

| The *Last Judgement* by Wolfgang Krodel the Elder: Printed Sources, Dating and Provenance of the Painting

Since mid-19th century, the Wilanów Palace in Warsaw has held in its collections the 16th-century painting *Last Judgement* (**fig. 1**),¹ purchased by the couple Aleksandra (1818–92) and August Potocki (1806–67). Described for a long time as an anonymous work linked with the German school,² it was only attributed to Wolfgang Krodel the Elder (active 1528–61) – painter from the circle of Lucas Cranach the Elder – by Jan Młodecki in the interwar period.³ This attribution, published for the first time by Kurt Erich Simon in 1936, was later universally accepted by scholars who investigated the case.⁴ In the years 1995–96, the painting was subjected to conservation treatment, which, i.a., made more legible the details of the composition as well as the letters WK and the date 1538 (both located in the middle at the bottom edge).⁵ The *Last Judgement*, though constantly present in literature, has not been so far subject of a detailed study. Scholars primarily paid attention to the interesting iconography of the work, which was described as Lutheran, or generally Protestant.⁶ This is suggested by the determined exclusion of the doctrinally Catholic elements: the subject of the Archangel weighing the souls (*psychostasis*); the motif of psychomachia – a battle between angels and demons

¹ Painting on limewood panels, 120 × 219 cm, The Museum of King Jan III's Palace at Wilanów in Warsaw, inv. no. Wil.1623.

² *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich*, Bronisław Chlebowski, ed., vol. 13 (Warsaw, 1893), p. 490 (described as an example of the “German school”); Ernest Łuniński, *Wilanów* (Warsaw, 1915), p. 24 (attributed to Hans Süss von Kulmbach).

³ Jan Młodecki, *Katalog zbiorów*, Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych [The Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw], Warsaw, sygn. Ag. Wil. Zarz. Muz. W Wil. 187, cat. no. 51. I would like to thank Joanna Pa-procka-Gajek for granting me access to a copy at the Museum of King Jan III's Palace at Wilanów in Warsaw.

⁴ Kurt Erich Simon, “Ausländische Kunst in Polen,” *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, no. 5 (1936), p. 146; Andrzej Chudzikowski et al., *Malarstwo austriackie, czeskie, niemieckie, węgierskie 1500–1800. Katalog zbiorów*, The National Museum in Warsaw (Warsaw, 1964), pp. 48–49, cat. no. 93; *Malarstwo europejskie. Katalog zbiorów*, The National Museum in Warsaw, Jan Białostocki, Andrzej Chudzikowski, eds (Warsaw, 1967), vol. 1, p. 203, cat. no. 592; Wojciech Fijałkowski, *Artystyczne zbiory Wilanowa* (Warsaw, 1979), p. 213, cat. no. 28; *Sztuka niemiecka 1450–1800 w zbiorach polskich*, Marzena Maćkowiak, ed., exh. cat., The National Museum in Kielce, 1996 (Kielce, 1996), p. 51, cat. no. 46; Bożena Steinborn, Antoni Ziemba, *Malarstwo niemieckie do 1600 roku. Katalog zbiorów*, The National Museum in Warsaw (Warsaw, 2000), pp. 43–46, cat. no. 34; *Kolekcja wilanowska*, Jadwiga Mieleśzko, ed. (Warsaw, 2005), pp. 40–43, cat. no. 14.

⁵ *Piękno za woalem czasu*, Ewa Birkenmajer, Jolanta Kurzyńska, eds, exh. cat., The Museum of King Jan III's Palace at Wilanów, Warsaw 2001 (Warsaw, 2001), pp. 49–52, cat. no. 1.

⁶ Steinborn, Ziemba, op. cit., p. 143; *Kolekcja wilanowska*, op. cit., p. 43.

for the souls of the resurrected; any figures of saints are absent, and, consequently, so is the thread of their mediation, advocacy and intercession (*intercessio*) – including the Deesis group and the twelve apostles. This reduction of traditional elements of iconography emphasises the new doctrine of salvation that is carried out due to the grace of God and man's fervent faith (*redemptio sola gratia, redemptio sola fide*), and, through summing up the deeds (*Werk-gerechtigkeit* – 'justification through works'), promotes new truths of the faith: *solus Christus* and *sola Dei gratia*, which implies the rejection of all intermediation between God and the believer. The reformational message is enhanced by the exposed quotes from the Gospels on the plaques painted in the top corners of the painting, as well as the presence – in the group of the raised from the dead, on the side of the condemned ones – of the caricatural depiction of the Pope holding a letter of indulgence. The Protestant, Lutheran tone of Krodel's *Last Judgement* leaves no place for doubt; it is denominationally unambiguous.

The research on the painting from the Wilanów collection continues to miss a detailed analysis of its ties with the iconographic tradition, which is why this article mainly addresses the question of the genesis of Krodel's composition. The identification of indirect and direct sources of inspiration may lead to interesting conclusions pertaining to the painter's artistic interests that went far beyond art from the Cranachs' workshop. It implies, too, the necessity of posing new questions – in particular, about the meaning of the date 1538 placed beside the signature. We are dealing with an extraordinary paradox – here an arch-Protestant image hides or reveals, as I will attempt to demonstrate, compositional references to a work depicting the same subject, yet executed for the Popes of the Counter-Reformation in arch-Catholic Rome.

The Last Judgement is one of the most frequently depicted subjects in art of the 15th and 16th centuries,⁷ appearing in painted triptychs, independent panel paintings, wall paintings or tapestries that furnished churches and chapels, as well as buildings of late medieval charitable institutions (the famous triptych by Rogier van der Weyden of c. 1449/1450–52 at the Hôtel-Dieu in Beaune) or townhalls (the painting preserved at the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg, painted in Michael Wolgemut's workshop c. 1485–1500 and intended for the Council Hall of the local townhall; the 16th-century wall painting in the Councillors' Hall of the townhall in Świdnica [Schweidnitz]).⁸ In comparison to the numerous contemporary variants of the theme, the set of motifs in the depiction is reduced to the essential ones in Krodel's version. The centre of the composition (in the shape of a horizontal rectangle) is taken by the monumental figure of Christ the Judge in a mandorla, against the background of clouds. On His right side, the artist depicted a group of the saved emerging from the clouds, and on the opposite side – the condemned falling into the infernal abyss. Below Christ are the dead rising from their graves, among whom a clergyman is easily distinguished (a man with

⁷ On the iconography of the Last Judgement, see, i.a., Louis Reau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, vol. 1: *Iconographie de la Bible*, part 2: *Nouveau Testament* (Paris, 1957), p. 727–57; Beat Brenk, *Weltgericht*, in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonografie*, Engelbert Kirschbaum, ed., vol. 4: *Allgemeine Ikonographie, Saba, Königin von – Zypresse. Nachträge* (Breisgau, 1972), pp. 516–23; Auguste Maurice Cognac, *Le jugement dernier dans l'art* (Paris, 1955); Yves Christe, *Jugements derniers* ([Saint-Léger-Vauban], 1999). On 16th-century realizations of this subject in Europe, see Craig Harbison, *The Last Judgment in Sixteenth Century Northern Europe. A Study of the Relation Between Art and the Reformation* (New York, 1976).

