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Hans Wertinger in Context: Art, Politics, and Humanism at the Court of Ludwig X, Duke of Bavaria

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Hans Wertinger in Context:
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by

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Dissertation

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at Austin

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Texas at Austin

August 2014

Dedication

For Danny, without whom nothing is possible.

Acknowledgements

The bulk of the research for this project was completed under a generous fellowship from the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg, Germany, in 2011-2012. I thank my colleagues at the GNM, especially Thomas Eser, Daniel Hess, Peggy Große, Jaya Remond, Dagmar Hirschfelder, Oliver Mack, Monika Uliarczyk, and Sebastian Gulden, for providing such an inspiring, scholarly atmosphere. Also in Germany, Matthias Weniger at the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum in Munich was very kind to show me the museum's Wertinger portraits held in storage.

Thanks are due to my dissertation committee, Joan A. Holladay, Peter Hess, Louis Waldman, and Larry Silver, who provided me with encouragement and feedback on this paper. I also thank the Art and Art History Department at the University of Texas at Austin for contributing financing for me to present my work on this project at a number of conferences.

I am immeasurably thankful to my advisor, Jeffrey Chipps Smith, who has not only provided me with valued guidance on this and other projects, but moreover has been unfailingly supportive of me during my years in graduate school.

I would like to acknowledge all of my friends in the Art History Ph.D. program at UT who have considerably lightened the burdens of earning this degree, especially Alisa Carlson, Caitlin Earley, Leticia Hinojosa, Tara Kohn, Ali Kotoch, Kelley Magill, Kate Martineau, April Morris, Anne Proctor, Jessica Weiss, and Abigail Winograd.

Finally, I am grateful to my family—Garry, Melissa, Liz, and Carol—and above all to my wonderful husband Danny, for his patience, encouragement, kindness, and love.

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The University of Texas at Austin, 2014

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The German Renaissance artist Hans Wertinger (c. 1465/70-1533) was a prolific master who worked in a variety of artistic media and oversaw a large atelier during his mature years. In 1516, Wertinger completed his first commission for Ludwig X (1495-1545), Duke of Bavaria, newly resident in Landshut. Two years later, Wertinger was named Ludwig's court painter. The artist's interaction with the Wittelsbach court, including its scholars, during these and subsequent years inspired many of his most innovative artworks. Wertinger painted portraits of the duke that addressed Ludwig's conceits and conveyed his political and religious authority. He also collaborated with one of Ludwig's advisors, the humanist scholar Dietrich von Plieningen, on book illustrations and a history painting with themes related to the classical past. As befitted Wertinger's position as court painter, he provided a wide variety of decorations for Ludwig's palace at Burg Trausnitz; these illustrate and elucidate the space of rulership. Wertinger's success as a court painter is a testament to his versatility and innovation, as he created diverse artworks that both reflected and contributed to the broader culture of the Landshut court.

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Introduction

Tucked away into the left margin of the panel painting *Alexander the Great and his Doctor Philippus*, in the National Gallery in Prague, a man peers out towards the viewer with one eyebrow raised and a half-smile on his lips (Figures 1 and 2). Of the twenty-three figures depicted in the painting, the man with the quizzical expression is the only one to break the fourth wall and seek to engage the viewer with his gaze. Although he holds sheet music for the lute player in front of him, and even rests his left hand on the musician's shoulder, his attention is focused elsewhere, into the world of the painting's onlooker.

This same person also appears in an altarpiece in the Diözesanmuseum in Freising, Germany (Figures 3 and 4). The enormous panel, which depicts scenes from the life of St. Sigismund, is organized into individual episodes, each contained within a painted frame. In the section in the center of the bottom row, in which the saint's body is recovered from a well, a much younger version of the man in the Alexander panel glares out at the viewer.[1]

Both paintings are by the German Renaissance artist Hans Wertinger, and the figure that appears in each is a self-portrait.[2] The remarkably self-conscious and self-

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[1] Marianne Baumann-Engels, et al., *Diözesanmuseum Freising: Christliche Kunst aus Salzburg, Bayern und Tirol, 12. bis 18. Jahrhundert* (Freising: Diözesanmuseum Freising, 1984), 280.

[2] Regarding terminology, I use the word "Renaissance" here as an umbrella term for the time period marked by great intellectual, cultural, social, political, and religious innovation when Europe transitioned away from medieval modes of thought to those that placed man, not God, at the center of the *Weltanschauung*. This period of time is defined by different dates in different European regions, but I would demarcate the Renaissance in Germany as having taken place, roughly, between about 1450 and 1600. Other academic disciplines, and even other art historians, may prefer to use the term "Early Modern" to refer to this time period since "Renaissance," from the French for "rebirth," explicitly references the enthusiasm and reverence for Classical antiquity that was only one particular characteristic of a multi-faceted era. However, "Early Modern" connotes a much longer time frame (approximately 1450-1800) than term "Renaissance," and so I use the latter in this study.

aggrandizing act of inserting himself into his painting indicates Wertinger's regard for himself and for his art. As another German artist with a partiality for self-portraiture, Albrecht Dürer, noted in a draft for his unfinished book "Food for the Young Painter," a portrait "preserves the likeness of men after their death."[3] Wertinger's features, preserved by his own brush, are a permanent testimonial to himself and to his skill, "signaling his authorship within the work of art."[4] Wertinger wanted his likeness to be remembered, an impulse thoroughly imbued with artistic self-awareness and a Renaissance spirit.[5]

A native of Landshut in Bavaria, Hans Wertinger was born around 1465-1470 and died in 1533, his life spanning the decades that saw German culture transition from the late Medieval to the Renaissance.[6] The era through which Wertinger lived was dramatic and uncertain. The discovery of the Americas in 1492 shattered European perspectives, and the arrival of the year 1500, viewed by some as auspicious, was also a source of anxiety.[7] Beginning in 1517, Martin Luther's complaints about the Roman Church gained momentum, and his—and others'—ideas of reform challenged both the ecclesiastical and

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[3] As quoted in Larry Silver, "Dürer—Man, Media, and Myths," in *The Essential Dürer*, ed. Larry Silver and Jeffrey Chipps Smith (Philadelphia: Unversity of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 9.

[4] Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Moment of Self-Portraiture in German Renaissance Art* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1993), 111.

[5] On the artistic implications and conceits of self-portraiture in Germany during this period, see Koerner.

[6] Indeed, Gloria Ehret's 1976 monograph on the artist bears an instructive subtitle: "A Landshut painter at the turn from the late Gothic to the Renaissance;" Gloria Ehret, *Hans Wertinger: Ein Landshuter Maler an der Wende der Spätgotik zur Renaissance* (Munich: Tuduv, 1976).

[7] Anthony Grafton, *New Worlds, Ancient Texts: The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), 5-6. On the aftermath of the discovery of the Americas, see J. H. Elliott, *The Old World and the New 1492-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Jay A. Levenson, ed., *Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration*, exh. cat. National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C. (Washington D.C.: National Gallery of Art and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), esp. 15-21 and 514-520; and Susan Danforth, *Encountering the New World 1493-1800*, exh. cat. John Carter Brown Library, Providence (Providence: John Carter Brown Library, 1991), 1-25. The humanist Conrad Celtis especially welcomed the year 1500; Jörg Robert, "Dürer, Celtis, and the Birth of Landscape Painting from the Spirit of the *Germania illustrata*," trans. Martina Stöckl, in *The Early Dürer*, ed. Daniel Hess and Thomas Eser, exh. cat. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg (Nuremberg: Germanisches Nationalmuseum and London: Thames & Hudson, 2012), 66.

secular status quo. War was practically a constant throughout the continent; particularly threatening to the German-speaking lands were the Peasants War of 1524-1525 and the Ottoman incursion into Eastern Europe in the later 1520s.

At a more local level, too, the duchy of Bavaria experienced a great deal of upheaval over the course of Wertinger's lifetime. During the fifteenth century, the four separate Bavarian duchies had consolidated into two: Bavaria-Landshut and Bavaria-Munich. These two territories became one, administered from Munich, after the Landshut War of Succession in 1504-1505; the specifics of this conflict will be discussed in detail below.[8] The unpredictability wrought by the political disorder and the ravages of the war took its toll on the Bavarian citizenry, especially in terms of economic opportunity. The city of Landshut, in particular, suffered from the uncertainty engendered by this political turmoil. Landshut had enjoyed over a century of peaceful, uncontested succession in the ducal reigns of Heinrich XVI (r. 1392-1450), Ludwig IX (r. 1450-1479), and Georg (r. 1479-1503). Because of their immense wealth, these three Wittelsbachs have become known to history as the "Rich Dukes" of Bavaria-Landshut. Naturally, the citizens of their residential city benefitted from the financial security provided by a constant source of patronage and expenditure both by the dukes themselves and from their visitors and entourage.[9] They were also, through their localized participation in the life of the court, able to promote the city's particular interests within the broader context of the ducal administration of the duchy.[10] Thus the death of Duke Georg without an heir in 1503 and

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[8] See below, 39-42.

[9] On the "Rich Dukes," see Irmgard Biersack, *Die Hofhaltung der "Reichen Herzöge" von Bayern-Landshut* (Regensburg: St. Katharinenspital, 2006); and Walter Ziegler, "Die Herzöge von Landshut: Die reichen Verlierer," in *Die Herrscher Bayerns: 25 Historische Portraits von Tassilo III bis Ludwig III*, ed. Alois Schmid and Katharina Weigand (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2001), 130-141.

[10] Ulf Christian Ewert, "Fürstliche Standortpolitik und Städtische Wirtschaftsförderung: Eine Ökonomische Analyse des Verhältnisse von Hof und Stadt im spätmittelalterlichen Europa," in *Der Hof*

the subsequent War of Succession created a great deal of anxiety for Landshut's inhabitants about the future of the city.

The art world in the north also underwent profound changes in the years of Wertinger's artistic activities. New impulses from Italy expanded the artistic vocabulary of northern artists beyond the hyperrealism and Gothic sensibility that were characteristic of the fifteenth century. More than a simple intermingling of styles, the Renaissance in the north saw a renewal of interest in the classical past that offered a trove of novel artistic subjects. Furthermore, the invention of the printing press provided an exciting opportunity for artists to provide illustrations, usually woodcuts, for a diverse array of publications. Northern printmakers, foremost among them Albrecht Dürer in Nuremberg, challenged the boundaries of graphic media through innovative forms and new techniques. Social change, for example the growth of an urban merchant class, created new artistic patrons and consumers and, in turn, facilitated a market for inexpensive media such as broadsheet woodcuts. The Protestant reform movements also drastically changed artistic practice in the north, as they grappled with fundamental questions about the appropriate use of imagery in religious contexts. This spurred artists towards finding original ways of representing religious ideas and also contributed to the development of secular genres of art.

As a contemporary of Albrecht Dürer, Lucas Cranach the Elder, and Matthias Grünewald, Wertinger participated in the new artistic impulses but never achieved the posthumous reputation that these figures enjoy. Wertinger remains an obscure figure in the literature on German Renaissance art, especially in publications written in the English

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und die Stadt: Konfrontation, Koexistenz und Integration in Spätmittelaltar und Früher Neuzeit, ed. Werner Paravicini and Jörg Wettlaufer (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbeke, 2006), 439.

language.[11] Yet he was a prolific and ambitious talent. He worked in a variety of media—stained glass, panel and canvas painting, manuscript illumination, wall painting, woodcut and sculpture design, pen-and-ink drawing—for some of the era's greatest art patrons, including Philipp, Prince-Bishop of Freising, Elector Friedrich "the Wise" of Saxony, and the dukes of Bavaria.

Ultimately we know very little about Wertinger; only a handful of archival sources can offer insight into his biography and oeuvre. Scholars have sought to reconstruct a corpus of artworks by Wertinger using these few archival sources, mostly payment records, and stylistic analysis of surviving artworks. The most important contributions to this corpus of literature will be discussed in the following paragraphs, with a view to highlighting the lacunae in these interpretations of the Landshut artist's life and work.

One of the earliest mentions of Wertinger in the art historical literature occurs in Joachim Sighart's *Geschichte der Bildenden Künste im Königreich Bayern von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, published in 1862.[12] Under the patronage of the Bavarian King Maximilian II, Sighart travelled throughout Bavaria, viewing artworks and visiting archives. However, his enormous survey of art found in the kingdom only very briefly references Hans Wertinger in his section on the art of Lower Bavaria.

The first instance of thorough scholarship on Hans Wertinger took place in 1907 with the publication of Hans Buchheit's doctoral dissertation, *Landshuter Tafelgemälde des XV Jahrhunderts und der Landshuter Maler Hans Wertinger, genannt*

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[11] Exceptions are Diane Wolfthal, "Some Little Known Paintings of the Northern Renaissance in the Brooklyn Museum," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 113, no. 1440 (Jan. 1989): 1-8; and Herthe Wegener, "An Early German Landscape," *Bulletin of the Brooklyn Museum* 13, no. 1 (Fall 1951): 1-5.

[12] Joachim Sighart, *Geschichte der Bildenden Künste im Königreich Bayern von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich: J. G. Cotta, 1862), 583, 583n1.

Schwabmaler.[13] In this work Buchheit, who would later go on to become the director of the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum in Munich, considered Hans Wertinger and his artwork to be an extension of the fifteenth-century Landshut school of painting. He makes a number of attributions to Wertinger and notes in particular the artist's service to the Landshut Duke Ludwig X of Bavaria (b. 1490, r. 1516-1545), who he served as court painter from 1518 onward. Buchheit's main focus, however, was on attribution and working out the chronology of Wertinger's undated works through stylistic analysis.

The entry on Hans Wertinger written in 1942 by Karl Feuchtmayr for the *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (also known as *Thieme-Becker*, after the original editors), contributed a significant number of new Wertinger artworks.[14] Feuchtmayr lists his corpus of Wertinger artworks, expanding from Buchheit's attributions to include others that display the same hand. He also included information on many lost artworks gleaned from the payment registers of the Prince-Bishop of Freising. Feuchtmayr discredited Sighart's and Buchheit's assertions that Wertinger was born in Wertingen in Swabia, arguing instead that the artist was a native of Landshut. The short format of the encyclopedia entry, however, prohibited Feuchtmayr from engaging in extensive discussion of Wertinger and his artworks.

Gloria Ehret's monograph on the artist, published in 1976, used Feuchtmayr's list of artworks as a jumping off point for her consideration of the artist. In this book, her doctoral dissertation, Ehret presented much the same information as appears in Feuchtmayr and Buchheit, but included detailed descriptions of individual works and

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[13] Hans Buchheit, *Landshuter Tafelgemälde des XV. Jahrhunderts und der Landshuter Maler Hans Wertinger, genannt Schwabmaler* (Leipzig: Poeschel & Trepte, 1907).
[14] Karl Feuchtmayr, "Hans Wertinger," in *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* 35 (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1942), 425-431.

contributed a few new attributions. She also appended a catalogue raisonné to her discussion of Wertinger; although a number of Wertinger artworks have come to light in the years since its publication, Ehret's catalogue remains a useful tool for the study of the artist's oeuvre.

Volker Liedke's enthusiasm for archival research is clear in his two articles on Wertinger published in the journal *Ars Bavarica*, "Hans Wertinger und Sigmund Gleismüller: Zwei Hauptvertreter des Altlandshuter Malschule" (1973) and "Altäre aus der Werkstatt des Landshuter Hofmalers Hans Wertinger, genannt Schwab " (1980).[15] In the first article, Liedke publishes archival information on these two artists, both of whom worked for Landshut dukes, and argues that Gleismüller was Wertinger's painting master. The second article presents a number of stylistic attributions, some of which are questionable, of altarpieces located in churches near Landshut. Liedke also asserts that Wertinger must have had a large workshop to produce elaborate altarpiece paintings.

A number of technological investigations took place during the 2008 restoration of the nine Wertinger landscapes held in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum. The findings by Daniel Hess, Oliver Mack, and Markus Küffner, published in 2008 in the exhibition catalogue *Enthüllungen: Restaurierte Kunstwerke von Riemenschneider bis Kremser Schmidt*, reveal Wertinger's confident draughtsmanship and innovative painting technique.[16] Furthermore, the article argues for a wider possible date range for the panels than had previously been supposed, and connects them both to Ludwig X as the

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[15] Volker Liedke, "Hans Wertinger und Sigmund Gleismüller: Zwei Hauptvertreter der Altlandshuter Malschule," *Ars Bavarica* 1 (1973): 50-83; and Volker Liedke, "Altäre aus der Werkstatt des Landshuter Hofmalers Hans Wertinger, genannt Schwab," *Ars Bavarica* 15/16 (1980): 20-48.

[16] Daniel Hess, Oliver Mack, and Markus Küffner, "Hans Wertinger und die Freuden des Landlebens," in *Enthüllungen: Restaurierte Kunstwerke von Riemenschneider bis Kremser Schmidt*, exh. cat. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg (Nuremberg: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, 2008), 64-81.

landscapes' patron and also to other cultural activities at the Landshut court. This publication is thus the first to attempt to contextualize some of Wertinger's output, an undertaking that will be furthered in this paper.

Wertinger scholarship saw a significant leap forward with the exhibition "'Ewig blühe Bayerns Land': Herzog Ludwig X. und die Renaissance," which was on view in 2009 in Landshut's Stadtresidenz, the magnificent palace constructed on the city's main street by Ludwig X. The exhibition's accompanying catalogue, edited by Brigitte Langer and Katharina Heinemann, presents the most up-to-date consideration of the Landshut court under Duke Ludwig as a major cultural center during the Renaissance.[17] A number of Wertinger artworks are discussed in detail both in catalogue essays and in object entries. However, much of the book concentrates on the construction and decoration of the Stadtresidenz, appropriately lauded as the first Italianate palace north of the Alps, but which took place entirely after the death of Hans Wertinger in 1533.[18] This emphasis on the Stadtresidenz is not unusual for the literature on Ludwig X and on Landshut in the Renaissance, and certainly understandable given that the exhibition was on display in that building. Still, in Langer and Heinemann's publication the innovations of Ludwig's early art projects are overshadowed by the later triumphs of the Stadtresidenz.

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[17] Brigitte Langer and Katharina Heinemann, eds., *"Ewig blühe Bayerns Land": Herzog Ludwig X. und die Renaissance*, exh. cat. Stadtresidenz, Landshut (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2009).

[18] On the Stadtresidenz, see Alois Mitterwieser, *Die Residenzen von Landshut* (Augsburg: Dr. Benno Filser, 1927); Hans Thoma, Herbert Brunner, and Theo Herzog, *Stadtresidenz Landshut: Amtlicher Führer* (Munich: Bayerische Verwaltung der Staatlichen Schlösser, Gärten und Seen, 1980); Roberto Sarzi, "Neue Forschungen zur Baugeschichte der Landshuter Stadtresidenz," *Historischer Verein für Niederbayern* 110/111 (1984/1985): 121-164; Helmut Kronthaler, *Die Ausstattung der Landshuter Stadtresidenz unter Herzog Ludwig X. (1536-1543)* (Munich: Tuduv, 1987); Iris Lauterbach, Klaus Endemann, and Christoph Luitpold Frommel, eds., *Die Landshuter Stadtresidenz: Architektur und Ausstattung* (Munich: Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte, 1998); Langer and Heinemann; and Werner Ebermeier, *Antike in Landshut: Antike Mythologie und Geschichte in der Bilderwelt der Landshuter Stadtresidenz* (Landshut: Stadtarchiv Landshut, 2010).

However, an article by Matthias Weniger in the Landshut exhibition catalogue models a critical engagement with Wertinger and his artistic output that had been occasionally lacking in previous literature.[19] In his essay "Neues zu Hans Wertinger und sein Porträts," Weniger considers surviving examples of the painter's portraiture, which overwhelmingly consists of portraits of Wittelsbach family members. The author approaches this group of artworks from a variety of perspectives, analyzing the underdrawings and other technical aspects as well as considering Wertinger's workshop practice and the paintings' possible patrons and functions.

Despite the groundwork established by all of these publications, not enough primary source material exists to fashion a thorough biographical reading of Hans Wertinger's surviving artworks. This project will, instead, approach the artist from another direction as it seeks to contextualize Wertinger's artworks within one specific locus of patronage: the Landshut court between about 1515 and 1530. As a court painter to Duke Ludwig X of Bavaria, a member of the House of Wittelsbach, Hans Wertinger created works that both reflected and contributed to the court culture. Many were visual representations of Ludwig's intentions as a new ruler. Other commissions offered Wertinger opportunities to integrate himself into the elite humanist culture of learning and scholarship that characterized Ludwig's court.

This group of courtly artworks presents a unique perspective from which to analyze Wertinger's character as an artist. Commissions from the duke and his circle are representative of the highest caliber of artistic patronage that could be found during this

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[19] Matthias Weniger, "Neues zu Hans Wertinger und seinen Porträts," in Langer and Heinemann, *"Ewig blühe Bayerns Land"*, 64-81. See also Matthias Weniger, "Original, Replik, Kopie: Zur Porträtproduktion in der Werkstatt von Hans Wertinger," in *Original – Kopie – Zitat: Kunstwerke des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit: Wegen der Anneigung – Formen der Überlieferung*, ed. Wolfgang Augustyn and Ulrich Söding (Passau: Klinger, 2010), 297-308.

time period, that is, princely patronage.[20] Already in his early years of reign Ludwig was a savvy and knowledgeable art patron, and his court painter a talented and inventive artist. The works created by Wertinger for the ducal court are among the artist's most accomplished in terms of conception, execution, and function, and the cast of characters associated with the Landshut court provided its court painter with a variety of important influences for his artwork.

This study will also examine the patron/artist relationship not in its traditional sense, of a patron making demands and the artist obsequiously complying, but rather as a mutually beneficial and cooperative partnership. That Wertinger was so successful as a court artist suggests that he was adept at negotiating the two-way street of patronage, with the ability to balance the patron's interests and ideas with his own knowledge, abilities, and expertise. By investigating Wertinger's unique artistic personality through his projects for the Landshut court, I attempt to foreground the characteristics that underpinned Wertinger's contemporary reputation as a talented court artist.

This analysis of Wertinger's work for the Landshut court will offer insight into the way in which the artist created his works in order to meet the desires of the commissioners and how he positioned both his works and himself within the context of his patronage circle. This first chapter will introduce Wertinger's life and work, discuss his major patrons, and give some background information on the reign of Ludwig X and his court at Landshut. Chapter 2 will discuss Wertinger's portraits of Ludwig X within

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[20] Werner L. Gundersheimer, "Patronage in the Renaissance: An Exploratory Approach," in *Patronage in the Renaissance*, ed. Guy Fitch Lytle and Stephen Orgel (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 16-20. Much more work has been done on the broad trends of artistic patronage in Renaissance Italy than in Germany during the same period, although many case studies of individual courts exist. On Renaissance patronage and court culture more generally, see Ronald G. Asch and Adolf M. Birke, eds., *Princes, Patronage, and the Nobility: The Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age, c. 1450-1650* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); and Martin Gosman, Alasdair A. MacDonald, and Arjo J. Vanderjagt, eds., *Princes and Princely Culture, 1450-1650*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2003).

the context of the artist's entire portraiture oeuvre and in terms of their visual legitimation of Ludwig's political and religious authority. Humanist learning at the Landshut court will be the focus of Chapter 3, with particular attention paid to Wertinger's involvement in providing illustrations for printed books and his panel painting of Alexander the Great. Chapter 4 will examine issues of the space of rulership, including the decoration of the ducal residence at Burg Trausnitz and also the relationship between Wertinger's small landscape paintings and cartographic and historiographic interests at Ludwig's court. In the final, concluding chapter, Ludwig's later patronage of other artists will be assessed in comparison to these early years during which Hans Wertinger served as court artist, thereby illustrating the essential role that the court painter played in molding the artistic culture of Ludwig's court.

Chapter 1: Hans Wertinger's Life, Work, and Patrons: An Overview

On August 16, 1491, Hans Wertinger's name appears on the list of people who took the oath of citizenship that day in Landshut, a Bavarian city located about forty miles northwest of Munich. The archival record of this event is the earliest extant documentation of the artist: "Hans Wertinger, painter, also acquired citizenship from his wife, Michael the silk embroiderer's daughter, and swore his oath on the same day [as the previous entry in the record, i.e. August 16, 1491]."[21] All citizens had to take the oath upon reaching maturity, even if they were born in Landshut. From the scant information in this source, we can reconstruct when the artist was probably born, since the usual age for taking the oath of citizenship was one's early twenties. Working backwards, we come to a probable birth year sometime between about 1465 and 1470.[22]

Only a few details can be ascertained about Wertinger's family background. The artist's father, also named Hans Wertinger, was not himself from Wertingen, a Swabian town near Augsburg, although presumably previous generations had lived there and adopted it as the family name when they moved away. Rather the elder Wertinger was from the Nördlinger Ries, also in Swabia, and had moved to Landshut by 1459, when he appears for the first time in archival sources.[23] Between 1481 and 1489 he appears in the Trausnitz payment records as the duke's *Weihermeister* (literally: master of the pond), meaning he was in charge of the Simmelsee, the ducal fishpond located directly outside

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[21] "Hanns Wertinger, Maler hat auch burgk[recht] vom weib Mich[e]l, seidnnaters tochter und gelobt eodem die [=16. VIII] feria tercia post assumptionem Marie 1491;" as quoted in Liedke, "Hans Wertinger und Sigmund Gleismüller," 52. All translations throughout this paper are my own, unless otherwise indicated.

[22] Buchheit, 26.

[23] In 1459, the elder Wertinger appears in a Landshut payment register as being "aus dem Ryeß;" Liedke, "Hans Wertinger und Sigmund Gleismüller," 54.

the Landtor in Landshut.[24] Hans Wertinger's father died in 1494 and was buried in the Franciscan abbey church of Sts. Peter and Paul in Landshut.[25]

The artist's name as it appears in the sources and as it has subsequently come down to us has presented some considerable confusion over the years. Wertinger is listed in archival sources alternatively as Hans Wertinger and as Hans Schwab Maler or a similarly-spelled derivation, meaning "Hans the Swabian, painter" or "Swabian painter." Thus scholars originally believed that the artist was born in the Swabian town of Wertingen, hence the interchangeable surnames, and only became a Landshut citizen upon his marriage to a native. However, the fact that Wertinger had to take the oath of citizenship did not necessarily mean he was a foreigner, but rather that he had earned his citizenship, since oaths were required to be sworn by natives and non-natives alike. Volker Liedke's identification of Wertinger's father in a 1483 source where he is referred to as "Hans Wertinger…whom they call Swaben," illustrates that "Schwab" was merely a nickname borne by both father and son that referenced the family's distant Swabian origins.[26] Affixing "maler" to the end of the younger Wertinger's name was essentially a practical consideration, not only to differentiate him from his father but also from another "Hanns Swab" who was living in Landshut in 1493.[27]

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[24] Biersack, 154; and Ehret, 7. See also Alois Staudenraus, *Topographisch-Statistisch Beschreibung der Stadt Landshut in Bayern und ihrer Umgebung* (Landshut: Joh. Nep. Uttenkofer, 1835), 40.

[25] C. Primbs, "Das Totenbuch des ehemaligen Franziskaner-Klosters in Landshut," *Verhandlungen des Historischen Vereins für Niederbayern* 13 (1868): 447.

[26] "Hans [W]erttinger…den man nant s[w]aben;" as quoted in Liedke, "Hans Wertinger und Sigmund Gleismüller," 53.

[27] This Hanns Swab, who was a stone grinder, lived in the Badstraße and seems to have had no connection to the artist's family; Theo Herzog, *Landshuter Häuserchronik* (Neustadt an der Aisch: Degener & Co., 1957-1971), 1:261.

A rough sketch of the painter's family life can be cobbled together from archival sources.[28] Christian Schwab, who was a later *Weihermeister* of the Simmelsee, is probably the artist's brother who carried on their father's profession. Hans married Elisabeth, the stepdaughter of the silk embroiderer Michel Bamberger, in 1491 or shortly before. His choice of bride would have been somewhat limited, since the Landshut guild ordinance of 1490 required that "every guild member marry only within his respective guild;" in Landshut, the painters and embroiderers belonged to the same guild.[29] Elisabeth died in 1518 and was buried in the Franciscan abbey church where her father, father-in-law, and later her husband were also interred. Wertinger had at least two sons with his wife; a 1517 record of payment from Philipp, Prince-Bishop of Freising, notes after listing payments to Wertinger, "tip [*Trinckgelt*] to his sons – 2 Rhenish guilders."[30] The same source lists a similar gratuity in 1523.[31] It is likely that the boys were apprentices in their father's workshop, since these tips were meted out in conjunction with payments to their father for completed artistic projects. A Sigmund Wertinger in Straubing and a Cassian Wertinger in Landshut, both painters, appear in archival sources of the 1520s; it is likely that these are indeed Hans's children.[32]

The locations of Wertinger's residences can also be ascertained. Upon his marriage, Wertinger presumably moved into the Bamberger family home in the heart of

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[28] This is mostly thanks to the work of Volker Liedke in his article "Hans Wertinger und Sigmund Gleismüller."

[29] Max Frankenburger, "Die Landshuter Goldschmiede," *Oberbayerisches Archiv für Vaterländische Geschichte* 59 (1915): 88. If a member married someone from a family outside the guild he had to pay a fine.

[30] "Trinckgelt seinen sonen – 2 fl rh;" reprinted in Liedke, "Wertinger und Gleismüller," 81.

[31] "Trinckgelt maister Hannsen sonen, auß bevelch obgemelt gegeben – 2 fl rh;" reprinted in Liedke, "Wertinger und Gleismüller," 83.

[32] Liedke, "Wertinger und Gleismüller," 64.

Landshut.[33] Michel Bamberger is recorded as residing in the house at Schergenstraße 324 (present-day Schirmgasse 282) between 1487 and 1493, at which point his son-in-law presumably inherited the property.[34] In the Landshut tax records of 1493, "Hanns Schwab Maler" is listed as the occupant of the building.[35] At some point before 1531 he purchased a large house, today number 288, on the Kirchgasse.[36] The move may have been due to practical concerns; perhaps he needed more studio space to accommodate a growing workshop.[37]

Certainly, Wertinger attained a level of success that required him to oversee a flourishing workshop.[38] Records showing that he employed apprentices (referred to variously as the master's "journeyman," "painters' servant," or simply as "boy") appear intermittently in the payment register of the Prince-Bishop of Freising, for whom Wertinger completed a large number of commissions.[39] Occasionally, the sources make it clear that the apprentices journeyed to Freising in order to carry out a project on their master's behalf, although none of these works have survived. Extant artworks that exhibit

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[33] At that time, silk weaving was a profession affiliated with the painters' and glaziers' guild, so it is not surprising that Bamberger would have arranged for his daughter to marry a painter; Feuchtmayr, "Hans Wertinger," 425.

[34] Feuchtmayr, "Hans Wertinger," 425; and Herzog, *Häuserchronik*, 1:136. Staudenraus notes the former name: "die Schirmgasse, einst Schergenstraße genannt;" Staudenraus, *Beschreibung*, 34.

[35] Feuchtmayr, "Hans Wertinger," 425.

[36] The building's number during Wertinger's lifetime was 165; Herzog, *Häuserchronik*, 1:115.

[37] Journeymen and apprentices typically lived in their master's house; Reinhold Reith, "Circulation of Skilled Labor in Late Medieval and Early Modern Central Europe," in *Guilds, Innovation, and the European Economy, 1400-1800*, ed. S. R. Epstein and Maarten Prak (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 115.

[38] Gottfried Frenzel and Eva Ulrich, "Die Farbverglasung des Münsters zu Ingolstadt," in *Ingolstadt: Die Herzogsstadt, die Universitätsstadt, die Festung*, ed. Theodor Müller and Wilhelm Reissmüller (Ingolstadt: Donau Courier, 1974), 1:386; Ehret, 105; Weniger, "Neues zu Hans Wertinger," 67, 69; and Weniger, "Original, Replik, Kopie."

[39] "gesellen," "malersknecht," and "knaben;" reprinted in Liedke, "Wertinger und Gleismüller," 81-83. The first commission from the Prince-Bishop of Freising was for Wertinger's panel of *The Legend of St. Sigismund* of 1498; Marianne Gammel, "Studien zu Mair von Landshut" (PhD diss., Technische Universität Berlin, 2001), 55.

characteristics of Wertinger's style but do not display the same quality of execution have therefore been attributed to this workshop. Chief among these are the reverse of the *Moosburg Altarpiece* predella and the *Tabletop with Map of Bavaria* in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum (Figure 106);[40] to these I would add the wings of the *Kleinbottwar Altarpiece* (Figure 49). Further evidence as to workshop size is the large number of portraits by Wertinger that exist in multiple copies. These replicas were produced in the workshop and bear traces of having been completed by multiple hands.[41] The names of Wertinger's apprentices remain unknown, but the guild rules prohibited him from having more than two journeymen and one student at any one time.[42]

With a population of around 10,000,[43] Landshut in the years around 1500 was a bustling center of artists and craftsmen.[44] It was particularly renowned for its armorers and goldsmiths, trades nurtured through years of interaction with the resident "Rich Dukes" of Bavaria-Landshut.[45] The city also supported a large number of painters: between 1493 and 1533, Landshut's tax records and lists of burghers note seventeen

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[40] Adolf Feulner, *Hans Leinbergers Moosburger Altar* (Munich: Riehn & Reusch, 1914), n. pag.

[41] For an in-depth consideration of these questions see Weniger, "Original, Replik, Kopie."

[42] Björn Statnik, *Sigmund Gleismüller: Hofkünstler der Reichen Herzöge zu Landshut* (Petersberg: Michael Imhof, 2009), 180.

[43] Georg Lill, *Hans Leinberger, der Bildschnitzer von Landshut: Welt und Umwelt des Künstlers* (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1942), 16.

[44] Munich at this time was slightly larger, with a population of about 13,500 residents; Norbert Lieb, *München: Die Geschichte seiner Kunst* (Munich: Georg D. W. Callwey, 1971), 70.

[45] Georg Spitzlberger, *Landshuter Plattnerkunst: Ein Überblick*, exh. cat. Stadtmuseum, Landshut (Landshut: Stadtmuseum, 1975); Georg Spitzlberger, ed., *Unvergängliche Harnischkunst: Beiträge zur historischen Waffenkunde* (Landshut: Stadt- und Kreismuseum, 1985); and Frankenburger. Between about 1500 and 1533, the names of forty-six goldsmith masters are recorded in Landshut archival sources; Lill, *Hans Leinberger*, 17.

different painters.[46] The painters and goldsmiths, along with masons, tin and brass casters, silk embroiderers, and glaziers, all belonged to the same guild.[47]

Personally and professionally, Wertinger enjoyed relationships with many of these Landshut artists and artisans. In addition to benefetting from the social and professional networks encouraged by the guild structure, he seems to have moved into a veritable "artists' quarter" in the Kirchgasse.[48] Sculptors, weavers, painters, and a heavy concentration of goldsmiths lived on this street in the early sixteenth century.[49] The sculptor Hans Leinberger lived only a block away from the Kirchgasse, in the Bindergasse (formerly the Barfüßerstrasse).[50] The painter collaborated with Leinberger on the high altarpiece in Moosburg, completing the painted predella and reverse of the sculpted retable (Figure 17). Wertinger also provided designs for the Landshut stone sculptor Stephan Rottaler and collaborated with Sigmund Gleismüller, court painter to the "Rich Dukes" (Figure 6). Through his father-in-law Michel Bamberger, Wertinger would have been in contact with Hans Wurm, another of the only six silk embroiderers living in Landshut around 1500.[51] Wurm, an embroiderer-turned-publisher, was also possibly the *Formschneider* (woodblock cutter) for Mair von Landshut, a painter and printmaker active in Freising whose style would greatly influence Wertinger's early artworks.[52]

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[46] Hans Thoma, *Hans Leinberger: Seine Stadt, seine Zeit, sein Werk* (Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1979), 31.
[47] Frankenburger, 87.
[48] Alois Mitterwieser, "Landshuter Gewerbe und Berufe zu Ausgang des Mittelalters," *Das Bayerland* 35, no. 7 (July 1, 1924): 110; and Liedke, "Hans Wertinger und Sigmund Gleismüller," 64.
[49] See Herzog, *Häuserchronik*, 1:115-123. One of the goldsmiths on this street, Linhart Lobl, was a purveyor to the Imperial Court; Thoma, *Hans Leinberger*, 103.
[50] Herzog, *Häuserchronik*, 1:205.
[51] Lill, *Hans Leinberger*, 17.
[52] Lill, *Hans Leinberger*, 17; and Franz Schubert, "Mair von Landshut: Ein niederbayerischer Stecher und Maler der ausgehenden XV. Jahrhundert," *Verhandlungen des Historischen Vereins für Niederbayern* 63 (1930): 13. Mair von Landshut will be discussed further below, 21-23.

Given that his workshop was situated in Landshut, it is not surprising that the geographic reach of Wertinger's oeuvre is concentrated in Bavaria. The intended locations for most of his artworks roughly conform to the path of the Isar River. He completed works for installation in Straubing (about fifteen miles downriver from where the Isar meets the Danube), Landshut, Moosburg, Freising, Munich, and even Bad Tölz near the Austrian border. Places farther afield have Munich or Landshut connections. Wertinger's stained glass windows for Prüll Charterhouse, near Regensburg, depict the donor, Wilhelm IV (r. 1508-1550), and his father Albrecht IV "the Wise" (r. 1465-1508); both dukes were resident in Munich.[53] Works in stained glass for Ingolstadt Münster and the University of Ingolstadt have a similar connection, as Bavarian dukes endowed both institutions. The small towns of Neuötting and Mining, on the Inn River near Burghausen, were also locations of stained glass windows by Wertinger.[54] These had been commissioned by various members of a noble Bavarian family, the Baumgartners, who served as counselors to the dukes of Bavaria in Munich and Landshut. Similarly, another ducal advisor commissioned the altarpiece in Kleinbottwar, Baden-Württemberg, for which Wertinger and his workshop provided the predella and wings. The altarpiece was installed in the family burial chapel of one of Ludwig's political counselors, Dietrich von Plieningen. Even Wertinger's paintings for Friedrich "the Wise" of Saxony had a Munich connection in the person of Degenhart Pfäffinger, a native Bavarian who had served both courts.[55]

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[53] For more on these windows, see below, 90.

[54] See Rüdiger Becksmann, *Deutsche Glasmalerei des Mittelalters* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1995) 1:223-224 (cat. no. 76), 248.

[55] Robert Bruck, *Friedrich der Weise als Förderer der Kunst* (Strassburg: Heitz & Mündel, 1903; repr., Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus, 1979), 120-121. On Pfäffinger, whose name is sometimes spelled Pfeffinger in the literature, see, for example, Fritz Demmel, "Degenhart Pfeffinger als Auftraggeber von Lucas Cranach," *Das Mühlrad* 38 (1996): 19-26; Manfred Fischer, "Degenhart Pfeffinger aus Salmanskirchen, ein

Despite commissions that covered a wide portion of southern Germany, it is unclear how much Wertinger actually traveled. For some of these commissions, it is likely that the piece was completed in his Landshut workshop and then transported by someone other than the artist.[56] In other words, there was no need for Wertinger to travel the approximately 175 miles to Kleinbottwar himself when a local artisan could have installed the panels into the *Kleinbottwar Altarpiece* retable. However, we do know that Wertinger personally ventured as far as Innsbruck in 1523, having been sent there by Ludwig X to copy Lucas Cranach the Elder's *Madonna and Child* on the high altar at Innsbruck Cathedral.[57] Wertinger's copy is unfortunately now lost. Of course, like other artists of his generation, Wertinger could have covered additional ground during his *Wanderjahre*, the traditional years of travelling apprenticeship, and he may have done extensive travelling within the duchy.[58]

Wertinger's early years of training and his time as a journeyman remain a mystery. It is unclear where, with whom, and even in which medium Wertinger initially received artistic instruction. Part of this uncertainty is due to the dearth of early works—those that can be dated before 1500 are only *The Legend of St. Sigismund* and the *Paten with Abraham and Melchizidek*, both for Freising—and Wertinger's varying style

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Freund Martin Luthers?" *Das Mühlrad* 43 (2001): 61-98; and Enno Bünz, "Die Heiltumssammlung des Degenhart Pfeffinger," in *"Ich armer sundiger mensch": Heiligen- und Reliquienkult am Übergang zum konfessionellen Zeitalter*, ed. Andreas Tacke (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2006), 125-169.

[56] This is the case with the paintings for Friedrich "the Wise" of Saxony, which were shipped to the court at Wittenberg via Nuremberg; Bruck, 120.

[57] Ehret, 181 (cat. no. 125). Princes during this period would occasionally pay for their court artists to travel and pick up new ideas, thus ensuring the court art was at the stylistic vanguard; Martin Warnke, *The Court Artist: On the Ancestry of the Modern Artist*, trans. David McLintock (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 138. Beyond the Innsbruck trip, however, there is no indication that Ludwig funded other such journeys for Wertinger.

[58] See below, 178-180, for a discussion of Wertinger's *Tabletop with Map of Bavaria* as evidence for his familiarity with Bavarian geography.

(Figures 3 and 5). Over the course of his career, Wertinger took stylistic and motivic inspiration from a wide swath of artistic traditions in southwestern Germany, with the influences of the local Landshut school of painting comingling with those of Munich (Jan Polack, Mair von Landshut), Augsburg (Hans Holbein the Elder, Jörg Breu, Hans Burgkmair), and the so-called "Danube School" (Albrecht Altdorfer, Lucas Cranach the Elder).[59]

Many different hypotheses have been put forward for the identity of Wertinger's painting master. Presumably, if he was born and raised in Landshut he would have received his initial training there. Volker Liedke's thesis that Wertinger was a student of Sigmund Gleismüller, court painter to the "Rich Dukes" of Bavaria-Landshut, is based on tangential evidence and must remain hypothetical.[60] But the early date of Wertinger's *Paten with Abraham and Melchizidek* of 1498 (New York, The Cloisters), a masterful example of reverse painting on glass (*verre églomisé*), speaks for the hypothesis that

[59] In the exhibition catalogue for the 1965 Danube School exhibition in Linz, Wertinger's work is described as forming a bridge between the Augsburg and Danube Schools of painting; Otto Wutzel, ed., *Der Kunst der Donauschule 1490-1540*, 3rd ed., exh. cat. Stift St. Florian, Linz (Linz: OÖ. Landesverlag, 1965), 84 (cat. no. 191). A hypothesis has even been put forth that the change in Wertinger's style from its alignment with Mair von Landshut towards the Danube School is because of his 1508 commissions for Friedrich "the Wise" of Saxony, hypothesizing that perhaps he indeed travelled to Wittenberg and met with Lucas Cranach the Elder, who had begun working for the Saxon court in 1504; Friedrich Kobler, "Bildende Kunst und Kunsthandwerk in Landshut zur Zeit Hans Leinbergers," in *Um Leinberger: Schüler und Zeitgenossen*, ed. Franz Niehoff, exh. cat. Museen der Stadt Landshut (Landshut: Museen der Stadt Landshut, 2007), 27.

[60] Liedke's only stylistic comparison to Wertinger's portraiture is the anonymous *Portrait of Alexander Mornauer*, which Liedke attributes to Gleismüller but which had previously been (inaccurately) connected to Wertinger by Theo Herzog. See Liedke, "Wertinger und Gleismüller," 60-63; and Theo Herzog, "Der Landshuter Stadtschreiber Alexander Mornauer und sein Geschlecht," *Verhandlungen des Historischen Vereins für Niederbayern* 81 (1955): 92, 96. Wertinger is mentioned in passing in Björn Statnik's recent comprehensive monograph on Sigmund Gleismüller; Statnik, 11, 286n10. However, Statnik does not address Liedke's hypothesis, and Wertinger does not appear in the section on Gleismüller's students and followers; Statnik, 208-240.

Hans Wertinger must have spent some time apprenticed to a glass painter (Figure 5).[61] Archival sources note that Gleismüller painted on glass and created designs for stained glass work. Only one of these works seems to have survived: the panel in the Heilig-Geist-Kirche in Landshut, for which Gleismüller provided the design ("*glasvisyr*") and Wertinger the execution (Figure 6).[62] The window was completed in 1511, many years after Wertinger's training, so it is unclear if this collaboration is indicative of a prior student/teacher relationship between the two artists. Gleismüller was not the only painter active in Landshut in the late fifteenth century with whom Wertinger could have studied, but of these only their names are known, making it impossible to assess stylistic similarities.

Similarities abound, however, in the work of Mair von Landshut, another candidate for Wertinger's painting master.[63] Although stylistic analysis does not suggest that Mair had a workshop, and only one design for glass painting has been attributed to him, it is clear that Wertinger in his early work was strongly influenced by Mair.[64] Mair, who was active in Munich and Freising, is primarily known as a printmaker. He was a prolific engraver, but only three woodcuts have been attributed to him. Like many printmakers, Mair did not cut his wooden blocks himself, but left this to a

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[61] Fritz Koreny, "Ein unbekanntes Meisterwerk altdeutscher Glaskunst: Hans Wertingers gläserne Hostienschale von 1498," *Riha Journal* 0007 (August 25, 2010), accessed April 15, 2014, http://www.riha-journal.org/articles/2010/koreny-unbekanntes-meisterwerk-altdeutscher-glaskunst.

[62] Reprinted in Liedke, "Hans Wertinger und Sigmund Gleismüller," 81. Statnik, 276-278, also includes an appendix reprinting all the archival notices of Gleismüller. This glass panel is "das einzige, einem Landshuter Gotteshaus noch verbliebene bemalte Kirchenfenster aus dieser Zeit;" Hans Emslander, with Max Tewes, *Die Landshuter Hl. Geistkirche* (Landshut, Stadtarchiv Landshut, 2000), 55. The stained glass windows at Moosburg, the location of Wertinger's altarpiece collaboration with Hans Leinberger, were also designed by Gleismüller; Lill, *Hans Leinberger*, 37.

[63] Koreny describes Mair von Landshut as Wertinger's "presumed teacher" ("mutmaßlichen Lehrer"); Koreny, n. pag.

[64] Gammel, 52, 155; see also Schubert, 120.

Formschneider, probably in this instance Hans Wurm of Landshut.[65] Wertinger based the reverse of the predella of the *Moosburg Altarpiece* on a print by Mair.[66]

Another, earlier connection between Mair and Wertinger is the latter's *Legend of St. Sigismund* panel of 1498, now at the Diözesanmuseum in Freising (Figure 3). Wertinger's work owes a great deal to Mair's panel painting *Scenes from the Passion of Christ* of 1495 (Figure 7). Both artworks were commissioned for specific spaces in Freising Cathedral: the lower sacristy in Mair's case, the St. Sigismund Chapel in Wertinger's. Although Wertinger's painting is divided into distinct scenes while Mair's offers a continuous narrative, Wertinger's stylistic debt to Mair is clear, particularly in the modeling of figures, the arrangement of space through the use of fanciful architectural forms (often colored a pale pink), and the decorative Gothic tracery, rendered in grisaille and populated by grotesques.[67]

Even later on in his career, as Wertinger transitioned to a style more oriented towards the Italianate, links back to Mair appear. Wertinger's characteristic floral garland, a motif that festoons the upper region of many of his artworks and thus becomes almost an artistic calling card, was previously featured in an engraving by Mair from 1499 (Figure 8). In this print, the figures are arranged amid fantastical Gothic architecture, a typical organizational component in Mair's designs.[68] Hanging from two metal circles at the very top of the pictorial space is a floral swag, a curiously Italianate motif atypical of Mair's highly Gothicized vocabulary. While the presence of the garland

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[65] Gammel, 222.

[66] Robert Zijlma, "Mair von Landshut," in *Hollstein's German Engravings, Etchings, and Woodcuts* 23 (Amsterdam: Van Gendt, 1979), 100 (cat. no. 9).

[67] Gammel, in a particularly evocative turn of phrase, calls the grisaille figures "Mauergnome" ("stone gnomes"); Gammel, 56.

[68] The "W" letterforms that appear at the base of the columns likely indicate that the print was executed by Wenceslaus von Olmütz after a design by Mair; Zijlma, 105 (cat. no. 13).

seems to have no other purpose than a decorative one, it appears as a physical part of the same pictorial space inhabited by the figures of St. Anne, the Virgin, and the infant Jesus. This is in contrast to the frequent situation in Wertinger's paintings, in which the younger artist often "pastes" the garland motif on top of the image, so that it appears to exist outside of the picture space (Figures 39, 40, 80-88).

Many scholars have suggested another possibility for Wertinger's master: Mair von Landshut's nephew Hans Holbein the Elder, whose workshop was in Augsburg.[69] Holbein was active not only as a panel painter, but also as a designer and painter of stained glass windows, and Wertinger's work shows many strong stylistic connections to Holbein and the Augsburg school of painters.[70] A relationship based on stylistic affinities alone must remain inconclusive, since artistic trade between Augsburg and Landshut was commonplace and many Augsburg artists worked in Landshut.[71] A possible association between Holbein and Wertinger is suggested by the stained glass windows at St. Jodok in Straubing, many of which have been attributed to Holbein and his workshop. Gunther Thiem attributed two of St. Jodok's windows to Wertinger himself and decided that Wertinger painted the window featuring the legend of Sts. Ulrich and Afra after a design by Holbein, thus suggesting a working relationship between the two artists.[72]

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[69] Scholars who suggest that he trained in Augsburg include Feuchtmayr, "Hans Wertinger," 426; Christian Beutler and Gunther Thiem, *Hans Holbein d. Ä.: Die spätgotische Altar- und Glasmalerei* (Augsburg: Hans Rösler, 1960), 207; Baumann-Engels et. al., 104; and *Grove Art Online*, s.v. "Wertinger, Hans," by Hans Georg Gmelin, accessed April 19, 2014, http://www.oxfordartonline.com. Sylvia Hahn and Peter B. Steiner hedge their bets and hypothesize that Wertinger first trained with Sigmund Gleismuller in Landshut, then spent time in Augsburg, then worked in Freising; Sylvia Hahn and Peter B. Steiner, *Von Cranach bis Jawlensky: Kunst und Religion im Wandel. 77 Neuerwerbungen aus fünf Jahrhunderten*, exh. cat. Diözesanmuseum, Freising (Freising: Sellier, 1994), 20.

[70] On Holbein, see Katharina Krause, *Hans Holbein der Ältere* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2002).

[71] Gammel, 12ff.

[72] Beutler and Thiem, 208. Elisabeth von Witzleben attributes the painting of the Ulrich and Afra window in St. Jodok to Wertinger, and suggests that he trained with Holbein in Augsburg; Elisabeth von Witzleben, *Farbwunder deutscher Glasmalerei aus dem Mittelalter* (Augsburg: J. Hannesschläger, 1967), 78. Krause,

Another frequent inspiration for the Landshut artist was Albrecht Altdorfer, whose landscapes informed Wertinger's depictions of the Bavarian countryside in independent panel paintings and as background motifs in portraits.[73] The composition found in a rare surviving drawing by Wertinger, *The Death of St. Alexius* (Konstanz, Wessenberg-Gallerie), is clearly beholden to Altdorfer's drawing of a church interior (Figures 9 and 10).[74] Wertinger has cropped Altdorfer's expansive space and populated it with figures, but the general composition, as well as particular motifs such as the curving pediment, clearly echoes Altdorfer's drawing. Another Wertinger artwork, a glass panel of St. Christopher in St. Otmar's Church in Kriestorf, closely follows Altdorfer's drawing of the same subject, with only a few alterations to the original design (Figures 11 and 12).[75] Given that in both instances the replicated work was a drawing, these uses of Altdorfer's work in Wertinger's art suggest a much closer relationship between the Regensburg and Landshut artists than has previously been asserted.

