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Fall 1988

### New Drawings by Erhard Schön and His Circle

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## NOTES

### New Drawings by Erhard Schön and His Circle

Alison Stewart

ERHARD SCHÖN was the most prolific draughtsman in Nuremberg after Sebald Beham during the second quarter of the sixteenth century, between the end of Dürer's activity and the beginning of Virgil Solis' and Jost Amman's. A pupil of Dürer renowned for his prodigious woodcut production—some 1,200 book illustrations and 500 single sheets—Schön also executed at least thirty-eight drawings. These works, never published as a group, are mostly presentation drawings in pen and ink housed at Berlin, Cologne, and Erlangen.<sup>1</sup> They date primarily to the 1530s and early 1540s and have been linked chiefly to Schön's prints.

Five additional drawings, executed in watercolor and never attributed to Schön or any other artist, will be shown in this article to be by Schön or from his circle. Conserved today in Nuremberg and Darmstadt (Pls. 7–11), they provide evidence of the previously unexplored function of Schön's drawings as colored book illustrations. A drawing recently acquired by the Getty Museum (Pl. 12) represents another use for Schön's drawings as a working drawing for a print.

Schön's drawings have rarely been studied. Schön was born in 1491 and is believed to have first worked in 1514. His early works are designs for small, printed book illustrations. They reveal the influence of the Nuremberg miniaturist and woodcut designer, Hans Springinklee, in their awkward figures with rather large heads.<sup>2</sup> The figures in Schön's mature works dating from the 1520s through the early 1540s (Figs. 1–3),<sup>3</sup> by contrast, are marked increasingly by drooping shoulders, long-lashed eyes, and bodies that are better articulated and fuller, the latter in keeping with Nuremberg art of the time. The strokes employed are short and quick in the manner of Dürer. Schön died at the earliest in 1542.

Schön's published drawings typically employ a polished technique with pen and black ink, as in his *Diana, Acteon, and Nymphs* of 1540 in the Seattle Art Museum (Fig. 3).<sup>4</sup> The unpublished drawings in watercolor, by contrast, are far fewer—I have located one in Darmstadt and four in Nuremberg (Pls. 7–11). The former, from the circle of Schön, represents a *Beheading and Breaking on a Wheel* (Pl. 7) from a manuscript treating a number of subjects including theology, astrology, and alchemy.<sup>5</sup> This drawing employs the characteristic pen-and-ink technique—here the ink is black and brown—coupled with red, green, pink, blue, and brown tints of watercolor.<sup>6</sup> Also typical of Schön is the juxtaposition of short, slightly curved strokes, which model the highlighted right leg of the man about to be beheaded, with the long parallel lines of the leg in shadow, a device also seen in the *Diana, Acteon, and Nymphs* (Fig. 3).

The four unpublished drawings in Nuremberg (Pls. 8–11)<sup>7</sup> are executed with quick, tense lines, with delicate tints of watercolor in light blue and pink, brown, gray, and mustard. Dating from the 1520s and 1530s, these works appeared in the *Mendel Memorial Book* and depict members of a Nuremberg lay organization comprised of twelve men, the *Zwölfbrüder-Stiftung*. Established by Konrad Mendel the Elder in 1388, it served sick, elderly master craftsmen who held Nuremberg citizenship and who were worthy of alms because they were no longer self-supporting.<sup>8</sup> The twelve lay brothers were overseen by a Nuremberg councilman who was a member of the Mendel family and also a steward (*"Schaffer"*) or thirteenth brother (Pl. 10).<sup>9</sup> The foundation was located in the parish of St. Lorenz on the Kornmarkt, near the present-day Germanisches Nationalmuseum.<sup>10</sup>

Each of these lay brothers, like all the organization's members over the centuries, was depicted in the *Mendel Memorial Book* working at his craft.<sup>11</sup> The inscription at the top of each drawing identifies each brother by name and profession, the date he died, and the years of service at the foundation. In the unpublished drawings, each of the three brothers proper—that is, excluding the steward—wears a belted cowl with "tails" and a felt hat, and two sport full beards. The men and activities represented, and their death dates as indicated on the drawings, are: Hans Forchhammer roughing cloth, 1521 (Pl. 8); Hermann from Wöhrd near Nuremberg, armor bur-

NOTES



Fig. 1 ERHARD SCHÖN. Judgment of Paris.

Oxford, Ashmolean Museum.

nisher, 1523 (Pl. 9); Kuntzs Thannler also from Wöhrd, steward, 1534 (Pl. 10); and Hanns Helchner, mason, 1537 (Pl. 11).

