Dürer and his culture

EDITED BY

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(1998)

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

5 Ways of seeing in the age of Dürer

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I

The theme of this chapter can be best summed up by a tale recorded in the *Prussian Chronicle* of the Franciscan friar Simon Grunau, recounting an incident which allegedly took place in 1524 in a village just south of Danzig. The curate in this village had inculcated Lutheran ideas into the local peasantry, including the view that images were 'tricks of the devil' (*Teufelsgespenst*) to fill the purses of the clergy. Sitting over wine and working up their anger with these thoughts, the schoolmaster and half a dozen peasants turned to mockery: 'Our God must be beaten, or he will do no good!' – a neat inversion, we might say, of sentiments often expressed about the peasants themselves. Thereupon they went to the church and took away the crucifix which was used at Eastertide for a weather procession over the fields. They put a cope upon it and carried it to the school house, where they made whips and addressed it as follows:

> O Jewish king and Christian idol, we have decorated you in gold and costly colours, sacrificed altar lights with great hymns of praise, carried you around and treated you as a bride. But the more we have honoured you, the more our grain has spoiled. You have permitted us to sow expensive barley, but made wild oats grow from it. Now you can no longer defy us, but must say whether you will give us rain and good grain.

As they said this they made their whips, and when they had received no reply, they threw the image of Christ to the ground, lifted up its cope and flogged it with all their might, crying out 'Correct yourself, lord Jewish king, lord Christian idol!', flogging until they were out of breath. As they did so, the image became blood-red, of which they were vaguely aware, but such was their fury that they continued to flog pitilessly. In the village, people began to notice that it was raining blood and suddenly a great thunderclap struck the school, to which everyone ran, thinking to save it from fire. There they were able to seize the culprits, still so blinded by their rage that they heard or saw nothing else.[1]

Certain elements of the event so described could easily be a dramatisation of a depiction of Christ's Passion, similar perhaps to that in Grünewald's *Mocking of Christ* of 1503 (fig. 5.1); or it could be an enactment of a scene from a mystery play. It also recalls the dramatised liturgy of the Palm Sunday to Good Friday cycle, as well as the treatment meted out to apotropaic images which had failed in their protective function.[2] For our purposes here, however, it exemplifies some essential points about ways of seeing in the age of Dürer, and about the 'image culture' in which such ways of seeing were embedded. We might well think that such a blatantly polemical tale of a miraculous image has more to do with 'monkish superstition' (as the Reformation was inclined to call such things) than with the milieu of the great Nuremberg artist, for the age of Dürer was one which experienced the 'rationalisation of sight', a phenomenon which William Ivins called 'the most important thing that happened during the Renaissance'.[3]

Let me expound briefly on what Ivins meant here and its implications, for although it belongs to an earlier age of Renaissance scholarship, his views are still relevant to contemporary discussions about our historical understanding of the act of seeing. Before the Renaissance, Ivins argued, humankind possessed no logical system of representing the location of objects in space, despite the power of pictorial symbols to make precise visual statements. Nor was it possible to duplicate any picture exactly. The force of these two limitations to human ability to represent visually a sensuous awareness of nature he saw as a reason for much of the failure of classical and medieval science. The fifteenth century, however, witnessed what Ivins believed to be two unique events in the history of European thought: the development of the exactly repeatable visual statement in the printed picture – first as a woodcut and later from engraved and etched metal plates; and the discovery of a simple but logical scheme for pictorial perspective. The names of the persons responsible for the first discovery are unknown, but it is possible to identify three outstanding texts which brought about a profound change in our ways of seeing: Leon Battista Alberti's *Della pittura libri tre* of 1435/6, Viator's *De artificiale perspectiva* of 1505, and Albrecht Dürer's *Unterweysung der Messung* of 1525.

This was but a beginning, as Ivins reminds us, and the theory of scientific perspective in all its complete ramifications was developed only slowly over the early modern period, culminating in 1798/9 in the descriptive geometry of G. Monge and the projective geometry of Monge's pupil J. V. Poncelet of 1822, a long, slow development, perhaps, but one without

Fig. 5.1 (opposite) Matthias Grünewald, *The Mocking of Christ*, 1503, painting

which modern engineering and modern machinery would not exist.[4] The newly discovered power of invariant pictorial reproduction had far-reaching implications for the European ability to classify and to subject the natural world to scrutiny and control. Scientific classification, identification and comparison became possible in many areas, whether in the fields of botany and zoology (by means of exact representation of various plants and animals), anatomy (the ability to represent the volumetric proportions of the human body) or mathematics (the idea that mathematics could be used to understand and control a homogeneous nature, the essential presupposition for modern theoretical physics). These and other branches of modern science laid down their foundations in the sixteenth century in consequence of the 'rationalisation of sight'.[5]

Writing in 1938, Ivins belonged to a generation fascinated by the scientific-rationalistic achievement of the Renaissance, and although he was aware of the slow, long-term development whereby such matters as scientific perspective were brought to full fruition only by the nineteenth century, he was minded to see the more immediate revolutionary implications of his two 'unique events' in European intellectual history. Perhaps because of the revisionist cast of mind of our generation, with its post-modern scepticism, we are nowadays more conscious of the continuities than of the ruptures between the Middle Ages and the early modern period, and many scholars feel uncomfortable with the older concept of the Renaissance as a radical and decisive break with the past. It is easy, for example, to overlook the moral–aesthetic content of Alberti's treatise on painting, with its explicit invocation of the near-religious task of the artist, and his emphasis on the aesthetic quality of the painter's vision. 'Painting contains a divine force which . . . makes the dead seem almost alive', Alberti wrote, and he went on to say that it should be so composed 'that it will capture the eye of whatever learned or unlearned person is looking at it and will move his [or her] soul'.[6] He was not unique in this combination of 'medieval' and 'modern' elements in his thought. Nicholas of Cusa, one of the greatest minds of the fifteenth century, displayed the same ability to combine a scientific rationalism with a moralised and mystical notion of sight. Thus, he was fascinated by the potentiality of the lens, a discovery of the fourteenth century, and by the implications of the developing science of optics. By means of the magnifying power of the lens, he wrote, it was possible to perceive for the first time an invisible world of nature previously hidden to the human eye, implying, so we might think, a revolutionary shift in human perceptual capacity and a radical reorientation in

epistemology. Yet Cusa chose to draw a moral lesson from this scientific observation, and wrote instead of the all-seeing eye of God, which penetrated to the deepest and most invisible recesses of the human heart.[7]

The same is true of Alberti's discovery of scientific perspective, which depended so heavily on the awareness of the incidence of rays of light falling on objects made possible by the science of optics. In the rationalistic account of scientific perspective, the principle of 'Alberti's window' enabled the world to be viewed as if through a pane of glass at a point where the lines of vision were gathered together by an idealised observer. Theoretically, this created the possibility of perceiving the world as object and so of removing the magical and visionary elements inherent in medieval 'ways of seeing'.[8] In reality the emergence of naturalism and rationalism in German art, and in Northern European art in general, which ran well ahead of the reception of scientific perspective, had the effect of intensifying the emotional and moralising features of visual representation, indeed may even have heightened the magical power of the image.[9] Nicholas of Cusa provides another excellent example of what I mean here when he wrote with admiration of the skill of the artists of his own day who created the 'all-seeing' portrait, the representation whose gaze seemed to fall on the viewer from whatever the viewing angle or position. He recommended, doubtless with a certain quiet sense of anticipated amusement, that the monks of the abbey of Tegernsee should hang up the example he sent them and try passing it to and fro through the room to experience the uncanny sensation of an image that seemed to follow their every movement.[10]

Of course, we might expect to find considerable differences in perceptual capacity between the age of Alberti in the first third of the fifteenth century and the age of Dürer two generations later. Let us, therefore, look more closely at the nature of visual perception around 1500. It is firstly necessary to remind ourselves of what people of that time understood by the act of seeing. Despite development in the theory of optics since the thirteenth century, seeing as a physical act was not yet understood merely as a matter of rays of light falling upon the optic nerve; rather, it was thought that the act of vision involved a physical contact between viewer and what was viewed, a form of stuff or energy that flowed between the two, making the act of seeing a particularly sensuous activity, as though viewer and viewed were engaged in an act of mutual touching.[11] Yet seeing was no more merely a physical action than it is in our own age, when we can speak of the caress in the eyes of lovers or, as one did also in the sixteenth century, of

beauty being in the eye of the beholder. St Augustine had discerned three forms of seeing, the corporeal, the spiritual and the intellectual, establishing categories that were accepted well into the early modern period. Augustine had also posited a complex semiology as the basis of all human knowledge, whereby everything within range of human sense perception belonged to an elaborate semiotic system comprised of signs of reality and a signifying reality.[12]