In stark contrast to Altdorfer, however, many of Wertinger's surviving works are portraits. Given archival notices of additional, lost portraits, it seems that this realm of his artistic activity constituted Wertinger's bread and butter.[76] Despite all the evidence that he was a portrait painter in considerable demand, Wertinger's portraiture has been the

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361n10, claims that the Ulrich and Afra window at St. Jodok in Straubing was not, in fact, designed by Holbein, although she does not mention the question of a Wertinger attribution at all in this context.

[73] On Altdorfer, see Christopher S. Wood, *Albrecht Altdorfer and the Origins of Landscape* (London: Reaktion, 1993).

[74] On Altdorfer's drawing, see Frederike Hauffe, *Architektur als selbständiger Bildgegenstand bei Albrecht Altdorfer* (Weimar: Verlag und Datenbank für Geisteswissenschaften, 2007), 29-31.

[75] Altdorfer did make an engraving of St. Christopher in 1511 that roughly conforms to this same pattern; see Ursula Mielke, *The New Hollstein German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts, 1400-1700: Albrecht and Erhard Altdorfer* (Rotterdam: Sound & Vision Interactive, 1997), 27 (cat. no. e.21). However certain key characteristics of the drawing compared to the print (Christopher's upturned head, the position of his left foot relative to the staff, and the direction of the billowing drapery) confirm that Wertinger based his glass painting on the drawing and not the print.

[76] On Wertinger's portraiture, see below, 57-62.

subject of some scholarly scorn. In 1862, Joachim Sighart wrote that Wertinger lacked "a sense of grace" in his portraiture.[77] This assessment has not been radically altered in the ensuing years: for example, the recent online project "Porträt Galerie Bayern," sponsored by the Haus der Bayerischen Geschichte, describes Wertinger's portraits thus: "representative [*rerpäsentativ*][78] and carefully designed, with appropriate attributes, [they] appear schematic in their composition and are without psychological penetration of the sitter, who is depicted in a three-quarter view."[79]

However, a consideration of the portrait known as *Portrait of Ritter Christoph* ("Knight Christoph;" Madrid, Thyssen-Bornemisza) painted by Wertinger in 1515 reveals an instance of the artist's ingenuity (Figure 13). The panel is rectangular in format, measuring 113 x 61.5 cm, or about 3.5 feet tall and 2 feet wide. Uncommon for the date of 1515 is the full-length depiction, but some insight is offered by a contemporaneous poem affixed to the back of the panel. Karl Feuchtmayr posited that the poem's text originally appeared on the front of the painting in a manner similar to that found at the bottom of Wertinger's *Portrait of Christoph von Layming* in the Victoria and

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[77] "der Sinn für Anmuth;" Sighart, 583n1.

[78] The English word "representative," meaning something that stands in for something else, does not convey the quite the same meaning as its German counterpart *repräsentativ*. *Repräsentativ* here means befitting a certain position, or working in service of *Repräsentation*, which the German dictionary Duden defines as "orientation towards an exalted social status" and "the cultivation of one's outward image towards a particular [life]style." I will be using the English word "representative" in this, its German sense, in this study.

[79] "Hans Wertinger," Porträt Galerie Bayern, Haus der Bayerischen Geschichte, accessed February 14, 2014, http://www.hdbg.de/portraitgalerie/kuenstler-wertinger_hans.html.

Albert Museum in London (Figure 14);[80] however, analysis of the Madrid panel shows that it has not been cut down.[81] The *Ritter Christoph* poem reads:

Ritter Christof bin ich genannt
Des Gemuets hätt ich wohl Ritterstand
Doch grosse[r] leut mans Leib Schicklichkeit
Sieht man hier Conterfait bereit
Wär ich ein wicht, so möcht nicht seyn
Mein läng an disem Täfelein
1515[82]

[Ritter Christoph I am called, in affect I could well have knightly status
Yet one sees here readily portrayed a normal-sized person's male body and comportment
If I were a cheat, my true height would not be on this panel][83]

The painted figure is thus revealed to be a dwarf and the portrait a life-size depiction. Wertinger confounds the viewers' expectations by painting the balustrade at the point where it would hit a person of normal height. The portrait was an amusing visual riddle, one that would have delighted its commissioner—Philipp, Prince-Bishop of Freising—and members of his court, where Christoph would have been well known since he was employed as Philipp's court dwarf.[84] This kind of playful innovation, however, would not have been appropriate in a portraits of the nobility, and it seems likely that the patron's

[80] Feuchtmayr also implies that Wertinger may have written the poem himself, which I find questionable; Karl Feuchtmayr, "Zwei Studien zur bairischen und schwäbischen Malerei des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts. I: Ritter Christoph, ein Bildnis von Hans Wertinger," in *Festschrift Hans Vollmer*, ed. Magdalena George (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1957), 115.
[81] Isolde Lübbeke, *The Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection: Early German Painting 1350-1550*, trans. Margaret Thomas Will (London: Sotheby's, 1991), 388-391 (cat. no. 89).
[82] Feuchtmayr, "Zwei Studien," 115.
[83] I am extremely grateful to Peter Hess for his assistance in translating this poem.
[84] On Philipp of Freising, see below, 31-34. It was not uncommon in the Renaissance for portraits to be made of dwarves, and indeed these tended to be rather humorous. However, these occur for the most part later in the sixteenth century; Lorne Campbell, Miguel Falomir, Jennifer Fletcher, and Luke Syson, *Renaissance Faces: Van Eyck to Titian*, exh. cat. National Gallery, London (London: National Gallery, 2008), 52.

restrictions and not the artist's own lack of imagination is to blame for the programmatic quality found in much of Wertinger's other portraiture.

Particularly in his landscape panels, Wertinger's creative abilities shine through (Figures 80-94). He is at his most effective in works of small format such as these, in which he can engage the viewer with playful details and calligraphic brushwork. Wertinger excels in the invention of evocative spaces on a small scale, as he combines elements characteristic of the Danube School—"landscape, atmosphere, color, light, and movement"[85]—into unique and inventive compositions. Whether they are arranged within an expansive Alpine vista or an intimate village setting, the human figures and animals that populate Wertinger's imaginary worlds entice the viewer to linger and delight in the many charming vignettes.[86]

When it has been performed, infrared reflectography of Wertinger's paintings reveals the artist's fluid working process and active imagination. His underdrawings are sketched with loose and suggestive brushstrokes that enliven the imagery and can even be seen occasionally through the subsequent layers of paint. Frequently, Wertinger revised elements found in the underdrawing in the process of completing the finished panel. A particularly instructive case is the *Fox and Stag Hunt in Winter* in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, which was thoroughly examined during its restoration in 2009 (Figure 94). A comparison between the infrared reflectogram of this panel and its completed state illustrates that Wertinger originally intended for there to be a far greater number of staffage figures than ended up in the final version (Figures 95 and 96). He also shifted elements around when executing the painting, such as moving the two sledding figures at

[85] Thoma, *Hans Leinberger*, 85.
[86] For more on the landscapes, see below, 156-186.

left further toward the center of the composition. This indicates Wertinger's active experimentation during the very process of preparing and painting the panel, a sign of his confidence as a draughtsman and artist.

In addition to panel painting, Wertinger excelled in a variety of other media, demonstrating his versatility as an artist. Many painted stained glass panels accepted as autograph survive, both *in situ* and in museums, as well as other windows that were designed by Wertinger but completed in his workshop. He had also mastered the difficult and complicated technique of *verre églomisé* by a fairly early age.[87] Wertinger painted frescoes, designed woodcuts for book publications, and provided local sculptors with designs.[88] He painted on canvas as well as on panel, and archival records further indicate that he also illuminated manuscripts.[89]

Perhaps the most convincing argument in favor of Wertinger's accomplishments as an artist is that he attracted some of the most savvy, knowledgeable, and ambitious artistic patrons of the era. These contemporaries recognized that Wertinger could provide them with innovative artworks that addressed specific decorative, programmatic, and propagandistic needs. The many "return customers" who patronized the Landshut artist more than once testify to Wertinger's adaptability and resourcefulness in catering to each patron's individual needs.

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[87] See below, 29-30.
[88] On frescoes, see Ehret, 86-88.
[89] He illuminated books for Philipp of Freising; see below, 32.

WERTINGER'S PATRONS

A brief consideration of some of Hans Wertinger's important patrons offers insight into the various networks of patronage that he developed over the course of his career. His patrons form a diverse assembly, comprising of princes (both secular and ecclesiastical), men of learning, members of the Bavarian nobility, and institutions (such as churches, guilds, and university colleges). Wertinger's many patrons constitute a constellation of people interconnected not merely through their sponsorship of the Landshut artist but also in other social and professional respects. Thus each commission could lead to others, and each successful patronage relationship paved the way for further connections to be formed. How this functioned in practice will be seen in the following discussion of some of the main sources of Wertinger's commissions.

Given that both of Wertinger's earliest artworks are dated 1498, they were possibly commissioned by Ruprecht von der Pfalz who until December of that year served as the Prince-Bishop of Freising.[90] Wertinger is the painter of *The Legend of St. Sigismund* (Figure 3), originally placed in Freising Cathedral. Only recently, another artwork for Freising was attributed to Wertinger (Figure 5).[91] This glass paten, featuring the meeting of Abraham and Melchizidek, is a masterpiece of the reverse glass painting technique, with Fritz Koreny gushing that the glasswork "is of unequalled virtuosity."[92] In reverse glass painting the artist paints on the back of the glass, and the final image is viewed from the front of the object through the glass. This requires what would be the top layers of paint on canvas or panel, highlights and the like, to be applied first; subsequent

[90] This is the same Ruprecht who would go on to marry Elisabeth, the daughter of Georg "the Rich" of Bavaria-Landshut (see below, 41). He received a papal dispensation to relieve him of his position in the church and marry Elisabeth. His younger brother Philipp von der Pfalz would succeed him as Prince-Bishop of Freising.
[91] Koreny, n. pag.
[92] Koreny, n. pag.

layers of paint are added in the same backwards order. Thus an extensive amount of planning and care must go into the development and creation of the image. Already in this early work Wertinger indicates his interest in landscape. In addition to programmatic elements, such as the cliff face at left and the river retreating into the distance, the Landshut artist includes a view of his hometown.[93] This image of Landshut is not topographically exact, but provides an overall suggestion of the locale thanks to the clearly distinguishable profile of the medieval castle in Landshut, Burg Trausnitz.

The patron of these two early works has been the source of some confusion in the literature on Wertinger. Both were intended for Freising, as the paten included the city's and abbey's coats-of-arms and the Sigismund panel not only appears in the payment records but also hung for years in the Chapel of St. Sigismund (one of the cathedral's patron saints) in Freising Cathedral. Both artworks are clearly dated 1498; the panel's date appears on a tablet hanging from the column in the lower right corner of the painting, and the paten features "14" on the base of the left column, and "98" in the corresponding spot on the right column. Ruprecht had served as Prince-Bishop since June 24, 1496.[94] With papal approval, he abdicated his post on December 3, 1498 in order to marry his cousin Elisabeth, the daughter of Georg "the Rich," Duke of Bavaria-Landshut,

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[93] The motif of a landscape cliff with a tree would have likely been drawn from the source imagery typically held in late-medieval painters' workshops. Its appearance here is particularly reminiscent of the workshop drawings of Hans Traut; see Daniel Hess and Thomas Eser, eds., *The Early Dürer*, exh. cat. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg (Nuremberg: Germanisches Nationalmuseum and London: Thames & Hudson, 2012), 388 (cat. no. 86: Daniel Hess) and 390 (cat. no. 88: Daniel Hess). On the view of the city, compare the imagery in the paten with, for example, a watercolor view of the city from 1540, illustrated in Hans Bleibrunner and Kuno Weber, *Landshut in der Malerei: Gemälde und Grafiken aus fünf Jahrhunderten* (Landshut and Ergolding: Arcos, 1989), 13.

[94] Helga Czerny, *Der Tod der bayerischen Herzöge im Spätmittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit 1347-1579: Vorbereitungen – Sterben – Trauerfeierlichkeiten – Grablegen – Memoria* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2005), 172.

and so the artworks must date from Ruprecht's administration.[95] Furthermore, Ruprecht also bestowed another, now lost commission on Wertinger in 1504; by this point the former Prince-Bishop was living in Burg Trausnitz in Landshut with his wife.[96]

However another candidate for the commissioner of the glass paten is Ruprecht's older brother Philipp. Already at the age of eleven Philipp was a canon of Freising Cathedral (and held posts in many other dioceses besides), and in 1498 he would have been seventeen or eighteen years old, employed as the administrator of the diocese, and fully capable of initiating the two commissions.[97] An additional argument in favor of Philipp as the patron of the paten is the subsequent barrage of work he bestowed on Wertinger in the 1510s and '20s.[98]

Indeed Philipp, who assumed the post of Prince-Bishop of Freising after his brother's resignation, was to become Wertinger's most important patron besides Ludwig X (Figure 15). In addition to painting Philipp's portrait in 1515, Wertinger appears again and again in the Freising payment registers in the years between 1515 and 1526.[99] Unfortunately, many of the notices are too vague to identify with extant works—for example, from 1522: "Payment…Master Hannsen Schwaben, painter in Landshut…for his work…15 Rhenish guilders."[100] Other records of payment to Wertinger are explicit,

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[95] "Ruprecht, Pfalzgraf bei Rhein," *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 29 (Leipzig, 1889), 726-729.

[96] Ehret, 10; reprinted in Liedke, "Wertinger und Gleismüller," 65: "Item Hannsen Schwab, maler, bezalt für den klain fann mit unser Frawen bildung und Bayrland auf der andern seiten, lon ze malen 16 gulden rh. 3 & ort."

[97] He was a canon of the cathedrals of Cologne, Augsburg, Freising, Eichstätt, Straßburg, Trier, Würzburg, and Mainz, where he also held a post as provost, all before the age of twelve; Hahn and Steiner, 23.

[98] For Wertinger's appearances in the Freising payment records, see Liedke, "Hans Wertinger und Sigmund Gleismüller," 81-83.

[99] On the 1515 portrait, see Kurt Erdmann, "Ein bildnis Hans Wertinger," *Belvedere: Illustrierte Zeitschrift für Kunstsammler* 8, no. 1 (1929): 369-372; Langer and Heinemann, 215-216, cat. no. 4.19 (Matthias Weniger); and Ehret, 38-39.

[100] "Außgab…Maister Hannsen Schwaben, maler von Landßhuett…auf sein arbeyt…15 fl. rh.;" reprinted in Liedke, "Wertinger und Gleismüller," 82.

but the artworks have not come down to us. These include such intriguing items as the illumination of a prayer book and a mass book, an *All Saints' Altarpiece* to be installed over Philipp's burial place in Freising Cathedral, and "six stags on a canvas."[101] It is possible that "one gilt panel with a Crucifixion," for which Philipp paid Wertinger 45 Rhenish guilders in 1520, is the same painting that now hangs in The Hermitage in St. Petersburg.[102]

Philipp also hired Wertinger and, later, Albrecht Altdorfer to paint parts of his palace in Freising, which he renovated and expanded between 1514 and 1524. Philipp's additions to the bishop's residence, including arcades around the courtyard, were the first Renaissance architectural forms to be built in the area.[103] One of Wertinger's wall paintings for Philipp is still extant, although heavily damaged (Figure 16). Located in the former dining room (*Dürnitz*), which Philipp began building in 1514, the painting was probably completed the following year.[104] The surviving section shows the coats-of-arms of Philipp's ancestors, arranged schematically to indicate a family tree. Above this heraldic imagery we can deduce a painted arch suggesting an illusionistic niche; on either side are the fragments of painted columns with ornamental decorations.[105] Wertinger had

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[101] "6 hirschen auf ain tuechl;" reprinted in Liedke, "Wertinger und Gleismüller," 82. See also Ehret, 182 (cat. no. 136).

[102] "ain vergoldt tafl mit ainem crucifix;" reprinted in Liedke, "Wertinger und Gleismüller," 82. Ehret, 181 (cat. no. 124), admitted that this was a possibility but she had not been to St. Petersburg to view the panel.

[103] Peter B. Steiner, "Freising als Kunstzentrum," in *Freising: 1250 Jahre Geistliche Stadt*, 2nd ed., ed. Friedrich Fahr, Hans Ramisch, and Peter B. Steiner, exh. cat. Diözesanmuseum and Domberg, Freising (Freising: Diözesanmuseum, 1989), 102. The renovations are characterized as "the first large Renaissance structure in Bavaria" in Hans E. Valentin, Erich Valentin, Eckehart Nölle, and Horst H. Stierhof, *Die Wittelsbacher und ihre Künstler in acht Jahrhunderten* (Munich: Süddeutscherverlag, 1980), 330.

[104] Chris Loos and Florian Notter, *Residenz Freising: Bildungszentrum "Kardinal-Döpfner-Haus"* (Lindenberg: Kunstverlag Josef Fink, 2008), 5, 25.

[105] This frame anticipates the one Wertinger would design for his portrait of Ludwig X of the next year. See below, 67-69..

clearly transitioned from a predominantly Gothicizing visual idiom, as seen in *The Legend of St. Sigismund*, to one incorporating Italianate forms.

Additional works by Wertinger for the Prince-Bishop also evince an interest in genealogy and family ties. Wertinger painted Philipp's portrait in 1515, and many other portraits are mentioned in the Freising payment registers. Some of the archival notices are specific enough to correlate to surviving works; for example, "item six panel portraits and Christoph the Dwarf" for which Wertinger was paid in 1520 doubtlessly refers to the *Portrait of Ritter Christoph* (Figure 13).[106] The other portraits Wertinger made for Philipp that are mentioned by name in the registers are, with one exception, Wittelsbach family members: Philipp's younger brothers Georg (by this time the Bishop of Speyer) and Heinrich, his nephews Ottheinrich and Philipp, Duke Albrecht IV of Bavaria-Munich, and Duke Georg of Bavaria-Landshut.[107] The predominance of Wittelsbach portraits suggests that Philipp was developing an *Ahnengalerie*, a collection of family portraits displayed together in one space.

Philipp of Freising also oversaw a lawsuit that Hans Wertinger brought against the canons of the church of St. Kastulus, in Moosburg on the Isar River, in May of 1516.[108] Wertinger and the sculptor Hans Leinberger had collaborated on the church's monumental altarpiece (Figures 17 and 18), with Leinberger sculpting the figures and Wertinger painting the predella, the predella's reverse, and probably also the exterior of

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[106] "item 6 contrafait tafln und Christoffl zwergl;" reprinted in Liedke, "Wertinger und Gleismüller," 82.
[107] The exception is the 1523 payment for a portrait of "die khönigin von Hungarn" (reprinted in Liedke, "Wertinger und Gleismüller," 82-83); this probably refers to Anna of Hungary, the daughter of the King of Bohemia and Hungary who had married the Habsburg Archduke Ferdinand in 1521, in which year they had their portraits painted by Hans Maler. On the Maler portraits, see Sabine Haag, Christiane Lange, Christof Metzger, and Karl Schütz, eds., *Dürer – Cranach – Holbein: Die Entdeckung des Menschen: Das deutsche Porträt um 1500*, exh. cat. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (Munich: Hirmer, 2011), 318-319 (cat. nos. 204-205: Anna Moraht-Fromm).
[108] Feulner, n. pag.

the wings, which are now lost.[109] A nineteenth-century source notes a painting of the Last Judgement on the reverse of the altarpiece, also now lost, which was likely by Wertinger.[110] The funds for the altarpiece had been provided by the provost of St. Kastulus, Theodorich Mair, who appears on the predella in front of his fellow clergymen. Opposite Mair, the three sons of Albrecht IV kneel behind Albrecht's brother Wolfgang, who served as ducal regent until the eldest, Wilhelm, reached maturity. Wertinger's portions of the altarpiece were likely completed between 1511 and 1513.[111] By May 1516 he complained that he still not received 40 guilders in payment—it is unclear if this is a portion of the agreed amount or the entirety—and brought a suit against the church for non-payment of its debt. As the territorial lord of Moosburg, Philipp of Freising pronounced his judgment one year later in May 1517, deciding in favor of Wertinger but awarding him only 22 Rhenish guilders instead of the full 40.[112]

Philipp's younger brother Johann von der Pfalz, Administrator and Bishop of Regensburg, also commissioned works of art from Hans Wertinger. An outstanding

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[109] On the *Moosburg Altarpiece*, see Sigmund Benker, "Notizen zum Moosburger Hochaltar," *Jahrbuch der bayerischen Denkmalpflege* 28 (1970/1971), 167-170; Paul M. Arnold, *Hans Leinbergers Moosburger Hochaltar: Höhepunkt bayerischer Altarbaukunst* (Landshut: Hans-Leinberger-Verein, 1990); Feulner; Volker Liedke, "Altäre aus der Werkstatt des Landshuter Hofmalers Hans Wertinger, genannt Schwab," *Ars Bavarica* 15/16 (1980): 21-37; Ehret, 20-22 and 146-147 (cat. no. 3); Bernhard Decker, *Das Ende des mittealterlichen Kultbildes und die Plastik Hans Leinbergers* (Bamberg: Lerhstuhl für Kunstgeschichte und Aufbaustudium Denkmalpflege an der Universität Bamberg, 1985), 213-249; Lill, *Hans Leinberger*, 35-101; and Thoma, *Hans Leinberger*, 62-67. The surviving low-relief panels of the life of St. Kastulus by Leinberger were probably on the interior of the wings; Arnold, *Moosburger Hochaltar*, 60.

[110] Friedrich Kobler, "Bildende Künste und Kunsthandwerk in Landshut zur Zeit der Renaissance," in *Die Landshuter Stadtresidenz: Architektur und Ausstattung*, ed. Iris Lauterbach, Klaus Endemann, and Christoph Luitpold Frommel (Munich: Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte, 1998), 32.

[111] Ehret, 20-21; and Arnold, *Moosburger Hochaltar*, 126. Crucial to the dating is the appearance of Ludwig X, Albrecht IV's second son, in layman's clothes; he had given up his role as a canon of Freising Cathedral in 1511; Czerny, 269.

[112] Philipp's ruling is reprinted in Feulner, n. pag. Arnold mistakenly notes Wertinger's payment as 26 guilders in Arnold, *Moosburger Hochaltar*, 128. Compare Wertinger's 40 guilder claim with Hans Leinberger, who earned only 26 Rhenish guilders 6 schillings for his work on the altarpiece; Lill, *Hans Leinberger*, 12.

example of Wertinger's portraiture is the *Portrait of Johann III, Administrator of Regensburg* of 1526, on view in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum (Figure 19).[113] This portrait marks the second occasion that Johann sat for Wertinger: an earlier panel portrait of 1515 (Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum) of comparable size depicts Johann at the age of 26, situated in an archway with allegorical figures of Asia and America.[114] Matthias Weniger suggests that four other portraits of Wittelsbach family members, also painted by Wertinger in 1515 and all of roughly the same dimensions, were also commissioned by Johann.[115] This implies that, like his brother Philipp, Johann may have been amassing panel paintings of family members with the intention of hanging them together in an *Ahnengalerie* in his residence in Regensburg.[116]

In addition to these two clerical Wittelsbachs, Hans Wertinger worked for the secular princes of Bavaria. Around 1513 he created glass panels, now in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, for Prüll Charterhouse featuring the reigning Wittelsbach duke Wilhelm IV and his late father, Albrecht IV (Figures 20 and 21). Later, Wertinger would also paint panel portraits of Wilhelm and his wife Jacobäa (Figures 39 and 40; Munich, Alte Pinakothek). Presumably Wertinger was active in his native town for the court of Georg "the Rich," the last ruler of the independent duchy of Bavaria-Landshut. Peter Gertner's portrait of Georg is a copy of an earlier work, done when the duke was 46

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[113] On loan to the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg from the Alte Pinakothek in Munich; see Langer and Heinemann, 216-217 (cat. no. 4.20: Matthias Weniger).
[114] Weniger, "Neues zu Hans Wertinger," 76.
[115] "Konkreter sind die Hinweise, dass fünf Bildnisse im Auftrag Johanns III. für Regensburg gemalt wurden;" Weniger, "Neues zu Hans Wertinger," 76.
[116] A further similarity between the brothers: Albrecht Altdorfer also worked for Johann, painting his bathroom in the Regensburg bishop's residence; Valentin et, al., 334.

(Figure 32).[117] This original painting, therefore, would have been painted in 1501 or 1502, in all likelihood by Hans Wertinger.[118]

The local princes were not the only patrons who bestowed commissions on the Landshut artist. Archival sources from the court at Wittenberg note three panel paintings made by Hans Wertinger for Elector Friedrich "the Wise" of Saxony. Friedrich paid Wertinger 30 guilders for two panels in 1503 and 44 guilders for one panel, presumably a large altarpiece, in 1508.[119] It was not unusual for the elector, an enthusiastic collector both of artworks and relics, to purchase artworks from artists far afield: in 1507 he wrote to the Gonzagas in Mantua, asking for a painting by their former court artist Andrea Mantegna.[120] The Saxon record of the Wertinger panels is particularly important because we know very little of the artist's activity during the early 1500s. These commissions were probably facilitated by Degenhart Pfäffinger, a native of Salmanskirchen in Bavaria, who had served the duke of Bavaria-Landshut before becoming a councilor to Friedrich in early 1493.[121] Like the elector, Pfäffinger was himself a collector of relics and a patron of the arts; in addition to commissioning works from the Wittenberg court painter Lucas Cranach the Elder, he also patronized Wertinger.[122] The Landshut artist painted

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[117] Gertner painted it in 1530/1531 for Ottheinrich, who was making his own *Ahnengalerie* in his palace at Neuburg an der Donau; Langer and Heinemann, 166 (cat. no. 1.1: Brigitte Langer).

[118] Frenzel and Ulrich, 386, incorrectly note the original painting as having been done in 1491. The text on the panel notes that the duke was in his 46th year when he was portrayed; since Georg was born in August of 1455, the original portrait must date from 1501 or 1502.

[119] Bruck, 120-121, suggests that the two 1503 paintings were portraits.

[120] Matthias Müller, "Im Wettstreit mit Apelles: Hofkünstler als Akteure und Rezepteure im Austausch- und Konkurrenzverhältnis europaischer Höfe zu Beginn der Frühen Neuzeit," in *Vorbild – Austausch – Konkurrenz: Höfe und Residenzen in der gegenseitigen Wahrnehmung*, ed. by Werner Paravicini and Jörg Wettlaufer (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke, 2010), 183. Mantegna had died in 1506.

[121] Manfred Fischer, 64; Demmel, 19-20.

[122] Pfäffinger even accompanied the Elector on pilgrimage to the Holy Land; Demmel, 19.

Pfäffinger's likeness in stained glass for a window in St. Anna's in Neuötting on the River Inn, a hospice church Pfäffinger had founded in 1511 (Figure 22).[123]

St. Anna's was also the location of stained glass windows Wertinger painted for the Baumgartner family; this group of Bavarian nobles bestowed many commissions on Wertinger over the years.[124] The Baumgartners held positions of service to the dukes of Bavaria-Landshut, so it comes as no surprise that they patronized a Landshut artist for their stained glass commissions. Further panels by Wertinger were installed in the family burial chapel in Mining, also on the river Inn.

In addition to these individual and family patrons, institutions also patronized the Landshut artist. Wertinger painted stained glass roundels for various colleges of the University of Ingolstadt in 1527 (Figure 23). He also received commissions from guilds in Ingolstadt and Straubing. In 1511 and 1517 he painted windows for Ingolstadt Münster that were given by the innkeepers' and brewers' guilds; earlier, he had completed a group portrait of the guild of coppersmiths for a window in the Basilica of St. Jodok in Straubing. Commissions also stemmed from ecclesiastical institutions. For example, in November 1520, the Church of the Holy Trinity in Kößlarn, near Passau, sent payment to "master Hans Schwaben, the painter in Landshut" for the "St. Anna panel in the chapel," a work that is now unfortunately lost.[125]

Another lost altarpiece by Wertinger was made for the Franciscan Abbey Church of Sts. Peter and Paul in Landshut; this painting is of particular note because of how he

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[123] Ehret, 165 (cat. no. 57); Demmel, 20; and Langer and Heinemann, 200-201 (cat. no. 4.1: Brigitte Langer). The portrait of Degenhart Pfäffinger that has often appeared in the literature as by Wertinger is a modern forgery; Weniger, "Neues zu Hans Wertinger," 68.

[124] Neuötting was about halfway between Pfäffinger's family seat near Mühldorf am Inn, and the Baumgartner family's Burg Frauenstein in Mining.

[125] "mayster Hanns Schwaben, dem maler zw Lanntzhuet," "sand Annatafel in dy capellen;" as quoted in Liedke, "Altäre," 43.

was paid—or not paid—for his work. This church, no longer extant, is where the painter's father, wife, and father-in-law were all interred, and it thus carried a particular familial significance for Wertinger.[126] Listed in the parish register of the church is a notice made upon Wertinger's death in 1533: "In the year of our Lord 1533 died Hans, called Schwabmaler, who painted a great part of the panel of the choir, almost for free, at another time, etc., a great supporter of the brothers of this convent."[127] The language may suggest that Wertinger painted the altarpiece not in return for a cash payment, but rather in exchange for the prayers of the monks after his death. It is unclear if Wertinger made this donation on his own initiative or if the monks approached him with the idea for an altarpiece.

Even with all of this busy activity for other princes and clients, Wertinger's most important patron from 1516 onward was Ludwig X, Duke of Bavaria. Contact with the intellectual and cultural sphere of the ducal court inspired many of Wertinger's most innovative and accomplished artworks. Ludwig took up residence in Landshut in 1515. He was a young and ambitious prince, having only recently ascended the throne following a long conflict with his brother over his right to rule alongside him. Many of Ludwig's early art commissions reflect concerns born of this struggle.[128] Therefore,

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[126] After secularization in the nineteenth century, the Church of Sts. Peter and Paul was dismantled and the stones used to build a weir (the Ludwigswehr) over the Isar River; Georg Spitzlberger, *Landshut in Geschichte und Kunst*, 2nd ed. (Riemerling: Dr. Hanskarl Hornung, 1989), 44.

[127] "Anno Domini 1533 obijt Hansz, dictus Schwabmaler qui magnam partem tabule Chori fere gratis depinxit, alias etc. magnus fautor fratrum hic conuentus;" as quoted in Ehret, 5. Primbs, 419, lists Wertinger's entry under November 18 (incorrectly, according to Ehret).

[128] Ludwig seems even to struggle for legitimacy in the scholarship of the present day; he is often passed over in the literature and treated as a footnote to his brother's reign. See, for example, Karl-Ludwig Ay, ed., *Altbayern von 1180 bis 1550* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1977), 208-209; Andreas M. Dahlem, "The Wittelsbach Court in Munich: History and Authority in the Visual Arts (1460-1508)" (PhD diss., University of Glasgow, 2009), 89-90; and Heinrich Lutz, "Das konfessionelle Zeitalter, erster Teil: Die Herzöge Wilhelm IV. und Albrecht V," in *Das Alte Bayern: Der Territorialstaat vom Ausgang des 12. Jahrhunderts bis zum Ausgang des 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Max Spindler (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1966), 295-350.

before we analyze Wertinger's artworks for this patron in the following chapters, we must first summarize the complicated history of late medieval Bavaria and outline Ludwig's long road to becoming duke.

THE POLITICAL BACKGROUND TO THE REIGN OF LUDWIG X, DUKE OF BAVARIA

At the start of the fifteenth century, Bavaria was much smaller than its modern-day German counterpart. It comprised four independent Wittelsbach territories: the duchies of Bavaria-Straubing, Bavaria-Ingolstadt, Bavaria-Munich, and Bavaria-Landshut. This division had been in place since 1392, when the male heirs of Stephan II, Duke of Bavaria, had apportioned the duchy among themselves.[129] When the duke of Bavaria-Straubing died without a male heir, that duchy was divided among the rulers of Bavaria-Ingolstadt, Bavaria-Munich, and Bavaria-Landshut in 1429.[130] Further consolidation of land and power occurred after the death of the duke of Bavaria-Ingolstadt in 1447, when the Ingolstadt territories became part of Bavaria-Landshut by order of the Holy Roman Emperor Friedrich III.[131] Thus by the middle of the fifteenth century, Bavaria consisted of two separate Wittelsbach duchies: Upper Bavaria with its political seat in Munich, and Lower Bavaria with its political seat in Landshut.

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[129] This division, known in German as the *Bayerische Landesteilung von 1392*, created three duchies from Stephan's holdings: Bavaria-Munich, Bavaria-Landshut, and Bavaria-Ingolstadt; Bavaria-Straubing at this time was already its own independent territory. An overview of the history of these divisions can be found in Theodor Straub, "Bayern im Zeichen der Teilungen und der Teilherzogtümer (1347-1450)," in Spindler, ed., *Das Alte Bayern*, 185-190; and Wilhelm Störmer, "Die wittelsbachischen Landesteilung im Spätmittelalter (1255-1505)," in *Von Kaisers Gnaden: 500 Jahre Pfalz-Neuburg*, ed. Suzanne Bäumler, Evamaria Brockhoff, and Michael Henker, exh. cat. Schloss Neuburg, Neuburg an der Donau (Augsburg: Haus der Bayerischen Geschichte, 2005), 17-23.

[130] For the agreement dividing Straubing among the three other duchies, see Ay, 169.

[131] Siegfried Hofmann, "*Und das solche Stiftung, die weil die Welt stet, also beleib und bestee*: Die Kirche zur Schönen Unserer Lieben Frau – ein historischer Überblick,' in *Liebfrauenmünster Ingolstadt*, ed. Ludwig Brandl, Christina Grimminger, and Isidor Vollnhals (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2007), 21; and Czerny, 129.

The following years frequently saw cooperation between the Munich and Landshut houses as they worked to set themselves against the growing power of the House of Habsburg.[132] For Duke Albrecht IV "the Wise" of Bavaria-Munich, a united Bavaria would present the greatest defense against the acquisitive Habsburgs. Unlike the other Bavarian duchies, the Munich line had never had problems producing sons, which occasionally caused conflict as the heirs quarreled over rights of succession and division of territories.[133] This kind of brotherly animosity had, in fact, occurred among Albrecht and his brothers Sigmund, Christoph, and Wolfgang.[134] By age 38 Albrecht was still unmarried, and he anticipated great contention among his brothers should he die without an heir. He feared that they would divide Bavaria-Munich among themselves and thus weaken the power both of the territories and of the House of Wittelsbach. Therefore, in 1485 he wrote his testament and named his Wittelsbach relation Georg "the Rich," Duke of Bavaria-Landshut, as his heir should he die without male issue.[135] (See Appendix for a family tree of the Bavarian dukes.)

Perhaps acting in the spirit of the maxim "keep your friends close and your enemies closer," in January 1487 Albrecht married a Habsburg: Kunigunde, the daughter of the Holy Roman Emperor Friedrich III and sister of the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I (r. 1486-1519). The union produced eight children, including three sons.

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[132] Christian Dittmar, "Kriegerische Auseinandersetzungen bis 1505 als Folge der Landesteilung," in *Bayern-Ingolstadt, Bayern-Landshut 1392-1506*, ed. Stadtarchiv Ingolstadt, exh. cat. Stadtarchiv, Landshut (Ingolstadt: Stadtarchiv, 1992), 65; and Reinhard Stauber, "Territorium, Dynastie und Reich: Grundzüge der auswärtigen Politik Herzog Georgs des Reichen von Niederbayern (1479-1503)," in *Bayern-Ingolstadt, Bayern-Landshut*, 101-105.

[133] Reinhard Stauber, "Die Herzöge von München: Die Wiederherstellung der Landeseinheit," in *Die Herrscher Bayerns: 25 Historische Portraits von Tassilo III bis Ludwig III*, ed. Alois Schmid and Katharina Weigand (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2001), 145-147.

[134] Dahlem, 21, 53, 56.

[135] Ay, 179.

Wilhelm was born in 1493, Ludwig in 1495, and Ernst in 1500, and so Albrecht's earlier testament was rendered moot.

In 1496, after the death of his only surviving son Ludwig, a panicked Georg wrote a new will, naming the Palatine branch of the Wittelsbachs as the beneficiaries. Georg stipulated that should one of the sons of Philipp "the Upright," Elector Palatine of the Rhine, marry Georg's daughter Elisabeth, the Landshut duke's son-in-law would inherit.[136] Accordingly, in 1499 Elisabeth married Ruprecht von der Pfalz, making Ruprecht the new heir.[137] However, none of these dynastic machinations was legally valid, as they expressly went against the stipulations in the *Wittelsbacher Teilungsvertrag* of 1392 (and their subsequent renewal in the *Erdinger Vertrag* of 1450) that when one line died out the territories would go to the other Bavarian Wittelsbach lines.[138] Georg's own advisors counseled him that the will could not be upheld. Emperor Maximilian agreed, and sustained the provision that should Georg die without male issue the surviving Wittelsbach duke of Bavarian territories, i.e. Albrecht IV, would succeed him. Thus a situation would occur similar to what had transpired in the first half of the fifteenth century when the ducal lines of Bavaria-Straubing and Bavaria-Ingolstadt died out: the Bavaria-Landshut territories would pass to Bavaria-Munich.

In December 1503, Georg died without having rescinded his will of 1496. The Landshut War of Succession broke out the next year between the Munich faction, with

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[136] Stefan Weinfurter, "Die Einheit Bayerns: Zur Primogeniturordnung des Herzogs Albrecht IV. von 1506," in *Festgabe Heinz Hürten zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Harald Dickerhof (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1988), 226. On the deterioration of the previously amicable relationship between Albrecht and Georg from 1492 onward, see Peter Schmid, "Der Landshuter Erbfolgekrieg: Ein Wendepunkt der bayerischen Geschichte," in *Der Landshuter Erbfolgekrieg: An der Wende vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit*, ed. Rudolf Ebneth and Peter Schmid (Regensburg: Kartenhaus Kollektiv, 2004), 11.

[137] This is the same Ruprecht who had been the Prince-Bishop of Freising; see above, 29-31.

[138] Weinfurter, 225-226.

Habsburg and imperial backing, and the supporters of Ruprecht and Elisabeth, consisting of the aristocracy in Lower Bavaria and the troops of Ruprecht's father.[139] After gruesome, bloody battles in 1504 and 1505, which decimated the Bavarian countryside, and after the deaths of both Elisabeth and Ruprecht from dysentery, the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I stepped in to end the conflict with his *Kölner Spruch* ("Verdict at Cologne").[140] In this ruling, Maximilian gave Bavaria-Landshut to his brother-in-law Albrecht and created a new territory, called Pfalz-Neuburg, for Elisabeth and Ruprecht's children Ottheinrich and Philipp. Maximilian claimed for himself three of the most profitable Bavaria-Landshut territories, located in the Alps, in effect a commission for resolving the conflict.[141]

With the *Kölner Spruch*, Bavaria was, for the first time in over 150 years, united under one ruler, Albrecht IV.[142] No longer was the duchy divided between the Munich and Landshut branches of the Wittelsbach family, but instead became a unified political and territorial entity. Albrecht subsequently became preoccupied with ensuring the political unity of Bavaria in perpetuity, desiring above all that there would be no further division of Bavaria and that only one duke would reign over it.[143] To this end, on July 8, 1506, he instituted a new law of primogeniture whereby the rulership of Bavaria in its entirety would pass to the eldest son.[144] When Albrecht died in March of 1508, his son

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[139] On the Landshut War of Succession, see Ebneth and Schmid; and Bäumler, Brockhoff, and Henker.
[140] Dittmar, 65.
[141] That Kitzbühel, Kufstein, and Rattenberg lie today within the borders of Austria is due to their transfer from Wittelsbach to Habsburg holdings in the *Kölner Spruch*.
[142] Schmid, "Der Landshuter Erbfolgekrieg," 10.
[143] "kain taillung noch zertrennung mer geschehen, auch in solhen vnnsern herczogthumben nit mer dann ain regirnnder herczog lanndsfürst vnd herr sein sol vnd mög;" *Die bayerische Primogeniturordnung von 1506*, ed. Barbara Gebert (Munich: Institut für Bayerische Geschichte, 2002), 100.
[144] "nach absterben vnnser herczog Albrechts sölh herczogthumb regiment vnd regirung an den elltessten vnnsern sone, herczog Wilhelmmen genannt, wo der im leben wär, oder wo nit, das got verhüt, an den elltisten nach ime vnnsern lebentigen sone weltlichs stannts erblich fiel vnd käm;" *Die bayerische*

Wilhelm IV assumed the throne. Because at fourteen Wilhelm was underage, Albrecht's brother Wolfgang served as regent to the new duke.

Where did this leave Ludwig, the second son of Albrecht IV? Ludwig's title was downgraded from "Duke of Bavaria" to "Count of Vohburg," a drastic reduction not only in honorific but also in social standing.[145] Only ten years old when his father decreed the primogeniture law excluding him from participation in the governance of the duchy, Ludwig had been destined for a career in the church.[146] An ecclesiastical career offered many opportunities for social and financial advancement to sons of the nobility; many of the most powerful and wealthy figures of the day were men of the cloth.[147] Ludwig and his younger brother Ernst were educated for this profession in the humanist tradition by Johannes Turmair (called Aventinus) at Burghausen Castle, today on the Austrian border.[148] By early 1507, Ludwig had received the tonsure and been installed as a provost of Freising Cathedral.[149] But Ludwig, in the words of his uncle Maximilian, had "no desire to be a member of the clergy."[150] This suggests that the ambitious second son of Albrecht IV wished to follow his father, uncles, and brother into political life.

Primogeniturordnung, 100. On other primogeniture laws in German principalities, especially in response to the Golden Bull of 1356, see Katrin Nina Marth, "'Dem löblichen Hawss Beirn zu pesserung, aufnemung vnd erweiterung…': Die dynastische Politik des Hauses Bayern an der Wende vom Spätmittelalter zur Neuzeit" (PhD diss., Universität Regensburg, 2009), 246-250.

[145] Marth, 245. On social standing at court, see Biersack, 21-22. On *Hofordnungen* in various German principalities, including those of Bavaria, see Arthur Kern, ed., *Deutsche Hofordnungen des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* 2*: Braunschweig, Anthalt, Sachsen, Hessen, Hanau, Baden, Württemberg, Pfalz, Bayern, Brandenburg-Ansbach* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1907).

[146] Czerny, 234; and Marth, 245.

[147] The archbishops of Cologne, Mainz, and Trier were among the seven Electors, charged with choosing the Holy Roman Emperor. Notable powerful clergymen of the time included Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg, Philipp von der Pfalz (Prince-Bishop of Freising), Georg von der Pfalz (Bishop of Speyer), Berthold von Henneberg (Archbishop and Elector of Mainz).

[148] On Aventinus, see below, 172-180.

[149] Marth, 252-253.

[150] "dann ye unnser Vetter Herzog Ludwig zu gaistlichen Stannd nit willen hat;" *Der Landtag im Herzogthum Baiern vom Jahre 1514 erste, und zweyte Handlung, aus authentischen Handschriften*

In 1511, Ludwig resigned his post at Freising and went to live at the court of his uncle Maximilian in Innsbruck.[151] By December 1513, Ludwig had begun formally contesting the primogeniture, arguing for what he viewed as his proper inheritance as one of Albrecht's three sons: a third of the duchy of Bavaria. Ludwig wrote from Augsburg to the first Diet of Munich, which began January 1, 1514, explaining his grievances and outlining the benefits to a swift resolution between the brothers.[152] Above all, Ludwig argued, the primogeniture law could not be retroactively applied to him since he was born prior to its enactment.

Ludwig also accumulated a group of powerful advocates who argued on his behalf at the first (January-March) and second (May-September) Munich diets in 1514. The emperor sent his representatives to the diet with a letter in support of Ludwig's bid for co-rulership. Ludwig's mother Kunigunde also sent a—rather strongly worded—letter to be read at the diet, in which she argued against the degradation of Ludwig's title by noting, "I am a born princess of Austria, and took a prince of Bavaria [as my husband], and by him I had young princes, not counts or bastards."[153] The humanist Dietrich von Plieningen, who was to become Ludwig's political advisor, also presented the diet with his *Klagerede* outlining the legal reasons for Ludwig's dispute of the primogeniture

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gesammelt (1804), 31, http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb11086296-9.

[151] Marth, 253.

[152] For a transcription of this document, see *Der Landtag,* 35-39. That this letter was written from Augsburg suggests that Ludwig had been travelling with his uncle Maximilian, who is documented in Augsburg between November 13 and December 24, 1513; Christoph Friedrich von Stälin, "Auftenthaltsorte Kaiser Maximilians I. seit seiner Alleinherrschaft 1493 bis zu seinen Tode 1519," *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte* 1 (1862): 376.

[153] "Ich bin ain gebornne Fuerstin von Oesterreich, unnd hab ainen Fuersten von Bayrn genommen, unnd bej demselben Jung Fuersten, unnd nit Grauen erworben, oder Pastard;" *Der Landtag*, 299.

ordinance.[154] Ludwig also enlisted the support of the Bavarian parliament, as they were already embroiled with his brother in their own confrontation regarding the rights and freedoms of the estates.[155]

Wilhelm began to develop his own reasons for reconciling with Ludwig. He certainly did not wish to plunge Bavaria into another civil war so soon after the calamitous Landshut War of Succession. In addition, during the two brothers' meeting with their uncle Maximilian in Innsbruck in the fall of 1514, it became clear that Maximilian's support of Ludwig was not purely the result of familial sentiment and a sense of equity.[156] Wilhelm realized that the emperor's profession of military support of Ludwig likely meant that he had designs on another chunk of Bavarian territory, as had occurred a decade earlier in the Landshut War of Succession.[157] It was therefore in the duchy's best interests to keep the Emperor from making the final decision himself.[158]

On their way back to Munich from Innsbruck, the brothers stopped at Rattenberg Castle where, on October 14, 1514, they finally came to an agreement: the two of them would rule together over a united Bavaria, and as a preventative measure they explicitly shut out any future claim their brother Ernst might put forth. [159] They agreed to separate

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[154] On Dietrich von Plieningen, see below, 100-135. An excerpt from the *Klagerede* is printed in Ay, 592-593, and the full text appears in *Der Landtag*, 470-478.

[155] See Ay, 589-592.

[156] At this time Maximilian was in residence in Innsbruck for a remarkably long stretch: he stayed there between September 1, 1514 and March 7, 1515; Stälin, 377.

[157] Georg Spitzlberger, "Hof und Hofstaat Ludwigs X. im Zwielicht der Überlieferung," in *Die Landshuter Stadtresidenz: Architektur und Ausstattung*, ed. Iris Lauterbach, Klaus Endemann, and Christoph Luitpold Frommel (Munich: Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte, 1998), 9-22.

[158] Manfred Weitlauff, "Wilhelm IV. und Ludwig X.: Die Auseinandersetzung mit der Lehre Luthers," in Schmid and Weigand, *Die Herrscher Bayerns*, 160.

[159] Ay, 194-195; and Monika Ruth Franz, *Die Landesordnung von 1516/1520: Landesherrliche Gesetzgebung im Herzogtum Bayern in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2003), 42. Ernst went on to have a successful career in the church; he became the administrator of the Bishopric of Passau. For a brief summary of Ernst's career, see Manfred Weitlauff, "Die bayerischen Wittelsbacher in

residences and split the management of the duchy into two administrative sections. Wilhelm would oversee the area around Munich, approximately two-thirds of the duchy, leaving Ludwig with the remaining third, the area around Landshut.[160] Two years later, however, they dissolved this division and settled on joint rule over the entirety of Bavaria.[161] Ludwig moved to Landshut in 1515 and began his reign, officially, the following May.

Despite evidence that suggests that he participated fully in the administration of Bavaria, Ludwig has been under-represented in historical literature in comparison with his brother. The duke in Landshut is often characterized as inferior to his brother in Munich, and occasionally gets left out of historical consideration altogether.[162] This is to some degree due to the fact that he never married and died without a legitimate heir, so the Landshut line ends up being viewed by posterity as a dead branch of the Munich family tree. Furthermore, even though the governance of the duchy was shared between

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der Reichskirche," *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* 87 (1992): 311-312.

[160] Franz, 41-42. "Auch wenn zwei Jahre später [i.e. in 1516] festgelegt wurde, dass die Verwaltungen und Residenzen nicht getrennt werden sollten, blieben doch faktisch die beiden Höfe bestehen;" Brigitte Langer, "Der Renaissancehof Herzog Ludwigs X. in Landshut," in Langer and Heinemann, *"Ewig blühe Bayerns Land,"* 38.

[161] Lutz, 301.

[162] Maximilian Lanzinner's study of the consolidation of administrative power in the duchy of Bavaria only occasionally mentions Ludwig and even then only in passing; Maximilian Lanzinner, *Fürst, Räte und Landstände: Die Entstehung der Zentralbehörden in Bayern 1511-1598* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980). Rainer Babel briefly notes Landshut in reference to a later Bavarian duke, Wilhelm IV, in the latter part of the sixteenth century, but does not significantly engage with the subject. In fact, he describes Burg Trausnitz as being "near Landshut;" Rainer Babel, "The Duchy of Bavaria: The Courts of the Wittelsbachs c. 1500-1750," in *The Princely Courts of Europe: Ritual, Politics, and Culture Under the* Ancien Régime *1500-1750*, ed. John Adamson (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1999), 190. A dissenting voice is Georg Lill: "Klug, überlegt, in seiner Jugend auch unternehmungslustig, spielte er in der ersten Hälfte seiner Regierung [i.e. 1516-1530] auch als diplomatischer Unterhändler und als militärischer Befehlshaber eine fast größere Rolle im politischen Leben Bayerns als sein Bruder Wilhelm IV. in München;" Georg Lill, "Ein Bild vom Hofe Herzogs Ludwig X. von Bayern-Landshut," *Verhandlungen des Historischen Vereins für Niederbayern* 78 (1952): 7.

the two dukes, the administrative center was still in Munich. Landshut became, therefore, a "provincial capital city."[163]

This historical tendency to view Munich as center and Landshut as periphery during the years between about 1515 and 1530 belies the art-historical situation in the early sixteenth century, when artists (especially sculptors) working in Landshut produced works of greater scope, ambition, and consequence than those in Munich.[164] Similarly, projects carried out in the early years of Ludwig's reign have been overshadowed by the later construction and decoration of the Stadtresidenz. Crucially, however, this first period of Ludwig's ducal patronage sets the stage for what was to come later. Many of the most pervasive, persistent, and characteristic features of Ludwig's court culture were not the innovations of the Stadtresidenz, but those of the artworks produced in the decades beforehand.

During these very years, Hans Wertinger served as Duke Ludwig's court painter. The artist is therefore a perfect lens through which to investigate the particular nature both of Ludwig's early artistic patronage and of other projects associated with the Landshut court. Between Ludwig's arrival in Landshut in about 1515 and Wertinger's death in 1533, the artist was a key agent in the establishment and development of the duke's cultural interests.

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[163] Thoma, Brunner, and Herzog, 4.

[164] Although Hans Wertinger is the only Landshut painter at this time whose name can be confidently associated with extant artworks, the artistic climate of Landshut (spearheaded by Wertinger and the sculptor Hans Leinberger) overall was superior to Munich at this time. The exception to the artistic primacy of Landshut over Munich is the series of paintings of heroes and heroines, commissioned by Wilhelm IV from a variety of notable south German artists such as Jörg Breu and Albrecht Altdorfer in the late 1520s. Munich would take precedence in subsequent decades because there would be no duke resident in Landshut, and Wilhelm IV's successors undertook ambitious projects at the Munich Residenz.

