

The Muses' Grief: Jacopo de' Barbari on Painting, Poetry and Cultural Transfer in the North

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In a radical instance of cultural transfer, Apollo, the god of culture, gathered his consorts, the Muses, and moved them to a new home. This at least is the claim of early modern notions of *translatio artium* and *studii*.¹ Between 1486 and 1502 Apollo and his Muses arrived in what had formerly been the territory of the German 'barbarians'. Konrad Celtis invoked the god of music in the elegy introducing his *Ars versificandi et carminum* of 1486, his first work to appear in print, pleading with Apollo 'to take his lyre, his fair Muses and all the arts and come from Italy to Germania' in order to banish 'barbarian speech and darkness'.² Publically, at least, Celtis praised his teacher Rudolf Agricola and his friend Fridianus Pighinutius for having brought about the transfer of the Muses. Yet he may well have been of the same opinion as Pighinutius who, in a eulogy of the arch-humanist printed in the *Ars versificandi*, credited Celtis himself for the move. Applying for a lectureship at the Viennese Collegium poetarum et mathematicorum in 1496/97, in the context of which questions of national tradition played a significant role, Celtis would emphasize his association with the 'German Muses' to make an anti-Italian and anti-Slavic statement.³ Already in 1460, however, Peter Luder, who had studied in Ferrara with Guarino da Verona, had declared himself the first to have 'brought the Muses down from their mount to the fatherland [of Germania], bringing them, Guarino, from your Italian fountain'.⁴ The remark is also of particular interest as it points to the role and significance of (metaphorical) images in this cultural transfer: Guarino da

1. See F. J. Worstbrock, 'Translatio artium: Über die Herkunft und Entwicklung einer kulturhistorischen Theorie', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 47, 1965, pp. 1–22; H. Jaumann, 'Das dreistellige Translatio-Schema und einige Schwierigkeiten mit der Renaissance in Deutschland: Konrad Celtis' *Ode ad Apollinem* (1486)', in *Rezeption und Identität: Die kulturelle Auseinandersetzung Roms mit Griechenland als europäisches Paradigma*, eds G. Vogt-Spira and B. Rommel, Stuttgart, 1999, pp. 335–49. For further references on the concept of *translatio*, see n. 10 below.

2. For the Latin text and translation, see J. Robert, 'Die Krönung zum *poeta laureatus*. Apoll in Deutschland oder: Ein Land erwacht aus der Barbarei', in *Amor als Topograph: 500 Jahre Amores des Conrad Celtis*, eds C. Wiener et al., Schweinfurt, 2002, pp. 66–7; cf. F. J. Worstbrock, 'Konrad Celtis: Zur Konstitution des humanistischen Dichters in Deutschland', in *Literatur, Musik und Kunst im Übergang von Mittelalter zur Neuzeit*, eds H. Boockmann et al., Göttingen, 1995, pp. 9–35; J. Robert, *Konrad Celtis und das Projekt der deutschen Dichtung: Studien zur humanistischen Konstitution von Poetik, Philosophie, Nation und Ich*, Tübingen, 2003.

3. See Celtis's epigram 3, 3, *De Perger, scriba Caesareo*, and a letter by Johannes Stabius connecting Celtis with the 'German Muses'; H. Rupprich, *Der Briefwechsel des Konrad Celtis*, Munich, 1934, pp. 251–2 (no. 150); C. Wiener, 'Et spes et ratio studiorum in Caesare tantum: Celtis' Beziehungen zu Maximilian I.', in Robert, *Konrad Celtis* (n. 2 above), pp. 75–84 (78–9).

4. *Elegia ad Panphilam*: 'Primus ego in patiam deduxi vertice Musas / Italico mecum, fonte Guarine tuo', in *The Beginnings of German Humanism: The Life and Work of the Wandering Humanist Peter Luder*, ed. F. Baron, Ann Arbor, 1967, pp. 207–9; Worstbrock, 'Celtis' (n. 2 above), pp. 9–13.

Verona's panegyrists and biographers had promoted the humanist as a fountainhead of culture who nourished many different pupils, in different places, as the reverse of the large portrait medal by Matteo de' Pasti made around 1450 expressed visually. Here an ideal statue of the humanist as the 'heroic figure of erudition' adorns a fountain watering a field of flowers.⁵ Yet, by underscoring the innovation of his work and taking credit for the Muses' transfer, Celtis succeeded in downplaying the role of his predecessor Luder for posterity (although Luders's own version of the story might also be far from accurate). In Celtis's favour – in addition to the fact that he was the first poet north of the Alps to be granted a laureation – are the praises heaped on him in the posthumous *Vita* of Celtis published by the *Sodalitas Rhenana* and in Hartmann Schedel's *Weltchronik* of 1493, which expressed the hope that after the expulsion of the Turks from the Holy Land under Emperor Maximilian, the 'Muses of the crowned poet Konrad Celtis might be reawakened from the dead.'⁶

Such written testimony for the *translatio* of the Muses was accompanied by what was believed to be their ancient image: the so-called Tarocchi of Mantegna, which seem to have crossed the Alps into Nuremberg in the early 1490s (see Christian, Fig. 2 in this volume). After 1493, Michael Wolgemut's workshop produced a number of woodcuts of the *Musagetes* and his companions after the model of the 'Tarocchi' for Peter Danhauser's *Archetypus triumphantis Romae*, an 'image-based compendium of ancient knowledge of the world ... as the foundation of a Christian world order' (Fig. 1). Despite generous financing from Sebald Schreyer, the project was never finished.⁷ While still in

5. See U. Pfisterer, 'Soweit die Flügel meines Auges tragen': Leon Battista Albertis Imprese und Selbstbildnis', *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, 42, 1998, pp. 205–51 and the well-known letter written 30 November 1459 by Ulrich Gussembrot to his father in Augsburg, in which the medal's circulation north of the Alps is documented: 'I am now sending you by way of dealers true-to-life images cast in bronze, first of my teachers Guarino da Verona, Francesco Filelfo, Giovanni Pietro and then (so it is claimed) of Julius Caesar, then of the Doge of Venice; some time ago I also sent you images of all the princes of Italy so you could also show them to the painter Mang, but I think you have not received them' ('Mitto tibi nunc, cum per mercatores ymagines naturales et in plumbo elaboratas, principio Guarini Veronensis, Francisci Philelfi, Johannis Petri, preceptorum meorum, deinde Julii Cesaris ut fertur, preterea ducis Venetorum superiori tempore miseram eciam ymagines omnium ferme principum Ytalie ad te, ut cum pictore Mang eciam eas communicares, sed opinor te nichil accepisse').

6. H. Schedel, *Liber chronicarum*, Nuremberg, 1493, fol. CCLVIII: 'Tunc Conradi Celtis poete laureati musa. quasi ab inferis resurget. et poemata componet. M. Antonius Sabellicus historias scribet. mortalemque regem immortalitati donabunt.' *Sodalitas Rhenana. Vita Conradi Celtis*, in *Die früheren Wanderjahre des Conrad Celtis*, ed. J. Aschbach, Vienna, 1869, pp. 137–41. See D. Wutke, *Humanismus als integrative Kraft: Die Philosophie des deutschen 'Erzhumanisten' Conrad Celtis*, Nuremberg, 1985, pp. 7–9; on crowned poets, see also A. Schirrmeyer, *Triumph des Dichters: Gekrönte Intellektuelle im 16. Jahrhundert*, Cologne, 2003.

7. R. Schoch, 'Archetypus triumphantis Romae: Zu einem gescheiterten Buchprojekt des Nürnberger Frühhumanismus', in *50 Jahre Sammler und Mäzen: Der Historische Verein Schweinfurt seinem Ehrenmitglied Dr. phil. h.c. Otto Schäfer (1912–2000) zum Gedenken*, eds Uwe Müller et al., Schweinfurt, 2001, pp. 261–98 (284); C. S. Wood, *Forgery, Replica, Fiction. Temporalities of German Renaissance Art*, Chicago, 2008, pp. 61–107. On the reconstruction of the ancient iconography of the Muses by the Italian humanists, see M. Baxandall, 'Guarino, Pisanello, and Manuel Chrysoloras', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 28, 1965, pp. 183–204; see also *Le muse e il principe: arte di corte nel Rinascimento padano*, eds A. di Lorenzo et al., 2 vols, Modena, 1991. A different iconographic tradition can be found in the illustrations of Boethius's works, for which see P. Courcelle, *La Consolation de Philosophie dans la tradition littéraire: antécédents et postérité de Boèce*, Paris, 1967.

the workshop of Wolgemut, or during his first visit to Venice, the young Dürer also copied these Muses, and Schreyer's famous 'Vorder-Stube', a gathering place for humanists at his home in Nuremberg, was painted with a similar depiction of Apollo and the Muses, accompanied by verses by Celtis.⁸ The simultaneous arrival of the Muses of the 'Tarocchi' in France should also be noted in this context.⁹ Humanists like Celtis (and, among his followers, Dürer) or Heinrich Bebel confidently proclaimed that the year 1500 would mark the arrival of a new cultural era in Germania.¹⁰ And in 1502, Celtis's *Amores* would proclaim that the Muses had come to settle with him there permanently.