⁸ On the depictions of the Last Judgement in the context of the execution of municipal authority, see *The Art of Law. Three Centuries of Justice Depicted*, Stefan Huygebaert et al., eds, exh. cat., Groeningemuseum, Bruges, 2016–17 (Tielt, 2016).

a tonsure looking towards hell) and the pope whose arm is held by an infernal creature.⁹ The iconography of the work is complete with two quotes from the Gospel of St Matthew (25:34 and 25:41), written on two tables in the upper part of the composition.¹⁰

Understandably, the art of Lucas Cranach the Elder and his workshop was the main area where the prototypes and analogies to Krodol's painting were searched for. Most of all, the painting of c. 1525–30 at The Nelson-Atkins Museum in Kansas City was cited.¹¹ The compositional scheme, in particular – the figure of Christ, was said to be the shared element of the two works. However, the resemblance seems rather general. Other takes on this subject painted in Cranach's workshop in the second and third decades of the 16th century – the predella of the altar shrine from Neustadt (1513)¹² or the painting from the Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg¹³ – appear to be even more remote. The motif of the Judgement appears in certain depictions of the Law and Grace (related to the variant from Gotha), which, too, contain the figures of angels blowing trumpets with banners (e.g., the painting in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg).¹⁴ The closest analogy – and the most probable one to have been the source of inspiration for the Wilanów painting – are, however, the panels on the reverse of the altarpiece in the church of St Wolfgang in Schneeberg (fig. 2)¹⁵ from the 1530s. They depicted the Last Judgement in three zones (the painting in the predella has not

⁹ The devil accompanying the pope shows him a letter of indulgence, and the visible text of the inscription reads: *Ablas Aller tödlichen | und teglichen Sünden | es hilf was Kan | weil der groschen | klingt Fert die sele zü himmel* – cited after: Steinborn, Ziemba, op. cit., p. 143.

¹⁰ The table above the figures of the saved: *Kümpf Her Ir Gebenedeyten Meyens | Vatters Erebet Das Reyck Das Eüch | Bereyt Ist Von Anbegyn Der Welt: | Matth an XXV cap.*; the table above the condemned: *Geht hin Von Mir Ir Vermale | deyten In Das Ewig fewer. Das | Bereyt Ist Dem Teüfel Und Seynen | Engeln: Matth: am XXV cap* – cited after: ibid.

¹¹ Lucas Cranach the Elder, *Last Judgement*, panel painting, 73.3 × 99.9 cm, inv. no. Nelson Trust 60-37, The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City. All paintings by Cranach the Elder and from his workshop are accessible on the site of the Cranach Digital Archive [online], <<http://lucascranach.org/>>, [retrieved: 22 March 2017]. See also: Max J. Friedländer, Jacob Rosenberg, *Die Gemälde von Lucas Cranach* (Basel, 1979), p. 90, cat. no. 100. The following authors, i.a., pointed out the similarities: Chudzikowski et al., *Malarstwo austriackie...*, op. cit., p. 49; Steinborn, Ziemba, op. cit., p. 143; *Piękno za woalem czasu*, op. cit., p. 49.

¹² Lucas Cranach the Elder and workshop, *Last Judgement* – altarpiece predella, panel painting, 120 × 211.5 cm, Evangelische Stadtkirche St. Johannis zu Neustadt/Orla, see Friedländer, Rosenberg, op. cit., pp. 78–79, cat. no. 47A.

¹³ Workshop of Lucas Cranach the Elder, *Last Judgement*, panel painting, 119 × 89.5 cm, inv. no. Mo37, Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg, Coburg.

¹⁴ Lucas Cranach the Elder, *Law and Grace*, panel paintings, 72.7 × 60.2 cm and 72 × 59.7 cm, inv. nos Gm 220 and Gm 221, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, see Friedländer, Rosenberg, op. cit., p. 114, cat. no. 221a–d. Krodol is the author of a pair of paintings depicting the same subject of 1542 in Kamenz, see *Gesetz und Gnade. Wolfgang Krodol d. Ä., Lucas Cranach d. Ä. und die Enlösung des Menschen im Bild der Reformation*, hrsg. von Sören Fischer, exh. cat., Galerie des Sakralmuseum St. Annen, Kamenz, 2017 (Kamenz, 2017), pp. 32–42, cat. no. 14. Kleine Schriften der Städtischen Sammlungen Kamenz, 8.

¹⁵ Lucas Cranach the Elder and workshop, *Schneeberg Altarpiece*, panel paintings, 280.2 × 222 cm (central part), 104.3 × 210.8 cm (predella), 285.3 × 98.8 cm (movable left wing), 285 × 98.8 cm (immobile left wing), 285 × 97.5 cm (movable right wing), 285 × 97.5 cm (immobile right wing), the church of St Wolfgang in Schneeberg. See in particular: Oskar Thulin, *Cranach-Altäre der Reformation* (Berlin, 1955), pp. 34–53; Bonnie Noble, “A Work in Which the Angels Are Wont to Rejoice: Lucas Cranach's Schneeberg Altarpiece,” *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, vol. 34, no. 4 (2003), pp. 1011–37; Jenny Lagarde, *Der Cranach-Altar zu St. Wolfgang in Schneeberg. Ein Bildprogramm zwischen Spätmittelalter und Reformation* (Leipzig–Berlin, 2010); *Das Bild des neuen Glaubens. Das Cranach-Retabel in der Schneeberger St. Wolfgangskirche*, Thomas Pöpper, Suzanne Wegman, eds (Regensburg, 2011); Thomas Pöpper, *Das Schneeberger Reformationsretabel von Lucas Cranach dem Älteren. Ein „bildgewordener Kirchentraum“* (Spröda, 2013) (with a list of earlier literature).