The inscription at the top of the drawing of Hans Forchhammer (Pl. 8) explains that, "In the year 1521, on approximately St. Gall's day [October 16], the honorable brother Hans Forchhammer—a clothmaker—died. He spent thirteen years giving alms and is the 270th brother, to whom God should be compassionate."<sup>12</sup> Similarly, the inscription at the top of the *Armor Burnisher* (Pl. 9) relates that, "On 13 September 1523 the honorable brother Herman died, an armor burnisher from Wöhrd. He spent eight years in the brothers' house and was the 273rd brother to die, at age 65."<sup>13</sup>

The level of artistic self-confidence demonstrated in the *Beheading and Breaking on a Wheel* and *Cloth Maker* exceeds that of two contemporary drawings by Schön, one of which is dated, suggesting that the unpublished sheets date later, in the 1530s, or that Schön was capable of working in two different styles. His *Judgment of Paris* (Fig. 1), signed with his mark below and dated 1523, and his *Adoration of the Magi* in Erlangen, probably of

1522 (see Appendix), are characterized by tall, rather awkward and anatomically incorrect figures, and by craggy hills reminiscent of the Danube School. Schön's contemporary in Nuremberg, Sebald Beham, was also indebted to the Danube School at this time, suggesting that these artists from Nuremberg were influenced more by that school, and in particular by Altdorfer, than has been recognized in the literature.<sup>14</sup>

The elongated proportions of the young magus in the *Adoration of the Magi* also appear to have been influenced by the Danube School or the Antwerp Mannerists. Reminiscent, in fact, of Schön's own youthful woodcut book illustrations, the figures in the *Judgment of Paris* and the *Adoration* appear less convincing anatomically than those by the artist in the *Mendel Memorial Book*. This suggests that the *Cloth Maker* and *Armor Burnisher*, with their bolder forms, were executed later, in the 1530s, but dated according to the death dates of the brothers depicted.

Two additional drawings today in Nuremberg are the latest and most delicate of the group of unpublished drawings by Schön. They date to the final decade of

Fig. 2 ERHARD SCHÖN.  
Venus and Cupid.

Berlin, S.M.P.K., Kupferstichkabinett.



Schön's career. In the "*Schaffer*" or *Steward* (Pl. 10), the man toting bread and a large covered beaker is identified in the inscription: "On 7 September 1534 Kuntzs Thannler, [formerly] dyer from Wöhrd, left this world. He was a brother in the foundation four years, a steward there five years, and the 300th brother."<sup>15</sup> The drawing, *Stone Mason* (Pl. 11), is dated 1537 on the stone below and is inscribed: "On 7 September 1537 Hanns Helchner, mason, died after two and one-half years in the brothers' house. He was the 309th brother."<sup>16</sup>

The *Steward* and *Stone Mason* drawings dating from the mid- to late 1530s share a number of characteristics of Schön's graphic style. These include penstrokes in ink that are short and quick and are combined with varying tints of watercolor. The pliant feet and legs in the *Cloth Maker* (Pl. 8) can also be seen in Schön's signed *Judgment of Paris* (Fig. 1). Bundles of short, energizing lines representing shadows, cast by feet onto the ground, are represented in the *Steward* and *Stone Mason* (Pls. 10, 11), and in the *Venus and Cupid* and *Diana, Acteon, and Nymphs*, (Figs. 2, 3). The attribution to Schön of the *Armor Burnisher* (Pl. 9) needs to be qualified because the surface of the drawing is abraded and the technique of point of brush, rather than pen and ink, is unusual for Schön.

A drawing by Schön recently acquired by the Getty Museum (Pl. 12) is an important addition to the study of Schön's work. The *Turkish Procession*, datable to ca.

1532 (pen and brown ink; 236 x 370 mm.), may well be the only known working drawing for a woodcut in Schön's *oeuvre*, which has come down to us primarily in the form of more refined and finished presentation drawings. Although the freer means and simplified composition of the Getty drawing could suggest a later copy of Schön's woodcut of the same theme (Röttinger 245), curators George Goldner and Lee Hendrix have convincingly argued, citing numerous differences between the drawing and print, that the drawing reflects a design for, not after, the extant print.<sup>17</sup>

The inclusion in Schön's work of a drawing that differs radically from the artist's more usual drawing style is supported by two dozen working designs for stained glass by Schön (Brussels, Musée des Beaux-Arts), which were published in this journal by Hilary Wayment in 1986.<sup>18</sup> These small pen-and-ink drawings with wash were used to record the general compositions of scenes from the Life of Christ for a glazier, who used those *vidimuses* for the preparation of full-scale cartoons. Wayment dated the designs to ca. 1525 and identified the stained glass, for which the designs were made, as the windows of the Hampton Court chapel of Cardinal Wolsey. In 1525 Thomas Wolsey (ca. 1475–1530), a Catholic, was still Chancellor under Henry VIII before his execution in 1529 for high treason.<sup>19</sup> 1525 was also the year before Holbein's first trip to England.

