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Michael Willmann – i. e. David Heidenreich. The “Rudolphian” Drawings of Michael Willmann*

Throughout the history of the study of drawings by the old masters there have not been many attributive mistakes with such dire consequences the scale of the one committed around the middle of the 18th century by an unknown Wrocław (Breslau) collector possessing a sizeable collection of drawings left behind by painter Johann Eybelwieser, co-worker of Michael Willmann. In an attempt at that time to separate the works of the master from those of the pupil, characteristic inscriptions (*M. Willman*, *M. Willman fec.* or *J. Eybelwieser*, *J. Eybelwieser fec.*) put on by the same hand appeared on all the drawings. Although the collector, for the most part, correctly ascribed many of the works to Eybelwieser, he also, however, ascribed to the much more famous Willmann more than 60 works out of which not one turned out to have actually been executed by him.¹ This first evident act of Wrocław connoisseurship set a precedent for the way Willmann’s creative style has been viewed, causing future art historians to be faced with the phenomenon which E. Kloss described as “das Reichthum der zeichnerischen Möglichkeiten” of the artist.²

Among the works ascribed to Willmann by the 18th century Wrocław collector, those bearing a decidedly Mannerist aspect first gained the attention of art historians. E. Kloss was the first to notice a very close stylistic resemblance between certain works derivatively signed by Willmann and those of Bartholomaeus Spranger.³ The Mannerist character of some of the works also gained the attention of Hans Möhle who, based on Joachim von Sandrart’s

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¹ The history and problems connected with the questions of authorship of Michael Willmann’s drawings will be further discussed in a monograph on the drawings of the artist. For more on the early drawings of the artist see, A. Koziel, “Michaela Willmanna droga ‘na szczyty sztuki’. Wczesne rysunki artysty w grafikach Josefa Gregory’ego”, *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, LVIII, 1996, nos. 3–4, pp. 285–306.

² Kloss 1934, p. 145.

³ *Ibid.*, pertains to works cat. nos. 17 and 19.

account that the young artist “gained quite a lot from studying the Emperor’s collection of paintings”⁴ attributed this Mannerist character to Willmann’s stay in Prague⁵ amidst his travels around Poland and Germany. Thus the late-Mannerist style of some of Willmann’s works became regarded as characteristic of the artist’s early style (also in the realm of painting) which was inspired by the famous collection of the *Kunstkammer* of Rudolph II.⁶

Willmann’s authorship of this “rudolphian” group of drawings was first questioned only by Heinrich Geissler who recognised that the decidedly Mannerist style of the works was not reconcilable with the typical baroque character of the rest of Willmann’s drawings.⁷ It also seemed highly improbable that Willmann, who was developing a study of 17th century Dutch paintings in his early pictures simultaneously produced drawings in, the by then already “archaic”, Mannerist style.⁸ These well-founded comments started a series of attempts to ascribe individual works from the “rudolphian” group to artists from the generation previous to Willmann’s who were connected in some way with the Wrocław or directly Prague art scenes. Geissler himself saw this collection as “ein interessantes Reservoir ostdeutscher (?) Zeichnung des Zeitraums 1610/30”, pointed to the Wrocław painter, David Heidenreich as one of the possible authors of the works. Other art historians who generally supported Geissler’s hypothesis about Heidenreich⁹ with their own arguments simultaneously suggested other candidates like an anonymous artist from the circle of Bartholomaeus Spranger¹⁰, Jacob Walther¹¹, Mathias Gundelach¹², and Andreas Riehl the Younger.¹³ These varying suggestions only served to confirm the hypothesis that Willmann’s Mannerist drawings were in fact done by several different artists, each representing a different artistic circle.

Further studies of the late-Mannerist drawings bearing the same derivative signature, however, lead to an opposing view: Willmann’s so-called “rudolphian” drawings are in fact the works of one artist, most likely David Heidenreich, which at one time are to have constituted a substantial part of his sketchbook. Both the formal characteristics of the works in this collection as well as the

⁴ J. de Sandrart, *Academia nobilissimae Artis Pictoriae* [...], Noribergae 1683, Part II, Book III, p. 393n.

⁵ Berlin 1966, no. 214 (H. Möhle) and 215 (H. Möhle). Pertains to works cat. nos. 5 and 11.

⁶ B. Steinborn 1970, p. 201, footnote 18. In reality, Willmann could not have seen the said collection of Rudolph II because it left Prague before 1648; cf. J. Neumann, “Expresivni tendence v české barokní malbě.”, 1, *Galéria*, III, 1975, p. 157.

⁷ Geissler 1979/1980, p. 169, no. O 27. Already E. Kloss raised doubts the authorship of Willmann of several “rudolphian” works (cat. nos. 7, 8, 9, 10, 17), claiming, however, that the said works were completed in the artist’s studio (specific reference was made to J. Eybelweiser); cf. Kloss 1934, pp. 187–188.

⁸ Sumowski 1992, p. 5413.

⁹ Manuth 1994, pp. 145–146; Kozak 1995, pp. 37–39 (pertains to works cat. nos. 15 and 17); Oszczanowski/Gromadzki 1995, pp. 10, 86, 114 (pertains to works cat. nos. 12 and 19v.).

¹⁰ Sumowski 1992, p. 5413; pertains to works cat. nos. 5 and 19.

¹¹ Manuth 1994, p. 146.

¹² Kozak 1995, p. 37; pertains to work cat. no. 16.