The 'signs of reality' worked through human sense perceptions, involving all five senses, although hearing and vision were usually accorded preeminence over touch, taste and smell.[13] Augustine was inclined to grant priority to hearing on the grounds that linguistic signs were superior insofar as all others could be expressed in them, although he certainly did not underestimate the importance of seeing. Alongside this Augustinian tradition there was a more popular tradition which accorded seeing a central role as a means of access to human knowledge of both natural and supernatural reality. This emphasised that visual images were the 'books of common people', enabling the unlearned to perceive through pictures what they could not acquire through the written or spoken word. This tradition extended back to Pope Gregory the Great in the ninth century, with a reformulation by St Bonaventura in the high Middle Ages, and was a commonplace of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. It stressed not only the pedagogic and didactic role of visual images, but also their psychological and affective role: images served not only as doctrinal instruction for those who could not read for themselves, but also as an aid to memory in recalling what had been learned; but above all they moved the sluggish human emotions, which could not be stirred to response in other ways.[14] This psychological–pedagogical understanding of the act of seeing is not confined to the Middle Ages or the early modern period, but constitutes a first principle of modern elementary education and modern advertising, as well as forming the epistemological presupposition for the modern cinema. In so many respects, the ways of seeing of the age from Dürer are more accessible to those born to the culture of photograph, film and television than perhaps to the generations in between.

If seeing was a central means of apprehending the signs of reality, what of the other side of the semiotic equation, the 'signifying reality'? Almost without exception, reality for people of that time was the very inverse of our own concept of the real. The material world was the realm of evanescence, of the insubstantial and the contingent; it was corruptible and transient. Far more real was the supernatural world, the realm of the spiritual, a realm

of the essential and the eternal, of which the material world was but a pallid and inadequate sign, and upon which fragile material life depended for its very existence. This reality could not, in normal circumstances, be apprehended directly by the human senses, but only by the signs of the supernatural, and then only by those capable of perceiving them. This truth provided the foundation for Augustine's three kinds of seeing, and it posed a continual dilemma for people of the Middle Ages and the early modern period: how do we apprehend supernatural reality, trapped as we are in material being? The great mystics of the later Middle Ages – Bridget of Sweden, Johannes Tauler, Heinrich Suso, Julian of Norwich, to name only the most prominent – attempted to gain access to such reality by means of a threefold process of visionary contemplation. One began with bodily seeing, mere physical contemplation of a pious image, itself no more than an indicative sign of supernatural reality; one then intensified the contemplation into a form of devout 'seeing' without a physical image, a seeing in the mind's eye; and finally one attained an imageless devotion, a direct apprehension of the divine.[15] Yet these idealised stages remained problematic, since the visions of the great mystics were mostly communicated in intensely visual form, whatever the extent and depth of their imageless experience. For all practical purposes such acts of perception remained limited to the first two stages, both of which involved a notion of 'looking through' the mere physical image to the truth behind.

Luther provides an example of the principle in its two practical forms, writing that he found it impossible not to make visual images of theological truths, for whenever he thought of Christ he formed in his heart the image of a man hanging on the cross, in the same way as he saw his own reflection when gazing into water. He also wrote in an early theological work that in gazing on the crucifix one should not just see the man Christ suffering on the cross, but the salvific act of the Saviour, something to be apprehended in the heart and in faith.[16] Even this form of 'looking through' the visual image may have been too roundabout, too intellectualised a means of apprehending supernatural reality, and a rather more common form of visual perception was attached to an act of sacramental seeing, whereby the mere act of looking in faith made present the supernatural. There were two common forms in which such acts of sacramental seeing were experienced: in connection with the cult of images, where the devotion accorded the image by the devotee led to the very presence of the saintly person; and in the liturgy, especially in the Mass at the point of the elevation. This form of sacramental seeing was involved in all those

medieval exempla of pious folk seeing the infant Jesus present in the host bread during the celebration of the Mass, and in particular in the iconographical tradition of the Mass of St Gregory, whereby Gregory the Great experienced a vision of the suffering and crucified Christ while consecrating the elements of bread and wine. This image demonstrated that those present at the Mass could perceive the bodily presence of Christ after the consecration and was one of the most popular devotional images of the fifteenth and early sixteenth century, especially when the vision was assimilated to the idea of the elevation as the point where Christ's real presence was revealed to the viewer.[17] Dürer has provided us with an excellent example of the theme in his woodcut of 1511 (fig. 5.2), showing how the dramatic power of the woodcut medium was more than equal to that of a painted image.

Perceiving the supernatural was, of course, no simple or voluntaristic matter, for the supernatural realm was capricious, appearing when and where it wished, regardless of human behest. Sometimes it was manifest in response to human devotion, as in a legend of St Kümmernis (St Uncumber) contained in a broadsheet with woodcut of 1507 by Hans Burgkmair (fig. 5.3), recounting an event which allegedly took place in Lucca, but which is also known in German versions, for example, in Schwäbisch Gmünd as a legend of St Cecilia that has persisted into the twentieth century. A poor wandering fiddler who earned his meagre living by playing in inns had discovered that he was going deaf. Anxious about his livelihood, he knelt to pray at the feet of the image of St Cecilia, the patron saint of music, an image clad in richly adorned clothes, including a pair of pure golden slippers. His prayer was so heartfelt and his devotion so intense that the image suddenly came to life, bent down and tossed him a golden slipper. Overjoyed, the fiddler ran at once to a goldsmith to cash in his gift, but the goldsmith, alas, was a sceptical man and reported it to the equally sceptical town council. Arrested and condemned to death for blasphemous theft, the fiddler begged as his last request to be allowed to pray again before his patron saint. As he knelt in intense devotion, his hearing was miraculously restored and in gratitude he began to play a tune of such intense beauty that the hearts of all those in the church were moved to tears, and as the last notes of the tune hung in the air the image bent down – and tossed him the other slipper.[18]

The tale exemplifies the three characteristics attached to late-medieval devotional images: that they were laden with sacred power, that they could exemplify an indwelling personality and that they could enter into an

Fig. 5.2 (opposite) Albrecht Dürer, *Mass of St Gregory*, 1511, woodcut

Sant kümernus

Mirabilis deus in sanctis suis
Got würckt wunderbare ding in seinen hailigen

Es was ains hayd nischenn küniges tochter die was schön vnd weyß. Darumb ain haydnischer künig ir zů ainem gemahel begeret das was der junckfrawen layd. wann sy batt got auserwölt zů ainem gemahel Das thet irem vatter zoren der leget sy gefangenn Do rüffet sy got in der gefängknuß an vnd batt yn das er ir zů bilff käm. das geschach. vnnd kam got zů ir in die gefäncknuß vnnd tröstet sy. Do begeret sy das er sy verwandelt in söliche geslalt. das sy kainem auff erdtrich geuiel sonder vm alle in. Vnd das er sy machte wie sy jm am besten geuiel. Do verwandelt er sy vnnd macht sy jm geleich. Do das ir vatter sach. fragt er sy warumb sy also säbe. do sprach sy. Mein gmahel den ich mir auß erwölet hab. hatt mich also gemacht. wann sy wolt sunst kainen dann den gekreützigten gott. Do erzürnet ir vater vñ sprache. Du můst auch am kreütz sterbenn wie dein got. des was sy willig. vnd starb am kreütz Vnd wer sy an rüffet in kümernuß vnd anfechtung dem kam sy zůbilff in seinen nötten. Vnd haißt mit namen kuminis vnd wirt genant sant kümernuß. vnd ligt in boland in ainer kirchen genant stouberg. Do kam ain armes geyger lin für das bild vnd geyget so lang biß ym das gecreütziget bild ainen guldin schůch gab Den nam er vnd trůg yn zů ainem goldschmid vnd wolt yn verkauffen Do sprach der goldschmid. ich kauff sein nit. villeicht hast du yn gestolen. Do antwurt er. nain. das gekreütziget bild hat mir yn geben. man köret sich nit daran vnd fieng yn vnd wolt yn hencken. Do begeret der geyger das man yn wider zů dem bild füret. das thet man. vnd thet dem bild den guldin schůch wider an den füß. do geyget er wider wie vor. Do ließ das kreützget bild den schůch wider herab vallen. Des ward der geyger gar fro. vnd dancket got vnd sant kümernuß.