Even though one can clearly trace these notions in literature of the time – historiography, poetry or other genres – their meaning for the visual arts and architecture is in many respects much more difficult to pin down. For a start, reliable contemporary testimony north of the Alps is rather sparse. Furthermore, modern scholarship must exercise caution and not simply refer to sources that allegedly appear 'shortly after' 1500, quote them out of context, and project them onto circumstances at the turn of the sixteenth century, particularly when dealing with a cultural milieu as heterogeneous as the German-speaking territories. The reception of the Muses through the imagery of the Italian 'Tarocchi' points to yet another problem: while the young Dürer seems to have grasped their Renaissance style, the workshop of Wolgemut translated them into a late Gothic idiom. The question, of course, remains if such art-historical categories would have been discernible to any of Dürer's and Wolgemut's contemporaries, given their lack of expertise in visual comparison, or the fact that there were so many different models of historical periodization then in operation.¹¹ Would the ancient topic in and of itself perhaps have sufficed to associate these images with an ancient style (and was there, in fact, a difference between 'ancient' and Italian Renaissance style *all' antica*)? Is it possible

8. L. Grote, 'Die Vorder-Stube des Sebald Schreyer: Ein Beitrag zur Rezeption der Renaissance in Nürnberg', *Anzeiger des Germanischen National-Museums 1954–1959*, Nuremberg, 1959, pp. 43–67; another poem, probably intended for the house of Schreyer, which is claimed to be a sanctuary of the Muses, was published in D. Wuttke, 'Drei Celtis-Funde', in *Horaz und Celtis*, eds U. Auhagen et al., Tübingen, 2000, pp. 323–7.

9. Cf. the depiction of the Muses in the drawings and texts (*Dictz moraulx pour faire tapisserie*) collected between 1490 and 1515 (?) in MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fr. 24461, as well as copies of these, i.e. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Fr. 5066; *France 1500: entre Moyen Âge et Renaissance*, eds E. Taburet-Delahaye et al., Paris, 2010, p. 290 (cat. 145, M. Hermant) and P.-K. Schuster, *Melencolia I: Dürers Denkbild*, 2 vols, Berlin, 1991, II, fig. 34.

10. D. Wuttke, 'Dürer und Celtis: Von der Bedeutung des Jahres 1500 für den deutschen Humanismus. Jahrhundertfeier als symbolische Form', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 10, 1980, pp. 73–129; J. Robert, 'Carmina Pieridum nulli celebrata priorem: Zur Inszenierung von Epochenwende im Werk des Conrad Celtis', *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, 124, 2002, pp. 92–121. On the context of the concept of new beginnings in general, see U. Pfisterer, 'Die Entdeckung des "Nullpunktes": Neuheitskonzepte in den Bildkünsten, 1350–1650', in *Novità: Neuheitskonzepte in den Bildkünsten um 1600*, eds U. Pfisterer and G. Wimböck, Berlin, 2011; see also U. Muhlack, 'Humanistische Historiographie und das Projekt der Germania illustrata: Ein Paradigma der Diffusion des Humanismus', in *Diffusion des Humanismus: Studien zur nationalen Geschichtsschreibung europäischer Humanisten*, eds J. Helmuth and U. Muhlack, Göttingen, 2002, pp. 142–58. The issue of how the notion of a new beginning could be reconciled with that of *translatio artium* is too complex for discussion here.

11. See Wood, *Forgery* (n. 7 above) and A. Nagel and C. S. Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, New York, 2010.

that Wolgemut's response was considered different from its model in a positive way precisely because it was an adaptation that originated north of the Alps? Or, if the differences between Wolgemut and Dürer would have been discerned as intentional and significant, would these changes have brought to mind other ideas altogether, such as the pursuit of artistic distinction and personal style?

These questions and the problem of artistic cultural transfer in general present particular methodological challenges. They require us to reconcile our own art-historical frame of reference (based on our own modern point of view, which we cannot entirely eradicate) and our own understanding of the role of visual archetypes, 'influence' and style, with the attempt to reconstruct – as best we can – earlier modes of perception and comprehension, not only of artistic subjects but also of their expression in artistic forms. What is needed, to put it another way, is an all-encompassing hermeneutic fusion of two chronologically distinct approaches. Yet the phenomenon of cultural transfer in itself complicates any analysis by engaging not one but at least two historically diverse frames of reference, each encompassing their own (potentially contradictory) points of view, selective judgements, preconceptions and blind spots.¹² In other words, if 'cultural transfer' means the transfer of what Wolfgang Schmale has defined as *Struktureme* (conceptual and material aspects of culture that are capable of conveying cultural identity) and *Kultureme* (conceptual and material aspects of culture that demonstrate a common geographical/cultural origin or gain attributes of such a collective origin in the process of cultural transfer) between two or more semiotically defined cultures,¹³ such concepts become even more complex if we attempt to account for historical change in the reception and critique of artistic images.

Considering these parameters, artistic imagery from about 1500, which – it can be argued – reflects its own cultural context and style in relation to other traditions, takes on particular significance.¹⁴ This essay aims to demonstrate that Jacopo de' Barbari's

12. For Gadamer's insistence on the necessity of 'the fusion of horizons' as a method for art history, see U. Pfisterer, *Donatello und die Entdeckung der Stile, 1430–1445*, Munich, 2002, pp. 20–21. On the problem of the transfer of style in particular, see S. Hoppe, 'Stil als *Dünne* und *Dichte* Beschreibung: Eine konstruktivistische Perspektive auf kunstbezogene Stilbeobachtungen unter Berücksichtigung der Bedeutungsdimension', in *Stil als Bedeutung in der nordalpinen Renaissance: Wiederentdeckung einer methodischen Nachbarschaft*, eds S. Hoppe et al., Regensburg, 2008, pp. 49–103. Especially for Jacopo de' Barbari see M. Saß, 'Ungleicher Wettkampf. Nationalkodierende und regionalspezifische Bewertungsmaßstäbe im transalpinen Kulturaustausch', in *Aemulatio. Kulturen des Wettstreits in Text und Bild (1450–1620)*, eds J.-D. Müller et al., Berlin, 2011, pp. 75–133 (all with additional literature).

13. W. Schmale, 'Das Konzept "Kulturtransfer" und das 16. Jahrhundert', in *Kulturtransfer: Kulturelle Praxis im 16. Jahrhundert*, ed. W. Schmale, Innsbruck, 2003, pp. 41–61 (46–7).

14. One of the few examples from this time that explicitly addresses its own transferral into a new context by means of an inscription is a mosaic by Davide Ghirlandaio, *The Virgin and Child with Angels*, which was sent in 1496 as a diplomatic gift from the Florentine Republic to Jean de Ganay in France: '... DE ITALIA PARISIUM ...'; M. Collareta, 'Un mosaico fiorentino nel museo di Cluny', *Rivista d'arte: studi documentari per la storia delle arti in Toscana*, 38, 1986, pp. 287–90, and T. Crépin-Leblond, 'David Ghirlandaio: La Vierge à l'Enfant adorée par deux anges', in *France 1500* (n. 9 above), p. 362 (cat. 185). For 'foreign forms' in architecture see, for example, H. Günther, 'Die ersten Schritte in die Neuzeit', in *Wege zur Renaissance*, eds N. Nussbaum et al., Cologne, 2003, pp. 31–87.

painting of an old man embracing a young woman, dated 1503 (Plate 1), represents a case in point that reflects the process of cultural transfer and difference between Italy and the North, in particular the 'German' North.¹⁵ Expanding on the well-established image of de' Barbari as the ultimate travelling artist and cultural mediator,¹⁶ the following will reconstruct his critical self-perception and conscious self-positioning in the years surrounding the North-South 'clash of cultures' around 1500. In so doing, it will consider how de' Barbari expounds the problem of the proposed relocation of the Muses to the North through a subtle parody that undermines traditional mythological and allegorical concepts, revealing how in such a process of transfer the artist betrays a sophisticated understanding of visual proprietorship and borrowing. Once more, it becomes apparent how the visual functions and categories of differentiation discernible in images far surpass the textual discussions found in art theory of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Goddesses made Flesh and Aging Lovers

Jacopo de' Barbari's work, now in Philadelphia, has thus far attracted little attention from art-historians.¹⁷ The painting is executed in oil on panel, measures 40.4 by 32.4 cm and is signed and dated 'IA. D. BARBARI. M.D.III', with a caduceus below. It shows a young woman who melancholically rests her head on her hand and looks directly out of the canvas with a mournful gaze. An old man embraces her tightly from behind. The spatial layout of the half-length couple within the rectangular frame is difficult to discern: no setting emerges from the dark background, nor is it possible to identify with any certainty the object under the woman's elbow (a circle, or a ball?). A laurel wreath crowns her long blonde hair, which she wears loose. The clasp of her sheer white undergarment, woven with gold thread, has apparently become unbuckled, allowing the cloth to slide far below one breast. The old

15. The emergence of a national perception of 'Germania' is summarized in G. M. Müller, *Die 'Germania generalis' des Conrad Celtis: Studien mit Edition, Übersetzung und Kommentar*, Tübingen, 2001; C. Hirschi, *Wettkampf der Nationen: Konstruktionen einer deutschen Ebrgemeinschaft an der Wende vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit*, Göttingen, 2005. A critical reading of a simple opposition between Italy and Germany, which would be difficult to apply in the case of de' Barbari, can be found in M. Völkel, 'Romanität/Germanität', in Schmale, *Kulturtransfer: Kulturelle Praxis* (n. 13 above), pp. 247–60; T. Schauerte, 'Die deutschen Apelliden: Anmerkungen zu humanistischen und nationalen Aspekten in höfischen Bildwerken der Dürerzeit', in *Apelles am Fürstenhof: Facetten der Hofkunst um 1500 im Alten Reich*, eds M. Müller et al., Berlin, 2010, pp. 35–43; M. F. Müller, 'Augsburger Renaissance – Rinascimento alla Moderna. Die stiltheoretischen Grundlagen der Kunstpatronanz Kaiser Maximilians I. besonders am Beispiel des projektierten Reiterdenkmals für Augsburg', *Zeitschrift des historischen Vereins für Schwaben*, 104, 2012, pp. 7–47.

16. For a recent summary, see B. Marx, 'Wandering Objects, Migrating Artists: The Appropriation of Italian Renaissance Art by German Courts in the Sixteenth Century', in *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, ed. H. Roodenburg, IV, Forging European Identities, 1400–1700, Cambridge, 2007, pp. 178–226; B. Böckem, *Jacopo de' Barbari: Ein Apelles am Fürstenhof? Die Allianz von Künstler, Humanist und Herrscher im Alten Reich*, in Müller, *Apelles am Fürstenhof* (n. 15 above), pp. 23–33.