been preserved). Krodel was born and worked in this Saxon town,¹⁶ so he must have known well this work. One could point out many elements linking these two works. In both cases, the simplified iconographic variant was applied, in which the set of motifs is limited to the necessary minimum: Christ the Judge assisted by angels blowing trumpets (in the top panel of the Schneeberg Altarpiece), the groups of the saved and the condemned, and finally – the dead rising from their graves (originally in the altarpiece's predella).¹⁷ The only difference is the presence of the motif of the reception of the saved in the Paradise in the altarpiece from the church of St Wolfgang, a motif that is omitted in the painting from the Wilanów collection. The close relationship of both works is confirmed through a detailed analysis. The figure of Christ: the pose, the concept of gestures and the arrangement of the red mantle, is almost identical (fig. 3). The depictions of angels blowing trumpets in Krodel's painting seem to be dependent on analogous figures in the altarpiece's panels, which is best testified to by the way the banners attached to musical instruments are arranged. A shared feature would also be the motif of criticism of ecclesiastic hierarchy. In the Schneeberg depiction, the figure of the pope appears twice: in the moment when he leaves his grave, and, in the panel above, undergoing tortures that he experiences in hell. Beside the pope wearing a papal crown, with fiery tongues coming from his mouth, we can see a figure in a cardinal hat. Strikingly, both clergymen are located centrally in the "hell zone."¹⁸

It is beyond any doubt that the painting on the reverse of the Schneeberg Altarpiece and the Wilanów painting are closely tied with each other.¹⁹ Cranach's altarpiece was solemnly consecrated on Easter Day 1539.²⁰ If we connect this fact with the date 1538 in the Wilanów painting, we could assume that both versions of the *Last Judgement* were painted more or less at the same time. However, a more profound iconographic analysis suggests that the dating of Krodel's painting should be moved at least several years forward.

As much as the connections with the art of Lucas Cranach the Elder do not seem surprising, the other source of inspiration remains less obvious and casts new light on the oeuvre of the German master. On the one hand, as suggested by the example of the painting's central figure of Christ, the artist employed settled compositional solutions. Similarly, he also reached for already established schemes and physiognomic types when characterising the remaining figures in the painting. Despite a clear attempt at differentiating, creating variants and mixing

¹⁶ On the subject of the Krodel family, see Christian Schuchardt, *Lucas Cranach des Aeltern. Leben und Werke*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1851), pp. 245–49; Wilhelm Junius, "Die erzgebirgische Künstlerfamilie Krodel. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Cranach-Schule," *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft*, Ann. 14, vol. 1 (1921), pp. 253–61; Walter Henstchel, *Krodel, Wolfgang d. Ä.*, in *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, vol. 21, *Knip-Kröger* (Leipzig, 1992), pp. 552–53; Christoph Emmendorffer, "Die selbstständigen Cranachschüler," in *Unsichtbare Meisterzeichnungen auf dem Malgrund. Cranach und seine Zeitgenossen*, Ingo Sandner, ed. (Regensburg, 1998), pp. 221–23; Sören Fischer, "Das Kamenzer Bildpaar 'Gesetz und Gnade' – Zwischen Fegefeuer, Erlösung und Papstkritik," in *Gesetz und Gnade*..., op. cit., pp. 29–32.

¹⁷ The predella was burned during the bombing of the church in 1945. The reproduction of the panel in: Lagaude, op. cit., fig. 66. An analysis of the iconography of the *Last Judgement* from the altarpiece, see Bonnie Noble, *Lucas Cranach the Elder. Art and Devotion of the German Reformation* (Lanham, 2009), pp. 75–77.

¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 95–96, 98. On the subject of anticlerical rhetoric in the depictions of the Last Judgement, see Harbison, op. cit., pp. 36–41, 212–15.

¹⁹ Relations of Krodel's art with the *Schneeberg Altarpiece* were also pointed out by Fischer, op. cit., pp. 32–33. In this case, it pertained to the pair of paintings from Kamenitz with the Law and Grace and panels with the same subject on the altar in Schneeberg.

²⁰ Noble, "A Work in Which...", op. cit., pp. 1016–18.

human types that form the groups of the saved and the condemned, it is rather easy to distinguish several basic types: a man with short dark hair and similar facial hair, a balding elderly man with a grey beard, or a woman with a high forehead and very rosy cheeks. In the group of the saved, the most concise and homogenous one, most figures are only partially visible, as they are crowded in a rather confined space. Among them, one couple in the first row, in the centre, looks distinctive. In contrast to others, the gestures and the body position of the woman and the man do not repeat conventional poses. Instead of folding hands for prayer or pointing at the Judge, the woman holds her right hand opened and dropped, and grabs the man's forearm with her left hand as if she wanted to stop him. The man stands slightly in front of her, with his both arms dropped, turned towards Christ. The scheme of this fragment of the composition – with the bold, and, in Krodel's painting, rather awkward foreshortening of the woman's left arm – originates from the most famous 16th-century version of the *Last Judgement*, painted by Michelangelo in the Sistine Chapel in the years 1536–41. The identically posed figures are located in the analogous spot of the Vatican composition – in the group on Christ's right side: the athletic St John the Baptist and the young man standing beside him.

Krodel must have known Buonarroti's work through drawn copies or one of the numerous reproductive engravings that started to emerge shortly after the fresco was unveiled. The fresco aroused great interest already before it was finished. It was discussed, for instance, by Pietro Aretino (1492–1556) – who, however, had not seen it in person.²¹ Sources report of young art adepts who stayed in the chapel for hours studying and copying particular figures and groups. It should be kept in mind, though, that access to Cappella Sistina, the Pope's private oratory, was greatly limited. The copies that emerged contributed to a significant degree to the distribution of this innovative and much-awaited work among wider audiences. The first reproduction tracked by the scholars was executed by Marcello Venusti (1510–79) on commission from Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga, who started to look for an artist capable of fulfilling this task immediately after the unveiling of the fresco on 31 October 1541.²² Venusti also received (c. 1549) a commission from Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (1520–89) to paint a large panel copy.²³

In the 16th century, a dozen or so graphic reproductions of Michelangelo's *Last Judgement* were made.²⁴ Outside Rome and Italy, they gave an idea of the form and power of Buonarroti's painterly vision. Two years after the painting was finished, in 1543, Antonio Salamanca (1479–1562) published *Last Judgement*, engraved by Niccolò della Casa (active in Rome in the years 1543–48) (fig. 4). The large-sized engraving was printed with the use of numerous matrices, whose dating continues to be subject of discussion, as the oldest known prints from the

²¹ On the subject of the reception of the work in the 16th century, see Bernardine Barnes, *Michelangelo's "Last Judgement."* *The Renaissance Response* (Berkeley, 1998), in particular pp. 71–101.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 99–100.