affective personal relationship with a viewer.[19] Such characteristics were especially manifest in the presence of disbelievers in images and created a polemical topos wielded as effectively against the iconoclasm of the Protestant reformers as it was against earlier iconomachs such as the Hussites and the Byzantine iconoclasts. The *Gebweiler Chronicle* of Hans Stolz relates a spectacular example of the power of the sacred image, which allegedly occurred on 27 May 1524 in a village in the Rhine Palatinate not far from Frankfurt. On that day the villagers had set up a crucifix in a stream and challenged it with the words: 'If you are God, then climb out of the water.' The reply came as the earth opened and swallowed up 400 villagers, leaving behind a sheet of ice one and a half times a man's height in thickness and as wide as the village itself; only ten persons survived the catastrophe.[20] The tale from Simon Grunau with which we began is predicated upon similar assumptions – as is much of the mentality of sixteenth-century iconoclasts, who were as often moved by fear of the image, which they perceived as a 'trick of the devil', as they were by indifference to it.

Indeed, Luther and other reformers spoke of pious images as masks (*larvae*) behind which the devil lurked, hoping to lure souls to damnation.[21] This was more than a polemical response to Catholic miraculous images; it was also an important way of seeing, the ability to discern the presence and activity of the devil in the world, whether through the Antichrist and his agents or through those engaged in doing the devil's work. In 1522 the Bern chronicler Valerius Anselm recorded the official denunciation of an alleged apparition of the Virgin Mary some years earlier which had led to the creation of a pilgrimage to an old chapel on the Bielersee. Katherin Tüfers, the woman who had experienced the apparition and who seems to have had a reputation as a seer, now confessed to having been an agent of the devil, who had appeared to her several times (twice in human form) and taught her how to deceive the people. Katherin was condemned as a witch, providing the Bernese evangelical party with the powerful and irrefutable argument that miraculous images were no more than diabolical trickery.[22] For people of the sixteenth century, this was a telling propaganda coup, for the devil was as real a presence as any physical reality, and when Dürer depicted him lurking around the corner from his quartet of lubricious witches, or accompanying the sombre knight on his lonely pilgrimage, his presence was as real as that of Christ in the Eucharist. To those who could see properly, he could be discerned behind his disguises, and one of the self-appointed tasks of religious reformers such as Luther was to strip away the masks and expose his terrible reality.

Fig 5.3 (opposite) Hans Burgkmair, St Kümmernis, 1507, broadsheet with woodcut

This rather hasty sketch of the nature of visual perception must remain necessarily truncated, although the theme deserves a hundred rather than a handful of pages. For the remainder of this chapter I want to concentrate on the role of the artist as a manipulator of visual perception. Alberti was well aware of the 'sacramental' aspects of visual representation, writing that the 'movements of the soul are made known by the movements of the body'.[23] The painter's higher task was to stir the emotions of the viewer, and Leonardo prided himself on having so effectively painted a yawning man that the viewer was compelled to yawn on seeing him. Vasari praised Correggio's skill in depicting a laughing angel so naturally that the viewer was also induced to smile, and commented that there was no person of so gloomy a disposition as not to be moved to cheerfulness by it.[24] One of the immediate consequences of the discovery of linear perspective was the ability of the painter to extend the visual space in which his or her subject was set so as to include an idealised observer. However, this observer was not expected, or even allowed, to remain detached and outside the depicted subject matter, but was drawn into the illusory space created by the painter's art. This quickly became a virtuoso skill of Renaissance artists, who could play perceptual games with their viewers. This could be achieved through the 'all-seeing portrait', the illusionist projection of an object beyond the painting's frame, as is the case in Joos van Cleve's double portrait of *circa* 1520;[25] or through the anamorphic picture, which could only be understood by viewing the painting at the appropriate angle to make the depicted object appear. The most famous example is undoubtedly the carefully placed skull in Holbein's *The Ambassadors*, a deliberate *memento mori* to counterbalance the painting's expression of inner-worldly pride and achievement.[26]

The psychological complexity of this procedure can be observed in the notion of a 'picture within a picture', exemplified by a skilful miniature representation in the *Book of Hours of Mary of Burgundy* (fig. 5.4), which depicts Mary of Burgundy praying before a background scene, viewed through an open window, of the Madonna and Child venerated by Mary herself.[27] Given that the Flemish princess was the most likely person to use the prayer book and to behold this image, we are presented with a 'Chinese-boxes' notion of visualised reality, with the viewer viewing her represented self before a representation of herself in the presence of sacred persons. If we posit that the prayer book held by the Mary in the miniature

Fig. 5.4 *Mary of Burgundy Praying from her Book of Hours*, c. 1480, manuscript illumination

is also a *Book of Hours*, perhaps the very book in which the miniature is reproduced, we see a vertiginous double-mirroring of reality: Mary able to see herself reading the book in the very book she is reading. This skill at playing with sense perception even extends to the sense of touch, as in Crivelli's *Madonna and Child with the Fly* of 1481 (fig. 5.5), in which the fly's shadow is represented with such tangibility that the viewer might think a real fly had settled on the painting and reach out to brush it aside.[28] The Christ-child is at the same time startled by the insect's presence, so that the

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Fig. 5.5 (opposite) Carlo Crivelli, *Madonna and Child with the Fly*, 1481, tempera and gold on wood

Fig. 5.6 (above) Bernd Notke, *Mass of St Gregory*, c. 1504, detail, formerly Marienkirche, Lübeck, now destroyed

barrier between the world of the senses and the illusionist reality created by the artist dissolves and draws the viewer into the scene.

The most common technique used to provoke psychological involvement of the viewer was that of the gaze, especially the gaze of a depicted subject extending beyond an image to encounter and involve the viewer.[29] Sometimes this was achieved by a figure whose gaze met that of the viewer, as if to attract her or his attention, as in Bernd Notke's *Mass of St Gregory* of 1504 (fig. 5.6), where the canon kneeling behind the pope gazes directly at the viewer as if to say 'This concerns you!' Sometimes the viewer is invoked as voyeur, encouraged to overlook a scene that should be chastely hidden, as by the obscenely gesturing fool in the *Garden of Love* by the Master E. S. (fig. 5.7).[30] Increasingly, the gaze out of the picture engaging the returned gaze of the viewer was employed for the portrait. The profile portrait was gradually displaced during the fifteenth century by the still indirect gaze of the portrait three-quarters turned towards the viewer. However, the fully frontal portrait, employed with startling psychological intensity in Dürer's self-portrait, was a unique departure in direct visual-affective encounter of

viewer and viewed by means of the intensified gaze, previously reserved for representations of sacred personages.[31] The most well-known example, the Holy Face of Christ as depicted on the so-called Veronica cloth, was the most popular devout image of the fifteenth century, undoubtedly because of its reputation as a representation of the true image (*vera imago*) of the Saviour. Dürer's engraving of 1513 (fig. 5.8) captures something of the psychological intensity of the image, which is heightened further by the woodcut of Hans Sebald Beham of 1528 (fig. 5.9), the large format in close-up increasing the psychological potency and emotive power, which was then developed further in the 'Ecce homo' depictions, which formed part of late medieval Christocentric affective piety.[32] Dürer made good use of this 'gaze out of the picture' in the *Man of Sorrows by the Column* in his Engraved Passion series.[33] The 'devout gaze' encouraged here was the presupposition for an act of sacramental seeing, which made present the sacred person, so constituting the 'sacramental gaze' as a major form of religious experience. The creation of such small-format images in the form of a single-sheet woodcut or engraving enabled use of the image for private devotion and brought this form of direct apprehension of the sacred into the living-rooms and bedchambers of the private home.[34] Indeed, if we accept Charles Talbot's view that the printed image bore the impressed authentic image of the original, the presence of the holy image may have been just as intense an experience in the print medium.[35]

