]. It is a revised and significantly extended version of a presentation entitled *A Courtly Tour-De-Force and Lucas Cranach the Elder*, delivered at the international conference 'Courtly Experiences in the Premodern World *c.*1200–1800', which was organized by the Society for Court Studies in Ołomuniec on 22–24 August 2024. It is owing to a scholarship by the Association of Friends of the National Museum in Warsaw that the text could acquire its present form.

2     The scale of these tasks prompted Cranach to reorganize work at his workshop and introduce a number of technical innovations to improve efficiency. Gunnar Heydenreich, '"…that you paint with wonderful speed". Virtuosity and Efficiency in the Artistic Practice of Lucas Cranach the Elder', in *Cranach*, ed. Bodo Brinkmann (London, 2007), pp. 29–47.

3     Werner Schade, 'Cranach's Contact with the Netherlands: Pointers from a Journey Observed', in *Cranach*, pp. 91–97.

4     For instance in *Carmen in tribus horis, editum de musca Chilianea*, published in 1507, Georg Sibutus described Cranach as 'the Praxiteles of painting'. See *Georg Sibutus: Carmen de musca Chilianea und Carmen de puella; Iocosa und Erotica aus dem vorreformatorischen Wittenberg (1507)*, eds Christina Meckelnborg, Bernd Schneider (Cologne, 2021). See also Ulrich Pfisterer, 'Apelles im Norden. Ausnahmekünstler, Selbstbildnisse und die Gunst der Mächtigen um 1500', in *Apelles am Fürstenhof. Facetten der Hofkunst um 1500 im Alten Reich*, ed. Matthias Müller et al. (Berlin, 2010), pp. 9–21.

5     The letters 'H' in the text refer to the series *F.W.H. Hollstein, German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts ca. 1400–1700*. Cf. H. 3–5; Paul M. Bacon, 'Art Patronage and Piety in Electoral Saxony: Frederick the Wise Promotes the Veneration of His Patron, St Bartholomew', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, no. 4, 39 (2008), pp. 973–1001; Kerstin Merkel, 'Bruderbilder – Herrscherbilder. Inszenierte Bruderliebe als Garant für politische Qualität in der Frühen Neuzeit', in *Menschenbilder. Beiträge zur Altdeutschen Kunst*, ed. Andreas Tacke et al. (Petersberg, 2011), pp. 231–244.

6     H. 117–119. *Cranach*, cat. nos 33–34.

7     Livia Cárdenas, *The Texture of Images. The Relic Book in Late-Medieval Religiosity and Early Modern Aesthetics* (Leiden, 2020), pp. 183–253.

8     H. 1; *The Wild Man: Medieval Myth and Symbolism*, ed. Timothy Husband, exh. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1980), cat. no. 24; Giulia Bartrum, *German Renaissance Prints 1490–1550*, exh. cat., British Museum (London, 1995), cat. no. 178; Jutta Strehle, Armin Kunz, *Druckgraphiken Lucas Cranach d.Ä. Im Dienst von Macht und Glauben*, exh. cat., Lutherhalle (Wittenberg, 1998), cat. no. 1; *Temptation in Eden. Lucas Cranach's 'Adam and Eve'*, ed. Caroline Campbell, exh. cat., Courtauld Institute Art Gallery (London, 2007), cat. no. 16 (interpreted as a vision of a harmonious 'natural' world); Schade, 'Cranach's Contact with the Netherlands…', p. 96.

9     Apart from three portraits of the prince-elector (H. 3–5), three likenesses of Martin Luther (H. 6–8) and a portrait of cardinal Albrecht von Brandenburg (H. 2), the artist also made a depiction of a putto with the Saxon coat of arms.

10    See https://handschriftencensus.de/werke/881 [retrieved: 30 Dec. 2024]. Werner Williams-Krapp, *Die deutschen und niederländischen Legendare des Mittelalters. Studien zu ihrer Überlieferungs-, Text- und Wirkungsgeschichte* (Tübingen, 1986). Texte und Textgeschichte, 20; *Der Heiligen Leben: Der Winterteil*, vol. 2, eds Margit Brand, Bettina Jung, Werner Wiliams-Krapp (Tübingen, 2004). Texte une Textgeschichte, 51.