WERTINGER AND THE CULTURE OF THE LANDSHUT COURT

While Wertinger worked for many different patrons and courts over the course of his lifetime, he only explicitly held the position of court artist at one: Ludwig X's court at Burg Trausnitz in Landshut. In the ducal payment records of 1518, on folio 45r, large letters across the top of the page indicate that the subsequent section of the codex contains payments to artisans ("*Hanntwercker*").[165] Directly beneath, clearly spelled out, appears the word *Hofmaler*, court painter (Figure 24). The payments to Hans Wertinger, here called "Maister Hannsen Swabmaler zu Lanndshut," for that year are then listed.[166] At the end of the entry, the register notes that the artist was also given a *Hofgewannt*, a court robe.

With this entry, Wertinger's complete inclusion as a member of the courtly sphere surrounding Ludwig X is confirmed. Martin Warnke notes the "essential features of the office of a court painter" in his influential study on Early Modern court artists: "he was given a title, a regular salary, special bonuses such as a robe, and he could be placed in charge of other painters at court."[167] In the registry, Wertinger is explicitly named as a court painter and given clothing appropriate to his station within the court hierarchy. There is no indication that Wertinger ever received a fixed salary from Ludwig, although this was not uncommon for court artists during this period.[168] We also do not know to

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[165] Staatsarchiv Landshut, Kurbayern-Hofkammer Ämterrechnungen RMA Landshut 885 (1518), fol. 45r.
[166] Sighart, writing in 1862, included a note on Wertinger that suggests that the scholar had access to records that have since been lost, for example those for 1523: "Er malt den 'Dreifaltigkeitsaltar und das Maria hilfbild des Lukas Kranach [sic] für den Herzog Ludwig (1523);'" Sighart, 583n1.
[167] Martin Warnke, *Hofkünstler: Zur Vorgeschichte des modernern Künstlers* (Cologne: DuMont, 1985), 17. I do not completely agree with the translation found in the English version ("All this tells us a good deal about the position of *the* court painter," italics mine; Warnke, *The Court Artist*, 4), which suggests that these characteristics were true only for the court painter under discussion, while the phrasing in the original German ("Wesentliche Merkmale des Amtes eines Hofmalers") has a more general application.
[168] Warnke, *The Court Artist*, 124.

what extent he oversaw other painters in completing projects for Ludwig, although given the scope of some of his artistic undertakings for the duke it is certainly possible.

The *Hofgewand* in particular is a potent symbol of Wertinger's new position at court. A tangible and very valuable object, it served as a mark of inclusion and a visible assurance of status during a time when sumptuary laws explicitly forbade dressing above or below one's social station.[169] The presentation of identity was inseparable at that time from "the physical body" which, as Steven Shapin explains, was "a text on which basic social identity might be inscribed and which might be written upon to secure other identities."[170] According to Warnke, "a member of the court household was expected to be recognizable as such in the world outside;"[171] therefore Wertinger's court robe cemented this new social identity by clearly indicating his status to others. It also served as an advertisement of his superior artistic abilities.

Despite the common indicators of "court artist" status that Warnke identifies, the term does not denote a constant set of criteria met across various courts. The activities and status of the court artist were in each case unique to the respective court and variable even among multiple artists working within one courtly sphere.[172] A useful evaluation in

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[169] See Wolfgang Wüst, "Hof und Policey: Deutsche Hofordnungen als Medien politisch-kulturellen Normenaustausches vom 15. bis zum 17. Jahrhundert," in Paravicini and Wettlaufer, *Vorbild – Austausch – Konkurrenz*, 128-129. Landshut had a *Kleiderordnung* in place by 1361; K. Th. Heigel, ed., "Landshuter Rathschronik 1439-1504," in *Die Chroniken der baierischen Städte Regensburg, Landshut, Mühldorf*, vol. 15 of *Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte vom 14. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1878), 263.

[170] Steven Shapin, *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1994), 152. On presentation of self, Shapin, 151, writes: "The most superficial aspect of presentation of self is, paradoxically, one of the least visible to historical scrutiny. Lay assessments of identity in general and trustworthinesss in particular have always proceeded partly upon the basis of physical presentation: physiognomy, costume, gesture, posture, patterns of speech, and facial expression." This aspect of Renaissance self-presentation is further explored in Anna Bryson, "The Rhetoric of Status: Gesture, Demeanour and the Image of the Gentleman in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century England," in *Renaissance Bodies: The Human Figure in English Culture c. 1540-1660*, edited by Lucy Gent and Nigel Llewellyn (London: Reaktion, 1990), 136-153.

[171] Warnke, *The Court Artist*, 128.

[172] Müller, "Im Wettstreit mit Apelles," 181.

this respect is to look at a second artist working for Ludwig who was denoted as "court painter" in the Landshut payment records: "Hofmaler Dreml." Traceable in the records between 1523 and 1530, Christoph Dreml was never paid as much as Wertinger, he did not receive a *Hofgewand*, and no other information about this artist has come down to us, including any artworks.[173] Considering artists were also needed at court for practical projects—painting banners and coats-of-arms, for example—the archival notices of Dreml indicate that he probably held such a position. This suggests stratification among the artists and artisans working for Ludwig, with Wertinger holding a higher social and professional status than Dreml, despite both being termed *Hofmaler*.[174] This situation is undoubtedly due to Wertinger's sophisticated artistic talent and his facility in adapting commissions to the particular needs of his client.

An assessment of a court artist's career must be scrutinized as an individual case, although a few broad generalizations can be made about court artists during this time period. Inclusion as a member of the courtly community was often the high point of an artistic career as it offered increased financial security, access to new spheres of patronage, and, of course, a great deal of prestige.[175] The visual arts have always been an important tool for the formation and presentation of a ruler's identity, power, and magnificence. Consequently the court artist as princely "image-maker" (both image-as-artwork and image-as-persona) played a vital role in the realm of Early Modern court culture.[176]

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[173] Volker Liedke, "Landshuter Hofmaler der Renaissance und des Manierismus in der Zeit von 1516 bis 1567," *Ars Bavarica* 1 (1973): 94.
[174] Warnke, *The Court Artist*, 137.
[175] Müller, "Im Wettstreit mit Apelles," 177.
[176] Warnke, *The Court Artist*, 41.

But when we refer to "court culture," what do we mean, exactly? Both of these words are somewhat problematic, especially since the early sixteenth century was still an early moment in the evolution of "court culture" as a widespread European phenomenon, as it would become in later centuries.[177] As defined by John Adamson, "the court" in this time period is less a physical space than a relational one, "defined not merely as a princely residence…but [as] a far larger matrix of relations, political and economic, religious and artistic, that converged in the ruler's household."[178] Isaiah Berlin succinctly described culture as "the interconnection of diverse activities on the part of members of a given community."[179] The "court culture" under discussion here was fashioned by the interests, events, actions, and endeavors of a complex social constellation centered around one individual: Ludwig X.

With a confluence of notable individuals as a defining feature, courts bred innovation and were on the forefront of cultural advances. As August Buck explains, "the court pulled the entirety of cultural life in its tracks: science, literature, the visual arts, architecture, and music. The courtly community established etiquette, launched new forms of behavior, dictated fashion, and shaped the normative model for courtiers and

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[177] The definition of "court" was ambiguous even in the medieval period. The English courtier Walter Map, writing in the twelfth century, famously quipped, "in the court I exist and of the court I speak, and what the court is, God knows, I know not;" Walter Map, *De nugis curialium – Courtiers' Trifles*, ed. and trans. M. R. James (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 3. A more recent publication does not significantly clarify the situation: "Der Begriff 'Hof'…umschreibt ein vielgestaltiges und äußerst komplexes soziales Gebilde, das sich nach wie vor einer umfassenden und allseits befriedigenden Definition entzieht;" Oliver Auge and Karl-Heinz Spieß, "Hof und Herrscher," in *Höfe und Residenzen im spätmittelalterlichen Reich: Bilder und Begriffe*, ed. Werner Paravicini, Jan Hirschbiegel, and Jörg Wettlaufer (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke, 2005), 1:3. The systematic organization of a court around a set of specific, codified cultural norms would reach its apex in the era of Absolutism, for example at the Versailles court of King Louis XIV of France.

[178] John Adamson, "The Making of the Ancien Régime Court 1500-1700," in Adamson, *The Princely Courts of Europe*, 7.

[179] Isaiah Berlin, *The Crooked Timber of Humanity: Chapters in the History of Ideas*, ed. Henry Hardy (London: Fontana, 1991), 54.

cosmopolitan men."[180] Many of the broad cultural trends that would come to characterize the Renaissance, including those related to the visual arts, had their origins in courtly spheres.

The arts served many different social and communicative functions within the court.[181] Art also communicated between and among courts of different princes, and competition among courts further promoted innovation in the visual arts.[182] The need to keep up with the Joneses required substantial outlay of resources and the cultivation of talent within court circles. Perhaps much of the "intensive artistic patronage" of Renaissance princes, notes Matthias Müller, stems in fact from "a sort of inferiority complex."[183] Particularly for Ludwig X, a desire to assert himself as worthy of the new position he had worked so hard to acquire found clear expression in his early artistic patronage.

Although it was localized in a city and castle that had previously served as a ducal court, the fact remains that Ludwig's court was essentially brand new. Not a continuation of the courts of the "Rich Dukes," the Landshut court during the beginning of Ludwig's reign clearly reflects the particular situation of the new duke. The legality of his new position was still disputed and so, with the question of his legitimacy ever-present in the early years of his rulership, the necessity of a speedy establishment of a court

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[180] August Buck, Introduction to *Höfische Humanismus*, ed. August Buck (Weinheim: VCH, 1989), 1.
[181] Müller, "Im Wettstreit mit Apelles," 173.
[182] Müller, "Im Wettstreit mit Apelles," 184. See also Stephan Hoppe, "Fürstliche Höfe als Förderer der Kunstentwicklung im Heiligen Römischen Reich zu Beginn der Neuzeit," in *Handbuch der Renaissance: Deutschland, Niederlande, Belgien, Österreich,* ed. Vera Lüpkes and Anne Schunicht-Rawe (Cologne: DuMont, 2002), 26-39.
[183] Müller, "Im Wettstreit mit Apelles," 183. He is talking about Italian courts in particular but extends his discussion to wonder about this characteristic in all European courts.

concomitant with his position was paramount.[184] Considering his tenuous role, it was especially important for Ludwig X to utilize every possible strategy for conveying his status, including commissioning artworks that addressed these and other concerns. Such an undertaking "certainly required an artist who…was not merely knowledgeable about the cultural conventions of his time, but also possessed the artistic expressivity to make visual the specific interests of his patron."[185] Ludwig found just such an artist in Hans Wertinger.

It is within the specific sphere of Landshut court culture—the interests and activities of people associated with the resident duke, Ludwig X—that Hans Wertinger's artworks will be analyzed in the following chapters. Commissions from the duke himself and also from other members of the court illustrate not only the distinctive characteristics of Landshut court culture but also reveal how Wertinger positioned himself in order to participate fully in the life of the court. Wertinger's appropriation of the newest visual modes of representation, his employment of distinctive humanist subject matter, and his facility in creating imagery fitting the needs, desires, and conceits of Duke Ludwig all contributed to his success as a court painter. The prince was, of course, subject to prevailing trends, but he also "influenced to a certain degree the artists by the

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[184] "The thoroughness with which these newcomers [i.e. new princes] acquired the 'correct' courtly amenities reveals more than a pattern of copying and emulation. It essentially itemizes what contemporaries regarded as the defining features of a sovereign court;" Adamson, 14.

[185] Elke Anna Werner is referring here to Cranach at the court of the Hohenzollerns in Brandenburg, but the same can easily be said for Wertinger and Ludwig X; "Die Renaissance in Berlin: Lucas Cranach d. Ä. und die höfische Repräsentation der brandenburgischen Hohenzollern," in *Cranach und die Kunst der Renaissance unter den Hohenzollern: Kirche, Hof und Stadtkultur*, ed. Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg and Evangelischen Kirchengemeinde St. Petri-St. Marien, exh. cat. Schloss Charlottenburg, Berlin (Berlin and Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2009), 25.

commissions he bestowed on them."[186] Yet the artist/patron relationship was a two-way street, and as much as the duke's tastes had an effect on his artwork, Wertinger was also instrumental in the development of Ludwig's artistic interests. In his artworks for the court, Hans Wertinger shows himself not merely to have been influenced by prevailing trends at the ducal court but to have been a major contributor to the formation of a unique court culture in Landshut.

[186] Buck, *Höfische Humanismus*, 3.

Chapter 2: Portraiture and the Visual Embodiment of Rule

Since the publication of Jacob Burckhardt's *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* in 1860, a central tenet of scholarly understanding of this time period, both south and north of the Alps, has been the fascination of this period with the individual.[187] Renaissance culture situated human beings at the center of its worldview, replacing the scholastic study of the medieval period with the *studia humanitatis* of classical society.[188] As Burckhardt noted, this period "first gave the highest development to individuality, and then led the individual to the most zealous and thorough study of himself in all forms and under all conditions."[189] This "thorough study" extended to the visual arts and can be seen most clearly in the emergence of portraiture as a genre.[190]

Renaissance portraits were drawn on paper; painted on walls, panel, and canvas; cut into woodblocks and engraved into metal plates; embroidered or woven into

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[187] Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, trans. S. G. C. Middlemore (London: Penguin, 1990), esp. 98-119 and 198-229. Burckhardt's formulation of the Renaissance as an age of individualism has been the focus of much scholarly critique, as it is perhaps more reflective of nineteenth-century notions of individuality than those of the time period Burckhardt discussed; see, for example, Catherine M. Soussloff, *The Absolute Artist: the Historiography of a Concept* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 80-88. Other scholars have traced notions of the individual and individuality in European thought prior to the Italian Renaissance, locating it as born of an earlier phenomenon, the so-called "Twelfth-Century Renaissance;" see Colin Morris, *The Discovery of the Individual 1050-1200* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), 5-10. However, as Zachary S. Shiffman notes, "we must distinguish between the modern notion of 'individualism,' embracing one's economic and social self-interest, and Burckhardt's notion of 'individuality' as an enlivened sense of one's own uniqueness;" Zachary S. Shiffman, ed., *Humanism and the Renaissance* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2002), 12. Retaining interest in the individual as one of the defining characteristic of the Renaissance remains useful because, as Peter Burke explains, the "point about individualism…is not that it was dominant, but that it was relatively new, and that it distinguishes the Renaissance from the Middle Ages;" Peter Burke, *The Italian Renaissance: Culture and Society in Italy*, 3rd rev. ed. (Cambridge: Polity, 2014), 29.

[188] Charles G. Nauert, *Humanism and the Culture of Renaissance Europe*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 10-21.

[189] Burckhardt, 198.

[190] On portraiture in the Renaissance, see Lorne Campbell, *Renaissance Portraits: European Portrait-Painting in the 14th, 15th, and 16th Centuries* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990); Dülberg; and Campbell, Falomir, Fletcher, and Syson. On German Renaissance portraiture, see Haag, Lange, Metzger, and Schütz.

tapestries; and sculpted into statues, busts, and portrait medals. First appearing in Italy and then later in the north at the sophisticated cultural centers of the Bohemian, French, and Burgundian courts, portraits served to record the features of individuals and, in doing so, glorify their character and accomplishments.[191]

Portraiture was thus ideally suited to the representation of those in power. Not only could a portrait replicate the appearance of a ruler, but it could also make assertions—whether true or exaggerated—about the personality and abilities of the sitter and can convey something of the sitter's exalted position. These could be achieved through the careful choice of attributes (such as a scepter and crown) and attire (the lavish garments of the nobility), and by suggesting a particular demeanor through the facial features, gestures, and pose of the individual portrayed. Other signifiers, for example personal devices, mottos, and coats-of-arms, offer further insights into the sitter's identity. An investigation into the genesis of such portraits often reveals particular motivations behind the commission and imagery contained therein.

Two such portraits by Hans Wertinger will be the subjects of this chapter. Both are of Ludwig X, Duke of Bavaria, for whom Wertinger worked as court painter. One, a panel painting created in 1516 at the very start of Ludwig's reign and now held in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum in Munich, addresses the political concerns and conceits of the new Bavarian duke (Figure 25). The other portrait under discussion is the donor panel of the enormous stained glass *Annunciation Window*, dated 1527, in the choir of the Liebfrauenmünster in Ingolstadt (Figure 26). This portrait's location in this particular religious space speaks to Ludwig's and his brother's roles as spiritual stewards of the Bavarian people during the religious upheaval of the Protestant Reformation.

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[191] On portraiture at court, see Warnke, *Hofkünstler*, 270ff.

HANS WERTINGER AND PORTRAITURE

Portraiture comprised a major component of Hans Wertinger's artistic activities. He created portraits in oil paint (both donor panels on altarpieces and independent panel paintings), woodcut, and stained glass. Matthias Weniger notes twenty-nine stand-alone panel portraits that he securely attributes to Wertinger.[192] To these should be added the *Portrait of Elisabeth von Baden* in the Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg and the *Portrait of a Man* at Hearst Castle, which may depict Philipp, son of Elisabeth of Bavaria-Landshut and Ruprecht von der Pfalz.[193] Kurt Löcher also attributes to Wertinger the portrait of Ursula von Weichs, Ludwig X's mistress, at the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (Figure 27).[194] Another painting, the portrait of Georg "the Rich" of Bavaria-Landshut by Peter Gertner, is probably a copy after a lost Wertinger original (Figure 32).[195]

Additional attributions to Wertinger have been suggested for numerous other portraits. These include the *Portrait of a Man at the Age of Thirty* in Madrid (Thyssen-Bornemisza), another anonymous portrait of a man sold by Christie's on April 25, 2008,

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[192] Weniger, "Neues zu Hans Wertinger," 67-68.

[193] Weniger mentions a portrait of Elisabeth von Baden in his essay "Neues zu Hans Wertinger," 68, but was unable to locate its current whereabouts. On the Elisabeth von Baden portrait, see Kurt Löcher, "Bildnismalerei des späten Mittelalters und der Renaissance in Deutschland," in *Altdeutsche Bilder der Sammlung Georg Schäfer, Schweinfurt*, ed. Isolde Lübbeke, exh. cat. Altes Rathaus, Schweinfurt (Schweinfurt: Weppert, 1985), 136. On the portrait of Philipp, see Kurt Löcher, "Ein unterschätzter Held: Pfalzgraf Philipp der Streitbare (1503-1548) im Bildnis," *Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Württemberg* 41 (2004): 6-30; and Burton B. Fredericksen, *Handbook of the Paintings in the Hearst San Simeon State Historical Monument* (Santa Monica: Delphinian Publications, 1977), n. pag. (cat. no. 88).

[194] Langer and Heinemann, 285 (cat. no. 9.2: Kurt Löcher).

[195] Langer and Heinemann, 166 (cat. no. 1.1: Brigitte Langer).

and a portrait of Ludwig X from about 1530 in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum.[196] John Rowlands suggests that a portrait in the collection of the Duke of Rutland at Belvoir Castle in England is "perhaps from the circle of Hans Wertinger."[197] It must remain speculative as to whether or not these works listed here are by the hand of Wertinger, his workshop, or by another southern German artist.

Seven of Wertinger's portraits on panel of Wittelsbach family members exist in multiple versions of varying qualities of execution, suggesting both a busy workshop and a demand among his princely patrons for such portraits.[198] Through the degree of finish and subtle alterations between iterations it is often clear which version of the portrait is the original and which is the copy.[199] The sheer number of these Wittelsbach portraits that have survived in more than one version indicates that they may have been sent as

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[196] On the portrait in Madrid, see "Hans Wertinger, Portrait of a Man at the Age of Thirty," Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, http://www.museothyssen.org/en/thyssen/ficha_obra/162 (accessed April 18, 2014). For information on the Christie's sale, see "Hans Wertinger, Portrait of a Gentleman," Christie's, http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/paintings/hans-wertinger-portrait-of-a-gentleman-bust-length-5063451-details.aspx (accessed April 18, 2014). On the portrait of Ludwig X of c. 1530, see Ilse von zur Mühlen, *Die Kunstsammlung Hermann Görings: Ein Provenienzbericht der Bayerischen Staatsgemäldesammlungen* (Munich: Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, 2004), 206 (cat. no. 102). She attributes it to Hans Wertinger; however, Matthias Weniger denies this attribution.

[197] John Rowlands, with Giulia Bartrum, *Drawings by German Artists in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum: The Fifteenth Century, and the Sixteenth Century by Artists born before 1530* (London: British Museum, 1993) 1:107. This painting is incorrectly attributed to Albrecht Dürer in *Reproductions by the Collotype Process of Some of the Works in the Loan Exhibition of Pictures, Held in the Art Gallery of the Corporation of London, at the Guildhall, 1892* (London: Blades, East, & Blades, 1892), 6.

[198] Weniger, "Original, Replik, Kopie." That multiple copies of portraits exist is not in itself particularly remarkable; as Karl-Heinz Spieß notes, "Von vielen Porträts gab es Kopien oder Wiederholungen desselben Meisters, den den Fürsten ging es in erster Linie um die Erinnerung an den abwesenden Verwandten, so dass für sie die uns heute so bewegende Frage des Originals nur eine geringe Rolle spielte;" Karl-Heinz Spieß, "Materielle Hofkultur und ihre Erinnerungsfunktion im Mittelalter," in *Mittelalterliche Fürstenhöfe und ihre Erinnerungskulturen*, ed. Carola Fey, Steffan Krieb, and Werner Rösener (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2007), 183.

[199] For an in-depth discussion of this, and a list of portraits that exist in more than one version, see both articles by Matthias Weniger.

diplomatic gifts, hung in multiple princely residences, or formed family portrait galleries (*Ahnengalerien*).

The poses in all of Wertinger's panel portraits tend to follow a specific type. Wertinger's sitters are always positioned in three-quarter view, looking out towards one side. The one exception is the profile portrait of Georg, Bishop of Speyer, at Berchtesgaden Castle. Additionally, and again with one exception, the sitters are shown from the chest upwards, frequently with their hands resting on a balustrade. The *Portrait of Ritter Christoph* at the Thyssen-Bornemisza Museum in Madrid, however, shows the sitter's entire body as he stands before a low wall (Figure 13). The subject was the court dwarf to Philipp, Prince-Bishop of Freising, so the decision to paint him in a life-size, full-length portrait is a playful reflection of his diminutive stature.[200]

A hallmark of Wertinger's panel portraiture, and much of his artistic output, is the hanging garland that festoons the upper registers of many of his portraits. His reliance on this motif has led scholars to deride his artistic sensibilities as ornamental and his portraiture as "more or less stereotypical."[201] But this inclusion of the garland is shorthand for the new, Italian influences in southern German art at this time. In his early years Wertinger frequently included Gothic tracery, acanthus leaves, and fantastic gargoyles as framing devices in his artworks.[202] This tendency indicates both Wertinger's training as a glass painter, a medium in which such architectonic motifs were

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[200] See above, 25-27.

[201] Witzleben, 78.

[202] On ornament during this period, see Carsten-Peter Warncke, *Die ornamentale Grosteske in Deutschland, 1500-1650*, 2 vols. (Berlin: Volker Spiess, 1979); Andrew Morrall, "Ornament as Evidence," in *History and Material Culture: A Student's Guide to Approaching Alternative Sources*, ed. Karen Harvey (London and New York: Routledge, 2009), 47-66; and Ethan Matt Kavaler, *Renaissance Gothic: The Authority of Ornament, 1470-1540* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012).

commonplace, and the influence of the artist Mair von Landshut.[203] These types of decorations were becoming noticeably old-fashioned by the 1510s, and so Wertinger adapted his art to reflect a more modern style. A transitional work in this respect is Wertinger's glass painting *Panel with Christoph and Hans Godel* of 1515, located in St. Otmar's Church in Kriestorf (Figure 28). At the top of the image, cornucopia-like decoration is arranged in clusters, with what appears to be fruit, leaves, and sheathes of wheat depicted in shades of gold. This decoration is neither Gothic framework nor the fully-realized Italianate swag that would appear the following year in the *Portrait of Ludwig X, Duke of Bavaria* (Figure 25). Furthermore, garlands held a particular cachet because of their association with Italy and the new Italianate style. Hanging swags were frequently used in northern Italian art of the later fifteenth century, particularly in the work of Andrea Mantegna (Figure 29). Other southern German artists also transitioned from Gothic forms to Italianate, complete with hanging garlands, during the first decades of the sixteenth century: compare Hans Holbein the Elder's *Kaisheim Altarpiece* of 1502 (Munich, Alte Pinakothek), for example, with his 1519 *Fountain of Life* in Lisbon (National Museum of Ancient Art) (Figures 30 and 31). Wertinger's inclusion of the garland in his portraits, whether depicted in full color or a flat gold, thus created a tie to the visual language of the Italian Renaissance, a connection that surely appealed to Wertinger's sophisticated patrons.

Although panel portraits by Hans Wertinger exist with a plain (usually blue) background, frequently he positions his subjects before an expansive landscape that either extends across both sides of the canvas or is visible through an aperture in the wall behind the sitter. Wertinger's facility with landscape betrays his stylistic affinities with

[203] On Mair von Landshut and his relationship to Wertinger, see above, 21-23.

the Danube School of artists.[204] The vistas in Wertinger's portraits are not depictions of any specific location but tend to be generally reminiscent of southern German topography, with craggy mountains, drooping fir trees, winding rivers, and picturesque buildings, all executed in Wertinger's characteristic calligraphic brushstroke. These landscape features evoke Bavaria and serve to situate the sitters within the territory of the duchy. The background scenes also add visual interest to the portraits and allow Wertinger to display his consummate virtuosity in the rendering of landscape.

Wertinger also painted portraits of donors in religious paintings, such as in the predellas of the *Moosburg Altarpiece* and the *Kleinbottwar Altarpiece* (Figures 18 and 47).[205] At Moosburg, the donor Theodorich Mair kneels with other members of the chapter opposite depictions of the Bavarian regent Wolfgang and the three sons of Albrecht IV. In the *Kleinbottwar Altarpiece*, as in many of his panel portraits, Wertinger positions members of the Plieningen family before a sweeping landscape. In both of these altarpieces, coats-of-arms serve to identify the persons depicted, possibly because the small size of the predella panels made it difficult to individualize the donors' facial features to a sufficient degree of legibility.

Hans Wertinger enjoyed diverse patronage of his portraiture. He painted a series of panel portraits of prominent Wittelsbachs for Philipp, Prince-Bishop of Freising, and another for Johann, Administrator of Regensberg, presumably for *Ahnengalerien*. Wertinger also provided woodcut portraits of these two patrons for publications.[206] Other woodcut portraits, of the humanist Dietrich von Plieningen, Duke Wilhelm IV, Duke Ludwig X, and Emperor Maximilian I, appear in other printing projects illustrated by

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[204] Wertinger and landscape will be discussed below, 156-186.
[205] On the Kleinbottwar attribution, see below, 103-108.
[206] Ehret, 175-176 (cat. nos. 104 and 105).

Wertinger (Figures 45 and 56).[207] Additionally, Wertinger completed many portraits in stained glass for ecclesiastical spaces. These frequently depict the donor of the panels being presented by a patron saint. Of particular note in this regard is the work Wertinger did for the Baumgartners, a noble Bavarian family with connections to the ducal court.[208]

PORTRAITURE AND THE POLITICAL LEGITIMATION OF LUDWIG'S RULE

Hans Wertinger's two portraits of Ludwig X, Duke of Bavaria, address specific political concerns and serve as statements of rule (Figures 25 and 26). While both are visual responses to political events and legitimizing displays of ducal authority, each reflects a particular focus. The imagery in Wertinger's panel painting of 1516 suggests that Ludwig's reign would mark the end of a tumultuous period in Bavarian political history and serves as a manifesto for his intentions as a ruler. The stained glass window of 1527 in Ingolstadt, with its double portrait of Ludwig and his brother Wilhelm IV in the donor panel, argues against the Lutheran threat and reinforces the dukes' roles as both political and religious leaders.

Wertinger's 1516 *Portrait of Ludwig X, Duke of Bavaria*

In 1515 Ludwig X moved to Landshut; his residence during the early years of his reign was the former castle of the "Rich Dukes" of Bavaria-Landshut, Burg Trausnitz. Ludwig's reign as co-duke of Bavaria began, officially, on May 16, 1516. Around this

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[207] However, terming these images "portraits" is misleading, because the same woodcut was used to depict both dukes. See below, 114.

[208] See Jules Mannheim and Édouard Rahir, *Moyen-Age et Renaissance*, vol. 1 of *Catalogue de la collection Rodolphe Kann, Objets d'Art* (Paris: 1907), 18-23.

time or shortly thereafter, the young ruler commissioned a portrait from Hans Wertinger, one of the first instances of the duke's artistic patronage.[209]

The choice of Wertinger, a local artist, reveals much about Ludwig's artistic interests and influences. Wertinger had already painted the young Ludwig, although doubtfully from life, in the predella of the high altarpiece at St. Kastulus in Moosburg (Figure 18). The altar was installed in 1514, with the predella likely painted in 1511. At any rate, the *terminus ante quem* for the completion of Wertinger's work for the high altar is May 1516, the start of the artist's lawsuit against the church for unpaid wages and fees.[210] Therefore the Moosburg panels must have been completed prior to Ludwig's commission of the *Portrait of Ludwig X, Duke of Bavaria* of 1516. Although the Moosburg altarpiece was a bequest by Theodorich Mair, the late provost of the collegiate church, the close ties between the church and the dukes of Bavaria are reflected by the portraits of Wolfgang (in his role as regent), Wilhelm, Ludwig, and Ernst that appear opposite members of the clergy on the predella. Ludwig had no hand in the commission of the altarpiece, but since he is depicted in the area of the altarpiece traditionally reserved for donor portraits, he might have known of the work and its artists, Wertinger and the sculptor Hans Leinberger, another Landshuter. The young prince may have even sat briefly for Wertinger to sketch his likeness for the predella. Choosing Wertinger for his first ducal portrait may have been thanks to Ludwig's connection to him through the *Moosburg Altarpiece*. Of course, Ludwig may have been made aware of Wertinger's abilities by reputation and from seeing other works that the Landshut native had completed, such as those for Freising Cathedral.

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[209] On other early commissions see below, 140-142. Unfortunately, no documents related to the commission of the 1516 portrait have come down to us.
[210] Feulner, n. pag.

When Ludwig became duke of Bavaria, Hans Wertinger was the most accomplished painter in Landshut and had been the recipient of a number of prestigious commissions. In addition to his work for the Prince-Bishop of Freising, Wertinger had also previously served the ducal court in Landshut, painting a portrait of Georg "the Rich," Duke of Bavaria-Landshut, Ludwig's predecessor at the Landshut court. This painting is now lost, but known through a copy made later by Peter Gertner (Figure 32).[211] Given that Wertinger produced other posthumous portraits—for example, his portrait of Albrecht IV (Figure 33)—Matthias Weniger cautions that the original portrait of Georg may not have been completed during the sitter's lifetime. However, the inscription on the panel suggests otherwise.[212] Gertner's copy notes that the original portrait ("*aim alten conterfaid*") was painted when Georg was 46 years old, thus would have been completed about 1501-1502.[213] Wertinger continued to work for the ducal community at Trausnitz; he painted a banner, presumably to be used in battle, for Georg's son-in-law Ruprecht in 1504.[214]

Ludwig certainly would have seen a variety of advantages in hiring Hans Wertinger as court artist. First and foremost in the duke's mind during these early years of his reign was the validity of his position. Ludwig would have benefitted from the legitimizing effect of choosing a court artist who had worked for the previous Landshut duke. That Ludwig chose a local artist in Wertinger also reflects the duke's understanding of his new role. The artistic culture of Landshut had always benefited from the presence of the ducal court, with the duke and also his courtiers providing a captive market for

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[211] Langer and Heinemann, 166 (cat. no. 1.1: Brigitte Langer).
[212] Weniger, "Neues zu Hans Wertinger," 66.
[213] Langer and Heinemann, 166 (cat. no. 1.1: Brigitte Langer).
[214] Liedke, "Wertinger und Gleismüller," 65.

local artists and artisans. The impact of the years between 1503 and 1516 on the city's artistic economy must have been profound; the citizens would have anticipated that the absence of a ducal court in Landshut would remain permanent after the War of Succession concluded in 1505. The "Rich Dukes" had also employed court artists, such as Sigmund Gleismüller, who served both Ludwig "the Rich" and his son Georg as court painter. Gleismüller completed tasks for his employers ranging from the practical—coats-of-arms and trumpeters' banners—to the elaborate—an altarpiece for the duke's private chapel in the so-called "Harnischhaus," a ducal apartment in Landshut.[215] By the time Ludwig arrived in Landshut to begin his reign, the city had just endured a decade without a duke in residence. His immediate employment not only of Wertinger but also of other artisans suggests that he was aware of the hardship caused by the absence of a court at Trausnitz and sought to rectify it through bestowing his patronage upon his subjects.

Hans Wertinger's painting also fulfilled the duke's broader motivations as a ruler in creating a portrait commensurate with the prestige of his new office (Figure 25). Wertinger's panel painting, still in its original frame, is signed "HW" on the reverse.[216] Since the text on the frame dates it to 1516 and gives the duke's age as 21, the painting must have been completed after his birthday on September 18. The portrait depicts the duke in three-quarter view, his facial expression placid yet resolved. Ludwig sits before a parapet draped in red brocade; in the background is a sweeping vista. Typical for Wertinger's portraiture is the decorative garland that hangs from the painted archway above the sitter.

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[215] Statnik, 277. Statnik, 276-278, lists all the archival notices in which Gleismüller and other artists appear between 1470 and 1504. Liedke includes three further entries referencing Gleismüller from later payment records (1509, 1511, and 1515); Liedke, "Wertinger und Gleismüller," 81.
[216] Langer and Heinemann, 240 (cat. no. 6.1: Matthias Weniger).

In the painting, Wertinger depicts Ludwig as a ruler who is not triumphant in his new role, but rather focused on the good governance of his territory. The duke's attire reflects this humble goal. Ludwig's clothes are elegant and appropriate to his station: he wears a luxurious fur cloak, a white doublet with slashed sleeves, and a fashionable black beret. However, in comparison to other princely portraits of the period, the Bavarian duke's outfit is remarkably modest and unostentatious.[217] Compare, for example, Ludwig's costume to that worn by Margrave Casimir von Brandenburg in his 1511 portrait by Hans von Kulmbach (Munich, Alte Pinakothek), or the clothing depicted in the 1517 portrait of Ludwig's young cousin Philipp, Count Palatine, by Hans Baldung Grien (Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen) (Figures 34 and 35). The muted colors and the restraint in ornamentation of Ludwig's garments are quite unlike the more extravagant costuming found in the Kulmbach and Baldung portraits.

Ludwig also wears relatively few jeweled adornments. In addition to a gold necklace, a single gold signet ring appears on his left forefinger; this ring would have been used to imprint wax seals in order to make documents official. Wertinger draws attention to this ring by posing Ludwig with his right fingers encircling it, presenting the ring to the viewer as being of special importance. This ring is engraved with the Palatine-Bavarian coat-of-arms, and thus a signifier of Ludwig's new position as duke.[218] The imagery is subtle: the only overt indicator in the painted image of his status as sovereign is this simple signet ring.[219]

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[217] Brigitte Langer, 38, describes his outfit as "auffallend schmuckloser Renaissancekleidung."
[218] Langer and Heinemann, 240 (cat. no. 6.1: Matthias Weniger).
[219] Langer and Heinemann, 240 (cat. no. 6.1: Matthias Weniger).

The tabernacle frame[220]—designed by Wertinger and carved by Stephen Rottaler—proclaims Ludwig's new role quite overtly through its inscription in Latin. This text is written in a roman font (as opposed to the characteristically Germanic blackletter), a style often used for Latin inscriptions and similar to those found on ancient Roman monuments in the Eternal City and throughout the former Empire.[221] The text on the frame's predella reads: "Imago Serenissimi Ludovici Bavarie Ducis Depicta Anno DNIM DXCI Serenitatis Vero Sue Etatis Anno Vigesimo Primo;" in English: "Image of the most serene Ludwig, Duke of Bavaria, depicted in the year of our Lord 1516, in the 21st year of his serenity, that is, of his age."[222] As Brigitte Langer has noted, the inclusion of Ludwig's title as Duke of Bavaria "encompasses not just the co-rulership, but also that he carries the title of duke, whereas according to his father's intentions the younger sons were degraded to counts."[223] The phrase "in the 21st year of his serenity, that is, of his age" in particular whitewashes the time Ludwig spent as Count of Vohburg (a position not worthy of the honorific "serenitas," a term once used for Roman Emperors).[224] It is also notable that forms stemming from the word "serenitas" appear twice in the inscription, and are thus a double marker of Ludwig's nobility and his worthiness to hold the title of Duke of Bavaria.

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220 "The term tabernacle describes a frame where structure and ornamentation were inspired by classical Graeco-Roman [sic] architecture;" Christina Powell and Zoë Allen, *Italian Renaissance Frames at the V&A* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 2010), 32.

221 Conrad Peutinger, in particular, was a keen collector of ancient inscriptions. On this phenomenon more broadly, see Martin Ott, *Die Entdeckung des Altertums: Der Umgang mit der römischen Vergangenheit Süddeutschlands im 16. Jahrhundert* (Kallmünz: Michael Lassleben, 2002).

222 My thanks to Louis Waldman for his assistance with this translation.

223 Langer, 38.

224 This honorific was only used in the later Empire; J. F. Niermeyer and C. van de Kieft, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus*, 2nd rev. ed. (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 2:1253

Wertinger's frame encloses the portrait of Ludwig inside the sophisticated visual language of Italian Renaissance architecture.[225] Slender, graceful columns painted to appear as marble form the vertical elements on either side of the portrait; the top of the frame features a carved ornamental frieze alternating between gold fleur-de-lis and red rosettes. The small pediment above frame takes the form of a seashell, atop of which perch a playful putto and a lion.[226] Like many Renaissance portraits, a slot in the side of the frame indicates that it originally incorporated a sliding cover, now lost, to protect the painted surface.[227] Most likely, this cover was decorated with Ludwig's coat-of-arms.

The frame's similarities to Italian prototypes are clear when compared to a Venetian example of the late fifteenth century (Figure 36). Transmitted northward through artistic exchange, Italianate architectural styles based on antique prototypes began appearing in Germany in Augsburg in the first decade of the sixteenth century.[228] These forms were replicated in Augsburg's print culture; of note are the projects for the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I, whose chiaroscuro woodcut portrait of 1508 by Hans Burgkmair the Elder features square columns, an archway, and classicizing ornamentation (Figure 37). As Katharina Krause explains in her discussion of the stylistic change in Augsburg, "from that point [i.e. the publication of Burgkmair's woodcut] onward, these forms, new but at the same time signifying the antique, appear to have

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[225] On the reception of the Italian style in Bavaria, particularly Augsburg, and its cultural cachet see Rainhard Riepertinger, Evamaria Brockhoff, Ludwig Eiber, Michael Nadler, Shahab Sangestan, and Ralf Skoruppa, eds., *Bayern – Italien: Die Geschichte einer intensive Beziehung*, exh. cat. Haus der Bayerischen Geschichte, Augsburg (Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss, 2010), 211-212, 232-233, and 241-242.

[226] The significance of the putto and lion atop the frame remains obscure.

[227] Dülberg, 276 (cat. no. 274).

[228] On this phenomenon, see Gregory Jecmen and Freyda Spira, *Imperial Augsburg: Renaissance Prints and Drawings 1475-1540*, exh. cat. National Gallery of Art, Washington (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2012); Bruno Bushart, *Die Fuggerkapelle bei St. Anna in Augsburg* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1994); and Claudia Baer, *Die italienischen Bau- und Ornamentformen in der Augsburger Kunst zu Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1993), esp. 1, 3, 20.

been obligatory to meet the high standards [of artists' clients]."[229] For a work of art to be appropriate to an elite patron, therefore, it needed to reference in some way the visual modes of the classical past.[230] This occurred for a number of reasons, including the Italianate style's propinquity to humanism.[231] Claudia Baer notes that, in particular, "architectonic motifs, on which high value was placed, were placed conspiculously in the foreground" of compositions.[232] Wertinger's frame adopts this very visual vocabulary, the cutting-edge style of the Italian Renaissance, in order to position Ludwig as a modern, cultured ruler.

The symbolic landscape behind Ludwig in Wertinger's painted image serves as a visual manifesto of good governance. The vista evokes the Bavarian countryside as it portrays typical features of this area: rolling farmland, piney hills, blue lakes, and finally the dramatic, towering pinnacles of the Alps. While scholars have remarked upon the similarities of the topography depicted in the painting to that actually found in Bavaria—Langer, for example, describes the landscape as "vicariously standing in for the duchy of Bavaria"[233]—no one has noticed that the scenery is divided into two halves along a vertical axis (Figure 38). On the right side, a twisted, dead tree and a few stumps stand on a barren, brown patch of earth; in the distance are the vague outlines of a snow-covered Alpine ridge. On the left, a different scene presents itself: tree-covered crags rise up

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[229] Krause, 108.

[230] Bernd Roeck explains such a process of stylistic change: "Often, but not always, the metamorphosis which takes place in centers of cultural exchange, reflects economic and social changes. This happens, for instance, when a new emerging elite chooses, from what is offered by artists and intellectuals, those things which seem appropriate for legitimizing their acquired status, or which are also able to conceal their faults;" Bernd Roeck, "Venice and Germany: Commercial Contacts and Intellectual Inspirations," in *Renaissance Venice and the North: Crosscurrents in the Time of Bellini, Dürer, and Titian*, ed. Bernard Aikema and Beverly Louise Brown, exh. cat., Palazzo Grassi, Venice (New York: Rizzoli, 2000), 45.

[231] Baer, 302.

[232] Baer, 303.

[233] Langer, 38.

above a lake, and the lush foliage extends both to a pair of leafy trees in the foreground and the distant green hills in the background.

That this organization of the landscape is intended to convey meaning becomes evident when comparing the 1516 portrait of Ludwig with others of Wertinger's princely portraits to feature landscape backgrounds. In portraits of Ludwig's brother Wilhelm and his wife Jacobäa painted in 1526, the couple sit before expansive, fertile landscapes with snowy mountains in the distance (Figures 39 and 40). In the portrait of Wilhelm, boaters, depicted sketchily, punt down the river that winds its way between the green, tree-lined hills topped with castle strongholds. Similar lakes, hills, and castles are also found in the pendant depicting Jacobäa. There exists no attempt to differentiate between the right and left sides of either panel, no further allegorical inference beyond an idyllic re-presentation—typical for Wertinger's landscapes—of a flourishing, fertile Bavaria.

The presence of the dead tree in the landscape behind Ludwig forces a particular reading of the imagery in that painting. That the tree in Wertinger's portrait holds symbolic content is stressed since it is set apart from other landscape elements, a stark brown silhouette against the pale blue sky. Further attention is drawn to it by its proximity to the dangling garland: the vertical line formed by the tree and the garland draws the eye to this area of the canvas, while the garland's tassel mimics the moss hanging from the tree branches.

The symbolic use of trees in the visual arts is a tradition that goes back to ancient times.[234] In Christian contexts, specific iconographies of the good tree (*arbor bona*) and

[234] On tree imagery in pagan traditions, see Constantine P. Charalampidis, *The Dendrites in Pre-Christian and Christian Historical-Literary Tradition and Iconography* (Rome: Bretschneider, 1995), 19-34.

the bad tree (*arbor mala*) developed.[235] Thus depending on how it is depicted, an image of a tree becomes a

> …symbol of contrasted ideas, of the image of life (flourishing tree), of the elevation of the virtues of the good man (a tree full of leaves and fruit) and the manifestation of the vices of the bad man (a tree without leaves and fruit), of meekness (a healthy tree) and acrimony (a dead tree), of the image of the Church (a live tree) and the image of the Synagogue (a dead tree).[236]

Such symbolism was common in Renaissance art.[237] Wertinger's contemporary Lucas Cranach the Elder, for example, contrasted a live tree and a dead tree in images of the Law and the Gospel, also organizing the composition into two symbolic halves (Figure 41). Likewise, the symbolic associations of the *arbor mala* in the portrait of Ludwig become especially clear when the two halves of Wertinger's landscape are juxtaposed. The division of the landscape suggests opposing ideas: decay and renewal, winter and spring, death and life, scarcity and prosperity, hardship and ease. Given the context in which this painting was produced—the aftermath of the tumultuous Landshut War of Succession and the conflict over the primogeniture ordinance—the imagery contrasts a Bavaria in crisis with a Bavaria restored to order and prosperity.

It is telling, also, that Ludwig is positioned facing the heraldic right, looking towards the green hills and majestic mountains and away from the side of the landscape containing the dead tree. Turning his back on the desolate scenery, he symbolically also rejects the recent political turmoil of the Landshut War of Succession, and the war he and his brother nearly fought over the primogeniture issue. The tumult is over, and as a new

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[235] Charalampidis, 76-81.

[236] Charalampidis, 76.

[237] Later in the sixteenth century, emblem books would codify tree (and other) imagery into a fixed set of associations. See, for example, Andreas Alciat, *Emblematum liber* (Augsburg: 1531; reprint, Hildesheim and New York: Georg Olms, 1977).

ruler Ludwig can now look ahead to better times. His subjects can too, since the imagery suggests that under his rule Bavaria has again returned to peace.

The concept of peace was an important aspect of Ludwig's petition for co-rulership before the Munich Diet in 1514. Ludwig's argument against the primogeniture law was couched in pacifistic language. His complaint expressly highlighted the benefits of peace in opposition to the ravages of war. Ludwig's representative at the diet conveyed the duke's hopes to Wilhelm and the assembly thus:

> …and that your grace would favorably examine and diligently consider, that from the peacefulness and unity of the serene highborn Dukes of Bavaria, the entire land noticeably grows in support and welfare, and increases in honor and goods, and that at times ruinous and irreparable damage has resulted from disunity, enmity, and war, and that henceforth [the duchy] might also so grow, develop, and prosper....[238]

The moral overtones in this speech were intended to appeal to Wilhelm's honor and also garner support from the estates, while also hinting that further "ruinous and irreparable damage" might occur should the brothers continue to be at odds. The result of Ludwig's petition, then, could be either war or peace. That ultimately peace prevailed in Bavaria is illustrated through the allegorical landscape in Wertinger's painting of the new duke.

As a whole, the portrait provides a comprehensive embodiment of Ludwig's notions of his new position and status. The elegant sobriety of Wertinger's imagery befits a co-ruler who had only recently acquired the position, and even that as a result of familial infighting. It would have been inappropriate given the fraught history between the co-dukes for Wertinger to picture Ludwig as a triumphant victor who succeeded in

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[238] "…E. Gdn. und gunst wellen betrachten, unnd vleissigcklichen erwegen, daß aus fridsam und ainigkheit weilend der Durchleuchtigen Hochgeborunen Fuersten von Bayrn, gannzem Lannd mercklicher fuerstannd, wolfarth und aufganng an Ern und guett erwachsen, unnd hinwieder aus unainigkhait widerwillen unnd khrieg, verderblicher und unwiderbringlicher schad entstanden ist, unnd khuenfftigclichen auch also erwachsen, entsteen unnd ergeen mag…." *Der Landtag*, 37. My thanks to Peter Hess for his assistance with this translation.

getting his way. Rather, the calm restraint reflected in the duke's person and attire, the language on the painting's frame, and the symbolism of the landscape work together to present a visual manifesto of good governance and would have reassured the contemporary viewer that Bavaria's recent, troubled history was finally behind her.

However, an interest in expressing his new sense of self and his intentions for the duchy were likely not Ludwig's only motivations in this early portrait commission. In addition to desiring a visual celebration and commemoration of his new role within the duchy, Ludwig also had practical considerations. In 1516 he was heading off on a pilgrimage to Spain, in anticipation of which he also prepared his first testament.[239] Presumably he was headed for the famous shrine of St. James in Compostela, a popular pilgrimage destination. Should anything have happened to Ludwig while travelling abroad, the painting would have served as a memorial to his likeness.[240] Furthermore, a portrait would be a necessary component in marriage negotiations with foreign powers. Ludwig had begun searching for a bride in 1514 and renewed his efforts in earnest in 1517.[241] Considering Wertinger's practice of creating portraits and then using his workshop staff to make either single or multiple copies, it is not difficult to imagine this portrait serving as a template for copies made to be sent abroad as part of marriage discussions.[242]

There did not exist a particularly rich tradition of portraiture in the Munich line during the fifteenth century; however, in the person of his uncle Maximilian, at whose

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[239] Czerny, 270.
[240] On portraiture preserving the appearance of people, see above, 2.
[241] On Ludwig's plans for marriage and the various candidates for his hand, see Marth, 265-284.
[242] A number of later portraits of Ludwig exist, and Czerny speculates that these were possibly for marriage negotiations; Czerny, 270.

court he had lived, Ludwig found a significant model for his artistic commissions.[243] The 1508 woodcut by Burgkmair discussed above, depicting Maximilian on horseback in his imperial finery (Figure 37), was produced in celebration of the crowning of Maximilian as emperor-elect.[244] This woodcut was, however, commissioned by Conrad Peutinger and not the Emperor himself. Yet a similar impulse towards the glorification of a new political role is seen in Ludwig's panel portrait, although in a format less geared towards mass-market self-aggrandizement, which was to become one of Maximilian's particular specialties. About the same time as the chiaroscuro woodcut, Maximilian embarked on a number of projects designed towards the formulation and codification of what Larry Silver calls "his own public image in both text and image."[245] This is only a few years before Ludwig came to live at Innsbruck; Maximilian was already in the throes of many such enterprises by 1511, the year of Ludwig's arrival.

Although there exists no documentation of where Wertinger's portrait was originally hung, it is likely that it would have been kept in the ducal apartments in Burg Trausnitz. The painting appears later in the Landshut Stadtresidenz, according to an account written in 1835, and presumably followed Ludwig there when he moved from Trausnitz to his new residence.[246] There is also no evidence that this painting was part of

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[243] An exception is the Alter Hof genealogical wall paintings (c.1463-1465), however terming these "portraits" is problematic since they are representative of specific individuals and not exacting replications of physiognomy. On these paingings, see "Die bayerischen Herzöge im Bild: Die Wandbilder im Alten Hof in München" in *Bayern-Ingolstadt, Bayern-Landshut*, 100-107.

[244] Larry Silver, *Marketing Maximilian: The Visual Ideology of a Holy Roman Emperor* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 90.

[245] Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*, viii.

[246] "Von diesem Theile [i.e. the hall with the biblical frescoes] kömmt man über einen herrlichen Bogen in das Wasserzimmer am Ufer der Isar, worin zwei schöne Portraits des Erbauers sich befinden. Das kleinere Bild, sehr gut erhalten und ausgeführt (auf Holz) stellt den Fürsten in seinem 21. Jahre vor. Gemalt 1516;" Staudenraus, *Topographische-Statistische Beschreibung*, 28. The painting moved to the Bavarian National Museum upon the museum's founding in 1855. See Langer and Heinemann, 240 (cat. no. 6.1: Matthias Weniger).

a set of portraits of family members, such as those Wertinger had completed for Philipp of Freising or Johann of Regensburg. Given its imagery, this stand-alone portrait of the new duke would have been particularly effective in a reception hall. There, it would have served as a legitimizing visual expression of rule, a particular concern for Ludwig considering the circuitous—and contentious—route he took to the throne. Even when the sliding panel in the frame obscured the portrait beneath, Ludwig's legitimacy would have still been asserted through the heraldic display that likely formed the cover's decoration. Given the original presence of this sliding cover, the image beneath was probably only unveiled during specific occasions. The portrait would thus have been a fictive counterpart to the actual figure of Ludwig as he carried out state business or received visitors and emissaries.