17. The state of research is summarized in J. A. Levenson, 'Jacopo de' Barbari and Northern Art of the Early Sixteenth Century', PhD diss., New York University, 1978, pp. 189–93 (cat. 7); S. Ferrari, *Jacopo de' Barbari: un protagonista del Rinascimento tra Venezia e Dürer*, Milan, 2006, pp. 99–100 (cat. 12); see also a recent, short commentary by B. Böckem, 'Italien als Richtschnur? Mantegna und Barbari', in *Der frühe Dürer*, eds D. Hess and T. Eser, Nuremberg, 2012, pp. 325–33.

man, meanwhile, seems to be removing (or tightening?) her green mantle. The young woman's dress as well as the openly erotic narrative suggests that she is not a contemporary figure from the year 1503, but a fiction modelled on antique ideals. In stark contrast, the old man is shown neither *all'antica* nor idealized in any way, with his white beard, thin hair and red hat or hood on the back of his head. It almost seems as if the contemporary world and that of a remote past meet each other in the picture. De' Barbari's manner of painting, which emphasizes every contour of the old man's face while idealizing that of the young woman, might even be seen as a stylistic interpretation of a chronological-typological opposition, or simply as two visual *topoi* for the depiction of age and gender.

De' Barbari's visual concept in this work was highly innovative: no similar composition painted in oil and in this format (which approximates that customarily used for depictions of brides and married couples) is known from the German sphere around 1500. According to the most widely accepted interpretation of the painting,¹⁸ the work represents a moralizing depiction of a mismatched couple, following what had long been a popular literary subject that had only gained prominence in the visual arts north of the Alps in the last two decades of the fifteenth century. The earliest known comparable depictions of either an old man with a young woman or an old woman with an adolescent boy can be found among the early dry-point etchings of the Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet from around 1480; here a young woman is depicted with a garland in her hair, although in this case it seems to be a bridal wreath (Fig. 2).¹⁹ A print by the Monogrammist b x g shows a young amorous couple in an erotic embrace yet, as in de' Barbari's composition, the young woman looks out from the image while her partner removes his gaze, transfixed by the proximity of her body (Fig. 3).²⁰ Even if Leonardo da Vinci also developed an interest in the type soon afterwards, his drawings probably remained unknown in the German-speaking sphere.²¹ One could suggest, then,

18. The suggestion that the female figure should be read as the nymph Agapes with her aged husband (C. R. Scott, *Paintings from Europe and the Americas in the Philadelphia Museum of Art: A Concise Catalogue*, Philadelphia, 1994, p. 209) not only seems highly unlikely and unsubstantiated by the painting itself, but also cannot answer the questions of who would have been interested in this theme and why. An alternative suggestion for the subject, 'Time Unveils the Beauty of Virtue', can be found in E. M. dal Pozzolo, *Colori d'amore: parole, gesti e carezze nella pittura veneziana del cinquecento*, Treviso, 2008, pp. 51–2, 177.

19. A. G. Stewart, *Unequal Lovers: A Study of Unequal Couples in Northern Art*, New York, 1977. On the literary treatment of the subject, see W. Coupe, 'Ungleiche Liebe: A Sixteenth-century Topos', *Modern Language Review*, 62, 1967, pp. 661–71. For a more general perspective, see T. Guesing, *Liebe, Laster und Gelächter: Komödienhafte Bilder in der italienischen Malerei im ersten Drittel des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Bonn, 1997, p. 58 (with reference to de' Barbari's painting).

20. D. Hess, 'Liebespaar in Halbfiguren', in *Jahreszeiten der Gefühle: Das Gothaer Liebespaar und die Minne im Spätmittelalter*, ed. A. Schuttwolf, Ostfildern-Ruit, 1998, pp. 32–3 (cat. 12).

21. B. Barryte, 'The Ill-Matched Couple', *Achademia Leonardi Vinci*, 3, 1990, pp. 133–9. A painting of 1525 by Quinten Massys now in the National Gallery of Art in Washington, however, shows a clear knowledge of these drawings; see L. Silver, *The Paintings of Quinten Massys*, Oxford, 1984, pp. 223–4 (cat. 35); K. Renger, 'Alte Liebe, gleich und ungleich: Zu einem satirischen Bildthema bei Jan Massys', in *Netherlandish Mannerism*, ed. G. Cavalli-Björkman, Stockholm, 1985, pp. 35–46; L. Fagnart, 'Couple mal asserti en joyeuse compagnie: un tableau anversois autrefois attribué à Léonard de Vinci', in *Italia Belgica*, eds N. Dacos and C. Dulière, Turnhout, 2005, pp. 103–10.

that de' Barbari's mismatched couple was perceived as a moralizing subject, as was typical for the North. Yet the standard 'unlikely couple' usually represents a pair in contemporary costume, most often a man who seeks the affections of a young beauty by presenting her with monetary gifts or other promises. Nothing of this can be seen in de' Barbari's painting: the young woman is not of the same era nor does the old man attempt to bribe her into concessions of love.

These iconographic variations are remarkable in Northern European painting of the time, as are a number of possible Italianisms in the work. For example, the type of a female figure with loose hair, garland and undergarment *en déshabille* (with fully or half-exposed breast) is similar to that seen in an engraving captioned 'ACH[ADEMI]A LE[ONARDI] VI[NCI]' (Fig. 4), or in a depiction of a young woman by Palma il Vecchio (1510/11). Bartolomeo Veneto's *Flora*, however, which is also often compared with de' Barbari's painting, can probably not be dated earlier than 1520.²² Since these paintings were all produced after Jacopo de' Barbari's sullen woman, and thus can only be said to reflect general trends in the depiction of women in the Veneto in the first decades of the sixteenth century, de' Barbari's work of 1503 might have been the first to transfer figural types previously known from engravings into the genre of large-scale painting, or at least to introduce these for the first time to the painting's specific audience. Moreover, the painting's lyrical sense of melancholy and the tension between Petrarchan sublimation of the idealized lover and a sensual, arousing representation of the female body it evokes seem to reference Venice.²³ The 'Ludovisi' double portrait attributed to Giorgione, for example, is a particularly fitting comparison in regard to its overall composition, even if it portrays two young men. Giorgione's work is dated c. 1502 (Plate 2), making it equally unacceptable as a possible model for Jacopo de' Barbari, who left for the North before 1500.²⁴ Yet it stands as a striking reminder that the method of contrasting two figures in the same pictorial space, while simultaneously opposing two subjects and two styles, was also practised in Northern Italy. In technique, in the rendition of facial features, in demeanour and attire the young man in the background of Giorgione's work differs notably from the melancholic figure shown in the foreground, who is not only more sumptuously dressed but also portrayed in an altogether more subtle way – a difference

22. For previous interpretations and the various types of these engravings (as well as further literature), see C. Brambach Cappel, 'Leonardo, Tagliente and Dürer: "La scienza del far di groppi"', *Achademia Leonardi Vinci*, 4, 1991, pp. 72–98, and H. U. Asemussen and G. Schweikhart, *Malerei als Thema der Malerei*, Berlin, 1994. For Palma's paintings of a young woman, a pendant to a portrait of a young man, see P. Rylands, *Palma Vecchio*, Cambridge, 1992, pp. 148–9 (cat. 3*–4*). On the *Flora*, which is sometimes dated as early as 1510, see J. Sander, *Italienische Gemälde im Stüdel 1300–1550: Oberitalien, die Marken und Rom*, Mainz, 2004, pp. 308–21.

23. See M. Koos, *Bildnisse des Begehrens: Das lyrische Männerporträt in der venezianischen Malerei des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts. Giorgione, Tizian und ihr Umkreis*, Berlin, 2006.

24. A summary of the research on this question can be found in G. Reuss, 'Giorgio da Castelfranco, genannt Giorgione, zugeschrieben: Doppelporträt, um 1502', in *Melancholie: Genie und Wahnsinn in der Kunst*, ed. J. Clair, Ostfildern-Ruit, 2005, p. 154 (cat. 54), and A. Zamperini, 'Giorgio da Castelfranco, detto Giorgione: Doppio ritratto', in *Giorgione*, eds E. M. dal Pozzolo and L. Puppi, Milan, 2009, pp. 424–5 (cat. 44).

that may represent the visual comparison of carnal versus Platonic love. Or, in reference to the tradition of ancient comedy, the painting may simply depict a lovelorn gentleman with a servant.

Returning to the identification of the sombre young woman in de' Barbari's work, who strikingly resembles other female figures dressed in antique costumes with half-bare breasts and laurel wreaths painted around 1500 by artists from Leonardo da Vinci to Palma il Vecchio, she can only have one identity: Jacopo de' Barbari's figure is a Muse – in fact, a sorrowful Muse.²⁵ Notable constitutive factors in the reconstruction and depiction of ancient Muses in late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Italy include increased eroticism and corporeal sensuality, as their inspiring effects seem to have gradually acquired the sense of a physical consummation of love. This concept was already present in Antiquity and vigorously revived in the second half of the fifteenth century (when the idea of the kiss of the Muses also originates).²⁶ The particular faculties and qualities of the Muses, in turn, came to be attributed to worldly mistresses. An example is the young lutenist and singer Anna of Nuremberg, to whom Celtis dedicated an ode in 1491 and who also, after her untimely death a year later, was the subject of an epitaph written with Sebald Schreyer. For her male suitors Anna was clearly not only a worldly beloved but also an idealized *inamorata*.²⁷ In other cases, however, it is not possible to distinguish between the roles of a real female companion, lover or wife and that of the inspiring Muse. One example is the depiction of *The Children of Mercury* by the Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet from around 1480 (Fig. 5) in which a young woman puts her arm faithfully around the painter, who sits in front of his easel. Significant age differences in this type of couple can be found in slightly later paintings by Giovanni Cariani (or Bernardino Licinio and his workshop?) of circa 1530; the latter shows a young singer accompanied by a much older poet or musician with a garland in his hair (Plate 3).²⁸ Ultimately, and only in exceptional cases,

25. For a more general account of the emergence of the Muses around 1500, see my forthcoming study on Raphael's Muse.

26. S. J. Campbell, 'Sic in amore furens': Painting as Poetic Theory in the Early Renaissance', *I Tatti Studies*, 6, 1995, pp. 145–68; T. Foster Gittes, *Boccaccio's Naked Muse: Eros, Culture, and the Mythopoeic Imagination*, Toronto, 2008; W. Ludwig, *Der Ritt des Dichters auf dem Pegasus und der Kuß der Muse: Zwei neuzeitliche Mythologeme*, Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, I. Philolog.-hist. Kl. 1996, vol. 3, Göttingen, 1996.