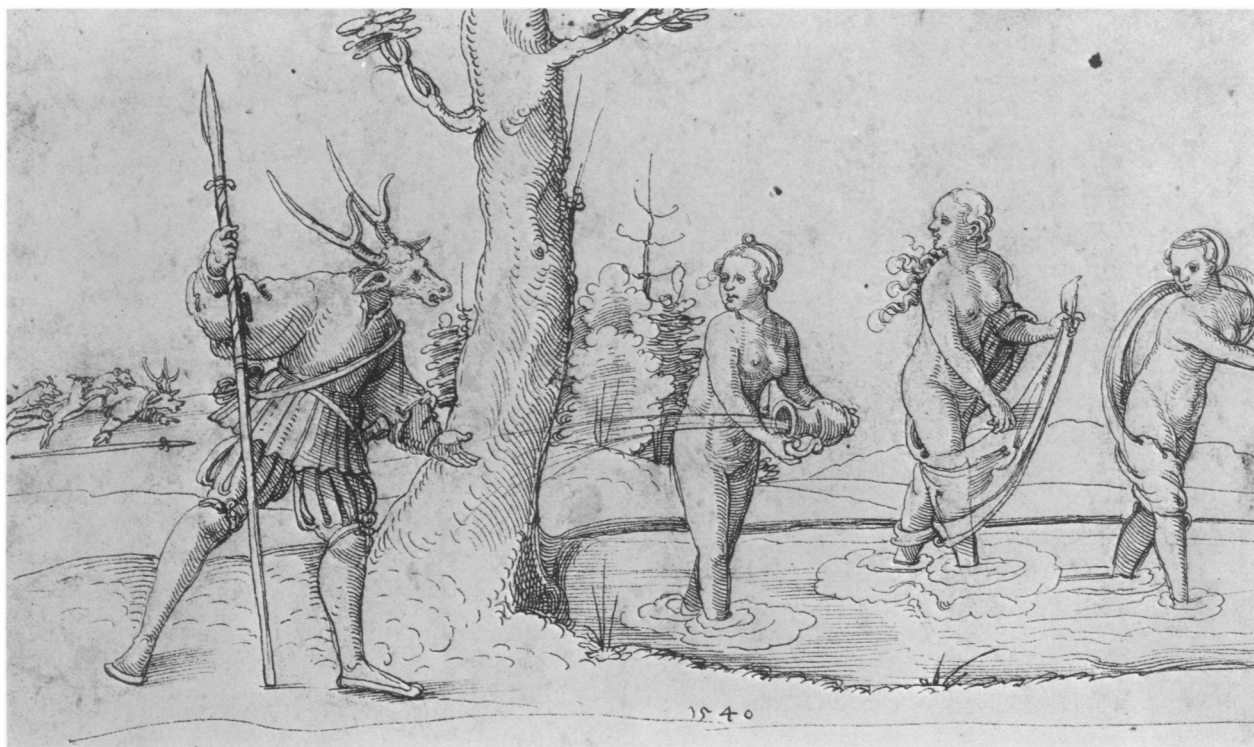


Fig. 3 ERHARD SCHÖN. Diana, Acteon, and Nymphs.

Seattle Art Museum, LeRoy M. Backus Collection.

The Brussels drawings add valuable new information to Schön's biography and change the standard view of Schön as a designer of rather pedestrian woodcuts who worked exclusively in the Nuremberg area designing prints. They raise the question of the nature of Schön's commissions and patrons, and clearly suggest that the artist was known outside Nuremberg and Germany. They also suggest that Schön was a more important artist than the literature has allowed. The Getty drawing, finally, offers evidence of Schön's working method heretofore unknown, and suggests a new approach to looking for, and at, Schön drawings.

The drawings presented in this article are typical of the trend toward monumental figures in Nuremberg established by Dürer and continued by his followers after his death. With Schön, the difference between the spare use of modeling in the *Cloth Maker*, dated 1521 (Pl. 8), and the extensive system of hatchings and scribble-like crosshatchings in the *Stone Mason*, dated 1537 (Pl. 11), points to his interest in the representation of increas-

ingly plastic forms through the varied means of color and line.

The new drawings here attributed to Schön or his circle are mature works employing weighty "Renaissance" figures. Book illustrations, such as these, may have provided commissions for small-scale, painted works to Nuremberg artists during the Reformation. Officially introduced there in 1525, Luther's religious revolution is said to have been responsible for the drastic reduction in the numbers of paintings produced there. Such book illustrations may therefore have provided a fruitful new source of painted images for Nuremberg artists at the time of Dürer's death.

AUTHOR'S NOTE: In memory of Walter L. Strauss.

I would like to thank Carol Schuler and Diane Wolfthal for commenting on an earlier draft of this article, and John Rowlands for providing the locations of several drawings. Elisabeth Beare, Stadtbibliothek, Nuremberg, and Friedrich Battenberg, Hessisches Staatsarchiv, Darmstadt, proved especially helpful and accommodating, often at short notice.