The Ingolstadt *Annunciation Window* and the Bavarian Response to the Protestant Reformation

By the time of Ludwig's accession to his new role as Duke of Bavaria, the Münster zur Schönen Unserer Lieben Frau (or Liebfrauenmünster; Figure 42) in Ingolstadt had already had a long history of connection with the ruling dukes of Bavaria.[247] The city of Ingolstadt, on the Danube River, had been the seat of the Dukes of Bavaria-Ingolstadt prior to the death of the last duke of this line in 1447, after which the Ingolstadt territories were absorbed into Bavaria-Landshut.

[247] Schönewald describes the Liebfrauenmünster as a "vom Fürsten unabhängig Kirchenstruktur;" Beatrix Schönewald, "Das Münster zur Schönen Unserer Lieben Frau in Ingolstadt: eine Herzogskirche," in Brandl, Grimminger, and Vollnhals, *Liebfrauenmünster Ingolstadt*, 45. See also Edmund J. Hausfelder, "Die Stiftungen Herzog Ludwigs des Gebarteten für seine Pfarrkirche zur Schönen Unserer Lieben Frau," in Brandl, Grimminger, and Vollnhals, *Liebfrauenmünster Ingolstadt*, 32-39.

Construction on the Liebfrauenmünster began in 1425 with the laying of the foundation stone and ended in 1525 with the completion of the side chapels.[248] The church had been founded by Ludwig VII "the Bearded," Duke of Bavaria-Ingolstadt (r. 1413-1443), with the choir to serve as the burial place of the Ingolstadt dukes.[249] When the governance of Ingolstadt eventually transferred to Landshut, the Landshut Duke Heinrich XVI "the Rich" took over the administration of ducal endowments at the church, continuing those begun by his predecessors in Ingolstadt.[250] His heirs also patronized the Liebfrauenmünster, and the internal organs of his grandson Duke Georg "the Rich" were buried there, perpetuating the tradition of the parish church as a burial site for the dukes of Bavaria.[251]

Furthermore, the Liebfrauenmünster contained portraits of the dukes dating from the days when Bavaria-Ingolstadt was a separate territory.[252] According to fifteenth- and sixteenth-century written sources, a window in the south choir, now lost, once held a portrait of Ludwig "the Bearded" along with all the earlier dukes of the Ingolstadt line, their wives, and children.[253] Editha Holm-Hammer, who has studied the surviving stained

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[248] Schönewald, 50; Editha Holm-Hammer, "Die Glasgemälde im Liebfrauenmünster zu Ingolstadt," *Sammelblatt des historischen Vereins Ingolstadt* 67 (1958): 7; and Friedhelm Wilhelm Fischer, "Die Stadtpfarrkirche zur Schönen Unserer Lieben Frau," in Müller and Reismüller, *Ingolstadt*, 1:295.

[249] See Siegfried Hofmann, "Residenz – Grablege – Herrschaftskirche," in *Bayern-Ingolstadt, Bayern-Landshut*, 219-260.

[250] Hofmann, "Und das solche Stiftung," 21.

[251] Gerald Huber, "'daß die Kinder in ihrer Mutter Leib mochten verdorben sein:' Der Tod Herzog Georgs und Bayern-Landshuts bitteres Ende im Erbfolgekrieg," in *Weitberühmt und Vornehm…: Landshut 1204-2004*, ed. Stadt Landshut (Landshut: Acros, 2004), 159. Part of this burial practice may have been practical; Georg had died in Ingolstadt.

[252] Holm-Hammer, 10.

[253] Eva Fitz, "'Als die Frömmigkeit in den Herzen der Menschen noch nicht erkaltet war, schmückte man das Münster gar prachtig, vor allem mit Glasmalereien.' Die Farbverglasung des Münsters: Versuch einer Rekonstruktion," in Brandl, Grimminger, and Vollnhals, *Liebfrauenmünster Ingolstadt*, 155-156. See also Holm-Hammer, 10. The sources are Ladislaus Suntheimer (Ladislaus von Suntheim) and Aventinus.

glass in the Liebfrauenmünster, further suggests that there were probably many additional ducal portraits throughout the church.[254]

Given the Liebfrauenmünster's *de facto* position as a ducal church, it comes as no surprise that in 1527 the church received a donation from the reigning dukes, Ludwig X and Wilhelm IV: the enormous stained glass axial window by Hans Wertinger, featuring the Annunciation to the Virgin, that remains in excellent condition (Figure 26).[255] In the window's imagery, Mary, clothed in brilliant blue and with the train of her cloak held by putti, stands at the left of the window and reads her Bible. Her downcast eyes suggest both modesty and attention to the book in her hands; cascading ringlets of hair and an enormous golden halo frame her face. With a swirl of drapery, also attended by cherubs, Gabriel arrives from the right, a twisting banderole proclaiming his greeting "Ave Gracia Plena Dominus Tecum." Above this pair, a break in the clouds reveals God the Father holding an orb and before him the dove of the Holy Spirit, which casts forth a ray of light in the direction of the Virgin's womb. Additional putti with their hands in prayer dot the background of this central image.

The Annunciation group is enclosed within a circular frame of rosettes, a composition that immediately calls to mind Veit Stoss's *Angelic Salutation* sculpture of 1517-1518 in the choir of the Lorenzkirche in Nuremberg, a work completed prior to the imperial city's conversion to Protestantism in 1525 (Figure 43).[256] Upon closer

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[254] Holm-Hammer, 10.

[255] Holm-Hammer, 13.

[256] Barbara Butts and Lee Hendrix also note the influence of Hans Leinberger's *Rorer Epitaph* of 1524 on the composition; Barbara Butts and Lee Hendrix, *Painting on Light: Drawings and Stained Glass in the Age of Dürer and Holbein*, exh. cat. Getty Museum, Los Angeles (Los Angeles: Getty, 2000), 40. This relief sculpture also contains an encircling element and putti atop pedestals. On the *Rorer Epitaph*, see Franz Niehoff, ed., *Um Leinberger: Schüler und Zeitgenossen*, exh. cat. Museen der Stadt Landshut (Landshut: Museen der Stadt Landshut, 2007), 151-153 (cat. no. 16).

examination, other elements of Wertinger's window show the influence of Stoss's monumental limewood sculpture, including the angels holding up the main actors' garments and God the Father, crowned and holding the orb, positioned above.

Many design elements typical of Wertinger's work also appear outside the main narrative image. Multicolored hanging garlands of the kind seen so frequently in Wertinger's compositions drape inward from the edges of the frame. A stone-colored architectural frame, with two long columns on either side, surrounds the Annunciation scene. At the top it scrolls gracefully inward, culminating in two rosettes, and putti sit perched on the frame. Wertinger had used these exact devices earlier in his design for the frame of the *Portrait of Ludwig X, Duke of Bavaria* of 1516 (Figure 25), discussed above.[257] Furthermore, at the base of this visual frame (directly above the donor panel) the horizontal element replicates the decoration at the top of the 1516 portrait frame, with alternating rosettes and fleur-de-lis. In addition to marking the design of the window as his own work through his signature garlands, Wertinger also deliberately reuses motifs from his previous portrait commission for Ludwig. This creates a visual connection between these two works for the same patron and signals that the window is also a ducal commission.

The donor panel in the window also clearly indicates who was responsible for the creation and installation of the artwork. Underneath the Annunciation scene, prominently displayed at the most visible level to the observer standing below, the two dukes kneel in penitence with two mirrored images of the Bavarian coat-of-arms between them (Figure 26). Wilhelm is in the position of honor on the heraldic right, the viewer's left, appropriately as he is the older of the two brothers. He appears in full armor with a cloth

[257] See above, 67-69.

skirt of gold and black, the heraldic colors of the Palatinate. Ludwig is similarly attired, but his skirt features the blue and white of the House of Wittelsbach. However, a crucial difference exists between the two portraits: Wilhelm wears an elaborate plumed helmet with its visor up but Ludwig's head is uncovered. A cherub rushes onstage from the right to bring Ludwig his helmet, also festooned with blue and white feathers. This difference allows the younger brother to be more easily identified by the viewer, since Wilhelm's helmet partially obscures his features. This is perhaps another indication that Ludwig served as the primary patron of this window. It also suggests that Wilhelm, as the elder brother, is already prepared to enter into battle. Furthermore, while Wilhelm grasps the butt of his sword with his left hand, Ludwig joins both of his gauntleted hands together in prayer. The different attitudes of the two brothers not only provide visual variety in the donor panel, an area of artistic compositions that are frequently programmatic, but also suggest different interests and priorities. In case the viewer is uncertain who the two knights are, a panel of text appears below them, clearly legible from the ground below, that states: "By the grace of God, Wilhelm and Ludwig, Brothers, Counts Palatine of the Rhine, Dukes in Upper and Lower Bavaria, reigning since 1511. Anno Domini 1527."[258] That Ludwig ascended the Bavarian throne only in 1516 is glossed over in this inscription.

Placing images of rulers in axial windows of major churches had been a common practice in German-speaking lands since at least the early fifteenth century, but Wilhelm and Ludwig were also directly following in their father's footsteps by commissioning a large, symbolic, and politically charged stained glass window. Around 1485, Albrecht IV

[258] "Von Gottes Gnadenn Wilhelm und Ludwig gebru Pfalzgrafen bey Rein Herzogen in Obern und Nidrin Bayrn der Zeit Regierend 1511 Anno Dm 1527."

donated the *Herzogenfenster* (Dukes' Window; Figure 44) to the Dom zu Unserer Lieben Frau in Munich.[259] At the time of its installation, this ducal commission was—like at Ingolstadt—the axial window in the choir; after World War II the surviving fragments were moved to the chapel just to the north of the axial chapel.[260] The window featured the Virgin of Mercy with Albrecht IV and his predecessors, Dukes Ernst, Wilhelm III, and Albrecht III, with their wives.[261] The emphasis on genealogy and kinship served to mark the Liebfrauenkirche, which had just been rebuilt under the aegis of Albrecht IV, as a ducal structure closely tied to the reigning Munich Wittelsbachs while at the same time whitewashing the family's recent dynastic struggles.[262]

Ludwig's donation of the *Annunciation Window* went far beyond princely munificence, family traditions of stained glass donations, and the perpetuation of Ingolstadt's Liebfrauenmünster as a church closely connected to the dukes of Bavaria. The timing of the donation, the window's imagery and location in the church, and the fact that the Münster served as the University of Ingolstadt's church, all signal that this artistic commission was a specific, calculated response to the growing threat to Bavaria of the Protestant Reformation.

A decade before the donation of the window, Martin Luther wrote his *Ninety-Five Theses* outlining his criticisms of the Church. The religious and political fallout began almost immediately, as the new reforming ideas spread throughout Germany thanks to the printing press. In 1519, the Munich publisher Hans Schobser undertook the first

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[259] On the Liebfrauenkirche see Hans Ramisch, *Der Dom zu Unserer Lieben Frau in München*, trans. Paul J. Dine (Munich and Zurich: Schnell & Steiner, 1985); Peter Pfister and Hans Ramisch, *Der Dom zu Unserer Lieben Frau in München: Geschichte – Beschreibung*, 4th ed. (Munich: Erich Wewel, 1994); and Peter Pfister, ed., *Der Dom Zu Unserer Lieben Frau in München* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2008).
[260] Pfister and Ramisch, 120.
[261] Witzleben, 75.
[262] Dahlem, 21, 53, 56, 104.

printing of a Lutheran text in the duchy of Bavaria: *Ein Sermon oder predig von der Betrachtung des heiligen leydens Christi Doctor Martini Luther zue Wittenberg*.[263] Johann Weyssenburger, who had studied at Ingolstadt, printed Luther's *Tractatulus de his, qui ad ecclesias confugiunt* in Landshut the following year.[264] This edition featured a woodcut design by Hans Wertinger on its title page.[265] Wertinger also provided an illustration for Berthold of Chiemsee's *Onus Ecclesiae*, a condemnation of clerical abuses that Weyssenburger published in 1524.[266] However, despite continued publication of Lutheran texts in the duchy over the course of the next few years, the tenets of Lutheranism did not gain much ground in Bavaria due to the early opposition to the movement by the dukes, their political advisor Dr. Leonhard von Eck, and the Ingolstadt theologian Dr. Johannes Eck.[267]

Leonhard von Eck and Johannes Eck both had close ties to Ingolstadt. Leonhard, described by scholars as "the leader of Bavarian politics" between about 1520 and 1550 and "the most powerful…politician in Bavaria," had attended the university there beginning in 1489.[268] After study at various universities throughout Germany—

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[263] Helmut Stahleder, *Chronik der Stadt München: Belastungen und Bedrückungen, die Jahre 1506-1705* (Ebenhausen and Hamburg: Dölling & Galitz, 2005), 51.

[264] Karl Schottenloher, *Die Landshuter Buchdrucker des 16. Jahrhunderts, mit einem Anhang: Die Apianusdruckerei in Ingolstadt* (Mainz: Gutenberg, 1930), cat. no. 78.

[265] This is the same woodcut as that in Ehret, 175 (cat. no. 102). Weyssenburger frequently reused such framing woodcuts on his title pages.

[266] This woodcut had been variously attributed to Wertinger and to Erhard Schön. However, the Hollstein volume on Schön's book illustrations lists it under "Rejected Prints;" Ursula Mielke, *Hollstein's German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts, 1400-1700: Erhard Schön Book Illustrations Part II* (Rotterdam: Sound & Vision, 2001), 184 (cat. no. 136).

[267] Leonhard von Eck had served Wilhelm IV since 1513; he officially became the counselor for both dukes in 1525; Edelgard Metzger, *Leonhard von Eck (1480-1550): Wegbereiter und Begründer des frühabsolutistischen Bayern* (Munich and Vienna: R. Oldenbourg, 1980), 15. Metzger, 11, also notes that "Er war niemals Kanzler" despite being frequently referred to as such in scholarly literature.

[268] Metzger, 6, 32: "Eck wurde zum mächtigsten…Politiker Bayerns." Heinrich Lutz, 299, calls him "der Leiter der bayerischen Politik im Inneren wie gegenüber dem Reich und den europäischen Mächten."

Heidelberg, Tübingen, Cologne, Freiburg—Johannes Eck arrived at Ingolstadt in 1510.[269] The theology professor quickly made a name for himself, becoming the rector of the university in 1512.[270] However it was his participation in the famous Leipzig Debate in 1519, when he sparred with Martin Luther and Andreas Karlstadt, that sealed his reputation as a powerful advocate against Protestant reform. The following year, his text in support of the papacy, *De primatu Petri adversus Ludderum*, was published in Ingolstadt.

By late 1520, the dukes themselves had already decided definitively against Luther, an astonishingly early example in the history of the Protestant Reformation of a territory determining its religious allegiance.[271] The issue of reform received a very public airing the next year at the Diet of Worms, held between January and May 1521, in Worms on the Rhine River. Martin Luther appeared in person to testify, and Johannes Eck was also in attendance, serving as the representative of the new Emperor Charles V. The result of the meetings was that the emperor and members of the Diet upheld the bull excommunicating Luther, and enacted an imperial ban (*Reichsacht*) against Luther and his followers.

Now that it was clear that the pope had the support of the emperor, the dukes of Bavaria began cracking down on Lutheranism in their lands. They immediately had the Edict of Worms printed and distributed throughout the duchy and began confiscating and

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[269] Erwin Iserloh, *Johannes Eck (1486-1543): Scholastiker, Humanist, Kontroverstheologe* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1981), 7-10. Manfred Weitlauff uses almost the same language as Lutz, describing Eck as the "Leiter der bayerischen Politik" between about 1520 and 1550; Manfred Weitlauff, "Die bayerischen Herzöge Wilhelm IV. und Ludwig X. und ihre Stellung zur Reformation Martin Luthers," *Beiträge zur altbayerischen Kirchengeschichte* 45 (2000): 76.

[270] Weitlauff, "Die bayerischen Herzöge," 15.

[271] This is made clear in a letter written from William IV to Philipp of Freising in March 1521. Weitlauff, "Auseinandersetzung," 165.

destroying Lutheran texts.[272] Johannes Eck and two other theological professors from the University of Ingolstadt, already a hotbed of anti-reformist activity, became concerned about the influx of students sympathetic to Luther.[273] They approached Leonhard von Eck and suggested that the dukes address the reformist threat through a ducal proclamation.[274] To that end, in February 1522 Wilhelm and Ludwig met at Grünwald (now on the southern outskirts of Munich) to work up a comprehensive "program of action regarding church policy for a rigorous defense against Lutheran influences and impulses."[275] The ensuing decree, the First Bavarian Religious Mandate, was composed by Leonhard and published on Ash Wednesday in 1522. It promoted the papal bull and the emperor's edict, forbidding Bavarian subjects from engaging with Lutheran ideas and ordering them to remain true to the Church of Rome.[276] The first state execution for violation of the mandate took place the following year.[277]

The dukes sought even further control in combatting Lutheranism in their lands. In 1523 Johannes Eck again travelled to Italy, this time to petition the pope to grant authority to Wilhelm and Ludwig to undertake their own religious reforms within Bavaria. He returned with papal privileges that, among other things, gave the dukes

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[272] Weitlauff, "Auseinandersetzung," 166. In October 1521 in Munich, the printer Hans Schobser had all of his 1500 copies of Luther's *An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation* confiscated and destroyed; Stahleder, *1506-1705*, 57.

[273] Winfried Kausch, *Geschichte der Theologischen Fakultät Ingolstadt im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert (1472-1605)* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1977), 139.

[274] Weitlauff, "Auseinandersetzung," 166; Klaus Kopfmann, *Die Religionsmandate des Herzogtums Bayern in der Reformationszeit (1522-1531)* (Munich: Institut für Bayerische Geschichte, 2000), 19; and Rüdiger Pohl, "Die 'gegenreformatorische' Politik der bayerischen Herzöge 1422-1528, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Bauern- und Wiedertuauferbewegung: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Bayerns im 16. Jahrhundert" (PhD diss., Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg, 1972), 55.

[275] Weitlauff, "Auseinandersetzung," 166. The brothers met in Grünwald, because they were avoiding being in Munich or Landshut due to an outbreak of plague that year; Kopfmann, 19.

[276] Pohl, 58; and Kopfmann, 55. The full text of the bull is reprinted in Kopfmann, 55-59.

[277] Pohl, 88.

authorization to visit Bavarian monasteries to ensure their adherence to standards of conduct.[278] These privileges set the stage for the Second Bavarian Religious Mandate of October 14, 1524, which prohibited Bavarians from studying at the University of Wittenberg, made it illegal to own, print, or distribute Lutheran texts or images in the duchy, and—most importantly—permitted the dukes to effect internal reforms in churches and monasteries.[279]

After the Second Bavarian Religious Mandate, Landshut became a center for anti-Lutheran publications. Johann Weyssenburger, the only publisher in town at this time, printed polemical works by Johannes Eck, including *In divorum sycophantas precones dialogus Doctas eorundem nenias reverberans* in 1524 and *Enchiridion locorum communium adversus Lutheranos* in April 1525.[280] The latter must have proved especially popular, since a reprint appeared the next year, with a different woodcut frontispiece illustration and a new typeface.[281] Weyssenburger also published anti-Lutheran texts with much broader appeal, such as *Ein Resonet in laudibus…Wider die falschen Evangelischen*, printed about 1525.[282] This eight-page pamphlet is written in the vernacular with rhyming couplets, thus lending itself to a much wider audience: both

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[278] Weitlauff, "Auseinandersetzung," 167.

[279] Albrecht IV had already tried in the fifteenth century to instigate ecclesiastical reform; Helmut Stahleder, *Chronik der Stadt München: Herzogs- und Bürgerstadt, die Jahre 1157-1505* (Munich: Heinrich Hugendubel, 1995), 472, 478; and Stahleder, *1506-1705*, 46. A full text of the Second Religious Mandate is reprinted in Kopfmann, 67-104. The papal bull permitting the dukes to enact their own reforms in their own land dates from 1521; Ay, 208. This situation anticipates the *cuius region, eius religio* policy agreed upon in the Peace of Augsburg of 1555.

[280] Schottenloher, cat. nos. 119 and 126.

[281] Schottenloher, cat. no. 133.

[282] The Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich holds two copies of this book, the full title of which is *Ein Resonet in laudibus mit dem Hodie apparuit Auch Omnis mundus vn[d] Dies est leticie Wider die falschen Euangelischen*. Although the book does not bear an imprint, the library attributes both copies to Weissenburger in Landshut, with one (Res/4 Polem. 2457) printed c. 1525 and the second (Res/4 P.o.germ. 230,41) a reprint of c. 1530.

those who could not read the Latin of Eck's writings, and those who could not read German, since the sing-song poetry begs to be performed aloud. Wertinger at this same time was also producing woodcuts for other Weyssenburger publications; his interaction with Weyssenburger's publishing house suggests Wertinger's knowledge of and involvement in the religious discourse of the day. His window for the Liebfrauenmünster four years later would further this conversation, given the close relationship between the church and the University of Ingolstadt, the primary locus of anti-Lutheran activity in the duchy.

Like the Liebfrauenmünster, the University of Ingolstadt enjoyed a close and beneficial relationship with the Bavarian dukes.[283] The university had been founded by Ludwig "the Rich," Duke of Bavaria-Landshut and opened its doors to students in 1472.[284] Ludwig's son and heir Georg "the Rich" followed in his father's footsteps in founding the "Georgianum," a college within the university for eleven poor students, by donation in 1494.[285] The university's founding documents stipulated that its statutes "be reapproved by every reigning ruler;" thus they were reviewed by Georg "the Rich," and later Albrecht IV, Wilhelm IV, and Ludwig X.[286] In 1517 Wilhelm and Ludwig charged

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[283] On the university during this period, see Arno Seifert, ed., *Die Universität Ingolstadt im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert: Texte und Regesten* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1973); and Rainer A. Müller, *Universität und Adel: Eine soziostrukturelle Studie zur Geschichte der bayerischen Landesuniversität Ingolstadt 1472-1648* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1974).

[284] The full text of Ludwig's *Stiftungsbrief* is reprinted in Franz Xaver Freninger, ed., *Das Matrikelbuch der Universität Ingolstadt-Landshut-München: Rectoren Professoren Doctoren 1472-1872, Candidaten 1772-1872 (*Munich: A. Eichleiter, 1972. Reprint, Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus, 1980), 1-10. The founding of the university had been previously permitted by a papal bull in 1459; Arno Seifert, *Statuten- und Verfassungsgeschichte der Universität Ingolstadt (1472-1586)* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1971), 15.

[285] Arno Seifert, "Das Georgianum 1494-1600: Frühe Geschichte und Gestalt eines staatlichen Stipendiatenkollegs," in *Die privaten Stipendienstiftungen der Universität Ingolstadt im ersten Jahrhundert ihres Bestehens*, by Heinz Jürgen Real (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1972), 147-157.

[286] Seifert, *Statuten*, 75.

Johannes Eck with a comprehensive modernization and revision of the university's statutes; these were ratified by the dukes in 1522.[287]

In addition, the university from its very inception was conceived as inextricably tied to the Liebfrauenmünster.[288] In founding the university, Ludwig "the Rich" also further promoted the parish church to collegiate church.[289] The Liebfrauenmünster was the location of the university's official religious services, and theologians on the faculty also held positions at the Münster. Members of the university faculty sat in seats of honor in the choir of the church during mass.[290] As Ingolstadt was located in the diocese of Eichstätt, the bishops of Eichstätt served as the official chancellors of the university.

While other scholars at Ingolstadt participated in anti-Lutheran polemics, the ringleader and driving spirit was always Johannes Eck.[291] Eck also worked closely with the other Eck, Leonhard, in implementing the new anti-Lutheran policies in Bavaria. It is therefore unremarkable that in 1525 Johannes Eck was appointed rector (*Pfarrer*) of the Liebfrauenmünster, a church closely tied both to the university and the reigning dukes of Bavaria.

The timing of the donation of the *Annunciation Window* must thus be viewed in light of the dukes' relationship with Johannes Eck and Eck's—and the university's—role in the fight against Luther. Shortly after Eck's promotion, Wilhelm and Ludwig renewed the ducal endowments for masses at the Münster and commissioned the *Annunciation*

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[287] Seifert, *Statuten*, 90-96.
[288] Seifert, *Statuten*, 15.
[289] Friedhelm Wilhelm Fischer, 308; and Hofmann, "Und das solche Stiftung," 22. Ludwig had received permission from Pope Paul II in 1465 for this arrangement between the University and the Liebfrauenmünster.
[290] Helmut Flachenecker, "*…theologie ecclesiaeque gradum tradidit auripolis in grege pastor eram*: Die Obere Pfarr und die Universität," in Brandl, Grimminger, and Vollnhals, *Liebfrauenmünster Ingolstadt*, 62.
[291] Karl Bosl, "Die 'Hohe Schule' zu Ingolstadt," in Müller and Reissmüller, *Ingolstadt,* 2:84. See also Kausch, 12-13, 136ff.

Window.[292] Already in 1520 the university had decided to have a window made for the Münster that would honor the Virgin Mary.[293] However they never followed through on this project, and so Wilhelm and Ludwig fulfilled the university's original intentions for the church space through their donation. In January of 1527, the brothers were in Ingolstadt to dedicate a new church ordinance for Ingolstadt's two parish churches. Gottfried Frenzel and Eva Ulrich suggest that "perhaps one can connect the official donation of the window with this occasion."[294]

The axial window, the location of Wertinger's *Annunciation Window* in the Liebfrauenmünster, is the most important in any church as it is the central window in the choir, where the altar is located, relics are displayed, and the mass performed. The central window in this area, in addition to being positioned directly above the altar, is also the most visible from the nave (Figure 42). Although Hans Mielich's enormous altarpiece now obscures much of the window when viewed from the choir, this painting and its retable were only installed in 1572; previously the view of the *Annunciation Window* was unimpeded both for viewers standing in the nave or seated in the choir.[295]

The window is best viewed from the choir area, the very part of the church where the university's faculty members would have been seated during church services. From this position the legibility of the window increases, especially the smaller figures of the two dukes in the donor panel. This suggests that the imagery was intended for those in the choir, including the clergy conducting the mass and the scholars seated there.

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[292] Hofmann, "Und das solche Stiftung," 24.
[293] Frenzel and Ulrich, 375.
[294] Frenzel and Ulrich, 392.
[295] This altarpiece was commissioned by Albrecht V, Duke of Bavaria, Wilhelm IV's son. On this altarpiece, see Heinrich Geissler, "Der Hochaltar im Münster zu Ingolstadt und Hans Mielichs Entwürfe," in Müller and Reissmüller, *Ingolstadt*, 2:145-178.

While the Annunciation was a narrative scene taken directly from the Bible and thus would not have met with any specific objections from Luther or his followers, the focus on the Virgin Mary in late medieval devotion was nonetheless a point of contention for Protestants. For example in Regensburg, an imperial city in Bavaria's own backyard, the cult that cropped up around a miracle-working statue of the Virgin and Child in 1519 prompted the scorn of reform-minded individuals, including Martin Luther and Albrecht Dürer. Such fervent adoration of the Virgin as a miracle-working intercessor was to Catholics a matter of course, and to Protestants a dangerous detour from the teachings of the Bible.

That the dukes chose to commission a window prominently featuring the Virgin Mary, to be installed in the most important part of the church most closely tied to the fight against Luther, and so soon after Eck's appointment as rector, suggests that the donation served as recognition and appreciation of the work being done in Ingolstadt to further the dukes' religious policy. Furthermore, it underscores the dukes' authority to enact and enforce religious laws and to reform the Church in Bavaria. The window thus reminds the viewer of the dukes' political and spiritual authority.

The window accords with the previous years of anti-Lutheran activity in the duchy; however, this time the statement is made not through laws and suppression, but visually. While the two Religious Mandates granted the dukes the power to oversee the religious and spiritual lives of their subjects, through their physical presence in the window they oversee the work being done at Ingolstadt, that bastion of support for the dukes' policies. The dukes oversaw both the political and spiritual spheres, and these are represented in the imagery through Wilhelm's battle-ready attitude and Ludwig's prayerful position. In donating the *Annunciation Window*, Wilhelm and Ludwig place

themselves—and their expanded authority—front and center and close to their people, a constant reminder to those worshipping in Ingolstadt of the position and power of the rulers and their special relationship with both the Münster and the university. They assert themselves as protectors of the true faith and guardians of the spiritual well being of their citizens, not only in Ingolstadt but throughout Bavaria as well.

Ludwig's own purported piety, as evidenced in particular by his Spanish pilgrimage in 1516, supports such an interpretation of the Ingolstadt imagery. That the pilgrimage was undertaken in the first year of his official reign as duke of Bavaria suggests that Ludwig felt—or wished to *appear* to have felt—that one of the responsibilities of his new role was the religious stewardship of his subjects. The image cultivated by Ludwig in the *Annunciation Window*, of the sovereign as spiritual protector of the people, accords with his conception of himself as a pious ruler and accountable for both secular and spiritual leadership of the realm.

Hans Wertinger received the Ingolstadt commission not only as a result of his position as court painter in Landshut and the success of his previous projects for Ludwig but also because of his skill as a designer and painter of stained glass. The years during which Hans Wertinger worked saw a flourishing of stained glass production in southern Germany, particularly the Upper Rhine region, Augsburg, and Landshut, with Landshut's reputation at its height by 1520.[296] Wertinger worked as a designer and painter of stained glass panels, having probably trained as a stained glass artist. He worked in the techniques of glass painting and reverse glass painting and also designed windows, as at Ingolstadt, that were completed by workshop assistants.

[296] Butts and Hendrix, 40.

Wertinger had also worked earlier on another set of stained glass windows featuring ducal portraits. These panels, previously located on either side of the high altar at Prüll Charterhouse outside Regensburg but now in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, feature Albrecht IV and Wilhelm IV with Sts. John the Evangelist and Bartholomew (Figures 20 and 21).[297] An additional panel depicts Albrecht's wife Kunigunda in widow's clothes, so the windows must date from after Albrecht's death in 1508. Although the scant literature on these windows does not suggest a patron, it seems likely, given the imagery, that they were commissioned by Wilhelm or—perhaps more likely—his mother for the rededication of the abbey church at Prüll in 1513.[298]

Wertinger had also previously painted other stained glass windows both for the Münster and Ingolstadt University. In the 1510s and early '20s, Wertinger had completed small panels for the windows of the Liebfrauenmünster.[299] These commissions came from diverse patrons: the brewers' and innkeepers' guilds, the burgher Dr. Wolfgang Peisser, and the Landshut courtier Hans Baumgartner, an alumnus of the university. Then, in 1526, Wertinger painted a glass panel to be installed at the University of Ingolstadt.[300] We know that Georg Tessinger, a student at the university who would go on

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[297] A complete rarity for Wertinger's oeuvre, a preparation drawing for this window has survived, now in the collection of the British Museum; John Rowlands, with Giulia Bartrum, *The Age of Dürer and Holbein: German Drawings 1400-1550*, exh. cat., British Museum, London (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 156-157 (cat. no. 126); and John Rowlands, *German Drawings from a Private Collection*, exh. cat., British Museum, London (London: British Museum, 1984), 45 (cat. no. 41).

[298] Hugo Schnell, ed., *Bayerische Frömmigkeit: Kult und Kunst in 14 Jahrhunderten*, exh. cat., Stadtmuseum, Munich (Munich: Schnell & Steiner, 1965), 55 (cat. nos. T170-171: Elisabeth von Witzleben). This is the only source I have found on these windows; neither Ehret nor Feuchtmayr ("Hans Wertinger") mentions them. Curiously, exacting copies of these panels exist in the parish church in Bad Tölz, along with other glass panels that may all stem from Wertinger's workshop. On the church, see Christoph Schnitzer and Roland Haderlein, *Die Tölzer Stadtpfarrkirche Maria Himmelfahrt* (Bad Tölz: Pfarrei Maria Himmelfahrt and cs-press&print, 2011).

[299] Ehret, 77-80 and 166-167 (cat. nos. 63-66); and Holm-Hammer, 29-34.

[300] Hugo Schnell, ed., *Bayerische Frömmigkeit: 1400 Jahre christliches Bayern*, exh. cat., Stadtmuseum, Munich (Munich: Schnell & Steiner, 1960), 377 (cat. no. 1728).

to become Bishop of Seckau, commissioned the artwork, but it is unclear where specifically in the university the panel was located. The following year Wertinger painted three more panels for the university, commissioned by the colleges (Figure 23).[301]

Given that Wertinger was Ludwig's court artist, it is likely that the impetus for the *Annunciation Window* commission lay with the younger duke, by far the more educated and artistically savvy of the two.[302] There are other factors that also point toward this conclusion. We have seen above, and will see below, that artistic patronage featured prominently among the first items on Ludwig's agenda after becoming duke and remained an interest throughout his reign. While Wilhelm is well known for his patronage of such artists as Albrecht Altdorfer, Hans Burgkmair, Jörg Breu, and Barthel Beham for the series of paintings of heroes and heroines in Munich, all these were commissioned after the installation of the Ingolstadt window, and few instances of his artistic patronage exist prior to the joint commission with his brother at Ingolstadt.[303] Wertinger had painted portraits of Wilhelm and his wife Jacobäa in 1526, but the fact that they chose the Landshut court painter for this project is indicative of the supremacy of Landshut as an artistic center over Munich during these years and may even have

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[301] Schnell, *Bayerische Frömmigkeit: 1400 Jahre*, 377 (cat. nos. 1729, 1730, 1731).

[302] As Editha Holm-Hammer, 19, notes, "…sein Bruder Wilhelm ist weniger kunstliebend, und seine Residenz München kann sich an künstlerischem Können und Geschmack nicht mit Landshut messen." An additional indicator of the brother's unequal education and cultural standing is that Ludwig, unlike Wilhelm, was proficient in Latin and Italian; Czerny, 278. Wilhelm had not been educated in the humanist tradition, unlike his two younger brothers.

[303] On Wilhelm as a patron, see Otto Hartig, "Die Kunsttätigkeit in München unter Wilhelm IV. und Albrecht V. 1520-1579," *Münchner Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst* 10 (1933): 147-159. Wilhelm did inherit a court painter from his father's tenure: Hans Ostendorfer. Ostendorfer died in 1524, leaving Wilhelm without a court painter until the arrival of Barthel Behem in 1530; H. Zimmermann, "Hans Ostendorfer," in *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* 26 (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1932), 76.

originated from Ludwig advocating Wertinger for the commission.[304] Indeed Wilhelm may have been taking his artistic cues from his brother. Wilhelm's court painter at this time, Hans Ostendorfer, even appropriated Wertinger's typical garlands when he completed the wings of the St. Zeno altarpiece in Bad Reichenhall in 1516.[305] Clearly, the Italianate style propagated by Wertinger found favor in such courtly circles and beyond. It makes perfect sense, then, that Ludwig and Wilhelm tasked the accomplished glass painter Hans Wertinger and his workshop with the design and execution of the Ingolstadt window.

The circumstances surrounding these two portraits, both in their commission and execution, clearly indicate Ludwig's motivations as a patron. As portraits, of course, they record Ludwig's features for posterity. Additionally, they celebrate Ludwig in his position as duke of Bavaria. They are also visual responses to very particular political situations: Ludwig's difficult ascension to the Bavarian throne and his enactment, with his brother, of state policy against the Protestant Reformation. In Hans Wertinger Ludwig found a skilled artist capable of conveying these various concerns and conceits in the sophisticated visual language of the new Renaissance style.

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[304] On these portraits, see Haag, Lange, Metzger and Schütz, 258-260 (cat. nos. 165 and 166: Kurt Löcher); Ehret, 57-59 and 153-154 (cat. nos. 24 and 25); and Martin Schawe, *Alte Pinakothek: Altdeutsche und altniederländische Malerei* (Munich: Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, 2006), 284.

[305] The altarpiece was started by Niklas Horverk and completed by Hans Ostendorfer; Baer, 317. Lieb, 77, only speculates that Ostendorfer finished it: "Er könnte die von Niklas Horverk hinterlassenen Altarflügel von St. Zeno in Reichenhall 1516 vollendet und dabei in der Malerei einen ersten Schritt zum Formenrepertoire der Renaissance getan haben."

Chapter 3: Humanism and the Classical Past at the Landshut Court

Humanism was the most important intellectual trend of the Renaissance era. It was not a philosophy but rather a new approach to learning that developed in the fifteenth century and valued literary and linguistic subjects above all, in particular grammar and rhetoric, to the benefit of the individual and society at large.[306] In this respect, it differed from the scholasticism of the medieval period, which was primarily dialectical and philosophical in nature, concerned with discovering truth through logic.[307] Humanists believed, instead, that the goal of education should not be truth but morality. The scholar August Buck explains their reasoning thus: "To learn to speak well is tantamount to learning to think well and, even more so, to learning to live well."[308] Thus a humanist curriculum (termed the *studia humanitatis*) consisted of instruction in grammar, poetry, rhetoric, history, and moral philosophy, the end goal being the development of the individual's ethical and moral character.[309]

Such principled living was concomitant with social and political responsibility. According to Stephen Gersh and Bert Roest, humanism formed "an ideological programme of educational, moral, and political reform," one that touched on various

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[306] Defining Renaissance "humanism" in these terms is, of course, overly simplistic, and I am describing it here not in its entirety as an intellectual movement but as it pertains to this chapter's investigation of ancient sources for Wertinger's artworks. As Tony Davies notes, the word "humanism" has a "range of possible uses [that] runs from the pedantically narrow to the cosmically vague;" Tony Davies, *Humanism*, 2nd ed. (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2008), 3. For a broad overview of humanism in the Renaissance, see Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought II: Papers on Humanism and the Arts* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), 1-88; Donald R. Kelley, *Renaissance Humanism* (Boston: Twayne, 1991); and Margaret L. King, ed. and trans., *Renaissance Humanism: An Anthology of Sources* (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2014).

[307] Charles G. Nauert, Jr, "The Humanist Challenge to Medieval German Culture," *Daphnis: Zeitschrift für Mittlere Deutsche Literatur* 15, no. 213 (1986): 296.

[308] August Buck, *Humanismus: Seine Europäische Entwicklung in Dokumenten und Darstellungen* (Munich: Karl Alber Freiburg, 1987), 163.

[309] Burke, 20.

literary, educational, and political aspects, but that also implied "more wide-ranging attempts to change society as a whole." Thus an individual educated in the humanist tradition was prepared to participate fully in civic life and engage on an intellectual level with real-world challenges, a skill set scholasticism left somewhat undeveloped.[310] Humanist morality could also serve as an inspiration to others. In comparing the Roman orator Cicero (a favorite of the humanists) and the Greek philosopher Aristotle (whose principles of logic served as the foundation for medieval thought), Charles G. Nauert, Jr. notes that, to the humanists, "the study of Cicero was better than the study of Aristotle precisely because Ciceronian eloquence has the power to inspire people to be good rather than merely teach them how to define goodness."[311]

The literary output of classical Greek and Roman authors was of particular interest to humanists, as it provided pre-Christian models for morality. Humanist philologists uncovered many classical texts lost since antiquity, while other works known to the medieval period (including Aristotle) were approached with a new attitude.[312] In particular, humanists emphasized the practical applications of moral themes found in the ancient texts. Through the transcription and printing of such texts in the original Latin, or in a translation from Greek into Latin, classical works were made available to a wide array of humanists throughout Europe. By translating, commenting on, and publishing antique literature in the vernacular, the lessons to be gleaned from these classical texts could be spread to a wider variety of people, including those unable to read Latin or Greek.

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[310] Stephen Gersh and Bert Roest, introduction to *Medieval and Renaissance Humanism: Rhetoric, Representation and Reform*, ed. Stephen Gersh and Bert Roest (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003), x.
[311] Nauert, "Humanist Challenge," 301.
[312] Buck, *Humanismus*, 136-137.

The didactic objectives of humanism could be useful to the common man, but they were especially suited to the education of those destined for, or desirous of, political power. Humanist scholars were frequently hired to educate princes. Some, like Erasmus of Rotterdam in his book *The Education of a Christian Prince* of 1516, took it upon themselves to write instructional manuals for future rulers.[313] This was not a new impulse, but rather one born from the medieval "Mirror for Princes" (*Fürstenspiegel*) tradition, the literature of which prepared princes to be effective rulers through ethical instruction and the examples set by historical and legendary rulers. Humanists adapted this genre to reflect the pedagogical focus of the *studia humanitatis*, valuing the literature of the antique as the ultimate educational source.[314]

Rulers patronized humanists in much the same way as they did artists. Princes supported literary production, with humanist authors composing new texts or translating antique or foreign texts into the vernacular. This courtly literature usually fell in line with other tendencies at court, in particular "self-conception and cultural entitlement…[and] the self-representation of the ruler and the court before contemporaries and posterity."[315] Financial support for literary activity became another aspect of princely magnanimity and magnificence, since the creation of the court as an intellectual center reflected positively on the erudition and sophistication of the ruling prince. Many of the earliest northern centers for humanism were concentrated around a princely court, the most notable of

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[313] Erasmus's impulses were not entirely selfless: he was hoping for employment by Charles V, which he did end up receiving although the position was not to his satisfaction; Lisa Jardine, introduction to *The Education of a Christian Prince* by Erasmus of Rotterdam, trans. Neil M. Cheshire and Michael J. Heath, ed. Lisa Jardine (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1997), xv.

[314] On Early Modern *Fürstenspiegel* literature, see Bruno Singer, *Die Fürstenspiegel in Deutschland im Zeitalter des Humanismus und der Reformation* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1981).

[315] Jan-Dirk Müller, *Gedechtnus: Literatur und Hofgesellschaft um Maximilian I* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1982), 17.

which was the "Heidelberg Circle" at the court of the elector palatine (like the dukes of Bavaria, a member of the House of Wittelsbach).[316] The court benefitted from its proximity to the University of Heidelberg, "the first German university at which humanist studies were deliberately encouraged,"[317] and luminaries such as Jakob Wimpfeling and Johannes Reuchlin found employment and support for their literary endeavors from the electors palatine.

An additional connection between humanism and the princely courts of northern Europe is that over the course of the fifteenth century, an increasing number of humanistically-educated individuals were appointed to administrative positions at court.[318] Whereas in earlier times clerics or members of the local landed nobility would serve at the highest levels at court, by about 1500 these positions were largely held by men who had studied at universities in Italy or the Holy Roman Empire that offered a humanist curriculum.[319] The kinds of skills and expertise that were the products of a humanist education, especially one leading to a doctorate of law, were valued in such politically powerful positions.[320] According to Joachim Gruber, the founding of the

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316 Norbert Kersken calls Heidelberg "one of the most culturally important princely courts of this time;" Norbert Kersken, "Auf dem Weg zum Hofhistoriographen: Historiker an spätmittealterlichen Fürstenhöfen," in *Mittelalterliche Fürstenhöfe und ihre Erinnerungskulturen*, ed. Carola Fey, Steffan Krieb, and Werner Rösener (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2007), 120. See also Henry J. Cohn, "The Early Renaissance Court in Heidelberg," *European History Quarterly* 1, no. 4 (1971): 295-322; and Jan-Dirk Müller, "Der siegreiche Fürst im Entwurf der Gelehrten: Zu den Anfängen eines höfischen Humanismus in Heidelberg," in *Höfische Humanismus*, ed. August Buck (Weinheim: VCH, 1989), 17-50.

317 Cohn, 300-301.

318 On this phenomenon, in particular the shift from clerics to laypersons at court, see Heinz Lieberich, "Die gelehrten Räte: Staat und Juristen in Baiern in der Frühzeit der Rezeption," *Zeitschrift für Bayerische Landesgeschichte* 27 (1964): 120-189.

319 Heinz Lieberich, *Landherren und Landleute: Zur politischen Führungsgeschicht Baierns im Spätmittelalter* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1964), 136.

320 "doctors of law were the most sought after, in-demand officials and advisors of their time;" Metzger, 8. Roman law dealt with secular (civil) situations (begun under Justinian, the Byzantine Emperor, hence "Roman"), while Canon law was developed by ecclesiastical authorities.

University of Ingolstadt by Ludwig "the Rich," Duke of Bavaria-Landshut was intended to produce just these kinds of men and thereby support "the establishment of a modern, legally- and humanistically-educated group of officials for the Bavarian state."[321] The success of this undertaking is evident in the counselors of the dukes in Landshut, who after 1500 increasingly employed university graduates.[322] A humanist education thus afforded members of the burgher class an opportunity to advance up the social ladder.[323] Examples of non-noble individuals who rose to prestige in the service of princes thanks to their humanist training include Conrad Peutinger, Johannes Oecolampadius, Conrad Celtis, and Matthäus Lang.[324]

Thus the presence of humanists at court and princely interest in humanist subjects became an integral part of the wider culture of Renaissance courts, and humanism developed a particular cachet.[325] Humanism was a "cultural code," notes Gerrit Walther, and those conversant with humanist subjects and themes were initiated into the "insider-sphere" of elite culture.[326] The authority of the antique expanded beyond literature and those subjects covered in the curriculum of the *studia humanitatis* to the realm of the

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[321] Joachim Gruber, introduction to *Panegyris ad duces Bavariae*, by Conradi Celtis Protucci, trans. and ed. by Joachim Gruber (Wiesbaden: Harassowitz, 2003), xxiii.
[322] Paul M. Arnold, *Landshuter Ritter von der Gotik bis Heute* (Landshut: Hans-Leinberger-Verein, 1998), 49.
[323] Müller, *Gedechtnus*, 35.
[324] Peutinger, son of a merchant, was named to the imperial council by Maximilian. Lang "beginnt als Geheimsekretär Maximilians" and eventually became a cardinal and the Archbishop of Salzburg; Müller, *Gedechtnus*, 35. Johannes Oecolampadius was a burgher's son who ended up teaching the son of Elector Philipp "the Upright," Count Palatine in 1495-1496; Gruber, xxxix. Conrad Celtis's father was a vintner. Celtis was not particularly political but had close ties to Maximilian I and was appointed to the University of Vienna through the emperor, where he became the director of Maximilian's newly founded Court Library in Vienna.
[325] Buck, *Höfischer Humanismus*, 1.
[326] Gerrit Walther, "Funktionen des Humanismus: Fragen und Thesen," in *Funktionen des Humanismus: Studien zum Nutzen des Neuen in der humanistischen Kultur*, ed. Thomas Maissen and Gerrit Walther (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2006), 13.

visual arts. Not only antique visual forms—transmitted via Italian art of the time—but also antique subjects began appearing in northern art. In particular, humanism's association with the highly educated and their princely patrons lent it cultural currency in the visual arts.

Evidence of such larger trends in Renaissance humanism can also be found at the Bavarian courts in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Conrad Celtis lauded Georg "the Rich," Duke of Bavaria-Landshut in a poem dedicated to him.[327] Celtis noted that Georg's reverence for and cultivation of the arts would usher in a new golden age for the duchy, proclaiming that, "through you, illustrious prince, the studies of the antique [by which Celtis means the *studia humanitatis*] are thriving here."[328] Celtis's poem specifically honors Georg in his role as patron of the University of Ingolstadt but gives no indication that Georg provided support to humanists at his court or even outside of this university context. Furthermore, and typical for humanist literary output, the composition of the poem was closely tied to Celtis's employment situation: Georg had recently appointed him professor of rhetoric and poetry at Ingolstadt.[329] Albrecht IV, Duke of Bavaria-Munich, employed and patronized a few humanists at his court in Munich.[330] Albrecht hired Johannes Turmair, called Aventinus, to educate his two younger sons in a

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[327] Walter Rothes, *Die Kunstpflege der Wittelsbacher* (Pfaffenhofen: Ilmgau, 1922), 27. The poem also addresses, to a lesser extent, Philipp, Elector Palatine (Georg's brother-in-law); Celtis had spent time at Philipp's court at Heidelberg, an early humanist center; Conradi Celtis Protucci, *Panegyris ad duces Bavariae*, trans. and ed. Joachim Gruber (Wiesbaden: Harassowitz, 2003), 65. On there being no humanist culture at the fifteenth-century Landshut courts, see Ziegler, 138.

[328] "Per te antiqua vigent studia, illustrissime princeps;" Celtis, 9.

[329] Gruber, xxxvi.

[330] Again, however, we see a shift occurring around 1500; prior to 1500 few of Albrecht's courtiers were highly educated; Dahlem, 99.

humanist curriculum.[331] Dietrich von Plieningen served on Albrecht's council from 1499 onward; however, Plieningen's years of intense scholarly activity in humanist endeavors still lay ahead of him. Albrecht also maintained writers at court whose literary output was decidedly more medieval in tone, such as Ulrich Füterer and his *Buch der Abenteuer* ("Book of Adventure").[332] In his support of such literary activity, Albrecht set a precedent for his son Ludwig X in how to foster an intellectually cultured court.

Likewise, Ludwig's uncle Maximilian I employed and associated with humanists while at the same time engaging in non-humanist literary production. In many areas, the realm of artistic patronage included, the Holy Roman Emperor served as a model to his young nephew, who had lived with him in 1513 and 1514. While the imperial council was chock-full of men holding doctorates in law, Maximilian was also enthusiastic about literature and the arts, commissioning an astonishing number of artworks from the most outstanding talents in southern Germany.[333] For example, he commissioned woodcuts from, among others, Hans Burgkmair and Leonhard Beck that would illustrate the semi-autobiographical books he had written: *Freydal*, *Theuerdank*, and *Weisskunig*. The emperor also had a close relationship with Conrad Peutinger, the eminent Augsburg humanist, who not only served as an imperial advisor but also as coordinator of

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[331] Alois Schmid, "Johannes Aventinus als Prinzenerzieher," in *Festschrift des Aventinus-Gymnasiums Burghausen* (Burghausen: 1980), 10-27. Aventinus's activities at the Landshut court will be discussed in further detail below, 172-180.

[332] Füterer's name is spelled number of different ways in the literature, however "Füterer" is the spelling preferred by the Getty's Union List of Artist Names. On his literary activities, see Bernd Bastert, *Der Münchner Hof und Fuetrers "Buch der Abenteuer": Literarische Kontinuität im Spätmittelalter* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1993).

[333] The literature on Maximilian as a patron of artistic and intellectual activity is exhaustive; here are listed just a few examples: Müller, *Gedechtnus*; Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*; Larry Silver, "Shining Armor: Maximilian I as Holy Roman Emperor," *Museum Studies* 12 (Fall, 1986): 8-29; Thomas Ulrich Schauerte, *Die Ehrenpforte für Kaiser Maximilian I: Dürer und Altdorfer im Dienst des Herrschers* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2001); Eva Michel and Maria Luise Sternath, eds., *Emperor Maximilian I and the Age of Dürer*, exh. cat. Albertina, Vienna (Munich: Prestel, 2012); and Christopher S. Wood, "Maximilian I as Archeologist," *Renaissance Quarterly* 58, no. 4 (Winter 2005): 1128-1174.

Maximilian's various literary and artistic projects.[334] In addition, Peutinger is likely responsible for the sophisticated allegorical program of Maximilian's *Triumphal Arch*. The emperor also supported humanists who were not directly involved in his artistic commissions, such as Johannes Cuspinian, who was granted official diplomatic posts in recognition of his scholarly activities.

Like his father, uncle, and predecessors in the role of Landshut duke, Ludwig X supported intellectuals by inviting them to his court and providing them with funds for their scholarly projects. Thus Ludwig fostered a courtly milieu in which interaction with leading scholars enriched other realms of cultural activities, especially in the visual arts. The three most notable of these individuals to receive Ludwig's patronage at Landshut during the early years of his reign are the scientist Peter Apian and the humanists Aventinus and Dietrich von Plieningen.[335] Apian and Aventinus will be discussed in the following chapter.