27. H. Wunder, 'Frauen in der Musikkultur frühneuzeitlicher Städte des Heiligen Römischen Reichs deutscher Nation: Fundstücke und Interpretationen', in *Orte der Musik: Kulturelles Handeln von Frauen in der Stadt*, ed. S. Rode-Breymann, Cologne, 2007, pp. 9–32 (14–15).

28. C. Graf zu Waldburg Wolfegg, *Venus und Mars: Das Mittelalterliche Hausbuch aus der Sammlung der Fürsten zu Waldburg Wolfegg*, Munich, 1998, pp. 38–9 (here identified as the artist's wife); for a different identification, see Asemissen and Schweikhart, *Malerei als Thema* (n. 22 above), pp. 99–100. The earlier painting by Cariani, which displays the young woman with an orb, has in a later print been described as 'Titian and his mistress/his model'; see R. Pallucchini and F. Rossi, *Giovanni Cariani*, Bergamo, 1983, p. 122 (cat. 40). The more recent of the two canvases is currently in storage at the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna and its attribution to either Cariani or Licinio is a matter of dispute; see U. Groos, *Ars Musica in Venedig im 16. Jahrhundert*, Hildesheim and New York, 1998, pp. 302–4; A. Serafini, 'Bernardino Licinio, Werkstatt?: Drehleierspieler und junge Frau', in *Dipingere la musica: Musik in der Malerei des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, ed. W. Seipel, Vienna and Milan, 2001, p. 254 (cat. IV.15).

examples are known from north of the Alps in which pre-eminent women of letters, in a role comparable to that of the Muses, crown their male protégés. The analogy is apparent in a woodcut attributed to Dürer, published in 1489 in Nuremberg. This is the frontispiece to the laudation of Cassandra Fedele at the University of Padua, which shows Fedele taking part in the graduation ceremony of one of her relatives, who kneels in front of her lectern (Fig. 6). We can compare this image to roughly contemporary paintings from the palace of either Urbino or Gubbio that display the Liberal Arts enthroned with disciples bending their knees before them (Plate 4).²⁹

With this visual context in mind, the hitherto unidentified detail of the circle or ball on which the young woman in de' Barbari's painting rests her arm can be regarded as an erroneous citation of the empty orb attributed to the Muses in the 'Tarocchi di Mantegna', that is, the misinterpretation of a rather arcane iconographic referent known from around the same time in Italy.³⁰ The sphere is by no means an attribute exclusive to the Muses and is equally common in depictions of Melancholia or Fortuna (for Melancholia, not quite as early as 1503).³¹ Fortuna, however, enjoys an especially close relationship to the Muses, according to a tradition that began with Boethius. At the start of his *Consolatio philosophiae* the author blames the Muses for inspiring his melancholy verses on Fortuna, after his own fortunes have changed for the worse. He overcomes his condition only with the help of Philosophia, who banishes the Muses and liberates him through her own detachment from the contingencies of Fate.³² Illustrations of this popular text, which was highly regarded around 1500 in the Southern Germanic sphere, remind us that the author envisaged a scene of an old man in the company of one or, rather, several young women. Of course, in these illustrations it is not the Muse who grieves, as in de' Barbari's painting, but the aged thinker. One might even imagine de' Barbari's invention as an intentional inversion of the motif: a rejection not of the Muses but of Philosophia.³³

29. For Cassandra Fedele and the Nuremberg edition of 1489 see U. Hess, 'Conrad Celtis: *Ode ad Apollinem*, beigefügt zu: Cassandra Fedele: *Oratio pro Bertucio Lamberto. Padua 1487*, in Wiener, *Amor als Topograph* (n. 2 above), pp. 70–72 (cat. 11).

30. Thus, e.g., a sphere of fixed stars is adjoined to any Muse in the Cod. phil. gr. 4 of the Austrian Nationalbibliothek; see O. Mazal, *Der Aristoteles des Herzogs von Atri: Die Nikomachische Ethik in einer Prachthandschrift der Renaissance*, Graz, 1988, pp. 92–7. With the exception of Euterpe, the Muses of the Tempio Malatestiano all stand on spheres.

31. See Schuster, *Melencolia I* (n. 9 above) and Clair, *Melancholie* (n. 24 above). On the iconography of luck, see P. Helas, 'Fortuna-Occasio: Eine Bildprägung des Quattrocento zwischen ephemerer und ewiger Kunst', *Städte-Jahrbuch*, 17, 1999, pp. 101–24; F. Buttay-Jutier, *Usages politique d'une allégorie morale à la Renaissance*, Paris, 2008.

32. Boethius, *De consolatione philosophiae / Trost der Philosophie*, ed. E. Gothein, Zurich, 1949, I, 1; see C. Lucken, 'Les Muses de fortune: Boèce, le *Roman de la Rose* et Charles d'Orléans', in *La Fortune: Thèmes, représentations, discours*, eds Y. Foehr-Janssens and E. Métry, Geneva, 2003, pp. 145–75.

33. Pictorial examples can be found in P. Courcelle, *La Consolation de philosophie dans la tradition littéraire*, Paris, 1967, and W. P. Gerritsen, 'Die Miniaturen des Genter Boethius-Drucks von 1485 und ihre Entsprechungen in Drucken und Handschriften', *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 58, 2009, pp. 127–36.

What we can safely assume, taking all these aspects into consideration, is that de' Barbari's painting depicts a grieving Muse embraced from behind by an older 'lover of the Muses', that is, an admirer of literature and humanistic studies. Posing once again the central question of why this Muse is so sullen, the painting puts an amusing twist on the theme of the poet's melancholic suffering by showing a Muse who suffers from the poet's erotic zeal. In 1503, more than a decade before Dürer's *Melencolia I* (1514), it hardly seems possible that the mood of this Muse *all' antica* – without any further attribute or inscription – could be seen as a positive symbol of intellectual activity.³⁴ Rather, the overlap between de' Barbari's pair and the unlikely couple type suggests a relationship between the Muse's grief and the advanced age of her lover. The essential witticism of the image is a literal, even physical understanding of the love metaphor, linking the wisdom of old age with its impotence and tacitly passing on a piece of advice to men of younger age: *carpe diem!* Jacopo de' Barbari's painting would thus be pioneering in combining – in a sophisticated pictorial invention – the iconographic tradition of the unlikely couple with that of the eroticized Muse. If we accept that the painting's audience perceived the former of these traditions as Northern, the latter as Italian or ancient (keeping in mind my introductory remarks on method and on the complexity of such issues), then the Muse's grief might also reference the circumstances of her recent relocation to the North. In this case, this image by the itinerant artist de' Barbari could be read as a pictorial critique of the concept of *translatio artium*.³⁵

For some viewers, the painting's wit and irony could have extended even further; thus the humanist may have understood a reference to the *senex amator* of ancient comedy.³⁶ Devotees of Italian love poetry may have recalled that Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio had been known for their *affaires de coeur* begun in advanced age, for which they were sometimes praised and sometimes sharply criticized.³⁷ 'Love', for that matter, presented

34. Schuster, *Melencolia I* (n. 9 above); E. P. Wipfler, 'Die Erfindung der schönen Melancholie im 16. Jahrhundert', in *Rondo: Beiträge für Peter Diemer zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds W. Augustyn and I. Lauterbach, Munich, 2010, pp. 59–66.

35. For other self-reflexive images in the work of de' Barbari, see U. Pfisterer, '*Visio und Veritas*: Augentäuschung als Erkenntnisweg in der nordalpinen Malerei am Übergang von Spätmittelalter zu Früher Neuzeit', in *Die Autorität des Bildes*, eds F. Büttner and G. Wimböck, Munster, 2005, pp. 151–203. For the transfer of Italian motifs over the Alps, cf. also the analysis of a slightly earlier example not charged with irony in M. Müller, 'Von der allegorischen Historia zur Historisierung eines germanischen Mythos: Die Bedeutung eines italienischen Bildkonzepts für Cranachs Schlafende Quellnymphe', in Hoppe, *Stil als Bedeutung* (n. 12 above), pp. 161–87. For a discussion of old age, impotence and the artist, see H.-P. Ties, 'Albrecht Altdorfers *Lot und seine Töchter*', *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 54, 2005, pp. 177–221 (197, 206–7, 212–14), and U. Pfisterer, 'Alternde Künstler als Liebhaber-Inspiration, (Pro-)Kreativität und Vefall: Anthonis van Dyck, Tizian und die Tradition der Renaissance', in *Alter und Altern: Wirklichkeiten und Deutungen*, eds P. Graf Kielmannsegg and H. Häfner, Heidelberg et al., 2012, pp. 55–71.

36. See e.g. M. M. Bianco, *Ridiculi senes: Plauto e i vecchi da commedia*, Palermo, 2003. By contrast, a collection of lives of illustrious men of remarkably old age was compiled in the mid-15th century by G. Manetti in *De illustribus longaevis*.