Such images were clearly intended to move the viewer to pious emotions, and this power of the image to stir particular emotions was one of which artists were fully conscious. In 1557 Ludovico Dolce summed it up in his *Dialogo della pittura* in terms of the commonplace that the eyes are the windows of the soul, and that the artist could express any emotion through them – mirth, pain, anger, fear, hope or longing, all designed to elicit the same emotions in the viewer. Leonardo wrote of painters who so effectively represented voluptuousness and sensuality that viewers were stirred to the same feelings, so moving this particular skill into dangerous waters indeed. In Dürer's Germany the skilful and deliberate employment of the 'sensual gaze' found expression in ambiguous form in moralising allegories such as Hans Baldung Grien's *Death and the Maiden* (fig. 5.10) or his *The Fall of Adam and Eve* (fig. 5.11), which combine a voyeuristic gaze with representation of an eroticised and deliberately provocative female body. The most that can be said about such representations is that they seek to induce sexual arousal in order to condemn the viewer for his sinful response: I say 'his' deliberately, for these images were undoubtedly created

Fig. 5.7 (opposite) Master E. S., *Large Garden of Love*, c. 1460–7, engraving

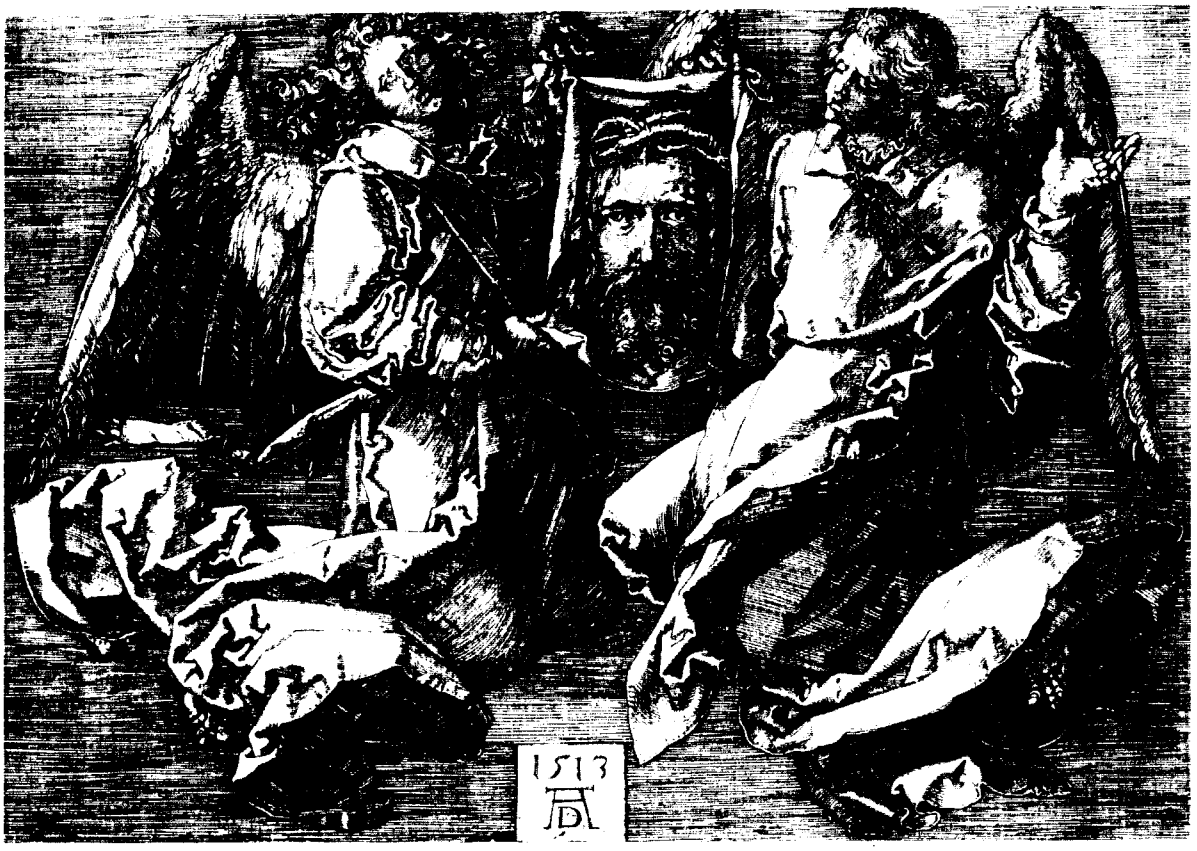

Fig. 5.8 (above) Albrecht Dürer, *Veronica Cloth*, 1513, engraving

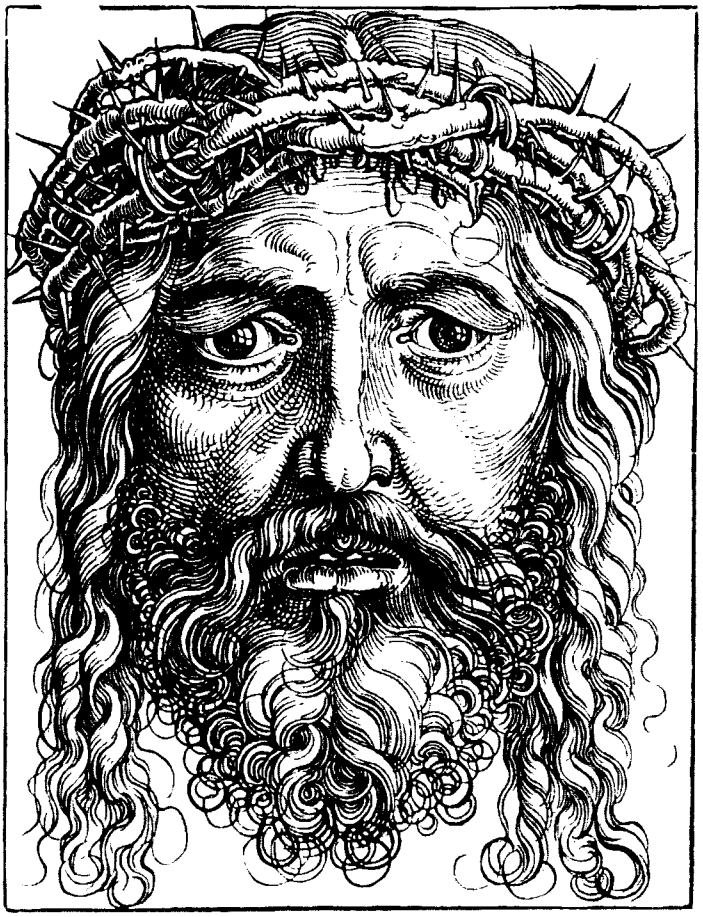

Fig. 5.9 (right) Hans Sebald Beham, *The Holy Face*, 1528, woodcut

Fig. 5.10 (right, opposite) Hans Baldung Grien, *Death and the Maiden*, 1515, pen drawing on brown tinted paper, heightened with white

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1511

for the male gaze. The moralising *memento mori* could slide easily into a pornography of death, as it did with Lucas Cranach's numerous Lucretia depictions (fig. 5.12), so closely modelled on his representations of idealised female beauty in the figure of Venus. Here sensual arousal is given an added frisson by the rape and the suicide associated with the Lucretia story.[36] In representations of the Fall, the combination of the sensuous gaze with an eroticised female body leads to the curious doctrine, exclusively found in visual representations of the age of Dürer, that the Fall was caused not by human disobedience but by Eve's sexuality.[37]