11    *The Wild Man…*, cat. nos 22–24.

12 See Marina Münkler, 'Legende/Lügende: Die protestantische Polemik gegen die katholische Legende und Luthers "Lügend von St. Johanne Chrysostomo"', in *Gottlosigkeit und Eigensinn: Religiöse Devianz im konfessionellen Zeitalter*, eds Gerd Schwerhoff, Eric Piltz (Berlin, 2015), pp. 121–147; Antje Sablotny, '"zu grob gewest": Metainvective Communication in Confessional Disputes over Narration of the Saints in the Sixteenth Century', *Journal of Early Modern Christianity*, no. 10 (1) (2023), pp. 143–165.

13 *Albrecht Dürer. Das druckgraphische Werk: Kupferstiche, Eisenradierungen und Kaltnadelblätter*, vol. 1, eds Rainer Schoch, Matthias Mende, Anna Scherbaum (München, 2001), cat. no. 7 (for an overview of earlier literature).

14 *The Wild Man…*, cat. no. 23; *Albrecht Dürer. Das druckgraphische Werk…*, cat. no. 7.

15 Christof Metzger, 'The Construction of the Human Body', in *Albrecht Dürer*, ed. Christof Metzger, exh. cat., Albertina (Wien, 2019), pp. 218–227.

16 *Albrecht Dürer. Das druckgraphische Werk…*, cat. nos 18 and 21.

17 Several of the surviving manuscripts of *Der Heiligen Leben* can be linked to Nuremberg. One copy was found in the library of the humanist and bibliophile Hartmann Schedel (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 409; https://handschriftencensus.de/werke/881 [retrieved: 30 Dec. 2024]). In 1488 *Der Heiligen Leben* was published by Anton Koberger, Dürer's godfather.

18 Peggy Grosse, 'The Nude', in *The Early Dürer*, eds Daniel Hess, Thomas Eser, exh. cat., Germanisches Nationalmuseum (Nuremberg, 2012), pp. 374–375; *Albrecht Dürer…*, pp. 212–213.

19 *Albrecht Dürer…*, cat. no. 33.

20 *Albrecht Dürer. Das druckgraphische Werk…*, cat. no. 6.

21 Erasmus of Rotterdam, *De recta Latini Graecique sermonis pronuntiatione (1528)*, cited in Erwin Panofsky, *The Life and Art of Albrecht Dürer* (Princeton, 1955), p. 44.

22 Daniel Hess, 'Nature as Art's Supreme Guide: Dürer's Nature and Landscape Studies', in *The Early Dürer…*, pp. 127–128; Christof Metzger, 'Dürer, the Observer', in *Albrecht Dürer…*, pp. 118–120.

23 The prints of both these artists transformed the iconography of the subject. The motif of a woman and child later appeared in Knoblouch's edition printed in Strasbourg in 1521, and a print by Barthel Beham (H. 12). See *The Wild Man…*, cat. no. 24; *The World in Miniature. Engravings by the German Little Masters 1500–1550*, ed. Stephen Goddard, exh. cat., Spencer Museum of Art (Lawrence, 1988), cat. no. 38.

24 See Christopher S. Wood, *Albrecht Altdorfer and the Origins of Landscape* (London, 1993).

25 Examples include *The Penance of St Hieronymus* (1502) and *Portraits of Johannes Cuspinian and His Wife* (1502/1503). See *Cranach. Die Anfänge in Wien*, eds Guido Messling, Kerstin Richter, exh. cat., Winterthur, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (Munich, 2022), cat. nos 6, 12, 13, 15, 16. See also Alice Hoppe-Harnoncourt, 'Glaube und Macht. Lucas Cranach d. Ä. – Porträtist in bewegter Zeit' in *Dürer, Cranach, Holbein. Die Entdeckung des Menschen: Das deutsche Porträt um 1500*, exh. cat., Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Kunsthalle (Munich, 2011), pp. 113–119; Katja Baumhoff, 'Im Grünen. Das Naturbild im Wiener Humanismus', in *Cranach. Die Anfänge in Wien…*, p. 47.

26 Scholars have drawn attention to the symbolism of the sprouts growing out of the trunk of the felled oak tree. The flower depicted was identified as an iris (*Temptation in Eden…*, cat. no. 16).