37. For quotations, see T. Boli, 'Boccaccio's *Trattatello in laude di Dante*, Or *Dante Resartus*', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 41, 1988, pp. 389–412 (401–4); K. Phillips-Court, 'The Petrarchan Lover in Cinquecento Comedy', *Modern Language Notes*, 125, 2010, pp. 117–40.

one of the central themes of social behaviour around 1500 on both sides of the Alps. Being in love, indeed, was a premise for the full realization of the knight's virtue, the courtier's or, to a certain extent, the commoner's, the only exception being the old man, for whom being in love, as we read in Castiglione, was 'utterly ridiculous'.³⁸ Only love, furthermore, set human creativity free. Thus the man of letters and the artist, as well as readers or beholders, all qualify as passionate practitioners of the art of loving art.³⁹ If de' Barbari ridicules the aging lover of the Muse, this suggests his general engagement with such ideas. Considering the artist's commitment to painting's elevation to the 'eighth of the liberal arts', as well as his own self-fashioning as a *pictor doctus*, the work even seems to make an argument about the *paragone*, too: the more fruitless the relationship between the old man and the grieving Muse appears to be, the more powerful the erotic effect of her bared breast and forthright gaze on the Northern viewing public. Whatever the intellectual activity the old man seeks to 'embrace' (probably a literary one), painting accomplishes its task much better. Similar comparisons between poetry and love paintings are commonly employed at this time in Italy in order to prove painting's virtues and even its superiority over literature.⁴⁰ Seen in this context, de' Barbari seems not only to ridicule an aging lover of the Muses and the Muses' hopelessly inadequate new home in the North, but also to elevate the evocative potency of painting – and as such the art of the painter de' Barbari – above that of all literary endeavours.

Konrad Celtis and the Critique of Cultural Transfer across the Alps

If any of the interpretations discussed above can be applied to de' Barbari's painting, it is difficult not to understand it as a direct reaction to Konrad Celtis, the 'lover of the Muses' par excellence north of the Alps, and in particular to the publication of Celtis's *Amores*. The much-anticipated *Amores* in four parts, the first volume in what was planned to be a complete edition of Celtis's works, were printed in Nuremberg in April 1502, a year before de' Barbari painted his panel.⁴¹ Dürer's depiction of

38. B. Castiglione, *Il Cortegiano*, ed. B. Maier, Turin, 1955, p. 210. For a wider context, see S. Kolsky, *Mario Equicola: The Real Courtier*, Geneva, 1991; Schuttwolf, *Jahreszeiten der Gefühle* (n. 20 above); C. S. Jaeger, *Ennobling Love: In Search of a Lost Sensibility*, Philadelphia, 1999, e.g. pp. 198–200.

39. For a broader perspective on this notion, see U. Pfisterer, *Lysippus und seine Freunde: Liebesgaben und Gedächtnis im Rom der Renaissance – oder: Das erste Jahrhundert der Medaille*, Berlin, 2008; idem, 'Cennino Cennini und die Idee des Kunstliebhabers', in *Grammatik der Kunstgeschichte: Sprachproblem und Regelwerk im 'Bild-Diskurs'. Oskar Bätschmann zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds H. Locher and P. Schneemann, Berlin, 2008, pp. 95–117.

40. See U. Pfisterer, 'Künstlerliebe: Der Narcissus-Mythos bei Leon Battista Alberti und die Aristoteles-Lektüre der Frührenaissance', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 64, 2001, pp. 305–30. On de' Barbari, see H. Baader, 'Das fünfte Element oder Malerei als achte Kunst: Das Porträt des Mathematikers Fra Luca Pacioli', in *Der stumme Diskurs der Bilder: Reflexionsformen des Ästhetischen in der Kunst der Frühen Neuzeit*, eds V. von Rosen et al., Munich and Berlin, 2003, pp. 177–203.

41. See Wuttke, *Humanismus* (n. 6 above); P. Luh, *Kaiser Maximilian gewidmet: Die unvollendete Werkausgabe des Conrad Celtis und ihre Holzschnitte*, Frankfurt-am-Main, 2001; Robert, 'Carmina Pieridum' (n. 10 above); Robert, *Konrad Celtis* (n. 2 above).

Philosophia, more or less modelled on Boethius's text, and the images by the anonymous 'Celtis Master' on the double-page of A6^v-A7^r (Figs 7 and 8) lay out the central theme of the volume: the four medallions in the laurel around Philosophia illustrate defining moments in the *translatio artium* from the 'Priests of the Egyptians and Chaldeans' at the top, to the 'Greek Philosophers', the 'Latin Poets and Rhetoricians', and around to the Christian 'German Sages' exemplified by Albertus Magnus. The print also alludes to a quadripartite world-order with reference in the frame to the four cardinal directions, four seasons, the four ages of man and the four temperaments. Celtis, 'Phoebo et Musis dedicatum', sits at his desk on the opposite page, while Minerva and Venus ('Cytharea') appear at his side as the two poles between which Celtis's life and work alternate (wisdom and erotic desire). Or, rather, they convey the indissoluble connections that Celtis perceived between love, scholarship and knowledge of the world. His affinity for not only Philosophia but also the erotic corporeality of the Muses is represented by the two nude figures of Thalia and Clio seen below at the fountain of inspiration. Principally, however, it is the overall conception of the *Amores* which paints Celtis as a 'love-poet': each of the four books is dedicated to one of the four mistresses he had met in four different parts of Germania. Each of the four title-pages display the poet together with one of these women, while their quadripartite division corresponds to the four regions of the German-speaking world, the four cardinal directions, the four ages of Celtis's life and the four humours. Each of the title-pages, moreover, refers to the nine Muses at the top using numerical symbolism. Although Celtis in fact was forty-seven in 1502 when he began his lectureship at the Viennese Collegium, this series of pseudo-autobiographic 'Amores', published in the same year, presents him as an old, melancholy lover: the woodcut of the title-page of the fourth part shows him wrapped in a warm coat, seated by a fire with 'Barbara from the Baltic Sea' (Fig. 9).⁴² Already allusions to the *senex amator*, the follies of love and the perils of old age – inspired by the works of the aging Ovid or the late antique poet Maximian – point to the humanist's tendency to combine seriousness and satire. 'And after all', remarks Jörg Robert, 'the "mature work" of the *Amores* and the ribald eroticism of the poems addressed to Barbara ridicules the goals of learning and self-control evoked in its preface, for the poet frankly confesses that he is "largely driven by foolishness, and loves Venus in spite of his bald, white head".'⁴³

42. See C. Wiener, 'Quatuor latera Germaniae: Die *Amores* als Beschreibung Deutschlands nach den vier Himmelsrichtungen', in Wiener, *Amor als Topograph* (n. 2 above), pp. 93–106; G. Hess, 'Die verhinderte Erforschung des Nordens: Lübeck. Celtis' früher Tod und das erstaunliche Nachleben der *Amores*', in *ibid.*, pp. 171–2.

43. J. Robert, 'Celtis *Amores* und die Tradition der Liebeslegie', in *Amor als Topograph: 500 Jahre Amores des Conrad Celtis*, eds C. Wiener et al., Schweinfurt, 2002, pp. 9–17, esp. p. 14: 'Ast me iam cano glabroque in vertice multa / Stultitia exagitat, dum Venus ipsa placet' (Celtis, *Amores*, Nuremberg, 1502, IV, 4, 7–8).

Love is both an affirmative source of inspiration for the aging lover and a source of self-mockery through reference to Celtis's own errors, themes in Celtis's works which also fittingly describe the premises of Jacopo de' Barbari's painting. The old man in de' Barbari's painting could well serve as an 'everyman' figure standing in for any aging lover of the Muses, particularly since Celtis's *Amores* were so widely read at the time. Yet it is worth considering whether Jacopo's painting of 1503 was not in fact produced for the Nuremberg circles at the centre of this discussion, rather than for the court of Wittenberg as is usually assumed. Jacopo had been appointed as 'contrafeter und illuminist' to the Emperor on 8 April 1500. Together with Anton Kolb, he received the last instalment of his salary on 29 February 1504; exactly when he changed his residence to Wittenberg is a matter of debate.⁴⁴ This leads us to consider whether de' Barbari's work reflects upon Celtis's text by ingeniously transforming and enhancing its themes, or whether the painting presents a polemical (although, presumably well-meaning) reprisal to Celtis and his circle. Additional evidence for this latter interpretation is given by a painting that de' Barbari apparently produced around 1502/03 (Plate 5), shortly before his 'sorrowful Muse'.⁴⁵ Its iconography – the Virgin Mary with Child, Saint John the Baptist and Saint Anthony Abbot at a well in a landscape – is too complex for discussion here. It is striking, however, that the inscription added to de' Barbari's signature and caduceus-staff raises the question of envy, pointing to the well-deserved fame that awaits him after death: 'Only the living nurture envy. It ceases after death, / then everyone is sheltered by the merits of his own deserving.'⁴⁶ This Latin quotation is taken from the end of Ovid's first book of the *Amores* (I.15.39–40), in which the poet speaks in defence of his past. Does de' Barbari's allusion to Ovid signal his preference for the *Amores* written by the ancient Italian, and thereby mock the northern imitation and adaptation of the Antique by Celtis and his circle?

One member of this circle was Albert Dürer, who in 1506 offered a somewhat hostile characterization of Jacopo during his stay in Venice. Judging from the context presented here, this passage could even be read as a reaction to the 1502/03 debate in Nuremberg: 'I have shown that here [in Venice]', he writes,

44. Whether or not Jacopo was appointed in 1500 at Augsburg is unclear as the identification of him as an 'Italicus quidam pictor' who was involved in an accident with a stag there is speculative; see J. Jacoby, 'Arbeitsunfall eines Malers im Jahr 1500: Überlegungen zu Jacopo de' Barbari', in *Dresdener Kunstblätter*, 46, 1, 2002, pp. 24–8. By February 1504 Jacopo had 'already some time ago' left the Emperor's service, but he may have nevertheless remained in Nuremberg, see Dürer, *Schriftlicher Nachlass*, ed. H. Rupprich, 3 vols, Berlin, 1956–69, II, p. 33; Levenson's suggestion that Jacopo was in Wittenberg in 1503 based on a document referring generically to a 'court painter' there remains unconvincing; see Levenson, 'Jacopo de' Barbari' (n. 17 above), pp. 11–13.