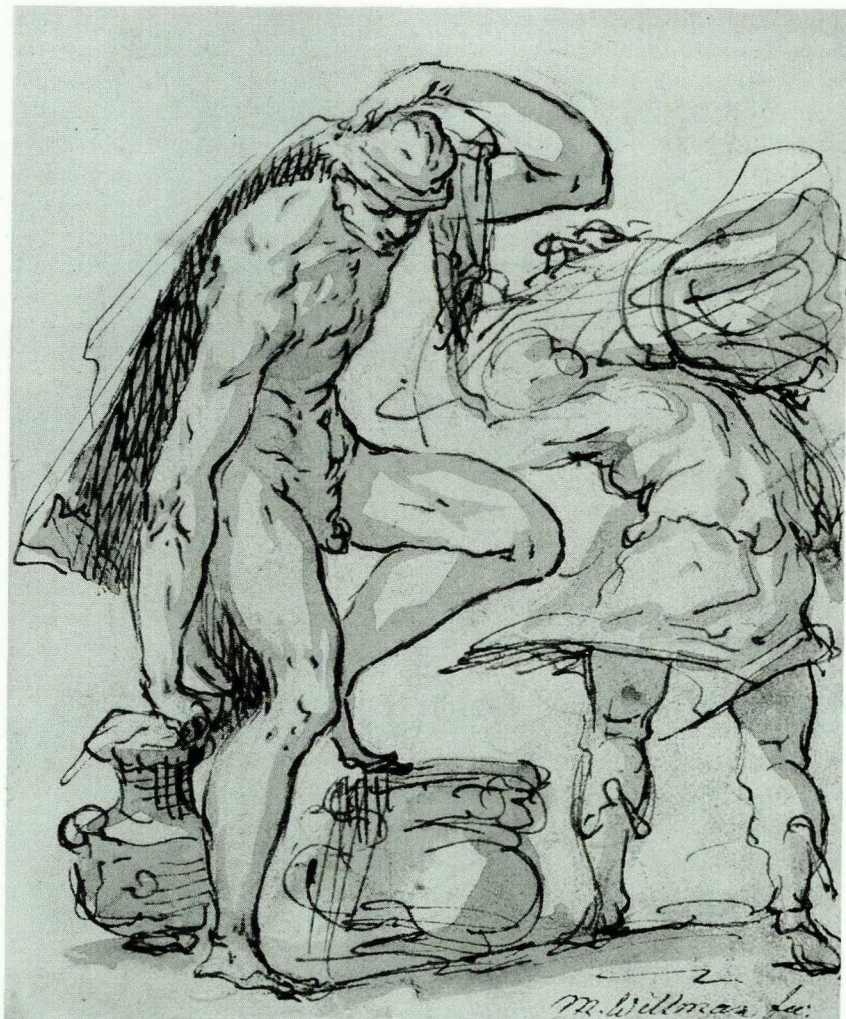
¹³ Oszczanowski/Gromadzki 1995, p. 70; pertains to work cat. no. 6.

materials used are in keeping with works signed by David Heidenreich. The stylistic presentation of the drawings, the identical writing character of the author's inscriptions still visible on many of the drawings, as well as the almost identical format and, most likely local, source of paper upon which the drawings were completed further link these works to Heidenreich. Together the pieces make up one of the largest collections of drawings by the Silesian artist of the Renaissance and Mannerist periods.

This collection ascribed to Heidenreich comprises twenty works scattered throughout various collections. Of these, at least nine have some renderings



1. D. Heidenreich,
*Lamb Sacrifice
 to God, Shepherd
 with his Sheep,
 and Laying into
 the Grave, Berlin,
 Kupferstichkabinett;*
 cat. no. 1r
 (Phot. Jörg
 P. Anders, Berlin)



2. D. Heidenreich,
Two Porters,
Berlin, Kupferstich-
kabinett; cat. no. 2
(Phot. Jörg
P. Anders, Berlin)

on the reverse side. The group can be extended even further to include two currently missing pieces of which a saved photograph or credible verbal description shows them to be very closely related to the remainder of the works.¹⁴ All of the drawings in the collection were done on light beige paper and cut to a format that averaged 188x142 mm.¹⁵ Chain lines evenly spaced

¹⁴ Photograph of the piece cat. no. 21 published by Maul (Maul 1914, ill. 1) allows for a basic analysis of both formal characteristics and writing character of the inscriptions. Piece cat. no. 22, on the other hand, here I refer to Kloss's comment (Kloss 1934, p. 186), is very closely related to two Berlin drawings (cat. nos. 1 and 5) from a technical point of view.

¹⁵ Exception: cat. no. 13. Furthermore, drawing cat. no. 15, was trimmed at the bottom at a later

approximately every 27–30 mm can be seen on each of the loose sheets of paper. Furthermore, fragments of the same watermark featuring the city of Brzeg (Brieg) coat of arms, noted in Legnica (Liegnitz) in 1598 are present on seven of the drawings.¹⁶ Ten of the works bare inscriptions done by the same hand, the content of which leads us to believe that they are an integral part of the work itself. Heidenreich used paper of similar dimensions (or a multiple thereof) with the same chain line configuration¹⁷ for his signed works. Lastly, the writing character of Heidenreich's authentic signatures and authorial inscriptions is, as already mentioned,¹⁸ identical to that found on the sketches.

All of the pieces belonging to the Heidenreich collection are sketches featuring either cursory renderings of the visual concept portrayed or studies of individual figures. The artist usually started work on an individual piece by making an initial charcoal sketch of the subject matter. This technique, using corrections, provided a schematic outline of the contours as well as the elementary set-up of light and shadow. This initial sketch is missing only in several of the pieces that feature figures on a very small scale (cat. no. 1 and 5). In these cases, Heidenreich started by sketching out the figures using directly ink and a brush. After the initial charcoal sketch, he continued the work in ink. This change in technique at the later stage of the drawing allowed the artist to introduce general corrections to the emerging piece. In some cases, the ink drawing differs quite significantly from the charcoal sketch underneath (cat. no. 4). In general, however, the application of ink was supposed to perfect the initial charcoal sketch. Using wide brushstrokes, the artist strengthened contour lines and by applying a wash, he built up the volume of the figures and objects he was trying to portray. Following this he used the fine line of a pen to fill in the details. At this stage, he also sometimes deepened the shadows and perfected the sharpness of the contour lines. The particular stages of the artist's work are perfectly illustrated in the unfinished drawing of a young woman sitting (cat. no. 4). Here, after the initial charcoal sketch, Heidenreich introduced notable changes using ink and brush. Then, after several test strokes with the pen on the side of the sketch, he abandoned the drawing, probably deeming it a failure. This characteristic creative process has been associated with the majority of Heidenreich's talked about works. It is only in the case of drawings that, one can guess, were done to serve as examples of parts of the human figure that the need for greater precision made the artist abandon his wide brushstrokes. In these cases, the initial charcoal sketch was directly perfected by the precise lines of the pen, which were the basis of further rendering of the subject (cat. no. 16).

date. Proof of this is the figure cut in half on the reverse side of the drawing.