27 Descriptions of the columbine (*Aquilegia*, *Egilops*, *Akelei*), its appearance and properties, could be found, i.a., in successive editions of *Gart der Gesundheit* and *Hortus Sanitatis*. See Pia Rudolph, *Im Garten der Gesundheit. Pflanzenbilder zwischen Natur, Kunst und Wissen in gedruckten Kräuterbüchern des 15. Jahrhundert* (Köln, 2020). Pictura und Poesis, 35.

28 *Albrecht Dürer…*, cat. no. 50.

29 David Landau, Peter Parshall, *The Renaissance Print 1470–1550* (London, 1994), pp. 245–259.

30 He used a similar idea in the design of the woodcut *Adam and Eve in Paradise*, completed that same year (H. 1, p. 10). See *Temptation in Eden…*, cat. nos 1 and 12.

31    See Brian W. Ogilvie, *The Science of Describing: Natural History in Renaissance Europe* (Chicago, 2006).

32    The woodcut was copied in several editions from Augsburg, i.a., Johann Schönsperger's (1485, 1489) and Anton Sorg's (1488).

33    *The Wild Man...*, cat. no. 23.

34    *Emperor Maximilian I and the Age of Dürer*, eds Eva Michel, Maria Luise Sternath, exh. cat., Albertina, Vienna (Munich, 2012), cat. no. 90.

35    *Apelles am Fürstenhof...*, p. 208 ff.

36    *Albrecht Dürer. Das druckgraphische Werk...*, cat. no. 32; *Emperor Maximilian I and the Age of Dürer...*, cat. no. 88.

37    Such depictions also had a propagandistic dimension at the court in Wittenberg, cf. *Stag Hunt of Elector Frederick the Wise* from 1529 – Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, https://lucascranach.org/en/AT_KHM_GG3560 [retrieved: 30 Dec. 2024].

38    E.g., *Couple Headed to a Hunt* (1506; H. 114), the *Stag Hunt* printed using two woodblocks (*c.*1506; H. 115) and *Boar Hunt* (*c.*1506–1507; H. 113). Cf. *Temptation in Eden...*, cat. nos 17, 18.

39    Cárdenas, *The Texture of Images...*, pp. 184–187.

40    The speech was delivered on 16 December 1508. *Oratio doctoris Scheurli attingens litterarum prestantiam, nec non laudem ecclesiae collegiatae Vittenburgensis*, published by Martin Landsberg (Leipzig, 1509). German translation in Christian Schuchardt, *Lucas Cranach des Ältern Leben und Werke*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1851), pp. 27–35. Nils Büttner, 'Die Kunst aus der Natur Reissen. Natur und Landschaft bei Lucas Cranach d. Ä', in *Cranach natürlich: Hieronymus in der Wildnis*, exh. cat., Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum (Innsbruck, 2018), p. 143.

41    *The Early Dürer...*, cat. no. 24. It was not the last commission given to Cranach (cf. two woodcut book-plates, H. 144). The portrait was also enthusiastically praised by the sitter (Hoppe-Harnoncourt, 'Glaube und Macht...', p. 114).

42    *Oratio doctoris Scheurli...*, fol. 2r. See Schuchardt, *Lucas Cranach...*, pp. 27–35; *Lucas Cranach der Ältere im Spiegel seiner Zeit: aus Urkunden, Chroniken, Briefen, Reden und Gedichten*, ed. Heinz Ludecke (Berlin, 1953), pp. 49–55.

43    By Christian Beier (*Oratio doctoris Scheurli...*, fols 15v–16r), Richardus Sbrulius, who came to Wittenberg from Vienna (*Oratio doctoris Scheurli...*, fol. 16v), Andreas Karlstadt von Bodenstein (*Oratio doctoris Scheurli...*, fol. 17r), Otto Beckmann (*Oratio doctoris Scheurli...*, fol. 17v).

44    Anne-Marie Bonnet, 'Der schnellste Maler der deutschen Renaissance. Positionen der Cranach-Forschung', in *Bild und Bekenntnis. Die Cranach-Werkstatt in Weimar*, eds Franziska Bomski, Hellmut Th. Seemann, Thorsten Valk (Göttingen, 2015), pp. 207–226.