1. The pen-and-ink drawings by Schön whose attributions I accept are listed below. The numerals here indicate the number of drawings by Schön in each collection. The drawings are located at Basel(1), Berlin(7), Brussels(24), Cologne(12), Darmstadt, Hessisches Staatsarchiv(1), Donaueschingen(1), Düsseldorf(1), Erlangen(7), Frankfurt(1), London(1), Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum(1), Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek(4), Oxford(2), Paris(1), Private Collection(1) and Seattle(1). His four chiaroscuro drawings are found at Erlangen, London, and Paris. For the names of the individual drawings, see the Appendix below. Because Schön's drawings have never been published as a group, the numbers given above and the works cited in the Appendix are meant as an aid for studying Schön's drawings, rather than as an exhaustive list.
2. See Heinrich Röttinger, *Erhard Schön und Niklaus Stör. Der Pseudo Schön. Zwei Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des alten Nürnberger Holzschnittes*, Studien zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte, 229, Strasbourg, 1925, p. 1; Walter L. Strauss, *Erhard Schön und Niklaus Stör*, The Illustrated Bartsch, 13, commentary vol., New York, 1984, pp. 10–11, where Röttinger's discussion of the division of Schön's oeuvre into three phases is provided in English translation. For a good biography of Schön, see Jeffrey Chipps Smith, *Nuremberg. A Renaissance City, 1500–1618*, exh. cat., the Archer M. Huntington Art Gallery, University of Texas at Austin, Austin, 1983, p. 162.
3. Fig. 1 was published by Parker and by Schilling; Fig. 2 by Bock and Friedländer; Fig. 3 by Smith and by Mandowsky. See the Appendix under Oxford, Berlin, and Seattle for the references in full.
4. See Mandowsky, no. 5, for the Seattle drawing as a design for a woodcut book illustration.
5. *Liber trinitatis fratris Almani ordinis minorum philosophi optimi, id est opus lapidis philosophici trium ordinum*, early sixteenth-century copy of a manuscript of 1417 (with addenda dating to ca. 1540), fol. 3.
6. Darmstadt, Hessisches Staatsarchiv; Cl No. 285/5, fol. 3. Ca. 1530s. 245 x 135 mm.
7. Plates 8–11 are included in the *Mendel Memorial Book*, the *Hausbuch der Mendelschen Zwölfbrüder-Stiftung*, vol. 1, pt. 3, fols. 136r, 138r, 153r, 157v (Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg, Nuremberg; Amb. 317 2°). Plate 8: ca. 1530s; 290 x 200 mm.; inscribed, 1521. Plate 9: ca. 1530–42; 290 x 208 mm.; inscribed, 1523. Plate 10: ca. 1534–42; 290 x 204 mm.; inscribed, 1534. Plate 11: ca. 1537–42; 290 x 200 mm.; inscribed, 1537.
8. Wilhelm Treue and Karlheinz Goldmann, et al., eds., *Das Hausbuch der Mendelschen Zwölfbrüderstiftung zu Nürnberg. Deutsche Handwerkerbilder des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, text vol., Munich, 1965, pp. 8–9.
9. See Treue and Goldmann, pp. 7–22, for the Mendel foundation in general. For the council, see Gerald Strauss, *Nuremberg in the Sixteenth Century. City Politics and Life between the Middle Ages and Modern Times*, Bloomington and London, 1976, pp. 58–61 and 68–69.
10. Treue and Goldmann, p. 9.
11. Treue and Goldmann, p. 197, note.
12. Treue and Goldmann, p. 142, fol. 136r. The inscription reads: "Anno 1521 v[m]b(?) sant Gallen tag [October 16] starb der erber pruder Hans Forchhammer, ein tuchmacher, vnd ist 13 jar in almussen gewest, dem got gnedig sei, vnd ist der [276 crossed out, thereunder] 270 pruder."
13. Treue and Goldmann, p. 143, fol. 138r. The inscription reads: "Ad. 13 settembris 1523 do starb der erber pruder Herman, ein harnischpallirer von Werd herein vnd ist 8 jar im pruderhausz gewest vnd ist der 273 gestorben pruder, pey 65 jarn alt."
14. See, for example, Sebald Beham's *Annunciation to Joachim* (B.66, P.22), an etching dated 1520 and signed, HSP, and Altdorfer's woodcut of the same subject (B.4) of 1515 from the series, *Fall and Redemption of Man*. See F. W. H. Hollstein, *German Engravings, Etchings, and Woodcuts ca. 1400–1500*, Amsterdam, 1954, vol. 1, p. 238, and vol. 2, p. 21. Stephen Goddard discussed the influence of Altdorfer's use of small engravings on Beham's early *Portrait of a Young Woman*, 1518, in his recent exhibition catalogue, *The World in Miniature: Engravings by the German Little Masters 1500–1550*, Spencer Museum of Art, The University of Kansas, Lawrence, 1988, no. 6.
15. Treue and Goldmann, p. 146, fol. 153r. The inscription follows in the original German: "Auf 7 settembris anno 1534 verschied Kuntzs Thannler, verber von Werd, der 4 jar im bruderhaus ein bruder vnd ein schaffer 5 jar gewest ist, der 300."
16. Treue and Goldmann, p. 148, fol. 157v. The inscription reads: "Auff 7 september anno 1537 verscheid Hanns Helchner, steinmetz, ist drithalbs jar im bruderhaus gewest vnd an der zal der 309."
17. Conversation of November 1988.
18. Hilary Wayment, "Twenty-Four Vidimuses for Cardinal Wolsey," *Master Drawings*, XXIII–XXIV, 4, 1985–86, pp. 503–17.
19. See A. F. Pollard, *Wolsey*, London, 1953.

## APPENDIX OF DRAWINGS

The dates given here are those written on the drawings.