This chapter examines Hans Wertinger's artistic activities as they relate to humanist interest in the classical past at Ludwig X's court in Landshut and, in particular, the artist's relationship with Dietrich von Plieningen. Wertinger produced his virtuoso panel painting *Alexander the Great and his Doctor Philippus*, depicting characters from Ludwig's court circle in the guise of an ancient Greek morality tale, probably under the instruction of Plieningen (Figure 1). Wertinger also designed woodcuts for Plieningen's translations of classical works, printed in Landshut by Johann Weyssenburger (Figures 45 and 46). Few scholars are aware that Plieningen also commissioned Wertinger to paint

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[334] David Landau and Peter Parshall, *The Renaissance Print, 1470-1550* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 207.

[335] Conrad Peutinger had also visited Ludwig's court, although it is unclear if he spent enough time there to participate fully in the court culture; Lill, *Hans Leinberger*, 33; and Spitzlberger, *Landshut in Geschichte und Kunst*, 88.

the predella of the altarpiece at St. Georg's, Kleinbottwar, his family's burial chapel (Figure 47). Hans Wertinger, through these various endeavors, participated in the kinds of humanist activities promoted at his patron Ludwig's court, thus positioning himself as a sophisticated artist with knowledge of the most intellectual and erudite cultural trends of the day.

DIETRICH VON PLIENINGEN: A BRIEF BIOGRAPHY

Dietrich von Plieningen, born in 1453 to a noble Swabian family, began his studies at Freiburg in Breisgau before moving on to attend the universities of Pavia and Ferrara.[336] For his studies in civil law Dietrich would have followed a humanist curriculum, including learning Latin and reading works by esteemed ancient authors in their original languages. Such intensive engagement with classical texts would reoccur around 1510, at which point Plieningen began translating many such works into the vernacular. After earning his doctorate in 1479, he embarked upon a prestigious political career; according to his biographer Franziska Gräfin Adelmann, he "acted as representative for the Emperor and for [various] German princes, and sought to put his humanistic, 'modern' notion of the state and the rights of man into practice in the politics of the day."[337]

Plieningen first worked in Heidelberg for Philipp "the Upright," Elector Palatine, from 1482, where he was a member of the "Heidelberg Circle" of humanists and became close friends with Rudolf Agricola. During these years he also served on Emperor Maximilian's Imperial Chamber Court (*Reichskammergericht*) and then in 1499 moved

[336] The main source for biographical information on Plieningen remains Franziska Gräfin Adelmann, *Dietrich von Plieningen: Humanist und Staatsmann* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1981).
[337] Adelmann, 4.

to Munich to work as counselor to Albrecht IV. The humanist's subsequent connection to Ludwig X stems both from this service to his father in Munich and his itinerant uncle, the emperor. Plieningen distinguished himself in his political activities, particularly during the lead-up to the Landshut War of Succession, and at some point before 1505 Emperor Maximilian made him a Knight of the Golden Spur.[338] At the *Kölner Spruch*, Maximilian also named him an imperial counselor.[339] Plieningen went on to play a crucial role in the Munich Diet of 1514, arguing not only for the rights of the estates but also for Ludwig X's claim to co-rulership of Bavaria.[340]

After the Munich Diet, the locus of Plieningen's activity shifted from Munich to Landshut. He moved there probably in the fall of 1514, after the quarrelling brothers reached their agreement at Rattenberg.[341] One imagines that Plieningen's efforts at the Diet earlier that year, advancing as they did Ludwig's petition for co-rulership, caused him to fall out with Wilhelm while simultaneously currying favor with Ludwig.[342] The humanist's first connection to Landshut appears in November of 1514, when he published a collection of Bavarian charters through the printer Johann Weyssenburger in Landshut; Plieningen was also in the city a month later, at Christmastime.[343] He soon found an enthusiastic ruler in Ludwig, as the young duke was eager to fashion his new court into a sophisticated cultural center. Plieningen served as Ludwig's advisor, although his participation in politics would never again match the level of engagement he

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[338] Adelmann, 58.
[339] "Kaiserlichen Rat von Haus aus," meaning he served his role without having to be in residence at the Emperor's court; Adelmann, 59.
[340] A detailed explanation of Plieningen's activities at the Munich Diet can be found in Adelmann, 83-88.
[341] See above, 45.
[342] Adelmann, 90n7.
[343] Schottenloher, cat. no. 14. Plieningen's dedication to Ludwig for the book of histories by Sallust is dated "Weihnachtsabend 1514" in Landshut.

had shown in 1514 and before.[344] Plieningen was, however, an integral member of Ludwig's court during these early, formative years of the duke's reign, contributing in particular to the visual arts through his various associations with Hans Wertinger.

HANS WERTINGER'S *KLEINBOTTWAR ALTARPIECE* PREDELLA

Like the duke he served in Landshut, Plieningen was also a patron of the arts. The tiny town of Kleinbottwar, north of Stuttgart in Baden-Württemberg, is the location of Burg Schaubeck, from 1485 onward the seat of the Plieningen family.[345] Beginning about 1490, Dietrich with his brothers Johannes and Eberhard built the Church of St. Georg in Kleinbottwar, envisioning the small church as a family burial space. The structure was completed in 1500, and the Plieningens outfitted the space with stained glass windows and sculpted epitaphs.

Dietrich and his younger half-brother Eitelhans, as the two inheriting sons, also commissioned a magnificent sculpted altarpiece for the church at Kleinbottwar (Figure 48).[346] The center of the retable features polychrome sculptures of the Virgin and Child, St. George, and St. Egidius, while the wings depict in low relief the martyrdoms of St. Catherine and St. Barbara. At the base of the altarpiece is a sculpted Holy Kinship scene flanked by two painted donor panels (Figure 47). On the left panel, Dietrich von Plieningen kneels with his first wife Anna von Memmersweiler while on the right is Eitelhans von Plieningen with his wife Eleanor von Waldenburg. Behind both couples is an expansive landscape. Additional areas of the altarpiece also feature panel paintings:

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[344] Adelmann, 95.
[345] Adelmann, 2.
[346] Adolf Schahl, "Der Altar von Kleinbottwar in seiner Welt," in *Heimatbuch der Stadt Steinheim an der Murr* (Steinheim an der Murr: 1980), 423.

the exterior of the wings with scenes from the life of St. George, and the Sudarium with Sts. Peter and Paul on the reverse of the predella. All these disparate sections of the altarpiece are visually unified through gilt architectural framework, both sculpted and painted. The altarpiece underwent restorations in 1913 and 1960.[347]

The altarpiece at Kleinbottwar is virtually unknown in the scholarly literature on Hans Wertinger. Unfortunately, the one writer to connect the paintings on the wings and predella to Wertinger, Heinz Dollinger, is completely off-target in the rest of his analysis of the altarpiece as a whole, arguing that the sculptures are the work of Hans Leinberger and that, furthermore, Leinberger was the illegitimate son of Dietrich's brother Johann von Plieningen.[348] The Leinberger attribution falls spectacularly short when subjected to a modicum of stylistic analysis, and the discussion of Leinberger's paternity is riddled with absurd leaps of logic.[349] Dollinger also offers nothing in the way of a discussion on Wertinger's participation in the altarpiece. However, the many shortcomings of Dollinger's book should not discount that Wertinger did indeed paint the predella. While Leinberger was certainly not involved in the production of the *Kleinbottwar Altarpiece*, I argue here that Hans Wertinger was.[350]

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[347] Schahl, 427.

[348] Heinz Dollinger, *Hans Leinberger und die Herren von Plieningen: Hans Leinbergers Kleinbottwar Altar von 1505* (Metten: Alt und Jung, 2006).

[349] Volker Himmelein offers a comprehensive rebuttal of Dollinger's book; Volker Himmelein, "Bemerkungen zu Heinz Dollinger: Hans Leinberger und die Herren von Plieningen: Hans Leinbergers Kleinbottwarer Altar von 1505," *Zietschrift für Württembergische Landesgesgeschichte* 70 (2011): 507-517. Matthias Weniger also dismisses Dollinger's work on Leinberger, noting that his conclusions on Leinberger's paternity are formulated "mit kriminalistischem Eifer aus unscheinbarsten Hinweisen;" Matthias Weniger, "1906-2006: Hundert Jahre Leinberger," in Niehoff, *Um Leinberger*, 52. However, neither Himmelein nor Weniger address the validity of Dollinger's attribution of the predella to Wertinger.

[350] The carved parts of the altarpiece, in which scholars have recognized two different hands, have been attributed variously to the circle of Daniel Mauch and Jörg Lederer (Dagmar Zimdars, *Handbuch der Deutschen Kunstdenkmäler. Baden-Württemberg: Die Regierungsbezirke Stuttgart und Karlsruhe* [Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1993], 426) and to Jörg Syrlin the Younger (Luise Böhling, *Die spätgotische Plastik im Württembergischen Neckargebiet* [Reutlingen: Gryphius, 1932], 55-64). See also Schahl, 427-428.

In particular, the landscape behind the donor figures is comparable to others securely attributable to Wertinger. For example, the composition of the distant mountains, with their flat planes of thickly applied light blue paint, is similar to those appearing behind Philipp of Freising's court dwarf in the *Ritter Christoph* portrait of 1515 (Figure 13). Furthermore, the staffage figures that dot the background are reminiscent of the many picturesque figures in Wertinger's landscape panels, particularly in their sketchy quality and in the economy of line used in rendering them. Complicating matters, however, is the issue of the two restorations. The Kleinbottwar predella seems to have suffered from significant overpainting in the 1913 restoration. Photographs taken before the 1960 restoration show a vast difference in the state of preservation between the wings and the predella, suggesting that the 1913 restoration, of which no detailed documentation survives, concentrated exclusively on the donor panels.[351] The faces of the Plieningen family members are not as sympathetically or subtly rendered as in other Wertinger portraits, even accounting for the small scale (compare, for example, the Kleinbottwar predella with the Moosburg predella). This could be explained by an overly enthusiastic restoration in which the faces were substantially overpainted, especially since their legibility would have been of particular importance to the church congregation and local community.

The painted wings of the altarpiece and the reverse of the predella are more difficult to connect to Wertinger (Figures 49 and 50). The figures are awkward and ill-proportioned and the space they occupy unconvincingly rendered. Adolf Schahl suggests similarities between the Kleinbottwar wings and a Passion series in Linz attributed to

[351] Images of the 1960 restoration are available on Foto Marburg, s.v. "Kleinbottwar," http://www.fotomarburg.de/.

Monogrammist H.[352] The situation is further complicated by the wings and back of the altar being in a significantly worse state of preservation than the predella panels. It seems certain that these parts of the altarpiece were assigned to a different artist, perhaps one of Wertinger's workshop assistants. Such varying styles and executions can also be seen in other artworks that are securely attributed to Hans Wertinger, such as the predella and the reverse of the *Moosburg Altarpiece*. At Kleinbottwar, similar motifs are present in both the donor panels and the other painted areas of the altarpiece, such as the framework at the top of each panel, suggesting at the very least some level of communication or collaboration among the various artists present. It was common practice for many different individuals to be involved in the production of winged retables: the sculptor, the joiner, the polychromer, the panel painter, and their assistants. In some instances, the patron himself hired and coordinated the work of the various artisans.[353] No documentation for this altarpiece survives, but it is possible that Plieningen hired Wertinger to paint the important donor panels even if another painter's workshop—in Landshut or elsewhere—took care of the wings.

The dating of the predella paintings is uncertain, but Dietrich von Plieningen's gold-plated armor and the presence of his first wife Anna von Memmensweiler offer some clues. Dietrich's partially gilt armor is in stark contrast to his brother's

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[352] Schahl, 428. Additional similarities in figural composition can be seen in the *Pulkau Altarpiece* by an anonymous master; Alfred Stange, *Malerei der Donauschule*, 2nd ed. (Munich: Bruckmann, 1971), 149-150.

[353] "Indeed it is often useful to plot the position of a contract on a scale between dominance of client and enlargement of craftsman. At one extreme the client aims at complete control: he provides the material, he may attempt to pay for work by the day … rather than on a piece-work basis, he will have the right to demand detail improvements before taking delivery, and in a composite object like a retable, involving more than one craft, he himself will let out the separate stages of joinery, sculpture, and painting to separate craftsman. This is what the virtuoso businessmen of the cities tended to impose on local craftsmen;" Michael Baxandall, *The Limewood Sculptors of Renaissance Germany* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), 103.

monochromatic suit. In particular, Dietrich's golden spurs denote his ennoblement by Emperor Maximilian since they mark him as *miles auratus*, or a member of the Order of the Golden Spur.[354] It is unclear when, exactly, this occurred; in 1505 Plieningen began being referred to as a knight (*Ritter*) in documents so his entrance into the order took place probably in 1504 or early 1505.[355] Thus the *terminus post quem* for the predella paintings is 1505. Anna von Memmensweiler died in August of 1510, suggesting that the predella might date from before then.[356] But it was not uncommon for dead spouses to be included in donor portraits, even when they had been deceased for a significant amount of time. Hans Holbein the Elder's *Votive Panel of Ulrich Schwarz* depicts the two first wives of Schwarz among the other family members, despite the fact that the painting was completed in 1508, six years after the death of his second wife and seventeen years after the death of the first; Schwarz's third wife also appears in the picture (Figure 51).[357] However, the donor portraits on the *Kleinbottwar Altarpiece* absolutely must date from before 1514, the date by which we know that Dietrich had remarried, to Felicitas von Freyburg.[358] Had the predella been completed after 1514, Felicitas—like Schwarz's living wife—presumably would have been included.

Dating the predella paintings to between 1505 and 1514 means that this altarpiece marks the first interaction between Plieningen and Hans Wertinger. While the ultimate location of the altarpiece is unusual for Wertinger—the rest of his artistic activities were

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[354] Himmelein, 513.
[355] Adelmann, 58.
[356] Adelmann, 68. Schahl, 429, dates the altarpiece to c. 1510/11 and Zimdars, 426, also dates it to c. 1510.
[357] Krause, 280.
[358] It is possible that Dietrich married Felicitas prior to 1514; Adelmann, 68, notes that he must have remarried sometime between 1511 and 1514, the year of the first certain documentation of his having a new wife. After Dietrich's death, Felicitas would go on to marry Leonhard von Eck, the powerful Bavarian politician and counselor to the dukes.

concentrated in Bavaria—Plieningen's association with the Wittelsbachs in Munich supports the attribution of the predella paintings on the *Kleinbottwar Altarpiece* to the Landshut artist. Plieningen's other commissions for the Church of St. Georg suggest that he was in the habit of commissioning artworks from artists active in the areas in which he was living at that time. The stained glass panel from Kleinbottwar, now in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, depicting Dietrich and his wife has been dated 1499 and localized to a Heidelberg artist through stylistic analysis.[359] At this time, Plieningen was in the service of Philipp "the Upright," Elector Palatine, at Heidelberg; the same year he moved to Munich to begin his new position as counselor to Albrecht IV. As noted above, sometime between 1508 and 1513 Wertinger painted glass panels for Prüll Charterhouse featuring portraits of Albrecht IV and Wilhelm IV (Figures 20 and 21). The predella of the *Moosburg Altarpiece* also dates from around this time and is an additional connection between Hans Wertinger and the Munich dukes (Figure 18). It is likely that through these relationships with the ducal family, Wertinger received the commission for the altarpiece in the Church of St. Georg from Dietrich von Plieningen. Furthermore, Plieningen continued to work with Wertinger in the years between 1515 and the former's death in 1520.

WERTINGER'S ILLUSTRATIONS FOR PLIENINGEN'S BOOK PUBLICATIONS

In addition to the donor panels in Kleinbottwar, Hans Wertinger also worked with Dietrich von Plieningen in the realm of book production, this time in connection with the

[359] Langer and Heinemann, 187-188 (cat. no. 3.2: Daniel Hess); Rüdiger Becksmann, "Fensterstiftungen und Stifterbilder in der deutschen Glasmalerei des Mittelalters," in *Vitrea Dedicata: Das Stifterbild in der Deutschen Glasmalerei des Mittelalters*, by Rüdiger Becksmann and Stephan Waetzoldt (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1975), 84.

court at Landshut.[360] Their publisher was Johann Weyssenburger, a clergyman and printer who had moved his press from Nuremberg to Landshut in 1513. Weyssenburger published two volumes of Plieningen's translations into German that were dedicated to Ludwig X; both feature woodcut illustrations designed by Hans Wertinger in 1515 (Figures 45 and 46).[361] These are a volume containing, among other texts, two histories by the Roman politician Sallust published in 1515 and *Von Klaffern*, two texts about slander by the Greek satirist Lucian of Samosata and the Italian humanist Poggio Bracciolini, published in 1516.[362] The publication of these texts is particularly noteworthy because Plieningen was "one of the first people to adopt the new medium of the printing press for translations of classical works [into the vernacular]."[363]

The first of the books under discussion, Sallust, was dedicated both to Ludwig and his uncle Maximilian I, the Holy Roman Emperor. This volume contained Sallust's *The Conspiracies of Catiline* and *The Jugurthine War*, Cicero's *First Speech Against*

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[360] On book publishing in Landshut, see Schottenloher; Helmuth Heidersberger, *Landshuter Buchdruckerkunst und Verlagstätigkeit*, Landshut: 1955; Andreas Jell, "Eine brotlose Kunst?: Aus der Frühzeit des Buchdrucks," in *Weitberühmt und Vornehm*, 163-170; and Hildegard Zimmermann, "Zum Druckwerk und zum Holzschnitt-Material Johann Weyssenburgers in Landshut," *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1932): 169-182. Ernst Buchner was the first to connect the Weyssenburger illustrations with Hans Wertinger; Ernst Buchner, "Der Petrarkameister als Maler, Miniator und Zeichner," in *Festschrift Heinrich Wölfflin: Beiträge zur Kunst- und Geistesgeschichte* (Munich: Hugo Schmidt, 1924), 209n6.

[361] Brigitte Langer in a catalogue entry on the *Sallust* volume casts doubt on the attribution to Wertinger: "Ob der Entwurf auf Hans Wertinger zurückgeht, wird in der Forschung kontrovers diskutiert;" Langer and Heinemann, 189 (cat. no. 3.4: Brigitte Langer). She does not, however, question that Wertinger designed the woodcut in *Von Klaffern*; Langer and Heinemann, 190-191 (cat. no. 3.6: Brigitte Langer). I believe that Wertinger designed both; one need only compare the architectural motifs in the *Sallust* woodcut to other Wertinger designs, such as the frame of the *Portrait of Ludwig X, Duke of Bavaria* and the *Annunciation Window* at Ingolstadt.

[362] Dietrich von Plieningen, ed. and trans., *Des hochberompten Latinischen historischreibers Salustij zwo schon historien…* (Landshut: Johann Weyssenburger, 1515), http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/bsb00001881/image_1; Dietrich von Plieningen, ed. and trans., *Von Klaffern* (Landshut: Johann Weyssenburger, 1516), http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/bsb00009321/image_1.

[363] Annette Gerlach, *Das Übersetzungswerk Dietrich von Pleningen: Zur Rezeption der Antike im deutschen Humanismus* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1993), 18. (Plieningen's name shows up in multiple spelling variants in the German literature.)

Catiline and two replies against Cicero by Pseudo-Catiline.[364] In the dedication to Maximilian, Plieningen explains that the texts show "what virtuous honor and reason there was in the Roman government," a useful exemplar for a ruler such as the Holy Roman Emperor.[365]

Moreover, Plieningen's choice of these texts reflects his particular intention to educate Ludwig in his responsibilities as a prince. In Sallust's histories, both Catiline and Jugurtha are examples of bad leaders, whose hunger for power causes them to abandon all semblance of morality. When Catiline and Jugurtha are defeated, good is shown to triumph over evil. Plieningen wanted Ludwig to read these classical texts and learn how *not* to behave, intending Catiline and Jugurtha to serve as negative behavioral examples. Through his moralizing histories, Sallust presented contemporary sovereigns with useful lessons from history. This valorization of Sallust in the "Mirror for Princes" tradition was not new to Dietrich von Plieningen. Already in the fifteenth century Guillebert de Lannoy, counselor to Philip "the Good," Duke of Burgundy, specifically suggested reading Sallust to discover models for chivalric conduct.[366]

Plieningen's dedication to Ludwig at the beginning of the book makes this connection explicit.[367] He stresses especially that Ludwig is "at the start of [his] reign," and in need of advice on proper rulership.[368] He knows "what great warnings and

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[364] English translations of these texts can be found in Sallust, "Conspiracy of Catiline," in *Sallust, Florus, and Velleius Paterculus*, trans. John Selby Watson (London: George Bell and Sons, 1876), 1-81; and Sallust, "The Jugurthine War" in Watson, *Sallust,* 82-215.

[365] "was auch tugent Erberkait und vernünft im Romischen regiment habenn vermögt;" Plieningen, *Salustij*, fol. 2v.

[366] Marina Belozerskaya, *Rethinking the Renaissance: Burgundian Arts Across Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 67.

[367] The text of this preface is reprinted in Gerlach, 215-226.

[368] "Ewren furstlichen gnaden in eingangk irs regiments;" Plieningen, *Salustij*, fol. 6v-7r.

cautions regarding good governance" the two histories present.[369] He also asks that, in addition to reading and learning from the book, Ludwig keep Plieningen in his favor.[370] To some extent, the language here is programmatic; Plieningen expresses a similar sentiment at the conclusion of the dedication to Maximilian in the same volume.[371] This is due to the fact that Plieningen sought financial support from these politically powerful men, and appealed to them through the medium of literature. Lisa Jardine, in her introduction to Erasmus's *The Education of a Christian Prince*, notes that in the early sixteenth century such "Mirror for Princes" publications "were apparently perceived by those who hoped for jobs in the corridors of power as the kind of portfolio of personal accomplishments in the field of political thought which could win them public office."[372] Plieningen had already been appointed to Ludwig's court—the exact date of which is unknown but had likely occurred in late 1514 or early 1515—and this dedication indicates his desire for further patronage from the Landshut duke.

Additionally, because the text was printed, it could be widely distributed throughout German-speaking lands, thus casting a positive light on the Bavarian duke in "foreign" regions. Maximilian, as Holy Roman Emperor, was obviously well-known by his contemporaries as a sophisticated ruler and enthusiastic patron of the arts. Ludwig, who had only just become duke of Bavaria, was entering onto the European political stage. Plieningen's dedication to Ludwig was therefore not exclusively intended for

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369 "was grosser manungen und warnungen zu güten regierung;" Plieningen, *Salustij*, fol. 6v.
370 "auch mich ewr gnaden underthenigen Rat und diener in gnedigen befelch ann;" Plieningen, *Salustij*, fol. 9v.
371 "der ich darauf dises büch und mich underthenigklich und in aller dinstparkait hiemit bevolchen haben wil;" Plieningen, *Salustij*, fol. 5v.
372 Jardine, xxiv.

Ludwig. It was also meant to show him in a positive light—as an erudite and learned individual—to others.

Wertinger's woodcut illustration reflects Plieningen's two dedications in its design while also organizing the space within an Italianate architectural frame (Figure 45). The woodcut appears on fol. 1v of the copy of this book under discussion here (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 2 A.lat.b. 621), directly after the title page on fol. 1r and opposite the beginning of Plieningen's dedicatory text on fol. 2r. A frame composed of ornamental designs surrounds the central scene, reminiscent of those rendered in print by Hans Burgkmair. In the middle of the composition, three figures appear in a seashell niche;[373] on either side are square columns topped with acanthus leaves, the shafts of which are decorated with additional ornamental designs. At the top of the scene, three winged putti pose on an entablature with the coats-of-arms of the Holy Roman Empire, Austria, and the House of Wittelsbach. The latter two shields appear again directly adjacent to the figures of Maximilian I and Ludwig X, both of whom are also identified by name as "MAXIMILIAN IMP" and "H LVDBIG" ("Emperor Maximilian" and "Duke Ludwig"). The emperor stands at the left of the scene and Ludwig on the right; kneeling below the duke is Dietrich von Plieningen, who offers a book—understood to be the very text the viewer holds in his hands—to Maximilian. This composition, typical for frontispieces depicting the presentation of a text to a patron, dates back to illuminated manuscripts produced for the French and Burgundian courts (Figures 52 and 53). Ludwig, gesturing with his left hand in presenting the author to his uncle, stands in the same relationship to Plieningen as patron saints do to the donors of

[373] Recall the seashell motif at the top of the frame of Wertinger's *Portrait of Ludwig X, Duke of Bavaria* (Figure 25).

ecclesiastical artworks throughout late medieval and early Renaissance Europe (Figure 54). Given this association, Ludwig also serves in a protective role in his position behind Plieningen. All three men touch the book, positioned directly at the center of the composition, their hands framing, enclosing, and drawing attention to it.

The three figures depicted in the woodcut at the beginning of *Sallust* vary greatly in the characterization of their facial features. Immediately recognizable, even were he to appear without the attributes of imperial crown and scepter, is Emperor Maximilian. Wertinger renders the Holy Roman Emperor in profile, the better to show off his characteristic nose. This is the same choice made by Hans Burgkmair in 1508 in his woodcut print *Maximilian I on Horseback*, however in that print the inclusion of a helmet greatly reduces the legibility of the face (Figure 37). Furthermore, the profile pose had imperial associations. This is clear from another, earlier Burgkmair project, the *Kaiserbuch*, a book project for Maximilian featuring woodcuts of Roman emperors based on ancient coins; these busts were all rendered in profile (Figure 55).[374] In Wertinger's woodcut, in comparison to Maximilian the two figures of Ludwig and Plieningen are not as individualized. Ludwig, shown in three-quarter view, is similar in appearance to his 1516 portrait in Munich, with his short hair covered by a cap and his beard shaped into two tufts (Figure 25). However in the woodcut Ludwig's other features are somewhat generalized. Plieningen is facing away from the viewer and is therefore quite unrecognizable as representing a specific person. Wertinger overcomes this by including

[374] The full title of the book, written by Conrad Peutinger and surveying the Roman emperors from Julius Caesar to Maximilian, was *Imperatorum Augustorum et tyrannorum quorundam Romani imperii brevis gestorum annotation*; it is frequently referred to in German as the *Kaiserbuch*. Burgkmair started on the woodcuts for this project around 1503. Silver, "Shining Armor," 15; and Tilman Falk, *Hans Burgkmair: Studien zu Leben und Werk des Augsburger Malers* (Munich: Bruckmann, 1968), 46-47.

Plieningen's coat-of-arms in front of him, thus indicating the identity of the kneeling figure.

Wertinger's frontispiece to *Sallust* was reused by Weyssenburger later that year (Figure 56), in a different translation by Plieningen printed in December 1515 (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Res/2 A.lat.b 565).[375] However, Plieningen dedicated this text about the Roman Emperor Trajan by Pliny the Younger, hereafter referred to as the *Lobsagung*, to the Holy Roman Emperor and to Wilhelm IV, Ludwig's brother. Instead of designing a new woodcut, Wertinger—or perhaps Weyssenberger—simply cut out the section of the woodblock with the text "H LVDBIG" and replaced it with a plug identifying the duke instead as "H WILHALM." All other aspects of the woodcut remain the same, and thus the image of Ludwig became interchangeable for that of Wilhelm. It is unclear if modifying the woodcut was the plan from the outset, in which event it is likely that Wertinger intentionally designed the figure of the duke to appear as a generic type rather than a particular, individualized likeness.

Through printing this translation, which he had already completed in 1512, Plieningen was perhaps hoping to mend fences with the Munich duke.[376] Similar to the *Sallust* volume, the contents of this publication were again didactic. In addition to Pliny himself serving as an example of a level-headed politician, the figure of Trajan in particular provided a model for princely behavior. Plieningen wrote in the dedication his hope that Wilhelm would learn "through the voice of a Roman consul…as he gives

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[375] Dietrich von Plieningen, ed. and trans., *Gay Pliny des andern lobsagung…vom heyligen Kayser Traiano…* (Landshut: Johann Weyssenburger, 1515), http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0001/bsb00011155/image_1.

[376] The dedicatory text mentions that Plieningen completed his translation of the text in 1513 at the Cologne *Reichstag* (Plieningen, *Gay Pliny*, fol. 4v); however, the Cologne *Reichstag* took place in 1512. Presumably this is a printing error.

thanks for good princes (of which, without a doubt, Trajan was one), both about what such good princes did and about what the bad princes should have done."[377]

An image of Trajan appears in the book on folio 17v, in a woodcut design that has been attributed to Wertinger (Figure 57).[378] A bust of the Roman Emperor is shown in profile within a roundel inscribed "SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI IMP TRAIANO AIG GER DAC P M T R P COS VP P." Fanciful ornamental motifs with putti and intertwining tendrils surround the central image of Trajan. One immediately recognizes the skill of the *Formschneider* in this image, especially in comparison to other woodcut designs by Wertinger. The expertly rendered passages of light and shadow and the subtle modeling of Trajan's face suggest that the person who cut this particular woodblock was highly proficient in his craft.

The combination of text and image in this woodcut provides incontrovertible evidence that Wertinger used Roman coins issued during Trajan's reign as a model for his design (Figure 58). German humanists enthusiastically collected ancient coins, with Conrad Peutinger being particularly noteworthy in this regard.[379] Many of the surviving denarii from Trajan's reign feature the Emperor with a toga over his left shoulder and a laurel wreath atop his head, just as in the woodcut image. The text is also similar: on the obverse appears "IMP TRAIANO AVG GER DAC PM TRP COS V PP" (Imperator Trajanus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus Pontifex Maximus Tribunicia Potestas Consul V

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[377] "Das durch die stym eins Consuls under dem schein und tittel der dancksagung die gueten Fursten: (Allßdann on zweiffel Traianus ainer:) was sy tehtend: und die pösen was sy thun soltend: erkennen möchtend;" Plieningen, *Lobsagung*, fol. 7r.

[378] Ehret, 98; Feuchtmayr, "Hans Wertinger," 425ff; and Theodor Musper, "Landshuter Holzschnitte," *Münchner Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst*, n.s., 11 (1934): 183-184.

[379] On the interest in ancient coins in northern Europe during this time period, see John Cunnally, *Images of the Illustrious: The Numismatic Presence in the Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 40-51.

Pater Patriae) with "SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI" (Senatus Populusque Romanus Optimus Princeps) on the reverse.[380] In the woodcut, the divisions between the abbreviations are incorrect, for example when the "V," denoting Trajan's fifth stint as Consul, appears linked to the first "P" of Pater Patriae. In a similar vein, the "AVG" of Augustus is rendered as "AIG" in the woodcut. These discrepancies between the source material and the book illustration suggest that Wertinger did not fully understand what the original Latin inscription referred to or that he copied it down incorrectly. However the image undeniably evinces the artist's desire to convey an impression of authenticity to the woodcut by aligning it with a genuine ancient relic of the classical past.

This ambitious woodcut also bears reference to another book project taking place in southern Germany at this time. In Augsburg about a decade before, Hans Burgkmair and Conrad Peutinger were working on the *Kaiserbuch* project and its many woodcut illustrations of Roman Emperors, also based on ancient coins (Figure 55). The design of the *Trajan* woodcut is much indebted to these earlier precedents, from the roundel with its concentric circles to the classicizing decoration framing the central image. However Wertinger's woodcut is much more elaborate than those designed by Burgkmair. Wertinger includes the Latin inscription from Roman coins, the phrases of which are divided by tiny rosettes that occur in other designs by the artist, such as the frame of the *Portrait of Ludwig X, Duke of Bavaria* and the *Annunciation Window* at Ingolstadt. (Figures 25 and 26). The confident modeling of Trajan's face and the audacity of the bust overlapping the border of the roundel are unequaled in the rest of Wertinger's woodcut oeuvre. The cornucopia designs, trumpeting putti, and rearing bear that occupy the

[380] Emperor Trajan Augustus, conqueror of the Germans and Dacians, supreme pontiff, Tribune of the people, Consul for the fifth time, father of the country / the Senate and the Roman people, the most perfect prince.

margins of the woodcut serve to provide the reader with additional visual interest. The aura of antiquity in the image from the *Lobsagung* and its noble depiction of Trajan pair particularly well with the book's text, itself an ancient panegyric on the emperor's virtues. This woodcut ranks among Wertinger's most conscientious orientations of style and subject matter towards both the classical past and Italianate forms emerging from Augsburg.

The theme of the other Plieningen translation dedicated to Duke Ludwig, *Von Klaffern* ("On Gossip"), has many similarities to his two books printed in 1515 (Figure 46). Contained in *Von Klaffern*, published in 1516, are two texts: Lucian's *Slander* and Poggio Bracciolini's *Against False Accusations* (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Rar. 2227). Again, the texts Plieningen chose are meant to be didactic, broadly providing models for Ludwig in his new leadership role. However the two texts published in *Von Klaffern* more specifically deal with the subject of slander, particularly at court. An additional difference is the inclusion of a text by a non-antique writer: Poggio Bracciolini, an Italian humanist—himself a translator of Lucian—who died in 1459.[381] Of primary importance to this study of Hans Wertinger's artistic output, however, is the other text in the volume, an invective against slander by the Greek satirist Lucian of Samosata, since Wertinger's frontispiece design directly relates to this text.[382] Lucian explicitly states his purpose in the opening paragraphs of this text: "that we may as far as

[381] Manuel Baumbach, *Lukian in Deutschland: Eine Forschungs- und Rezeptionsgeschichtliche Analyse vom Humanismus biz zur Gegenwart* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2002), 29. Erasmus—together with his friend Thomas More—also translated works by Lucian, from Greek into Latin; these were published in many versions from 1514 onward. One publication, dated 1517, features a woodcut frame by Hans Holbein the Younger on the title page that includes Wertingeresque garlands and putti; illustration in Baer, 465 (plate 9). On Erasmus and More's translations of Lucian, see Eiléan Ní Chuilleanáin, "Motives of Translation: More, Erasmus, and Lucian," *Hermathena* 183 (Winter 2007): 49-62.

[382] A translation appears alongside the original Greek in Lucian of Samosata, "Slander: On Not Being Quick to Put Faith in It," in *Lucian*, trans. A. M. Harmon (London: William Heinemann and New York: MacMillan, 1913), 1:359-393.

possible avoid being involved in [slander], I wish to show in words, as if in a painting, what sort of thing slander is, how it begins and what it does."[383] He goes on to discuss the negative effects of malicious gossip for the moral instruction of the reader. Thus this particular text fits in with Plieningen's pedagogical tendency to source morally didactic literature from classical authors.

In the dedicatory preface, Plieningen also makes clear his intentions in translating the works in this volume and offering them in publication.[384] Again, as with the *Sallust* text, the goal was to educate Ludwig. The duke was still young and had to learn to protect himself from "deceptive, roguish slander" since "one finds backstabbers in countless numbers at court."[385] Plieningen writes that he hopes that the duke will "read this book daily" and thus "want to drive calumny out of [his] princely court."[386] As in his preface to *Sallust*, Plieningen also expresses his desire that Ludwig bestow his "grace" (i.e. his patronage and protection) upon him.[387] The purpose of the book is thus revealed to be not completely altruistic and only concerned with cultivating a healthy court environment in Landshut. Again, by dedicating *Von Klaffern* to Ludwig, Plieningen sought continued support—financial, political, and intellectual—from the duke.

A similar impetus was likely taking place with Wertinger. The woodcut is dated 1515, which means the book project was underway a year before it was actually printed. In 1515 Ludwig had only recently arrived in Landshut, and the city's artisans were still smarting from a decade without a resident duke. Wertinger probably hoped that his

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[383] Lucian of Samosata, 1:363.
[384] This dedicatory preface is reprinted in Gerlach, 229-231.
[385] "betrognen schalckhafftigen verclaffern," "der verclaffer onzalpärlich vil in deren höfen…befunden;" Plieningen, *Von Klaffern,* fol. 3r.
[386] "das Buchli in täglichen lösen," "durch dise lere die verclaffung auß jrem furstlichen hofe jagen mögen;" Plieningen, *Von Klaffern*, fol. 3v, 4r.
[387] "unnd auch mich in gnaden befolchen zu haben;" Plieningen, *Von Klaffern*, fol. 4r.

participation in Plieningen's two book projects dedicated to Ludwig would result in commissions from the prince and provide him with an entrée into the courtly sphere. He seems to have been successful, since his portrait of the duke now in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum is dated 1516 (Figure 25).

Wertinger's woodcut frontispiece for *Von Klaffern* portrays a variety of figures as if on a raked stage. At the back a male figure, dressed in a fine fur-trimmed cloak and wearing a fashionable beret, sits at a banqueting table. Five women cluster around him; each is labeled with a banderole. Downstage are three more allegorical women and two men, one of whom is being dragged onto the scene by his hair. The company is flanked on either side by Italianate columns on top of which sit putti, draping Wertinger's characteristic floral garland between them. An ornamental frame surrounds the entirety of the composition.

The scene depicted in the frontispiece is based on a description of a lost painting by Apelles, Alexander the Great's court painter. This description appears in the very work contained in Plieningen's publication, that is, Lucian's *Slander*. As Lucian tells it, Apelles painted the allegory because he himself had been the victim of slanderous accusations at court, and though he was absolved of any wrongdoing wished to "hit back at slander" through the artwork.[388] A comparison between the ancient text and Wertinger's woodcut clearly shows that Wertinger tried to replicate the work of the famous Greek artist by following Lucian's *ekphrasis* in his design.[389] A. M. Harmon's translation of Lucian describes Apelles's painting thus:

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[388] Lucian of Samosata, 1:365.

[389] Sandro Botticelli also famously replicated Apelles's painting from Lucian's description in *The Calumny of Apelles* of 1494, in the Uffizi (Figure 61). In 1520-1521, Albrecht Dürer would produce a design for *The Calumny of Apelles* for the walls of the Nuremberg Town Hall.

> On the right of [the painting] sits a man with very large ears, almost like those of Midas, extending his hand to Slander while she is still at some distance from him. Near him, on one side, stand two women—Ignorance, I think, and Suspicion. On the other side, Slander is coming up, a woman beautiful beyond measure, but full of passion and excitement, evincing as she does fury and wrath by carrying in her left hand a blazing torch and with the other dragging by the hair a young man who stretches out his hands to heaven and calls the gods to witness his innocence. She is conducted by a pale ugly man who has a piercing eye and looks as if he had wasted away in long illness; he may be supposed to be Envy. Besides, there are two women in attendance on Slander, egging her on, tiring her and tricking her out. According to the interpretation of them given me by the guide to the picture, one was Treachery and the other Deceit. They were followed by a woman dressed in deep mourning, with black clothes all in tatters – Repentance, I think, her name was. At all events, she was turning back with tears in her eyes and casting a stealthy glance, full of shame, at Truth, who was approaching.[390]

There are a few differences between Lucian's description and Wertinger's design, most notably in Wertinger's inclusion of Wrath (*Zornheit*) and his overall composition. David Cast, in his study of the iconography of this scene (commonly called The Calumny of Apelles), sees these differences as a failing, calling Wertinger's artistic decisions "curiously mixed. The introduction of [Wrath] is intelligent; yet her appearance causes a certain confusion."[391] He goes on to deride the woodcut for depicting classicizing architecture while the figures are dressed in contemporary attire, ultimately concluding that the illustration "is, in all its parts, a crude, unselfconscious design."[392]

The combination of classical and contemporary motifs in one artwork that Cast found awkward is commonplace in German art of this time, but the discrepancies between text and image that Cast notes as problematic are actually the result of the

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[390] Lucian of Samosata, 1:365, 1:367. Leon Battista Alberti had also related the story of The Calumny of Apelles in his *De pictura* of 1435; he proposed it as an ideal narrative theme (*historia*) for artists to illustrate.

[391] David Cast, *The Calumny of Apelles: A Study of the Humanist Tradition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 93-94.

[392] Cast does muse, in a footnote to this sentence, that "Dürer also chose to dress his allegories in contemporary clothes. Did Northern decorum require this?" Cast, 94n5.

specific manuscript from which the artist was working: Dietrich von Plieningen's German translation. The appearance of Wrath as an entirely additional character is due to a list of the various personifications that appears in the margin of the Landshut publication; these notes were intended to aid the reader's comprehension of the scene (Figure 59). Among these, although she does not appear as a separate character in the text itself, is listed "Die Zornheit." While this list may have served some readers in clarifying aspects of Apelles's painting, it seems instead to have proved challenging for Wertinger. He proceeded to create a new allegorical figure, giving her the characteristics attributed to Slander in the text as she holds a torch and drags a youth by the hair. The wording of Plieningen's translation could also have misled Wertinger "carrying with her fury and wrath: in the right hand she held a burning torch…." Wertinger may have understood the information following the colon to be describing Wrath, although the grammar of the original German sentence indicates that both fury and wrath are direct objects and thus Wrath cannot be the subject of the following phrase.[393] But if Wertinger were treating the marginal notes as a cast of characters that should be included in the frontispiece design—as indeed nine out of the ten are—then he may be forgiven for assuming "Die Zornheit" should appear as a separate allegorical figure.

The character of "Zornheit" further differs from Lucian's description in that her gestures are reversed from those ascribed to Slander in the text. Wertinger shows the figure carrying a long taper, aflame at the end, and dragging the young man by the hair. In the text her left hand holds the torch, but in the print it is her right hand. This suggests that Wertinger did not account for the reversal of the image that occurs when the woodcut

[393] "trueg vor ir die wüt und den zorn: in der rechte[n] ha[n]d hielt sy ein prynnende fackel;" Plieningen, *Von Klaffern*, fol. 8v.

is printed. If the block itself shows the correct orientation, the impression of the woodblock on paper will appear reversed. Wertinger likely did not prepare the drawing for the *Formschneider* to cut into the woodblock as a mirror image to how he would ultimately like it to appear. However, he must have made such adjustments in the banderoles, for the letters and words are all legible. These inconsistencies are not uncommon in printmaking, even so many years after the great achievements of Albrecht Dürer in this medium. For example, in the virtuoso woodcut *Battle of the Naked Men and the Peasants* of 1522, designed by Master N.H. and cut by Hans Lützelburger, the designer's initials appear reversed in the cartellino, but the majority of the combatants fight with swords in their right hands (Figure 60). Wertinger was new to designing woodcuts—his earliest book illustrations are all from 1515—and so this failure to reverse the image may stem from his relative inexperience with the medium.

The other major change from the *ekphrasis* is the position of the prince, here at the center of the image. In Harmon's translation, he sits "on the right;" in Plieningen's translation, he sits "on the right-hand side" ("zur gerechten hand").[394] The placement of the prince is a decision Wertinger made primarily on the basis of compositional problem solving. The size (29 x 20 cm) and orientation of the book's pages meant that the scene would have to be formatted vertically, rather than horizontally, as in Sandro Botticelli's famous painting *The Calumny of Apelles* or Andrea Mantegna's drawing of the same subject (Figures 61 and 62). Wertinger needed to have enough space around the prince for the allegorical figures that Lucian describes as being on one side or the other. Pushing the prince to the far edge of the woodcut would have made for quite a cramped composition. Taking into account Plieningen's specific wording and the fact that

[394] Plieningen, *Von Klaffern*, fol. 8r.

Wertinger's design did not compensate for the reversal of the image when printed, we see that the prince would have, in fact, been positioned "on the right-hand side" of the table in Wertinger's original drawing. Again, Wertinger is attempting to adhere as closely as possible to the description of Apelles's painting as it appears in Plieningen's translation.

It is tempting to see the idea for the woodcut stemming from Plieningen, as it is much more sophisticated in its subject matter than the *Sallust* frontispiece and more closely tied to the actual text contained in the publication. The connection to the classical past, such a preoccupation of the humanists, is overt: the print is a complex classical allegory and one based on a lost painting by that paragon of the antique, Apelles. It is also quite possible that Wertinger was simply given Plieningen's translation and tasked with deciding how best to illustrate it. He would not have had to read far before finding Lucian's discussion of Apelles's painting: it appears on the third printed page of the text proper (after the dedications and a short biography of Lucian).[395] Yet it is equally probable that Wertinger discussed the scene with Plieningen or was given specific instructions for the woodcut's content by Johann Weyssenburger.

The introduction of Apelles in the body of the text is also highlighted by another of Plieningen's marginal notations. Plieningen writes: "Apelles. Is described by all the writers of history as one of the best painters of all time. Alexander, the Macedonian king, held him in very high honor, so much so that he had an edict go out, and forbade anyone other than Apelles to paint him or make a portrait of him."[396] With this note, Plieningen augments the information present in Lucian's text, thereby asserting Apelles's particular

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[395] Plieningen, *Von Klaffern*, fol. 7r.

[396] "Appelles. Ist von allen hystorie[n] schreibern fur einen den aller pesten Maler beschuben wordden. De[r] hat Alexander der Macedonier kunig in grossen ern gehalten: also das der ain Edict unnd gepot außgeen lassen das in Allexandern: nyemants dann Appelles ab maln od contra fayen solt;" Plieningen, *Von Klaffern*, fol. 7r-7v.

significance as a historical character and talented artist. Furthermore, in relaying the information about Apelles's special relationship to Alexander, Plieningen characterizes the ancient painter as the consummate example of a court artist.

Such valorization of Apelles was typical for the Renaissance, especially in princely circles. As Ulrich Pfisterer notes, "no other artist found such mention in glorifications by friends of and advisors to princes."[397] To take but one example, Christoph Scheurl's panegyric to Lucas Cranach the Elder, written in 1509, claims that the Saxon court painter was "no less loved by our Elector Friedrich as Apelles was by Alexander."[398] In his recreation of the ancient painting by Apelles, Hans Wertinger aligns himself with this renowned ancient artist not merely because of his famous talents but because of his special relationship with a magnanimous prince. According to Martin Warnke, the relationship between Alexander and Apelles "was the prototype of the court artist's ideal, and every comparison with Apelles was aimed, tacitly or avowedly, at securing a position at court."[399] By drawing a clear connection between himself and Apelles through the woodcut frontispiece to *Von Klaffern*, Wertinger asserts himself as similarly equipped to serve the prince to whom the text was dedicated, Ludwig X. This sophisticated allusion to the most famous court painter in antiquity, three years prior to his appointment as Ludwig's court artist, clearly indicates Wertinger's aspirations and ambition.

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[397] Ulrich Pfisterer, "Apelles im Norden: Ausnahmekünstler, Selbstbildnisse und die Gunst der Mächtigen um 1500," in *Apelles am Fürstenhof: Facetten der Hofkunst um 1500 im Alten Reich*, ed. Matthias Müller, Klaus Weschenfelder, Beate Böckem, and Ruth Hansmann (Berlin: Lukas, 2010), 9.

[398] "Wie aber jene alten Maler eine gewisse Liebenswürdigkeit hatten, so bist auch Du…freundlich, gesprächig, freigebit, leutselig und gefällig und deshalb unserem Kurfürsten Friedrich nichgt weniger lieb, als es Apelles dem Alexander war;" as quoted in Heinz Lüdecke, *Lucas Cranach der Ältere im Spiegel seiner Zeit, aus Urkunden, Chroniken, Briefen, Reden und Gedichten* (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1953), 53.

[399] Warnke, *The Court Artist*, 40.

There is no record of who commissioned Hans Wertinger with the design of the woodcuts for these humanist publications, although given common practice among book publishers in the Renaissance it was probably Johann Weyssenburger. Ludwig himself could have suggested the artist for these projects; the books were, after all, dedicated to him and published under his aegis in Landshut. However the first extant instance of Ludwig's patronage of Wertinger is in 1516, with the completion of the *Portrait of Ludwig X, Duke of Bavaria*, and both of the woodcuts date from 1515. Wertinger's previous work for Dietrich von Plieningen in the *Kleinbottwar Altarpiece* could mean that the impetus for the commission to Wertinger lay with the humanist. 1515 also saw the first instance of Wertinger providing Weyssenburger with woodcut designs for book illustrations. Weyssenburger's first German edition of *The Life of St. Wolfgang*, published in June 1515, features a large number of woodcut illustrations, some of which have been attributed to Wertinger.[400] Given the dearth of comparably gifted draughtsmen in Landshut at this time, naturally Weyssenburger would have gone to Wertinger, the foremost talent in town, for the book illustrations. Thus Weyssenburger may be responsible for commissioning Wertinger with the *Sallust* and *Von Klaffern* woodcuts. Since Wertinger would go on to enjoy professional relationships with both Weyssenburger and Plieningen, either could have been involved in choosing him for these projects. Wertinger would continue to provide Weyssenburger with woodcuts for his publications in the later 1510s and '20s, and Plieningen is likely the source of the

[400] Hans Bleibrunner, ed., *Das Leben des heiligen Wolfgang nach dem Holzschnittbuch des Johann Weyssenburger aus dem Jahr 1515* (Landshut: Isar-Post, 1976), n. pag. On the attribution to Wertinger, see Musper, 181-190, and Ehret, 100. The text proved popular: Weyssenburger published further editions of the German version in 1516 and 1522 and a Latin edition in 1516.

erudite subject matter found in Wertinger's allegorical panel painting of 1517, *Alexander and his Doctor Philippus*.

THE PANEL PAINTING *ALEXANDER AND HIS DOCTOR PHILIPPUS*

The culmination of Hans Wertinger's engagement with the classical past and the culture of humanism at the Landshut court is evident in his masterful painting *Alexander and his Doctor Philippus* (Figure 1). This panel, dated 1517, has been trimmed, most evident on the right side of the work where a seated figure and a hanging cartellino are cut off, and there is extensive overpainting in the upper left-hand corner.[401] A curious inscription appears on the lower center of the painting: "Hans Brobst von Freising 1592." This probably refers to the provost of Freising Cathedral, although why he was in possession of this artwork remains a mystery; Georg Lill suggests that the panel may have been sold after Ludwig's death to settle his "many debts."[402]

The scene depicted is a vignette from the life of Alexander the Great, as relayed by the Roman historian Quintus Curtius Rufus in his biography of the Macedonian ruler. Alexander had fallen ill, and received a letter "from the most faithful of his officers, Parmenion," advising him that Alexander's doctor Philippus was in league with the Persian enemy and planning to poison him.[403] Philippus had been Alexander's longtime physician and friend, and when he brought Alexander a draught the sick man ignored the

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[401] Langer and Heinemann, 186 (cat. no. 3.1: Brigitte Langer). Olga Kotková notes that in addition to the trimming on the right edge, the panel was further altered by additions of a few centimeters on the right, left, and lower edges; Olga Kotková, *National Gallery in Prague: German and Austrian Painting of the 14th-16th Centuries* (Prague: National Gallery in Prague, 2007), 92 (cat. no. 49).
[402] Lill, "Ein Bild," 8.
[403] Quintus Curtius Rufus, *The History of Alexander*, trans. John Yardley (Harmondsworth, UK and New York: Penguin Books, 1984), 34.

letter's warning and drank the medicine. The potion was benign, and Alexander's trust in Philippus proved not to have been misplaced.