45. *Ibid.*, pp. 176–80 (cat. 2): 'c. 1503'; Ferrari, *Jacopo de' Barbari* (n. 17 above), pp. 91–3 (cat. 7): '1501–1503 circa'.

46. 'PASCIT[VR] IN VI / VIS LIV[O]R POST / FATA [QV]IESCIT / TVM [S]VVS EX / [MERITO QVEMQVE TVETVR] / HONOS // IA. [Caduceus] BF.' For an interpretation based on the concept of *ut pictura poesis* see G. J. van der Sman, *Le Siècle de Titien: Gravures vénétiennes de la Renaissance*, Zwolle, 2003, pp. 13–19 (14).

there are much better painters than master Jacopo. Only Anton Kolb swears by oath that there is no better painter on earth than Jacopo. The others make fun of him, saying if he were good, he would stay here.⁴⁷

The polemical tone of this remark becomes even more apparent given the fact that Dürer, in 1521, tried to obtain 'Jacopo's little book' (a sketchbook or his studies of proportion?) while at the court of the Archduchess Margaret, as he wrote in his diary. Obviously, Dürer valued the work of de' Barbari to some extent; he also confesses in the draft of his treatise on proportion (1523) that while he was 'still young' he eagerly sought Jacopo's expertise on the topic of human proportion.⁴⁸ The competition between de' Barbari and Dürer in a series of engravings made between 1501 and 1504 is well known, even if uncertainty still surrounds the dates of these sheets. Moreover, one could argue that Dürer's canvas *Hercules and the Stymphalian Birds*, which might have been intended for Schloss Wittenberg, represents Dürer's own defence against the envy of his rivals and opponents, perhaps including de' Barbari, and that the artist accordingly rendered the face of the virtuous hero as his own.⁴⁹ A precise date, however, is known for another of Dürer's responses to de' Barbari from the winter of 1501/02, the woodcut of *Philosophia* from the *Amores* (see Fig. 7). It is signed with Dürer's initials at the bottom centre of a band rising up towards *Philosophia*'s heart, from the letter phi (probably standing for *physiologia*) via Greek abbreviations for the the *septem artes liberales* to the letter theta (probably meaning *theologia*). With the signature 'AD', Dürer seems to claim a place in this sequence for the visual arts as a 'second Nature' or, more probably, as an eighth Liberal Art. Dürer's monogram was not yet included in a sketch datable to 1500 and the artist seems to have added it later, in all likelihood in consultation with Celtis. The claim that painting is the eighth Liberal Art had also been central to de' Barbari's lengthy letter to Frederick the Wise, written between November 1500 and August 1501.⁵⁰ It seems

47. 'Awch las jeh ewch wissen, daz vill pesser moler hy [in Venedig] sind weder dawssen meister Jacob jst. Aber Anthoni Kolb schwer ein eyt, es lebte keim pesser moler awff erden den Jacob. Dy andern spotten sein, sprechen: wer er gut, so belib er hy etc.', letter of Dürer to Willibald Pirckheimer in Nuremberg, 7 February 1506, in Dürer, *Schriftlicher Nachlass* (n. 44 above), I, p. 44, letter no. 2; see K. Crawford Lubber, *Albrecht Dürer and the Venetian Renaissance*, Cambridge, 2005, pp. 62–5, who believes that this passage cannot be connected to Dürer's first trip to Italy. On the rivalry between de' Barbari and Dürer, see E. Rebel, *Albrecht Dürer: Maler und Humanist*, Munich, 1996, pp. 181–6, and E. Bierende, 'Fremder und heimischer Stil – Humanisten und Künstler auf der Suche nach der eigenen Identität. Stil der Alten: *horridus und obsoletus*', in Hoppe, *Stil als Bedeutung* (n. 12 above), pp. 135–59.

48. Dürer, *Schriftlicher Nachlass* (n. 44 above), I, p. 173: 'Do sahe ich auch ander gut ding, von ... Jacobs Walchs. Jch bat mein frauen umb maister Jacobs büchlein, aber sie sagt, sie hetts jhrem molher zu gesagt.'

49. The monogram and the date '1500' seem by a different hand; see F. Anzelewsky, *Albrecht Dürer: Das malerische Werk*, Berlin, 1991, pp. 171–3 (cat. 67). For the interpretation of the painting, see K. Hermann-Fiore, 'Il tema *Labor* nella creazione artistica del Rinascimento', in *Der Künstler über sich in seinem Werk*, ed. M. Winner, Weinheim, 1992, pp. 245–92 (261–9), albeit with the suggestion that the canvas was painted for Dürer's own house.

50. The significance of the monogram and its parallel to de' Barbari has already been emphasized by T. Schauerer, 'Von der *Philosophia* zur *Melencolia I*: Anmerkungen zu Dürers Philosophie-Holzchnitt für Konrad Celtis', *Pirckheimer Jahrbuch für Renaissance- und Humanismusforschung*, 19, 2004, special edition on Konrad Celtis and Nuremberg, pp. 117–39; Wuttke, *Humanismus* (n. 6 above), pp. 14–15 reads the 'phi' as 'philargica'. For the original text of the letter, see Ferrari, *Jacopo de' Barbari* (n. 17 above), pp. 175–6.

fairly clear, then, that Dürer quickly adopted de' Barbari's new theoretical stance on painting as it had been formulated in his letter and probably also through verbal exchanges in Nuremberg. Jacopo de' Barbari's aspiration to theory and 'novelty' as such thus added a sophisticated, competitive approach to strategies of artistic advancement and self-fashioning in his Nuremberg circle.⁵¹ Whatever the exact nature of this discussion might have been – whether it regarded the study of proportion,⁵² claims to a particular iconographic invention,⁵³ competition for the favour of the emperor or Frederick the Wise,⁵⁴ opinions regarding the adaptation of ancient and Italian models of style, or all of these at the same time – Jacopo de' Barbari obviously perceived himself as the better lover of the Muses.

The comparison of *Italia* and *Germania* in these years and the North's claims on superior status can be seen not only in Celtis's 'nationalist' recourse to the German Muses but also, slightly later, in descriptions of Dürer as a figure of stature in a pan-European context, from Greece to Italy, Gallia, Pannonia, Sarmatia and the Teutonic lands.⁵⁵ A similar concept can be seen in an oration by Christoph Scheurl at the University of Bologna, published there on 20 January 1506 under the title *De laudibus Germaniae*; a passage on Dürer was added to the second edition printed in 1508 in Leipzig. Here the work of Cranach and his workshop is confidently equated with that of Francesco Francia. Moreover, in this addition Scheurl is the first not only to call Dürer a 'second Apelles' but also to proclaim Dürer's triumph over the ancient artist, and thus over Antiquity itself.⁵⁶ De' Barbari left Wittenberg in 1507 and did not return after an outbreak of plague ended in that year, but continued on first to the court of Brandenburg, then to the courts of Philip of Burgundy and the Archduchess Margaret of Austria. This can also

51. For the wider context, see W. Schmid, 'Strategien künstlerischer Selbstdarstellung in Nürnberg um 1500: Zum Selbstbildnis des Adam Kraft am Sakramentshaus in St. Lorenz', in *Adam Kraft: Die Beiträge des Kolloquiums im Germanischen Nationalmuseum*, ed. F. M. Kammel, Nuremberg, 2002, pp. 231–52; on diverse concepts of artistic self-definition, see J. L. Koerner, *The Moment of Self-Portraiture in German Renaissance Art*, Chicago, 1993.

52. See Dürer's draft of 1523 for the preface to his treatise on proportion, in Dürer, *Schriftlicher Nachlass* (n. 44 above), II, pp. 31–3; F. T. Bach, *Struktur und Erscheinung: Untersuchungen zu Dürers graphischer Kunst*, Berlin, 1996, and A.-M. Bonnet, *'Akt' bei Dürer*, Cologne, 2001.

53. Evidence for this arises from the testimony of Christian Egenolff, a printer from Frankfurt, in a trial of 1533 concerning a plagiarized reprint: 'Den wiewol Albrecht Dürer, Jacob Maller zu Wittenberg vnd andre privilegia haben, das niemantdz ire gemelt nachmallen darf', quoted from Dürer, *Schriftlicher Nachlass* (n. 44 above), III, p. 454.

54. See e.g. W. Schmid, *Dürer als Unternehmer: Kunst, Humanismus und Ökonomie in Nürnberg um 1500*, Trier, 2003, pp. 110–11; M. Müller, 'Im Wettstreit mit Apelles: Hofkünstler als Akteure und Rezepture im Austausch- und Konkurrenzverhältnis europäischer Höfe zu Beginn der Frühen Neuzeit', in *Vorbild, Austausch, Konkurrenz: Höfe und Residenzen in der gegenseitigen Wahrnehmung*, eds W. Paravicini and J. Wertlauffer, Ostfildern, 2010, pp. 173–95.

55. The first to discuss Dürer's epigram was D. Wuttke, 'Unbekannte Celtis-Epigramme zum Lobe Dürers', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 30, 1967, pp. 321–5 (322). For an earlier use of sexual epigrams as anti-Italian mockery in the circle of Celtis see I. D. Rowland, 'Revenge of the Regensburg Humanists, 1493', in: *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 25, 1994, pp. 307–22.

56. Dürer, *Schriftlicher Nachlass* (n. 44 above), I, pp. 292–3.

be taken to mean that the anti-Italian faction now prevailed not only in Nuremberg but also in Wittenberg.