The semiology of arousal created by manipulation of visual perception and of sense perception in general was not confined merely to sexual arousal. It was employed also for its revelatory effect, especially in Reformation propaganda, putting into practice Luther's notion of the masks of the devil disguising the diabolical reality. A famous broadsheet (fig. 5.13) actually enabled the viewer to lift the mask on a depiction of the notoriously immoral Borgia pope, Alexander VI, to reveal the horror of the devil beneath.[38] There were also broadsheets which consisted of two round and superimposed woodcuts attached at the centre, the lower image only visible through a wedge-shaped cut at the top of the uppermost image. These could be turned to reveal the bestial or diabolical faces of members of the Catholic clergy, a technique which served to reveal them as less than human, a denial not just of sacred status but also of personal worth.[39] The frequent combination of scatological images and images of the demonic equated the papacy or the Catholic clergy with the devil's excrement, with the purpose of creating the abreaction desired by Luther, 'that one feels sick whenever one sees a clerical person'.[40] We can almost perceive in such images an attempt to provide a visual trigger to the sense of smell (fig. 5.14), just as illusionist images appealed to the sense of touch.[41]

Visual perception was used, therefore, to arouse, to expose, to demean and to belittle, and created or at least reinforced a new way of seeing the other – Jews, religious opponents, women and, as Anne Kibbey has pointed out, the non-European other.[42] However, we can discern a crucial ambivalence in this highly elaborated manipulation of visual perception, for at the same time as it enhanced the power of the image and its magical ability to lead us into an invisible world, it also provoked reactions against it. So much of its skill depended on exploiting sense perception that some came to believe that images involved no more than a realm of the senses. Many religious reformers of the sixteenth century would have shared the views of Ulrich Zwingli that 'holy women are so whorishly depicted, turned out so

Fig. 5.11 (opposite) Hans Baldung Grien, *The Fall of Adam and Eve*, 1511, woodcut

Dise Bapst Alexander der Sechst/als er ein Cardinal was/vnd tag vnd nacht trachtet/ wie er möchte bapst werden/hat er sich vff die teüfelische schwartz kunst begeben/dadurch er ein wissens vberkommen möchte/ob im sein fürnemmen geraten würde oder nit. Also ist er letzlich durch ein schwartzkünstner dahin bracht worden/das er dem Teüffel bewilliget zů gehorsamen/so fert er im sage/was er von im begeren werde. ward auch abgeredt wan vñ wa/vñ in was gestalt er im erschynen vnd mit handlen solte/Namlich in gestalt eins Protonotariens. Also kam zů im der Teüfel auff bestimpten tag in eins Protonotariens gestalt/vnd zeigt im an wer er were/vnd erbodet sich im zů sagen gewißliche was er würde fragen/ Da fragt er den Teüfel ob er wurde Bapst werden. Antwortet er/Ja. Fragt wyter/wie lang er wurde Bapst sein/Gab der Teüfel ein solche antwort/das Alexander verstünd achtzehen jar/vnd was aber nur eintyff jar vnd acht monat. Als nun der voritz Bapst starb/ward Alexander Bapst/also vons Bapstumbs wegen genant/nach den achtzehen jaren/würd er krank/schickt seiner diener einen/den Nomodina hinuff in sein gemach/das er im ein büchlin holen solte/das auff dem Tisch lage(was voller schwartzer kunst/wolte es bruchen zů erfaren ob er gesunde werden möchte oder nit) da der diener hinuff kam/die thür vff thete/fand er den Teüfel in deß Bapsts Sässel sitzen/in Bäpstlicher kleidung vnd pomp/also das er sere darab erschracke/auff deß kapsts anhalten müst er wider hinauff/ob er jn noch also sitzen finde/also findet er jn noch/würt von jm gefragt/was er schaffen welle. Gibt der diener antwort/Er solle den Bapst diß büchlin holen. Daruff spricht der Teüfel/was sagstu von Bapst? Ego papa sum. Ich bin Bapst. Als dises der diener dem krancken Bapst gesagt/ist er sere erschrocken/hat die sach angefangen mercken/wo sy hinuß wolte/hatt sich derhalben in die inner kamer heissen tragen. Bald darnach/kumpt der Teüffel in gestalt eins Bapsters an die hinder thür der kämer/klopfft vn gestümblich an/ward ingelassen/kumpt zům Bapst für das bett/vnd zeigt jm an/dis jar seyende auß/er sie yetz fyn/müsse mit jm darnon. Da hatt sich ein zanck zwischen innen erhept/vß welchen die vmbstende wol können verston daß sy von der zal der jaren gekempft haben/der teüffel aber hatt jmen erst die zal recht vßgeleit/ist hin gangen/vnd bald darnach hat auch der Bapst/der vicarius Christi vnd seül der Christenheyt/den geyst auff geben mit dem teüffel zur hellen gefaren.

Es hatt diser Bapst Alexander einen sun gehabt vnd ein Tochter hatt geheisen Lucretia/ die hatt er der Vatter beschlaffen/vnd hatt sie der bruder auch beschlaffen. Es hatt auch der vatter mit der selbigen syner Tochter nacht dantzet. Von diser Bäpstlicher küscheyt seind zwen verß gemacht worden also lutzde. Conditur hoc tumulo Lucretia nomine/sed re Thais, pontificis filia/sponsa/nurus. Das ist/Die ligt vergraben die Lucretia/also mit namen geheissen/aber mit der that die ander Thais (das ist/die gröste vnd weirberümberste hür) wolche gewesen ist deß Bapsts tochter/braut/vnnd sunsfraw. Solcher grossen vnd vnerhörten laster schämpe sich das Römisch gsindt gar nit/sonder vnderstadt noch für vnd für die welt zů närren.

Dise Bapst Alexander der Sechst/als er ein Cardinal was/vnd tag vnd nacht trachtet/ wie er möchte bapst werden/hat er sich vff die teüfelische schwartz kunst begeben/dadurch er ein wissens vberkommen möchte/ob im sein fürnemmen geraten würde oder nit. Also ist er letzlich durch ein schwartzkünstner dahin bracht worden/das er dem Teüffel bewilliget zů gehorsamen/so fert er im sage/was er von im begeren werde. ward auch abgeredt wan vñ wa/vñ in was gestalt er im erschynen vnd mit handlen solte/Namlich in gestalt eins Protonotariens. Also kam zů im der Teüfel auff bestimpten tag in eins Protonotariens gestalt/vnd zeigt im an wer er were/vnd erbodet sich im zů sagen gewißliche was er würde fragen/ Da fragt er den Teüfel ob er wurde Bapst werden. Antwortet er/Ja. Fragt wyter/wie lang er wurde Bapst sein/Gab der Teüfel ein solche antwort/das Alexander verstünd achtzehen jar/vnd was aber nur eintyff jar vnd acht monat. Als nun der voritz Bapst starb/ward Alexander Bapst/also vons Bapstumbs wegen genant/nach den achtzehen jaren/würd er krank/schickt seiner diener einen/den Nomodina hinuff in sein gemach/das er im ein büchlin holen solte/das auff dem Tisch lage(was voller schwartzer kunst/wolte es bruchen zů erfaren ob er gesunde werden möchte oder nit) da der diener hinuff kam/die thür vff thete/fand er den Teüfel in deß Bapsts Sässel sitzen/in Bäpstlicher kleidung vnd pomp/also das er sere darab erschracke/auff deß kapsts anhalten müst er wider hinauff/ob er jn noch also sitzen finde/also findet er jn noch/würt von jm gefragt/was er schaffen welle. Gibt der diener antwort/Er solle den Bapst diß büchlin holen. Daruff spricht der Teüfel/was sagstu von Bapst? Ego papa sum. Ich bin Bapst. Als dises der diener dem krancken Bapst gesagt/ist er sere erschrocken/hat die sach angefangen mercken/wo sy hinuß wolte/hatt sich derhalben in die inner kamer heissen tragen. Bald darnach/kumpt der Teüffel in gestalt eins Bapsters an die hinder thür der kämer/klopfft vn gestümblich an/ward ingelassen/kumpt zům Bapst für das bett/vnd zeigt jm an/dis jar seyende auß/er sie yetz fyn/müsse mit jm darnon. Da hatt sich ein zanck zwischen innen erhept/vß welchen die vmbstende wol können verston daß sy von der zal der jaren gekempft haben/der teüffel aber hatt jmen erst die zal recht vßgeleit/ist hin gangen/vnd bald darnach hat auch der Bapst/der vicarius Christi vnd seül der Christenheyt/den geyst auff geben mit dem teüffel zur hellen gefaren.