²³ Marcello Venusti after Michelangelo, *Last Judgement*, panel painting, 187.5 × 144.5 cm, Museo di Capodimonte, Naples, inv. no. 139; *Michelangelo e la Sistina. La tecnica, il restauro, il mito*, Fabrizio Mancinelli et al., eds, exh. cat., Isola di San Giorgio Maggiore, Venice, 1991 (Rome, 1990), pp. 234–36, cat. no. 143.

²⁴ *The Engravings of Giorgio Ghisi*, Michal Lewis, R.E. Lewis, eds, with contribution of Suzanne Boorsch (New York, 1985), cat. no. 9 (*Other versions*); *La Sistina riprodotta. Gli affreschi di Michelangelo dalle stampe di Cinquecento alle campagne fotografiche Anderson*, a cura di Alida Molto, exh. cat., Calcografia, Rome 1991 (Rome, 1991), cat. nos 6, 10, 11, 13, 17, 21–24, 28–30; Bernardine Barnes, *Michelangelo in Prints. Reproductions as Response in the Sixteenth-Century* (Farnham, 2010), pp. 99–112 and "Checklist", pp. 193–94, cat. nos 42–62.

set of plates only come from the 1548 edition.²⁵ A similar course of action was pursued, also in the 1540s, by Giorgio Ghisi (1520–82), who divided Michelangelo's composition into ten parts (**fig. 5**).²⁶ Later on, particular plates were marked with successive letters of the alphabet. Then, in 1562 (although also in this case prints from individual plates could have been published earlier), an engraving after the *Last Judgement* was issued by Nicolas Beatrizet.²⁷ The list of the most important graphic reproductions should also include the version by Giulio Bonasone (c. 1510 – c. 1576) (**fig. 6**). The engraving was printed from one plate and is smaller, yet was already made in 1546, so – if we assume that the complete edition of the engraving by della Casa only took place in 1548 – perhaps it should be considered to have been the first full graphic version of the famous fresco.²⁸

The engravings by della Casa, Ghisi, Bonasone and Beatrizet (if we accept the hypothesis that prints from single plates could be printed earlier) were exactly those that should be considered as potential sources of inspiration for the Wilanów painting, as the remaining dated compositions come from the second half of the 1560s and later times, and, as such, go beyond the chronological frame marked by the last documented work by Krodel, dated to 1561.²⁹ Facial types typical for the German painter are not in the least similar either to those in the Michelangelo's prototype or in its graphic reproductions. The painting shows a characteristic tendency to modify the borrowed elements. The artist precisely recreates only the poses of figures, but does not hesitate, wherever necessary, to change their sex, and adapt their faces to the Cranach type that is well known to him. The figure to the left from St John the Baptist, both in Buonarroti's fresco and in engravings by della Casa, Ghisi, Bonasone and Beatrizet, is a young man without facial hair, while in Krodel's painting, the same pose is assumed by a woman. It is this very figure, though, or rather the tiny details of the figure's depiction that permit pointing towards direct sources from which the painter borrowed: namely, the identical arrangement of fingers of the right hand, which only appears with Ghisi and Beatrizet,³⁰ and the characteristic hairdo in the form of a braid carefully plaited around the head. Both Michelangelo's original and other engravings depict a headband. Certain engravers leave out this motif altogether. Yet a similar hairdo appears in the Wilanów painting. It is also easy to spot evident similarities in the depiction of the muscular man standing alongside. The line of the collarbone and tendons on the neck are identical in the works by Krodel, Ghisi and Beatrizet, but painted in a different manner by Niccolò della Casa (**fig. 7**).

The similarity of motifs in the case of engravings by Ghisi and Beatrizet results from the fact that the latter based his composition on the engraving by the former. As mentioned

²⁵ Niccolò della Casa after Michelangelo, *Last Judgement*, engraving printed from ten plates, 156.3 × 132 cm. See *La Sistina riprodotta...*, op. cit., pp. 50–52, cat. no. 6.

²⁶ Giorgio Ghisi after Michelangelo, *Last Judgement*, engraving printed from ten plates, 121.5 × 105.3 cm, see *La Sistina riprodotta...*, op. cit., pp. 68–72, cat. no. 17; *The Engravings of Giorgio Ghisi*, op. cit., pp. 53–57, cat. no. 9.

²⁷ Nicolas Beatrizet after Michelangelo, *Last Judgement*, engraving printed from ten plates, 123 × 105 cm. *Michelangelo e la Sistina...*, op. cit., pp. 250–51, cat. no. 151.

²⁸ Giulio Bonasone after Michelangelo, *Last Judgement*, engraving, 57.2 × 44.2 cm, see *La Sistina riprodotta...*, op. cit., pp. 57–58, cat. no. 10. General summary of research on the early reception of the *Last Judgement* in graphic arts to date, see Barnes, *Michelangelo in Prints...*, op. cit., pp. 110–22.

²⁹ Wolfgang Krodel the Elder, *Baptism of Christ*, panel painting, 132 × 133 cm, the church of St Wolfgang in Schneeberg.

³⁰ On Krodel's painting, the middle and the ring finger are joined. In Bonasone's print, the depiction is too general and such details are missing; in Niccolò della Casa's print, not two but three fingers are joined.

before, the complete edition of Beatrizet's engraving is only dated to 1562; however, the composition with Christ (also including the figures of St John the Baptist and a young man) shows lesser proficiency in comparison with others, and, as such, could have been issued earlier. Michael Bury pointed out that it relates stylistically to the engraver's works from the 1550s.³¹ Krodel could have used an engraving either by Ghisi or by Beatrizet (though the chronology rather suggests Ghisi).

In the middle of the 16th century, the circulation of graphic works used as models between Italy and the North was rather intense. Ghisi travelled to the north of Europe, to Antwerp, where he collaborated with the publishing house of Hieronymus Cock (1518–70), *Aux Quatre Vents* (At the Sign of the Four Winds), and stayed in France from the mid-1550s until 1569.³² The good knowledge of compositions by Italian engravers, palpable in Krodel's painting, is, then, not surprising. What is, though, is the multiplicity of many further traits and motifs from Michelangelo appearing in this one particular painting, while similar references are hard to find in his other works.³³

The figures of a woman and a man from the group of the saved are not the only motifs borrowed through graphic works from the painting of the altar wall in the Sistine Chapel, as there are many more similar elements. It is highly likely that in these cases, too, the German master borrowed from the engraving by Ghisi or Beatrizet, though a comparison of the engravings and the painting does not provide a definite answer to this question. The figure of a man falling with his head down (in the right part of the Wilanów painting) also appears in Michelangelo's fresco in the group of angels pushing the condemned into the abyss (Ghisi's plate F) (**fig. 8**). However, the greatest number of borrowings – five – applies to the figures of the dead rising from the graves. With one exception, they all appear in one and the same engraving, marked by later editors with the letter L (**fig. 9**). The motif of the man going out – literally – from under the ground in the aforementioned plate could be found in the left bottom corner (again, Krodel changes the figure's sex, from a man to a woman). Then there is the man with his back turned and a young man on all fours – the prototype for the depiction of a clergyman. Finally, turned frontally, the figure of a young man with his hands leaning on the ground in the Wilanów painting was transformed into the pope with a long grey beard and a papal crown on his head. Moreover, the skeleton present in the prototype assumes an analogous position to the devil presenting the letter of indulgence to the pope. The last motif of the painting indisputably based on the graphic model is the elderly woman, likely taking a shroud from her head. She originally appears as Eve in the top left corner of Ghisi's plate E depicting a group of women from the Sistine fresco (**fig. 10**). These borrowings reveal to us the artist's working methods: Krodel preferred to modify the graphic model in order to adapt it to his own needs rather than literally cite particular fragments. Krodel sometimes also copied spatial relations and dependencies between particular figures.

The method of using the graphic model, consisting in compiling and modifying selected motifs, seems worthy of note. The artist consequently introduces corrections (to use the term

³¹ Michael Bury, "Niccolò della Casa's 'Last Judgement' Dissected," *Print Quarterly*, vol. 27, no. 1 (2010), p. 8.

³² *The Engravings of Giorgio Ghisi*, op. cit., pp. 17–19.

³³ Analogies to another work by Michelangelo, *Creation of Adam*, in the paintings by Cranach and Krodel depicting the subject of the Tables of the Law and Grace was observed by S. Fischer (op. cit., pp. 40–41). The discussion, however, concerns not the literal borrowing of the motif, but the possible reference to the way of building the relation between the crucified Christ and the praying man.

proposed by Zbigniew Michalczyk³⁴: he infuses his figures with a more desirable character; changes their faces; wherever needed, transforms male figures into women or a young man into an elderly man (as in the case of the pope). On the other hand, he sometimes keeps less significant elements. For instance, while borrowing the motif of a man rising from the dead with his back turned to the viewer, Krodel at the same time “cuts out” and transfers into the painting the shrouded head emerging from under the ground (which is visible in the space between the man’s back and arm). Similarly, in the case of the woman getting out from under the ground, there are three hands visible, which suggests (as in the engravings by Ghisi and Beatrizet) the presence another person in the grave. Compiling selected elements, Krodel only exceptionally introduces them into new contexts (Eve from the plate E). Most often, he leaves them in their original roles – of the saved, the condemned or the rising from the dead, only adapting the combinations of particular figures to the needs of less elaborate, more summarized scenes. This suggests that the author of the Wilanów piece knew the entire composition of the Last Judgement, and not only its single motifs.

Possibly, the painting may contain more borrowings of more general character from the engravings after the Sistine Chapel’s *Last Judgement*. The infernal creature looking in the direction of the pope might be related, as far as its body position is concerned, to the crawling man from the plate L (on the right side of the young man who is the prototype of the pope). Yet this is not as exact a transfer as in other cases. In the plates engraved by Ghisi and Beatrizet, I have not managed to identify other motifs used by Krodel in his painting. Although one could expect that such characteristically posed figures like, for instance, the resurrected woman reaching her back with her hand or several figures from among the condemned, could also have had their graphic sources, not necessarily from the engravings after Michelangelo’s fresco. Here opens a field for further investigation.

The presence of the described motifs situates Wolfgang Krodel’s *Last Judgement* within the phenomenon of the early reception of Michelangelo’s art in this part of Europe and casts new light on the dating of the painting. The Sistine Chapel composition became almost immediately a subject of transformations and a treasury of patterns for artists from the other side of the Alps. An example may be provided by the painting from Jan van Scorel’s workshop in the collection of the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen in Rotterdam. Dated to 1542, that is, only one year after the fresco was unveiled, it depicts St Sebastian whose pose is a literal quote from one of the figures crowded in the altar wall of the papal chapel.³⁵

Similarly to the Rotterdam painting, the Wilanów work is also dated – to 1538. Yet a fundamental problem appears: if the date were true, the piece would have had to be painted three years before the fresco was unveiled in Rome.³⁶ Michelangelo worked on the *Judgement* from 1534 – in summer he presented to Pope Clement VII the design proposals showing the general

³⁴ Zbigniew Michalczyk, *W lustrzanym odbiciu. Grafika europejska a malarstwo Rzeczypospolitej w czasach nowożytnych ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem późnego baroku* (Warsaw, 2016), pp. 139–64.

³⁵ Jan van Scorel, workshop, *St Sebastian*, panel painting, 155.6 × 113.2 cm, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam, inv. no. 2342, see Jessica Burskirk, Bertram Kaschek, “Kanon und Kritik. Konkurrierende Körperbilder in Italien und den Niederlanden,” in *Jenseits der Geltung. Konkurrierende Transzendenzbehauptungen von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, Stephan Dreischer et al., eds (Berlin, 2013), pp. 21–22.

³⁶ On the subject of the chronology of the works, see Marcia B. Hall, *Michelangelos Last Judgement* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 6–10; Fabrizio Mancinelli, *Michelangelo’s “Last Judgement.” Technique and Restoration*, in Loren Partridge, Fabrizio Mancinelli, Gianluigi Colalucci, *Michelangelo. The Last Judgement. A Glorious Restoration* (New York, 1997), pp. 151–68.

concept of the decoration (its character is supposed to be given by drawings held in New York and Windsor). Preparatory works on the composition continued in the following months, and cartoons were still in preparation in the beginning of 1536. Scaffoldings were installed in the chapel on 15 April that year, but before Michelangelo began to paint, earlier decorations had to be first removed, which itself took several months. The scaffolding covering the top part of the altar wall was only dismantled in 1540. Taking these facts into consideration, as well as the evident influences from Ghisi or Beatrizet's engraving, it would be hard to assume that Krodel could finish his painting in the late 1530s. It is then justified to presume that the date 1538 does not mean the actual date of the creation or finish of the composition in discussion. The dating is additionally complicated by the fact that we do not know the original destination of the painting – there is no basis on which to speculate on the meaning of the aforementioned date.

The *Last Judgement* from the Wilanów Palace is not the only work of a similar subject mentioned in the sources and attributed to Krodel. From the early 18th century comes information contained in the *Historia Schneebergensis Renovata* by Christian Meltzer (1655–1733),³⁷ citing a picture painted by the painter Krodel, placed above the door leading to the Council Hall of the town hall in Schneeberg and renovated in 1602. This record was referred to in 1851 by Christian Schuchardt who mentioned a *Last Judgement* in a private collection in Dessau.³⁸ Seventy years later Wilhelm Junius considered both mentioned paintings as identical (though without determining the current location).³⁹ Until the present day Kulturstiftung Dessau-Wörlitz holds the large-sized *Last Judgement* that used to be part of the original furnishings of the Gotisches Haus (a pavilion finished in 1813) in Wörlitz⁴⁰ (fig. 11). Despite having been earlier attributed to Wolfgang Krodel and dated to 1528, it is not the work mentioned by Schuchardt. The latter wrote namely: “One of these paintings is in possession of the princely castellan Höhn from Dessau. It depicts *Last Judgement*; on it are initials W.K. and the date 1528. Christ in glory is seated on the clouds as the Judge of the world. On the left is the group of the blessed, on the right – the condemned, below – the rising from the graves. Among them, one of the devils grasps the pope's nose, while the other holds before him a letter of indulgence. The bottom part is equally chaotic as the back side of the predella of the Schneeberg Altarpiece. The fact that Meltzer mentions the *Last Judgement* linked with Krodel above the door of the Council Hall of the town hall in Schneeberg offers a particular similarity. The painting from Dessau shows in many elements the qualities of the Cranach school: in colours and in the manner of applying paint, in contours. The shapes, however, betray an imitation of Michelangelo. The condemned cast down into the abyss and the rising from the graves are rendered properly, many of these figures emanate immense earnestness

³⁷ Christian Meltzer, *Historia Schneebergensis Renovata. Das ist: Erneuerte Stadt- u. Berg-Chronica Der im Ober-Ertz-Gebürge des belobten Meißens gelegenen Wohl-löbl. Freyen Berg-Stadt Schneeberg [...]* (Schneeberg, 1716), p. 137.

³⁸ Schuchardt, op. cit., pp. 247–48.

³⁹ Junius, *Die erzgebirgische Künstlerfamilie Krodel...*, op. cit., p. 253.

⁴⁰ Unknown painter – in the past attributed to Wolfgang Krodel the Elder, *Last Judgement*, 174 × 143 cm, Kulturstiftung Dessau-Wörlitz, Museum Digital [online] [update: 20 April 2017], <<https://www.museum-digital.de/st/index.php?t=objekt&oges=39795>>, [retrieved: 1 January 2018]; August von Rode, *Das Gothische Haus zu Wörlitz, nebst anderen Ergänzungen der Beschreibung des Herzoglichen Landhauses und Gartens zu Wörlitz* (Dessau, 1818), p. 38; Adolph Hartmann, *Der Wörlitzer Park und seine Kunstschatze* (Dessau, 1913), cat. no. 1596.

and character. Due to two huge inscriptions placed above the groups of the blessed and the condemned, as well as the faded colours, the overall impression is not particularly pleasant.”⁴¹

The painting preserved today in Dessau does not display ties with Cranach’s art and one could not assume that Schuchardt saw such connections. What is puzzling, though, is that all the composition components listed in his description, including the motif of the pope surrounded by infernal creatures, the presence of the tables with biblical quotes in the composition, and finally the reference to the altarpiece from the church of St Wolfgang in Schneeberg, find a counterpart in the Wilanów painting. Schuchardt also mentions the references to Michelangelo’s art. A question arises whether he could have meant the painting from the Wilanów collection. The date 1538 could have been erroneously deciphered in the 19th century as 1528 – let us keep in mind that still in the 1990s, the panel’s front was covered by a layer of darkened varnish. The *Last Judgement* by Krodel only appears in the Wilanów inventories in the mid-19th century. It is then likely that shortly after Schuchardt saw the painting in Dessau or was informed about it, the painting changed its owner. The work disappeared from the scholars’ radar, and in Warsaw it was attributed to an anonymous painter (most possibly, the signature was barely visible and difficult to decipher). And the erroneous reading of the year date resulted in the fact that later the painting was not linked with mentions in historical literature, and the existence of several versions of Krodel’s composition was assumed. Obviously, it opens the door for further investigations, like the search for an answer to the question whether the painting described by Schuchardt in Dessau should have been identified with the one that appears in Meltzer’s chronicle of 1713.

It is not only the identification of the provenance of the painting but also its precise dating that presents difficulties. Unfortunately, the exact determination of the date post quem remains impossible because of the uncertain dating of Ghisi’s engraving. Certain sources inform us that the engraving was only printed in 1556, which should nevertheless be rejected for stylistical reasons.⁴² The manner of working out figures and operating the line is more characteristic for the engraver’s earlier works. It is presumed that Ghisi worked on the basis of drawings by the aforementioned Marcello Venusti, who from 1541 produced copies of the fresco for Duke Gonzaga in Mantua. As pointed out by the authors of the catalogue of Ghisi’s engravings, the alleged drawing model could find its way to Mantua c. 1543–44, and this is the earliest that the engraver could have started work on his prints.⁴³ In this context,

⁴¹ “Eins dieser Bilder befindet sich im Besitz des herzoglichen Schlosscastellans Höhn zu Dessau; es ist mit W.K. und 1528 bezeichnet und stellt das Jüngste Gericht dar. In einer Glorie in Wolken sitzt Christus als Weltenrichter, zur Linken ist eine Gruppe von Seligen, rechts von Verdammten, unten Auferstehende aus den Gräbern, in deren Mitte ein Papst, welchen ein Teufel bei der Rase faßt, ein anderer hält ihm einen Ablaßzettel vor. Der untere Theil gleicht in der Unordnung sehr der Rückseite der Altarstaffel des schneeberger Bildes. Da nun Meltzer einer Jüngsten Gerichts über der Thüre der Rathsstube in Schneeberg gedenkt, das von einem der Krodel herrühren solle, so ist es wirklich ein eigenes Zusammentreffen. Das dessauer Bild hat in Farbe, Farbauszug, in den Umrissen und sonst alle Zeichen der Cranach’schen Schule; dagegen zeigen die Formen eine Rachahmung von Michel Angelo. Die stürzenden Verdammten und die aus den Gräbern Erstehenden sind in dieser Beziehung gut, viele von großem Ernst und Charakter. Der Eindruck des Ganzen ist wegen zweier großen Spruchzettel über den Gruppen der Seligen und der Verdammten und weil die Färbung schwach ist, nicht besonders angenehm” – Schuchardt, op. cit., pp. 247–48.

⁴² *The Engravings of Giorgio Ghisi*, op. cit., p. 59.

⁴³ *Ibid.*; *La Sistina riprodotta...*, op. cit., pp. 68–72, cat. no. 17. Likely, Venusti’s drawings were not the only source for Ghisi – preparing himself to such a grand enterprise, the engraver must have wanted to use all accessible sources, including the available copies of della Casa, as well as the original itself, see Barnes, *Michelangelo in Print...*, op. cit., pp. 103–4.

the dating of the Wilanów work should be shifted to the mid-1540s or the second half of the 1540s at the earliest.

A question arises whether Krodell was aware of the provenance of the motifs that he used and transformed in his painting. The inscription identifying the creator of the copied prototype was only added to the later editions of Ghisi's engraving.⁴⁴ The influence from Michelangelo's art reached German countries sporadically as an aftermath of journeys of German artists to Italy and the circulation of prints. Georg Pencz (c. 1500–50) and Hans Mielich (1516–73) left behind what could be described as the most important examples of the reception of Buonarroti's art in 16th-century German art; both artists had journeyed to the South of Europe.

As suggested by preserved engravings and drawings, Pencz got to know very well the frescos filling the vault and walls of the Sistine Chapel. The artist copied – not without transformations – a scene with *Judith Leaving the Tent of Holofernes* around the year 1541 and included it in the series of small-sized engravings themed around the Old Testament.⁴⁵ The German engraver and painter focused on exact reproduction of poses of the biblical protagonist and the woman servant accompanying her, while he worked anew on the surrounding scenery – marked rather economically in the original work – greatly elaborating details and the repertory of accessories and changing the pose of Holofernes. Another example (from the cycle of personifications of liberated arts) is *Grammar*, whose body position was borrowed by Pencz from the depiction of *The Eritrean Sibyl*.⁴⁶ These small-sized engravings, integrated into larger thematic cycles, were destined for sale in the North, where they were appreciated for their subjects and for the fact that they could be inserted into books and albums. As much as in this case one could observe Pencz's rather free approach to the prototype, that could be considered in the categories of artistic inspiration, the drawing with the *Deluge* preserved in Washington could testify to the intention of the precise reproduction of the fresco.⁴⁷ This large-sized work (almost 30 × 50 cm) precisely copies the details of the composition, and its author put particular emphasis on the rendition of the anatomy of figures and the chiaroscuro. Pencz worked in pen and ink, applied hatching and wash in shade parts, and added the highlights with white, thus enhancing the spatiality of volumes. Such careful execution suggests that it could have been a preparatory drawing for an engraving: Pencz produced a graphic reproduction of a work by another Italian artist in 1539.⁴⁸ The measure of Michelangelo's inspirations in Pencz's art is complete with the drawing from the Hermitage, depicting the scene of the *Last Judgement* in a very specific manner, as the point of view was set high

⁴⁴ *The Engravings of Giorgio Ghisi*, op. cit., p. 53.

⁴⁵ David Landau, *Catalogo completo dell'opera grafica di Georg Pencz* (Milan, 1978), p. 50, cat. no. 27; *La Sistine riprodotta...*, op. cit., p. 49, cat. no. 5; Barnes, *Michelangelo in Prints...*, op. cit., p. 30.

⁴⁶ Landau, op. cit., p. 137, cat. no. 109; *Michelangelo e la Sistine...*, op. cit., p. 231.

⁴⁷ Georg Pencz after Michelangelo, *Deluge*, drawing, 27.8 × 54 cm, The National Gallery of Art, Washington, Alls Mellon Bruce Fund, inv. no. 197354.1, see Katrin Dyballa, *Georg Pencz. Künstler zu Nürnberg* (Berlin, 2014), pp. 394–95, cat. no. Z.23.

⁴⁸ *The Conquest of Carthage* after the today-lost tapestry designed by Giulio Romano. The direct source for Pencz was possibly the drawing held in the Louvre. In the first state, the engraving is dated and signed by the engraver; the author of the prototype was added in the following editions. What is important, the engraving was from the very beginning intended for the Italian viewer. The *Deluge* and the *Conquest of Carthage* are also similar in their size, see Giulia Bartrum, *German Renaissance Prints 1490–1550*, exh. cat., The British Museum, London, 1995 (London, 1995), pp. 117–19, cat. no. 110; Barnes, *Michelangelo in Print...*, op. cit., pp. 30–31.

up in the clouds, as if from the perspective of Christ the Judge looking down on the globe. Perhaps the genesis of this unorthodox edition of the subject was inspired by the suggestive decoration of the altar wall in the Sistine Chapel (the fresco was being finished at that point). It was pointed out that a group of figures pulling up one of the saved could have its source in the analogous motif in Michelangelo's fresco.⁴⁹

Slightly more complex is the genesis of the copy of the *Last Judgement* executed by Hans Mielich in 1554 as the epitaph of Leonhard von Eck and his wife Felicitas von Freiberg, until 1802 located in the Franciscan church in Munich.⁵⁰ This monumentally sized work – it is more than four metres and a half high – repeats Michelangelo's composition in its entirety. Undoubtedly, Mielich had at his disposal graphic models, which seems to be confirmed by the changes of the composition's proportions into more vertical. The question whether the painter saw the fresco during his stay in Italy in the 1540s or 1550s remains open.⁵¹ Miriam Wagner believes that the choice of this particular prototype was not based on merely aesthetic reasons (Mielich was one of the leading Italianate artists in Munich), but also resulted from political-religious causes – as a manifesto of the affiliation to Catholic faith. Leonhard von Eck was chancellor at the court of William IV and himself a fervent opponent of the Reformation.⁵²