## PEN-AND-INK DRAWINGS

- Basel:** *Two Putti with Vine*, 1532 (Edmund Schilling, *Alt-deutsche Meisterzeichnung*, vol. 3, Frankfurt am Main, 1937, p. 35).
- Berlin:** *Venus and Cupid*, 1530; *Roman Soldier with a Long Torch*, 1535; *St. George Killing the Dragon*, 1535; *Judgment of Paris*, 1536; *Girl Catching a Rabbit*, design for a playing card, 1537; *Fall of Man*, 1540; *David and Goliath* (Elfried Bock, *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Deutsche Meister* [Die Zeichnungen alter Meister im Kupferstichkabinett, ed. Max J. Friedländer], Berlin, 1921, p. 77, referred to hereafter as Bock and Friedländer). Rejected drawing: *Elisha Mocked by His Children* (Bock and Friedländer, p. 77, no. 4638).
- Brussels:** Twenty-four drawings representing scenes from the Life of Christ, ca. 1525 (Wayment, *Master Drawings*, pp. 503–17).
- Cologne:** *Venus*, 1535. From series of the Seven Planets with the Signs of the Zodiac: *Saturn with Aquarius and Capricorn*, 1536; *Jupiter with Pisces and Sagittarius*, 1536; *Mars with Aries and Scorpion*, 1536; *Sol with Leo*, 1536; *Mercury with Gemini and Virgo*, 1536; *Luna with Cancer*, 1536. *Judith Beheading Holofernes*, 1536; *David and Bathsheba*, 1536 (Private Collection of Edmund Schilling, see below); *Allegorical Figure*, 1536; *Lot and His Daughters*, 1536; *Solomon's Idolatry*, 1540; *Caritas Romana* or *Cimon and Pero*, 1540. (All twelve drawings are listed and illustrated in *Handzeichnungen Alter Meister im Besitze des Museum Wallraf-Richartz zu Köln am Rhein*, Arthur Lindner ed., Cologne, 1907, pls. 5–8.)
- All drawings in Cologne are included in the Corpus Gernsheim photographs. Most of these drawings were published with full catalogue information and were discussed and illustrated in *Drawings of the 15th and 16th Centuries from the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum in Cologne*, exh. cat., National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 1964–65, pp. 16–18. Hella Robels, *Katalog ausgewählter Handzeichnungen und Aquarelle im Wallraf-Richartz-Museum* (Kataloge des Wallraf-Richartz-Museums, IV, eds. Gert von der Osten and Horst Keller), Cologne, 1967, pp. 103–104, discusses the *Mars* and *Judith* in detail. Bock and Friedländer, p. 52 and pl. 49, include *Lot and His Daughters* and describe it as a drawing for a woodcut.
- Donaueschingen, Fürstliche Fürstenbergische Sammlung:** *Morris Dancers*, 1542 (Johanna Müller-Meiningen, *Die Morisken-Tänzer und andere Arbeiten des Erasmus Grasser für das alte Rathaus in München*, Munich and Zurich, 1984, p. 41).
- Düsseldorf:** *A Couple Riding Horseback*, 1539 (see *Deutsche Handzeichnungen aus fünf Jahrhunderten. Leihgaben des Kunstmuseums der Stadt Düsseldorf*, exh. cat., Städtisches Gustav-Lübcke-Museum, Hamm, 1962, p. 13, no. 38).
- Erlangen:** *Adoration of the Magi*, 1522 or 1532 (only the tops of the numerals remain); *Sacrifice of Isaac*, 1540; *Mercury(?)*, 1540; *Laocoön*, 1540; *Apollo and Daphne*, 1540; *Mars*, 1540; *St. Mark the Evangelist*, round drawing for stained glass (Elfried Bock, *Die Zeichnungen in der Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen*, Frankfurt am Main, 1929, text vol., pp. 79–82, and plate vol., pl. 103–107, where other drawings incorrectly attributed to Schön are listed).
- Frankfurt:** *Fool and Knight Jousting on Horseback*, 1527 (Edmund Schilling and Kurt Schwarzweller, *Städelsches Kunstinstitut Frankfurt am Main. Katalog der deutschen Zeichnungen. Alte Meister*, Munich, 1973, vol. 1, p. 42, no. 171, and vol. 2, fig. 171).
- London:** *Standard Bearer*, 1535 (German Drawings from a Private Collection, exh. cat. by John Rowlands, London, 1984, no. 19).
- Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum:** *A Turkish Procession*, preparatory drawing for Schön's woodcut of 1532 (Geisberg 1252, Röttinger 245).
- Oxford:** *Judgment of Paris*, 1523 and the circular *Hercules and Antaeus* of questionable attribution (K. T. Parker, *Catalogue of the Collection of Drawings in the Ashmolean Museum*, vol. 1, Oxford, 1938, pp. 147–48, and pl. LXV [Judgment of Paris], which is included and reproduced in Edmund Schilling, *Nürnberger Handzeichnungen des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 3, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1929, p. 35, and pl. 54).
- Paris:** *Judith Holding the Head of Holofernes*, 1537; *Fawn Holding Metalwork Cup*, 1535. Rejected drawings: *Studies with Boat, Lansquenet Lying on a Board*, and *Landscape Fragment*, 1518 (Louis Demonts, *Musée du Louvre. Inventaire général des dessins des écoles du nord*, Paris, 1937, vol. 2, p. 62, nos. 284–86).

Seattle: *Diana, Acteon, and Nymphs*, 1540 (Smith, p. 174, and E. Mandowsky, *Old Master Drawings: Seattle Art Museum Collection, Guide*, Seattle, 1980, no. 5).

Private Collection of Edmund Schilling: *David and Bathsheba*, 1536 (*Deutsche Zeichnungen aus einer Privatsammlung*, exh. cat., Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, 1984, no. 18; see also *German Drawings*, 1984).