¹⁶ Briquet, no. 960; Bock 1921, no. 7488 and Kozak 1995, p. 38.

¹⁷ Oszczanowski/Gromadzki 1995, nos. 274–281. Drawings entitled *Justice and Peace (Justitia et Pax)*, (Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart) and *Nude Male (Israelite? Laokoon?) Battling the Snakes* (Kunsthalle, Bremen) were done on paper with the chain lines spaced at 27–29 mm.

¹⁸ Kozak 1995, p. 37.



3. D. Heidenreich,
*Illustration of
a Fragment of Psalm 73:*
25–26, Berlin,
Kupferstichkabinett;
cat. no. 3
(Phot. Jörg
P. Anders, Berlin)

The sketch form of this group of drawings separates them quite sharply from the other sometimes solicitous and downright trivially detailed works signed by the artist.¹⁹ A comparative study of the two groups of line drawing technique, or even the schemes of anatomical details reveal, beyond the

¹⁹ All of Heidenreich's signed drawings as well as one drawing that has been attributed to the artist were published in Oszczanowski/Gromadzki 1995, nos. 274–282.



4. D. Heidenreich,
*Sitting Figure of
a Young Woman*,
Berlin, Kupferstich-
kabinett; cat. no. 4
(Phot. Jörg
P. Anders, Berlin)

shadow of a doubt, that we are nonetheless dealing with the works of the same artist who used different formal modes depending on the various functions of the drawings.²⁰ The fully completed drawings signed by Heidenreich

²⁰ A comparison of the works from Heidenreich's sketchbook with the scenes depicted in the background of his paintings is particularly fruitful here, for example sketch cat. no. 19v entitled *Venus and Bacchus* with a group of figures in the background of *St. John the Baptist* (Oszczanowski/Gromadzki 1995, no. 278).

hand in the top right corner of certain drawings indicates that the whole set of drawings was originally kept by the Heidenreich in a compact *cahier* format.²²

A testimony to the fact that we are dealing here with the remnants of Heidenreich's sketchbook is the inventive function and occasionally very

²² Most likely, the drawings were numbered shortly after Heidenreich's death to prevent them from being scattered. Pieter Candid de Witte described the pages of a sketchbook that was in his possession in a similar fashion adding the note to future owners of the sketchbook asking that the work be kept intact – see J. Held, "Notizen zu einem niederländischen Skizzenbuch", *Oud Holland*, L, 1933, p. 273.



6. D. Heidenreich,
Allegory of Painting,
Berlin, Kupferstich-
kabinett; cat. no. 8
(Phot. Jörg
P. Anders, Berlin)



7. D. Heidenreich,
Allegorical Scene, Berlin,
 Kupferstichkabinett;
 cat. no. 11r
 (Phot. Jörg
 P. Anders, Berlin)

personal subject-matter characteristic of most of the pieces. Only once was a piece – *The Defeat of Amor* (cat. no. 19r) – proven to be for the most part an veritable reproduction of a graphic original.²³ This inauthenticity was betrayed also by the relatively un-“sketch”-like form of the piece when

²³ The figure of Amor lying down was copied from an engraving by Parmigianino (B11). This print, in turn, was based on the figure of a child lying down portrayed in the very popular engraving *The Massacre of the Innocents* acc. to Raphael by Marcantonio (B18).



8. D. Heidenreich,
*Landscape with
Waterfall and
Fisherman*, Stuttgart;
Staatsgalerie,
cat. no. 14r
(Phot. Staatsgalerie,
Stuttgart)

compared with other pieces. Two further works: the study of a fragment of a male torso towing a line as seen from the back (cat. no. 16v) as well as the portrayal of a putto holding a column (cat. no. 16r) were also most likely copied from an unknown graphic model. The fragmentary rendering of the subject-matter as well as the quick and precise line build up without wash are testimonies to this assertion.

The remainder of the works are the fruit of the artist's personal visual concepts. They consist of studies of figure types such as the angel blowing a horn (cat. no. 18v), a man in antique attire bending over (cat. no. 6), two men carrying heavy loads (cat. no. 2), the bust of a young woman (cat. no. 9v), a young woman sitting with a raised arm (cat. no. 4), or young woman playing a lute with a putto standing beside her, holding the sheet music (cat. no. 7) – works that only can be defined on the preiconographic level – as well as those that rely on fully independent subject-matter. The unusual diversity of the subject-matter evokes astonishment: a sketch of a beautiful mountainous landscape with



9. D. Heidenreich, *Burial of a Body in the Presence of God and the Soul of the Dead*, Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie; cat. no. 14v (Phot. Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart)

a waterfall and a fisherman (cat. no. 14r) most likely inspired by the drawings of Roelant Savery, is akin to the layout illustrating fragment of Psalm 73 (cat. no. 3). The illustrations accompanying fragments of the ancient text “Amor and Psyche” written by Apuleius of Madaura (cat. nos. 15, 17r) on the other hand, as well as the visual concepts of scenes with typically mythological (*Venus and Baachus*, cat. no. 19v) or allegorical (*Industria et Dignitas*, cat. no. 11 or the *Seven Arts Liberated*, cat. no. 5r) character are adjoining sketches of religious scenes such as the *Resurrection* (cat. no. 18r), *Christ Child Holding a Cross* (cat. no. 11v), or *Memento Mori* (cat. no. 15).