45    *Ubi tu Cervina cornua pinxisti, ad que frequenter aves advolantes, in terram delabuntur, quae putant se ramis insidere. Oratio doctoris Scheurli...*, fol. 2r.

46    *Coburgi cervum pinxisti, quem quoties extranei canes adsciciunt, toties allatrant. Oratio doctoris Scheurli...*, fol. 2r.

47    *Oratio doctoris Scheurli...*, fol. 2r.

48    Edgar Bierende, *Lucas Cranach d.Ä. und der deutsche Humanismus. Tafelmalerei im Kontext von Rhetorik, Chroniken und Fürstenspiegeln* (Munich, 2002), pp. 163–165.

49    Stories about ancient artists became popular owing to a succession of printed editions of Pliny's *Naturalis Historia*, first published in Venice in 1469. For other expressions of praise for Cranach's ability to imitate nature see Christof Metzger, 'Eine Glaubensfrage. Auf die Suche nach der Wahrheit im Bildnis der Dürerzeit', in *Dürer, Cranach, Holbein. Die Entdeckung des Menschen...*, p. 21.

50    *Oratio doctoris Scheurli...*, fol. 2r. Anja Grebe, *Dürer. Die Geschichte seines Ruhms* (Petersberg, 2013), pp. 122–124.

51    Additional stimuli may have come from the art of Jacopo de' Barbari, Cranach's predecessor at the Wittenberg court, who was also dubbed the new Apelles. De' Barbari was the artist behind the *trompe-l'œil* painting *Still Life with Partridge* (1504). See Beate Böckem, 'Jacopo de' Barbari: Ein Apelles am Fürstenhof? Die Allianz von Künstler, Humanist und Herrscher im Alten Reich', in *Apelles am Fürstenhof...*, p. 31.

52    Mark Evans, '"The Italians, who usually pursue fame, proffer their hand to you". Lucas

Cranach and the Art of Humanism', in *Cranach*, pp. 53–55.

53 Jean Michel Massing, 'Schongauer's "Tribulations of St Anthony": Its Iconography and Influence on German Art', *Print Quarterly*, no. 1 (4) (1984), pp. 221–236.

54 Joanna Sikorska, 'Saint George from Greater Poland. Complexities of the Reception of Albrecht Dürer's Engraving', in *The Reception of the Printed Image in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries. Multiplied and Modified*, eds Grażyna Jurkowlaniec, Magdalena Herman (New York, 2021), pp. 195–212.

55 Elizabeth Savage, *Early Colour Printing. German Renaissance Woodcuts at the British Museum* (London, 2021), cat. nos 14 and 15.

56 Landau, Parshall, *The Renaissance Print*..., pp. 185–187; Peter Parshall, 'The Origins of the Chiaroscuro Woodcut', in *The Chiaroscuro Woodcut in Renaissance Italy*, ed. Naoko Takahatake et al. (Los Angeles, 2018), pp. 36–38; Lothar Schmitt, 'Farbe, Gold und Teig. Druckgraphische Experimente im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert', in *Chiaroscuro als ästhetisches Prinzip. Kunst und Theorie des Helldunkels 1300–1550*, ed. Claudia Lehmann et al. (Berlin, 2018), pp. 241–262; Savage, *Early Colour Printing*..., cat. no. 11.

57 Achim Gnann, *In Farbe! Clair-obscur-Holzschnitte der Renaissance. Meisterwerke aus der Sammlung Georg Baselitz und der Albertina in Wien*, exh. cat., Albertina (Vienna, 2013), p. 14; Schmitt, 'Farbe, Gold und Teig...', pp. 241–262.

58 Technological analyses of Cranach's works have prompted scholars to hypothesize that he had received his education in Nuremberg, or even worked at Dürer's workshop. See Gunnar Heydenreich, '"Adam and Eve" in the Making', in *Temptation in Eden*...,

pp. 19–21; Ingo Sandner, Gunnar Heydenreich, *Cranach als Zeichner auf dem Malgrund – Auswertung der Untersuchungen im infraroten Strahlenbereich. Teil 1: Die Jahre um 1500 bis 1512* (https://lucascranach.org/download/news_22-3-2013.pdf [retrieved: 30 Dec. 2024]). See also Guido Messling, 'Die Anfänge Cranachs. Gesichertes und Mutmassungen', in *Cranach. Die Anfänge in Wien*..., pp. 14–23.