#### CHIAROSCURO DRAWINGS

Erlangen: *Luna*, 1540, pen and ink on red prepared paper heightened with white (Bock, *Zeichnungen in Erlangen*, text vol., p. 79, and plate vol., pl. 106, no. 261).

London: *Marcus Curtius Leaping into the Fiery Chasm*, 1541, pen and brush in black ink, heightened with white bodycolor, on dark brown prepared paper (John Rowlands and Giulia Bartrum, *The Age of Dürer and Holbein. German Drawings 1400–1550*, exh. cat., British Museum, London, 1988, no. 107; published in facsimile by Campbell Dodgson in *Vasari Society*, vol. 10, 1914–15, no. 21). Rejected drawing: *Rape of Persephone*, 151? or 154?, pen and black ink, heightened with white bodycolor, on brown prepared paper (Campbell Dodgson in *Old Master Drawings*, vol. 2 December 1927, p. 45, and pl. 50; Rowlands and Bartrum, *Age of Dürer and Holbein*, no. 116, attribute the drawing to a follower of Baldung).

Paris: *Judith with the Head of Holofernes*, 1537, on red prepared paper (Louvre, inv. no. 18.918) (Demonts, *Louvre*, vol. 2, pl. cii, no. 284); Louvre, Edmond de Rothschild Collection: *Standard Bearer*, 1540, pen and ink, heightened with white, on light green prepared paper (Rowlands and Bartrum, *Age of Dürer and Holbein*, no. 107).

## A Lost *Modello* for Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*

Bernadine Barnes

IN the drawing collections of The Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Courtauld Institute of Art are two drawings (Figs. 1, 2) that are clearly associated with Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*.<sup>1</sup> Only the New York drawing has ever been attributed to Michelangelo himself, but this attribution (which was very tentative in the first place) has not been accepted.<sup>2</sup> In spite of its high quality, the New York drawing lacks the vitality seen in Michelangelo's works—outlines and hatching are very regular, there are few real *pentimenti*, and even the most unfinished parts seem carefully drawn, not freely sketched. In short, the New York drawing has the character of a copy, and, in fact, both it and the Courtauld drawing are regularly said to represent copies of lost drawings by Michelangelo. If this were the case, the drawings should have "considerable documentary interest," to quote a recent Metropolitan Museum catalogue, but whatever value either drawing may have has never been carefully assessed, and the relationship of the two drawings to the *Last Judgment* and to the preparatory drawings for it remains confused. De Tolnay, for example, saw the two drawings as representing two different phases of the design process, with the Courtauld sheet being a variation on an early sketch now in Casa Buonarroti (Fig. 3), and the New York sheet representing a lost drawing developed from Michelangelo's sketch now in the Uffizi (Fig. 4).

Van Regteren Altena, on the other hand, saw that the two sheets are very closely related and thought that they represent the earliest ideas for the *Last Judgment*. He pointed out that the gesture of Christ on the Courtauld drawing (Fig. 2) is not seen on any other drawing, while the St. Michael figure appears only as a *pentimento* on the Casa Buonarroti sheet (Fig. 3), never to appear again in the drawings or the fresco. The rectangle at the bottom of the Courtauld sheet would also indicate that this is an early idea—the shape, which is also seen on the Casa Buonarroti sketch, has long been recognized as the space