The bank of visual concepts accumulated by the artist in his sketchbook completed pieces that, as one can well imagine, transmitted his own personal beliefs. Next to the projects of two twin scenes, featuring the *Allegory of Painting* and *Melancholy* (cat. nos. 9 and 10), which may provide a commentary on Heidenreich’s own art, sketches with subject-matter directly referring to the artist’s personal religious beliefs such as, allegorical figures of *Honour and Veritas* and *Justicia and Pax* accompanied by a longer inscription

bearing a decidedly anti-Calvinist note (cat. no. 5v),²⁴ as well as an unusually, almost gallantly sketched with pen illustration of a prayer about salvation after death (cat. no. 14v) are to be found. Seen in this functional light, the formal mode of drawing reveals itself as a type of technique of portraying the

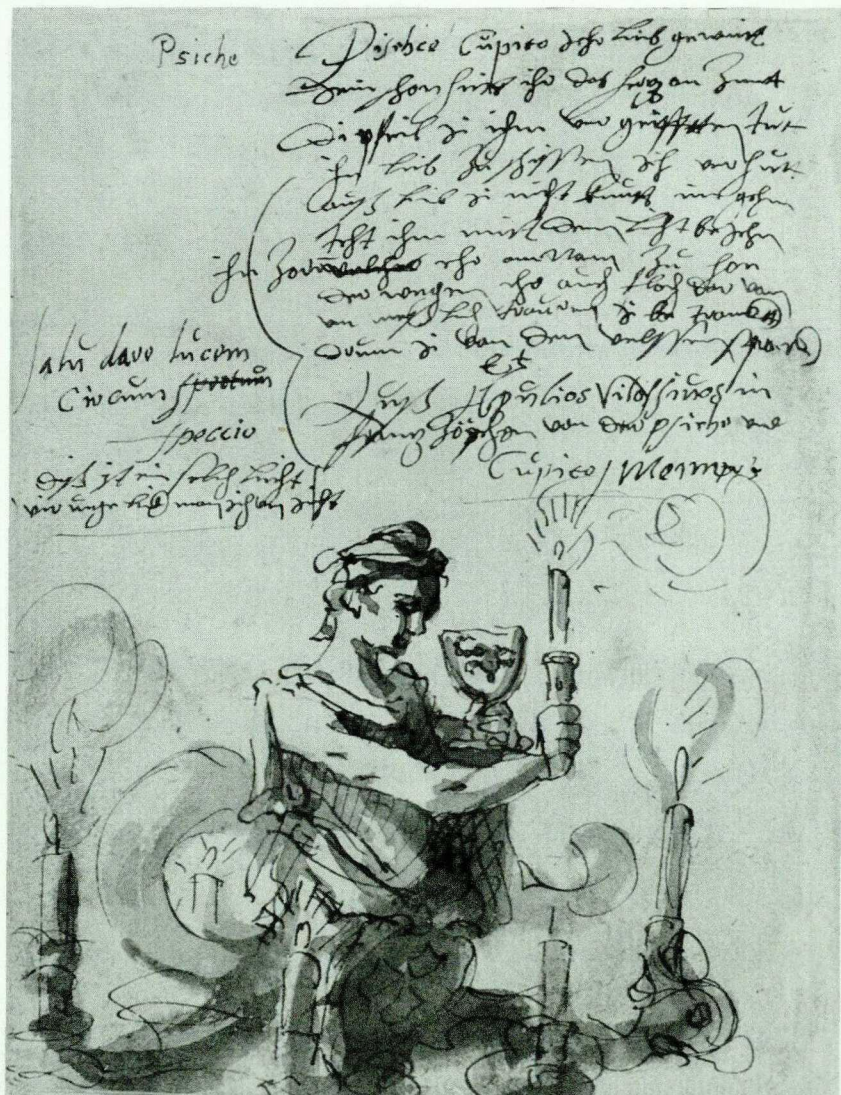
²⁴ For more on anti-Calvinist accents in Silesian Protestant art please refer to J. Harasimowicz, *Treści i funkcje ideowe sztuki śląskiej Reformacji*, Wrocław 1986, pp. 169-170 as well as "Rola sztuki w religijnych i społecznych konfliktach wieku Reformacji na Śląsku", *Rocznik Historii Sztuki*, 18, 1990, pp. 41-44 by the same author.



T. D. Heidenreich,
*Psyche's Sisters Carrying
Gifts Led by Zephyr.*
Illustration to the Apuleius
of Madaura Piece "Amor
and Psyche", Warsaw,
Muzeum Narodowe;
cat. no. 17r
(Phot. National
Museum in Warsaw)

inventive process of the artist. It is based on recording the discovery process – via corrections and choosing the right line – through which the visual shapes desired by the artist emerge gradually to be presented in their final state in a new light.

Answers to questions concerning the way and degree to which concepts presented in the sketchbook were used by Heidenreich are difficult to attain due in part to the fragmentary state of his artistic oeuvre. Beside the artist's eight afore mentioned signed drawings, we know of one engraving design from 1620 featuring the triumphal arch built in honour of the Czech king Ferdinand



11. D. Heidenreich, Psyche Sitting with a Lit Candle in One Hand and a Goblet in the Other, Warsaw, Muzeum Narodowe; cat. no. 17v (Phot. National Museum in Warsaw)

Habsburg who later became Emperor. This design was a result of Heidenreich's collaborative effort with Andreas Hempel. We also know of three other paintings of which only one, a self-portrait, is undoubtedly the work of Heidenreich. The remaining two were merely ascribed to him.²⁵ Out of these works, only the four signed drawings can be linked with the artist's sketches: three signed pieces illustrating fragments of chosen psalms show a strong resemblance in theme as well as in the overall character to the illustration of

²⁵ Oszczanowski/Gromadzki 1995, p. 114, ill. VII, nos. 109, 274–282.



12. D. Heidenreich,
*The Resurrection
of Christ*, Weimar,
Kunstsammlungen zu
Weimar; cat. no. 18r
(Phot. Roland Dressler,
Weimar)

Psalm 73 (cat. no. 3)²⁶ in his sketchbook whereas the drawing featuring *Christ Child* seems to offer a solution different than that of the sketch with the same subject-matter (cat. no. 11v).²⁷ This allows us to assume that the remaining signed pieces, created at different times, are indicative of the evolution of the artistic concepts first portrayed in the artist's sketchbook. Heidenreich's numerous sketches of individual figures as well as whole scenes, all organised

²⁶ *Ibid.* nos. 277, 278, 280.

²⁷ *Ibid.* no. 281.