In Wertinger's interpretation of this incident from ancient history, the action is set not in the classical past but in contemporary Germany. Alexander lies at the far left of the panel in a voluminously curtained bed, over which hang various coats-of-arms representing Landshut and the Holy Roman Emperor.[404] The architecture of the room contains both Gothic and Renaissance elements, an amalgamation typical for southern Germany in this period, and the figures are dressed not in togas or ancient armor but in slashed hose and fur-lined cloaks. Other trappings of the Renaissance court enliven the scene: costly fruits and silver vessels, a hunting dog and pet monkey, a court jester and lutist.[405]

Furthermore, it seems likely that each figure—with the exception of Alexander—represents a specific individual at the Landshut court. Georg Lill offers a variety of suggestions as to which members of Ludwig's court are portrayed in the painting, but only a few identifications can be substantiated.[406] On the left of the panel, positioned at the front of the picture space, is Christoph von Layming, the master of Ludwig's household whose portrait Wertinger painted in the same year (Figure 14).[407] It has been suggested that the figure in the luxurious green ermine-trimmed coat standing next to Layming is meant to represent Duke Ludwig himself, with Ludwig's siblings Wilhelm, Ernst, Susanna, and Sabina comprising the quartet in the very background of the

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[404] Langer and Heinemann, 186 (cat. no. 3.1: Brigitte Langer).
[405] On fruit as a sign of wealth, see Biersack, 94. The Munich line of the Bavarian dukes had kept court monkeys as part of their menagerie as far back as 1359; Dahlem, 77.
[406] Lill, "Ein Bild," 12.
[407] Langer and Heinemann, 186. Layming was a particularly esteemed member of court, as he served as a witness to Ludwig's 1516 will; Czerny, 271.

picture.[408] A comparison between the figures of Dietrich von Plieningen in Wertinger's woodcut frontispieces with the *Alexander* panel raises the possibility that the man in grey at the foot of the bed is Plieningen.[409] While Plieningen wore his hair long in the 1499 stained glass panel from Kleinbottwar, in the woodcuts his hair is short. Furthermore, the prominence of the figure in the composition and his intense study of the letter in his hands accord with Plieningen's status at court and his scholarly activities. We know the name of Ludwig's court jester during these years, and presumably the figure descending the stairs wearing a donkey-ear hood is indeed Sigmund Khuriß.[410]

Most concrete is the identification of the man at the far left of the painting with Hans Wertinger. The artist holds a sheet of music for the lute player and stares directly out at the viewer; he is recognizably an older version of the figure looking outwards in Wertinger's *The Legend of St. Sigismund* painting of 1498 (Figures 2-4). In the *Alexander* painting, Wertinger wears a rich fur-trimmed coat, and although it would be another year Ludwig would give him a court robe, the painter's attire is indistinguishable from the cloaks worn by most of the other figures depicted in the painting.[411] Although he has positioned himself at the margin of the image—alongside another courtly artist, the musician—Wertinger nonetheless includes himself in court society through his presence

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[408] Langer and Heinemann, 186; and Lill, "Ein Bild," 12. Ernst is shown as blond-haired in the predella of the *Moosburg Altarpiece*, which accords with the figure on the left in the background of *Alexander and his Doctor Philippus*. While the other male figure in the quartet bears a striking resemblance to Ludwig as he is portrayed in the 1516 portrait at the Bavarian National Museum, there are also similarities in appearance between this figure and Wilhelm in Wertinger's later portrait of the Munich duke of 1526 (Figure 39).

[409] The overpainting of the faces in the 1913 restoration of the *Kleinbottwar Altarpiece* makes it difficult to see Plieningen's facial features as they originally would have appeared; thus the donor portrait there will not be used as a comparison with the figure in Wertinger's *Alexander and his Doctor Philippus*.

[410] Spitzlberger, "Hof und Hofstaat," 18; and Lill, "Ein Bild," 12.

[411] It is also possible that Wertinger was given the robe in 1517 but it was marked down in the payment records for 1518.

in the painting. In doing so, he proclaims his membership in this elite group of men, those attendants closest to the Landshut duke.[412]

Thus Wertinger set the scene in a recognizable and specifically defined time and place: Ludwig X's court at Landshut in the year 1517. How does this translation of a classical tale into a contemporary setting affect the reading of the painting? Wertinger's painting becomes an allegorical representation of Ludwig's court, a symbolic setting for the actions of good governance as represented in the historical character of Alexander. The broad moral of the ancient story concerns the value of friendship and placing trust in those friendships, but the tale also specifically relates to princely courts as well. Alexander trusted Philippus because Philippus was trustworthy; Alexander had surrounded himself with faithful and honorable servants. Additionally, Alexander trusted Philippus over Parmenion. This judgment call is a sign of Alexander's merit as a ruler: he is able to evaluate the character and truthfulness of the men in his service. Ludwig should thus see Alexander as a model for a ruler who follows the counsel of only the worthiest men.

This type of message had been directed to Ludwig X before, by Dietrich von Plieningen in the 1515 and 1516 publications of his classical translations. In the forward to *Sallust*, Plieningen warns Ludwig against certain kinds of people, using the figure of Catiline as an example: "he answered for himself in a meeting of the Senate with barefaced lies, and spoke counter to the truth.…Unfortunately, one still finds the same type of people around today…."[413] Another close correspondence to the moral of

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[412] As Martin Warnke notes, "It was always thought a mark of distinction if artists could depict themselves in the immediate retinue of the ruler;" Warnke, *The Court Artist*, 112.

[413] "hat sich mit offenparn lügine in sytzenden Senat verantworten dorffen: un[d] die warhait widerreden. […] der gleichen mensche[n] layder findman jetzt;" Plieningen, *Salustij*, fol. 7v.

Wertinger's painting appears in the preface to *Von Klaffern*, as Plieningen warns "that one should not give any credit to slanderers and underhanded defamers."[414] The danger of gossip at court, as evidenced in the Alexander story, is quite serious: had Alexander not rejected the content of the letter, he might have died.

Alexander the Great was a popular figure throughout the medieval period and into the Renaissance. His exploits as an undefeated ruler and his virtuous character were celebrated in the *Romance of Alexander* and held up as "a model for princely behavior."[415] Alexander is also one of the "Nine Worthies," a group of three pagan, three Jewish, and three Christian heroes who appear as moral exemplars in literature, pageantry, and the visual arts from the Middle Ages onwards.[416] In 1516, just one year prior to the date of the Landshut panel painting, Hans Burgkmair—a frequent stylistic inspiration for Wertinger—printed a series of six woodcuts featuring heroes and heroines from the Nine Worthies tradition. In one of these prints, under the title "The Three Good Pagans," appear Hector, Alexander, and Julius Caesar, with Alexander taking the place of honor in the center of the image (Figure 63).

The particular accordance of Alexander's actions in Wertinger's painting with those in the original, classical Latin text further suggests that Plieningen was closely involved in the production of the painting and assisted Wertinger in the artwork's conception. In Quintus Curtius Rufus's text, Philippus "entered Alexander's tent with the cup in which he had concocted the potion. When Alexander saw him, he sat up in bed.

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[414] "das man den verklaffern und haymlichen ornplousern [Ohrenblasern] keynen glouben geben soll;" Plieningen, *Von Klaffern*, fol. 3v.

[415] Nigel Bryant, introduction to *The Medieval Romance of Alexander* by Jehan Wauquelin (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell, 2012), 8.

[416] On the Nine Worthies, see Horst Schroeder, *Der Topos der Nine Worthies in Literatur und bildender Kunst* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971).

Holding the letter from Parmenion in his left hand, he took the cup and drank with confidence."[417] Given the imagery in the painting, it is clear that Wertinger had specific knowledge of the exact wording of this scene in the original text. He may have even exaggerated the curtains surrounding the bed to give the suggestion of the action taking place inside a tent. While selections from the seven-book *Historiae Alexandri Magni* had already been translated into German in the 1490s, the book in which this particular incident appeared was not included; neither was the translation published.[418] The Latin text had been in print since the 1470s, but since there is no indication that Wertinger could read Latin it seems highly improbable that he would have stumbled across the text himself.[419] Plieningen, on the other hand, is the most likely candidate at the Landshut court at this time not only to have had a general familiarity with the Alexander story as it appears in the ancient text but also to have possessed a copy of the Latin publication to reference the specific language regarding Alexander's actions.[420]

For Wertinger, drawing a connection between Alexander the Great and Ludwig X served an additional purpose by reflecting positively on the painter's own conceits as an artist. Alexander was an enthusiastic patron, supporting cultural production in the visual

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[417] Curtius Rufus, *The History of Alexander*, 35.

[418] Johann Gottfried translated excerpts from books VII (8,12-9,1) and IX (6,6-26) into German between about 1489 and 1494; Franz Josef Worstbrock, *Deutsche Antikerezeption, 1450-1550: Verzeichnis der deutschen Übersetzungen antiker Autoren* (Boppard am Rhein: Harald Boldt, 1976), 62 (cat. no. 174).

[419] Quintus Curtius Rufus, *Historiae Alexandri Magni regis Macedonum* (Venice: Wendelin von Speyer, c. 1471).

[420] After Plieningen's death, his widow Felicitas married Leonhard von Eck and had a son, Oswald. Through Oswald, Plieningen's book collection came into the possession of the Comburg foundation, the holdings of which are now in the Württemburgisches Landesbibliothek in Stuttgart; Adelmann, 70. The list of extant books and manuscripts having belonged to Dietrich von Plieningen (in Adelmann, 111-114) does not list a *History of Alexander*. This does exclude the possibility, however, that Plieningen did indeed own a copy at some point and it has simply not come down to us, or that he had access to someone else's copy while in Landshut, or simply remembered the story from having read it sometime earlier in his life (perhaps in Heidelberg).

arts and historiography, a perfect example for Ludwig to follow in his own patronage.[421] Famously, Alexander's court painter was Apelles, whose renown in the Renaissance was unmatched by any other ancient artist. Despite the fact that no artworks by his hand had survived, Apelles was lauded as the consummate ancient artist thanks to Pliny the Elder's discussion of him in his *Natural History*.[422] Pliny related stories that praised the artist's close relationship with his patron Alexander, including how Alexander would visit Apelles in his studio and how he gave Apelles his favorite courtesan Campaspe when he discovered that the painter was in love with her. In *Von Klaffern*, published the year before the *Alexander* painting, Dietrich von Plieningen included a marginal note, completely extraneous to the text, just to highlight the reputation of the ancient painter. Both the skill and temperament of Apelles were consistently held up as a model to artists in the Renaissance, especially with regard to their relationships with patrons, and court artists such as Andrea Mantegna and Leonardo da Vinci modeled "some of their behavior and artistic practice" on the ancient artist.[423] Wertinger himself had based the *Von Klaffern* woodcut on Lucian's description of the lost work by Apelles, placing himself in direct comparison to the ancient artist and thereby boosting his own status. Although the record of Wertinger's appointment to court artist does not appear until the following year, at the time that he painted *Alexander and his Doctor Philippus* he naturally must have

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[421] Callisthenes was Alexander's official court historian, and the ruler employed Lysippos as his sculptor; according to legend Alexander prohibited anyone else from portraying his likeness in stone. Sarah Blake McHam notes, "The stories about the parity between the renowned ruler Alexander and his painter Apelles inspired Renaissance artists in their efforts to raise their social and intellectual status, and reassured patrons that the rich and powerful before them had judged commissioning works of art as a means of increasing their prestige and asserting political might;" Sarah Blake McHam, *Pliny and the Artistic Culture of the Italian Renaissance: The Legacy of the* Natural History (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013), 226.

[422] McHam, 47-50; and Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, trans. H. Rackham (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press and London: William Heinemann, 1961), 9:319-333.

[423] McHam, 161-169.

aspired to this exalted position. This work is a sophisticated humanist allegory, even more subtle and complex than that found in his frontispiece to *Von Klaffern*. Through the erudite subject matter and the painting's high level of execution, Wertinger sought approval, continued patronage, and perhaps even promotion from Ludwig X. Connecting himself to the revered classical artist illustrates, further, that Wertinger was conversant with the kinds of ancient source material valued at the most cultured courts of Europe, a particularly strong selling point for Ludwig.

The consensus among scholars is that the patron of *Alexander and his Doctor Philippus* was none other than Ludwig X. Brigitte Langer notes that, "without any doubt, one should see Ludwig X as the commissioner of the painting."[424] Why, exactly, Ludwig requested the Alexander story is unknown, although Georg Lill posits that Ludwig could himself have recently recovered from an illness and commissioned the panel painting in commemoration.[425] No archival source explicitly mentions this artwork. While the language in the ducal payment records of 1517 and 1518 is not specific enough to allow a direct connection to the *Alexander* panel, the payments made to Wertinger in these years could certainly have included his fees for this particular painting. In 1517 Wertinger was paid for "several works" and in 1518 for "three panels" made for Ludwig; this painting could have been among these unspecified works.[426]

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[424] Langer and Heinemann 186 (cat. no. 3.1: Brigitte Langer).

[425] Lill makes this connection based on another of Ludwig's commissions mentioned in the ducal payment records of 1517, a statue by Stefan Rottaler destined for Altötting (a pilgrimage church). Lill suggests that this statue was a votive offering in thanksgiving for overcoming an illness, although his only evidence is this payment to Rottaler; Lill, "Ein Bild," 9.

[426] "etlich arbait;" Staatsarchiv Landshut, Kurbayern-Hofkammer Ämterrechnungen RMA Landshut 884 (1517), fol. 31r; "dreyen tafeln;" Staatsarchiv Landshut, Kurbayern-Hofkammer Ämterrechnungen RMA Landshut 885 (1518), fol. 45r.

Even if the commission had not come from Ludwig himself, the panel was clearly intended for the duke. The connections between the imagery in the artwork and the historical realities of Ludwig's court are too strong for the painting to have been destined for some other location or personage. Perhaps *Alexander and his Doctor Philippus* was a gift to the duke from Plieningen, Layming, or someone else associated with the Landshut court who wished to present Ludwig with a sophisticated gift that suggested a flattering association between the new ruler in Landshut and the great Macedonian ruler of the classical past. Furthermore, since the painting stresses themes of loyalty and a ruler's need to recognize his true servants, the panel would have been an impressive gift to the duke from one of his courtiers. The prime candidate might be Dietrich von Plieningen, given his scholarly interests and his other collaborations with Hans Wertinger. If Plieningen was not the patron, it seems certain that the subject of the painting and perhaps even its very conception were suggested by the Swabian humanist.

Dietrich von Plieningen was at the forefront of a new literary impulse towards the vernacular. Facility in Latin and Greek had been the domain of only those who were highly educated. Composition in Latin assumed, furthermore, a transnational readership; this is especially evidenced in Erasmus of Rotterdam's copious Latin correspondence with humanists from a variety of different regions. However, Plieningen's translations into German—and their distribution by means of the printing press—assured that the moral lessons of the antique texts would be available to a wider audience, even when the people to whom his translations were dedicated could read Latin.[427] Such democratization

[427] Whether or not such a wider audience was actually found at this early date is questionable; Annette Gerlach, 18, notes that "Antikeübersetzung hatte zu Beginn des [16.] Jahrhunderts kaum schon einen Markt, der die Kosten von Drucken getragen hätte." This market opens up considerably in the 1520s, after

of humanist endeavor meant that even individuals like Hans Wertinger, who probably did not read Latin but nonetheless understood the cultural value of the classical past, could familiarize themselves with the great writers of the antique.

Ultimately, an education in humanism was a means to social mobility for many ambitious individuals. This applies to Hans Wertinger as well. There is no evidence that Wertinger went to university or had formal training in the *studia humanitatis*, but through projects that connected him with Dietrich von Plieningen, an illustrious humanist associated with the Landshut court, Wertinger positioned himself as a cultured artist, capable of engaging with sophisticated subject matter. He also proved himself to be versatile in adapting the ancient past to suit contemporary aesthetic sensibilities by including classicizing architectural and decorative elements, creating complicated allegories, and placing himself in comparison to the ancient Greek artist Apelles. In participating in such humanistic activities, Wertinger integrated himself and his artwork into the broader culture of the classical past at Ludwig's court.

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which point "Antikeübersetzungen sind von da an nur noch im Druck überliefert;" Gerlach, 29. However, undeniably Plieningen's *intention* with the translations into the vernacular and their subsequent publication was to provide these ancient texts to a general readership.

Chapter 4: The Space of Rule: Burg Trausnitz and the Duchy of Bavaria

When Ludwig X arrived in Landshut in 1515, he set up his court at Burg Trausnitz, located on a hill just south of the city center (Figure 64). This medieval fortress, first built in the twelfth century, had served as the residence of the dukes of Bavaria-Landshut until the last of their line, Georg "the Rich," died without a male heir in 1503. Although intermittently used by the Munich duke in the ensuing decade, Trausnitz was not again the primary residence of a ruler until the appearance of Ludwig. Despite his frequent travels within the duchy, the castle served as the locus of activity for Ludwig's court and remained his primary residence until he built the Stadtresidenz on Landshut's main street in the 1530s.[428]

Long before Ludwig's arrival, Burg Trausnitz had served a representative function as a symbol of rulership.[429] The castle is located on a high promontory above Landshut and commands an impressive view over the surrounding areas (Figures 65 and 66). This visual dominance of the ducal residence, perched as it is on a precipitous hill towering over the city center, physically mimicked the political oversight of the Bavarian dukes. Over the course of the fifteenth century the "Rich Dukes" carried out many building projects to renovate and expand the castle.[430] Almost immediately after the start of his tenure as duke of Bavaria, Ludwig X began renovating Burg Trausnitz, which had seen only sporadic updates to the interior in the decade since Duke Georg's death.[431]

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[428] On the Stadtresidenz, see below, 188-196.

[429] On my use of the word "representative" in this study, see above, 25n78.

[430] Biersack, 221. On Burg Traunitz, see Herbert Brunner and Elmar D. Schmid, *Landshut Burg Trausnitz: Amtlicher Führer*, 7th ed. (Munich: Bayerische Verwaltung der Staatlichen Schlösser, Gärten und Seen, 1981).

[431] Langer, 39, notes that the dining hall of the castle had been updated in 1512.

Trausnitz was at this point woefully out of date, not merely in its architecture and décor but in all areas of residential appointment.[432] For example, the payment record of 1517 notes, "Item, payment for a pillow and a cushion, all ordered from new materials, for my gracious lord Duke Ludwig's bed."[433] Clearly, for Trausnitz to be able to continue to represent the position of the duke of Bavaria during Ludwig's reign, it would need to be updated to reflect more accurately the status of its new occupant.

The majority of Ludwig's remodeling projects took place between 1517 and 1520.[434] Unfortunately, many of his architectural and decorative improvements are no longer extant due to subsequent renovations at Trausnitz in the 1570s and 1670s, and a disastrous fire that occurred at the castle in 1961.[435] However, we are able to reconstruct some of Ludwig's projects in these early years thanks to the payment records—although some years are missing—and other sources.[436] Under Jakob Amberger, the court mason (*Hofmauerer*, here perhaps more appropriately termed "architect"), the Chapel of St. Georg was updated (Figure 67).[437] Specifically, the chapel's roof, originally flat, was vaulted, four windows were installed in order to lighten the space, the east gallery was

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[432] Hitchcock says that Trausnitz was "hardly a proper setting for a mid-sixteenth-century prince" in his discussion of Ludwig's reasons for building the *Stadtresidenz*. Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *German Renaissance Architecture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 95.

[433] Staatsarchiv Landshut, Kurbayern-Hofkammer Ämterrechnungen RMA Landshut 884 (1517), fol. 35v: "Item aufgeben fur meins gn herrn hertzog Ludwigs Pett ainen Pollster unnd Kiss alles von neuen dingen bestellt."

[434] However, Ludwig continued improving Trausnitz over the course of his lifetime, including adding a private oratorium to the chapel. Even after the construction on the *Stadtresidenz* was well underway, Ludwig was still renovating the castle: in 1541-1542 he had a winecellar constructed "in Form einer uterirdischen gotischen Hallenkirche;" Langer and Heinemann, 240.

[435] On the building projects at Trausnitz in the later sixteenth century, see Susan Maxwell, *The Court Art of Friedrich Sustris: Patronage in Late Renaissance Bavaria* (Farnham, UK and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011). See also Felix Mader, *Die Kunstdenkmäler von Niederbayern: Stadt Landshut mit Einschluss der Trausnitz* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1927), 352.

[436] The payment records (*Kammeramtsrechnungen*) during the years of Wertinger's activity exist only for the years 1516-1524 and 1527-1530.

[437] Mader, 367, 372.

raised and supported with new columns, and a walkway was constructed along the north wall to connect the east and west galleries.[438] Other building projects carried out at Trausnitz around this time included a two-story arcaded passageway around the interior courtyard of the castle; this was replaced in later renovations but is visible in Jakob Sandtner's wooden model of the city of Landshut, completed in 1572 (Figure 68).[439] This walkway stemmed not only from the practical consideration of increasing ease of mobility between the various residential buildings in the castle complex but also from a desire to present an imposing, gracious, and visually unified façade to visitors entering the castle.[440] Ludwig also built an addition that connected the kitchen building to the northeast corner of his apartments in 1520. On the top floor of this structure, the duke fashioned an arcaded balcony, thus creating a space from which he could survey the city and adjacent countryside as a ruler with, quite literally, oversight of his subjects (Figures 66, 69, and 70).[441]

The renovations were intended not only to make a comfortable home for the duke but also to create a physical space concomitant with his intentions for the broader culture of his court. The term "court" can be defined both as the social network connected by its relationship to a princely figure and as a particular place that served as the primary locus of activity of the prince and his affiliates. Court culture in Landshut, in its wide variety of forms, was therefore concentrated on, and within, the ducal residence. The residence served not only as a space for living and working but also as a representation of and

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[438] Herbert Brunner, *Die Trausnitzkapelle ob Landshut* (Munich: Schnell & Steiner, 1968), 5-7, 20-22.
[439] This model is held in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum. See Günther Knesch, *Landshut: Stadt im Modell* (Straubing: Attenkofer, 2004); and Helmut Puff, "The City as Model: Three-Dimensional Representations of Urban Space in Early Modern Europe," in *Topographies of the Early Modern City*, ed. Arthur Groos, Hans-Jochen Schiewer, and Markus Stock (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2008), 193-217.
[440] Langer, 39.
[441] Langer, 39.

reflection on the princely office and its holder. Thus the furnishing and configuration of such "court space" held great importance to the development and articulation of court culture. The importance of maintaining parity with—or, even better, outshining—the space of other princely households was also of utmost significance.[442] When Norbert Elias, speaking in generalities, wrote, "a duke must build his house in such a way as to tell the world: I am a duke and not merely a count," he could easily have been referring specifically to Ludwig X.[443] Ludwig wanted the space of his court, localized at Burg Trausnitz, to reflect his conception of himself as a modern, cultured Renaissance prince.

Important in this regard is the staging of the space of rule. What I mean by staging (in German, the much more evocative *Inszenierung*, suggesting the insertion of a particular scene into a performative space) is the concerted integration of the decoration with the use and representative function of a space.[444] The fashioning of the space, both architecturally and decoratively, is thus directly related to how actions are "played out" within that space. The performance that was taking place in Trausnitz was that of rulership, and Wertinger's various paintings for the ducal residence set the stage.

Through the paintings he commissioned from Hans Wertinger, Ludwig sought to elucidate his conception of himself by mediating the primary location in which he performed the role of duke of Bavaria. Trausnitz was thus not merely the space of court, where members of Ludwig's retinue gathered to carry out their various responsibilities, but also courtly space, a physical framework within which to express aesthetic concerns

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[442] Peter-Michael Hahn, "Dynastische Rivalitäten und höfische Konkurrenzen: Die Wahrnehmung der Residenzen durch die Fürstenhäuser," in Paravicini and Wettlaufer, *Vorbild – Austausch – Konkurrenz*, 396-397.

[443] Norbert Elias, *The Court Society*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983), 63. Recall Ludwig's demotion to count upon his father's death; see above, 43.

[444] On the term "representative," see above, 25n78.

and conceits appropriate to the position and interests of the ruler. From within Trausnitz Ludwig also executed his power over a much vaster space that also symbolically represented his office: the territorial entirety of the duchy of Bavaria.

Wertinger's artworks that relate to the space of rule range from those that decorated Ludwig's living spaces to those that imagined or documented the space over which he reigned. They communicate notions pursuant to what Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann calls "the concept of place," in essence a localized understanding of space and spatial relationships.[445] Wertinger's work for Ludwig naturally also engaged with other cultural trends at the Landshut court that related to space: the historical-geographical *Chronicle of Bavaria* by the humanist scholar Aventinus, and the cosmographic textbook *Cosmographicus Liber* by the astronomer Peter Apian. Wertinger's artworks for Ludwig's residence at Burg Trausnitz construct and reflect a space of good governance.

HANS WERTINGER'S WORK FOR BURG TRAUSNITZ

In addition to the practical concerns of setting up a new household, such as ordering bed linens, Ludwig also hired local artists to provide decoration appropriate to his station as ruler over Bavaria. Wertinger had in these very years proven himself to the duke as being a capable and innovative artist, having painted Ludwig's portrait in 1516 and *Alexander and his Doctor Philippus* in 1517. These two panel paintings were doubtless placed on display in the duke's apartments, and Wertinger was then tasked with further painting projects for the castle, as documented in the Trausnitz payment records of 1517 and 1518.

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[445] Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 3, 6.

These records give an inkling of the enormous scope of work undertaken by Wertinger on the duke's behalf. In June 1517, Wertinger was paid 48 guilders "for a number of works that he made for our gracious lord Duke Ludwig" and in September 1518, he was paid an astonishing 640 Rhenish guilders.[446] For this payment, the register records:

> Item, payment under instruction of my gracious Lord with Master Hans Swab, painter of Landshut…[for] all [he] has painted, such as in the court chapel, in the council chamber, in my gracious Lord's small chamber, the painted wooden doorframe in his grace's chamber, also various court work that he has done up to today, and in addition three panels, also the Bohemian battle, that he should also paint and finish, therefore my gracious Lord supplies him with the extra payment…and…a court robe.[447]

The amount of money Ludwig paid Wertinger is remarkable, and suggests a huge number of projects completed by the artist and his workshop. Two years later, Wertinger would receive only 48 Rhenish guilders from Philipp of Freising for a total of seven panel portraits that he had painted in the preceding years, including the full-length *Portrait of Ritter Christoph*.[448] A few more financial comparisons make the enormity of the 1518 payment clear. The total cost of the large stained glass window donated by Emperor Maximilian to the Church of St. Sebald in Nuremberg in 1514, including payments to the glass painters and designers, was a mere 200 Rhenish guilders.[449]

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[446] "umb etlich arbait, so er meinem genedigen herrn Hertzog Ludwigen gemacht hat;" Staatsarchiv Landshut, Kurbayern-Hofkammer Ämterrechnungen RMA Landshut 884 (1517), fol. 31r.

[447] "Item aufgeben und auf geschäft mens gd. Herrn mit maister Hannsen Swab, maler zu Lanndshut… alles gemälls halben, so er in der capelln zu hof, in der ratstuben, in meins gd. Hern klainen stübl, in seiner genaden camer türgerichtn gemalltem holtz, auch etlicher hofarbait bis auf heut dato getan hat, mistambt dreyen tafeln, auch der Bechmer schlacht, die er darzu malen und fertigen sol darfür hat im mein genediger Herr ir zugebn verschaft…unt…ainem hofgewannt;" Staatsarchiv Landshut, Kurbayern-Hofkammer Ämterrechnungen RMA Landshut 885 (1518), fol. 45r. Partially reprinted in Langer, 40.

[448] "item 6 contrafait tafln und Christoffl zwergl sambtlich 48 fl rh;" reprinted in Liedke, "Wertinger und Gleismüller," 82.

[449] Butts and Hendrix, 8-9.

Furthermore, in Landshut in the early sixteenth century one could purchase an entire ox for 6 guilders.[450]

Unfortunately, of the works that can be securely traced from the 1517 and 1518 records only one, very damaged, wall painting in the chapel has survived (Figure 71).[451] Presumably many of the other paintings for which Wertinger was paid in 1518 were either destroyed in later remodeling campaigns or are extant panels that cannot be confidently linked back to this source because the language in the register is so vague. An additional archival source, the 1560 inventory of Burg Trausnitz, provides further clues as to the decoration of the castle prior to the Sustris renovations of the following decade, although nowhere does Wertinger's name appear.[452] Perhaps the lost canvas paintings in the Duke's bedchamber, noted in the inventory as nine "painted, framed canvases [*Tüecher*]," were by Wertinger.[453] A similar question arises with a painting of Albrecht IV, according to the inventory located in the small room adjacent to Ludwig's bedroom; could this be Wertinger's portrait of the Munich duke now in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum (Figure 33)?[454]

It can also be inferred that a number of other artworks attributed to Wertinger but not specifically mentioned in the archival sources were originally intended for display in Burg Trausnitz. We have already mentioned the *Portrait of Ludwig X, Duke of Bavaria* and *Alexander and his Doctor, Philippus*. Wertinger's small landscape panels, to be discussed in detail later in this chapter, were probably installed into wood paneling in the

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[450] Thoma, *Hans Leinberger*, 98.
[451] See below, 145-146.
[452] Langer, 39-41.
[453] "gemalte eingefasste Tüecher;" as quoted in Langer, 39.
[454] Langer, 39, 41. Philipp of Freising's payment registers of 1520 also record a payment to Wertinger for "hertzog Albrechtn ec. contrafayt p. 6 fl rh;" reprinted in Liedke, "Wertinger und Gleismüller," 82.

duke's reception chamber (Figures 80-94). As court painter, Wertinger perhaps painted a sundial on the exterior wall of the castle in 1524 (Figure 109). For this project he would have cooperated with the astronomer Peter Apian, although only a record of payment to Apian exists. Around 1526, Wertinger painted a portrait of Ludwig's mistress Ursula von Weichs, with whom the duke enjoyed a long-term relationship (Figure 27). Since the two were unmarried the possible locations for such a portrait were certainly limited; presumably the painting would have also hung somewhere in the duke's private apartments in Trausnitz.

Hans Wertinger's Work in the Chapel of St. George

In order to trace Wertinger's other projects for Burg Trausnitz and their possible significance in the context of court culture, we must use the payment records as a starting point. For example, in 1518 Wertinger was paid for his work "in the court chapel."[455] This space, dedicated to St. George, was presumably one of the first areas of Trausnitz that Ludwig remodeled. As Ulrich Stevens notes, castle chapels held a variety of functions: "It is firstly an ecclesiastical space, then it serves the self-representation of the castle's lord, [and] finally it increases the battle-readiness of a castle."[456] It is the second, representative aspect of the castle chapel that likely concerned Ludwig the most in these early years of his reign.[457] The legitimacy of his rule was in question, and he would have desired a clear expression of his God-given authority in such a crucial, and relatively

[455] "in der capelln zu hof;" Staatsarchiv Landshut, Kurbayern-Hofkammer Ämterrechnungen RMA Landshut 885 (1518), fol. 45r.
[456] Ulrich Stevens, *Burgkappelen: Andacht, Repräsentation und Wehrhaftigkeit im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2003), 256.
[457] On court chapels as representative spaces, see Stevens, 252-254.

public, area of the castle.[458] The chapel served as a location of private prayer and occasional masses and was designed not only for the use of the prince, but also his retinue and visitors to the Landshut court. Furthermore, St. George was a patron saint in Bavaria, holding a sort of quasi-nationalistic importance as a symbol of the Wittelsbach dynasty.[459] The liturgical space thus reflected on the power—earthly and spiritual—of the resident duke and therefore needed to be outfitted to Ludwig's high standards.

Given the vague payment record, is unclear what, exactly, Wertinger painted for this space, although later visual sources can offer some possible explanations. While the architecture of the space remains as it was in the Renaissance, the chapel was redecorated between 1869 and 1874 and therefore we no longer have much of the interior design as it would have appeared in Ludwig's day.[460] Only three later paintings can provide a glimpse of the Renaissance decoration: Michael Neher's 1838 painting of the chapel (Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlung), a drawing by Domenico Quaglio, done shortly after 1831 (Private Collection), and an illustration of the chapel in C. M. von Aretin's publication *Alterthümer und Kunst-Denkmale des bayerischen Herrscher-Hauses* of 1854. Of the three, the Neher painting provides the most useful information for retracing other aspects of Wertinger's involvement in the chapel decoration (Figures 72 and 73).

Neher's painting offers a glimpse of a wall painting in the apse of the chapel; Paul M. Arnold posits that this work is by Hans Wertinger.[461] According to the Neher painting

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[458] On issues surrounding his legitimate rulership, see above, 42-47.
[459] Adamson, 25; Babel, 206.
[460] Mader, 367.
[461] Paul M Arnold, *Veränderungen der Ausstattung der Trausnitzkapelle seit der Zeit der Reichen Herzöge*: *Materialien zum Vortrag am 26.11.05 von Paul M. Arnold* (Landshut: Offprint of Hans-Leinberger-Verein, n.d), 3.

and to other written sources, the apse was the location of a depiction of the Assumption of the Virgin; however, no mention as to the original artist is made.[462] Arnold notes the presence of "a tree typical of the Danube School" in the illustration, presumably his grounds for attributing the fresco to Wertinger.[463] In Neher's painting, a small painting of a Last Judgment scene is also visible directly above the Assumption painting, although partially obscured by the hanging sculpture of a crucified Christ. Clearly visible above the figures of Christ, Mary, and John are the hanging garlands so typical of Wertinger's artistic output, suggesting he was indeed the painter of the apse paintings.[464] Due to the lack of detail in Neher's painting and the absence of additional corroborative sources, however, the intriguing thesis of Wertinger's responsibility for the wall paintings in this, the most liturgically important area of the chapel, ultimately must remain conjectural.

If considered in conjunction with another wall painting in the chapel from this period, it becomes much more likely that Wertinger did in fact paint the apse. A damaged fragment of a wall painting survives above the door in the north gallery of the chapel (Figure 71). The style is immediately recognizable as Wertinger's and accords with the payment records' date of 1517 or 1518. The painting is an illusionistic rendering of a doorframe infused with Renaissance forms. It is in many respects a perfect counterpart to

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[462] Mader, 376-377n1: "Bei der Resturation um 1870 fand man unter einem Marienbildnis, das beseitigt wurde, eine ältere Darstellung, welche der heutigen annähernd entsprach. Reste alte Malereien finden sich auch noch an den Wänden über dem gotischen Gewölbe der Kapelle. Der Zugang ist sehr schwierig; wir haben sie deswegen nicht untersuchen können. Nach Kalchers Bericht erhielt sich ein romanischer ornamentaler Fries unterhalf der ursprünglichen Flachdecke. An der Südwande Reste von Malereien, die der Abbildung bei Kalcher zufolge der Zeit um 1470-1500 angehören. Es handelt sich um Reste eines Triptychons mit Kreuzigungsbild und zwei weiblichen Heiligen, darunter Kopf einer Heiligen bzw. Tiara eines Papstes."

[463] Arnold, *Veränderungen*, 3.

[464] According to Arnold, the painted framework around the Last Judgment was completed and dated 1549; it is unclear if that date also refers to the Judgment scene itself, which would rule out Wertinger's involvement; Arnold, *Veränderungen*, 18.

the niche in Wertinger's 1515 woodcut frontispiece to Plieningen's *Sallust* and the frame he designed for the portrait of Ludwig in 1516, although here completed in a different medium and different context (Figures 45 and 25). Classical features in the wall painting include the Corinthianesque columns, the ornamented architrave, and the archway above, in which one can just make out two small angels holding a shield; this probably held Ludwig's coat-of-arms. Another angel at left, who appears to be blowing a horn, recalls the putti found in the *Sallust* illustration. This fragment, combined with other traces of paintings on the walls of the chapel, indicates that the space was probably originally outfitted with copious painted decoration, including in the apse. If we imagine that Wertinger was responsible for paintings covering all the chapel's walls, the extravagant sum he was then paid in 1518 for "all [he] has painted, such as in the court chapel" becomes more understandable.[465]

No other painters are documented as working in the chapel during these years, although Ludwig did commission additional decorations for the chapel from local sculptors. A statue of St. Christopher by the Master of Dingolfing and one of St. George by Stephan Rottaler remain *in situ* in the chapel; stylistically speaking, they very well could have been commissioned during these early years of renovations on the chapel.[466] The 1517 record notes a payment to Rottaler of 80 Rhenish guilders "to make the proposed sculpture, which is why my gracious Lord provided him with such a large allowance."[467] Hans Leinberger's carved wooden *Crucifixion*, inscribed 1516 and now in

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[465] See above, 141n447, on the payment records.

[466] On the St. Christopher statue, see Niehoff, *Um Leinberger*, 172 (cat. no. 24). On the St. George statue, see Niehoff, *Um Leinberger*, 290 (cat. no. 68); and Langer and Heinemann, 210-211 (cat. no. 4.13: Brigitte Langer). Paul Arnold, *Veränderungen*, 14, thinks that both these sculptures could be by Leinberger.

[467] "dem gedachten pild zu machen darfür Im mein genediger herr so vil zugeben verschaft hat;" Staatsarchiv Landshut, Kurbayern-Hofkammer Ämterrechnungen RMA Landshut 884 (1517), fol. 29r.

the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, has been advanced as a ducal commission, although whether it resided in the chapel or elsewhere in Trausnitz is unknown.[468] Certainly, Leinberger was hired by Ludwig to make a sculpture in 1516, as the payment records note that the sculptor was paid 10 Rhenish guilders and two bushels of grain "for his work per the invoice."[469] Additional payments to Leinberger occur intermittently in the following years in the payment records; the language, however, is consistently just as vague as in the 1516 record. This significantly complicates any attempt to identify these later works Leinberger completed for the duke with specific artworks from the sculptor's surviving oeuvre.[470]

In the years after this initial burst of activity in the chapel, Wertinger also painted two altarpieces for Ludwig, although only one is specifically noted as being for the castle chapel. These are the *Holy Trinity Altarpiece* and the *All Saints Altarpiece*, both of which are now lost.[471] Little is known of the first work, but the second was completed in 1523 and installed in the Chapel of St. Georg; Wertinger was paid 30 guilders for this painting.[472] The amount of attention Ludwig paid to the architecture and decoration of the castle's chapel over the course of his reign—he would go on to install a private gallery and oratory in 1535-1536—indicates just how important the duke considered this area of his residence to be. That so much of this work seems to have been done by Hans Wertinger reveals, too, the confidence that the duke had in his court artist.

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[468] Brigitte Langer, 43, notes that "durch ihre Datierung 1516 und ihre sehr wahrscheinliche Provenienz aus der herzoglichen Kunstkammer Albrechts V. auf Ludwig als Auftraggeber verweist." See also Langer and Heinemann, 253-257 (cat. nos. 6.12: Matthias Weniger and 6.13: Katharina Heinemann).
[469] "Item ausgeben auf geschafft meins genedigen Herrn Maister Hannsen Schnitzer auf sein arbait auf rechnung;" Staatsarchiv Landshut, Kurbayern-Hofkammer Ämterrechnungen RMA Landshut 883 (1516), fol. 25r. See also Langer, 43; and Lill, *Hans Leinberger*, 13, 308.
[470] Langer, 43; and Lill, *Hans Leinberger*, 13-14.
[471] Ehret, 180 (cat. nos. 120 and 121).
[472] Ehret, 180 (cat. nos. 120 and 121).

Hans Wertinger's Painting of the Battle of Schönberg

The subject of an additional artwork by Wertinger, named in the Trausnitz payment records but no longer extant, provides a glimpse into the rich iconographical sources informing Ludwig's decorative schemes. The 1518 record includes payment for "three panels, also the Bohemian battle [*Bechmer schlacht*], that he should also paint and finish."[473] The "Bohemian battle," also variously referred to as the "Battle of Schönberg" and the "Battle of Wenzenbach," was an important battle in the Landshut War of Succession that took place in September 1504; it was the largest and bloodiest meeting of troops during the war.[474] Ludwig's father, Albrecht IV, and his uncle, Maximilian I, were victorious over the supporters of Ruprecht von der Pfalz and Elisabeth of Bayern-Landshut, which included a large number of Bohemian mercenaries hired by Ruprecht to bolster his numbers.

As a pictorial subject, a decisive battle could assert many powerful messages concerning a ruler's authority and might. Such images were displayed prominently in audience halls and at banquets, intended to be viewed by the prince's retinue and foreign

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[473] "dreyen tafeln, auch der Bechmer schlacht, die er darzu malen und fertigen sol;" Staatsarchiv Landshut, Kurbayern-Hofkammer Ämterrechnungen RMA Landshut 885 (1518), fol. 45r. This painting has been confused in the literature as consisting of three panels. Feuchtmayr, "Hans Wertinger," 426: "3 (nicht erhalt.) Tafeln mit Darstell. aus der 'Böhm. Schlacht' (Treffen b. Wenzenbach)." Ehret, 181: " 1518 Drei Tafeln, welche die Entscheidungsschlacht bei Wenzenbach (bei Regensburg) darstellen, wo die Heere Albrechts IV. und Kaiser Maximilians die böhmischen Hilfstruppen der Pfälzer schlugen." However, the *Kammermeisterrechnung* for 1518 is clear in stating that the "Bechmer slacht" is separate from the three panels mentioned directly beforehand (see above, 141).

[474] A detailed description of this battle can be found in Friedrich Dörnhöffer, "Ein Cyclus von Federzeichnungen mit Darstellungen von Kriegen und Jagden Maximilians I," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, 18 (1897): 45-46. See also Stauber, "Die Herzöge von München," 154. Pia F. Cuneo refers to this battle as the "Bohemian Massacre;" Pia F. Cuneo, "Images of Warfare as Political Legitimization: Jörg Breu the Elder's Rondels for Maximilian I's Hunting Lodge at Lermos (ca. 1516)," in *Artful Armies, Beautiful Battles: Art and Warfare in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Pia Cuneo (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 102.

visitors to his court.[475] Military victories were especially appropriate pictorial subjects for princely spaces because, in a single image, they both lauded the ruler's triumphs and served as warnings to any future adversary. Even a depiction of a victory that had taken place years ago could serve a propagandistic function by valorizing the actions of an illustrious ancestor or commemorating a territorial acquisition. It can be assumed, then, that the Battle of Schönberg held particular significance to Ludwig and his understanding of his role and family history.

A consideration of artworks produced around this time for Emperor Maximilian, Ludwig's frequent model in his early years of patronage, again proves instructive. A depiction of the Battle of Schönberg also appears in a series of drawings for stained glass roundels designed by the Augsburg artist Jörg Breu the Elder, now in the Graphische Sammlung in Munich (Figure 74). The glass paintings were commissioned by Maximilian I before 1516, with the roundels intended for installation in the tower of the Emperor's hunting lodge in Lermoos, Tyrol.[476] Although only eighteen of Breu's designs survive, the original cycle contained twenty roundels: four of hunting activities and sixteen with images of Maximilian's notable military victories. Two battles from the Landshut War of Succession are included among the drawings: the Battle of Schönberg and the Siege of Kufstein, both of which took place in the fall of 1504. Breu also frescoed

[475] This was especially true of tapestries. See Barbara Welzel, "Sichtbare Herrschaft: Paradigmen höfischer Kunst," in *Principes: Dynastien und Höfe im späten Mittelalter*, ed. Cordula Nolte, Karl-Heinz Spieß, and Ralf-Gunnar Werlich (Stuttgart: Jan Thorbecke, 2002), 92-94.

[476] Dornhöffer; Cuneo, "Images of Warfare;" Andrew Morrall, *Jörg Breu the Elder: Art, Culture, and Belief in Reformation Augsburg* (Aldershot, UK and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2001), 55-56; and Butts and Hendrix, 212-215.

images of battles alongside Maximilian's genealogy on the façade of Augsburg's city hall in 1516.[477]

An emphasis on important battles of his reign can be found in another of Maximilian's many patronage projects from around this time: the *Triumphal Procession of Maximilian* woodcut series of 1512-1518.[478] This enormous woodcut frieze was designed by a number of different artists, including Hans Burgkmair and Albrecht Altdorfer, artists whose works frequently inspired Wertinger. In addition to parades of drummers, standard-bearers, and jousters, the procession included a section of Maximilian's notable military victories. The original plans for the series—as worked out by Maximilian's court historian Johannes Stabius, approved by the emperor, written down by his secretary Marx Treitzsaurwein, and initially sketched by his court painter Jörg Kölderer—were to include images from the War of Succession: "Then a few soldiers shall carry the Bavarian war, and the inscription shall read: The Bavarian war. (Three coats-of-arms borne in banners on three horses: Kufstein. Rothenburg. Kitzbühl.)"[479] However, these particular blocks were not completed before the emperor's death in 1518, after which the project was abandoned.

The woodcuts are also related to an illuminated manuscript now in the Albertina, done by Albrecht Altdorfer and his workshop for Maximilian, illustrating the *Triumphal*

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[477] Pia F. Cuneo, *Art and Politics in Early Modern Germany: Jörg Breu the Elder and the Fashioning of Political Identity ca. 1475-1536* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 102-119.

[478] *The Triumph of Maximilian I: 137 Woodcuts by Hans Burgkmair and Others*, trans. Stanley Appelbaum (New York: Dover, 1964). For a discussion of all of Maximilian's war-related artistic projects, including literary works, see Larry Silver, "Shining Armor: Emperor Maximilian, Chivalry, and War," in *Artful Armies, Beautiful Battles: Art and Warfare in Early Modern Europe*, 61-85.

[479] English translation in *The Triumph of Maximilian I*, 12. See also Franz Winzinger, *Die Minaturen zum Triumphzug Kaiser Maximilians I* (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsantstalt, 1972-1973), 1:20.

Procession.[480] In this work, begun around 1512, a section of the frieze attributed to Altdorfer himself shows two battles from the War of Succession displayed on banners, one helpfully inscribed "*Der Bayrisch krieg*" (showing the Siege of Kufstein) and the other, "*Der Behemisch slacht*" (Figure 75). Altdorfer's miniature faithfully follows Treitzsaurwein's instructions, as behind the "*Bayrisch krieg*" scene parade three men on horseback who hold banners with the coats-of-arms of the three territories Maximilian claimed for himself at the *Kölner Spruch* (Figure 76).[481]

The Battle of Schönberg also appears as a woodcut illustration in Maximilian's monumental *Triumphal Arch* and his book *Weisskunig*, two patronage projects involving a number of different southern German artists (Figures 77 and 78).[482] The *Weisskunig* woodcut of about 1516 has been attributed to Hans Burgkmair.[483] However, this illustration was not the first time Burgkmair had depicted this battle in the medium of woodcut. In 1504, shortly after the confrontation had taken place, he produced a broadsheet with a woodcut of the Battle of Schönberg; the accompanying text by Conrad Celtis was presented as a play at the Innsbruck court that year (Figure 79).[484] The remarkably quick turnaround from the battle itself to the execution of the broadsheet suggests that it was intended to publicize the result of the battle, although the text itself is

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[480] See Eva Michel, "'For Praise and Eternal Memory': Albrecht Altdorfer's *Triumphal Procession* for Emperor Maximilian I," in Michel and Sternath, *Emperor Maximilian*, 48-65.
[481] On the *Kölner Spruch*, see above, 42.
[482] For a full text reprint of *Weisskunig* and reproductions of the woodcuts, see H. Theodor Musper, ed., *Kaiser Maximilians I. Weisskunig*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1956). On the *Triumphal Arch* project, see Schauerte.
[483] Winzinger, 15, 47.
[484] Falk, 48; and Erich Egg, ed., *Ausstellung Maximilian I. Innsbruck*, exh. cat. Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum, Innsbruck (Innsbruck: Land Tirol, Kulturreferat, 1969), 39 (cat. no. 138).

more geared toward drumming up support for the emperor's campaign against the Turks.[485]

While the broadsheet's woodcut is noticeably more rudimentary than the *Weisskunig* illustration, both share similarities that suggest they drew on first-hand accounts of the fighting. The Bohemians are positioned on top of a hill at the center of the composition; tree-covered hills recede into the background at the right. The Bohemian troops' shields form a protective barrier while they point their spears outward against the cavalry approaching from the right and the foot soldiers from the left. A mass of spears pointing inward from both sides of the composition leads the eye to the doomed soldiers in the middle. On the left behind the advancing infantry forces, a building burns, blasting billows of smoke upward into the sky. This description of Burgkmair's woodcuts also applies to Altdorfer's painted miniature of the battle, as it broadly aligns itself with the general compositional scheme of the two prints. Jörg Breu's glass roundel design, too, contains certain elements also found in Burgkmair's and Altdorfer's versions—the Bohemians concentrated in the center, a burning building at left in the distance—but Breu's close framing of the scene and the many flags and banners in the foreground considerably obfuscate the legibility of the piece and give it a vastly different feel from the woodcut and painted miniature versions.

Thus by 1516 or so, the Battle of Schönberg had appeared in five artworks (the broadsheet, the *Triumphal Procession* miniature, the *Weisskunig* illustration, the *Triumphal Arch* woodcut, and the Lermoos roundel) with plans for its inclusion in a sixth

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[485] Celtis's text explains that he hopes to see the formation of a unified German league that would, under Maximilian, march against the Turkish threat: "Ach got frist ym [Maximilian] lang sein leben / Biß er sich auch mag geben / Christenlichen glauben zumeren / und das erst loch zerstören / Das gschicht wen[n] er wirt vertreiben / den türcken. und sich och schreiben / zü Constantinopel kayseer / O herr got verleich ym die eer / Mach all christenlichen fürsten / Nach frid und ainigkait dürsten."

(the *Triumphal Procession* woodcuts). All these projects were being carried out for the Holy Roman Emperor. Even given the question of the availability of some of these works—i.e. the certain distribution of the broadsheet, the possible distribution of the other woodcuts, and the limited viewership of the drawings and miniatures—the sheer number and variety suggests that Wertinger knew that his contemporaries were depicting this particular battle for the emperor. Wertinger frequently aligned himself between Augsburg (Burgkmair, Breu) and Regensburg (Altdorfer) in his stylistic choices, and he borrowed imagery coming out of both cities for adaptation and re-use in his own works. It is not difficult to imagine Wertinger looking to one or more of these artworks in the creation of his own painting of the Battle of Schönberg. In the absence of Wertinger's painting itself, we are able to gain a general idea of how it might have looked through these other artists' works.

The painting was unlikely to have been a historically accurate rendition of the conflict, since we have absolutely no reason to believe Wertinger saw the fighting first-hand or researched troop movements. It is far more likely that Wertinger based his version on those produced by his contemporaries or created his own imagined take on the action. Even if Wertinger's painting had been a faithful pictorial record of the battle, its importance to his ducal patron would have lain elsewhere. As Pia F. Cuneo notes in discussing images of battles produced in the Renaissance, "their primary function [was] political propaganda, where facts become subordinate to the overall message."[486] Maximilian's artworks that feature the Battle of Schönberg are self-aggrandizing valorizations of the Emperor's military prowess; yet this particular characteristic would not have been found in the scene that Wertinger painted for Ludwig. The duke had played

[486] Cuneo, *Art and Politics*, 96.

no part in the Battle of Schönberg, as he had been only ten years old at the time. The painting therefore did not commemorate Ludwig's heroism or tactical abilities or leadership qualities, as Maximilian's commissions did.

The overall message of Wertinger's painting would have instead related to Ludwig's position as the duke in Landshut and also his relationship with his uncle, Emperor Maximilian. The Battle of Schönberg represented for Ludwig his familial pride—after all, it was his father and uncle who proved victorious in the skirmish—and the unification of Bavaria. The irony, of course, is that Ludwig later attempted to undermine the unity of the duchy in his bid for co-rulership. But despite his irritation at the primogeniture decree, Ludwig would have recognized the Battle of Schönberg as a critical step towards the union between Bavaria-Munich and Bavaria-Landshut and thus an enormous acquisition of land and power for his branch of the House of Wittelsbach. Without a triumph in this battle, the War of Succession could have been lost, and Elisabeth and Ruprecht installed at Trausnitz instead of Ludwig. That Ludwig ultimately ended up as the resident duke in Landshut owed much to the decisive nature of the Battle of Schönberg. Wertinger's painting also illustrates Ludwig's relationship with his uncle Maximilian I by echoing Maximilian's war-related patronage projects. Wertinger's depiction of the Battle of Schönberg commemorates Ludwig's gratitude to his uncle for his frequent support, both of his father in the Landshut War of Succession and of Ludwig himself in the debate over the primogeniture law. Furthermore, as we have seen, Ludwig repeatedly looked to the Holy Roman Emperor for inspiration for his own patronage projects. The short time frame between Maximilian's commissions featuring the Battle of Schönberg and the archival documentation of Wertinger's painting further supports this aspect of Ludwig's patronage activities.