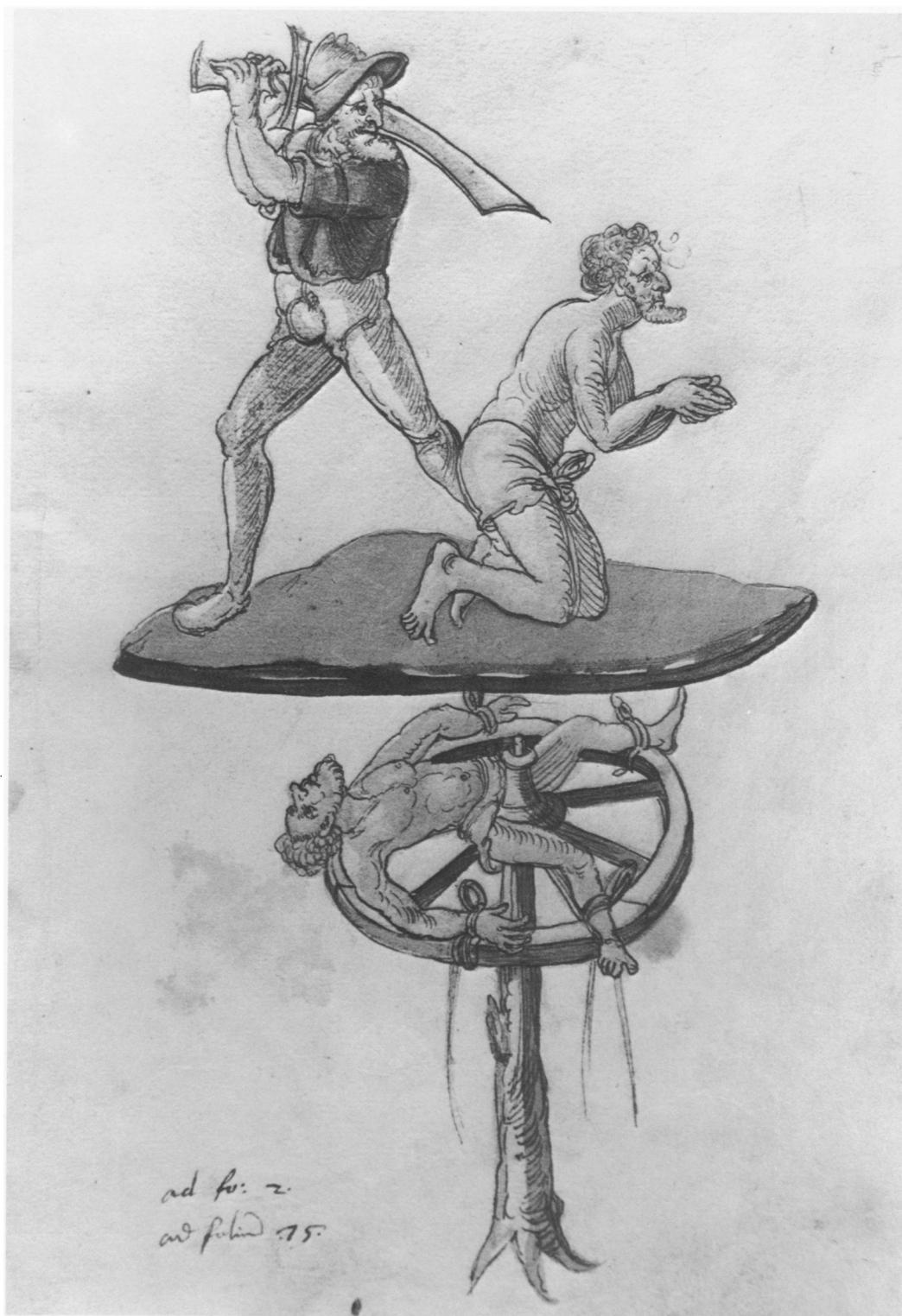


Plate 7 Circle of ERHARD SCHÖN.  
Beheading and Breaking on a Wheel.  
Darmstadt, Hessisches Staatsarchiv. (233)

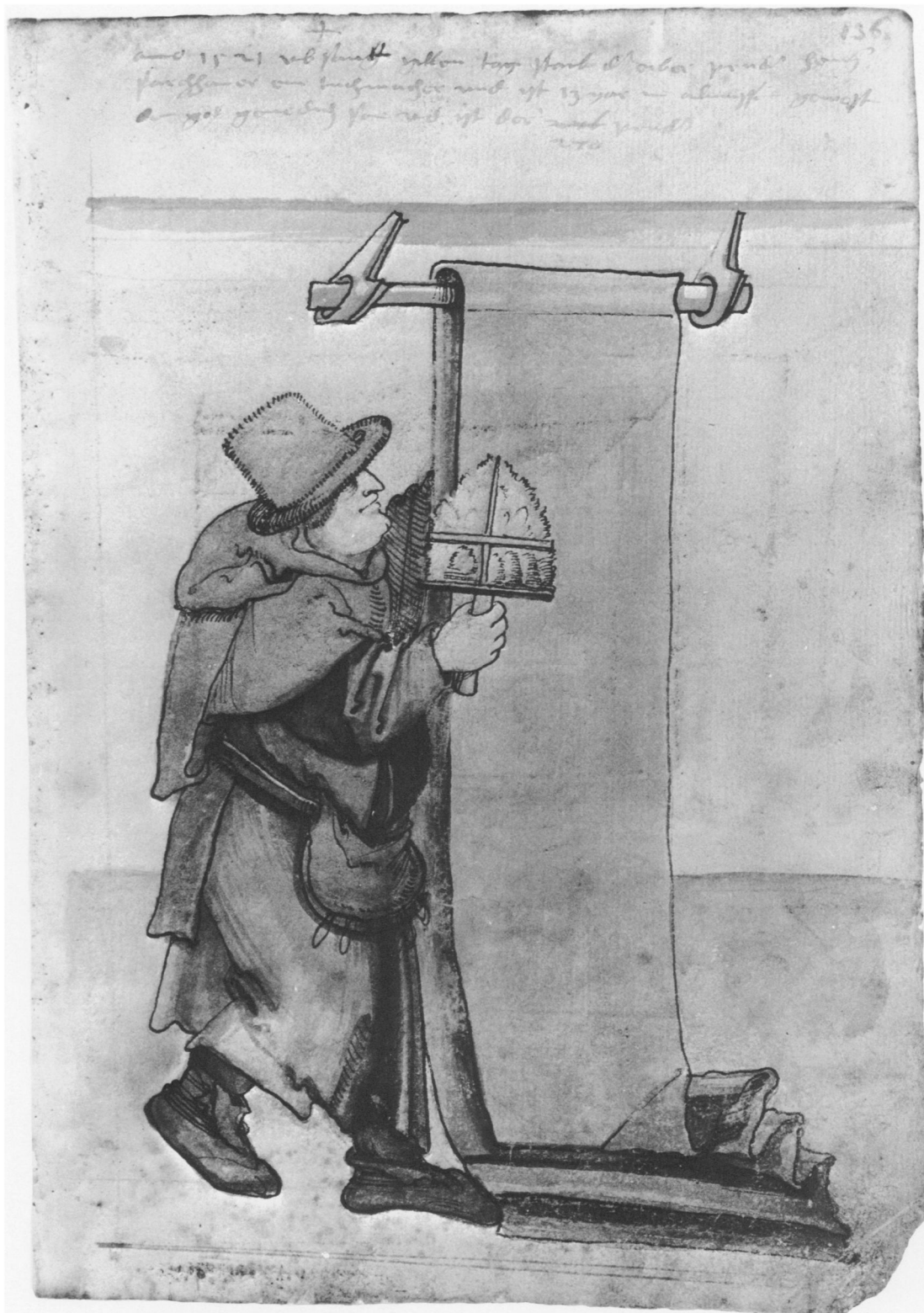


Plate 8 ERHARD SCHÖNER.  
 Cloth Maker.  
 Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg. (233)