Es hatt diser Bapst Alexander einen sun gehabt vnd ein Tochter hatt geheisen Lucretia/ die hatt er der Vatter beschlaffen/vnd hatt sie der bruder auch beschlaffen. Es hatt auch der vatter mit der selbigen syner Tochter nacht dantzet. Von diser Bäpstlicher küscheyt seind zwen verß gemacht worden also lutzde. Conditur hoc tumulo Lucretia nomine/sed re Thais, pontificis filia/sponsa/nurus. Das ist/Die ligt vergraben die Lucretia/also mit namen geheissen/aber mit der that die ander Thais (das ist/die gröste vnd weirberümberste hür) wolche gewesen ist deß Bapsts tochter/braut/vnnd sunsfraw. Solcher grossen vnd vnerhörten laster schämpe sich das Römisch gsindt gar nit/sonder vnderstadt noch für vnd für die welt zů närren.

Fig. 5.12 (opposite) Lucas Cranach the Elder, Lucretia, 1533, oil on wood

Fig. 5.13 (above left and right) Pope Alexander VI exposed as Devil, sixteenth century, broadsheet with woodcut

painted and glossy that one is incited to voluptuousness by them'.[43] Martin Bucer admitted in 1520, 'I often had bad thoughts from looking on women's images upon the altar, for no woman of pleasure would have clad or adorned herself so voluptuously or shamelessly as the Mother of God, St Barbara, St Katherine and others are nowadays depicted.'[44] Zwingli added that this was not simply a matter of the male gaze: 'There stands a Sebastian, a Maurice and the pious John the Baptist, all so proudly, manfully and sensually depicted that the women had to confess because of

Fig. 5.14 *Satire on Johann Cochlaeus*, sixteenth century, broadsheet with woodcut

them.'[45] This led naturally to the thought that images were signs of nothing other than the matter from which they were made or the forms imposed on it by the skill of the artist. Martin Bucer undoubtedly expressed the views of many who had become hostile to images when he claimed that they could in no way serve as signifiers of the supernatural, since neither matter such as wood, stone, gold or silver, nor the form created by the artist could transcend the natural world.[46]

The consequence of such thinking was iconoclasm, the denial of any sacramental value to visual images, which confined them merely to a materialist world of immediate sense perception. Yet this was by no means a secularised or desacralised world, since it persisted alongside the view (often held by the same persons) that images were still 'tricks of the devil',

relegating the visual image to a near-manichean universe in which created matter could be a sign of evil but never of good. For this reason, iconomachy and iconoclasm can be seen as evoked as much by fear of the power of the image as by a dispassionate disbelief in it: that first iconomach of the Reformation Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt admitted, 'I have in myself a harmful fear, which I would fain be rid of, but cannot.'[47] It may have been the reaction of those whose eyes were opened and who could now see how they had been deceived, but it may also have been the hatred of the spurned or disillusioned lover. The age of Dürer thus remained one in which many different ways of seeing were possible: it allowed Simon Grunau to see an abused image bleed like a man and provoke the wrath of the heavens, but permitted others to see such stories as propagandist fiction; it allowed images to be relegated merely to the realm of the senses or to be perceived as works of the devil, using human sense perception to lure to damnation. Lest we become too smug in our modern reflection on such ambivalence, perhaps we might conclude with the thought that the visual media of our own day still present us with the same dilemmas.

19 E. K. Chambers, *The Medieval Stage* (Oxford, 1903), vol. I, pp. 336–71 and H. Pleij, *Het Gilde van de Blauwe Schuit* (Amsterdam, 1979), pp. 22–7.

20 The following observations are based on H. Wunder, 'Von der *frumkait* zur *Frömmigkeit*: Ein Beitrag zur Genese bürgerlicher Weiblichkeit (15.–17. Jahrhundert)', in U. A. J. Becher and J. Rüsen (eds.), *Weiblichkeit in geschichtlicher Perspektive: Fallstudien und Reflexionen zu Grundproblemen der historischen Frauenforschung* (Frankfurt-on-Main, 1988), pp. 174–88. I am grateful to Professor Paul Münch for this reference.

21 Wunder, 'Von der *frumkait*', 181.

22 *Ibid.*, 180.

23 Grimm and Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, vol. I, column 1718.

24 Sebastian Brant, *Tugent Spyl: nach der Ausgabe des Magister Johann Winckel von Straßburg (1554)*, ed. H.-G. Roloff (Berlin, 1968), pp. 9–10 (my emphasis).

5 WAYS OF SEEING IN THE AGE OF DÜRER

1 M. Perlbach, R. Philippi and B. Wagner (eds.), Simon Grunau, *Preussische Chronik* (Leipzig, 1875), vol. II, pp. 689–90.

2 On the dramatised liturgy, E. Vavra, 'Liturgie als Inszenierung', in H. Kühnel (ed.), *Alltag im Spätmittelalter* (Darmstadt, 1984), pp. 315–22; on similar scenes in mystery plays, W. Griesenegger, *Die Realität im religiösen Theater des Mittelalters. Ein Beitrag zur Rezeptionsforschung* (Vienna, 1978), p. 221, and in more detail, R. Steinbach, *Die deutschen Oster- und Passionsspiele des Mittelalters* (Cologne/Vienna, 1970), pp. 159–60: although Jesus is not always scourged in some of these plays, he is beaten and spat upon in extremely realistic fashion; on punishment of failed apotropaic images, the classic discussion is R. Trexler, 'Florentine religious experience: the sacred image', *Studies in the Renaissance* 19 (1972), 7–41.

3 W. M. Ivins, *On the Rationalisation of Sight* (New York, 1973; original edition 1938), p. 7.

4 *Ibid.*, pp. 9–13. Ivins was also struck by modern parallels with his two unique Renaissance events. Just as the earliest prints were made during the lifetime of Alberti, the earliest photographs were created during the lifetimes of Monge and Poncelet, while the photograph combined in itself both an inherent geometrical perspective and the ability to exactly duplicate visual material.

5 The foremost summary of this view is in E. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: communications and cultural transformations in early modern Europe*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1979), vol. II, pp. 520–635, although Eisenstein also warned about placing too much emphasis on the technical aspects of visual reproduction, vol. I, p. 269; see also more recently, S. Y. Edgerton, *The Heritage of Giotto's Geometry. Art and science on the eve of the scientific revolution* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1991); and K. Veltman, *Linear Perspective and the Visual Dimensions of Science and Art* (Munich, 1986), the most detailed exploration of the geometrical basis of the new forms of perspective.

6 Leon Battista Alberti, *On Painting*, trans. J. R. Spencer (London, 1956), pp. 63, 75.

7 Nicolaus of Cusa, 'De beryllo', in L. Gabriel (ed.), *Philosophisch–theologische Schriften* (Vienna, 1967), vol. III, pp. 5–7. On medieval optics, K. H. Tachau, *Vision and Certitude in the Age of Ockham. Optics, epistemology and the foundation of semantics, 1250–1345* (Leiden, 1988); on the complex medieval symbolism of the eye, the exceptionally detailed study by G. Schleusener-Eichholz, *Das Auge im Mittelalter*, 2 vols. (Munich, 1985); on the moralised application of this new science, D. L. Clark, 'Optics for preachers: the "oculo morali" of Peter of Limoges', *The Michigan Academician* 9 (1977), 329–43; G. Schleusener-Eichholz, 'Naturwissenschaft und Allegorese: der "Tractatus de oculi morali" des Petrus von Limoges', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 12 (1978), 258–309.

8 Edgerton, *The Heritage of Giotto's Geometry*, pp. 88–107, even speaks of a 'geometrization of the supernatural', taking as his main example Fra Lippo Lippi's *Annunciation* in the National Gallery, London.