13. D. Heidenreich, *Putto Blowing a Horn*, Weimar, Kunstsammlungen zu Weimar; cat. no. 18v (Phot. Roland Dressler, Weimar)

in the compact *cabier* form were most likely not at all linked directly with his work on paintings or graphic designs.

Heidenreich's own visual concepts collected over the years and supplemented with copies of works by other artists as well as studies of nature provided the artist with an invaluable bank of artistic solutions that, not having been created with any one piece in mind, were able to be used at anytime for any work. This method can be attributed to the influence of the traditional artistic model of the trade guilds whose basis consisted of making use of model books.²⁸ Despite the increase in knowledge of classical art theory (and the

²⁸ Cf. R. W. Scheller, *A Survey of Medieval Model Books*, Haarlem 1969.



14. D. Heidenreich,
Defeat of Amor.

Illustration to
Apuleius of Madaura
Piece "Amor
and Psyche", Weimar,
Kunstsammlungen zu
Weimar, cat. no. 19v
(Phot. Roland Dressler,
Weimar)



15. D. Heidenreich,
Allegorical Scene, private
collection; cat. no. 20
(Phot. owner)

new work model for the artist based on detailed studies of nudes and highly individualised composition) in the countries North of the Alps, the predominating artistic tradition in the German-speaking area of Central Europe at the beginning of the 17th century was still based on collecting graphic and drawing “prototypes”. Evidence of this can be seen in the number of drawing copies of the period which were first compiled in *Abrißbücher*²⁹ as

²⁹ Cf. H. Geissler, “Die Zeichnungen des Augsburger Bildhauers Caspar Meneller. Überlegungen zum Kopierwesen in Deutschland um 1600”, *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Künste*, XXXIV, 1983, pp. 59–100.

well as in the popularity of printed manuals the likes of Jost Amman's *Kunstbüchlein*.³⁰

Heidenreich's sketches differed from the examples present in typical drawing manuals of guild masters, such as for example, the recently discovered work belonging to a Wrocław goldsmith Caspar Pfister.³¹ Whereas these examples were, to a large degree based on reproductions of prints or paintings by other artists, Heidenreich's works boast a decidedly inventive character. This clear support of creating by using the imagination – "uyt den geest" – over the traditional guild method of faithfully reproducing artistic or naturalistic canons can only be attributed to ideological influences of the Prague artistic circle under the Emperor Rudolph II. Embodied by the court painters and sculptors, the academic ideal of the eloquent artist demonstrating freedom of invention through his art, became the model for artists like Heidenreich, coming from the traditional guild circles adding to their artistic emancipation.³²

The "rudolphian" influence on Heidenreich, who spent time in Prague during his studies around 1600 is seen in the stylistics of his drawings. Art historians often pointed out at the dependence of the creations of Wrocław artist on the works of Hans von Aachen and Bartholomaeus Spranger. They also underlined the expressive character of reception of the Prague artists, a characteristic that is to be found in the works of other Wrocław guild artists such as those of Peter Schmidt and Bartholomaeus Strobel the Younger.³³ While the influence of the Prague artists on the completed and signed drawings of Heidenreich is very deep, sometimes even taking on the form of plagiarism, or rather direct paraphrases of motifs directly from Hans von Aachen's paintings,³⁴ the drawings found in his sketchbook, which show the individual

³⁰ H. Dickel, *Deutsche Zeichenbücher des Barock. Eine Geschichte der Künftlerausbildung*, Hildesheim-Zürich-New York 1987, pp. 103–146.

³¹ Oszczanowski/Gromadzki 1995, p. 10, no. 214–260.

³² For more on the model of artistic activity at the court of Rudolph II see Th. DaCosta Kaufmann, "The Eloquent Artist: towards an Understanding of the Stylistics of Painting at the Court of Rudolph II", *Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, I, 1982, pp. 119–142; also by the same author, *The School of Prague. Painting at the Court of Rudolph II*, Chicago-London 1988, pp. 90–99. For more on the influence of "Rudolphian" artists on the Wrocław artistic circles see Oszczanowski/Gromadzki 1995 and also H. Geissler, "Rudolphinische Filiationen in der Zeichenkunst um 1600", in: *Prag um 1600. Beitrage zur Kunst und Kultur am Hofe Rudols II*, Essen 1987, pp. 70–83 as well as the review of this article by P. Oszczanowski in *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, LIII, 1991, nos. 3–4, pp. 285–288; P. Oszczanowski, "Ikonografia cesarza Rudolfa II (1576–1612) w nowożytnej sztuce Śląska", *Dziela i Interpretacje*, I, 1993, pp. 27–63; J. Tylicki, *Bartłomiej Strobel i refleksy sztuki rudolfinskiej w Polsce*, Ph. D. dissertation, Toruń 1995; also by the same author, "Spranger, Strobel i Schmidt. Przyczynek do wpływów praskiego niderlandyzmu na Śląsku", in: *Niderlandyzm w sztuce polskiej*, Warszawa 1995, pp. 263–278.

³³ Geissler 1979/80, pp. 153, 169; Oszczanowski/Gromadzki 1995, p. 278.

³⁴ *Hercules Conquering Vices and Faults* (Hermitage, Saint Petersburg) completed in 1601, is a copy of a painting done by Hans von Aachen in about 1598. Furthermore, two identical drawings *Nude Male (Isrealite?, Laokoon?) Battling the Snakes* (Kunsthalle, Bremen and Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin) copy this figure from a painting done by Hans von Aachen *Allegory*

artistic character of the artist to a much greater degree, betray only a very general relationship with the “rudolphian” models. Only in two cases: an *Allegorical Scene* (cat. no. 20) and in the lost depiction of *Truth Threatened by the Devil, Soaring up with Chronos*, can Heidenreich be accused of copying the compositional ideas and motifs directly from the drawings of Joseph Heintz the Elder.³⁵ Heidenreich’s contact with the painting and drawing manner of these Prague artists who, like Spranger created “uyt den geest” following the model of “ideal imitation”,³⁶ led him to extend his canon of the human body in keeping with the Mannerist model. It also underlined the ornamental aspect of his works beyond their strictly representational level (cat. nos. 18v, 19v). The manner in which the Wrocław master used thin contour lines to gradually build up the final shapes, particularly when drawing folds of fabric or parts of the human body such as the shoulders or feet is in itself a testimony to his careful Prague studies of the ink drawings of Hans von Aachen and Bartholomaeus Spranger.³⁷ The few remaining sketches of these artists³⁸ closest resembling those of Heidenreich in their combined technique and overall expression, may have very well provided the Wrocław artist with lessons in capturing the process of inventing a new scene. Evidence of such lessons are to be found in his sketchbook.