59 Paul M. Bacon, 'Humanism in Wittenberg: Frederick the Wise, Konrad Celtis, and Albrecht Dürer's 1508 "Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand Christians"', *Konsthistorisk tidskrift / Journal of Art History*, no. 82 (1) (2013), pp. 1–25.

60 Harald Marx, 'Cranach und Dürer. Zur Bildnisfrage bei Cranachs Katharinenaltar von 1506', *Dresdener Kunstblätter*, 41 (1) (1997), pp. 11–24; *Cranach*, cat. no. 11.

61 Cárdenas, *The Texture of Images*..., p. 184 ff.

62 *Albrecht Dürer*..., pp. 294–299, cat. no. 125.

63 Paul M. Bacon, *Humanism in Wittenberg*..., pp. 1–25; *Emperor Maximilian I and the Age of Dürer*..., cat. nos 32–34.

64 Grebe, *Dürer*..., pp. 117–128.

65 Grażyna Jurkowlaniec, 'Faith, Paragone and Commemoration in Dürer's "Christomorphic" Self-Portrait of 1500', in *Faith and Fantasy in the Renaissance: Texts, Images, and Religious Practices*, eds Olga Zorzi Pugliese, Ethan Matt Kavaler (Toronto, 2009), pp. 209–228.

66 Birgit Ulrike Münch, 'Danteske Landschaften als visionärer Ort des Glaubenskriegs: Bellini, Carpaccio, Mantegna und Dürers "Marter der Zehntausend Christen"', in *Orts-Wechsel. Reale, imaginierte und virtuelle Wissensräume*, eds Ulrich Port, Martin Przybilski (Wiesbaden, 2013), pp. 62–72; Bacon, *Humanism in Wittenberg*..., pp. 1–25.

67 See Bierende, *Lucas Cranach*...

# REFERENCES

*Albrecht Dürer*, ed. Christof Metzger, exh. cat., Albertina (Vienna, 2019).

*Albrecht Dürer. Das druckgraphische Werk*, vol. 1, *Kupferstiche, Eisenradierungen und Kaltnadelblätter*, eds Rainer Schoch, Matthias Mende, Anna Scherbaum (Munich, 2001).

Bacon Paul M., 'Art Patronage and Piety in Electoral Saxony: Frederick the Wise Promotes the Veneration of His Patron, St Bartholomew', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, Ann. 39, no. 4 (2008), pp. 973–1001.

Bacon Paul M., 'Humanism in Wittenberg: Frederick the Wise, Konrad Celtis, and Albrecht Dürer's 1508 "Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand Christians"', *Konsthistorisk tidskrift / Journal of Art History*, no. 82 (1) (2013), pp. 1–25.

Bartrum Giulia, *German Renaissance Prints 1490–1550*, exh. cat., British Museum (London, 1995).

Bierende Edgar, *Lucas Cranach d.Ä. und der deutsche Humanismus. Tafelmalerei im Kontext von Rhetorik, Chroniken und Fürstenspiegeln* (Munich, 2002).

Bonnet Anne-Marie, 'Der schnellste Maler der deutschen Renaissance. Positionen der Cranach-Forschung' in *Bild und Bekenntnis. Die Cranach-Werkstatt in Weimar*, eds Franziska Bomski, Hellmut Th. Seemann, Thorsten Valk (Göttingen, 2015), pp. 207–226.

Cárdenas Livia, *The Texture of Images. The Relic Book in Late-Medieval Religiosity and Early Modern Aesthetics* (Leiden, 2020).

*Cranach*, ed. Bodo Brinkmann, exh. cat., Städel Museum, Frankfurt am Mein; Royal Academy of Arts (London, 2007).

*Cranach. Die Anfänge in Wien*, eds Guido Messling, Kerstin Richter, exh. cat., Winterthur, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (Munich, 2022).

*The Early Dürer*, eds Daniel Hess, Thomas Eser, exh. cat., Germanisches Nationalmuseum (Nuremberg, 2012).