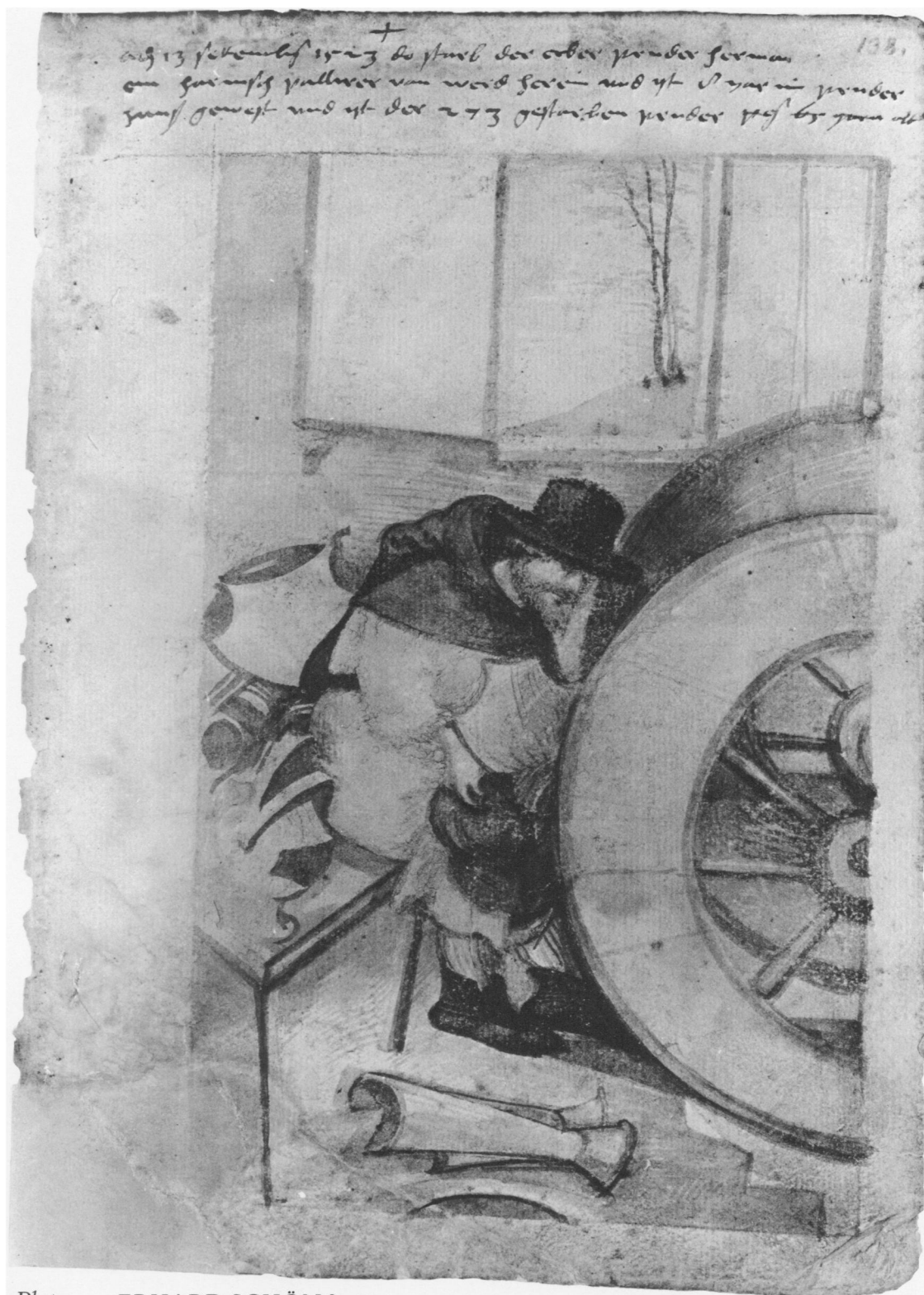


Plate 9 ERHARD SCHÖN ?  
 Armor Burnisher.  
 Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg. (233)

Auf 7 berembst anno 1534 verstorben Künigz Thantler  
 verbei von Weich der 4 Jar im Künigz Haus am Künigz und  
 ein Thaffer 5 Jar gewest ist (2) der 300 .

153



Plate 10 ERHARD SCHÖN.  
 Steward.

Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg. (233)





Plate 11 ERHARD SCHÖN.  
Stone Mason.  
Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg. (233)



Plate 12 ERHARD SCHÖN.  
Turkish Procession.

*Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum. (235)*