Despite all this, the ducal payment records leave a great many questions about Wertinger's work for Ludwig unanswered. One important issue is the absence of a record for any payment to Wertinger in 1516, the year of his portrait of Ludwig now in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum (Figure 25). The Landshut payment records seem to have been compiled at the end of the year, given the cleanness of the entries and their organization within the codex by payment type rather than chronologically.[487] However the surviving records do not seem, in all cases, to be complete. Some years include a section on payments to hunters and the *Jägermeister* while other do not. Presumably, however, Ludwig went hunting from Trausnitz at least once every year and he certainly would have had game served at meals, so the reason for these inconsistencies is unclear. Given the peculiarities of the sources, it is possible that in the compilation of the 1516 record a payment to Wertinger for the portrait was inadvertently omitted, or perhaps Wertinger was paid for this painting in 1517 or even 1518. It was not uncommon for Wertinger to have to wait a long time to be paid for work he had completed years before, and not just in the Moosburg lawsuit. For example, he received compensation for his portrait of Philipp of Freising's dwarf, which is inscribed 1515, a full five years later.[488] The lack of specificity in the language of the Trausnitz records—the word *etliche*, to take but one example, can mean anywhere from "some" to "many"—allows us to imagine that the payments included remuneration for works completed in previous years. Yet it is this very lack of specificity that complicates our knowledge of Wertinger's activities for Ludwig's court. The artist's most celebrated works, the many small landscape panels

[487] Taking a few representative examples from the payment record of 1517 (Staatsarchiv Landshut, Kurbayern-Hofkammer Ämterrechnungen RMA Landshut 884): fol. 2r to fol. 8v is a section on religious payments, fol. 51v to 53v contain payments related to the kitchens, and on fol. 56r and 56v payments to the "Fuetermaisterambt" for food expenses for the court's animals are recorded.
[488] Liedke, "Wertinger und Gleismüller," 82.

discussed below, are not specifically recorded in the archival sources, but nonetheless they may very well have been among the "*etlicher hofarbait*" for which Wertinger received such an enormous payment in 1518.

WERTINGER'S LANDSCAPES, GEOGRAPHY, AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

A number of small landscape panels constitute another of Hans Wertinger's decorative projects for Burg Trausnitz (Figures 80-94).[489] Unlike the majority of Wertinger's other artworks, these paintings have been the subjects of a plethora of scholarly investigations.[490] Although there is no archival evidence that directly links these panels to the remodeling being done on the castle during these years, the high quality of the paintings and their subject matter suggest that they were completed for Ludwig X and would have been displayed at the ducal residence of Burg Trausnitz. The paintings align themselves with other courtly projects at Landshut concerned with geography, cartography, and historiography, and as a group convey an image of the duchy of Bavaria as a peaceful land thanks to Ludwig's good rulership.

The landscapes seem to comprise two series, given correspondences among the paintings' dimensions. The paintings of the first series, traditionally identified as

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[489] Many thanks are due to Oliver Mack, Director of the Institute for Artistic Technology and Conservation at the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, who provided me with high-quality digital images of the nine landscapes in their collection.

[490] Wegener; Wolfthal; Ernst Buchner, "Monats- und Jahreszeitenbilder Hans Wertingers," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* 61 (1927/1928): 106-112; Paul Wescher, "Ein Weiteres Jahreszeitenbild zum Wertinger-Zyklus," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 8 (1957): 101-102; Anni Wagner; "Die Monatsbilder des Hans Wertinger," *Die Kunst und das schöne Heim* 84 (1972): 18-22; Daniel Hess, "Hans Wertinger: Jahreszeiten- oder Monatsbild mit Badehaus und Schlachtszene," *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums* (2004): 181-182; Hess, Mack, and Küffner; Langer and Heinemann, 247-252 (cat. nos. 6.8-6.10: Daniel Hess); and Daniel Hess, "Bauern, Hirten, Ziegenböcke: Der Traum vom Leben in Einklang mit der Natur," in *Renaissance, Barock, Aufklärung: Kunst und Kultur vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Daniel Hess and Dagmar Hirschfelder (Nuremberg: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, 2010), 220-230.

depicting the months of the year, measure approximately 33 x 41 cm. Eleven panels have survived from this set.[491] The second series is more rectangular in format, with approximate dimensions of about 23 x 40 cm. This group was formerly thought to be a series of the seasons of the year. However, they are too numerous for this to be the case, as there are seven landscapes roughly corresponding to the dimensions of this second group.[492] Furthermore, they do not suggest a coherent iconography as has erroneously been asserted about the other group. The Germanisches Nationalmuseum, which holds two from this second set, refers to them as "Pictures of Rural Life."[493]

Before we can examine these paintings and discuss how they would have fit into the broader culture of the Landshut court, we must first identify them briefly, since they have been referred to by various names by scholars over the years and a few are very recent attributions. I have chosen to title the landscapes primarily by the activities depicted therein rather than by the months of the year depicted, as has previously been conventional in the literature and is here indicated in parentheses. This decision is due to the fact that the imagery in the panels does not consistently align with traditional calendar iconography; this will be discussed further below.[494]

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[491] The Tournament painting (February) was in a Spanish collection in the nineteenth century before being sold to a British art historian, after which it remained in British collections. See "Ein Gemälde kommt nach Hause," *Landshuter Zeitung* (Landshut, Germany), July 6, 2011, http://www.idowa.de/home/archiv/artikel/2011/07/06/ein-gemaelde-kommt-nach-hause.html. However that does not necessarily mean that it is the same as one of the two panels in private collections that Ehret mentions. Langer, 54n15, in her list of extant landscapes does not include these two but does include the Bologna panel; she also leaves out the *Bathhouse and Butcher Scene* panel addressed by Daniel Hess in "Jahreszeiten- oder Monatsbild."

[492] The landscape in London is called "Summer" by the National Gallery (Figure 89); previously in the literature the panel with the bathhouse in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum was referred to as "Autumn" (Figure 93).

[493] Hess and Hirschfelder, *Renaissance, Barock, Aufklärung*, 418. Brigitte Langer calls them "Darstellungen jahreszeitlicher Tätigkeiten;" Langer, 54n15.

[494] On the rise of independent landscape during the Renaissance, see E. H. Gombrich, "The Renaissance Theory of Art and the Rise of Landscape," in *Norm and Form: Studies in the Art of the Renaissance*, by E. H. Gombrich (London: Phaidon, 1966), 107-121.

Figure 80: *Tournament in Landshut (February?)*. Landshut, Stadtresidenz, Bayerische Schlösserverwaltung LaRes.G 40 (33.5 x 40.8 cm). This panel, formerly in a Scottish private collection, is a very new discovery; it came on the market in 2011 and now hangs in the Stadtresidenz in Landshut. In the panel, a tournament is taking place in the bustling city center of Landshut. While in the foreground adults and children watch the action, an ecclesiastical procession, led by a trumpeter, can be seen in the background winding its way from the Heilig-Geist-Kirche to the Church of St. Martin.

Figure 81: *Gardening and Plowing, with a Watermill (March?)*. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum Gm 1237 (32.1 x 40.9 cm). On the right of the composition, rustic timber-framed buildings comprise a watermill that is fed from a stream in the lower right corner. Behind the mill, a sheer cliff face extends to the top of the picture plane. Under a bright blue sky, a variety of figures perform agricultural tasks, such as chopping wood, planting a garden bed, and driving horse-drawn ploughs. The background recedes to a cow pasture, a pair of high hills, and an arched bridge.

Figure 82: *Pruning Trees, Chopping Wood, and Plowing (April?)*. German Private Collection, formerly on loan to the Germanisches Nationalmuseum as Gm 1266 (33.3 x 41 cm). A peasant splits lumber into fenceposts at the center of the panel; his dog, lying nearby, watches him attentively. On the left, two figures gather pruned limbs to incorporate into the wattle fence that encloses a pasture. Farmhouses can be seen in the distance, and to the right fields are being ploughed. A tree marks the right border of the image, with a bluejay perched on its lowest

branch. The overall gloomy cast of the atmosphere is likely due to the panel's state of conservation.

Figure 83: *Courtly Party, with a Lake in the Background (May)*. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum Gm 1236 (34.2 x 40.7 cm). The scene is situated on a lake or sea, enclosed in the background by tall blue peaks. Two sailboats can be seen on the water. On the right, a milkmaid kneels by a cow; the rest of the herd waits a short distance off. Behind these creatures, an elegantly dressed man and woman ride on a white horse. They are members of the courtly party that occupy most of the foreground space. The figures are gathered under an elaborate Italianate porch, decorated with hanging swags, and around a fountain in the garden. A musician plays the lute to entertain the company.

Figure 84: *Picnic and Haymaking (June)*. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum Gm 1130 (33.6 x 41 cm). A group of haymakers have doffed their trousers and hitched up their skirts in order to wield the scythes that cut down the tall grass in the foreground. A small duck pond is at the lower right. A party of picnickers, two men and two women, enjoy food and drink on a blanket at the center left. The scenery recedes into an expansive landscape of yellow and green pastures dotted with figures such as a haycart and a rearing horse. At the left margin of the painting is a fine brick house with outbuildings.

Figure 85: *Harvesting, with a Gentleman Falconer in the Foreground (July)*. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum Gm 1131 (33.5 x 41 cm). In front of two distant peaks and a white, double-towered church, peasants gather up the season's wheat. A man and a woman draw water from a well in the foreground. Riding onto this scene from the right is a well-dressed gentleman holding a falcon. Two small dogs

run at his horse's feet. A tree near the center of the composition divides these figures from a high cliff with a walled fortress on top on the left of the panel.

Figure 86: *Threshing Wheat (August)*. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum Gm 1238 (32.2 x 39.3 cm). The main action takes place in a thatched-roof barn, which occupies three-quarters of the pictorial space. A group of men vigorously thresh the harvest in order to separate the chaff from the wheat, which is then gathered into white sacks at right. At the center, the farm owner with a prominent money purse chats with a laborer. A four-horse cart arrives in the background to deliver more wheat.

Figure 87: *Plowing, Sowing, and Apple Picking (September)*. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum Gm 1239 (32 x 40.7 cm). In the foreground, sturdy workhorses pull a plough across straight across the picture plane from left to right. A field in the background is being prepped for sowing, an event already taking place on the left. The most distant figures include apple-pickers, a shepherd with his sheep, and a flock of geese. At the very center of the composition stands a church, particularly noticeable because its brown spires disrupt the rhythm of the dark green treeline.

Figure 88: *Slaughtering and Butchering Livestock (December?)*. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum Gm 1240 (32.4 x 41.1 cm). A collection of buildings, including some visible through the arches of the bridge in the background, suggests that the scene is taking place in a rather sizeable town. On the left, a cow struggles away from a grim-faced man wielding an ax. Hogs are also being brought to market; one, in the very front, has already met his fate and his blood is being collected in a bowl. This will go to make the sausages that are

being cooked over a roaring fire in the butcher's shop at right. A small brown dog gazes hopefully at the proceedings.

Figure 89: *Sheep Shearing, Hunting, and Mowing Hay*. London, National Gallery NG6568 (23.2 x 39.5 cm). The National Gallery titles this panel *Summer*. It features a variety of figures in the foreground enjoying fine weather. A shepherd sheers his sheep while a friend plays the bagpipes, men cut down wheat with scythes, and there are a number of horseback riders dotting the landscape. In the background a river runs past a town, over which birds are shown in flight. At the right, a barren cliff marks the edge of the panel.

Figure 90: *Village Fête*. St. Petersburg, The Hermitage (22.5 x 40 cm). The Hermitage refers to this panel as *October*. A festival is taking place outside a church at the left background, where stalls have been set up. In the foreground, country couples dance to the music of a trumpeter and bagpiper. Behind the dancers appear agricultural vignettes, such as a flock of geese, horses and ploughs, and a shepherd on the hillside. A river, spanned by two crude wooden bridges, flows through the scene.

Figure 91: *Boar Hunt*. New York, Brooklyn Museum 49.230 (21 x 38.7 cm). The action takes place very close to the picture plane. In a heavily wooded area, two dogs spring out from behind the bushes at right to attack a wild boar that had been flushed out by a servant, dressed in a helmet adorned with deer antlers. The boar lunges at a well-dressed man on a chestnut horse. The rider plunges his sword into the boar's flank. On the other side of the panel, divided from the violent action by a large tree, a man and woman enjoy a ride through the countryside on a white horse.

Figure 92: *Men's Bathhouse*. Nuremberg, Museen der Stadt Nürnberg (22 x 40 cm). An open-air bathhouse, with much of the imagery taken from a woodcut print by Albrecht Dürer, occupies most of the pictorial space.[495] Musicians play instruments while others enjoy food and drink. A trio of women lurks on the very edge of the panel at right, sneaking glimpses through a bush. Another voyeur, this time male, appears behind the fence at left. In the background we see a sailboat on an inlet, an arched bridge, and the outside of city walls at right.

Figure 93: *Bathhouse and Butcher Scene*. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum Gm 2300 (23.8 x 39.3 cm). Somewhat schizophrenic at first glance, this panel depicts a bathhouse on the left and a butcher's stall on the right. The two thematic areas are divided by a large, white column, but the pitch of the butcher's roof and the angle of the receding windows in the bathhouse confuse the viewer into thinking that the two scenes occupy one space. Visual echoes between the two halves of the painting reinforce this impression. For example, the blood running down from the bathers undergoing a leeching treatment is mirrored in that running from the mouth of a slaughtered calf on the right. The wooden bucket catching the blood is identical to one positioned in the same location on the other side of the panel. This juxtaposition raises intriguing questions, the answers to which will require further investigation.

Figure 94: *Fox and Stag Hunt in Winter*. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum Gm 316 (23 x 40.4 cm). Only a dusting of snow appears to covers the ground, but the weather is clearly frosty: a group of ice-skaters cavort on the frozen pond at left, and a horse pulls a sleigh in the background. In the foreground, a pair of

[495] On the Dürer print's relationship to this panel, see below, 166-167.

noblemen plots the plan of attack. Others in the background aim crossbows at a group of stags. The hounds have corralled a pair of foxes into a netted enclosure at right.

I have been unable to track down three further landscapes that were included in Gloria Ehret's 1976 catalogue of Wertinger's artworks. Two she describes as being in a Spanish private collection. While she suggests that they depict the months of January and November, no further information is provided on the two paintings.[496] The third landscape, the subject matter of which is given as a stag hunt and haymaking, Ehret notes as also held in a private collection, that of "Prof. Scaglietti" in Bologna. Knowledge of the Bologna painting came to her only via "a friendly reference from Dr. Peter Strieder," at that time the painting curator at the Germanisches Nationalmuseum.[497] Despite not giving the measurements of any of these three works, she lists the Italian panel with those that measure approximately 23 x 40 cm and the Spanish ones with the paintings of the months.

On the surface, many of Wertinger's landscape scenes bear an allegiance to the tradition of calendar images from the medieval period. Beginning with marginal vignettes on the calendar pages prefacing psalters and books of hours, calendar images developed a codified set of labors corresponding with the given month.[498] This union of the calendar and monthly activities can be found in the so-called "Heidelberg Book of Fortune"

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[496] Ehret, 148.

[497] Ehret, 123n86.

[498] For a general overview of the calendar tradition and the labors of the months, see Bridget Ann Henisch, *The Medieval Calendar Year* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999). For calendars in Books of Hours, see Roger S. Wieck, *Painted Prayers: The Book of Hours in Medieval and Renaissance Art*, exh. cat. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (New York: George Braziller/Pierpont Morgan Library, 1997), 26-38.

(*Heidelberger Schicksalbuch*, in Heidelberg's Universitätsbibliothek) illuminated between 1491 and about 1510 by the Regensburg artist Berthold Furtmeyr and his workshop (Figure 97).[499] This manuscript was made for Philipp "the Upright," Elector Palatine and contains texts on astronomy, astrology, and divination. Each monthly calendar page not only includes a zodiacal representation and a roundel depicting a seasonal activity but also a short poem explaining that month's labor. In particularly magnificent manuscripts, the imagery of the labor of the month blossomed into the kind of opulent, full-page depictions found, to take a famous example, in the *Trés Riches Heures* of Jean, Duke of Berry (Figure 98). The accurate portrayal of the duke's many castles in these calendar pages is joined with the cycle of the seasons and the passage of time, marked pictorially by the labors of the peasants and the rotation of the stars, thereby suggesting the harmonious union of the benefits of good governance with the natural order of the cosmos.

Wertinger's landscapes, however, are not an example of faithful observance of the programmatic set of labors appearing in medieval calendars. First of all, the Landshut artist's series lacks the signs of the zodiac so characteristic of these manuscript images. Also atypical for the medieval tradition is the translation of calendar landscapes onto panel painting. However, this innovation would become commonplace later in the sixteenth century, famously so in the series of months painted in 1565 by Pieter Bruegel the Elder. Artists working in other media also adapted the calendar tradition to other decorative programs, such as Bernard van Orley's tapestry cycle *The Hunts of*

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[499] Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, Cod. Pal. germ. 832, http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/cpg832. See also Christoph Wagner and Klemens Unger, eds., *Berthold Furtmeyr: Meisterwerke der Buchmalerei und die Regensburger Kunst in Spätgotik und Renaissance*, exh. cat. Historisches Museum, Regensburg (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2010), 424-443 (cat. nos. 241-296).

Maximilian of about 1531-1533, likely commissioned by the Habsburg court in Brussels.[500]

Furthermore, Wertinger's organization of the seasonal labors does not adhere to the typical medieval program of the labors of the months. While there was some regional and personal flexibility in terms of which occupation appears in which month in a book of hours, the general schema of seasonal activities remained relatively constant. The scholarly urge to match up each panel painting with a month of the year stems from the fact that certain of the panels do coincide with the traditional cycle, for example threshing wheat was a common depiction of the month of August (Figure 86). However Wertinger's landscapes are quite fluid in what they depict. Springtime imagery of chopping wood, ploughing, and pruning appear over the course of two paintings; the latter two activities are alternatively associated with March and April (Figures 81 and 82). Which Wertinger panel, then, depicts which month? An additional curiosity is the panel depicting a tournament scene, a complete anomaly within the medieval calendar tradition (Figure 80).[501] In Bavaria, tournaments took place at various times over the course of the year, although they held a particular association with Lent.[502] A later panel painting from Jörg Breu's workshop in Augsburg depicts a tournament for the month of February, probably why the newly discovered Wertinger panel has been linked to this

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[500] Arnout Balis, Krista De Jonge, Guy Delmarcel, and Amaury Lefébure, *Les chasses de Maximilien* (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1993). It is possible these tapestries, which do not actually portray the figure of Maximilian, were commissioned by Ludwig's first cousin, once removed: Mary of Hungary.
[501] Heinrich Dormeier, "Kurzweil und Selbstdarstellung: Die 'Wirklichkeit' der Augsburger Monatsbilder," in *"Kurzweil viel ohn' Maß und Ziel": Alltag und Festtag auf den Augsburger Monatsbildern der Renaissance*, ed. Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin, (Munich: Hirmer, 1994), 201. This book was published before the Wertinger tournament panel was found; Dormeier, 201, says that regarding tournament imagery, "Vorläufer in den Kalendarien der Studenbücher oder in anderen Monatszyklen gibt es kaum."
[502] Dormeier, 201.

month (Figure 99).[503] Wertinger's second landscape series further complicates the question of an allegiance to a set calendar arrangement. If the first set (Figures 80-88) does indeed depict the months of the year, what is this second series (Figures 89-94) meant to represent? Presumably additional landscapes from these two sets are lost. The many incongruities with traditional calendar imagery lead us to conclude that, while the first series of panels stems from this pictorial convention, they were intended to evoke certain times of the year rather than illustrate identifiable months.

Although the landscapes are unsigned and they cannot be securely connected to any archival record, the paintings are unanimously lauded as the work of Hans Wertinger. The artist's confident, facile draughtsmanship is evidenced in the landscapes' underdrawings, which can in some instances be seen even with the naked eye. His treatment of scenery in the landscape panels is comparable to that found in the backgrounds of some of his panel portraits. Uncertainty surrounds the dating of these paintings, however. They could have been painted as early as 1516, the first year of Ludwig's residency in Landshut, or as late as 1530, at the tail end of Wertinger's career.[504] The consistency of Wertinger's style in the years after 1515 and the absence of archival documentation of the panels unfortunately prevent any narrowing of this date range.

As he frequently did throughout his career, Wertinger drew on visual sources from other artists for his landscapes. Most immediately noticeable in this regard is the scene featuring the men's open-air bathhouse (Figure 92). Here, Wertinger adapted Albrecht Dürer's woodcut of about 1496-1497 (Figure 100). The Landshut artist followed

[503] Dormeier, 201-208.
[504] Hess, Mack, and Küffner, 65-66.

the print closely, copying the general composition, positions of the figures, and background features. Adjusting the image from a vertical to horizontal format, he fleshed out areas of the composition by inserting additional characters and expanding on the landscape background. Wertinger also included staffage figures typical of his landscapes, such as the boating party and the man on horseback in the background. This practice of appropriating, modifying, and then expanding the imagery of other artists in his own work is a frequent characteristic of Wertinger's output.

Another southern German artist with whom Wertinger seems to have had frequent contact is the Augsburger Jörg Breu the Elder. In 1531, certainly well after Wertinger's landscapes were completed, Breu's workshop produced a set of four panel paintings, each depicting three months of the year (Figure 99). An addition connection between Wertinger's landscapes and Breu's work is the Lermoos roundel designs of 1516 (Figure 74).[505] Along with the battle scenes discussed above in Chapter 3, these designs included four hunting scenes. Here, again, is another link to Ludwig's uncle Maximilian I and his artistic projects and interests. Since the roundels were intended for Maximilian's hunting lodge in Lermoos, the subject matter of these four stained glass windows speaks for itself. With roundels devoted to falconry, a stag hunt, a boar hunt, and a bear hunt, all set within expansive landscapes with high horizon lines, the imagery closely resembles hunting scenes in Wertinger's own paintings. Breu designed another set of stained glass landscape roundels in the early 1520s, these featuring the months of the year, for the wealthy Höchstetter family in Augsburg.[506] The crucial comparison to make here is in

[505] See above, 149-150.

[506] On the preparatory drawings for these glass paintings and their relationship to Breu's workshop practice, see Morrall, *Jörg Breu*, 56-61; and Wolfgang Wegner, "Die Scheibenrisse für die Familie Hoechstetter von Jörg Breu dem Älteren und deren Nachfolge," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 22, vol. 1 (1959): 17-36.

terms of the objects' dimensions. Both Breu's designs and Wertinger's landscapes are small in size: the roundels are between 23 and 25 centimeters in diameter, while Wertinger's landscapes are of a similar height but with a width of about 40 centimeters.[507] This encourages an intimate viewing of the artwork, and allowed Wertinger to adjust the imagery for optimal viewing at a close distance, for example including picturesque details and calligraphic expressivity. These small works share an additional similarity in that they were both presumably installed into the very fabric of the living space. The Höchstetter and Lermoos roundels would have been integrated into their respective buildings' windows, enlivening the clear panes that would have surrounded them. Wertinger's landscapes, on the other hand, were probably set into the wood paneling of the ducal apartments in Burg Trausnitz.

A number of features of the paintings confirms that Wertinger's landscapes were originally intended to be hung together. All of the panels contain decorative, painted framework at the top of the scene; in some, such as the Brooklyn Museum's *Boar Hunt*, the panel has been cut down and so the frame is now only partly visible (Figure 91). Each, save one, of the nine panels featuring months of the year also includes Wertinger's artistic calling card, the hanging swag. The only one that does not is *Threshing Wheat*, and this may have been a purely aesthetic decision, since the top of the composition is already quite crowded with the roof of the barn and a garland would have further cluttered this area of the painting (Figure 86). The persistent presence of a fictional frame not only indicates that these landscapes formed two separate groups (one with garlands and one without) but also suggests that they were fitted into wood paneling and therefore

[507] On the dimensions of Breu's designs, see Julius Baum, *Altschwäbische Kunst* (Augsburg: Dr. Benno Filser, 1923), 110. The one exception in size is the roundel featuring wrestlers and the zodiac, the drawings for which are about 30 centimeters in diameter.

not enclosed in a separate frame to be hung on the wall or stored. In addition, the correspondence of the dimensions of the panels signifies that each series was produced as part of a single, consolidated artistic project and is further evidence that they were likely designed as a coherent decorative program.[508]

The only possible patron for a set of paintings of this number and quality is the Landshut duke. While previously his patronage had been mostly conjecture, the discovery of the *Tournament* panel confirms that the paintings were made for Ludwig (Figure 80). Wertinger sets the scene in the center of Landshut. The broadness of the street, the arcades, and the crow-stepped gables are recognizable even today along Landshut's main street, the Altstadt (Figure 101). Certain details in the panel further suggest that the viewer is positioned in a specifically identifiable spot near the Dreifaltigkeitsplatz. A comparison with the historical record shows that in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries tournaments were held at the southern end of the Altstadt, only a short distance from this location.[509] However, Wertinger does not depict this view of downtown Landshut with topographical precision and accuracy. The building to the left of the tournament strongly resembles the Church of St. Martin in Landshut, particularly in the north entryway and side chapel. St. Martin's does in fact abut the Altstadt; however, it does so at a right angle, which is incongruous with how the church is portrayed in Wertinger's painting. It is as if the viewer is provided a composite, imaginary image of the center of Landshut that combines a view from the Kirchgasse by St. Martin's with a view down the Altstadt. Instead of faithfully recording the actual topography of the city, Wertinger instead creates

[508] Hess, "Bauern, Hirten, Ziegenböcke," 220.
[509] Biersack, 178; and Staudenraus, *Topographisch-Statistische Beschreibung*, 18.

an impression of Landshut by incorporating some of its most characteristic features and organizing these within a fictional composition.

But the point remains that it is identifiably, and distinctively, a picture of downtown Landshut. Brigitte Langer notes that this localization of place is "the most conclusive evidence that Ludwig was the commissioner" of the small landscapes.[510] No other art patron with a Landshut affiliation that we know of would have had the means, ambition, or space to commission such a large number of paintings from an artist of Wertinger's caliber. Furthermore, as Daniel Hess has noted, present in many of the panels is a bearded gentleman dressed in opulent clothing. He is usually in the foreground of the images, frequently on horseback or taking part in other courtly activities. Is this character perhaps intended to be the duke himself?[511] His visage roughly corresponds to Ludwig's appearance in Wertinger's 1516 portrait (Figure 25). If these are images of Ludwig acting out his role as steward of the land, this further confirms that he was the patron of the paintings and gives some indication of how they fit into the broader project of *Inszenierung* at Burg Trausnitz.

Collectively, the landscape panels depict a peaceful, prosperous Bavaria benefitting from the good management of a just prince. Similar in spirit to the famous fourteenth-century Italian frescoes by Ambrogio Lorenzetti (Figure 103), the panels illustrate the effect of good governance upon the fortunes of the territory and its people. Lorenzetti's mural decorated the walls of the city council's chambers in Siena's town hall, a location in which the act of governance took place. Another Italian precedent can be found in Ferrara, in the Palazzo Schifanoia (Figure 104). There, a set of frescoes

[510] Langer, 42-43.
[511] Hess, Mack, and Küffner, 67-68.

structured around the months of the year, painted in the Hall of Honor in 1469, show the Ferrarese Duke Borso d'Este presiding over his court. In addition to including a representation of Borso and his courtly entourage, each month also featured a zodaiacal symbol and the months' corresponding classical deity. The frescoes, completed by multiple artists, "present a highly idealized image of the Este state in Ferrara: a cosmos ordered according to a rigid and immutable hierarchy that constitutes a perfect world, placed beneath the omnipresent protective wing" of the prince.[512]

In Wertinger's panels, the harmonious rhythms of the year, the happy cooperation among all citizens, and the bounty provided by Bavaria's rich agriculture are all presented as the result of the prince's careful stewardship.[513] Wertinger's landscape panels assert that, ultimately, the prosperity of the duchy is the direct responsibility of the duke. The artist does this by depicting the different social classes, from country peasants to city dwellers to the aristocracy, enjoying a peaceful existence amid characteristically Bavarian scenery and locales, such as downtown Landshut. Especially given Bavaria's troubled political past, the duchy as illustrated in Wertinger's paintings reflects Ludwig's own understanding of his position while idealizing the resulting outcomes. They perform the same kind of edifying role as do the books dedicated to the duke by Dietrich von

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[512] Vincenzo Farinella, "I pittori, gli umanisti, il committente: problem di ruolo a Schifanoia," in *Il Palazzo di Schifanoia a Ferrara*, edited by Salvatore Settis and Walter Cupperi (Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini, 2007), 1:96. English translation by Catherine Bolton, as quoted in Marcello Toffanello, "Ferrara: The Este Family," in Marco Folin, ed., *Courts and Courtly Arts in Renaissance Italy: Art, Culture and Politics, 1395-1530*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Antique Collectors' Club, 2011), 198. I have been unable to locate any similar programs in northern Europe prior to Wertinger's panels.

[513] Christian Hesse, in his comparative study of late medieval Bavaria-Landshut and other German principalities, explains that in the late fifteenth century "das Herzogtum Bayern-Landshut war stark agrarisch gepragt;" Christian Hesse, *Amtsträger der Fürsten im spätmittelalterlichen Reich: Die Funktionseliten der lokalen Verwaltung in Bayern-Landshut, Hessen, Sachsen und Württemberg, 1350-1515* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005), 188. Walter Ziegler, 133, agrees with this assessment, noting that in the last years of the fifteenth century Lower Bavaria "stellte sich vor allem als Bauernland dar." Therefore the agricultural focus of many of the panels reflected the actual character of the duchy.

Plieningen: both the paintings and the ancient texts inform the viewer/reader on governance. Displayed within the space of rule at Burg Trausnitz, Wertinger's panels serve both as a pictorial confirmation of the duchy's prosperity and as a reminder to Ludwig of his obligation to be a good ruler.

Another project underway at Ludwig's court around this time was similarly concerned with good rulership: the history of Bavaria being researched and written by the humanist Johannes Turmair, called Aventinus.[514] Aventinus, frequently referred to in the literature as the "Father of Bavarian History," was born in Abensberg, halfway between Ingolstadt and Regensburg.[515] Like many humanists of his era he adopted a classicizing name for himself. By using the Latin name for Abensburg, "Aventinus," he simultaneously referenced his hometown while implying a connection to Classical culture, as the Aventine is one of the Seven Hills of Rome. He undertook humanist studies in Ingolstadt, Vienna, Cracow, Mantua, Rome, and Paris.[516] Aventinus's social circle included other scholars and influential politicians. For example, he followed

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[514] Hess, Mack, and Küffner, 67. On Aventinus, see Gerald Strauss, *Historian in an Age of Crisis: The Life and Work of Johannes Aventinus, 1477-1534* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963); Benno Hubensteiner, "Der Vater der bayerischen Geschichte: Das Leben des Johann Turmair aus Abensberg, genannt Aventinus," in *Beiträge zur Heimatkunde von Niederbayern*, ed. Hans Bleibrunner (Landshut: Isar-Post, 1967), 317-327; Benno Hubensteiner, "Johannes Aventinus," in *Große Niederbayern: Zwölf Lebensbildern*, ed. Hans Bleibrunner (Passau: Vereins für Ostbairische Heimatforschung, 1972), 57-64; Alois Schmid, "Das historische Werk des Johannes Aventinus," in *Aventinus und seine Zeit, 1477-1534*, ed. Gerhard-Helmut Sitzmann (Abensberg: Weltenburger Akademie, 1977), 9-37; and Alois Schmid, "Eine Instruktion für Aventin als Erzieher Herzog Ernsts von Bayern," *Ostbairische Grenzmarken: Passauer Jahrbuch für Geschichte, Kunst und Volkskunde* (1987): 42-47. The collected works of Aventinus, along with autograph manuscripts held in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, have been digitized by the "Aventin-Projekt" and are offered online: http://www.bayerische-landesbibliothek-online.de/aventin (accessed April 17, 2014).

[515] Schmid, "Aventinus als Prinzenerzieher," 10; and Jean-Marie Moeglin, *Les ancêtres du prince: Propagande politique et naissance d'une historie nationale en Bavière au Moyen Age (1180-1500)* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1985), xi.

[516] David J. Collins, "The *Germania illustrata,* Humanist History, and the Christianization of Germany," in *Sacred History: Uses of the Christian Past in the Renaissance World*, ed. Katherine van Liere, Simon Ditchfeld, and Howard Louthan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 115.

Conrad Celtis from Ingolstadt to Vienna and counted Leonhard von Eck among his best friends.[517] From 1509 onward, Aventinus served as tutor to Ludwig and his younger brother Ernst at Burghausen Castle. He instructed the boys in a humanist curriculum, stressing in particular the didactic lessons for proper living that could be gleaned from engagement with the language and culture of the classical past.[518] Ludwig left his tutelage when he began his bid for co-rulership, leaving Ernst to continue his studies with the humanist; the younger brother eventually traveled with Aventinus to Italy in 1515.[519] During these years, Aventinus composed a Latin grammar book for instructing his charges, *Grammatica omnium utilissima et brevissima*, which was printed in 1512 by Johann Weyssenburger in Nuremberg.[520] This grammar is notable in that it "is the earliest textbook of the Latin language designed specifically for the use of German speakers."[521] In 1517, with Ernst off studying at Ingolstadt, Ludwig and Wilhelm named Aventinus to the post of court historiographer—among the first individuals to hold this kind of position in Germany—and tasked him with writing a comprehensive history of their duchy.[522]

While Aventinus judiciously ends his narrative with the reign of the two dukes' father, Albrecht IV, his history contains a number of instructive passages concerning historical figures who were either exemplary or deplorable. Especially in his retelling of ancient Rome (the longest and most substantial part of his book), Aventinus consistently

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[517] Metzger, xiv; and Hubensteiner, "Johannes Aventinus," 58.
[518] Schmid, "Aventinus als Prinzenerzieher," 14.
[519] Schmid, "Aventinus als Prinzenerzieher," 15.
[520] Johannes Aventinus, *Grammatica omnium utilissima et brevissima* (Nuremberg: Johann Weyssenburger, 1512), http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00011243/image_1.
[521] Schmid, "Aventinus als Prinzenerzieher," 17.
[522] Hubensteiner, "Johannes Aventinus," 60; and Birgit Studt, "Neue Fürsten – neue Geschichte? Zum Wandel höfischer Geschichtsschreibung," in *Fürsten an der Zeitenwende zwischen Gruppenbild und Individualität: Formen fürstlicher Selbstdarstellung und ihre Rezeption (1450-1550)*, ed. Oliver Auge, Ralf-Gunnar Werlich, and Gabriel Zeilinger (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke, 2009), 47.

points out positive or negative traits of rulership. Nero, for example, "ruled very well in the first five years…but afterward he distinctly changed," notably by dabbling in black magic and murdering his family.[523] On the other hand, Trajan "because of his virtue was called the best and most pious prince."[524] Emperors with intellectual interests are also highlighted, such as Tiberius, who wrote poetry and commissioned a book on "comets and their peacock tails"[525] and Claudius, who "loved all the arts exceedingly and…also wrote histories."[526] Emphasizing that good rulers appreciated astronomy, the arts, and history indicates that Aventinus knew well the interests of his patron Ludwig.

Ducal attention to the written history of the realm already had a tradition in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries at the Landshut and Munich courts.[527] Hans Ebran von Wilderberg wrote a chronicle of the dukes of Bavaria (*Chronik von den Fürsten aus Bayern*) for Duke Ludwig "the Rich" in 1479.[528] In Munich, Ludwig and Wilhelm's father Albrecht IV employed Ulrich Füterer, a Landshut native, as court poet.[529] Between 1478 and 1481, Füterer—in addition to his other literary pursuits and,

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[523] "In den ersten fünff jare[n] hat Nero gantz wol regiert…aber nachmals hat er sich merklich verkert;" Johannes Aventinus, *Des hochgelerten weitberümbten Beyerischen Geschichts-schreibers Chronica…* (Frankfurt am Main: Georg Raben, Sigmund Feyerabend, and Weygand Hanen Erben, 1566), fol. 179v - 180r.

[524] "von seiner tugend wegen ist er der best und frümste Fürst zugenannt worden;" Aventinus, *Chronica*, fol. 199v.

[525] "den Cometen und Pfauwenschwentzen;" Aventinus, *Chronica*, fol. 169r.

[526] "hat alle Künst uberauß lieb gehabt und…hat auch Historien geschrieben;" Aventinus, *Chronica*, fol. 175r.

[527] For an overview, see Reinhard Stauber, "Herrschaftsrepräsentation und dynastische Propaganda bei den Wittelsbachern und Habsburgern um 1500," in Nolte, Spieß, and Werlich, *Principes*, 377-381.

[528] Dahlem, 126-127.

[529] Hellmut Rosenfeld, "Der Münchner Maler und Dichter Ulrich Fuetrer (1430-1496) in seiner Zeit und sein Name (eigentlich 'Furtter')," *Oberbayerisches Archiv* 90 (1968): 132. On Füterer, see also Bastert; Rischer; Horst Wenzel, "Alls in ain sum zu pringen: Füetrers 'Bayerische Chronik' und sein 'Buch der Abenteuer' am Hof Albrechts IV," in *Mittelalter-Rezeption*, ed. Peter Wapnewski (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1986), 10-31; Christelrose Rischer, *Literarische Rezeption und kulturelles Selbstverständnis in der deutschen Literatur der "Ritterrenaissance" des 15. Jahrhunderts: Untersuchungen zu Ulrich Füetrers*

remarkably, his extra responsibilities as court painter—wrote a chronicle of Bavaria-Munich for the duke.[530] In 1504, shortly before his death, Albrecht commissioned another chronicle of the duchy from the prior of Ebersberg Abbey, Veit Stopfer, with the intention of the text serving to instruct his son and heir Wilhelm IV.[531]

Naturally, as one of the foremost artistic and literary patrons of his day, Maximilian I also had an intense interest in historiography. Beginning around 1500, he began sponsoring the writing of his family's history.[532] This activity reached its culmination in 1518 with the completion of Jakob Mennel's five-volume *Fürstlichen Chronik genannt Kaiser Maximilians Geburtspiegel* ("Princely Chronicle, called the Mirror of Emperor Maximilian's Birth").[533] The chronicle, like many of Maximilian's other patronage projects, placed a heavy emphasis on the emperor's ancestry and especially his illustrious forbearers.[534]

Many princely histories written at this time emphasized the ruler's lineage and lauded the deeds and character of his ancestors. Cataloguing the history of an

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"Buch der Abenteuer" und dem "Ehrenbrief" des Jakob Püterich von Reichertshausen (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1973); and Moeglin, 172-209.

530 Ulrich Füetrer, *Bayerische Chronik*, ed. Reinhold Spiller (Munich: 1909; reprint, Aalen: Scientia, 1969).

531 Kersken, 130; Stauber, "Herrschaftsrepräsentation," 394; and Czerny, 234. Birgit Studt, 47, notes that this chronicle "von Aufbau und Zielsetzung her stellt…etwas Neues dar: Nämlich ein schulbuchmäßiges Kompendium, das mit seinem Anspruch auf Lehrhaftigkeit, auch hinsichtlich der lateinischen Sprache, als pädagogisches Werk speziell für einen zukunftigen Regenten konzipiert war."

532 Stauber, "Herrschaftsrepräsentation," 385.

533 Peter Kathol calls Memmel's chronicle "den Höhepunkt maximilianeischer Historiographie;" Peter Kathol, "Alles Erdreich Ist Habsburg Untertan: Studien zu genealogischen Konzepten Maximilians I. unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der 'Fürstlichen Chronike' Jakob Mennels," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 106 (1998): 366.

534 See Dieter Mertens, "Geschichte und Dynastie: Zu Methode und Ziel der 'Fürstlichen Chronik' Jakob Mennels," in *Historiographie am Oberrhein im späten Mittealter und in der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Kurt Andermann (Sigmaringen: Thrbecke, 1988), 121-153; Beate Kellner, "Formen des Kulturtransfers am Hof Kaiser Maximilians I.: Muster genealogische Herrschaftslegitimation," in *Kulturtransfer am Fürstenhof: Höfische Austauschprozesse und ihre Medien im Zeitalter Kaiser Maximilians I.*, ed. Matthias Müller, Karl-Heinz Spieß, and Udo Friedrich (Berlin: Lukas, 2013), 52-103; and Müller, *Gedechtnus*, 56-57.

administrative realm necessarily requires a consideration of the prince's predecessors in office. This, subsequently, can be utilized to express the validity of the ruler's authority through a historicized legitimation of the dynasty as a whole.[535] Birgit Studt notes that chronicles foregrounding "princely genealogy as a narrative structure" serve to "clarify the identity of the land through the dynastic tradition."[536] This forges a strong connection between the ruling family and the territory that lends both legitimacy and weight to its authority.[537] The Renaissance humanist interest in geography furthered the narrative possibilities afforded by the writing of history.[538] As Gerald Strauss explains, a "new geographical awareness demanded that a historian locate a country's civilization not only in time, but in space."[539] Accordingly, Aventinus traced the history of the duchy from ancient Rome to the present and included an autonomous section containing a topographical description of the territory of Bavaria. Furthermore, he added geographical descriptions within the historical sections, for example including geographical asides whenever a ruler acquired new territory.

This interest in geography and the representation of place were characteristics shared by both Aventinus's and Wertinger's projects for Ludwig. Aventinus describes the physical features of the duchy and also relates his impressions of its citizens at the very outset of his text, prior to launching into his multi-book discussion of Bavaria's

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[535] On this phenomenon at the court of Ludwig's father Albrecht IV, see Rischer, 24-29.
[536] Studt, 35-36.
[537] Stauber, "Herrschaftsrepräsentation," 378, calls this the "untrennbare Verbindung von Dynastie und 'Land'."
[538] See Franz Brendle, Dieter Mertens, Anton Schindling, and Walter Ziegler, eds, *Deutsche Landesgeschichtschreibung im Zeichen des Humanismus* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2001); Eckhard Keßler, "Die Ausbildung der Theorie der Geschichtsschreibung im Humanismus und in der Renaissance unter dem Einfluss der wiederentdeckten Antike," in *Die Antike-Rezeption in den Wissenschaften während der Renaissance*, ed. August Buck and Klaus Heitmann (Weinheim: Acta humaniora, 1983), 29-49.
[539] Gerald Strauss, *Sixteenth Century Germany: Its Topography and Topographers* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1959), 6.

history.[540] Like Aventinus, Wertinger also conveys a sense of the duke's subjects by populating his paintings with a wide variety of figures engaged in diverse activities. These are not exclusively agricultural but include vignettes such as the tournament in Landshut and the village dance (Figures 80 and 90). Unlike some other, roughly contemporaneous depictions of peasant dances—the unflattering portrait of such revelers in the Beham brothers' woodcuts immediately springs to mind (Figure 102)—the fête in Wertinger's painting at The Hermitage is a happy affair, one that could perhaps only exist in the idealized Bavaria of the paintings.[541] Of course, Wertinger's panels also present impressions of the salient features of the Bavarian landscape: the Alps, rich farmland, dense forests, country churches, imposing castles, and blue lakes. This mirrors the geographical exposition provided by Aventinus at the outset of his text.

Although the text of the *Bavarian Chronicle* was not printed during the humanist's lifetime, Aventinus collaborated with Johann Weyssenburger in 1523 to publish an accompanying map of the duchy (Figure 105).[542] Woodcut maps of Europe had appeared already in the fifteenth century, but the sheet printed in Landshut constitutes the first printed map of Bavaria. The map itself particularly reflects Aventinus's interests and the structure of his chronicle in its concentration on Bavaria's

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[540] Aventinus, *Chronica*, fol. 10rff.

[541] See Keith Moxey, *Peasants, Warriors, and Wives: Popular Imagery in the Reformation* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1989), 35-66. Moxey's discussion takes into consideration the effects of the Peasants' War of 1525-1526 on images of peasants. Bavaria was somewhat unique in that its peasantry did not rise up during this skermish; in fact, they fought alongside Ludwig against the Swabian peasants. However given the uncertainty over the date of the Wertinger landscapes, a historical interpretation of the peasant imagery relative to the Peasants' War cannot be ventured here.

[542] On this woodcut, see Langer and Heinemann, 195-196 (cat. no. 3.11: Alois Schmid); Hans Wolff, *Cartographia Bavariae: Bayern im Bild der Karte*, exh. cat. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich (Weißenhorn in Bayern, Anton H. Konrad, 1988), 33-36; and Hans Wolff, "Kunst und Geschichte alter Karten Bayerns," in *Landshut ins Bild gesetzt: Karten und Aussichten vom 16. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Franz Niehoff, exh. cat. Museen der Stadt Landshut (Landshut: Museen der Stadt Landshut, 2001), 54-83.

classical history by highlighting its Roman settlements.[543] Opinions are divided among art historians as to whether or not Hans Wertinger assisted with the design of the woodcut. Gloria Ehret, in her catalogue raisonné, lists the map under "questionable attributions."[544] The hypothesis that Wertinger is the draughtsman behind Aventinus's map, proposed first by Theodor Musper, is quite simply due to the fact that at this time, "in Landshut no other draughtsman stood at the ready, who…could be trusted to do good work."[545]

The clearest evidence of Wertinger's interest in topography, and another argument in favor of his participation in the woodcut map, is the *Tabletop with Map of Bavaria*, dated 1531 and held at the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum (Figure 106). Attributed to Hans Wertinger or his workshop by multiple scholars, the painted tabletop combines a map of Bavaria based on Aventinus's woodcut with imagery similar to that found in Wertinger's painted landscapes.[546] Scenes of hunting, falconry, bathing, and feasting surround the central map image, and roundels at each corner contain the coats-of-arms of the Bavarian families of Zeller, Pärnpeck, Ridler, and Leitgeb.[547] The tabletop was in the collection of Castle Zellerreit (near Wasserburg am Inn, about forty miles

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[543] Alois Schmid call this its "Kernaussage die Vorstellung der damals bekannten Römerorte;" Langer and Heinemann 196 (cat. no. 3.11: Alois Schmid).
[544] Ehret, 179 (cat. no. 116).
[545] Musper, 186. Although Landshut had many other painters, sculptors, and artisans working in the city at this time, Wertinger is the only painter/draughtsman whose works have come down to us, and his position as court painter to Ludwig X speaks to his superiority over other local painters.
[546] Wolff, "Kunst und Geschichte," 56-57, 74-75; and Ehret, 149-150 (cat. no. 18). This attribution is not unanimous, however: "Zwar ist die bisherige Zuschreibung der Tischplatte an die Wertinger-Werkstatt angescichts der stilistischen Unterschiede und der qualitative deutlichen Diskrepanz mit einem großen Fragezeichen zu verstehen;" Hess, Mack, and Küffner, 66. However, the article goes on to connect the tabletop map to other works concerning geography being carried out at the Landshut court.
[547] Wolff, "Kunst und Geschichte," 57.

south of Landshut) before entering the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, having been originally commissioned by the Munich burgher Franz Ridler for unknown reasons.[548]

Wertinger's oversight of the tabletop project, even if his hand is not present, is clear. Similar motifs can be found in the scenes framing the tabletop map and in Wertinger's panel paintings for Ludwig. A bathhouse appears in two of the paintings, and scenes of falconry and hunting are also present in the landscapes. Even specific details are reused from the landscape panels, such as the fountain's scallop-shell design, muted rose color, and the figure atop it, a nude hero with a staff held in the right hand and a shield propped against his left leg (Figures 83 and 106). Furthermore, Wertinger again utilized printed artistic sources in his design. The overall composition of the bathing scene is remarkably similar to Hans Sebald Beham's *Fountain of Youth* woodcut of 1531, with the fountain on the left and a loggia with Italianate columns on the right (Figure 107). Even certain figures from Beham's print are replicated in Wertinger's tabletop painting, such as the man handing a drinking chalice to a woman.[549]

The map at the center of the tabletop painting evinces both a close engagement with Aventinus's *Map of Bavaria* and Bavarian cartography more generally. Regardless of whether or not Wertinger assisted in the production of the woodcut map published by Johann Weyssenburger, the replication of the map here illustrates Wertinger's knowledge of Aventinus's map and his interest in the cartographic work done by the humanist. Furthermore, the tabletop map expands on Aventinus's woodcut, displaying Wertinger's own geographic familiarity with the duchy. The tabletop does not go quite as far to the

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[548] Wolff, *Cartographia Bavariae*, 37.

[549] Wescher, 102, mentions Hans Sebald Beham's woodcuts and drawings of bathhouses in the context of Wertinger's panel bath scenes but does not mention the tabletop map or the direct borrowing of motifs from the Beham woodcut.

east as the woodcut does, but on the other three sides extends beyond the area depicted by Aventinus's print.[550] This indicates to Hans Wolff that Wertinger, "for that time period, had a superior geographic-cartographic knowledge of the old Bavarian state that went far beyond Aventinus's, and in important characteristics produced a completely different picture."[551] For example, the flow of the Danube in the woodcut is straight west to east, while Wertinger shows it—correctly—as winding its way at a northwesterly angle.[552] Wertinger also includes a greater number of place names than Aventinus did, although this could simply be due to the restrictions of the woodcut medium. Given the location of Wertinger artworks throughout the duchy, from Bad Tölz to Straubing, from Mining to Prüll, it remains probable that Wertinger did indeed travel throughout much of Bavaria himself, accumulating first-hand knowledge of the lay of the land that he then used to inform his rendition of the map.

Aventinus's *Bavarian Chronicle* and its accompanying woodcut was not the only project concentrating on the documentation of space underway at Ludwig's court in the early 1520s. The mathematician and astronomer Peter Apian was in Landshut between 1523 and 1525, after which he took a post at the University of Ingolstadt.[553] During his Landshut years he received financial support from the duke and produced texts related to the charting of celestial bodies.[554] In 1524, Apian published his *Cosmographicus Liber*, through which he gained a reputation as a serious scientist and academic; the book was

[550] Wolff, *Cartographia Bavariae*, 36.
[551] Wolff, "Kunst und Geschichte," 75.
[552] Wolff, *Cartographia Bavariae*, 37.
[553] On Apian, see Karl Röttel, ed., *Peter Apian: Astronomie, Kosmographie und Mathematik am Beginn der Neuzeit,* 2nd ed., exh. cat., Ingolstadt (Eichstätt: Polygon-Verlag Buxheim, 1997).
[554] See Langer and Heinemann, 326-327 (cat. nos. 12.1 and 12.2: Friederike Sack).

printed by Johann Weyssenburger in Landshut, with Hans Wertinger contributing designs for woodcut illustrations.[555]

The *Cosmographicus Liber* is primarily concerned with describing, organizing, and classifying space, both terrestrial and celestial. Apian's book explains, among other things, the positions of the stars and the geography of the earth as ascertained through scientific measurement and observation and accordingly also gives instruction in navigation. Unlike Aventinus's project charting the geography of Bavaria, Apian's subject matter is not restricted to the duchy but encompasses the entirety of the globe and known celestial bodies as well. Both texts concern themselves with cosmography—one is scientifically oriented and the other historically oriented—and the addition of Aventinus's woodcut map to his *Bavarian Chronicle* also indicates that navigation is a common element in both. These two initiatives share a common impulse towards the description and categorization of space and its presentation in Latin to a wide and discerning scholarly audience. Although the *Cosmographicus Liber* was dedicated to Cardinal Matthäus Lang, Archbishop of Salzburg, Apian betrays his complete integration into the intellectual culture of the Landshut court in the preface to the book.[556] Apian writes of his gratitude both to Aventinus ("always the friendliest to me") and Johannes Landsberger, Ludwig's court chaplain and a keen amateur astronomer.[557] The objective and scope of Apian's *Cosmographicus Liber* would certainly have pleased the ambitious

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[555] Peter Apian, *Cosmographicus Liber* (Landshut: Johann Weyssenburger, 1524), http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00064968/image_1.