It is quite apparent that “rudolphian” inspiration influenced the work of Heidenreich to a much greater degree than did his local artistic circle in Wrocław. The only visible characteristic linking Heidenreich’s work to the drawings of local artists such as Peter Schmidt or Bartholomaeus Strobel the Younger is, the particularly expressive character of reception of the accepted “rudolphian” models underlined by art historians (cat. nos. 6, 18). In the case of Heidenreich’s sketches, this phenomenon can be to a large extent explained by their function. Looking at the drawings of both Heidenreich as well as those of the rest of the mentioned Wrocław artists, one gets the impression that this local expressionism was a result of the adoption of the refined and elite “rudolphian” Mannerist style by traditional guild artists who, never having been to Italy, did not possess even the basics of classical academy training.

– Triumph of the Emperor’s Affair in Time from the Staatsgalerie in Stuttgart – Oszczanowski/Gromadzki 1995, nos. 274, 275–276.

³⁵ The figure of a woman kneeling in *The Allegorical Scene* is almost an identical redrawing of Diana from Joseph Heintz the Elder’s *Diana Discovers the Pregnancy of Kalisto* (antique trade, Paris) or of the drawing associated with this painting (Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin), see Zimmer 1988, no. A 59, ill. VI, 98. The drawing of *Truth Threatened by the Devil, Soaring up with Chronos* is a compilation of motives from two of Heintz’s drawings that of Truth from *Time Brings Truth into the Daylight* and that of Chronos from *Allegory with Glory, Chronos, and Other Figures*, see Zimmer 1988, no. A 14, ill. 46 as well as A 38, ill. II, 74.

³⁶ Kaufmann 1988, pp. 90-99.

³⁷ For examples, see von Aachen’s *Archangel Michael* and *The Resurrection of Christ* (both at the Moravska Galeria, Brno) as well as Spranger’s *The Triumph of Athena over Jealousy and Ignorance* (Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe) – Fučíková 1987, ill. V, VI, and 9.

³⁸ For examples, please see Spranger’s *The Allegory of Time and Art* (Ossolineum, Wrocław) as well as his *Amor and Psyche* (Prentenkabinet, Leiden) – Fučíková 1987, ill. 8.

Catalogue of Drawings

1. *Lamb Sacrifice to God, Shepherd with his Sheep and Laying into the Grave* (ill. 1) verso: *Cross*; pen, black ink, grey wash; 189x144 mm; watermarks and chain lines not visible; in bottom left corner in brown ink: *M. Willman*; in upper right corner in black ink: 43; in upper right side of specific scenes in black ink: *Gott hatt deß gezeichnet; Ihr traget sorge; Ihr vor warett*; verso (acc. to Berlin 1966) – above rendering: *Ubi Crux Ibi Lux*; below it: *Vito in Signo Moritur*; in centre: Kupferstichkabinett seal, Berlin (Lugt, no. 1606); collection: Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett (inv. no. KdZ 7481), acquired before 1881; bibliography: Bock 1921, no. 7481; Kloss 1930, no. B. 127; Kloss 1934, no. B. I. 3; Berlin 1966, no. 216 (H. Möhle), ill. 215; Lossow 1994, no. B. 2.

2. *Two Porters*, pen, black and brown ink, black chalk, grey wash; 182x145 mm; watermarks and chain lines not visible; on right side near bottom in brown ink: *M. Willman fec*; verso – in centre: Kupferstichkabinett seal, Berlin (Lugt, no. 1606); collection: Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett (inv. no. KdZ 7487), acquired before 1881; bibliography: Bock 1921, no. 7487; Kloss 1930, no. B. 118; Kloss 1934, no. B. I. 8, ill. 136; Lossow 1994, no. B. 6.

3. *Illustration of a Fragment of Psalm 73: 25–26* (ill. 3); pen, black ink, black chalk, grey wash; 191x141 mm; watermarks: fragment of coat of arms of city Brzeg [Briquet, no. 960]; chain lines: horizontal, spaced every 27–30 mm; on bottom right side in brown ink: *M. Willman*; on bottom left side in grey and black ink: *Psal. 73 / 91 Psalm* (crossed out) / *herr wen ich nur dich habe / So frage ich nichts nach himel vnd / wan wan mir gleich leib vnd sehl (verschmachtet)*; verso – in bottom centre: Kupferstichkabinett seal, Berlin (Lugt, no. 1606); collection: Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett (inv. no. KdZ 7488), acquired before 1881; bibliography: Bock 1921, no. 7488; Kloss 1930, no. B.133; Kloss 1934, no. B. I. 9; Lossow 1994, no. B. 7.

4. *Figure of a Young Woman Sitting*; brush, grey ink, black chalk; 183x138 mm; watermarks and chain lines not visible; in bottom left corner in brown ink: *M. Willman*; in upper right corner: three figure number in black ink cut in half (black ink); verso – in centre: Kupferstichkabinett seal, Berlin (Lugt, no. 1606); collection: Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett (inv. no. KdZ 7484), acquired before 1881; bibliography: Bock 1921, no. 7484; Kloss 1930, no. B. 125; Kloss 1934, no. B. I. 10; Lossow 1994, no. B. 8.