9 J. S. Ackerman, 'Early Renaissance "naturalism" in scientific illustration', in A. Ellenius (ed.), *The Natural Sciences and the Arts. Aspects of interaction from the Renaissance to the twentieth Century* (Uppsala, 1985), pp. 1–17, esp. p. 2, distinguishes three modes of naturalistic representation in the Renaissance: (1) a naturalistic representation of what was observed, a refinement of techniques of mimesis and known as *natura naturans*; (2) a conceptual form of representation, which adjusted visual evidence to an idea or concept of order, usually mathematical, known as *natura naturata*; (3) a conventional form of representation, preserving traditional representational imagery. As B. J. Ford remarks in *Images of Science. A history of scientific illustration* (London

1992), pp. 89–93, botanic illustrations often reflected what the illustrator expected to see. In this light, the persistence of older ways of seeing is unsurprising, although the theme is almost wholly unresearched. See most recently, however, an article by P. Parshall, which shows how the notion of portraiture (in the 'counterfeit image') was also to lead, in the second half of the sixteenth century, to the idea that an observable nature could be reproduced in visual evidence: P. Parshall, 'Imago contrafacta: images and facts in the northern Renaissance', *Art History* 16 (1993), 554–79.

10 Cusa, 'De visione dei', in Gabriel (ed.), *Philosophisch-theologische Schriften*, vol. III, pp. 96–8.

11 There is now a growing literature on pre-modern notions of seeing, reviewed in outline in B. Duden and I. Illich, 'Die skopische Vergangenheit Europas und die Ethik der Opsis', *Historische Anthropologie* 3 (1995), 203–21, esp. 205–13; fundamental is D. C. Lindberg, *Theories of Vision from Al-Kindi to Kepler* (Chicago, 1976). See also Edgerton's fascinating discussion of how Lippi, around the middle of the fifteenth century, translated Roger Bacon's concept of seeing as dependent on a corporeal entity or species moving from object to viewer to explain the Immaculate Conception as an emanation of divine grace (*The Heritage of Giotto's Geometry*, pp. 44, 95–7).

12 For this and the following paragraph see H. Brinkmann, *Mittelalterliche Hermeneutik* (Darmstadt, 1980), pp. 24–5, 74, 85–6; D. C. Lindberg, 'The science of optics', in D. C. Lindberg (ed.), *Science in the Middle Ages* (Chicago, 1978), pp. 338–68; A. Zimmermann and G. Vuillemin-Diem (eds.), *Der Begriff der Representatio im Mittelalter* (Berlin, 1971).

13 The preoccupation of the later Middle Ages with the five senses is documented by C. Nordenfalk, 'The five senses in late medieval and Renaissance art', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute* 48 (1985), 1–22, plates 1–9. They formed part of the catechetical tradition linked to the sacrament of penance: the penitent was to examine how she or he may have sinned through any of the senses, exemplified in a coloured woodcut print from *circa* 1480 from Tegernsee in Bavaria, clearly designed as a visual aid for the unlearned ('für die ungelerte leut') preparing for confession and including visual representations of the Ten Commandments, the five senses and the seven deadly sins. In the same tradition, the senses were emphasised in sermons as instruments of concupiscence which had to be carefully kept under control (*ibid.*, p. 3 and plate 1b).

14 The tortuous development of the tradition has been brilliantly unravelled by L. G. Duggan, 'Was art really the "book of the illiterate"?', *Word and Image* 5 (1989), 227–51, especially 232 for the thirteenth-century formulation of St Bonaventure. However, Duggan curiously pays no attention to the affective role of images. For a finely nuanced discussion of the classic justifications of images, which calls attention to the contribution of the Byzantine tradition via John of Damascus (*c.* 675–749), see L. Palmer Wandel, *Voracious Idols and Violent Hands. Iconoclasm in Reformation Zurich, Strasbourg and Basel* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 26–51. For a succinct and lucid summary (with tabular overview) of the development of the 'image question' until the high Middle Ages, see J.-C. Schmitt, 'Vom Nutzen Max Webers für die Historiker und die Bilderfrage', in W. Schluchter (ed.), *Max Webers Sicht des okzidentalen Christentums: Interpretation und Kritik* (Frankfurt, 1988), pp. 184–228.

15 S. Ringbom, 'Devotional images and imageless devotions: notes on the place of art in late medieval piety', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6: 73 (1969), 159–70, esp. 162–3; A. Haas, 'Meister Eckharts mystische Bildlehre', in Zimmermann and Vuillemin-Diem (eds.), *Der Begriff der Representatio*, pp. 113–62. This was also part of the programme of the Seven Liberal Arts, which moved through a hierarchy from the fleshly to the contemplative, as Larry Silver reminds us elsewhere in this volume, p. 45. Edgerton, *The Heritage of Giotto's Geometry*, p. 95 calls attention to Meister Eckhart's notion of mystical seeing, influenced by Baconian theory, in which the soul 'sees' God just as the eye receives direct light.

16 In 'Wider die himmlischen Propheten', *D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe* (Weimar, 1883–1995; cited hereafter as WA), vol. XVIII, p. 83. Luther's notion of seeing here was traditional in following the notion of 'seeing through' in the Baconian sense, and he seems to have merely given his own distinctive theological twist to the notion expressed in the popular sourcebook for sermons, *De oculo morali* of the thirteenth-century Franciscan Peter of Limoges, that 'anyone can . . . meditate in his mind's eye on Christ's wound so that he conforms to Christ's suffering through his model' (cited in Clark, 'Optics for preachers', p. 338).

17 On the Mass of St Gregory, U. Westfehling (ed.), *Die Messe Gregors des Großen. Vision – Kunst – Realität* (Cologne, 1982); and the analysis of a complex 1510 example of the theme by Wolf Traut and B. Scribner, 'Popular piety and modes of visual expression in late-medieval and Reformation Germany', *Journal of Religious History* (1989), 449–53. That not all such

depictions were intended as Eucharistic representations is pointed out by A. N. Nemilov, 'Gedanken zur geschichtswissenschaftlichen Befragung von Bildern am Beispiel der sog. Gregorsmesse in der Ermitage', in B. Tolkemitt and R. Wohlfeil (eds.), *Historische Bildkunde. Probleme – Wege – Beispiele* (Berlin, 1991), pp. 123–33, who interprets his example as an epitaph.

18 The version which I have related here was recorded around 1852 as a local, orally transmitted legend (and even appeared on a postcard in 1910). It also took the form of a legend of the Virgin Mary and has been unravelled and related to its origins in the St Kümmernis legend by P. Spranger, *Der Geiger von Gmünd. Justinus Kerner und die Geschichte einer Legende* (Gmünd, 1980; second edition 1991), esp. pp. 98–9. The original St Kümmernis legend was known in variants from Bavaria, the Tyrol and Bohemia, and was transmitted in numerous popular forms: calendars, prayer cards, devotional books, ex votos, broadsheets and popular tracts, as well as in numerous oral versions. See *Enzyklopädie des Märchens* (Berlin, 1995), vol. VIII, pp. 604–7, and G. Schnürer and J. M. Ritz, *Sankt Kümmernis und Volto Santo* (Düsseldorf, 1934), which also mentions the Gmünd example on pp. 34, 176. I am grateful to Christine Shojaei Kawan, Arbeitsstelle 'Enzyklopädie des Märchens' Göttingen, for helping me to trace so efficiently a tale remembered from earlier research, but whose exact origin I had misplaced.

19 The three aspects are identified in M. Baxandall, *The Limewood Sculptors of Renaissance Germany* (New Haven, 1980), p. 53.

20 H. Stolz, *Ursprung und Anfang der Statt Gebweyler* (Colmar, 1871), *Les Chroniques d'Alsace*, vol. I, p. 28.

21 Luther was fond of the image of external reality as a mask (*larva*), behind which were hidden supernatural realities. God presented himself through such masks ('deus sub larva rerum praesentum sua opera ostendat'; WA, vol. XIV, p. 617, line 33), while people could also be 'masks of the devil' ('larvae Satanae sub quibus ein [sic] treibt sein spil'; WA, vol. XX, p. 443, line 16).

22 Valerius Anselm, *Berner Chronik* (Bern, 1893), vol. IV, pp. 476–80.

23 Alberti, *On Painting*, p. 77.

24 Both examples cited in A. Neumeyer, *Der Blick aus dem Bilde* (Berlin, 1964), pp. 53–4. Correggio's painting hangs in the Galleria Nazionale, Parma.