*Emperor Maximilian I and the Age of Dürer*, eds Eva Michel, Maria Luise Sternath, exh. cat., Albertina, Vienna (Munich, 2012).

Gnann Achim, *In Farbe! Clair-obscur-Holzschnitte der Renaissance. Meisterwerke aus der Sammlung Georg Baselitz und der Albertina in Wien*, exh. cat., Albertina (Vienna, 2013).

Grebe Anja, *Dürer. Die Geschichte seines Ruhms* (Petersberg, 2013).

*Der Heiligen Leben*, vol. 2, *Der Winterteil*, eds Margit Brand, Bettina Jung, Werner Williams-Krapp, Wiliams-Krapp (Tübingen, 2004). Texte une Textgeschichte, 51.

Jurkowlaniec Grażyna, 'Faith, Paragone and Commemoration in Dürer's "Christomorphic" Self-Portrait of 1500', in *Faith and Fantasy in the Renaissance: Texts, Images, and Religious Practices,* eds Olga Zorzi Pugliese, Ethan Matt Kavaler (Toronto, 2009), pp. 209–228.

Landau David, Parshall Peter, *The Renaissance Print 1470–1550* (London, 1994).

Marx Harald, 'Cranach und Dürer. Zur Bildnisfrage bei Cranachs Katharinenaltar von 1506', *Dresdener Kunstblätter*, no. 41 (1) (1997), pp. 11–24.

Münch Birgit Ulrike, 'Danteske Landschaften als visionärer Ort des Glaubenskriegs: Bellini, Carpaccio, Mantegna und Dürers "Marter der Zehntausend Christen"', in *Orts-Wechsel. Reale, imaginierte und virtuelle Wissensräume*, eds Ulrich Port, Martin Przybilski (Wiesbaden, 2013), pp. 62–72.

*Oratio doctoris Scheurli attingens litterarum prestantiam, nec non laudem ecclesiae collegiatae Vittenburgensis,* ed. Martin Landsberg (Leipzig, 1509).

Sandner Ingo, Heydenreich Gunnar, *Cranach als Zeichner auf dem Malgrund – Auswertung der Untersuchungen im infraroten Strahlenbereich. Teil 1: Die Jahre um 1500 bis 1512*, https://lucascranach.org/download/news_22-3-2013.pdf [retrieved: 30 Dec. 2024].

Savage Elizabeth, *Early Colour Printing. German Renaissance Woodcuts at the British Museum* (London, 2021).

Schmitt Lothar, 'Farbe, Gold und Teig. Druckgraphische Experimente im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert', in *Chiaroscuro als ästhetisches Prinzip. Kunst und Theorie des Helldunkels 1300–1550*, ed. Claudia Lehmann et al. (Berlin, 2018), pp. 241–262.

Strehle Jutta, Kunz Armin, *Druckgraphiken Lucas Cranach d.Ä. Im Dienst von Macht und Glauben*, exh. cat., Lutherhalle (Wittenberg, 1998).

*Temptation in Eden. Lucas Cranach's 'Adam and Eve'*, ed. Caroline Campbell, exh. cat., Courtauld Institute Art Gallery (London, 2007).

*The Wild Man: Medieval Myth and Symbolism*, ed. Timothy Husband, exh. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1980).

Williams-Krapp Werner, *Die deutschen und niederländischen Legendare des Mittelalters. Studien zu ihrer Überlieferungs-, Text- und Wirkungsgeschichte* (Tübingen, 1986). Texte und Textgeschichte, 20.

**Dr Joanna Sikorska** is the chief curator of the Department of Prints and Drawings at the National Museum in Warsaw. She is a guest lecturer at the Institute of Art History, University of Warsaw. Her scholarly interests focus on German and Italian prints from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, their reception and their connections with other art disciplines. She is the author or co-author of exhibitions organized at the National Museum in Warsaw (i.a., *Masters of the Pastel. From Marteau to Witkacy. The Collection of the National Museum in Warsaw*, 2015–2016; *Cranach. Nature and the Sacred*, 2021–2022), as well as publications on the history of printmaking and print collections (https://art-pl.academia.edu/JoannaSikorska).