* * *

By 1534 the Muses had already left Germania to resettle in Greece, their native home. This, at least, is the sense of a poem by Hans Sachs of this date, his *Klagred der Neün Muse oder künst vber Teütschlandt*, which was illustrated by a woodcut by Georg Pencz and sold as a single-sheet print the following year (Plate 6). According to Sachs, the Muses had departed because of the current triumph of greed over the arts, as well as their decline in the wake of the Reformation:

Now all arts have become common
unworthy and despised
...
He who has money
has what he wants
This is why art counts for nothing
as it does not bring bread to the homes
from which we are now expelled.⁵⁷

The reference in the woodcut is to an otherwise positive image of 'the woods favoured by the Muses', that is, the 'German woods', to whose inhospitable ground the Muses, freezing, pale and hungry, now turned their back. For Sachs, cultural transfer has failed miserably.⁵⁸

Still, the appropriation and adaptation of the Muses in the Germanic sphere had been by and large successful. With the publication of the *editio princeps* of Lilio Gregorio Giraldi's *Syntagma de musis* in 1511 in Strasbourg, humanistic and philological knowledge about the ancient deities had advanced significantly. The small woodcuts of the Muses in this edition do not follow ancient or Italian models but instead represent entirely fictitious, northern virgins (Fig. 10).⁵⁹ While the Muses here appear thoroughly

57. 'Nun seynt all künst worden gemein / Und worden unwert und veracht / ... / Wer gelt hat / der hat was er will / Derhalb so gilt die kunst nit vil / Weil sie nit treget brot ins hauß / Des seint wir gar gestossen auß': *Flugblätter der Reformation und des Bauernkrieges. 50 Blätter aus der Sammlung des Schloßmuseums Gotha*, ed. H. Meuche, Leipzig, 1976, no. 13; *Hollstein's German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts 1400–1700*, XXXI, ed. T. Falk, Roosendaal, 1991, p. 254 (cat. 151); A. Morrall, *Jörg Breu the Elder: Art, Culture and Belief in Reformation Augsburg*, Aldershot, 2001, pp. 244–5.

58. Cf. Celtis's Ode *Ad Sepulum disidaemonem*, in C. Celtis, *Oden, Epoden, Jahrbundertlied: Libri Odarum quattuor, cum Epodo et Saeculari Carmine* (1513), ed. E. Schäfer, Tübingen, 2008, p. 86 (Odes, I.16): 'The Muses love the woods, while the city and the mad crowds are the poets' enemies', 'silva placet musis, urbs est inimica poetis / et male sana cohors.' On the 'German woods' and *Germania*, see C. Wood, *Albrecht Altdorfer and the Origins of Landscape*, London, 1993; Robert, *Konrad Celtis* (n. 2 above), pp. 378–94; Günther, 'Die ersten Schritte' (n. 14 above); Hirschi, *Wettkampf der Nationen* (n. 15 above), pp. 329–56; Bierende, 'Fremder und heimischer Stil' (n. 47 above).

59. Shown in di Lorenzo, *Le muse* (n. 7 above), 'Saggi', pp. 167–73; see also K. A. Enenkel, 'The Making of 16th Century Mythography: Giraldi's *Syntagma de musis* (1507, 1511 and 1539), *De deis gentium historia* (c. 1500–1548) and Julien de Havrech's *De cognominibus deorum gentilium* (1541)', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 51, 2002,

'indigenous', the explicit differentiation between 'Italian' and 'German' styles in theoretical discussions can only be discerned from about 1515 and was only fully established by the 1530s.⁶⁰ In 1516 the search for appropriate terminology for the pictorial arts apparently also motivated the publication in Augsburg of Johannes Pinicianus's *Promptuarium vocabulorum: aedium partium, locorum, artificum, instrumentorum multarum*, which seems to have been the first printed book north of the Alps exclusively dedicated to art, architecture and the mechanical arts.⁶¹ With this Latin-German dictionary, Pinicianus – as he declares in his dedication to Konrad Peutinger – wanted to provide the youth of Augsburg with the vocabulary they needed to debate theories of architecture, painting and sculpture, as well as all the practical skills required for maintaining a household, using a specialized German vocabulary that could be compared to Latin and Italian. In so doing, the text is largely based on three Italian works, first and foremost the popular encyclopaedia *De partibus aedium* by Francesco Maria Grapaldi published some twenty years earlier (1494), but also the *Speculum lapidum* of Camillo Leonardi (1502) and Roberto Valturio's *De re militari* (1472). The key words in these Italian manuals, however, were selectively appropriated and supplemented by German terms.

Roughly a hundred years after the arrival of the Muses in German territories (by Celtis's reckoning), and fifty years after Hans Sachs's lament on their untimely exodus, a third invocation of the goddesses, one which must have caused them the most grief of all, is the rhymed prologue to the novella 'Vom Ritter Peter von Stauffenberg' printed in 1588, probably written by Johann Fischart. Here the Muses find themselves unceremoniously but explicitly replaced with the 'Alt Teutsch Tugendmutsamkeyt', a personification of northern heroic courage and virtue related to Germanic myth and antiquity.⁶² Homer's epic and other ancient examples may be invoked for comparison, but at least in this context a sense of 'national' pride and native cultural identity seems to have taken the place of a *translatio artium* across the Alps.

[translated by Christiane Hille and Kathleen Christian]

pp. 9–53; for the larger context of mythographic knowledge about the Muses in Nuremberg see D. Wuttke, *Die Histori Herculis des Nürnberger Humanisten und Freundes der Gebrüder Vischer, Pangartz Bernhaupt gen. Schwenter*, Cologne and Graz 1964, esp. pp. 142–3.

60. A summary of the known sources can be found in T. Eser, 'Künstlich auf welsch und deutschen sitten: Italianismus als Stilkriterium für die deutsche Skulptur zwischen 1500 und 1550', in *Deutschland und Italien in ihren wechselseitigen Beziehungen während der Renaissance*, ed. B. Guthmüller, Wiesbaden, 2000, pp. 319–61; the most important contribution is still M. Baxandall, *The Limewood Sculptors of Renaissance Germany*, New Haven and London, 1982.

61. For a different perspective, see G. de Smet, 'Das *Promptuarium Vocabulorum* des Joannes Pinicianus: Augsburg 1516', in *Chronologische, areale und situative Varietäten des Deutschen in der Sprachhistoriographie: Festschrift für Rudolf Grosz*, eds G. Lerchner et al., Frankfurt, 1995, pp. 185–200.

62. Johann Fischart's Werke: Eine Auswahl, ed. A. Hauffen, 3 vols, Stuttgart, 1895, I, pp. XLVII–LV, 263–352.



Fig. 1. Workshop of Wolgemut, *Calliope*, woodcut, after 1493, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett.



Fig. 2. Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet, *Mismatched Couple*, dry point etching, c. 1480, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.



Fig. 3. Monogrammist b x g, *Couple*, engraving, c. 1480/85, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Department of Drawings and Prints.



Fig. 4. Circle of Leonardo da Vinci, *Muse*, engraving, end of the 15th century, London, British Museum (Photo Museum).



Fig. 6. Cassandra Fedele, *Oratio pro Bertucio Lamberto*, Nuremberg, 1489, title-page, attributed to Albrecht Dürer.



Fig. 7. Konrad Celtis, *Amores*, Nuremberg, 1502, sig. A6^v, Albrecht Dürer, *Philosophia* (© The Warburg Institute).



Fig. 8. Konrad Celtis, *Amores*, Nuremberg 1502, sig. A7^r, Master of the Celtis Illustrations, *Celtis as a Poet in the Company of Antique Gods and Muses* (© The Warburg Institute).