25 J. van Cleve, *Double Portrait*, *circa* 1520, Entschede, Rijksmuseum Twenthe, inv. no. 27–8.

26 On the anamorphic picture, with accompanying reproduction of *The Ambassadors*, see H. Bauer (ed.), *Die große Enzyklopädie der Malerei* (Freiburg/ Basel/ Vienna, 1975), vol. I, p. 120; and in more detail, F. Leeman, *Hidden Images: games of perception. Anamorphic art and illusions from the Renaissance to the present* (New York, 1976).

27 Discussed in Neumeyer, *Der Blick aus dem Bilde*, pp. 38–9, and in more detail by Virginia Reinburg, 'Prayer and the book of hours', in R. S. Wieck (ed.), *Time Sanctified. The Book of Hours in medieval art and life* (New York, 1988), pp. 39–44, here at p. 40.

28 C. Nordenfalk, 'The sense of touch in art", in K.-L. Selig and E. Sears (eds.), *The Verbal and the Visual. Essays in honor of William Sebastian Heckscher* (New York, 1990), pp. 109–32, sees the representation of the sense of touch as problematical in the period under discussion here, although he does not consider that illusionist images may have played upon this sense.

29 This particular aspect of the gaze was first raised by Neumeyer (*Der Blick aus dem Bilde*), who called attention to some of the examples I cite here, as well as by J. Paris, *L'Espace et le regard* (Paris, 1965). R. Baldwin, ' "Gates pure and shining and serene": mutual gazing as an amatory motif in western literature and art', *Renaissance and Reformation*, n.s. 10 (1986), 23–48, concentrates on the gaze within the pictorial space, while providing some examples of the gaze out of it. However, the wider interest in the gaze has concentrated heavily on the 'aesthetics of reception': see W. Kemp (ed.), *Der Betrachter ist im Bild. Kunstwissenschaft und Rezeptionsästhetik* (Cologne, 1985). D. Freedberg, *The Power of Images. Studies in the history and theory of response* (Chicago, 1989) touches some of the same issues as I raise here, albeit within a wider sweep and different set of preoccupations; see also the plea for a wider history of the gaze by Duden and Illich, 'Die skopische Vergangenheit Europas'.

30 According to K. Moxey, 'E. S. and the folly of love', *Simiolus* 11 (1980), 125–48, at 131, who provides several examples of the use of the gaze to involve the viewer as voyeur, the fool 'seems to aid one of the women in her efforts to expose his genitals to the viewer'.

31 See Dürer's *Self-Portrait in a Fur Coat* of 1500 (Munich: Alte Pinakothek). The role of the direct gaze out of the Netherlandish three-quarter portrait, and its connection to an 'anthropology of the gaze' has been commented upon, but not fully developed, in H. Belting and C. Kruse, *Die Erfindung des Gemaldes. Das erste Jahrhundert der niederländischen Malerei* (Munich, 1995), pp. 51–60. This especially considers the notion of a

double gaze': the eye as the body's window to the outside world, as a window of the soul for whoever gazes in, and as a mirror reflecting the external reality in which the beholder stands (pp. 52–3).

32 The iconography of this example is discussed in detail in *Glaube, Hoffnung, Liebe, Tod. Ausstellungskatalog der Kunsthalle Wien* (Vienna, 1995), p. 90.

33 W. L. Strauss, *The Intaglio Prints of Albrecht Durer: engravings, etchings and drypoints* (New York, 1976), p. 156.

34 The possibilities of intensifying the intimacy of encounter between viewer and devotional image are explored in R. W. Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk. Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation*, second edition (Oxford, 1994), p. xxxviii.

35 C. Talbot, 'Prints and the definitive image', in G. P. Tyson and S. Wagonheim (eds.), *Print and Culture in the Renaissance. Essays on the advent of printing in Europe* (London/Toronto, 1986), pp. 189–205.

36 On Baldung, J. L. Koerner, 'The mortification of the image: death as a hermeneutic in Hans Baldung Grien', *Representations* 10 (1985), 52–101. On Lucretia, see the comments in R. W. Scribner 'Von Sakralbild zur sinnlicher Schau. Sinnliche Wahrnehmung und das Visuelle bei der Objektivierung des Frauenkörpers in Deutschland im 16. Jahrhundert', in K. Schreiner and N. Schnitzler (eds.), *Gepeinigt, begehrt, vergessen. Symbolik und Sozialbezug des Körpers im späten Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit* (Munich, 1992), pp. 309–36, esp. 325–8, with several examples. Cranach was so fascinated by the Lucretia theme that he created over thirty versions between 1518 and 1537: M. Friedländer and J. Rosenberg, *Die Gemälde von Lucas Cranach* (Berlin, 1932), p. 108. For some interesting reflections on the nature of the erotic/pornographic in such depictions, see M. Carter, 'Cranach's women: a speculative essay', *Australian Journal of Art* 8 (1989/90), 48–77. I am grateful to Charles Zika for drawing my attention to this item.

37 The issue of Eve's sexuality as a cause of the Fall has been raised by a number of commentators, for example H. D. Russell, *Eva/Ave: woman in Renaissance and Baroque prints* (New York, 1980), pp. 113–14; L. Silver, 'Jan Gossaert and the Renaissance nude in the Netherlands', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 37 (1986), 1–40, esp. 3–6 on the 'forbidden fruit' standing for the sin of lust in Gossaert. The most extensive and illuminating treatment to date, however, is by B. Heal, 'Adam, Eve and the fall of man: a study of sixteenth-century northern European paintings', B.A. dissertation, University of Cambridge (1995).

38 On this broadsheet, W. Harms, *Deutsche illustrierte Flugblätter des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts, Teil 1: Die Sammlung der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbuttel* (Munich, 1980), vol. II, p. 26 (no. 13).

39 The example is discussed in C. Andersson, 'Polemical prints in Reformation Nuremberg', in J. C. Smith (ed.), *New Perspectives on the Art of Renaissance Nuremberg* (Austin, Texas, 1985), pp. 41–62, esp. pp. 51–4; and more briefly in Andersson, 'Popular imagery in German Reformation broadsheets', in Tyson and Wagonheim (eds.), *Print and Culture in the Renaissance*, pp. 120–51, esp. 133–7.

40 WA, vol. XVIII, p. 409, line 19: 'und gleych eyn eckel worden ist, wo man eyn geystliche person sicht oder hört'.

41 Nordenfalk, 'The sense of touch in art', 109–32 comments on the difficulty of representing the sense of touch in art. However, he reproduces a drawing by Hendrick Goltzius of 1595 which shows the sense of touch represented by Lucretia's dagger piercing her breast by some inches. This image is not as evocative of painful touch as the woodcut of Lucretia of 1522 by Hans Baldung Grien; see Scribner, 'Vom Sakralbild zur sinnlichen Schau', p. 327, fig. 28.

42 See E. Safran, 'The iconography of antisemitism. A study of the representation of the Jews in the visual arts of Europe, 1400–1600', Ph.D. dissertation, New York University (Ann Arbor, 1973); I. Schacher, *The Judensau: a medieval anti-Jewish motif and its history* (London, 1974); L. Dresen-Coenders and Georg Finsler (eds.), *Saints and She-Devils: images of women in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries* (London, 1987); A. Kibbey, *The Interpretation of Material Shapes in Puritanism: a study of rhetoric, prejudice and violence* (Cambridge, 1982), esp. pp. 92–120; C. Zika, 'Fears of flying: representations of witchcraft and sexuality in early sixteenth-century Germany', *Australian Journal of Art* 8 (1989/90), 19–47.

43 Ulrich Zwingli, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. E. Egli (Leipzig, 1908), vol. II, p. 218.

44 Martin Bucer, *Deutsche Schriften*, ed. R. Stupperich (Gütersloh, 1960), vol. I, p. 428.

45 Zwingli, *Sämtliche Werke* (Leipzig, 1927), vol. IV, pp. 145–6.

46 Bucer, *Deutsche Schriften*, vol. I, p. 247.

47 Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt, 'Von Abtuhung der Bilder', cited in S. Michalski, *The Reformation and the Visual Arts. The Protestant image question in Western and Eastern Europe* (London, 1993), p. 45; Kibbey, *Interpretation of Material Shapes*, pp. 46–7 attributes a similar attitude to Calvin, although without such direct evidence as Karlstadt provided.