Wolfgang Krodell's painting was a testimony of the growth of interest in Michelangelo's art in the 1540s and 1550s. The decisive role in this process was played by the medium of graphic arts. Northern European engravers greatly contributed to the promotion of Buonarroti's expressive artistic formula whose indicators were anatomically perfect renditions of the human body depicted in virtuosic foreshortening, in moments of superhuman muscle tension, whose sculptural quality was rendered by means of rich chiaroscuro effects. It suffices to cite one example: a figure of dying Haman painted on one of the Sistine Chapel's pendentives c. 1511–12. As observed by Bernardine Barnes, this motif became a *pars pro toto* of the Italian master's art, perhaps by reason of the particularly complicated body position and severe anatomical foreshortenings.⁵³ Though it is a part of a narrative scene, the figure of Haman stretched on the tree was eagerly copied without the context of the biblical story. We know of one copy of the entire scene and of one repetition of the motif from the background, while the figure itself was copied at least five times, of which three times by artists from northern Europe.⁵⁴ The majority of the copies is dated to the mid-16th century; in the case of the engraving by Cornelis Bos (c. 1515–56), the artist put a large inscription *MICHAEL*

⁴⁹ Georg Pencz, *Last Judgement*, 33.5 × 24 cm, State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg, inv. no. 55, see *Michelangelo e la Sistina...*, op. cit., pp. 229–31, cat. no. 140.

⁵⁰ Hans Mielich, *Epitafium Leonharda von Eycka i Felicitas von Freyberg*, painting on canvas, 101.5 × 278.5 and 457 × 284.5 cm, deposit of the Diözesanmuseum at the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich, inv. no. M542a-b. Apart from the *Last Judgement*, the epitaph contains also a predella with the depiction of the couple adoring the crucified Christ, see Miriam Wagner, "Das Eck'sche Epitaph von Hans Mielich (1554). Kritische Betrachtungen zur Michelangelo-Rezeption," *Das Münster*, vol. 66 (2013), pp. 224–28.

⁵¹ On the dating and the scope of Mielich's stay in Italy, see Charles Hope, "Hans Mielich at Titian's Studio," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 60 (1997), pp. 260–61; Kurt Löcher, *Hans Mielich (1516–1573). Bildnismaler in München* (München–Berlin, 2002), pp. 11–12.

⁵² Wagner, op. cit., pp. 226–27.

⁵³ Barnes, *Michelangelo in Print...*, op. cit., pp. 43–44.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, "Checklist", p. 191, nos 13–19. It is also worth noting an early example of the paraphrase of this motif in *Saint Sebastian* by Daniel Hopfer (engraving, 22.5 × 15.6 cm), The British Museum, London, inv. no. 1871,0429.2.

ANGELVS INVENTOR, clearly identifying the source (fig. 12). Taking into consideration the above examples, it is not excluded that Krodel had contact with the artistic idiom of Michelangelo through various engravings (not only the ones used for the Wilanów painting) and wanted to refer to it on purpose. And all this despite the Catholic, papist, denominationally hostile intellectual-religious background of Buonarroti and his Roman artistic circle. This Buonarrotism of a kind, full of impressive *scorci*, emphatic poses and bold modelling of muscular figures, expressive corporeality and rhetorical *terribilità*, was received as a purely formal model in the North, as suggested by the example of graphic works and paintings of the semi-Protestant artist from Haarlem, Maerten van Heemskerck (1498–1574), after his return from the journey to Rome (1532–36).

Comparing the *Last Judgement* with other paintings linked with Wolfgang Krodel, one might be struck by the evident separateness of the formal language used by the artist in the Wilanów painting. It does not only result from the introduction of quotations from the art of the mature Italian Renaissance. When we look at the manner of depiction of particular motifs, even those that stem from the style of Cranach that was well known to the artist, it appears that they were to a certain degree transformed. In order to capture the character of these changes one could compare them with other works by Krodel: the already mentioned *Law and Grace* from Saxon Kamenz (1542) and the *Resurrection* decorating the epitaph of Hans Stahel (1556)⁵⁵ and the *Baptism of Christ* (1561), both preserved in Schneeberg.⁵⁶ The anatomical types found there are clearly dependent from the convention of depicting the human body worked out in the Cranachs' workshop. They employ rather slender, thin figures that are modelled with the use of a soft and delicate chiaroscuro that only slightly enhances the volume of figures. Muscles and tendons hidden under the skin are almost unperceptible, if marked at all, and are not based on the observation of anatomy but rather on a well-known depiction formula.

For understandable reasons, a different approach is observed in the Wilanów painting in the case of the figures that were borrowed from the engravings after Michelangelo. What is striking here is the attention to the enhancement of muscular structure, no longer schematically depicted. The artist depicts with great precision individual muscle groups, marking the line of the collarbone or the bottom rib line. The effect is even more enhanced through the operation of a bolder chiaroscuro making all these elements more pronounced. If we take a look at other figures, it appears that they, too – despite the fact of being under strong influence from the Cranach convention – were worked out with a stronger pronunciation of their anatomical structure (e.g., shoulders of women and men from the group of the condemned). Even Christ's torso, here rendered rather conventionally, if not stylised (the rhythmical, arched lines of the chest), has, in comparison with its counterpart from the Schneeberg Altarpiece, more plastic musculature, achieved through bolder work of shading and light. In this way, Krodel not only adjusts the printed source to the stylistic formulas known to him, but also introduces other alterations that seem to be a purposeful reference to the effects achieved in engravings. Wanting to give justice to Michelangelo's art, engravers had to use primarily chiaroscuro modelling in order to achieve an impression of greater plasticity. It is possible

⁵⁵ Wolfgang Krodel the Elder, *Epitaph for Hans Stahel*, panel painting, 106 × 70 cm, the church of St Wolfgang in Schneeberg.

⁵⁶ Wolfgang Krodel the Elder, *Baptism of Christ*, panel painting, 132 × 133 cm, the church of St Wolfgang in Schneeberg.

that Krodel, knowing the *Last Judgement* only through graphic prints, tried to translate these effects into the language of painting and created a work – not only through the introduction of single motifs – in a style that was unfamiliar to him. In the circle of influence of Lucas Cranach the Elder, it is an exceptional case, also unique in the oeuvre of Krodel himself. It is even more extraordinary and worthy of note as an example of an eclectic conglomerate combining in an iconographically Protestant work two completely different visual conventions.

Translated by Karolina Koriat