[556] Lang was intensely interested in astronomy; under his order, Albrecht Dürer and Johannes Stabius designed woodcuts of the northern and southern heavens in 1515; Nicole Riegel, *Die Bautätigkeit des Kardinals Matthäus Lang von Wellenburg (1468-1540)* (Münster: Rhema, 2009), 19n40.

[557] "mihi semper amicissimus;" Apian, fol. 2r.

Duke Ludwig, who was always seeking to cast himself as a highly cultured prince and his court as a center of scholarly and artistic activity.

As befits its nature as, essentially, a textbook for cosmography, the *Cosmographicus Liber* is richly illustrated with woodcuts. Many of these evince a complicated understanding of their scientific functions, while others are more decorative in nature; some, called *volvelles*, even feature complicated moving parts. Like the woodcut map of Bavaria printed in conjunction with Aventinus's history of the duchy, Wertinger's involvement in the preparation of the woodcuts in Apian's *Cosmographicus Liber* is debated in the literature on the artist.[558] While Musper posits, vaguely, that Wertinger is responsible for "several woodcuts for Apian's *Cosmography*," Gloria Ehret only attributes to Wertinger the image appearing on Col. 19 of the first book, captioned "Instrumentum Theoricae Solis" (Figure 108).[559] Musper and Ehret do not explain on what stylistic basis these attributions were made, but Wertinger's status as the foremost two-dimensional artist working in Landshut at this time makes him a prime contender for at least some of the illustrations in the *Cosmographicus Liber*. A further possible connection is that in the same year that the book was published by Weyssenburger, Ludwig had Apian design a sundial to be painted on the exterior of Trausnitz, on the wall facing the courtyard (Figure 109).[560] Perhaps Wertinger, as court painter, assisted the scientist in this project as well.

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[558] Feuchtmayr, "Hans Wertinger," 40, says the illustrations are not by Wertinger, without giving any additional information. Ehret, 176-177 (cat. no. 108), attributes only one of the illustrations to the artist. In the catalogue entry in Langer and Heinemann, Wertinger is not mentioned; Langer and Heinemann, 326-327 (cat. no. 12.2: Frederike Sack).

[559] Musper's term *mehrere* can mean anywhere from "several" to "many;" Musper, 185.

[560] Langer and Heinemann, 325 (Frederike Sack).

Thus Wertinger's landscapes cohere with a variety of Ludwig's other patronage projects and Wertinger's other artistic activities underway around this time. But how did they function within the space of court? What purpose did they serve for Ludwig, their patron? How did they help to elucidate Ludwig's conception of himself and his role as Duke of Bavaria? How did they contribute to the staging of rulership at Burg Trausnitz?

At the most basic level of interpretation, Wertinger's landscapes as a group form an appealing decorative scheme. This characteristic of independent landscape paintings was acknowledged even in ancient times, as Pliny the Elder, who preferred history paintings, "grudgingly admitted that their variety of natural details such as gardens, groves, fishponds, rivers, and vignettes of people enjoying the outdoors were humorous and delighted the eye."[561] Wertinger's landscapes constructed a pleasing rhythm to the panels through their depictions of the passing of the seasons. Furthermore, their small format and Wertinger's loose painting style encourage a close viewing of the artworks, suggesting that the landscape panels also served as conversation pieces. The tranquil, bucolic imagery in the landscape panels is broadly aligned with traditional depictions of princely activities. The exercise of leisure as a reflection of courtly magnificence and culture, and its illustration in the visual arts, was by no means new to the Renaissance or to the Landshut court. As Daniel Hess notes, in Wertinger's landscapes there "are many motifs…that are not to be understood as replications of everyday life but rather are borrowed from the courtly pictorial repertoire of gardens of love and hunting scenes."[562]

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[561] McHam, 174. Somewhat more contemporary to Wertinger, Leon Battista Alberti expressed similar sentiments around 1452: "Our minds are cheered beyond measure by the sight of paintings depicting the delightful countryside, harbors, fishing, hunting, swimming, the games of shepherds – flowers and verdure;" Leon Battista Alberti, *On the Art of Building* 9.4, as quoted in McHam, 172.
[562] Hess, "Bauern, Hirten, Ziegenböcke," 220.

Far more important than being pretty and courtly, however, is the way in which the landscapes convey an overall impression of good governance, a characteristic that would have been particularly potent in their original location at Burg Trausnitz. As allegorical expressions of the duke's responsibility for the prosperity of his subjects and his land, the panels would have presented visitors with idealized images of Ludwig's success as a ruler. The panels present a representative view of the duchy, a microcosmic Bavaria reenacted in paint, but enclosed in the indoor, rarified realm of the ducal apartments. Set within the palace architecture, which itself, as Matthias Müller notes, serves "as a nucleus of the entire territory," Wertinger's paintings position the duke at the center of the peaceful and prosperous operation of the entire duchy.[563] Thus the landscapes, affixed into the very fabric of Trausnitz by their integration into wood paneling, functioned first and foremost as a comprehensive representation of princely administrative power.

Evocative rather than accurate, indicative rather than illustrative, the view of Bavaria as presented through the panels would have also formed a fictional mimicry of the type of view visible from the castle itself. Trausnitz's physical dominance over the surrounding countryside provided Ludwig with the ability to survey his realm, whether he was looking from a window or the northeast balcony. Stephan Hoppe, in his discussion of *Blickregie* (the management of views), notes the special importance of the view out of the princely residence over the land as a symbolic aspect of rulership.[564] The landscapes echo the actual view, acting as "windows into the world" of the entire expanse

[563] Matthias Müller, "Spätmittelalterliches Fürstentum im Spiegel der Architektur: Überlegungen zu den repräsentativen Aufgaben landesherrlicher Schloßbauten um 1500 im Alten Reich," in Nolte, Spieß, and Werlich, *Principes*, 114.
[564] Stephen Hoppe, "Blickregie," in Paravicini, Hirschbiegel, and Wettlaufer, *Höfe und Residenzen*, 1:449-453.

of Ludwig's realm.[565] As fictionalized in the landscape panels, the decorative program provided a view of the Bavarian landscape through the implied (window) frames of the paneling and painted garland (window) tracery.

The panels were probably hung in two separate rooms of the ducal apartments at Trausnitz, with the first series in one location and the second in another. Unfortunately the specific uses of each of the rooms in the living quarters during this time remains unclear, although we may surmise that Ludwig would have had designated rooms for receiving visitors and carrying out administrative tasks. These representative spaces would have required different decoration than his private chambers, for example his bedroom. Given the content of Wertinger's panels, it seems most likely that the two series adorned rooms such as the reception space, probably in a horizontal row around the room. With such a decorative scheme surrounding him, Ludwig would thus physically enact his role as steward of his people while encircled by fictive images reflecting and reinforcing his governance and its positive outcomes.

A similar use of landscape as an allegorical representation of princely authority can be found later in the decoration of the Antiquarium, built between 1568 and 1571, in the Munich Residenz. In many ways, Hans Wertinger's landscape panels for Ludwig anticipate the landscapes Hans Donauer would paint in the Antiquarium around 1584 (Figure 110). Commissioned by Duke Wilhelm V of Bavaria, Ludwig's great-nephew, the paintings in the ceiling vaults depict 102 views of cities and towns throughout the duchy. Each is enclosed within its own painted frame and is labeled with the location depicted. Unlike Wertinger, Donauer strove to provide topographically accurate views of

[565] Wall paintings serving as fictive windows onto landscape views were found in the Domus Aurea in Rome around 1480; these subsequently inspired Pope Innocent III to commission Pinturiccio to paint a loggia in the Belvedere Palace with landscape views of Italian cities. See McHam, 173.

specific, identifiable places, but both Wertinger's and Donauer's paintings assert a similar concept about the authority of the prince over his territory and his role as steward of the land.

The courtly space of Burg Trausnitz, as fashioned by Ludwig X and his advisors through artistic patronage, reflected his conception of himself as a ruler and his understanding of the territory over which he reigned. The princely residence was a space for ducal presentation and a locus for the development of court culture. As Ludwig's court painter, Hans Wertinger was involved in the decoration of many of the ducal spaces and instrumental in the development of iconographic programs that would reflect and clarify aspects of the duke's authority and elucidate his conception of himself and his role.

Although Wertinger himself was not a scholar, he—like other non-academics involved in courtly projects—participated tangentially in the intellectual activities at court. The court painter sought to integrate his works into other courtly projects intended to catalogue, document, and make sense of Bavaria and the world at large. The many similarities between the quasi-documentary nature of the landscape panels and the work of the court historiographer Aventinus illustrate that Wertinger engaged in creating his own historical-cartographic-geographic identification of the duchy; this is especially evident when taking the tabletop map into consideration as well. Wertinger was also the designer of woodcuts for Peter Apian's *Cosmographicus Liber* and could have assisted Apian in the creation of the sundial on Trausnitz's exterior, further contributions to the interest in space and place at the Landshut court. Crucially, Wertinger's landscape panels situated Ludwig in the principality over which he reigned through the *Inszenierung* of

vistas of authority within the physical space of Burg Trausnitz. Hans Wertinger's artistic projects *for* the space of Ludwig's court and *about* the space of Ludwig's reign thus reflected and contributed to broader cultural themes encouraged and promoted by the Landshut duke. Wertinger demonstrates his versatility as a court artist in these various contributions to the project of ducal presentation at Burg Trausnitz.

Chapter 5: Conclusion: Wertinger's Legacy at Court

Hans Wertinger would not live long enough to participate in his great patron Ludwig X's most elaborate and ambitious project: the construction of a new residential palace on Landshut's main street, the Altstadt. The record of the artist's death can be found in an entry in the parish register of the Franciscan church in Landshut, dated November 17, 1533.[566] Less than three years later, in February 1536, Ludwig X travelled south to Mantua to visit his Gonzaga relatives. This trip has long been highlighted in the art historical literature as of special consequence, since upon his return Ludwig brought back with him an enthusiasm for the architecture of the Palazzo del Te that he subsequently utilized in the building of the first Italianate palace north of the Alps, the Landshut Stadtresidenz (Figure 111).[567]

The duke had already begun his plans for the Stadtresidenz before he left for Italy; work began on the palace on May 6, 1536, while he was still abroad. However this portion of the residence, subsequently referred to as the "German Building," does not bear the same architectural and decorative characteristics of the "Italian Building" built after Ludwig's return (Figure 112).[568] With rusticated arcades framing a central courtyard, a gracious loggia under the west wing, alternating rounded and pointed pediments over the windows, and decorative pilasters, the exterior of the Italian Building

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[566] See above, 38.

[567] Ludwig also visited other Italian cities, notably Venice, Verona, Bologna, Florence, and Rome. However Mantua tends to get all the credit because of the visual similarities between the Palazzo del Te and the façade in the courtyard of the Stadtresidenz.

[568] Langer and Heinemann, 359: "Im Gegensatz zum Deutschen Bau mit seinen venezianisch beeinflussten, dekorativen Augsburger Frührenaissanceformen ist der Italienische Bau durch und durch von italienischem Formgefühl geprägt." The façade of the Stadtresidenz facing the Altstadt was overhauled in 1780 under Elector Karl Theodor, and does not reflect the original appearance, which Hitchcock, 95, notes included "a small tower over a projection in the middle and a richly sculptured portal below, with painted figures of giants above and other Renaissance decoration on the frieze under the terminal cornice."

proclaims its allegiance to Italian forms before one even enters it. Inside, the space is outfitted with Italian marble floors, doorframes, and chimneypieces, and elaborately stuccoed ceilings feature classically inspired history paintings and antique allegories.[569]

The decisive shift towards classical forms found in the Italian Building, the sheer scale and ambition of its decorative program, and the tidy narrative of its patron's Italian trip has, understandably, overshadowed Ludwig's artistic activities in the years before 1536. Scholarship tends to emphasize how radical a break the Italianate Stadtresidenz was from previous northern architectural and decorative traditions, stressing that it is "the first Renaissance palace in the north."[570] As Stephan Hoppe notes, this framework is a hangover from the older art-historical narrative of the epochal shift from the Gothic to the Renaissance style, from the medieval to the modern.[571]

Upon closer examination, however, many of the same concerns visible in Ludwig's early patronage—during those very years that Hans Wertinger served as his court painter—resurface in his later commissions and especially the Stadtresidenz, although here in a starkly Italicized visual idiom. The artistic patronage of Ludwig X thus maintains elements of thematic continuity from the earliest years of his rule. This suggests two hypotheses, not mutually exclusive from one another: that Ludwig developed strong, lifelong interests quite early and that Hans Wertinger's contribution to the culture of the ducal court survived well beyond the artist's lifetime.

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[569] The walls of the Italian Hall, also marble, were redone under Karl Theodor; Hitchcock, 97.

[570] An entire chapter in Langer and Heinemann is titled: "Der erste italienische Renaissancepalast nördlich der Alpen;" Langer and Heinemann, 358-379. See also Thoma, Brunner, and Herzog, 9; and Benno Hubensteiner, "Der letzte Herzog von Niederbayern: Ein Besuch bei Ludwig X. und in der Landshuter Residenz," in *Beiträge zur Heimatkunde von Niederbayern*, ed. Hans Bleibrunner (Landshut: Isar-Post, 1967), 328-344.

[571] Stephen Hoppe, "Die Wittelsbacher Residenzen in Landshut und Neuburg an der Donau in den Netzwerken des Kulturtransfers: Strategien der kunsthistorischen Kategorienbildung," in Müller, Spieß, and Friedrich, *Kulturtransfer*, 142.

The relationship between Ludwig X and his court painter Hans Wertinger was, in essence, a symbiotic one. Both depended on the other, with Wertinger in need of financial support and Ludwig in need of visual programming expressive of his understanding of himself and concomitant with his position as duke. Wertinger proved himself adept at unpacking and clarifying Ludwig's interests and ideas, as well as those of other participants in the culture of the Landshut court, such as Dietrich von Plieningen or Aventinus. But Wertinger did not simply replicate others' notions in paint, but formulated innovative imagery from his understanding of his patron's needs and his own imagination. His success as an artist is evidenced by this contemporary patronage. Both artist and patron benefitted from their interaction, and the recurrence in Ludwig's later patronage of the same themes found in Wertinger's art for the duke illustrates the legacy of the artist and his lasting contribution to the ducal culture at the Landshut court.

The presentation of self, for example, is an aspect of princely rule that Ludwig cultivated and maintained throughout his reign. We have seen how one of his very first actions as a new ruler was to have his portrait painted by Hans Wertinger (Figure 25). In 1530 Ludwig again sat for a panel portrait, although this time the artist was Barthel Beham of Nuremberg (Figure 113). Beham had recently moved to Munich to serve as court painter to the Bavarian dukes.[572] The choice of Beham for this commission suggests that Wertinger, at this point probably between 60 and 65 years old, may not have been up to the task. The Beham portrait of Ludwig was the first of fourteen portraits comprising a set of Wittelsbach family members that the artist painted between 1530 and 1535.[573] This particular panel evinces a much higher level of execution than the subsequent paintings in

[572] Warnke. *Hofkünstler*, 311.

[573] Langer and Heinemann, 293 (cat. no. 10.1: Kurt Löcher). The painting of Ludwig's sister Sabina was also completed in 1530; Langer and Heinemann, 295-296 (cat. no. 10.4: Kurt Löcher).

the series. This, taken together with its early date in comparison with the rest, suggests to Kurt Löcher that the portrait was originally commissioned by Ludwig as a stand-alone panel and that the "Wittelsbach portrait series, begun for Ludwig and continued by Wilhelm IV, did not originate from a firm plan but was successively expanded."[574] The paintings were probably hung together in Wilhelm's palace in Munich, although if the above hypothesis is correct the portrait of Ludwig could have spent some time in Landshut before joining the other paintings. For the Munich portrait series, Beham also painted a copy of Wertinger's *Portrait of Albrecht IV, Duke of Bavaria*, itself probably a posthumous likeness.[575]

Ludwig sat for Beham again the following year, in 1531, for a portrait whose pendant would feature Ludwig's longtime mistress Ursula von Weichs (Figure 114). Ludwig had previously commissioned Hans Wertinger to paint a portrait of Ursula, which he completed around 1526 (Figure 27). None of the duke's potential marriages to European noblewomen had ever panned out and, although he had a daughter by another woman, Ursula acted the role of duchess at the Landshut court throughout the twenty years she and Ludwig were together. She may have even been an illegitimate daughter of Duke Georg "the Rich."[576] Her (adoptive?) father Georg von Weichs, Ludwig's chamberlain, seems to have purchased Hans Wertinger's house on the Kirchgasse after the artist's death; he is listed as the owner of Kirchgasse 228 in 1549.[577]

Ludwig continued to commission his portrait to appear in ecclesiastical donations, too. In an anonymous glass panel (an accompanying one is dated 1530) now in the

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[574] Langer and Heinemann, 293 (cat. no. 10.1: Kurt Löcher).
[575] Langer and Heinemann, 296-297 (cat. no. 10.5: Kurt Löcher).
[576] Langer and Heinemann, 284.
[577] Herzog, *Häuserchronik*, 1:115. Georg von Weichs was the *Hofmarschall* who managed the duke's household; this is equivalent to the duties of a court chamberlain.

Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Ludwig kneels before Sts. Simon and Jude in an attitude similar to the donor portrait in Hans Wertinger's axial window at Ingolstadt (Figures 115 and 26).[578] It is unclear where this panel was originally located; more securely traceable is a sculpted likeness of Ludwig, along with his brother Wilhelm (Figure 116). These originally appeared at the foot of the high altarpiece that the brothers donated to the Heilig-Geist-Kirche in Landshut in 1532.[579] Again, the positions recall the Ingolstadt donor panel. Although Wilhelm is outfitted in everyday clothes in the sculpture, Ludwig appears in his suit of armor and, as in the 1530 glass panel, carries a Bavarian flag over his shoulder. By appearing in his battle armor, Ludwig emphasizes his military feats. The sculptures evince a symbolic motive similar in spirit to that found in the Ingolstadt window: front and center, positioned at the high altar and integrated into the church fabric, the ducal figures impress upon the viewer their temporal and spiritual authority over all Bavaria.

In addition to portraiture, Ludwig also showed a continued interest in the classical past, particularly evident in the decoration of the Stadtresidenz.[580] The walls and ceilings of the Italian Building are covered in classical themes, mythological figures, and antique stories, a program probably worked out by a new humanist at court, Johann Albrecht von Widmanstetter.[581] The decoration of the Stadtresidenz was of such a vast scope that three artists were necessary to complete all the paintings: Hans Bocksberger the Elder, Herman Posthumus, and Ludwig Refinger. The decorative program in the Italian Building is overwhelmingly drawn from humanist themes of antique history and mythology, and the

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[578] Langer and Heinemann, 213-214 (cat. nos. 4.15a and 4.15b: Matthias Weniger). This panel had previously been attributed in the literature to Wertinger.
[579] Langer and Heinemann, 211-212 (cat. no. 4.14: Matthias Weniger).
[580] Ebermeier's entire book is devoted to this subject.
[581] Langer, 46.

classical subjects that had been treated by Wertinger between 1515 and 1517 reappear here in Ludwig's magnificent new palace.[582]

The Roman historian Sallust inspired one particular aspect of the decoration in the so-called "Italian Hall," the main reception room in the Italian Building (Figure 117). Sallust was one of the classical authors whose texts Dietrich von Plieningen had translated into German and whose image is painted on the ceiling of the Italian Hall; he shares a frame with other classical scholars, namely Varro, Chrysippus, Livy, and Pliny (Figure 118).[583] As noted above, in 1515 Plieningen's volume of Sallust translations, dedicated to Ludwig X, had been published with a woodcut frontispiece by Hans Wertinger (Figure 45). Years later, the duke was to have a quotation from this very text prominently integrated into the decoration of the Italian Hall; it appears in the frieze amid playful putti.[584] Winding its way around the entirety of the room, the quotation, taken from Sallust's *Jugurthian War*, reads: "Concordia res parvae crescent, discordia maximae dilabuntur" (Small communities grow great through harmony, [even] the greatest ones fall to pieces through discord). The quotation suggests that Bavaria's fortunes have been on the rise thanks to the harmonious administration of the duchy by the two brothers. The 1515 Sallust publication, evidence of the budding humanist culture in Landshut in the very first years of Ludwig's reign, subsequently inspired him in the choice of this quotation for inclusion in the main reception room of the Italian Building. One imagines the duke returning again and again to Plieningen's book for instruction and edification and with each reading encountering Wertinger's frontispiece woodcut.

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[582] See above, 108-134.
[583] Ebermeier, 27-30.
[584] In German, the "sogenannten Kindlfries;" Ebermeier, 12.

Alexander the Great, too, reappears in the decoration of the Stadtresidenz. The subject of Hans Wertinger's panel painting of 1517, Alexander is also depicted in a ceiling panel of the Italian Hall (Figures 1 and 119). He is shown with the mythological King Nestor of Pylos, the Persian Kings Cyrus the Great and Darius I, and Alexander's father Philipp of Macedonia.[585] Alexander the Great takes precedence over these others, both in figural position (he is prominently located in the center of the composition) and the inscription, where his name appears first. Alexander is upheld in both the ceiling panel and Wertinger's painting as a paragon of rulership.

Befitting such an elaborate painted program, Alexander the Great's court painter Apelles is also depicted in the Italian Hall (Figure 120). Whereas Hans Wertinger's allusions to Apelles were subtle—the ancient artist did not actually appear in Wertinger's painting *Alexander the Great and his Doctor Philippus*—in the Italian Hall the most famous painter of antiquity is prominently positioned in a lunette on the north wall. He shares the space with Praxiteles and Phidias, famous Greek sculptors, and another painter, Zeuxis. That Apelles is positioned in front of Zeuxis indicates his privileged status, since the high esteem that Alexander held for his court painter proves his artistic genius in the absence of any surviving paintings.

Another echo of Trausnitz's decoration appears in the Stadtresidenz in the "Apollo Room." The lunettes at the top of the wall depict landscapes with the labors of the months painted by Hans Bocksberger the Elder (Figure 121). Marching in timely succession around the room, their organization reflects the adjacent panels in the ceiling featuring stuccoed allegorical personifications of the four seasons. The entire

[585] It says "CIRVS.I." on the inscription but this is presumably just a mistake (Cyrus the Great is Cyrus II), since Cyrus I did not achieve much of historic note.

iconographic program of this room is tied together at the ceiling's center by the figure of Apollo, the Greco-Roman sun god, whose daily traverse of the earthly sky dictates the passage of time in the world below. Bocksberger's paintings recall, in their depictions of agricultural activity, the landscapes that Hans Wertinger had completed for installation at Burg Trausnitz. While compositionally Bocksberger does not look back to Wertinger, he does include certain themes found in the earlier artist's panels, for example the tournament and the open-air bathhouse. A few isolated figures, such as the sleigh in *January* and the man on horseback in *November*'s hunting scene, seem to reference analogous ones in Wertinger's paintings. Bocksberger includes a view of his hometown of Salzburg in one of the scenes, prefiguring the later landscape paintings in the Munich Residenz depicting views of Bavarian locales.[586]

Additionally, the Munich cycle's deliberate emphasis on identifiable places in Bavaria has its conceptual roots in an even earlier project: Aventinus's great written history of the duchy, the *Bavarian Chronicle*. For Aventinus, the writing of history was inexorably tied to geography, an attitude that may have influenced Wertinger's landscape panels and certainly informed the artist's tabletop map (Figure 106). The cultural integration of history and geography is again made explicit in the painted decoration of the Italian Hall (Figure 122).[587] In the central scene of the south lunette, Clio the muse of history sits languidly upon a pile of books. Significantly, her left arm rests on a heart-shaped map of the world, modeled after a woodcut published by Peter Apian in 1530.[588]

The mapping of the cosmos and the passage of time are also referred to in the "Room of Stars," which served as a bedchamber (Figure 123). In this room, the ceiling is

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[586] See above, 185-186.
[587] Ebermeier, 60.
[588] Langer and Heinemann, 122.

painted with depictions of astrological signs and figures, including the signs of the Zodiac. Ludwig had already expressed an interest in cosmography before, when he patronized Peter Apian in the 1520s. Wertinger's activities designing woodcuts for Apian's publications and his artistic participation relative to Aventinus's chronicle indicate his inclusion in the society of scholars working on geography, historiography, and the chronicling of space for the Landshut court.

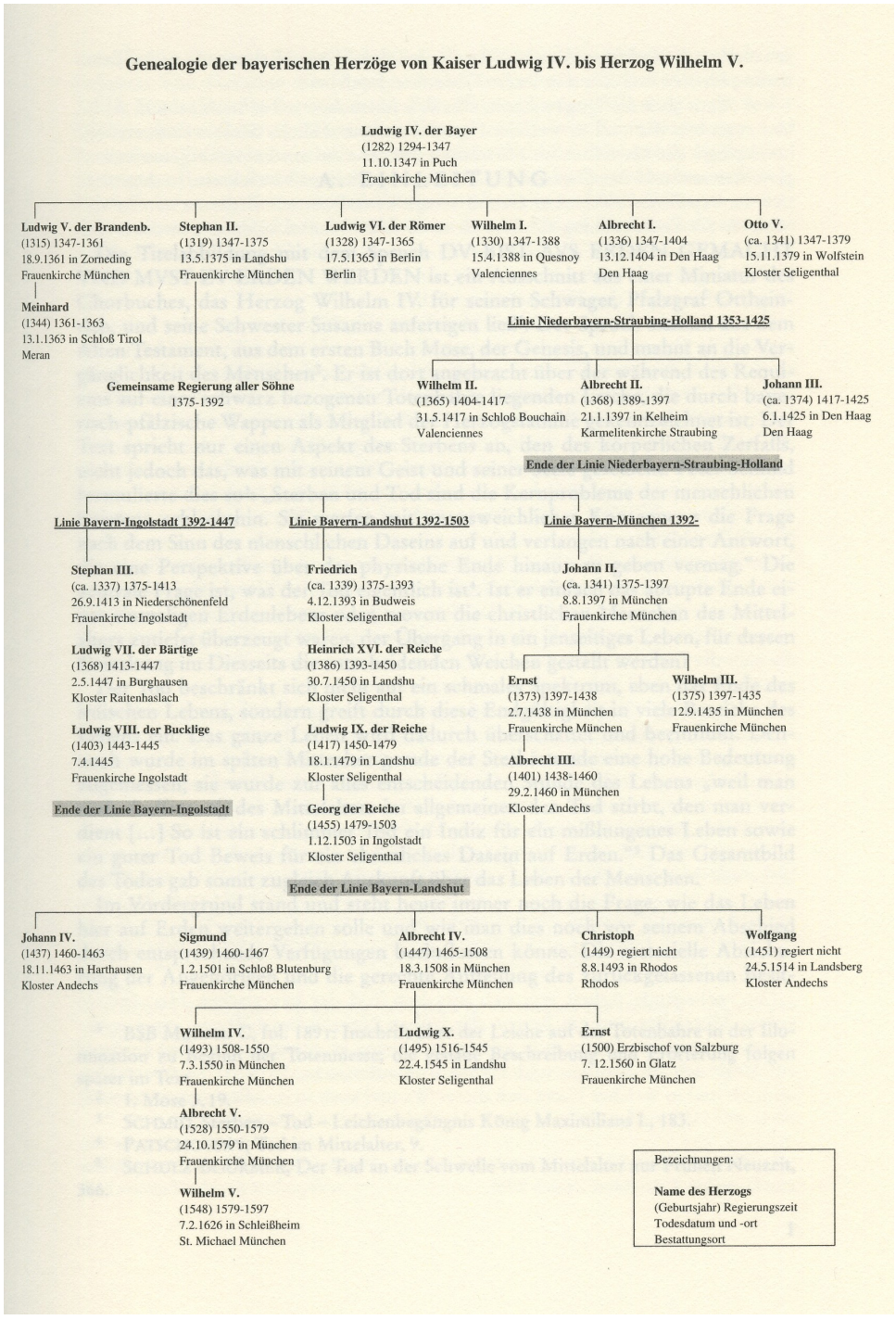
Ludwig's creation of a new courtly space on Landshut's main street is an extension of his preoccupation with self-representation that so characterized his early years of patronage. Like Burg Trausnitz, the Stadtresidenz was a highly visible landmark, although in this instance integrated into the fabric of the city instead of looming above it. Ludwig X therefore altered the space of rule—his physical domicile *and* the city of Landshut—to accord with his conception of himself. These most important characteristics were embedded for posterity in all his patronage projects. Perhaps Ludwig's lack of a legitimate heir made him particularly sensitive to what his legacy might be. Intellectual, cosmopolitan, cultured, artistic, magnanimous, and just: Ludwig reveals himself in his patronage to have been a consummate Renaissance prince.

Hans Wertinger, too, reveals himself in his artworks, and not merely in his inserted self-portraits (Figures 2 and 4). He reveals himself to have been flexible with regard both to subject matter and style. The wide range of media in which he worked and the high quality of execution indicate that he was both versatile and talented. He was accommodating to the needs and desires of his patrons. Wertinger was thoroughly conversant with the most important artistic and cultural trends of his day. While he does not seem to have exerted much influence upon subsequent artists in the same way as other artists of his generation such as Dürer or Altdorfer have done, he was certainly

influential to the young Landshut duke, Ludwig X. The conceits that Wertinger articulated visually during the earliest years of Ludwig's reign resurface again in Ludwig's later commissions. This continuity demonstrates that Hans Wertinger played a significant role in the initial establishment and subsequent enrichment of court culture in Landshut under Ludwig X, Duke of Bavaria.

Appendix

Genealogical table of the Bavarian dukes, from Czerny, cxxv.



Illustrations

Figure 1. Hans Wertinger, *Alexander and his Doctor Philippus*, 1517
(Prague, National Gallery)

Figure 2. Detail of Figure 1.
Top left, self-portrait of the artist.

Figure 3. Hans Wertinger, *The Legend of St. Sigismund*, 1498
(Freising, Diözesanmuseum)

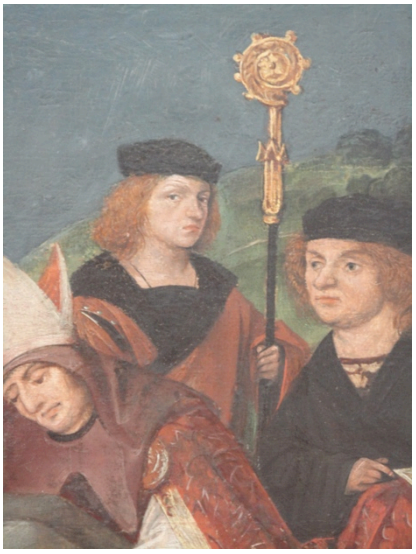


Figure 4. Detail of Figure 3.
Center, self-portrait of the artist.

Top Left: Figure 5. Hans Wertinger, *Glass Paten with the Meeting of Abraham and Melchizidek*, 1498 (New York, The Cloisters)

Above, Figure 6: Hans Wertinger, after a design by Sigmund Gleismüller, *Bavarian Coat-of-Arms*, 1511 (Landshut, Heilig-Geist-Kirche)

Middle Left, Figure 7: Mair von Landshut, *Scenes from the Passion of Christ*, 1495 (Freising Cathedral)

Bottom Left, Figure 8: Mair von Landshut, *Anna Selbdritt*, 1499

Figure 9. Hans Wertinger, *The Death of St. Alexius*, c. 1515
(Konstanz, Wasserberg-Galerie)

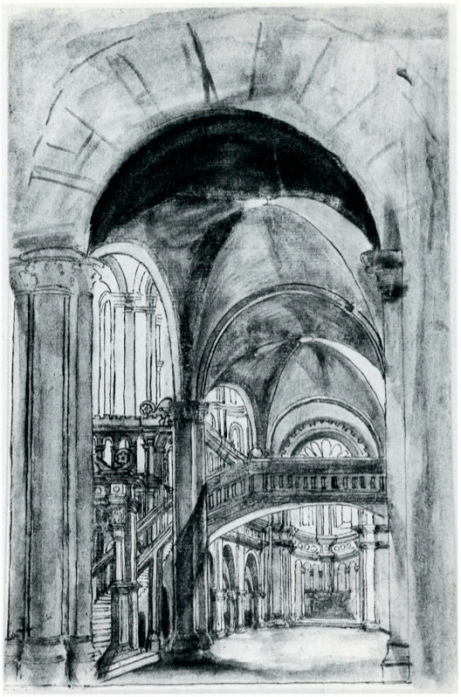


Figure 10. Albrecht Altdorfer, *Church Interior*, c. 1515
(Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek)

Figure 11. Hans Wertinger, *St. Christopher*, 1515
(Kriestorf, Church of St. Otmar)

Figure 12. Albrecht Altdorfer, *St. Christopher*, 1510
(Hamburg, Kunsthalle)

Left: Figure 13. Hans Wertinger, *Portrait of Ritter Christoph*, 1515
(Madrid, Thyssen-Bornemisza)

Above: Figure 14. Hans Wertinger, *Portrait of Christoph von Layming*, 1515
(London, Victoria and Albert Museum)

Below Left: Figure 15. Hans Wertinger, *Portrait of Philipp von der Pfalz, Prince-Bishop of Freising*, 1515
(Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen)

Below: Figure 16. Hans Wertinger, fresco in the Bishop's Residence, Freising, c. 1515

Left: Figure 17. Hans Leinberger (sculptures) and Hans Wertinger (paintings), *Moosburg Altarpiece*, c. 1511-1515 (Moosburg, Church of St. Kastulus)

Above: Figure 18. Hans Wertinger, Predella of the *Moosburg Altarpiece*, c. 1511-1515

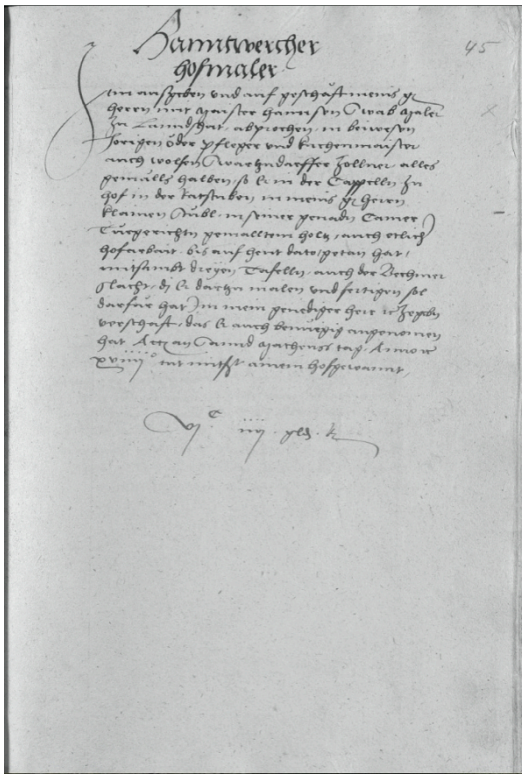
Figure 19. Hans Wertinger, *Portrait of Johann, von der Pfalz, Administrator of Regensburg*, 1526 (Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, on long-term loan to Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum)

Figure 20. Hans Wertinger, *Albrecht IV with St. John the Evangelist*, c. 1513 (Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmsueum)

Figure 21. Hans Wertinger, *Wilhelm IV with St. Bartholomew*, c. 1513 (Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmsueum)

Figure 22. Hans Wertinger, *Madonna and Child on a Crescent Moon, with Degenhart Pfäffinger*, c. 1510-1514 (Neuötting, Church of St. Anna)

Figure 23. Hans Wertinger, *Roundel with the Coat-of-Arms of Bavaria and St. Katherine*, 1527 (current location unknown)



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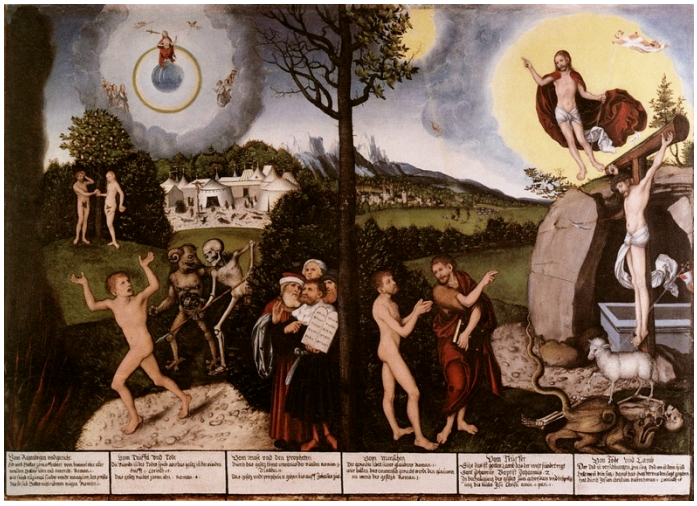

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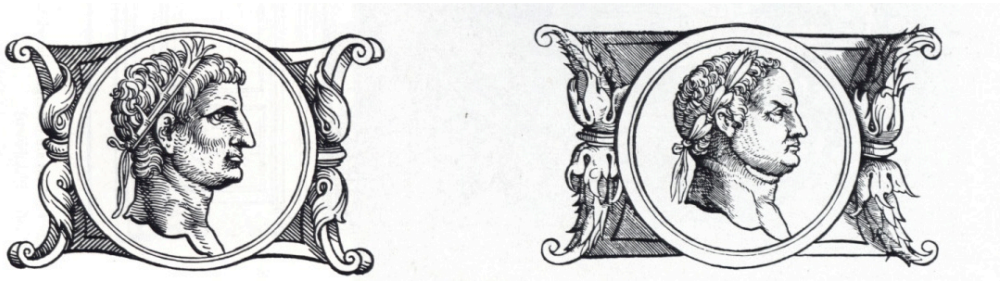

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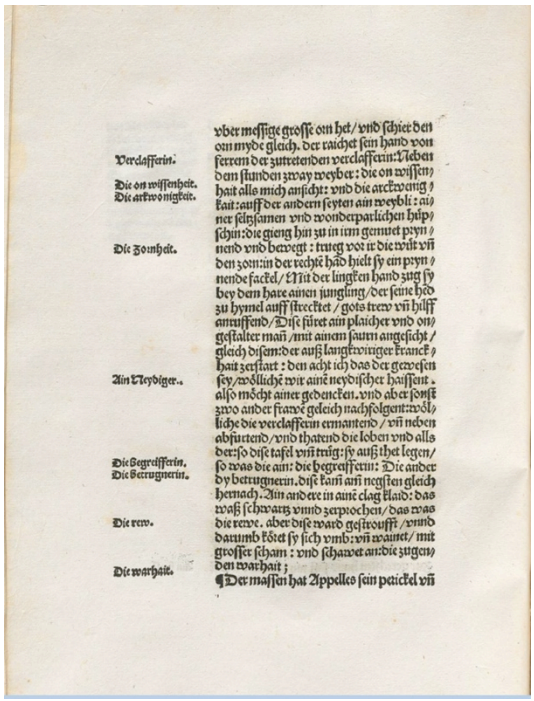

Verclafferin.
Die on wissenheit.
Die arkwonigkeit.
Die Zornheit.
Ain Neydiger.
Die Begreifferin.
Die Betrugnerin.
Die rew.
Die warhait.

vber messige grosse on het/vnd schiet den
on myde gleich. der raichet sein hand von
ferrem der zutretenden verclafferin: Neben
den stunden zway weyber: die on wissen
hait alls mich ansicht: vnd die arckwonig
kait: auff der andern seyten ain weybli: ai
ner seltzamen vnd wonderparlichen hüp
schin: die gieng hin zu in iirm gemuet pryn
nend vnd bewegt: trueg vor ir die wüt vñ
den zorn: in der rechte hād hielt sy ein pryn
nende fackel/Mit der lingken hand zug sy
bey dem hare ainen jungling/der seine hēd
zu hymel auff streckket/gots trew vñ hilff
anruffend/Dise füret ain plaicher vnd on
gestalter mañ/mit ainem saurn angesicht/
gleich disem: der auß langkwiriger krancke
hait zerstart: den acht ich das der gewesen
sey/wölliche wir ainē neydischer hassent.
alsō möcht ainer gedencken. vnd aber sonst
zwo ander frawē geleich nachfolgent: wöl
liche die verclafferin ermantend/vñ neben
abfürtend/vnd thatend die loben vnd alls
der: so diser tafel vñ trūg: sy auß thet legen/
so was die ain: die begrafferin: Die ander
dy betrugnerin. diser kam ainē negsten gleich
hernach. Ain ander ire in ainē clag klaid: das
waß schwartz vnnd zerpiochen/das was
die rewe. aber diser ward gestroufft/vnnd
darumb köret sy sich vmb: vñ wainet/mit
grosser schām: vnd schawet an: die zugen
den warhait;
¶Der massen hat Appelles sein peickel vñ

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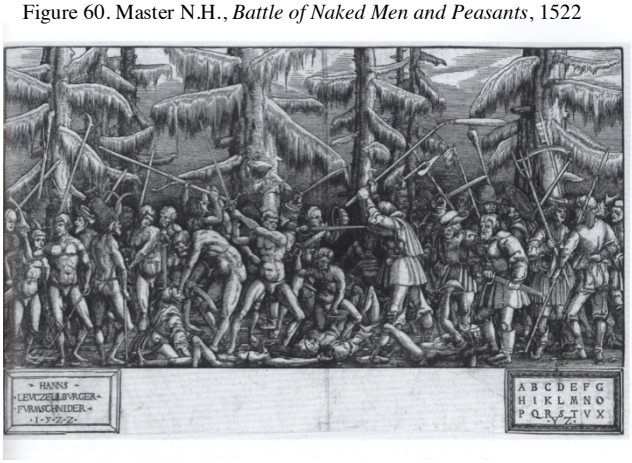
Figure 60. Master N.H., *Battle of Naked Men and Peasants*, 1522



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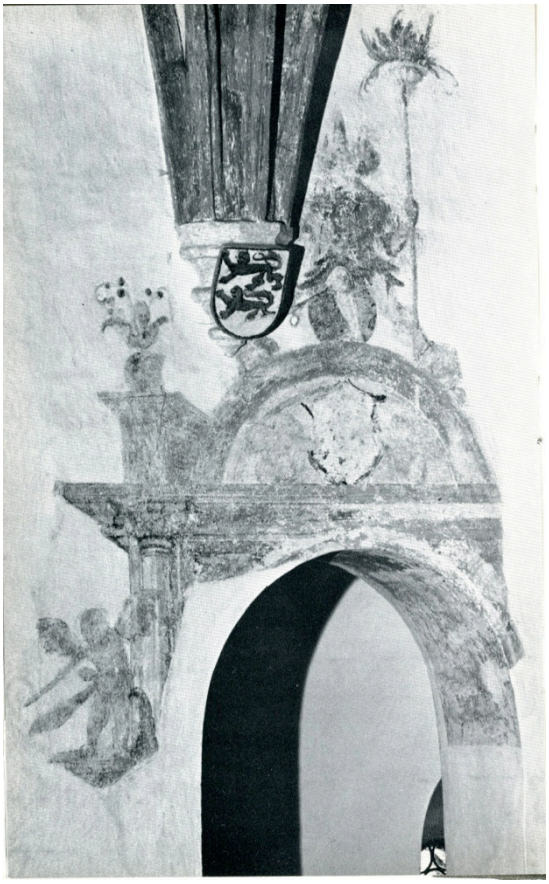

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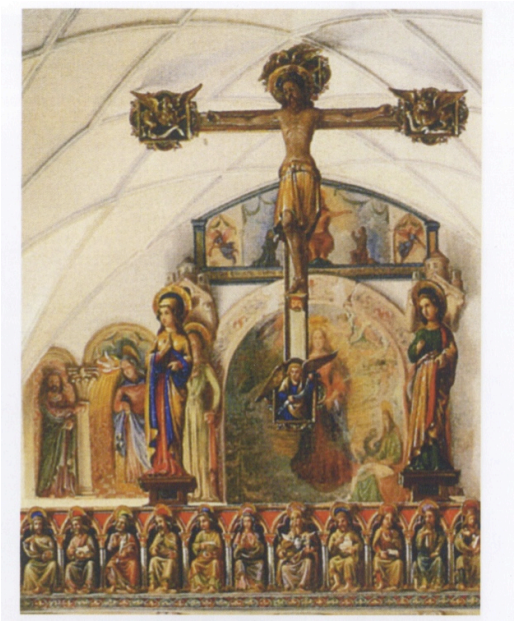

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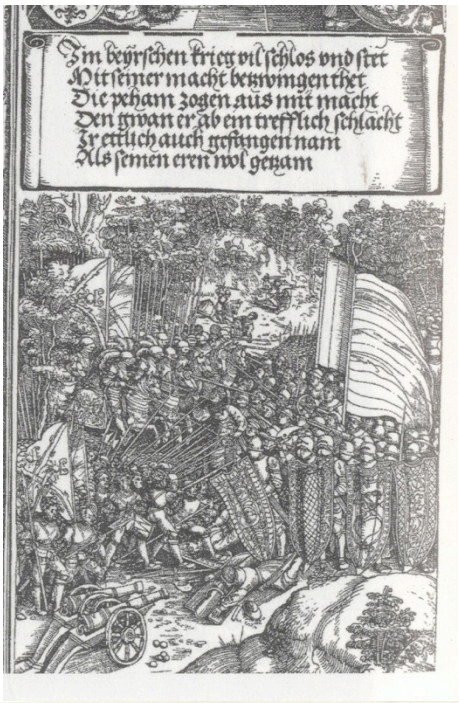

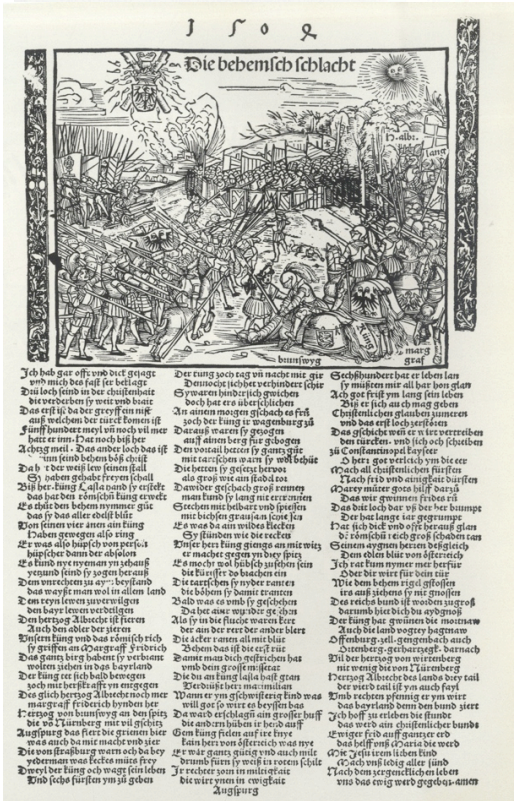

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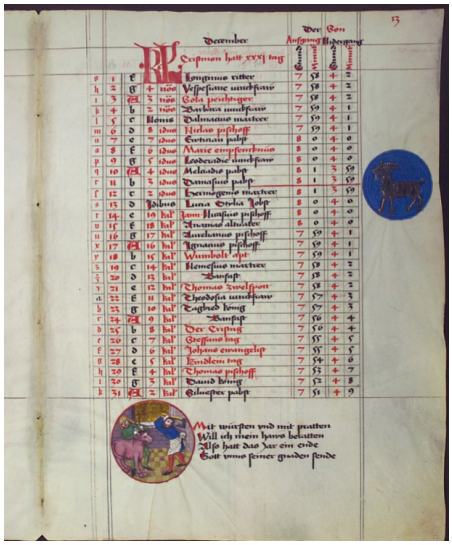

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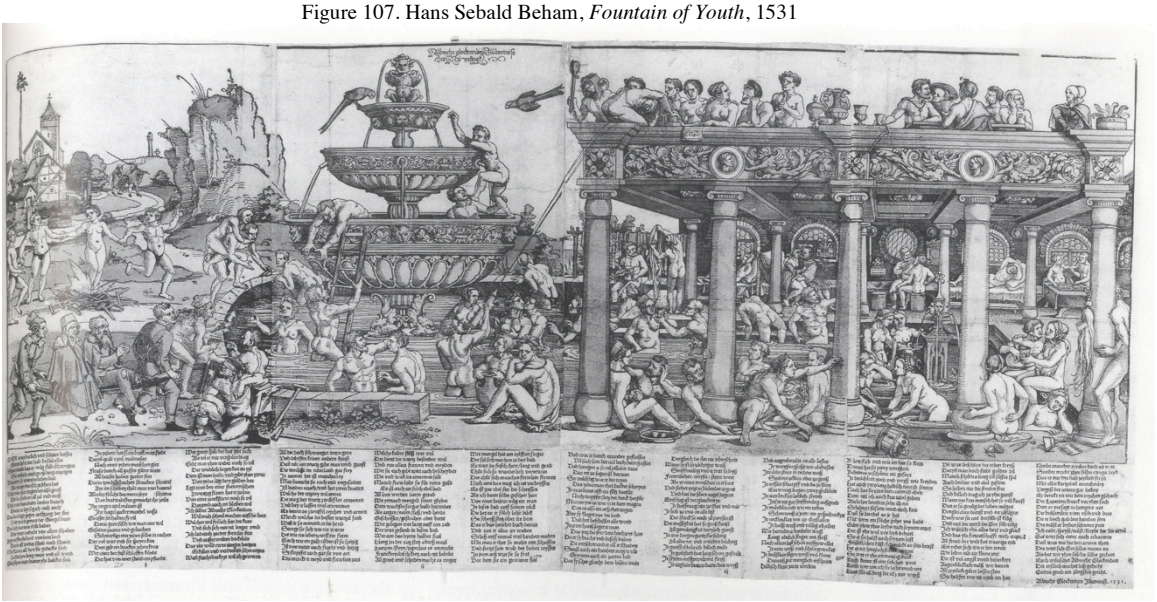

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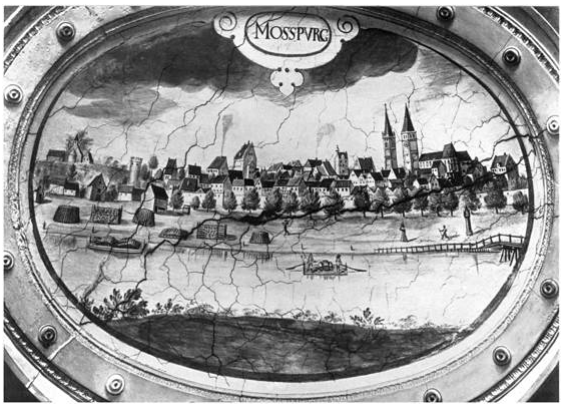

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Figure 123. Ceiling of the "Room of Stars," Stadtresidenz, Landshut

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