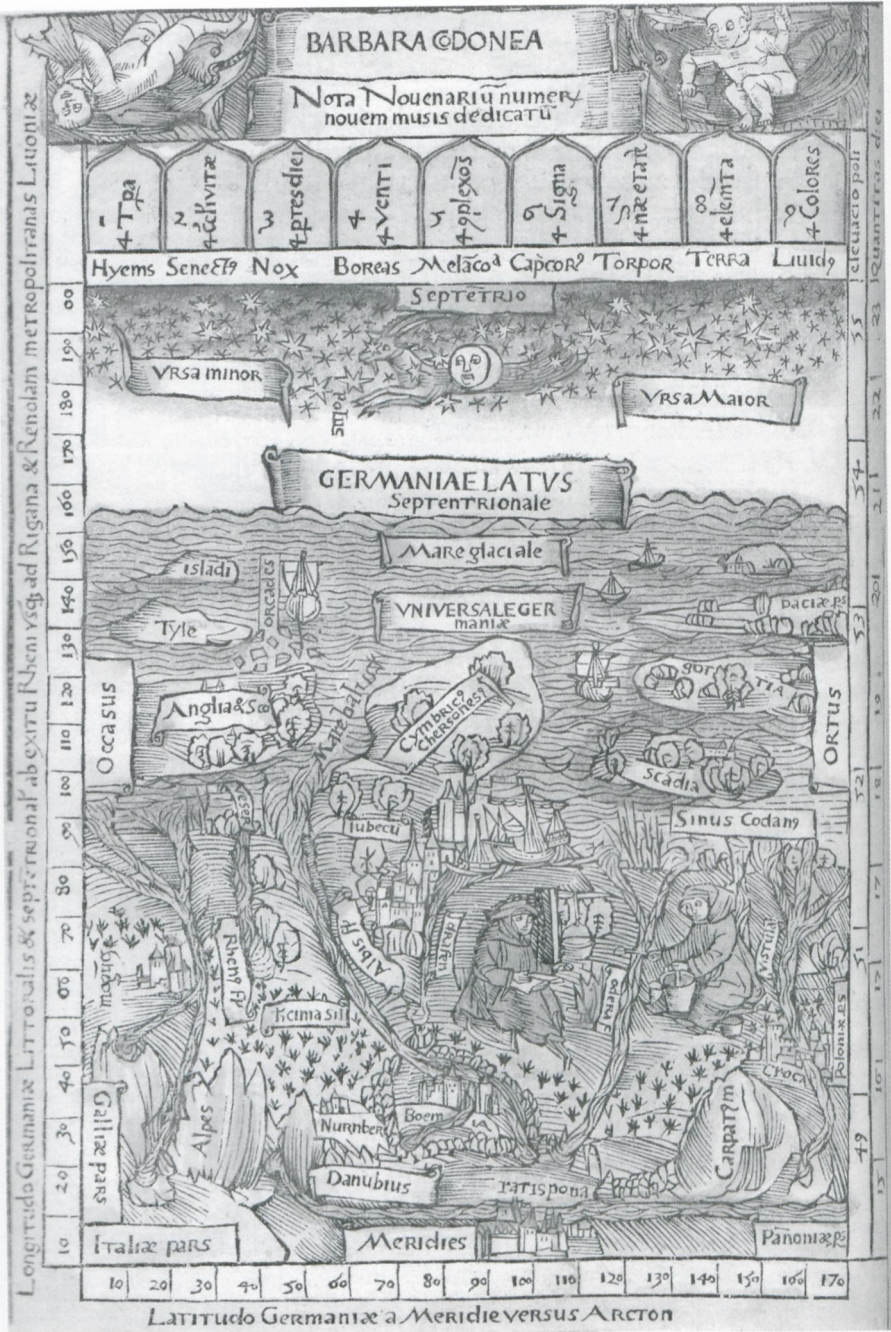


Fig 9. Konrad Celtis, *Amores*, Nuremberg 1502, title-page, Book IV, Master of the Celtis Illustrations, *Barbara Codonea* (copy owned by the Sammlung Oskar Schäfer, Schweinfurt).



Fig. 10. Lilio Gregorio Giraldi, *Syntagma de Musis*,
Strasbourg, 1511, *Calliope*.



Plate 1. Jacopo de' Barbari, *An Old Man and a Young Woman*, oil on panel, 1503, Philadelphia Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection (Photo Museum).



Plate 2. Giorgione (?), *'Ludovisi' Double Portrait*, oil, c. 1502, Rome, Palazzo Venezia.



Plate 3. Giovanni Cariani (or workshop of Bernardino Licinio),
Man with a Young Woman, oil on panel, c. 1515–30, Vienna,
Kunsthistorisches Museum, Gemäldegalerie.



Plate 4. Justus of Ghent, *Federico da Montefeltro kneeling before Dialectic*, oil, 1470s, formerly Berlin, Kaiser-Friedrich-Museums-Verein (Photo Museum).



Plate 5. Jacopo de' Barbari, *Madonna and Child with St. John and Anthony Abbot*, oil, c. 1502/03, Paris, Musée du Louvre
(Photo RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource NY).

Klagred der Neün Muse oder künst vber Teuutschlandt



Im Jenner diez ein tagen reit
 In Schwargwaldt an ein hofen zeit
 Durch schneyer/ grünnig war der lust
 Stauden vnd paim/ war als betust
 Nach reiffes art mit weissen fisen
 Beschweigen/ die wolte vgel fisen
 Die gauen namen auffgeschick
 Die Jeger bömer laue erschickel
 Getrieben auß dem hoch die wunden
 Sie woffschick byrien/ red vñ hunden
 Gen einer heit auff weissen wimmer
 Darinnen hielt das stranen symmer
 Dem winter zeit auch zu sischen
 Als das wolte wurd der hecken neben
 Laublos/ durch die leue erschick
 Schende es/ vnd durch ein hecken puch
 Abg in wale/ vnd sich zerscherre
 Da reiten freche vnd obellene
 Ze wren/ ye drey nach einem stich
 Ich aber sach zu mein vngelick
 Ein hinden drüben nach im holtz
 Der rent ich nach/ gedachte ich woltz
 Sellen weil sie gemach sam luff
 Wann sie war müd/ der schen war tieff
 Vnd als ich yhr war kummen nach
 Stundt sie/ vnd mich nach Jagen sach
 Erst sprach sie bin mit hoben springen
 Ich vber stoc/ durch ein wolte cinggen
 Ich woltz ab/ durch ein wolte cinggen
 Ich heget nach/ mein pfen wurd schman
 Also stirt mich in wolde nadem (den
 Die hind nadem vngesamere stellen
 Vnd mit ye langer sterner nicht
 Als ich sie entlich gar vertie
 Ich hielt vñ nach mein haffschlag spehen
 Den her der wine mit schen werche
 Ich riet mit gar ein ader lang
 Komt mir wald ein ein gross eng
 Oder erwas in dem schnee her treden
 Erst eing mein berg der sosen klofen

Gedachte die wolff kummen mit hauffen
 In dem sach ich zerscherre luffen
 Mein adelcher weyßschick jare
 Gekley nach heyndischer art
 In eyden/ doch alt vnd befubelt
 Luffschick/ zerscherre vnd zersubelt
 Gang wagner laß/ vñ scherre anlig
 Scheynman doch sinrecher witz
 Ich wachte das wurd Diana sein
 Die Götin des neydwercs allein
 Ich rebe sie an/ vnd sie für reit
 Wo eyte yhr her so kalter seyt
 In vñ vngesamere wile
 Luff yhn antwort ein weyßschick bild
 Wir kummen herauff Teuutschem land
 Da wir nun lang gedonet hand
 Was thet je in teuutschem land/ ich frage
 Mit weinen sie durch piach/ vnd sagt
 Da hab wir sie all künst gelere
 Ich sprach yhr Götin hoch geeret
 Sagt mit auch/ wer doch seyt yhr
 Die wenig weder sprach zu mir
 Wirt sin die neun/ künste mit namen
 Durch was all künst außser den kumen
 Wie sie haben namen oder theitel
 Wir geben anfang ende vnd mittel
 Da sprach ich hant das selbig yhr
 So mache euch auff vnd laufft mit mir
 Ich bring euch wol zu hoben eren
 Die sprach vil seyt thet wie vereren
 In teuutschlandt/ doch ehelich
 In sincklich/ von Jungen vnd alten
 Bis wir all künst außgessen wol gehalten
 Der glerten ebit all vnerd wol
 Der freyen künstler vberal
 Günterlicher werckleut/ auch an yal
 Der blicher lufft ich auch mit klein
 Flus ywen all künst warden gremet
 Vnd worden vntwert vnd veracht
 Ich sprach/ so merck ich wol/ es mache

Das man an euch verfürwigt hat
 Sie sprach ja redt/ noch eine auch gut
 Das man suchte wolffschick/ vnd piacht
 Was darzu fürdert hat man ache
 Ich sprach wie fürdert den darzu
 Sie sprach das gely/ ach merck doch du
 Wie wücher vnd betriegerey
 So vnterschendet in teutschlande sey
 Wer gelt hat/ der hat was er wolt
 Derhalb so gilt die künst nit vil
 Weil sie nit traget drey in hauff
 Das seit wir gar geflossen auß
 Das vnter sündt nimmunde gert
 Ich sprach zu yhn/ yhr seyt noch man
 Hey manchem vntertrigen man
 Sie sprach das selbig ist nit an
 Verstandig leue der hab wir noch
 Die vno halten ehlich vnd hoch
 Yhr aber ist leyder zu wenig
 Wen der grossen vortehen menig
 Die werden auch sampe vno veracht
 Alle Phantastler/ verpönd veracht
 Künmen sich hantieren kum ereren
 Weyl man sie thät sampe vno verachen
 Vnd doch allein lob/ ebe/ vnd pers
 Der künst ist ain einzige heyf
 So müßt wir nein wol hangen sterbe
 Mit dem tötlichen volde verzeren
 Darumb wolt wir raumen teutsch lunde
 Lassen künstlos vnd on verstande
 Vnd wider in Griechen mit eben
 zu vnserm berg Pernafes ferren
 zu vnserm Gort Apollint
 Vnd vnser Götin Palid
 Da wirt vor etlich bundert Jaren
 Tun haber der redbolten waren
 Da durch vno all Phyllophoy
 Poeten vnd Rhetorik
 Vnd ander künstler außgetret
 Der polydorus vil erle

Durchgang bey aller welt bekamen
 Ein ewig vntertlichen namen
 Da bin wir auch vil teutscher piachten
 Wel man will vnser myner achten
 So ker wir an die ersten stat
 Nach vno wirt finden kein schick
 In künstler seyt/ merck eben auß
 Mit dem sie gar mit schwindem lauff
 Die adelichen Götin stoltz
 Einspringen von mir durch das holtz
 Luffen mich einig halten do
 Ich reit für mich/ gedachte also
 Ich wirt die künst ist ye vnuer
 Zu lernen yet schick nit nimmunde gert
 Auf freidamb/ vberman wert bracht
 zu treden wolffschick/ vnd piacht
 Darin all welt eroffen ist
 Dese ist künst vnter alder nit
 Doch ist yhr niemant seint/ spricht man
 Denn wirt groß ist/ vnd yhr nit kan
 Nach weyßschick nit traget/ ist sie schadab
 Derhalb die künst nimmunde täglich ab
 In alerley art vnd dantzung
 Vnd wirt noch kummen in verliening
 Die man formale ist worten inen
 Das hantlich werden noch zerrinnen
 Gelerter/ schünstler vnd werck leue
 Das sich auch schon erreyge heue
 Das werden auch noch bald auß erbet
 Solch leue gar lieb vnd theuer werden
 Darumb ist künst wolffschick vnd gemein
 Sol sie nymant vnter sein
 Wenn vno lert ein ale sprachwort künst
 Man mag nit schwer an güter künst
 Ob gleich on nün verpönten seyt
 Pringt sie yhr frucht zu rechter seyt
 Das künst einwurd/ gram/ pñ vñ wach
 Vñ doring sie frucht/ das wirt die Sanno
 (Gada)

Nicolaus Melboman Brieffmalter zu Nürnberg am Hornmarkt zu der blauen thür gegen dem Pannen vber.

1535

Plate 6. Georg Pencz, *Klagred der Neün Muse oder künst vber Teuutschlandt*, woodcut, 1534/5, Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek.