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Sebald Beham and the Augsburg Printer Niclas vom Sand: New Documents on Printing and Frankfurt Before 1550

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Abstract

This essay makes known two unpublished documents from the last years of the life of Sebald Beham (1500 Nuremberg–1550 Frankfurt) and uses them as a means to explore Beham’s relationship to printing, the town of Frankfurt, and the Augsburg printer Niclas vom Sand, who remains an unwritten part of the history of the period. The essay is organized as an autobiographical retrospective by an older man forced in prior decades to move from Nuremberg and seek employment and a new life elsewhere. The end of the essay evaluates the documents and aspects of them.*

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* This essay shows the fruits of my labors in Frankfurt and Trier made possible through the support of Jeffrey Chipps Smith. I am grateful for his on-going support of my work on Beham. Ursula Timann’s assistance on connections between Frankfurt and Nuremberg’s printer community and Lisa Kirch’s assistance with translations and reading drafts of this essay have improved this essay considerably. My thanks to them both.

It is the year 1548 and I am no longer a young man. My hair has thinned and shortened and my youthful ideas and politics have given way to more practical matters of maintaining a business and providing for my wife Anna.¹ I began as a painter-engraver and designer of stained glass, woodcuts, and book illustrations in Nuremberg, when I was young, around eighteen years of age. I now live in Frankfurt and am forty-eight. Although I still make engravings and design book illustrations and occasionally make paintings, stained glass is no longer part of my vocabulary of images as a result of the religious change of the past decades begun by Martin Luther.

In 1540 my beloved brother Barthel died, the same year I became a citizen of Frankfurt after nearly a decade living here on the Main. Barthel and I had lived apart for over ten years, he in Munich and I in Frankfurt. My citizenship here was commemorated in medals designed by Matthes Gebel of Nuremberg showing me and my wife Anna.²

The second half of my life began with my move to Frankfurt in 1531. My decision to leave the imperial city of Nuremberg, home of Master Albrecht Dürer, was necessary, but not easy. After many months banished from family and friends in Nuremberg during 1525, the possibility of residing elsewhere raised itself for the first time. Although being observed by the authorities seemed a fact of life for me in Nuremberg, the necessity of exile a few years later – with the threat of the Tower and the dungeon called the Hole, thus torture and surveillance – became too much for this married man. In 1528 I was twenty-eight and verging on middle age. Enough was enough.³

1 Sebald Beham had at least two wives: Anna, who became a citizen of Frankfurt in 1540 along with Sebald; after Anna's death Elizabeth, the daughter of Matthes Wolf from Büdingen, a shoemaker, in 1549. Anna's father was also a shoemaker. Stephen Goddard, *The World in Miniature. Engravings by the Little Masters, 1500–1550* (Spencer Museum of Art, Lawrence, KS, 1988), 223. A third wife for Beham, his first, is given as Clara Beheim, daughter of the painter Georg Beheim (d. 1525), with a marriage date of before May 10, 1525; 'Astronomie in Nürnberg das Astronomieportal in der Region', last modified December 28, 2013, www.astronomie-nuernberg.de/index.php?category=personen&page=beham-hs. This information needs verification. I have not found any mention elsewhere of Clara Beheim as Sebald's wife.

2 For good illustrations of the medals and other works by Beham (click to enlarge), see Alison G. Stewart, 'Sebald Beham: Entrepreneur, Printer, Painter', *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 4, no. 2 (2012): 1–14, especially fig. 11, DOI: 10.5092/jhna.2012.4.2.3. Online: <https://jhna.org/articles/sebald-beham-entrepreneur-printmaker-painter/>

3 On Beham's imprisonment, banishment, and self-exile, see Alison G. Stewart, 'The Artist's Lament in 1528. Exile, Printing and the Reformation', in *Die Klage des*

But where else could I reside and how could I make a living? In my twenties I had enjoyed the patronage of the duke of Saxony and Emperor Charles V for stained glass designs and I received support from Albrecht, Count of Mansfeld, during my banishment from Nuremberg. These supporters showed that my name was known well beyond the imperial city into the Empire. The subsequent years between 1526 and 1530, between my twenty-sixth and thirtieth birthdays, were difficult ones as I tried to find a town where I could live without the title of ‘godless painter’ that Nurembergers saw fit to give me. I first considered possibilities relatively close to home in nearby Bavaria: Augsburg with its well-established printing industry, Ingolstadt with its university and the printing circle of Peter Apian, and Munich with the Bavarian court.⁴ Although a few years earlier Duke Wilhelm IV offered Barthel a position as court painter, when I visited Munich in 1530 to document the entry of Emperor Charles V for the Bavarian dukes, no such offers were made to me.⁵

However, my connections in Nuremberg bore fruit and pointed me toward Frankfurt which, like Nuremberg, was an imperial city with no guilds I would need to join. When I was twenty and establishing myself in Nuremberg, the Nuremberg patrician and esteemed Provost of the church of St Sebald, Melchior Pfinzing, earlier advisor and private secretary to Emperor Maximilian, became Provost of St Alban’s in Mainz where Albrecht of Brandenburg was cardinal. His successor Georg Pessler, Provost of Nuremberg’s St Sebald beginning 1521, commissioned from me designs for small painted glass roundels for his parish house.⁶ The cardinal and

Künstlers. Krise und Umbruch von der Reformation bis um 1800, ed. Birgit Ulrike Münch, Andreas Tacke, et al. (Petersberg: Imhof, 2015), 70–81. Online: <https://digitalcommons.unl.edu/artfacpub/24/>

4 For book illustrations designed by Beham and printed in Ingolstadt, see Gustav Pauli, *Hans Sebald Beham. Ein Kritisches Verzeichnis seiner Kupferstiche, Radierungen und Holzschnitte* (Baden-Baden: Koerner, 1974), 703–52; F.W. Hollstein, *German Engravings Etchings and Woodcuts ca. 1400–1700*, vol. 3 (Amsterdam: Hertzberger, 1954); for book illustrations by Beham printed in Augsburg, see Pauli 878–83; Hollstein, 190–91.

5 Meant here is Beham’s *Entry of Charles V into Munich*, woodcut, 1530, for which see Pauli, 190, no. 1115. Meldemann was the printer and Beham the designer for that large woodcut also called the *Military Display in Honor of the Entry of Charles V into Munich*. Beham’s print is initialed ‘NM’ at center bottom indicating the printer was Niklas Meldemann, also from Nuremberg, for whom Beham designed other prints. The role of the Bavarian dukes for the *Entry of Charles V into Munich* needs clarification.

6 On the glass for Pessler, Barbara Butts and Lee Hendrix, *Painting on Light. Drawings and Stained Glass in the Age of Dürer and Holbein* (St Louis and Los Angeles:

Mainz, located only twenty-six miles from Frankfurt, played important roles for Frankfurt and the larger area, both spiritually and artistically. The cardinal can be considered my first patron in Frankfurt. He commissioned painted prayerbook illustrations I dated 1531 and a splendid tabletop in oil on wood panel I dated 1534.⁷ I believe I began those paintings in 1530 before I settled in Frankfurt and changed my monogram to HSB.

My Nuremberg printer colleague, Hans Guldenmund, offered me first-hand knowledge of printing centers and networks across the Empire, in part because of his personal experience at the twice-yearly Frankfurt fair where prints and books were shipped and sold. Guldenmund also regularly visited the Leipzig fairs. These open markets offered the possibility of brisk sales for my prints. He and other printers in Nuremberg told me of their experiences in Frankfurt and their travels to that fair, with protected passage provided by the emperor, and on whose passenger lists they signed their names.⁸ My contact with Guldenmund continued in Frankfurt through the book printer Christian Egenolff, the learned friend of the religious reformer Philip Melanchthon, who over time had lent Guldenmund and others money.⁹ Their recommendations led me to

The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2000), 174. On Melchior Pfinzing (1481-1535), Provost and minister of St Sebald, Nuremberg (1512-21) and St Alban's, Mainz (beginning 1517), see Alfred Eckert, 'Melchior Pfinzing', in *Berühmte Nürnberger aus neun Jahrhunderten*, ed. Christoph von Imhoff (Nuremberg: Hofmann, 1984), 96-97; Butts and Hendrix, 165, cat. no. 27; and see Kurt Löcher, *Barthel Beham. Ein Maler aus dem Dürerkreis* (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1999), 15.

⁷ The prayerbook is located at the Hofbibliothek, Aschaffenburg, and the tabletop in the Louvre Museum, Paris.

⁸ Beham worked with Guldenmund since 1526 when he designed over seventy-five woodcut illustrations for Martin Luther's quarto publication on the pope published by Guldenmund, *Das Babstum mit seynen gliedern gemalet vnd beschryben gebessert vnd gemehrt* (Nuremberg: Hans Guldenmund). See Pauli 1124-96; Josef Benzing, *Lutherbibliographie. Verzeichnis der gedruckten Schriften Martin Luthers bis zu dessen Tod*, vol.2 (Baden-Baden: Heitz, 1966), 260 (no. 2233-37); and for a digital copy, hand-colored at Coburg, see: *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts*, an on-going, on-line inventory of books begun in 1969; available through the website of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, <https://www.bsb-muenchen.de> (VD 16) P 353: <http://gateway-bayern.de/BVo12598069>. Nuremberg's *Freßgelderrechnungen* lists of passengers traveling to and from Frankfurt for the fairs indicate that Guldenmund traveled fairly regularly to those fairs from 1534 to 1546; Ursula Timann kindly provided this information. Ursula Timann, *Untersuchungen zu Nürnberger Holzschnitt und Briefmalerei in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhundert mit besonderer Berücksichtigung von Hans Guldenmund und Niclas Meldemann* (Münster: Lit, 1993), 162, 163.

⁹ In 1540 Guldenmund was in debt to Egenolff; Timann, 170.

the possibility of working with Egenolff, then living in Strassburg, who moved in late 1530 to Frankfurt where few printers were active. Frankfurt offered the possibility of setting up shop in a very favorable location close to the fair and the river Main.¹⁰

In Nuremberg I worked together with Guldenmund designing woodcuts he cut and printed and later on a booklet.¹¹ I also collaborated with Niklas Meldemann on two large woodcut projects around the time I moved – the *Entry of Charles V into Munich* on four sheets, and a ten-woodcut series, *The Old Testament Patriarchs with their Wives and Children*.¹² With these printmakers I discussed who worked where, what centers seemed open to new subjects and newcomers, the impact of Luther's Reformation on making prints, and the future of the printing industry.¹³ We considered the important printing centers of Augsburg, Strassburg, and of course Nuremberg, as well as Frankfurt with its fair. In Strassburg, Egenolff was looking for change and considered moving to Frankfurt.¹⁴

10 Josef Benzing, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1982), 120, lists only one printer, Beatus Murner (1511–12), working in Frankfurt before Egenolff, a simplification of the historical situation yet indicative of the smaller number of printers in Frankfurt than in Strasbourg and Nuremberg; see Walter Karl Zülch and Gustav Mori, *Frankfurter Urkundenbuch zur Frühgeschichte des Buchdrucks. Aus den Akten des Frankfurter Stadtarchivs* (Frankfurt am Main: Baer, 1920). Guldenmund was guarantor in 1554 for a loan to Hans Glaser, Nuremberg Briefmaler, for 32 Gulden. Walter Karl Zülch, *Frankfurter Künstler 1223–1700* (Frankfurt am Main: Sauer, 1967), 349.

11 The booklet of 1535 and Guldenmund are known only from a letter written by Nuremberg's town council to Augsburg's as 'a most shameful and sinful little book, containing many obscene pictures of unconventional lovemaking'. David Landau and Peter Parshall, *The Renaissance Print 1470–1550* (New Haven and London: Yale, 1994), 225; and Theodor Hampe, 'Der Augsburger Formschneider Hans Schwarzenberger und seine Modelbücher aus den Jahren 1534 und 1535', *Mitteilungen aus dem Germanischen Nationalmuseum* (1909), 59–60 and 84–85. Beham worked with Glockendon on a *Large Kermis* dated 1535 and another *Kermis (Erlangen)* from around the same year. For these prints see Alison G. Stewart, *Before Bruegel. Sebald Beham and the Origins of Peasant Festival Imagery* (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2008), figs 5.1, 2.1, and 3.1.

12 These woodcuts date around 1530. See Pauli 691–700 and the British Museum website: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1427584&partId=1&searchText=meldemann&page=1

13 The possibility certainly exists that Beham and Meldemann discussed German printing centers, yet it is speculation on my part.

14 See Butts and Hendrix, 174. For Melanchthon's support of Luther's reforms, and his institution of them in Nuremberg, see Giulia Bartrum, *Albrecht Dürer and his Legacy. The Graphic Work of a Renaissance Artist* (Princeton and London:

Guldenmund vouched for Egenolff and for me to Egenolff whom he had visited during many Frankfurt fairs. As a result of my acquaintanceship with another printer in Nuremberg, Albrecht Glockendon, his son Jörg, a very talented *Illuminist*, left Nuremberg for Frankfurt and visited and possibly stayed with me.¹⁵

I settled in Frankfurt early in 1531, within months of Egenolff's move there at the end of the preceding year. In Egenolff I found a like-aged and like-minded business-oriented print-centered multi-tasker who drew on and went beyond the media and traditional religious subjects from the past to immerse himself fully in the variety of future-oriented subjects resulting from the shake-up of the church by Martin Luther and its impact on the printing industry. The old subjects of saints and apostles were replaced by new subjects from the Bible (both Old and New Testaments), Antiquity, and more. Egenolff also printed music. Such changing subject matter took hold gradually and began before the Turks came to Vienna, before the split in the church was irrevocably felt, and before the river on my doorstep changed from the narrow Pegnitz to the broad Main. The diversity of new subjects Egenolff embraced helped launch my career in Frankfurt and allowed it to flourish over the course of two decades.

So much has changed over my lifetime, but working with Egenolff as a designer for book illustrations has offered me continuity, stability, a roof over my head, and peace of mind. During my early years here in Frankfurt, until I relinquished my Nuremberg citizenship in 1535, I continued to design large woodcuts for Nuremberg printers such as Guldenmund, Meldemann, and Glockendon. I also set aside the small engravings I had enjoyed making and returned to them, with a few exceptions, in 1539. Nearly ten years later, in 1547, I live in the gatekeeper's residence, the *Pförtnerwohnung*, at the city gate near the Church of St Leonhard, directly across from the Main where bales of new paper, printing supplies, and prints of all kinds (engravings, woodcuts, single sheet woodcuts, and book illustrations) are unloaded in barrels from ships across the Empire and Europe.¹⁶ It could not be a better location for someone like

Princeton University Press and British Museum Press, 2002), no. 166; and Giulia Bartrum, *German Renaissance Prints 1490–1550* (London: British Museum, 1995), cat. no. 47.

¹⁵ Much of these ruminations on Guldemund are speculations based on his visiting the Frankfurt fairs quite regularly until 1546 and his being indebted to Egenolff in 1540. I am grateful to Ursula Timann for this information, from Zülch, 349.

¹⁶ 'Am 28. April 1547 wurde ihm über der Leonhardspforte um den jährlichen Zins von vier Gulden eine städtische Wohnung eingeräumt'. Institut für Stadtgeschichte,

myself who has both centered my entire life in the printing industry and followed the changing interests of the buying public. I live at the end of the *Buchgasse*, ‘Book Lane’, and down the street from Egenolff’s stately workshop-home whose size and bustling activity would make Master Albrecht Dürer green with envy.¹⁷ I also work for other patrons and business owners, as indicated in the receipts I discuss below, many of whom I have met through the Frankfurt fairs located in the nearby Römer town square. From my dwelling to Egenolff’s workshop-home and to the Römer is but a few minutes’ walk.

It is now 1548 and I have just finished writing the second of two receipts for payments from Niclas vom Sand, citizen of Augsburg. The receipts show that I, painter Sebald Beham, citizen of Frankfurt, wrote each receipt with ‘my own hand’ (*mit disser meiner Eigener hant geschriefft*) and received payment through two city officials. The first receipt, from March 3, 1548 (Fig. 1), indicates that I received two payments of 35 taler and 15 taler from Niclas vom Sand through Martin Sigell and an additional 30 taler from vom Sand through my lord Justinian von Holzhausen, thus three payments to vom Sand for a total of 80 talers. The specific projects were not listed.

I, Sebald Beham, painter from Nurmberg [*sic*], now citizen of Frankfurt, acknowledge to the honorable and wise town council of the city of Frankfurt with this [receipt], written in my own hand, that I have received through the Accounting Office by the honorable men there [the following]: from a citizen of Augsburg called Nicolaus vom Sandt, first 35 taler and another 15 taler I received from the honorable and wise

Frankfurt am Main (ISG), Bürgerbuch, fol.117. Preceding this document is an entry referring to an ‘erenpfort’, possibly a triumphal arch that ‘Sebolten Beham’ presented to the Frankfurt town council as a New Year’s gift and for which he received 12 taler. These documents are mentioned in Philipp Friedrich Gwinner, *Kunst und Künstler in Frankfurt am Main vom 13. Jahrhundert bis zur Eröffnung des Städelschen Kunstinstituts* (Frankfurt am Main: Baer, 1862), 65.

¹⁷ By the late 1540s Egenolff had moved several times, purchased houses and had them torn down, replaced them with new structures, and added on to them to make a large combined home-workshop. He and his wife Margarethe had eleven children, four of whom were born in Strasbourg before their move to Frankfurt. See Christoph Reske, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet. Auf der Grundlage des gleichnamigen Werkes von Josef Benzing* (Weisbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007), 224–25.

Einen Ervern Weissen Ratt der stat frackfür / bekene Ich
 Gebaldt Beham maler von nürnberg / ietz ein mit bürger zu frackfür
 mit disser ^m Eigener hant geschriefft / das mir erlegt ist aus der reche
 Stüben durch die Erbere heren dar In / von wegen eines bürgers zu
 auzsprung genant Michael vom Gaudt / zum ersten 35 Daller
 und zum andern mal 15 Daller / die sen mir gereicht worden
 durch den Ervern und weissen Martin Sigell der stat frackfür
 stat schreiber / dar nach ist mir gereicht und erlegt worden
 30 Daller durch den Ervern und weissen heren her Justinianus
 von Holtzhausen / das sich mir gegen meinen heren alen bedankt
 und ist die letzte Erreichung geschreyen den 3. tag März 1548 jar

 E. v. J. H. B.

Fig. 1. Receipt dated March 3, 1548, signed by Sebald Beham, ISG Frankfurt am Main, Rechneiamt Bücher, Sign. 396, loose receipt. Author's photo.

Martin Sigell, Secretary of the City of Frankfurt; after that
 I received 30 taler from the honorable and wise sir, Lord
 Justinian von Holtzhausen, and I myself thank all these men,
 the last payment received on March 3, 1548.

Your willing servant

Sebald Beham

(Einen Ervern Weissenn Ratt der stat frackfür / bekene Ich
 Sebaldt Beham maler von nürnberg [sic] / ietz ein mit bürger
 zu frackfür mit disser [inserted above: m] / Eigner hant
 geschriefft / das mir erlegt ist aus der reche Stüben durch
 die Erbere[n] heren dar In / von wegen eines bürgers zu

Von einem Erweren Weissen Rath der Statt Frankfurt / hab
 Ich Gebalt Beham maller ein mit bürger hie / auß der rethen
 stiben Empfangen 40 fl zu 15 batzen / von wegen eines
 bürgers von Aügsprüg / genant Nicolaus von de Sandt / vnd
 ist mir das gereicht worden / von dem Erweren vnd Weissen
 heren / her Martin Sigall hie stat schreiber / Das ist
 geschhehen den 17 tag Juli im 1548 Jar / Das bin ich
 bekenlich mit dieser meiner Eigener hant geschriefft

. HSB .

Fig. 2. Receipt dated July 17, 1548, signed by Sebald Beham, ISG Frankfurt am Main, Rechneiamt Bücher, Sign. 396, loose receipt. Author's photo.

Aügsprüg genant Nicolaus vom Sandt / züm ersten 35 daller
 Vnd zum andern mall 15 daller / diesen mir gereicht worden
 Stat schreiber / dar nach ist mir gereicht vnd erlegt worden
 30 daller dürch den Erweren vnd weissen heren he Jüstinianus
 von Holtzhausen / das Ich mich gegen meinen heren alen be-
 danck vnd ist die letze [sic] Erreichung geschehen den .3. tag
 Mertz 1548 Jar

.E.w.d.

.HSB.)¹⁸

The second receipt I wrote (Fig. 2) acknowledges that four months later, on July 17, 1548, I received another payment from vom Sand through Martin Sigall, Secretary for the City of Frankfurt, for 40 gulden and 15 batzen.

¹⁸ ISG, Rechneiamt Bücher, Sign. 396, loose receipts, for both documents of 1548 discussed here.

From an Honorable and Wise Council of the City of Frankfurt
I, Sebald Beham painter, a citizen here, received through
the Accounting Office 40 fl. and 15 batzen from a citizen of
Augsburg called Nicolaus von de Sandt and is given to me
through the Honorable and Wise Sir, Lord Martin Sigell, City
Secretary, on July 17, 1548, I acknowledge this [payment]
through this writing in my own hand.

(Von einem Eruern Weissem Ratt der Statt frannkfurt / hab
Ich Sebaltt Beham maller ein mit bürger hie / aus der rechen
Stüben Empfangen 40 fl zů 15 batzen / von wegen eines
bürgers von aüdspürg / genant Nicolaüs von de Sandt / vnd
ist mir das gereicht worden / von dem Eruern vnd Weissen
heren / her martin Sigall hie statt schreiber / das ist
geschehen [sic] dem 17 tag Juli im 1548 Jar / das bin ich
bekentlich mit disser meiner Eigener hant geschriefft
.HSB.)

Documents in Perspective

These two receipts raise many questions to a modern audience, including the identity of vom Sand, what his connection to Beham could have been, and what the reasons were for his four payments to Beham. The receipts also ask the identity and roles of Martin Sigell and Justinian von Holzhausen, and the value and significance of the amounts paid.

Martin Sigell (Sigall) was the *Stadtschreiber*, or city secretary, of Frankfurt am Main. In imperial cities such as Frankfurt during the late Middle Ages and early modern period, the *Stadtschreiber* was the most powerful person in the administration of a city. He was the official at the very top of the government, worked with the town's council on relevant issues, and oversaw the financial bookkeeping.¹⁹

¹⁹ I have been unable to find information on Sigell, but see note 35 below and my accompanying text; additional seeking in Frankfurt sources may well prove to be fruitful. On *Stadtschreiber*, see Josef Pauser and Martin Scheutz, 'Frühneuzeitliche Stadt- und Marktschreiber in Österreich — ein Aufriss', 515–63 (<http://homepage.univie.ac.at/martin.scheutz/php/downloads/21pauserscheutz.pdf>), accessed January 10, 2016), with references to *Stadtschreiber* of various towns in Germany, but not Frankfurt am Main. For Augsburg, see Matthias Franc Kluge, *Die Macht des Gedächtnisses. Entstehung und Wandel kommunaler Schriftkultur im spätmittelalterlichen Augsburg* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), especially ch. 4, 'Kompetenzimport:

Justinian von Holzhausen (1502–53) was one of the most important and powerful men in Frankfurt and, in the hierarchy of early sixteenth-century Frankfurt society, ranked higher than Sigell because he was a member of the highest social class, the patricians. Holzhausen was also a member of Frankfurt's most respected family. He had been a mayor, town council member, and an alderman (*Schöffe*) in Frankfurt. During his lifetime he had been both a junior and senior mayor of Frankfurt, delegate to several imperial diets and, having studied at Wittenberg with Martin Luther and Philip Melancthon, was a supporter of the Reformation and Frankfurt's representative to the evangelical Schmalkaldic League. Conrad Faber von Kreuznach painted Holzhausen and his wife Anna Fürstenberger in a portrait of 1536, today in the Städel Museum in Frankfurt.²⁰ Holzhausen commissioned Beham to paint the patent of nobility he received from Emperor Charles V in 1549 (see Fig. 6).²¹ In 1548 he was the first *Rechenmeister*, or calculation/computation master, the head of Frankfurt's office of accounting, which issued the documents discussed here.²²

Little is known about Niclas vom Sand (Nicolaüs von de Sandt, Nicolaüs vom Sandt). He is not included in Josef Benzing's standard encyclopedic work on German printers of 1982, in the update of Benzing by Christof Reske of 2007, in WorldCat, nor in a search of the inventory of German publications from the sixteenth century, the VD 16.²³ That Benzing mentioned vom Sand in only a few lines in an article of 1977,

Die Anfänge der Stadtschreiber'; and Regine Mezler, *Stephan Roth 1492–1546. Stadtschreiber in Zwickau und Bildungsbürger der Reformationszeit* (Leipzig: Steiner, 2008).

20 See Wolfgang Klötzer, 'Diplomat, Militär und Humanist: Justinian von Holzhausen (1502–1553). Für Frankfurt, Reich und Religion', *Vaterland* (2000): 236–57. For Conrad Faber's portrait, see Andreas Hansert, *Aus aufrichtiger Lieb vor Frankfurt. Patriziat im alten Frankfurt* (Frankfurt am Main: Kramer, 2000), 87–88.

21 Although the patent of nobility, on vellum, is dated 1549 and bears the imperial seal, Beham's painting of Holzhausen's coat of arms is dated 1550. Institut für Stadtgeschichte, Frankfurt am Main.

22 Information here on Justinian von Holzhausen from 'Das Frankfurter Patriziat', <https://frankfurter-patriziat.de/>, accessed December 15, 2015. On mathematical calculations of the time and the term *Rechenbuch* and *Rechenmeister*, see Jessica Buskirk, 'Portraiture and Arithmetic in Sixteenth-Century Bavaria. Deciphering Barthel Beham's *Calculator*', *Renaissance Quarterly* 66 (Spring 2013): 35–80, esp. 64.

23 Benzing, *Buchdrucker*, gives information on some two dozen Augsburg printers dating up to the mid-sixteenth century, but vom Sand is not among them. See also Reske. Although the search for vom Sand in VD 16 resulted in no hits, I have

but not in his standard reference work of 1982, points to very few surviving works bearing vom Sand's name. Benzing gives his name as Niclas vom Sand and states that he printed Laurentius Rusius' *Marstallerey* at Augsburg in 1535.²⁴ More recently vom Sand was included in publications addressing Augsburg book printing. In 1997 Helmut Gier and Johannes Janota mention two books by vom Sand published in 1533 and 1535, with one of the books located in Augsburg's library; the location of the other book is unknown.²⁵

Vom Sand's booklet of 1535 was written by Laurentius Rusius and Meister Albrecht and addresses horses, their characters, illnesses, and remedies. Titled *Wie man ains ieden roß oder pferds aigenschafft erkennen, auch sein mancherlay kranckhaiten vilfaltig vnd hailtsam ärztneyen mag* (Fig. 3), the small quarto booklet with thirty-one folios was printed at Augsburg by 'Niclasen vom Sand' (Fig. 4). Meister Albrecht, a stable master and flag smith for Holy Roman Emperor Friedrich II, lived in the thirteenth century and is credited as the author of twenty-five books on horses published between 1502 and 1544.²⁶ Laurentius Rusius, the other author, was the Latinized name of Lorenzo Rusio (1288-1347). The book's

since found vom Sand included in VD 16 as the printer of the book discussed in my text below written by Meister Albrecht and Laurentius Rusius (VD16 A 1618).

24 Josef Benzing, 'Die deutschen Verleger des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts. Eine Neubearbeitung', *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 18, no.6 (1977): 1288. Here Benzing, 1321-22, includes a summary stating that the articles there include 'those who functioned solely as publishers, but also bookbinders who occasionally published books, or in a few cases who subsequently went over to full-time publishing, and wood- and copperplate engravers and illuminators who published illustrated material'.

25 Helmut Gier and Johannes Janota, eds., *Augsburger Buchdruck und Verlagswesen: Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997), 432n58, refer to Meister Albrecht, *Wie man ains ieden roß oder pferds aigenschafft erkennen[...] mag* (Augsburg: Niklas vom Sand, 1535), and to Hans-Jörg Künast, 'Getruckt zu Augsburg'. *Buchdruck und Buchhandel in Augsburg zwischen 1468 und 1555* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1993), no. 4556, in Augsburg's Staats- und Stadtbibliothek. Augsburg librarians confirmed that book in their collection and another book printed by vom Sand in an unknown location: Johann Schwartzberger's *Ain New Formbüchlin der weyssen Arbeyt, die man nenet die geschniurlet und gebeglet [...]* (Augsburg: Nik. v. Sandt, 1533); cited in an auction catalog, Hartung & Hartung, Munich, Auktion 67 (November 5-7, 1991), no. 983. This information gratefully received from Wolfgang Mayer, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

26 On Meister Albrecht, see Gerhard Eis, 'Albrant', *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 1(1953), 151-52 at: <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118501593.html>. On Rusius's book, see VD 16: <http://gateway-bayern.de/VD16+A+1618>.

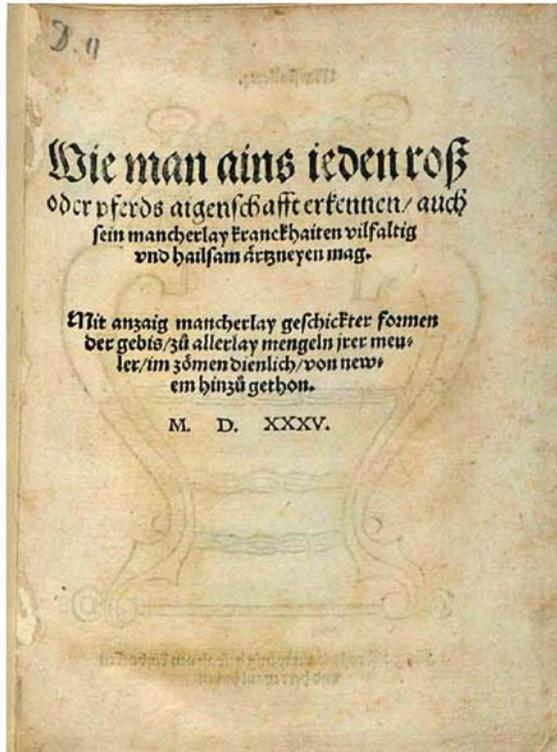


Fig. 3. Title page, from Laurentius Rsius and Meister Albrecht, *Wie man ains ieden roß oder pferds eigenschafft erkennen, auch sein mancherlay kranckhaiten vilfaltig vnd hailfam ärtzneyen mag* (Augsburg: Niclas von Sand, 1535), Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 4 Ldw 191, Titelbl.

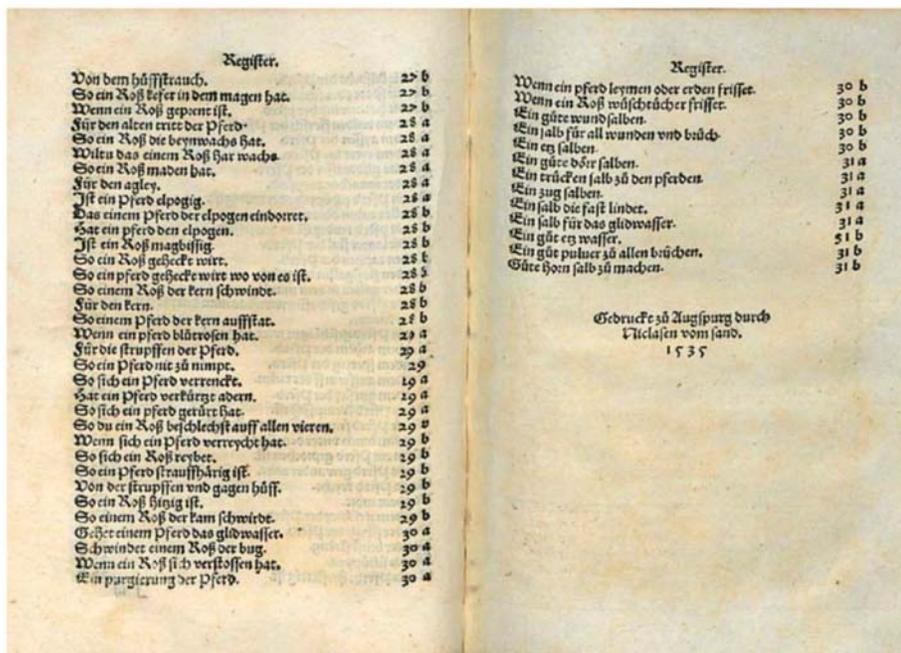


Fig. 4. Index and publication address, from Laurentius Rsius and Meister Albrecht, *Wie man ains ieden roß oder pferds eigenschafft erkennen, auch sein mancherlay kranckhaiten vilfaltig vnd hailfam ärtzneyen mag* (Augsburg: Niclas von Sand, 1535), fol. Jiii^v-Jiiii^r Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 4 Ldw 191, fol. Jiii^v-Jiiii^r.

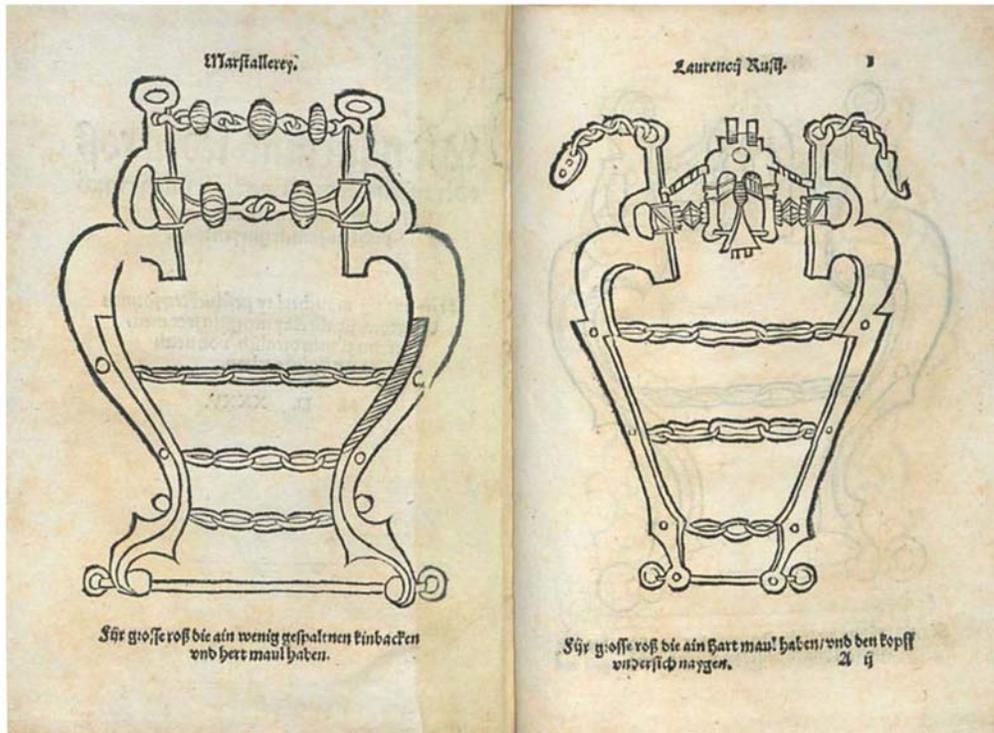


Fig. 5. Horse bits, from Laurentius Rusius and Meister Albrecht, *Wie man ains ieden roß oder pferds eigenschafft erkennen, auch sein mancherlay krankhaiten vilfaltig vnd hailssam ärtzneyen mag* (Augsburg: Niclas von Sand, 1535), fol. Ai^v-Aii^r, Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 4 Ldw 191, fol. Ai^v-Aii^r.

first eighteen folios illustrate a variety of bits for horses (Fig. 5) that are followed by full text. The horse bits range in decoration from simple to more elaborately decorated.

Other books on horses written by Rusio were printed in 1531 and 1532 by Christian Wechel at Paris.²⁷ Their title page images with illustrations of two horses are worth noting because they were designed by Beham. One horse prances to the left, the other stands and faces right. Each is signed with Beham's Nuremberg monogram HsP or IsP and derive from his book on the proportions of horses published in 1528. The Nuremberg authorities soon confiscated the book and prohibited its printing because Dürer's ambitious book on human proportions, not yet published,

²⁷ *Hippiatria Sive Marescalia Laurentii Rusii [...] in qua praeter variorum morborum [...] remedia, plures quam in priore editione [...] Frenorum formae excusae sunt* (Paris: Christian Wechel, 1531 and 1532). WorldCat lists these two printings and later ones as well.

was protected by an imperial privilege prohibiting it from being copied. Dürer had died a few months earlier and his widow, Agnes Frey, was actively engaged in publishing her husband's book that was considered to be the first publication on German soil on the topic of proportions. Although Beham's book was small and thin page-wise and Dürer's larger in size and considerably longer in length, and Beham's topic horses and Dürer's humans, such difference mattered little in a town where Dürer's memory and importance loomed large. After an invitation to appear before the Nuremberg town council, Beham left Nuremberg. Forward a few years to Nuremberg after Beham settled in Frankfurt and his horse imagery appears on the title pages of publications from 1531 and 1532 with the Nuremberg monogram he used in his 1528 booklet. These dates suggest that Beham once he was living in Frankfurt had authorized his designs and perhaps his wood blocks for publication in Paris beyond the reach of Nuremberg's council and the imperial privilege.²⁸

The archival research of Hans-Jörg Künast has shown that Niclas vom Sand appeared in Augsburg's tax records, the *Steuerbücher*, between 1539 and 1549. For most of that time, until 1548, vom Sand lived in the home of Dr Claudius Pius Peutingger (1509–52), the eldest son of Conrad Peutingger, the humanist and former *Stadtschreiber*, the highest city official in Augsburg who worked closely with Emperor Maximilian I on matters of printing and censorship.²⁹ Pius Peutingger was a jurist, city lawyer, and statesman who, in 1537, was sent by Augsburg's council as part of a delegation to King Ferdinand to explain the town's reform intentions.³⁰ Vom Sand lived with Pius Peutingger over the course of the decade that included Beham's receipts listing payment from him. Such a living arrangement suggests that vom Sand could have made important contacts in the household of the learned, well-connected Peutingger.

Vom Sand was a middle-class printer. He belonged to the Augsburg printers with taxable assets (*Anschlagvermögen*) considered modest, between 100 and 500 gulden. The town's wealthy printers, those with taxable assets of at least 500 gulden, are better-known to us today and include Johann Schönsperger the Elder (1481–1520) and Younger (1502–30), Silvan (1513–40) and Valentin Otmar (1541–63), Heinrich Steiner

28 For illustrations of Beham's title page horses, see: https://www.nlm.nih.gov/exhibition/horse/hor_rusius_horses.html, and Stewart, 'Artist's Lament', especially fig. 4, for Beham's horse prancing to the left.

29 Künast, 48.

30 Christopher W. Close, *The Negotiated Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 102.

(1522–47/48), and Jost de Necker, a block cutter. The ‘*Habnit*’ printers of low means had taxable assets of 100 gulden and no more.³¹ Among the modest or middle-class printers, Künast gives four tax entries for vom Sand from the years 1539, 1545, 1548, and 1549, for the tax district of ‘Vom Schmidhaus’. Vom Sand’s assets are listed as 300, 600, 400 gulden, and a missing amount; his taxes ranged from 1 gulden 30 pfennig to 3 gulden 30 pfennig. In Augsburg the gulden-pfennig relation varied between 192 and 220 pfennig for each gulden.³²

Wealthy printers in Augsburg active around the year 1540, the closest date given by Künast to the vom Sand and Beham documents, include Erhard and George Ratdolt with taxable assets of 4,400 gulden (taxes over 22 gulden); Johann, Silvan and Valentin Otmar with assets of 400 gulden (taxes over 2 gulden); and Heinrich Steiner with 1000 gulden assets (over 5 gulden taxes), a huge increase over his assets of the previous decade of 450 gulden.³³

To place these sums in perspective, consider that around the year 1540 in Augsburg 100 eggs cost between 60 and 112 denar or pfennig and a day laborer was paid 14–18 pfennig per day depending on the time of the year; 10.5 pfennige for unskilled labor, and a master mason (*Maurermeister*) 24–32 pfennig a day; 12 gulden bought a simple Bible manuscript and was the annual salary of a maid servant (*Dienstmagd*) on top of her room and board expenses. A city doctor in Augsburg received an annual salary of 100 gulden and the town’s highest official, the *Stadtschreiber* Conrad Peutingner, 150–200 gulden. Schönsperger the Elder in the same town received a salary of 100 gulden plus travel expenses from Emperor Maximilian I to work as his private court printer (*geheime kaiserliche Hofdrucker*), which was in actuality as servant and book printer. In Frankfurt the *Stadtschreiber* Martin Sigell was paid 80 gulden plus 15 gulden for clothing, which included payments for the junior or assistant city secretary (*Jungschreiber*) and either a place to live or subvention for it (*Dienstwohnung* or *Wohnungsgeld*).³⁴

31 Künast, 45; 34–44 for the wealthy printers; 45–48 for the middle class printers; 48–52 for the printers of low means.

32 For vom Sand, Künast, 48; for the Gulden-Pfennig relationship, 34n5.

33 Künast, 41, 42, 44.

34 Künast, 96, 186–87n426; and M. J. Elsas, *Umriss einer Geschichte der Preise und Löhne in Deutschland vom ausgehenden Mittelalter bis zum Beginn des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, vol. 2 part A (Leiden: Sijthoff, 1940), 424, 573–74, and 619. Augsburg sometimes used the denar that Künast, 34n5, equated to the pfennig. The denar, ‘denarius’ in Latin and ‘penny’ in English, was a silver coin introduced in the Carolingian period and continued through recent decades in the U.S. and Germany

These amounts indicate that Beham's second vom Sand receipt with payment of more than 40 guldern constituted approximately half the annual stipend of Sigell or approximately one-fifth the annual salary of Conrad Peutinger. In other words, this payment for Beham's services to vom Sand was not insignificant. The first receipts from vom Sand listed three payments in talers, a currency increasingly common for payments in Frankfurt beginning the middle of the sixteenth century. In 1541 one taler was the equivalent of 17 batzen and 15–16 batzen equaled 1 gulden. These equivalents indicate that a gulden, the older currency, and a taler, the newer, were roughly equivalent and that approximately 16 batzen equaled one gulden or taler. For the first vom Sand receipt indicating payment to Beham, the 35, 15, and 30 taler represented at a total of 80 taler, a sizable sum equal to an annual salary of that between the *Stadtschreibers* Sigell and Peutinger.³⁵

The two documents signed by Beham in 1548 were issued by the *Rechneiamt* for Frankfurt's finances. At that time, the *Rechneiamt* was the highest office for finance in the city and to which numerous offices were responsible, including those for war, coins, stables, wood, stands and fairs, salt, fish, meat, tolls, saffron, and more. The *Rechneibücher* listed payments and expenditures made through the office. Most of these books for Frankfurt burned in 1944.³⁶ The documents here indicate that Beham received payments from two of the highest officials in Frankfurt, Sigell and Holzenhausen, for work from the Augsburg printer vom Sand. Although a printer in Augsburg points to the possibility of book illustrations

in a more modest metal as the pfennig and penny. See Alan M. Stahl, "money and coinage", *The Oxford Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed. Robert E. Bjork (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 2010.

35 Elsas, vol. 2 part A, 3–10 for currency in Frankfurt, especially 5–7.

36 On Frankfurt's *Rechneiamt*, see: <http://www.ifaust.de/isg/zeitg.FAU?sid=8Fo5BAA913&dm=1&ind=2&ipos=Rechnei+vor+1816>. Michael Matthaeus, archivist at the ISG, kindly provided information about the *Rechenbücher* and the diurnal books of the *Rechneiamt*. Although most of the latter books, which list by categories daily payments to and from the office, survived the war, they are not complete for the last years of Beham's life. One example is a payment to Beham cited by Gwinner, 65 ('In den Stadtrechnungen von 1549 heiszt es: "Joh. Sebolten Behamen vf des Rats Beschlusz 12 Taler verert für die gemahlt Tafel, so oben in der alten Ratstuben angehefft vnd mit Reimen verfasst ist"'), which is not included in the *Rechenbuch* for 1548 (May 1548–April 1549/ January–April 1549 is missing; *Rechneiamt*: Bücher 397) or 1549 (May 1549–April 1550), which is not preserved. Therefore, if Beham received payment of 12 taler from May 1549–April 1550, the original has not been preserved.

designed by Beham, no books are listed for Beham for the year 1548 in Gustav Pauli's catalogue of Beham's prints. In 1547 and 1549 Beham provided illustrations for a few books published by Egenolff (Pauli 1211–19 and 1116), but for no other publisher that have survived. The fact that Beham designed and probably cut several engravings dated 1548 (*Hercules, Leda and the Swan, Three Women in a Bathhouse, Death and the Sleeping Woman, and Night*) points to the possibility that Beham's engravings may have been printed outside Frankfurt possibly by someone like vom Sand.³⁷ More plausibly the receipts indicate payment for projects that have not come down to us. For just as no trace exists today for the painted panel with verse Beham gave to the Frankfurt council for its town hall, for which he received payment of 12 talers, and no trace remains of the triumphal arch Beham presented as a New Year's gift in January 1550, and for which he received payment of 12 taler, the two receipts for payment from vom Sand may well indicate projects now lost.³⁸ Nevertheless, these documents appear to indicate a reception for Beham's work outside Frankfurt that extended to Augsburg.

Beham painted the coat of arms for the patent of nobility Justinian von Holzhausen received from Emperor Charles V. This *Wappenbrief*, dated January 20, 1549 at Brussels, documents his status as a new member of the nobility in a long text written in German on parchment. The imperial coat of arms in a red wax roundel is attached by gold threads (Fig. 6).³⁹ This payment and the payments above from Frankfurt for a painting and triumphal arch point to a painter-engraver who in the last years of his life worked well across Germany in various established social circles.⁴⁰

Beham's patrons and contacts in Frankfurt (Albrecht of Brandenburg, Egenolff, Holzhausen, Sigell, vom Sand, and the town council) and in Nuremberg (Melchior Pfinzing, the count of Mansfield and duke of Saxony, Emperor Charles V, and Guldenmund) indicate the professional ties for Beham's work for which there is a trace. In general, such relationships indicate social networks with interpersonal ties that may be strong, weak, or absent. These ties can be independent of each other, but the

37 These engravings can all be seen on the British Museum's website. See also Pauli 99 and 109, 114, 147, 154, 211.

38 Gwinner, 60–65, cited by Goddard, 223. The document of 1550 cited by Gwinner can be seen in the *Bürgermeisterbuch von 1549*, fol.117^r (January 23, 1550): 'Meister Sebolten Behem sol man für die erenpfort, so er einem Erbaren Rat zum neuen Jar geschenckt, so gut als 12 taler verehren'. ISG, *Bürgermeisterbuch 1549*, fol.117^r; January 23, 1550.

39 ISG, Holzhausen-Archiv: Urkunden Sign. 1189.

40 On the record for the triumphal arch, see note 38 above.



Fig. 6. Sebald Beham, *Coat of Arms*, in patent of nobility issued by Emperor Charles V for Justinian von Holzhausen, January 20, 1549 at Brussels, with seal of Emperor Charles V, ISG Frankfurt am Main, Holzhausen-Archiv: Urkunden Sign. 1189. Signed and dated 1550. Author's photo.

relationships formed result in relations between groups that may be important, even if they appear weak.⁴¹ Such networks for Augsburg printers have been explored for the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. One network in the age of Emperor Maximilian I includes both the

⁴¹ Mark S. Granovetter, 'The Strength of Weak Ties', *American Journal of Sociology* 78, no. 6 (2001): 1360–61.

emperor and Conrad Peutinger along with various printers previously discussed in this essay. For Beham, if relatives, neighborhood, friendships, and business relationships are considered, his networks extend beyond Frankfurt and Nuremberg to Augsburg and Paris. The extent to which Beham can be linked to the network around Emperor Maximilian or to others through various individuals working in the book printing industry must await further study.⁴² This essay is a first step toward understanding Beham within a broader context that is centered in Frankfurt and extends well beyond Nuremberg to other cities in the Empire and beyond.

⁴² Künast, 94, and chapter 2.4. Beham's personal relationships and those of his wife should also be considered. They include attendance at baptisms, for which see Zülch, 331.