5. *Seven Arts Liberated* verso: *Honour and Fortitude* as well as *Peace and Justice* (ill. 5); pen, brown and black ink, grey wash; 191x141 mm; watermarks: none; chain lines: horizontal, spaced every 27–30 mm; in bottom right corner in brown ink: *M. Willman*; above scene in brown ink: *RHETORICA MVSICA GRAMMATICA DIALECTICA / ARTHIMETICA CEOMETRIA ASTRONOMIA*; below in brown ink: *...dich las vor iuergan / Zu ...wierstu meitt eren bstan.*; in bottom right corner: seal from collection of K. F. F. von Nagler (Lugt, no. 2529); in bottom left corner: Kupferstichkabinett seal, Berlin

(Lugt, no. 1606); verso – above scene in brown ink: *Honor et Veritas; Justici et Pax*; below scene in brown ink: *Dieser ist ein rechter Crist / Der glaubt Das Christus die Warheit ist / aber die godt straffen in seinen worden / Dis sein die Calffenistische orden / Den Cristus spricht. Glaubt eben / ich bin die Warheit und das Leben. / ...die Calffenistische gar sehr / Drum bleibt der Tuffel alzeit ihr herr / Daran stost sich die flasche Rodt / Drum bleibt iber ihn der...tott.*; collection: Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett (inv. no. KdZ 7480); history: K. F. F. von Nagler collection; at the Kupferstichkabinett since 1833; bibliography: Bock 1921, no. 7480; Kloss 1930, no. B. 126; Kloss 1934, no. B. I. 13; Berlin 1966, no. 214 (H. Möhle), ill. 216; Sumowski 1992, p. 5413; Lossow 1994, no. B. 10; Koziel 1995, pp. 137–138.

6. *Man in Antique Attire Bending over*; pen, brown ink, brown wash, white guache; 188x144 mm; watermark and chain lines not visible; in bottom left in brown ink: *M. Willman*; verso – in centre: Kupferstichkabinett seal, Berlin (Lugt, no. 1606); collection: Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, (inv. no. KdZ 7490), acquired before 1881; bibliography: Bock 1921, no. 7490; Kloss 1930, no. B. 120; Kloss 1934, no. B. I. 7, ill. 135; Geissler 1979/1980, no. O 27; Oszczanowski/Gromadzki 1995, p. 70.

7. *Woman Singing and Playing Lute with Putto Standing Beside Her, Holding the Sheet Music*; pen, black ink, black chalk, grey wash; 179x142 mm; watermark and chain lines not visible: in bottom left in black ink: *M. Willman*; verso – in centre: Kupferstichkabinett seal, Berlin (Lugt, no. 1606); collection: Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett (inv. no. KdZ 7485), acquired before 1881; bibliography: Bock 1921, no. 7485; Kloss 1934, p. 188.

8. *The Allegory of Painting* (ill. 6); pen, brown ink, Black chalk, brown wash; 188x140 mm; watermarks and chain lines not visible; in bottom left in black ink: *M. Willman*; verso – in centre: Kupferstichkabinett seal, Berlin (Lugt, no. 1606); collection: Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett (inv. no. KdZ. 7486), acquired before 1881; bibliography: Bock 1921, no. 7486; Kloss 1934, p. 188.

9. *Melancholy*; verso: *Bust of a Young Woman*; pen, brown and black ink, black chalk, grey wash; 188x145 mm; watermarks: fragment of coat of arms of city Brzeg [Briquet, no. 960]; chain lines: horizontal, spaced every 27–30 mm; in bottom left in black ink: *M. Willman*; in top right in black ink: *...zu einer Zeitt / gleich mich so freudt / ist es nicht mein fromen / so darff es nicht komen*; collection: Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett (inv. no. KdZ 7483), acquired before 1921; bibliography: Bock 1921, no. 7483; Kloss 1930, no. B. 134; Kloss 1934, p. 188.

10. *Allegorical Scene* (Amor blowing a trumpet turned to his left. Behind him three Elders, one of whom is wearing a crown and playing the harp); pen, black ink, charcoal, grey wash; 187x143 mm; watermarks and chain lines not visible; in bottom left in brown ink: *M. Willman*; in top right in black ink: 46; verso – in centre: Kupferstichkabinett seal, Berlin (Lugt, no. 1606); collection:

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett (inv. no. KdZ 7478), acquired before 1881; bibliography: Bock 1921, no. 7478; Kloss 1934, p. 187.

11. *Allegorical Scene* (unspecified subject-matter: Negligentia?); verso: *Christ Child with Cross in Right Hand*; pen, black ink, black chalk, grey wash; 188x142 mm; watermarks: fragment of coat of arms of city Brzeg [Briquet, no. 960]; chain lines: horizontal, spaced every 27–30 mm; in bottom left in brown ink: *M. Willman*; in top right corner in black ink: 67; written in black ink under figures portrayed: *nelig / Dempis; neligentia / Doni; noglig / VitE*; collection: Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett (inv. no. KdZ 16676), acquired in 1937; bibliography: Berlin 1966, no. 215 (H. Möhle), ill. 221.

12. *Two Allegorical Figures – Industria et Dignitas* (?); pen, brown ink, black chalk, brown wash; 188x144 mm; watermarks and chain lines not visible; in bottom left in brown ink: *M. Willman*.; collection: Frankfurt am Main, Städelsches Kunstinstitut (inv. no. 15206); history: Hollstein & Puppel, Berlin; at the Städelsches Kunstinstitut since 1927; bibliography: Kloss 1934, no. B. I. 33; Frankfurt/M 1973, no. 558 (E. Schilling); Lossow 1994, no. B. 26, ill.; Oszczanowski/Gromadzki 1995, p. 86.

13. *Allegorical Scene*; pen, black ink, grey wash; 166x125 mm; watermark: fragment of coat of arms of city Brzeg [Briquet, no. 960]; chain lines: horizontal, spaced every 28–30 mm; in bottom left in brown ink: *M. Willman*; under scene in black ink: *Obs mancher glich nicht ist werdt / noch Denacher schenes Ding begerdt*; verso – in bottom left corner: Germanisches Nationalmuseum seal; collection: Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum (inv. no. Hz 7157); history: bought in on October 10, 1954 from C. G. Börner, Düsseldorf for collection of Ernst Emmerling, it was then passed on to Germanisches Nationalmuseum; bibliography: unpublished.

14. *Landscape with Waterfall and Fisherman* (ill. 8); verso: *Burial of a Body in the Presence of God and the Soul of the Dead* (ill. 9); pen, black ink, grey wash; 152x142 mm; watermarks: none; chain lines: horizontal, spaced every 28–30 mm; in bottom left corner in black ink: *M. Willman*.; in top right corner in black ink: 7; verso – at bottom right in black ink: *Erte / nimm hin / waß dein / der Schepffer ist mein*; below: seal of Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart; collection: Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie, Graphische Sammlung (inv. no. 1927/4), acquired in 1927; bibliography: Kloss 1930, no. B. 116; Kloss 1934, no. B. I. 43; Lossow 1994, no. B. 52.

15. *Allegorical Scene: Memento Mori* (?); pen, brown ink, black chalk, brown and grey wash; 185x142 mm; watermark: fragment of the coat of arms of the city Brzeg [Briquet, no. 960]; chain lines: horizontal, spaced every 27–30 mm; in bottom left side in black ink: *M. Willman*; collection: Warsaw, National Museum (inv. no. 146607/8); history: Schlesisches Museum der bildenden Künste, Breslau; at National Museum in Warsaw since 1946; bibliography: Kloss 1930, no. B. 111; Kloss 1934, no. B. I. 27; Lossow 1994, pp. 92–93, no. B. 53; Koziół 1995, p. 138; Kozak 1995, pp. 37–39.

16. *Study of a Putto*; verso: *Male Torso Turned Away*; pen, brown and black ink, black chalk; 187x143 mm; watermark: fragment of coat of arms of city Brzeg [Briquet, no. 960]; chain lines: horizontal, spaced every 27–30 mm; in bottom left in brown ink: *M. Willman*; collection: National Museum in Warsaw (inv. No. 146607/9); history: at Schlesisches Museum der bildende Künste, Breslau since 1934, at National Museum in Warsaw since 1946; bibliography: Lossow 1994, no. B. 56; Koziel 1995, p. 138; Kozak 1995, pp. 37–39.

17. *Psyche's Sisters Carrying Gifts Led by Zephir*. Illustration to Apuleus of Madaura Piece “Amor and Psyche” (ill. 10); verso: *Psyche Sitting with a Lit Candle in One Hand and a Goblet in the Other* (ill. 11); pen, brown and black ink, brown and grey wash; 188x144 mm; watermarks: none; chain lines: horizontal, spaced every 27–30 mm; in centre bottom in brown ink: *M. Willman*; verso – in upper part in black ink: *Psiche an later Pischce Cupido sehe Leib [...] Auß Apulios Vilossius in / Franc Zoepheersen von den psiche ver / Cupieo / Mempy's beside on right: Sahi dave lucem / Civicum Speccio / Deß ist ein solch Licht / ver unge lid man sich von sicht*; collection: National Museum in Warsaw (inv. no. 146607/7); history: at Schlesisches Museum der bildenden Künste, Breslau since 1934; at National Museum in Warsaw since 1946; bibliography: Lossow 1994, p. 92, no. B. 2; Koziel 1995, p. 138; Kozak, pp. 37–39.

18. *Ressurrection of Christ* (ill. 12); verso: *Putto Blowing a Horn* (ill. 13); pen, brown ink, black chalk, brown wash; 190x144 mm; watermark: fragment of the coat of arms of the city Brzeg [Briquet no. 960]; chain lines: horizontal, spaced every 28–30 mm; in bottom left corner in brown ink: *M. Willman*; in top right corner in brown ink: 119; collection: Weimar, Kunstsammlungen zu Weimar (inv. no. KK 4250), acquired from the Krankling collection; bibliography: Kloss 1934, no. B. I. 55; Lossow 1994, p. 92, no. B. 62.

19. *Defeat of Amor*. Illustration to Apuleus of Madaura Piece “Amor and Psyche” (ill. 14); verso: *Allegorical Scene of a Couple Celebrating – Venus and Baachus* (?); pen, black ink, black chalk, grey wash; 189x144 mm; watermarks: none; chain lines: horizontal, spaced every 28–30 mm; in bottom left corner in brown ink: *M. Willman*; in top right corner in black ink: 55; below scene in black ink: *Sih du Ja ein ratlos Ding bist / wenn du natur iber wunden ist; beside in black ink: Amor Virtutis / alium Cupidem / superans*; collection: Weimar, Kunstsammlungen zu Weimar (inv. no. KK 4251), acquired from Krankling collection; bibliography: Kloss 1930, no. B. 112; Kloss 1934, no. B. I. 68; Sumowski 1992, p. 5413; Lossow 1994, p. 93, no. B. 63; Koziel 1995, p. 138; Oszczanowski/Gromadzki 1995, p. 86.

20. *Allegorical Scene* (ill. 15); pen, brown ink, black chalk, brown wash, white gouache; 170x145 mm; watermarks and chain lines not visible; in bottom left corner in black ink: *M. Willman*; in top right corner in black ink: 96; collection: Berlin, private collection; history: auction no. 70, 28.10.1997, Gerda Bessenge Gallery; bibliography: unpublished.

Lost works:

21. *Truth Threatened by the Devil, Soaring up with Chronos* (ill. 16); pen, ink, wash; near top in ink: *Veritas filia temporis*; history: bought before 1914 at Helbing Auction House by Pastor Dandorff, Heinrichsfelde (Grabie near Opole); lost in 1945; bibliography: Maul 1914, p. 2, ill. 1; Kloss 1934, no. B. I. 38.

22. *Shepherd Playing Bagpipes with Sheep*; pen, ink, wash; 194x142 mm; history: collection of Dr. Stefan von Licht, Vienna; auction from 7.12. 1927,



16. D. Heidenreich, *Truth Threatened by the Devil, Soaring up with Chronos*, location unknown; cat. no. 21 (phot. acc. to Maul 1914)

Frankfurt am Main, Hugo Helbing (no. 370); collection of A. Wurzbach; auction from 4–5.10.1932, Berlin, Meyer & Ernst (no. 887); at Städtlichen Kunstsammlungen (Schloß) in Königsberg since 1934; lost in 1945; bibliography: Kloss 1934, no. B. I. 40.

Translated by Paulina Gruszczynski

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