

THE FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF VISUAL ARTS, THEATRE AND DANCE

FASHIONING SCHONGAUER: THE APPROPRIATION OF MARTIN
SCHONGAUER'S ENGRAVINGS IN ARAGÓN

By
CAROLINA ALARCON

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The members of the committee approve the thesis of Carolina Alarcon defended on April 4, 2011.

Stephanie Leitch
(Professor Directing Thesis)

Paula Gerson
(Committee Member)

Jack Freiberg
(Committee Member)

Approved:

Adam Jolles, Chair, Department of Art History

Sally McRorie, Dean, College of Visual Arts, Theatre and Dance

The Graduate School has verified and approved the above-named committee members.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates the dissemination of Martin Schongauer's religious prints and their reception by artists in late fifteenth-century Aragón. It has long been accepted that Schongauer's prints reached the Iberian Peninsula; however, the German artist's influence on artists and publishers working in Aragón has gone largely unexamined. Among the most widely circulated images in Europe, Schongauer's devotional prints also formed a corpus of visual material for publishers and artists in Aragón. Introduced by important court figures such as Isabel of Castile, Schongauer's motifs were later adopted by local publishers and artists working in the local hispanoflamenco style. I investigate Schongauer's influence upon a variety of media, including woodcuts, book illustrations and painted panels. I consider the publishing practices of Pablo Hurus, a German printer working in Zaragoza. I argue that Hurus appropriated Schongauer's engravings for their technical refinement and efficacy as devotional images converting the engravings into illustrations for his publications of Andres de Li's *Tesoro de la Pasión* and Bernhard von Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam*. The illustrations enhanced and, in case of Breydenbach's text, altered the nature of the original text from a travel guide to a devotional volume. I examine the painted panels executed after Schongauer's engravings by Aragonese artists, Miguel Jimenez, Martin Bernat and Pedro de Oviedo. I argue that Schongauer's engravings and Hurus's woodcuts functioned as effective pictorial models for these painters who filtered out certain formal elements while preserving the emotional intensity and inventiveness of Schongauer's original design.

INTRODUCTION

In May of 2009, the Kimbell Art Museum secured what would become a controversial acquisition, a painting on panel after a well-known engraving by Martin Schongauer (Colmar c. 1448-1491), *Tribulations of Saint Anthony* (Fig. 1; Fig. 2). The panel has been attributed, somewhat problematically, to the hand of the young Michelangelo, who according to both Condivi (1553) and Vasari (1568) once painted a panel in oil, which he adapted from the engraving.¹ Roughly contemporary to the Kimbell painting is a Spanish panel after the same Schongauer engraving, still housed in the church of Alfajarín for which it was originally commissioned c. 1485-1500 (Fig.3).² The Alfajarín panel not only potentially challenges the Kimbell attribution, but it also extends the evidence for Schongauer's influence in Spain. The limited scholarship on Schongauer's influence typically categorizes such examples of appropriation solely as *imitatio*—the copying of another's work for the purpose of improving one's technique. However, the Alfajarín panel, which is still venerated by the faithful, offers evidence that Schongauer's images were copied not only for the purposes of learning technique, but also because they functioned as exemplary models of devotional images in a painterly style. Martin Schongauer produced compelling prints with painterly techniques in order to elicit empathy from the viewer—qualities that both appealed to an international market, particularly Spain, and correlated with contemporary devotional practices.

By the late fifteenth century, the Kingdom of Aragón was one of the predominant political and cultural centers of newly formed Imperial Spain under the reign of the

¹Paula Nuttall, “Mechanics of Influence,” in *From Flanders to Florence: The Impact of Netherlandish Painting, 1400-1500* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 133-159, 282. Prior to the sale, the oil and tempera on panel was taken to the Metropolitan Museum of Art to be cleaned and later examined by its Curator of European Painting, Keith Christiansen who gave the attribution to the young Michelangelo. This attribution has been proved suspect by other scholars. For more information on this controversy see: Carol Vogel, “By the Hand of a Very Young Master?,” *New York Times*, May 12, 2009, Arts and Design section

² The panel painting was originally part of a larger altarpiece, but was later removed and placed in the sacristy after restoration. María del Carmen Lacarra Ducay, *Retablo de la Virgen de Monsterrat* (Alfajarín: Arzobispado de Zaragoza, 2010), 9-10.

Catholic monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabel.³ The arts in Zaragoza, the capital city, flourished with new commissions and the city became a destination for international artists and craftsmen, many of whom were of German descent.⁴ The cosmopolitan atmosphere was further bolstered by the introduction of German prints, many by Martin Schongauer, which were circulated by German ex-patriots, as well as appropriated by Aragonese painters working in the court-sanctioned hispanoflamenco style.⁵ The circulation and appropriation of Schongauer's images in Aragón represents one of the first instances of a mass commodification and subsequent artistic adaptation of an individual artist's work in the early modern era.⁶

This thesis investigates the dissemination of Schongauer's religious prints and their reception by artists in late fifteenth-century Aragón. I examine the innovative qualities that led Schongauer's devotional prints to become some of the most widely circulated images in Europe. I argue that the use of Schongauer's devotional prints by publishers and artists in Aragón forms a corpus of visual exchange for artists working in the hispanoflamenco style. I consider how Schongauer's devotional prints in Aragón were deemed worthy of emulation first by important court figures, Isabel of Castile, and later by publishers and artists. I examine Schongauer's influence upon a variety of media, including woodcuts, book illustrations and painted panels. I also investigate the appropriation of Schongauer's prints by book illustrators in the newly established German printing presses and, as a result, identify additional appropriations of Schongauer's compositions in Aragón. I demonstrate that Iberian painters used both Schongauer's engravings and woodcuts fashioned after his compositions as models, filtering out certain formal elements while preserving the original print's emotional

³ J.H. Elliott, *Imperial Spain 1469-1716* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1964), 15-16.

⁴ María del Carmen Lacarra Ducay, "Influencia de Martin Schongauer en los primitivos aragoneses," *Boletín del Museo e Instituto Camón Aznar* XVII (1984): 15.

⁵ J.V.L. Brans, *Isabel la Católica y el arte hispanoflamenco*, trans. M. Cardenal Iracheta (Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispánica, 1952), 24. The term, hispanoflamenco, has come to signify all paintings completed after a foreign source be it Flemish or German.

⁶ The areas that I will treat in this thesis are primarily located in Aragón, with the exception of Tudela, which is in the neighboring province of Navarra.

intensity and inventiveness. In doing so, Aragonese artists were able to retain their artistic agency within the parameters of the hispanoflamenco style, which was characterized by the use of foreign, usually Flemish or German, pictorial models. It has long been accepted that Schongauer's prints reached the Iberian Peninsula; however, scholarship on the German artist's influence on artists and publishers working in Aragón has gone largely unnoticed. This thesis, in part, rectifies that lacuna.

Schongauer's oeuvre consists of a handful of paintings and one hundred and fifteen engraved plates, the majority of which were widely circulated during the artist's lifetime.⁷ His most popular prints in Europe, as well as in Aragón, came from his series, the *Passion of Christ* and the *Life of the Virgin*.⁸ The *Life of the Virgin* series includes four engravings that depict the *Nativity*, *Adoration of the Magi*, *Flight into Egypt* and the *Death of the Virgin*.⁹ The *Passions of Christ* series includes twelve sequential engravings beginning with the *Agony in the Garden* and ending with the *Resurrection of Christ*.¹⁰ Both series were popular among early German engravers, and Schongauer's predecessors had completed several series of prints on the same themes.¹¹ Schongauer's compassionate and intense depictions of Christ's sufferings led his series to become more popular and widely circulated than those by other prominent printmakers, Master ES and Israel van Meckenem.¹² Of the two series, the *Passions of Christ* was the one that was copied with most frequency by Aragonese artists.

German printers who had recently established presses in Zaragoza also appropriated Schongauer's prints as illustrations for their publications. The most

⁷ Fitzroy Carrington, *Engravers and Etchers* (Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago, 1917), 29.

⁸ Max Lehrs, *Martin Schongauer: The Complete Engravings: a Catalogue Raisonné* (San Francisco: Alan Wofsy Fine Arts, 2005), 25.

⁹ Charles Ilsley Minott, *Martin Schongauer* (New York: Collectors Editions, 1971), 34.

¹⁰ Ilsley Minott, *Martin Schongauer*, 42.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² The Illustrated Bartsch, *Early German Artists: Martin Schongauer*, vol. 8 (New York: Abaris Books, 1996), 28.

prosperous and prodigious printer was Pablo Hurus, a German from the city of Constance near the German border with Switzerland. This study examines two of the Hurus press editions that included woodcuts derived from Schongauer's *Passion of Christ* and *Life of the Virgin*: Andres de Li's *Tesoro de la Pasion* (Zaragoza: Hurus, 1494) and Bernardo de Breydenbach's *Viaje de la Tierra Santa* (Zaragoza: Hurus, 1498). The Hurus press publication of Andres de Li's *Tesoro de la Pasion* consists of 120 folios and 124 images, several of which are used repeatedly throughout the volume, while Bernardo de Breydenbach's *Viaje de la Tierra Santa* consists of 205 folios and 63 images, only a few of which are repeated.¹⁴

The majority of Spanish artists who appropriated Schongauer's prints were trained in the hispanoflamenco style in workshops in or near Zaragoza.¹⁵ Two of the artists, Martin Bernat and Miguel Ximenez, were trained by the great hispanoflamenco artist Bartolome Bermejo during his stay in Zaragoza between 1477 and 1481.¹⁶ The panel painting for the Church of Alfajarín based on Schongauer's *Tribulations of Saint Anthony* has been attributed to Bernat.¹⁷ Bernat and Ximenez also collaborated on several projects during their residency in Zaragoza, including the completion of an altarpiece for the Church of the Holy Cross near Blesa, which included several panel

¹⁴ The books consulted for this study were: *Viaje de la Tierra Santa* (Biblioteca Nacional de España INC 2070) reproduced in microfilm and *Tesoro de la Pasion* (Hispanic Society of America INC 63).

¹⁵ Carmen Morte Garcia, "Del Gotico al Renacimiento en los retablos de pintura Aragonesa durante el reinado de Fernando el Catolico," in *La Pintura Gotica durante el siglo XV en tierras de Aragon y en otros territories peninsulares* (Zaragoza: Institucion Fernando el Catolico, 2007), 335-372.

¹⁶ María del Carmen Lacarra Ducay, "Huella de Martin Schongauer en los primitivos aragoneses," *Archivo Espanol de Arte* 207 (1979): 347-50; and "Influencia de Martin Schongauer en los primitivos aragoneses," 15-39.

¹⁷ Ibid., 22.

paintings after Schongauer's *Passion of Christ*.¹⁸ Pedro de Oviedo, a painter about whom we know little, completed a large multi-paneled altarpiece for the Cathedral of Tudela also based primarily on Schongauer's *Passion of Christ*.¹⁹ Maestro de la Sisla, a painter whose life is completely undocumented, is known only by his panel paintings based upon Schongauer's *Life of the Virgin* for the Convent Geronimo de Santa Maria de la Sisla outside of Toledo.²⁰ The largest of these panel paintings is a close copy of Schongauer's *Death of the Virgin* and measures approximately 7 x 3 feet.

Statement of the Problem

Born on the eve of the invention of modern book printing, Martin Schongauer was likely considered one of the first artists whose works were widely disseminated during his lifetime.²¹ With the advent of intaglio printing in the 1430s, the exquisite intricacy and precise details of images were easily replicated and dispersed into the general market on both sides of the Alps.²² The wide commodification and consumption of these images changed the nature of their singular artistic production. The public and artists alike were now free to modify them to fit their personal needs. Schongauer's prints were probably some of the first images to be so modified—as evidenced by Vasari's revelation that Michelangelo had copied on a painted panel Schongauer's print *The Tribulations of Saint*

¹⁸ Morte Garcia, "Del Gotico al Renacimiento," 347.

¹⁹ Alberto Aceldegui Apesteguia, "Fuentes Grabadas," in *El retablo mayor de la Catedral de Tudela* (Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, Departamento de Educacion y Cultura, 2001), 91-94. Alberto Aceldegui Apesteguia, "El pintor y su época," in *El retablo mayor de la Catedral de Tudela* (Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, Departamento de Educacion y Cultura, 2001), 38. Oviedo is believed to have been a student of Martin Bernat.

²⁰ Chandler Post, *A History of Spanish Painting* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1933), 52.

²¹ Charles Ilsley Minott, *Martin Schongauer* (New York: Collectors Edition, 1971), 9.

²² Linda C. Hults, *The Print in the Western World: An Introductory History* (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996), 19; *Martin Schongauer, Maitre de la gravure Rhenane, Vers 1450-1491: Musée du Petit Palais, 14 novembre 1991-16 février 1992* (Paris: Diffusion Paris-Musées, 1991), 72.

*Anthony.*²³ With the exception of Vasari's brief notation, however, the reception and artistic manipulation of Schonaguer's prints has received little scholarly attention, and the vehicle for the wide dissemination of his works has been virtually ignored.

Hurus press's utilization of Schongauer's prints as pre-made illustrative inserts for existing popular works provides a case study for the dissemination and commodification of Schongauer's works in Spain, an area of Europe mostly ignored in the scholarship on Renaissance prints. The prints used by Hurus were readily accessible models for illustrations and easily replaced the expense of hiring an illuminator. Additionally, the Hurus press trained local artists in the art of printmaking by using German prints as pictorial models and streamlining their processes with greater economic efficiency.²⁵ In my study of the dissemination of Schongauer's prints in Aragón, I explore the economic considerations and mercantile relationships of the Hurus press in an effort to demonstrate the complexity of artistic re-appropriation of prints during the early years of printing.

The use of Schongauer's prints by Spanish artists for their own commissions seems singular to the dominion of Aragón, which suggests that the appropriation may have been limited to artists in immediate contact with images emanating from publishers in Zaragoza.²⁶ These appropriations stay somewhat faithful to the original composition, occasionally making some small changes to costume, architectural interiors and, of course, color.

State of the Literature

Schongauer scholarship has been somewhat limited to gleaning information from the artist's works in an effort to fill out his scant biography, and such is the case with the limited scholarship on Schonaguer's influence in Spain.²⁷ Early scholarship on the artist

²³ Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori*, vol. 7. ed. Gaetano Milanesi (Florence: G.C. Salani, 1881), 140.

²⁵ Pallares Jimenez, *La Imprenta de los Incunables*, 166-7.

²⁶ The majority of the works examined in this study were commissioned and executed in Aragón; however, the painted panels in Tudela are technically in the modern province of Navarra. The artists were Aragonese.

²⁷ Keith Moxey, "Seeing Through Schongauer," in *Le Beau Martin, Etudes et Mises au Point Actes du Colloque*, ed. Albert Châtelet (Strasbourg: Musée d'Uterlinden, 1994), 91-6.

focused on questions of attribution and chronology for the 116 undated engravings.²⁸ Aimed at collectors rather than scholars, these early studies exhibit a nationalistic pride that ebbed and flowed as Colmar and the rest of Alsace changed hands between France and Germany.²⁹ With such limited information available on the artist, these early lines of inquiry were essential in fleshing out a workable understanding of his artistic output and concomitant stylistic progression. On the quincentenary anniversary of the artist's death, the Musée d' Unterlinden organized the exhibition, *Le beau Martin: Gravures et dessins de Martin Schongauer, vers 1450-1491* (1991). The exhibition created a wave of art historical interest in Schongauer that led to the reinvestigation of those traditional topoi.

Scholars continue to speculate about Schongauer's possible travel to Spain and/or Italy during the later part of his life. No documentary proof exists, however, to support these assertions. German scholar Fedja Anzelewsky has pointed to the exotic plants and mudéjar architecture and costume in some of Schongauer's prints, in particular *Flight into Egypt* and *Battle of Clavijo*, as visual evidence of the German artist's first hand knowledge of the Iberian Peninsula.³⁰ Assertions of Schongauer's travel to Spain have also been made by Robert Koch and Eduard Flechsig, but neither scholar produced any documentary evidence.³¹

In Spain, Schongauer's influence has been primarily documented in the kingdom of Aragón. María del Carmen Lacarra Ducay has been the foremost scholar on Schongauer's influence on Aragonese painters.³² However, while acknowledging the presence of the Hurus press, Lacarra Ducay offers little information as to how Aragonese

²⁸ Max Lehrs, *Martin Schongauer*, 7.

²⁹ For a good overview of the politics in early Schongauer scholarship see: Hutchison, 8.

³⁰ Fedja Anzelewsky, "Schongauer's Spaniernreise," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 58 (1995): 1-21; Fedja Anzelewsky, "Schongauer in Spanien?" in *Le Beau Martin, Etudes et Mises au Point Actes du Colloque*, ed. Albert Châtelet (Strasbourg: Musée d'Uterlinden, 1994), 51-62.

³¹ Robert Koch, "Martin Schongauer's Dragon Tree," *Print Review* 5 (1975): 115-19; Eduard Flechsig, *Martin Schongauer* (Strassbourg: Heitz, 1951).

³² Lacarra Ducay, "Influencia de Martin Schongauer," 15.

painters might have obtained access to Schongauer's prints. The same can be said for Alberto Aceldegui Apesteguia's study of the Tudela Cathedral altarpiece by Pedro Diaz de Oviedo, a monumental work that includes several painted panels copied from Schongauer's *Passion Cycle*.³³

Scholarship on the Hurus press has received scholarly attention in both English and Spanish. The most comprehensive study to date has been Pallares Jimenez's examination of the incunabula published in Zaragoza during the fifteenth-century.³⁴ Jimenez's award-winning dissertation documents the rise of printing in Zaragoza and includes primary documents on the commissions for most of the books printed by the Hurus press. However, while acknowledging that Schongauer's prints were used in several volumes, Jimenez does not provide additional information as to which volumes included illustrations and who created those illustrations. Jimenez's dissertation comes almost twenty years after Carlos Romero de Lecca's study of incunabula, which also documented the Hurus press and gave information on the commercial atmosphere for German merchants in Spain. Romero de Lecca does not provide any information on the prints included.

Early studies on Spanish incunabula also include Francisco Vindel's multivolume work on woodcuts and prints during the fifteenth century.³⁵ While his volume on Zaragoza includes bibliographic information on the books printed by the Hurus press and reproductions of some prints, he provides only minimal analysis. Other scholarly publications include those by Konrad Haebler and F.J. Norton on early printing in Spain.³⁶ Because these studies are dedicated to the documentation of early printers, they do not include information on the illustrations employed by said printers. Furthermore, the dates provided by Haebler and Norton conflict with those established by Pallares

³³ Aceldegui Apesteguia, "Fuentes Grabadas," 109-28.

³⁴ Pallares Jimenez, *La Imprenta de los Incunables*, 167.

³⁵ Fransico Vindel, *El arte tipografico en Espana durante el siglo XV*, Zaragoza (Madrid: Direccion General de Relaciones Culturales, 1949).

³⁶ Konrad Haebler, *The Early Printers of Spain and Portugal* and F. J. Norton, *Printing in Spain, 1501-1520*.

Jimenez and Romero de Lecca, both of whom publish the primary documents in their more comprehensive studies. The use of Schongauer's images within Hurus publications, in short, has yet to be explored.

Scholarship on fifteenth-century Aragonese painters that has been published in English remains limited but is more extensive in Spanish publications. Carmen Morte Garcia's article on Aragonese panel painters provides a good overview of the major figures and influences in Aragón.³⁷ Lacarra Ducay also summarizes the period in several publications and can be considered the leading scholar of art in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Aragón.³⁸ The few publications in English have tackled a broad range of dates and mediums. The most authoritative source is Chandler Post, *A History of Spanish Painting* (1933).³⁹ This multivolume work dedicates two volumes to the discussion of the hispanoflamenco style in both Aragón and Castile. Jonathan Brown's study on painting in Spain during the fifteenth through the seventeenth centuries discusses the hispanoflamenco style in several regions of Spain and provides information on some of its major artists, including Bartolome Bermejo.⁴⁰

Outline of Chapters

This thesis consists of an introduction, three chapters, and a conclusion. I argue that Martin Schongauer, more so than his contemporaries, produced engravings that

³⁷ Morte Garcia, "Del Gotico al Renacimiento en los retablos de pintura Aragonesa." Morte Garcia has also written on Miguel Ximenez, court painter to Fernando II in "Miguel Ximenez y Gil Morlanes, el viejo, artistas de Fernando el Catolico," in *Miscelanea de Estudios en honor de D. Antonio Duran Gudiol* (Sabinanigo: Amigos de Serrablo, 1981); and "Fernando el Catolico y las artes," in *Las artes en Aragon durante el reinado de Fernando el Catolico, 1479-1516* (Zaragoza: Fernando el Catolico, 1993).

³⁸ In addition to the articles noted before, Lacarra Ducay's other publications on Aragonese artists include: *El Retablo Mayor de San Salvador de Zaragoza* (Zaragoza: Gobierno de Aragon, Departamento de Cultura y Turismo, 2000); *Arte Medieval, Siglos XIV y XV in Museo de Zaragoza* (IberCaja: Coleccion Monumentos y Museos, Belgica, 1990): 6-61; and *Intercambios artisticos entre Navarra y Aragon durante el siglo XV*, in Primer Congreso general de Historia de Navarra, 6 (1988): 288-296.

³⁹ Chandler Post, *A History of Spanish Painting: The Hispano-Flemish Style in North-Western Spain* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1933).

⁴⁰ Jonathan Brown, *Painting in Spain 1500-1700* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

effectively corresponded with contemporary devotional practices. These compelling prints engendered empathy from their audience and appealed to a wide international market, including that of Spain, where Schongauer's popularity led to the appropriation of his engravings by publishers and artists alike. The first chapter addresses the innovations in Martin Schongauer's devotional prints. I compare Schongauer's devotional engravings with those of his closest contemporaries in two print media, engravings and woodcuts. This comparison establishes Schongauer's compositions as efficacious models for devotional imagery and technical refinement. My second chapter focuses on the use of Schongauer's engravings from his *Life of the Virgin* and *Passion* series within publications by Pablo Hurus. I consider two editions made by the press: Andres de Li's *Tesoro de la Pasion* (c. 1494) and Bernardo de Breydenbach's *Viaje de la Tierra Santa* (c. 1498). I also address printing practices of the press, paying particular attention to the procurement and appropriation of images by Hurus and his local workshop. My study then turns to the specific use of Schongauer's images in painted Aragonese commissions. I examine panels fashioned after both Schongauer's engravings and Hurus' woodcuts. Current scholarship works from the assumption that there are one to one mimetic correlations between the painted panels and Schongauer's engravings. Chapter Three challenges that position arguing instead that Spanish artists used multiple sources, including printed images by Schongauer and Hurus, to execute their religious commissions. I examine works by prominent Aragonese artists, Martin Bernat, Miguel Ximenez, and Pedro de Oviedo. The study concludes by offering possibilities for future research.

CHAPTER ONE: INNOVATIVE IMAGES

After pasting a copy of Schongauer's engraving, *Death of the Virgin*, into his 1541 German edition of Luther's Bible, Hans Plock, a silk embroiderer, included his own caption underneath the print, which reads: "This image was judged in my youth to be the finest work to have come out of Germany; therefore I pasted it into my Bible...The engraver was called 'Hübsch Martin' on account of his art."⁴¹ In addition to this handwritten comment, Plock enclosed the engraving within a bejeweled border, distinguishing from it the image on the facing recto, the *Man of Sorrows* (Fig. 4, c. 1541; Fig. 5, detail). The addition of the border and the caption, a full fifty years after Schongauer's death, testifies to the appreciation of the artist during and after his lifetime. Additionally, the insertion of Schongauer's "Catholic" engraving into a Lutheran bible suggests that even fifty years later, the image was still potent for veneration.⁴² In this chapter, I argue that his compositional inventiveness led to Schongauer's engravings being valued both for their technical refinement and for their efficaciousness as devotional images—those two qualities that Plock so admired.

One of the major impediments to the study of his appropriations of compositional elements from Martin Schongauer's artistic predecessors is the scarcity of solid evidence regarding the formative years of his career. With the exception of a few property and business transactions between Martin and his brothers, documentation about the artist's

⁴¹ David Landau and Peter Parshall, *The Renaissance Print, 1470-1550*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 52; Nicholas Stogdon, ed. *Hollstein's German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts 1400-1700. Vol.49 Ludwig Schongauer to Martin Schongauer* (Rotterdam, Netherlands: Sound & Vision Publishers, 1999), xxxv; Peter Parshall, "Art and the Theatre of Knowledge: the Origins of Print Collecting in Northern Europe," *Harvard University Art Museums Bulletin*, 2 (Spring 1994):7-9.

⁴² The insertion of devotional prints by Plock, a practicing Catholic Plock, into a Lutheran Bible suggests a change in the reception of these images during the Reformation, a topic that is beyond the scope of this project. For the current scholarship on Plock's bible see n. 39.

life provides very little insight into his training or influences. None of the plates for Schongauer's engravings survive. Even his date of death is speculative—it is estimated to have taken place at some point before May 19, 1491.⁴³ The earliest surviving records indicate that the Schongauer family was in Colmar by May of 1445 when Schongauer's father, the goldsmith Caspar Schongauer, was elected to the city council.⁴⁴ It is likely that Schongauer was born sometime thereafter. The artist's name then appears on a list of matriculated students at the University of Leipzig, one of the oldest and most prestigious German universities, in 1465.⁴⁵ He remained in Leipzig for less than a year. It has been conjectured that his training and journeyman years began shortly after this period.⁴⁶ While it also has been suggested that Schongauer first learned engraving under the tutelage of his father and later apprenticed with Caspar Isenmann, a local painter living on the same street as the Schongauer family, no archival records exist to verify either suggestion.⁴⁷ His whereabouts during his journeyman years are also conjecture—relying on stylistic analyses of his paintings, scholars have ventured that Schongauer traveled to the Netherlands, Flanders, and even Spain.⁴⁸

With archival facts wanting, the five surviving paintings and one-hundred-and-sixteen extant engravings provide scholars with the most tangible testimony of Schongauer's compositional ingenuity. Common for a fifteenth-century German artist,

⁴³ Landau and Parshall, *Renaissance Print*, 52.

⁴⁴ Nicholas Stogdon, ed., *Hollstein's German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts 1400-1700*, Vol. 49 *Ludwig Schongauer to Martin Schongauer* (Rotterdam, Netherlands: Sound & Vision Publishers, 1999), xxvi.

⁴⁵ Charles Ilsley Minott, *Martin Schongauer*, 5.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Jane Campbell Hutchison, *The Illustrated Bartsch, Early German Artists: Martin Schongauer, Ludwig Schongauer and Copyists, 8 Commentary Part 1* (New York: Abaris Books, 1996), 5; Stogdon, xxvii.

⁴⁸ Fedja Anzelewsky, "Schongauer in Spanien," 51; Robert Koch, "Martin Schongauer's Dragon Tree," 115; Eduard Flechsig, *Martin Schongauer* (Strassbourg: Heitz, 1951). Hutchison, 5-6; Minott, 14; Stogdon, xxvii.

Schongauer's work demonstrates the influence of Netherlandish artists such as Rogier van der Weyden, Dirk Bouts and Hugo van der Goes, leading some scholars to suggest Schongauer journeyed North after his apprenticeship.⁴⁹ Although evidence of his possible travel to the Netherlands is slim, Schongauer did complete a drawing of the *Last Judgment* by van der Weyden that may have been undertaken in the spirit of *imitatio* demonstrating his affinity and admiration for Netherlandish style.⁵⁰ Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann has noted that during the fifteenth century, Netherlandish models for German artists may have been transmitted via a variety of different media and therefore it is possible that Schongauer may have come into contact with drawings after a Netherlandish prototype without travel.⁵¹ The same could be said of a Spanish travel itinerary for the artist. Some scholars have detected Spanish influences in the exotic flora of *The Flight into Egypt* and the Moorish dress in his *St. James Appearing at the Battle of Clavijo*.⁵² The renderings of exotic elements, according to Tilman Falk and Thomas

⁴⁹ Ibid.; Pierre Schmitt, *Mathias Grünewald and Other Old Masters in Colmar* (New York: A.S. Barnes and Co., 1961), 24.

⁵⁰ Stogdon, xxvii; Hutchinson, 5. Hutchinson further notes that the drawing includes an inscription by Dürer affirming its attribution as by “Das hat hubsch martin gemat. Im 1469” (Handsome Martin made this. In the year 1469).

⁵¹ Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Court, Cloister and City: The Art and Culture of Central Europe, 1450-1800* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995), 23.

⁵² Anzelwesky, “Schongauer in Spanien,” 51; Koch, “Dragon Tree,” 115. Both Koch and Anzelwesky point to the unusual depiction of a dragon tree in Schongauer’s *Flight into Egypt* as probable proof of his travel to Spain, especially since the particular tree, Dracaena Draco, grows only in Northern Africa, the Canary Islands and parts of Asia; however, it is unlikely that Schongauer would have traveled the 3550 km between Colmar and the Canary Islands for a plant study. Furthermore, the dragon tree had been known to the ancient Greeks and its properties were recorded in ancient, and probably contemporary, sources which Schongauer may have known since his use of the tree is dependent on his understanding of its symbolism, which Koch explains. For general information on the Canary Islands and the Dragon Tree see: *Encyclopedia Britannica: a new survey of universal knowledge* (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, 2002), 2: 793; 5: 206-210.

Hirthe, may not have been drawn from life, which does not preclude his travel to Iberia.⁵³ Regardless of where Schongauer may or may not have traveled, his use of Netherlandish or Spanish influences must have had cultural relevance for either himself or his audience. After all, these “Spanish” examples are engravings and not drawings, which is suggestive of a larger audience. Moreover, the presence of printed images or other materials during this period makes it possible for Schongauer to have acquired source materials from documents no longer extant.⁵⁴ What can be inferred from such pictorial borrowing is that Schongauer likely possessed an acute awareness of his cultural milieu—an ambient in which prints circulated imagery to and from far flung regions, and which, as Claire Farago has pointed out, established the Renaissance as both an international and multicultural phenomenon.⁵⁵

While the influence of Netherlandish naturalism upon German art of this period has been extensively explored, the manner in which its elements were appropriated by early prints has yet to be examined in any detail. The copying of elements from Netherlandish paintings by early German engravers, such as Master ES, was a common practice.⁵⁶ How these Netherlandish models might be used, of course, was dependent upon the artistic prowess of the individual printmaker. The stylistic impact of these technical elements evident in Schongauer’s prints can be measured only in close examination of his works and those of his predecessor. One of the most influential German engravers of the last half of the fifteenth-century, Master ES, was one of

⁵³ Tilman Falk and Thomas Hirthe, *Martin Schongauer—Das Kupferstichwerk* (Munich: Staaliche Graphische, 1991), 48-50; Hutchison, 6; Keith Moxey, *The Practice of Theory: Poststructuralism, Cultural Politics and Art History* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), 101-103. Moxey argues convincingly against one to one mimetic correlations between Schongauer’s engravings and his travels, but offers no alternative solutions.

⁵⁴ The question of Schongauer’s Spanish influences will be examined in further detail in Chapter Three.

⁵⁵ Claire Farago, *Reframing the Renaissance: Visual Culture in Europe and Latin America, 1450-1650* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 87.

⁵⁶ Parshall and Landau, *The Renaissance Print*, 47.

Schongauer's most immediate predecessors.⁵⁷ As in the case of Schongauer, information on the life of Master ES and his artistic training is virtually non-existent, but scholars have been able to date his artistic output to c. 1450-66 and have estimated his corpus to include well over three hundred engravings, of which three hundred and fourteen are extant.⁵⁸

A comparison of elements found in the engravings of Master ES and Schongauer makes it clear that the latter's use of these elements was more naturalistic. For example, *Madonna and Child with Flower* by Master ES is roughly ten years earlier than the *Virgin of the Annunciation* by Schongauer (Fig. 6, c.1460s; Fig. 7, c.1470s). Master ES set his figures in a pasture amidst some easily recognizable plants, such as clover and violet; however the plants are generalized and abbreviated as leaf shapes outlined in thick lines that lack any specificity. The lily by Schongauer, on the other hand, is more fully depicted with variations in the leaf and flower growth and shading created by close parallel lines. The delicate physiognomy of the female figures is similar, perhaps reflecting a uniformity of style for this period, but it is Schongauer's rendering of the naturalistic elements that distinguishes him from his near contemporaries. Moreover, unlike Master ES, who reuses the same generic floral composition with little variation, Schongauer modifies his presentation of the same kind of flower in his different engravings (Fig. 8 and 9). Schongauer seems to take delight in the endless variation that nature presents. As Koreny has pointed out, Schongauer recorded minute details of his nature studies, including the leaf veins and flowers from two different angles. It is more than likely that Schongauer made detailed nature studies for his engravings, as the *Study of Peonies* shows (Fig. 10, c. 1475).⁵⁹ For example, Schongauer varies the lily, a staple attribute of any Annunciation scene, in each engraving so that some stems bifurcate at the

⁵⁷ Henry Francis, "The Engravings of the Master ES," *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, 38 (Nov. 1951): 207.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Schongauer also made detailed studies of animals such as in his *Pack Mule*, c. 1475-80 and *The Pig Family*, 1475-80.

base and others show flowers in different states.⁶⁰ In addition to including naturalistic elements, Schongauer also ingeniously elaborates upon Master ES's visual vocabulary, creating varied and complex devotional images.

The inclusion of these carefully studied and naturally rendered elements within Schongauer's devotional images correlates with the popular religious movement, the *Devotio Moderna*, which emphasizes the humanity of Christ.⁶¹ Begun during the early fifteenth-century, *Devotio Moderna* encouraged practitioners to mediate and *in vision* Christ as if he was in their presence and they could see him, his deeds and even hear him speak.⁶² In addition to naturally rendered elements, Schongauer, following Northern Renaissance conventions, does not include halos, which serves to further accentuate Christ's humanity by situating his Passion within the viewer's contemporary time and space.⁶³

By the mid-fifteenth century, the production of vernacular literature in the German-speaking world had exploded. An estimated eighty percent of all extant manuscripts written in German or Dutch during this period contained religious literature.⁶⁴ The copying of religious texts by the laity was strongly encouraged and the

⁶⁰ For more information on plant studies in prints see: David Freedberg, "The Failure of Color," in John Onians, ed., *Sight & Insight: Essays on Art and Culture in Honour of E.H. Gombrich at 85* (London: Phaidon Press, 1994); Peter Parshall and David Landau, "Print and Facts: The Specialized Markets (Printed Maps and City Views, Printed Herbals and Descriptive Botany)," in Parshall and Landau, *The Renaissance Print*, 237-260; Sachiko Kusukawa, "Leonard Fuchs on the Importance of Pictures," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 58:3 (Jul. 1997): 403-427.

⁶¹ John Van Engen, trans., *Devotio Moderna: Basic Writings* (New York: Paulist Press, 1988), 100-101.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Leo Steinberg, *The Sexuality of Christ in Renaissance Art and in Modern Oblivion* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1983), 70-71.

⁶⁴ Werner Williams-Krapp, "The Erosion of a Monopoly: German Religious Literature in the Fifteenth-Century," in *The Vernacular Spirit: Essays on Medieval Religious Literature*, eds. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, Duncan Robertson and Nancy Bradley Warren (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 239.

number of religious manuscripts and printed books grew exponentially during this period.⁶⁵

Encouraging the scriptural education of the laity, adherents of the Devotio Moderna movement favored the use of images in stimulating the practice of devotion as a means of personal salvation. Images provided a useful tool for instructing the laity, for they could transmit information quickly and to a large number of people. They also offered the additional benefit of keeping the laity dependent upon the clergy for ascertaining the more complex religious concepts embedded within them. Meditations on the sufferings of Christ soon led to devotions focusing on the co-suffering of the Virgin. Devotions to Mary during this period were directly linked to increased popularity of devotions on the life and Passion of Christ.⁶⁶ Mendicant orders and lay brotherhoods were some of the most active promoters of the cult of Mary.⁶⁷ Printmakers, naturally, sought to profit in this devotional market.

The personal participation of the devotee in the meditative reenactments of the lives of Christ and the Virgin likely contributed to Schongauer's use of increasingly intimate, naturalistic depictions of scenes for both his *Passion* and the *Life of the Virgin* series. It was, therefore, no coincidence that Schongauer's most popular engravings came from these series, both of which had multiple print runs.⁶⁸ Each print run likely numbered over several hundred copies.⁶⁹ The popularity of these series also can be measured in the number of copies made by other engravers, which can sometimes number into the hundreds for each engraving series.⁷⁰ For example, Schongauer's *Death*

⁶⁵ Ibid., 241.

⁶⁶ Bredero, Adriaan H. *Christendom and Christianity in the Middle Ages: the Relations between Religion, Church and Society*. Trans. Reinder Bruinsma (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1993), 339.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Stogdon, *Martin Schongauer*, ii.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Stogdon, *Hollstein's German Engravings*, 21-72. In addition to copies made by anonymous artists, Dürer also made a woodcut series based on Schongauer's *Life of the*

of the Virgin has ten known engravings fashioned after the original—each with its own prolific print run.

Schongauer borrows discerningly from his predecessors in order to clarify the devotional content for his viewer while simultaneously raising the artistic stakes of the votive image. Many of Schongauer's earlier engravings, including his series of the *Passion* and *Life of the Virgin* (1470-5), show the influence of Master ES.⁷¹ An example of this can be seen when comparing the *Madonna and Child with a Flower* by Master ES to Schongauer's *Saint Dorothy* (Fig. 11, c. 1460s; Fig. 12, c. 1465-75.).⁷² The *Madonna and Child with a Flower* includes three figures, the Virgin, the Christ child and an accompanying angel arranged on a foreground heavy with outlined forms of flowers and plants. Master ES enfolds all three figures in heavy drapery that, in dark lines, hints at their form without careful modeling. The purity of the Virgin and the sweetness of the child are both expressed in the gentle bending of their heads in opposite directions, which forms a stable triangular composition. To the right of this pair, an angel lovingly gazes and extends small flower token to the Christ child—a gesture that provides the viewer with a model for proper veneration.

In his engraving of *Saint Dorothy*, Schongauer borrows elements from Master ES's composition and adds painterly effects that heighten the viewer's devotional experience. Schongauer presents Saint Dorothy as an intercessory figure analogous to the Virgin by articulating Dorothy via the motif of the Madonna of Humility.⁷³ The

Virgin and Passion engravings. See Erwin Panofsky, *The Life and Art of Albrecht Dürer* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 15-38.

⁷¹ Dürer models his more widely studied *Passion* and *Life of the Virgin* woodcut series (c. 1511) directly from Schongauer's engravings of the same name.

⁷² To my knowledge, Master ES never completed a devotional image of Saint Dorothy; therefore, the closest comparison that can be made is his *Madonna and Child with a flower*.

⁷³ The Madonna of Humility motif is the artistic portrayal of the Virgin sitting either on the ground or a cushion. For a more thorough discussion see Millard Meiss, "The Madonna of Humility," *The Art Bulletin* 18 (Dec. 1936): 436-65. For Dürer's appropriations of Schongauer's Marian imagery see: Julia Bartrum, ed., *Albrecht Dürer*

pronounced oval shape of Dorothy's face, her cascading hair as well as the slight downward inclination of her head are all clearly borrowed from the Master ES's composition. Schongauer, however, establishes an intimacy between the two figures that does not exist in the more conventional presentation of the Madonna and Child in ES's engraving. Schongauer's use of the subtle downward head tilt unites the composition by focusing the viewer's attention on St. Dorothy as she miraculously witnesses the Christ child prior to her execution. An earlier German woodcut demonstrates the static and stylized model for the presentation of St. Dorothy, in which the fruit basket carried by the Christ child functions merely as the saint's identifying attribute (Fig. 13c; 1410). Schongauer, on the other hand, stabilizes his composition by placing the basket of fruit between the two figures, forming a pyramidal shape that, more importantly, focuses the viewer's attention on the intimate and compassionate interaction between the two figures in the moments prior to Dorothy's execution. Schongauer articulates the same visual vocabulary as the earlier prints, but with more sophisticated painterly techniques.

Schongauer's additions to Master ES's compositions increases their devotional value by making them more varied and complex. In the *Crucifixion* from his Passion series, Schongauer elaborates the basic *topos* exemplified by Master ES's composition of the same name, but emphasizes the theatricality of the scene. In his *Crucifixion*, Master ES depicts a cropped cross with a wiry, emaciated Christ (Fig. 14; c. 1450-66). Standing on opposite sides of the cross, the Virgin and John the Evangelist express two forms of grief. John wrings his hands and stares out at the viewer with an expression that conveys his despair and sorrow. Master ES conveys her suffering by encapsulating Mary within deep drapery—an all-encompassing grief relying on a standard *topos* for the crucifixion already established by printed woodcuts (Fig. 15; before c. 1500).

In his *Crucifixion*, Schongauer elaborates upon the conventional model exemplified by the anonymous woodcut and Master ES's engraving to heighten the theatricality of the depicted event. Schongauer borrows the cropped cross and the Christ figure; however, he models the body with parallel hatches that follow the curve of

and his Legacy: The Graphic Work of a Renaissance Artist (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 96-99.

muscles creating a more sculptural form (Fig.16; c. 1470-5). He masterfully tilts John's face downwards, a change that resonates as both despair and contemplation. The complexity of the Virgin's grief is mapped onto several female figures on the left, who display various stages of the same emotion. In Master ES's engraving, a stippled foreground and a single sketched-in-plant represent the location's barrenness. In contrast, Schongauer uses the landscape to complement his figures' emotions. The desolate scenery surrounds the figures on all sides. In the immediate foreground, Schongauer has scooped out the earth, creating a precipitous drop at the right edge of picture plane. Schongauer positions the viewer as a spectator to the event. In short, the message is the same, but the presentation is more sophisticated.

Schongauer uses a painterly composition to evoke compassion from the viewer in his *Entombment* (Fig. 17; c.1470-5), another engraving fashioned after the version by Master ES (Fig. 18; 1450-66). Schongauer stages a theatrical presentation that focuses the viewer's attention on the mass of figures who gently place Christ's body into the sarcophagus. Master ES uses deeply outlined figures around the tomb, which projects forward into the viewer's space. Schongauer, on the other hand, places his figures around the sarcophagus, horizontal to the picture plan, forming a group of figures and landscape on the left that tapers as it proceeds toward the viewer's right. In Master ES's version the three Mary's line the background and exhibit the different stages of grief. This composition must have resonated with its intended audience, since it was not only copied by Schongauer but also by an anonymous German artist who retains most of its formal elements (Fig. 19; before c. 1500). Schongauer, however, surrounds the coffin with mourners that vary his composition with figures that bend, grasp, and touch the body. The backs of Mary and John the Evangelist face the viewer and alter the static, frontal arrangement of Master ES's conventional forms. Schongauer creates individualized reactions for each mourner, which not only gives visual complexity to the composition, but also offers an assortment of devotional models. These changes provide more sophisticated formal compositional solutions while engaging with contemporary devotional practices.

Schongauer clearly understood both the Devotio Moderna movement and the market. His use of naturalistic elements encouraged a bottom-to-top, detail-to-narrative

reading of the scene. Precisely rendered figures fill the upper halves of his compositions, entreating the audience to ponder the implication of the depicted events one element at a time. Using naturalism to arrest the rapid progress of the viewer's eye toward the center of the image, Schongauer demanded careful observation of the entire scene. In comparison to earlier fifteenth-century woodcuts that simplified the devotional image with heavily outlined forms and minimal shading, Schongauer's sophisticated meditations were feasts for the eyes and the soul.

The insertion of the engraved meditation on the *Death of the Virgin* into a Lutheran Bible by the practicing Catholic Hans Plock (c. 1541) some five decades later attests to the devotional potency of Schongauer's religious prints (Fig. 4). Plock's pairing of Schongauer's image with the *Man of Sorrows* on the facing recto suggests an understanding of the standard pre-Reformation practice of contemplating Mary's sorrows with those of Christ. For Plock and others like him who inserted actual prints within books, Schongauer's engravings offered both a satisfying alternative to other artistic media and a tangible sign of an artist's legacy.⁷⁴ Plock's carefully drawn bejeweled frame for Schongauer's print suggests that he spent time observing and meditating on the image. The frame and the honorific inscription also attest to Plock's admiration of the work and its artist.

Schongauer's innovative appropriation of Netherlandish elements and complex compositions in print made him one of the first *peintre-graveurs* of the early modern era.⁷⁵ Plock's Bible is a case study of how the artist's images were received and cherished well after Schongauer's death without regard to the ephemerality of the medium. The qualities that Plock admired in Schongauer's image were those that were sought after throughout Europe—even by German printmakers and artists working in Spain. Because Schongauer formally structured his engravings to elicit powerful responses from his audience, these compositional elements and devices contributed to

⁷⁴ Christopher Wood, *Forgery Replica Fiction: Temporalities of German Renaissance Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 154, 242.

⁷⁵ Adam von Bartsch, *Le Peintre-Graveur* (Leipsic: R. Weigel, 1860-4). The term was invented by Bartsch and has come to mean an artist making prints from his own original designs.

their continued value and appropriation long after the artist's death. By end of the fifteenth-century, Schongauer's engravings were so popular that printmakers, publishers and artists alike fashioned compositions after them. In Spain, Schongauer's construction of devotional compositions appealed to Pablo Hurus, the preeminent publisher working in Zaragoza. Hurus then became the conduit for the introduction of Schongauer's prints in Aragón and for their appropriation by Spanish artists for their large-scale religious commissions.

CHAPTER TWO: THE INFLUENCE OF THE HURUS PRESS

Among the devotional images selected by Pablo Hurus to serve as pictorial models for his 1498 Spanish translation of Bernhard von Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam* (Mainz, 1486) was Martin Schongauer's engraving *Death of the Virgin* (Fig. 20; c. 1498). Hurus, a German publisher working in Zaragoza, inserted a woodcut fashioned after Schongauer's *Death of the Virgin* within Breydenbach's account of one of Jerusalem's sacred sites, "within a few spaces, we came across a destroyed church with only a few stones left standing where the Virgin, mother of God, fourteen years after the Passion of our Redeemer came to the end [woodcut inserted here] of her life and was lifted by God into the heavens."⁷⁶ During the late fifteenth-century, Hurus, the most prolific publisher in Spain, contracted local artists to turn Schongauer's copperplate-engravings into stylized woodcuts that abbreviated the original composition without losing any of its devotional potency.⁷⁷ Much as it would for Hans Plock more than 40 years later, Schongauer's *Death of the Virgin* functioned two ways for Hurus—as both an exemplary pictorial model and as a testament to the artistic merit of an internationally renowned artist. In this chapter, I argue that Pablo Hurus appropriated Schongauer's engravings for their technical refinement and efficacy as devotional images. Furthermore, he converted Schongauer's images into illustrations for his publications

⁷⁶ Translation mine. "Dentre a poco espacio vimos una yglesia ya destrosada: solo cenyda de algunas piedras: donde la virge madre de dios, xiiii años estuvo despues de la passion del redemptor hasta el fin de us vida y al dia que fue subida por Dios a los cielos." Text in Brenardo de Breidenbach, *Viaje de La Tierra Santa* (Madrid: Ministerio de Educacion y Ciencia Direccion General de Archivos y Bibliotecas Instituto Bibliografico Hispanico, 1974), fol. LX; Bernardo de Breidenbach, *Viaje de la Tierra Santa* (Zaragoza: Pablo Hurus, 1498).

⁷⁷ Pallares Jimenez, *La Imprenta de los Incunables*, 72, 110.

enhancing or, in one case, altering the nature of the original text from a travel guide to a devotional volume.⁷⁸

Scholars have long established that Martin Schongauer's prints reached the Iberian peninsula during the late fifteenth century.⁷⁹ Schongauer's prints have been documented in contemporary collections like that of Ferdinand Columbus (1488-1539), the son of Christopher Columbus (1451-1506), and it has been speculated that they were sold in Spanish art markets. The inclusion of adaptations of Schongauer's prints within incunabula, however, has been somewhat ignored in the scholarship.⁸⁰ The presence of woodcuts after his engravings in early printed books suggests another vehicle for the dissemination of images during the early modern period. Moreover, their inclusion within religious editions suggests that they served multiple functions—to bookmark multiple sections of related text, to visually guide the reader through the textual narrative, and to stimulate devotion.

On October 22, 1476, a notarized document formally established the residency of two German printers, Pablo Hurus and Eric Botel, in the Aragonese capital, Zaragoza.⁸¹

⁷⁸ Hurus's publications also included other German prints by artists such as Israhel van Meckenem and Master ES; however, the analysis of those prints is beyond the scope of this current project. This study will limit itself to known works by Schongauer that were then copied by Aragonese artists.

⁷⁹ Konrad Haebler, *The Early Printers of Spain and Portugal* (London: Chiswick Press, 1897), 35.

⁸⁰ Mark McDonald, *Ferdinand Columbus: Renaissance Collector, 1488-1539* (London: British Museum Press, 2005); Alvarez, "The Art Market," 57. Alvarez notes the sale of Schongauer's prints in art markets as early as 1519, which is later than the scope of this project.

⁸¹ Carlos Romero de Lecca, "Amanecer de la imprenta en el reino de Aragón," in *Historia de la imprenta hispana* (Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1982), 258; Romero de Lecca's dates are much earlier than the dates proposed by Konrad Haebler and F.J. Norton whose later dates of 1485 and 1488, respectively are based on the dated volumes printed in Zaragoza by Paul Hurus; however, Hurus and his associate, Enrique Botel, had been established printers in Barcelona prior to transferring their business to Zaragoza and the earlier date proposed by Romero de Lecca is based on documentary evidence of their mercantile collaborations. For the earlier dates see: Haebler, *The Early Printers of Spain and Portugal*, 35; and Norton, *Printing in Spain*, 69.

As part of the German mercantile company Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft, Hurus and Botel introduced printing to Aragón in order to increase profits for their parent company.⁸² To that end, the two associates printed popular books, many of which were illustrated with copies of German prints.⁸³ By 1488, the association with Botel was dissolved, leaving Pablo Hurus as the lead printer of the most prolific press in all of Spain.⁸⁴

Although the Hurus printing press has received some attention from scholars of early modern books, among scholars studying the influence of Schongauer, few have considered its impact upon the dissemination of Schongauer's prints in fifteenth-century Aragón.⁸⁵ Thus far, the discourse has been limited to a handful of studies by incunabulists.⁸⁶ Based upon his dissertation that deals with incunabula printed in Zaragoza at the end of the fifteenth-century, the monograph by Miguel Pallerez Jimenez (2008) carefully documents all of the publications printed by the Hurus press as well as the printing practices of the press, yet makes only a brief mention of the use of

⁸² Miguel Angel Pallares Jimenez, *La Imprenta de los Incunables de Zaragoza* (Zaragoza: Institucion Fernando el Catolico, 2008), 62.

⁸³ Norton, *Printing in Spain, 1501-1520*, 69.

⁸⁴ Pallares Jimenez, *La Imprenta de los Incunables de Zaragoza*, 68; Norton, *Printing in Spain, 1501-1520*, 69.

⁸⁵ The premier study of Schongauer's influence in Aragon has been: Lacarra Ducay, "Influencia de Martin Schongauer en los primitivos argoneses." Others include: Alberto Aceldegui Apesteguia, "Fuentes Grabadas,"; Maria de los Ángeles Torné Poyatos, "La Pintura gotica Española del Museo del Prado, catalogo critico razonado" (Ph.D. diss., Universidad Complutense Madrid, 1987); Maria Pilar Silva Moroto, "Influencia de los grabados nordicos en la pintura hispanoflamenco," *Archivo Español de arte*, 64 (1988): 243.

⁸⁶ The most notable of these studies has been Pallares Jimenes, *La Imprenta*. For more general information on Spanish incunablas see: *Catalogo General de Incunables en Bibliotecas Espanolas: 2 vols* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1988-1990); *Catalogue of books printed in the XVth Century now in the British Museum: X. Spain and Portugal* (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1971). The graphic arts during the fifteenth-century: Francisco Vindel, *El arte tipografico en España durante el siglo XV*, Zaragoza (Madrid: Direccion General de Relaciones Culturales, 1949). Vindel's volumes reproduce pages with prints from each Incunable, but with little to no analysis.

Schongauer's prints as pictorial models in Hurus's publications. Only two scholars, Pedro Tena and Hugh Davies, have specifically addressed the appropriation of Schongauer's images by the Hurus press. The primary concern of both of these studies is cataloging and enumerating their examples with little analysis made of the images. Tena focuses his study on the prints used in Hurus's 1498 edition of Breydenbach's *Viaje de la Tierra Santa* and mentions the inclusion of Martin Schongauer's prints.⁸⁷ While Tena's study catalogues the prints used in this particular edition, it includes very little information on their relationship to the original Schongauer engravings or how they function within the text. Hugh Davies' study is more expansive, including all first editions of Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam* published during the late fifteenth century, but Davies does not assign any attribution to the prints in the Hurus edition, save to suggest their German origin.⁸⁸

Between 1492 and 1497, the Hurus press included woodcuts after Schongauer's engravings in six publications.⁸⁹ Two of these editions, Andres de Li's *Tesoro de la Pasion* (1494) and Bernhard Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam* (, 1498), will be considered in this chapter. The Hurus press publication of *Tesoro de la Pasion* consists of 120 folios and 124 images, several of which are used repeatedly throughout the volume, while Bernhard Breydenbach's *Viaje de la Tierra Santa* consists of 205 folios and 63 images, only a few of which are repeated. Both editions include images adapted from Schonaguer's engraved series, *The Passion* and *Life of the Virgin*. The

⁸⁷ Pedro Tena Tena, "Los grabados del Viaje de la Tierra Santa (Zaragoza, 1498)," *Boletin del Museo e Instituto Camón Aznar* 81 (2000): 219-241, 231-232.

⁸⁸ Hugh W. Davies, *Bernhard von Breydenbach and His Journey to the Holy Land, 1483-4: A Bibliography* (London: J. & J. Leighton, 1911), 35. Davies mentions the Hurus edition with a brief description of the German prints and suggests that the plates may have been obtained from Lyonnese artists, but offers no other specific information.

⁸⁹ Jaime Moll, "Introduction," in *Bernardo de Breidenbach Viaje De La Tierra Santa* (Madrid: Ministerio de Educacion y Ciencia, 1974), 8. The other titles that include images are *Expositio aurea hymnorum*, 1492 (five woodcuts); *Triumpho de Maria* 1495 (three woodcuts); *Officium beatae Mariae*, 1488-90 (five woodcuts); and *Legenda aurea sanctorum*, c. 1488-90 (four woodcuts).

⁹¹ Pallares Jimenez, *La Imprenta de los Incunables*, 133. Hurus later paid to have the volume translated into Spanish in late 1497.

manuscript of Andres de Li's *Tesoro de la Pasión* was likely not illustrated originally. The images in Hurus's edition of this book were later re-used the Breydenbach edition, which he may have obtained in 1497 from Gaspar Ruch, a German mercantile company established in Spain.⁹¹

The use of Schongauer's engravings by Hurus demonstrates one of the strategies employed by early print publishers to ensure the desirability of their products in the free market, and to ensure the success of their businesses. During the late fifteenth-century, publishing could be a fairly risky venture due to the volatile and competitive nature of the market. This was less so the case, however, with the publications of indulgences and certificates of confession, which often enjoyed some of the longest prints runs.⁹² New book publishers had to compete with a completely different market than had their predecessors in manuscript production.⁹³ Early printers had to contend with a market of mostly unknown customers.⁹⁴ To offset this risk, publishers would print runs of popular books, like Breydenbach's *Viaje de la Tierra Santa*, which would insure the sale of their merchandise.

Printmakers' success, therefore, depended on their ability to produce products marketed towards an intended audience. By the end of the fifteenth century, the crown of Aragón, whose wealth had been founded on textile exports, was a vast commercial empire that included Catalonia, Valencia, Naples, Mallorca, Sicily and Perpignan.⁹⁵ The unification of Castile and Aragón on October 19, 1469 stabilized as well as encouraged an economic boom for the newly united kingdoms. By 1494, Ferdinand and Isabel had

⁹² John Flood, "Volentes Sibi Comparare Infrascriptos Libros Impressos...," in Printed Books as a Commercial Commodity in the Fifteenth Century," in *Incunabula and their Readers: Printing, Selling and Using books in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Kristian Jensen. (London: The British Library, 2003), 140.

⁹³ Flood, "Volentes Sibi Comparare Infrascriptos" 141. Manuscript production had been a primarily made-to-order product or created with a specific customer in mind.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Mari-Tere Alvarez, "The Art Market in Renaissance Spain: From Flanders to Castile" (PhD. diss., University of Southern California, 2003), 4; John Huxtable Elliot, *Imperial Spain, 1469-1716* (London: Penguin Books, 1990), 27.

conquered the Moorish dominions in Granada as well as financed the voyage of Christopher Columbus to the New World.⁹⁶ The capital of Aragón, Saragossa, witnessed a surge of economic prosperity attracting German craftsmen who, in addition to introducing the printing press, also inserted German prints within their publications.⁹⁷

In Zaragoza, the trend for devotional images fashioned after Flemish and German models reached its peak in popularity under the Catholic monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabel.⁹⁸ Isabel was also an avid collector of works by German and French artists.⁹⁹ Hurus, therefore, capitalized on this court trend for devotional texts and images as his press's print catalogue attests. The prominence of the Church and the support of the Catholic monarchs within Spain likely contributed to the market demand that would have encouraged Hurus to print mostly devotional works and images, including indulgence sheets and confessionals, which would have generated a substantial portion of Hurus's annual revenue.¹⁰⁰

Given that market demand was largely driven by the tastes of the Aragonese nobles, Hurus utilized German prints as pictorial models in his workshop. In order to obtain new printed material and prints, Hurus traveled at least once beyond the Pyrenees in 1480, going as far as Lyon.¹⁰¹ It is likely that Hurus, whose German contacts were numerous, placed orders to import prints, a fairly common practice at this time as ship inventories bound for Spain from Flanders usually contained large volumes of engravings.¹⁰² In addition to careful title and illustration selection, printers also marketed

⁹⁶ J. H. Elliot, *Imperial Spain, 1469-1716* (New York: Penguin Books, 2002), 45.

⁹⁷ Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 322.

⁹⁸ Chandler Post, *A History of Spanish Painting: Volume IV-Part I: The Hispano-Flemish Style in Northwestern Spain* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1933), 4. This will be discussed in more detail as it pertains to the material in Chapter Three.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 6.

¹⁰⁰ Pallares Jimenez, *La Imprenta de los Incunables de Zaragoza*, 51.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 73.

¹⁰² Alvarez, "The Art Market," 242.

their popular editions to a wider audience by sending their publications to Spanish book fairs. The largest one was held in the city of Medina del Campo, Castile, which lies 158 km northwest of Madrid. This was perhaps the most important book market in Spain, and its fame attracted even foreign buyers.¹⁰³ It is in this market that Ferdinand Columbus purchased his Hurus edition of Breydenbach's *Viaje de la Tierra Santa*.¹⁰⁴ Up until 1511, Medina (and by extension Castile) contained no major publishing houses.¹⁰⁵ The majority of the works sold at the fair were imported from outside Castile. Hurus's participation at the fair in 1495 is documented in a customs receipt of his payment for the exportation of his editions to the fair.¹⁰⁶ Through their publication in the Hurus' editions, Martin Schongauer's prints likely first reached the interior of the Spanish Empire at the Medina fair.

Hurus uses Schongauer's engravings in his publications with some frequency. One of the earliest examples is the *Tesoro de la Pasión* published in 1494. Little is known about the author, Andres de Li, save that he was a mathematician from a Jewish family. Imprisoned by the Inquisition in 1490, Andres de Li wrote *Tesoro de la Pasión* (The Passion's Treasure) following his release, as its title and recurring textual references to the blasphemy of the Jews suggest.¹⁰⁷ The text recounts the Passion followed by instructions for prayers during the Hours, which deviate from the traditional Divine

¹⁰³ Pallares Jimenez, *La Imprenta de los Incunables de Zaragoza*, 126.

¹⁰⁴ Amanda W. Dotseth, "Maestro Bartolome's Use of Prints in the Altarpiece of Ciudad Rodrigo," in *Fernando Gallego and His Workshop: the Altarpiece from Ciudad Rodrigo, Paintings from the Collections of the University of Arizona Museum of Art*, eds. Amanda W. Dotseth, Barbara C. Anderson and Mark A Roglán (Dallas: Meadows Museum, SMU; London: Philip Wilson Publishers, 2008), 119.

¹⁰⁵ Pallares Jimenez, *La Imprenta de los Incunables de Zaragoza*, 125.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 126.

¹⁰⁷ M. Gómez Urriel, *Bibliotecas Antigua y Nueva de Escritores Aragoneses de Latassa, aumentadas y refundidas en forma de diccionario bibliográfico-biográfico*, vol. 2 (Zaragoza: Oficina de Medardo Heras, 1885), 75; Andres de Li, *Tesoro de la Pasión* (Zaragoza: Pablo Hurus, 1494).

Office. Given that the author dedicates his text to the monarchs Ferdinand and Isabel, it is possible that Andres commissioned Hurus to print the edition in an effort to gain favor with the Spanish crown.¹⁰⁸ A common practice, this dedicatory gesture was either an effort to assure the court of the author's goodwill or to curry its favor.¹⁰⁹ It is also likely that this singular edition was intended for the monarchs and members of their court, who had only recently returned to Zaragoza in late 1493.¹¹⁰ The Hurus edition was the first, and by all accounts, only published edition of Li's book.¹¹¹

The woodcuts in the *Tesoro de la Pasion* were all copied from Schongauer's *Passion* series. The first image in the publication is a copy after Schongauer's *Betrayal and Capture of Christ* (Fig. 21; 1494). Like the majority of the 124 woodcuts in this edition, the image is framed, separating it from the text. There is a close text-to-image correlation between all the images in this volume. The text directly to the left of the image instructs the reader to say the prayer to the right of the nota bene figure during the hour of Matins. The prayer refers to moment in the Passion when Christ is led through the Jewish mob, following his sentencing. Li's prayer includes supplications to God for aiding the reader's fraternal love in mankind.

Schongauer's original engraving (Fig. 22) has been simplified in the woodcut image included in the *Tesoro de la Pasion*. The anonymous copyist retains the compositional structure of the original, which places Christ in the center of a swirling mass of fighting soldiers complete with drawn weapons. The artist eliminates the peripheral figures, concentrating on the figures in direct contact with Christ. The woodcut retains the horizontal foreground figure of Malchus, who serves to contain the swirling activity of the other figures in both the original print and in the woodcut. In

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Roger Chartier, *Forms and Meanings: Text, Performances, and Audiences from Codex to Computer* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), 35.

¹¹⁰ Pallares Jimenez, *La Imprenta de los Incunables de Zaragoza*, 123.

¹¹¹ The only other printing of this book is a facsimile of Andres de Li's *Tesoro de la Pasion* set to publish in late 2011: Laura Delburgge, *A Scholarly Edition of Andres de Li's Tesoro de la Pasion, 1494* (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2011).

addition, the reproduction includes direct quotes from Schongauer's original, such as the inclusion of an overturned lantern in the lower left-hand corner and the drawn-sword of the standing figure on the far left. While the copyist's woodcut does not faithfully reproduce the fine facial details in the original engraving that serve to invoke sympathy and pathos, his efforts retain some of those elements on Christ's face.

The *Tesoro*'s copy of the woodcut *Christ before Pilate* (Fig. 23; 1494) reveals a similar text to image relationship, as well as an analogous appropriation of the Schongauer original (Fig. 24; c. 1480). This is the only image in which the original design is reversed, suggesting that the craftsman likely transferred the design directly onto the block. Like the previous image, the scene is framed and includes Li's suggestion that the prayer below be recited during the Canonical Hour of Sext. Li's text states that this section corresponds to the moment in the Passion when "Pilate by his sentence condemns to death our redeemer and master, Jesus."¹¹² The copyist retains Schongauer's theatrical framing of an insouciant Pilate calmly condemning Christ. Only the figures directly surrounding the central action are maintained as they provide the woodcut with the compositional complexity of the original. The man with his back towards the viewer and the figures directly behind Christ evoke Schongauer's compositional model without being a literal copy.

Schongauer engravings were also appropriated for Hurus' edition of Bernhard von Breydenbach's popular book, *Viaje de la Tierra Santa*, first published in Mainz by Erhard Reuwich, the printer and illustrator of the work.¹¹³ The Mainz edition was printed in Latin on February 1, 1486 with a German translation issued four months later.¹¹⁴ The book follows Breydenbach's narrative of his travels from Venice to Mount Sinai, which he undertook from April 1483 until the end of January 1484.¹¹⁵ The text's popularity

¹¹² Translations are my own.

¹¹³ Davies, *Bernhard von Breydenbach*, 29.

¹¹⁴ William M. Ivins, Jr., "The First Edition of Breydenbach's Journey," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, 14 (October 1919): 215-221.

¹¹⁵ Davies, *Bernhard von Breydenbach*, 1. Davies points out that although Breydenbach is traditionally given authorship of the book that the text was more than likely compiled

during the fifteenth-century is due, in large part, to the illustrations provided by Erhard Reuwich, who accompanied Breydenbach on the journey. Reuwich's illustrations include some of the first detailed prints of cityscapes, exotic peoples and animals.¹¹⁶ The topographic views, which included Venice, Parenzo, Corfu, Modon, Crete, Rhodes, and Jerusalem, are of particular importance because they were among the earliest cityscape prints. These prints were foldouts created from several blocks, printed on separate sheets of large paper and later pasted together.¹¹⁷ Between 1486 and 1522, the book was translated into German, French, Flemish, and Spanish. Twelve editions contained both the text and the original woodcuts; among them was the Hurus edition.¹¹⁸

Although the Hurus edition of Breydenbach's *Viaje de la Tierra Santa* replicates all of Reuwich's original illustrations, the inclusion of woodcuts fashioned after Schongauer's engravings alters the character of the travel account into a narrative of the Passion cycle. Hurus' publication includes all of the topographic views from the 1486 Mainz publication, each inserted into its original placement.¹¹⁹ The translator, Martín Martínez de Ampiés, included a prologue dedicating the Spanish edition to the Viceroy of Catalonia and the Count of Ribagorza, Juan de Aragón.¹²⁰ The edition also includes Ampiés' translation of the *Treatise of Rome*, his historical and biblical glosses, as well as some of his own personal commentaries.¹²¹ In the section devoted to Breydenbach's

and composed by Martin Roth at the Dominican convent of Pforzheim; however, this particular detail is not crucial to the discussion at hand.

¹¹⁶ Ivins, "The First Edition of Breydenbach's Journey," 217.

¹¹⁷ Ibid, 216.

¹¹⁸ Davies, *Bernhard von Breydenbach*, 33-40.

¹¹⁹ Davies, *Bernhard von Breydenbach*, 34; Bernardo de Breidenbach, *Viaje de la Tierra Santa*, 7. Davies states that the clarity of the topographic woodcuts in the Spanish edition suggests that Hurus must have had Reuwich's original plates; however this is disputed.

¹²⁰ Ibid.; Bernardo de Breidenbach, *Viaje de la Tierra Santa*, 6.

¹²¹ Bernardo de Breidenbach, *Viaje de la Tierra Santa*, 7. Ampiés was a humanist trained in arts and letters who translated several texts for Hurus. In addition to translating the text, Ampiés included personal commentaries throughout the text, with written caveats

arrival in Jerusalem is where Ampíés has included a large portion of his commentary within Breydenbach's narrative.¹²²

Unlike the German edition, the Spanish volume includes devotional images from Schongauer's *Life of the Virgin* and *Passion* series in the section dedicated to Breydenbach's account of his stay in Jerusalem. The original narrative includes descriptions of sites from the Passion, for example, the hall where Pilate condemned Christ or the location of the Flagellation. These descriptions read much like a travel diary, including Breydenbach's account of the biblical significance of each location visited, as well as anecdotal tales of his encounters with native peoples. Hurus's inclusion of woodcuts after Schongauer subverts Breydenbach's travel narrative and offers an alternative reading to his text. The images change the focus of the text from a travel account, which includes detailed maps complete with captions signaling their authenticity, to a devotional text that maps out the main events of the New Testament.¹²⁴

For example, Hurus' insertion of his woodcut fashioned after Schongauer's *The Death of the Virgin* elaborates on Breydenbach's text, refocusing the travel narrative into a devotional manual (Fig. 20; 1498). The framed image physically interrupts the textual description of Breydenbach's arrival at a ruined church that was believed to be the site of the Virgin's death. The image faithfully copies the compositional structure of Schongauer's *Death of the Virgin* (Fig. 25; c. late 1470's). As in the original print, the dying Virgin is surrounded by Apostles who pray at the foot of her deathbed. Yet the artist includes some local Spanish architectural elements, such as the inset-arched window with crosshatched panes--a type that still can be seen on extant fifteenth-century

which state "Ampies wrote this," clarifying between Breydenbach's original text and his insertions.

¹²² Thomas Noonan, *The Road to Jerusalem: Pilgrimage and Travel in the Age of Discovery* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2007), 41-43.

¹²⁴ For information on the maps included in the 1486 Breydenbach see: Larry Silver, "Mapped and Marginalized: Early Printed Images of Jerusalem," *Jewish Art* 23/24 (1997-8): 313-15.

buildings in Zaragoza. The delicate facial features apparent in Schongauer's original print are crudely sketched in the copy, but nevertheless convey the pathos of the original. The inclusion of the image draws out the unintentional devotional elements of Breydenbach's text and creates a new narrative focused on the Passion and the co-sufferings of the Virgin.

Inserted into the text following Breydenbach's description of the Church of Holy Sepulchre, the woodcut (Fig. 26; 1498) fashioned after Schongauer's *Entombment* (Fig. 27; 1480) continues the Passion narrative. Hurus' copy reverses the composition, but retains some of the original details.¹²⁵ The copyist has carefully detailed the bare feet of the figure in the foreground and has added fine lines to Christ's face. This suggests that the artist carefully modeled his composition after the engraving, including those fine details from the original that convey compassion and grief. Clearly, his delicate placement of John the Evangelist's arm around the waist of the mourning Virgin was as carefully positioned as in the original print. The copyist synthesizes Schongauer's composition into elements that evoke a devotional response from the reader. Schongauer's engraving provides a model that visually invests devotional content into Breydenbach's travels.

Similarly, the woodcut of *The Flagellation*, which appears after Breydenbach's description of the sites involved in the sentencing of Christ, is constructed like the original engraving to inspire compassion (Fig. 28; 1498). Schongauer's original engraving (Figure 29; c. 1480) includes three men who wield bundled branches and whips at Christ, while a fourth ties his hands to a central column, and a fifth, crouching in the corner, awaits with the crown of thorns. Schongauer places the figures inside an arcade, giving few other architectural details aside from the well-defined volume of space. The artist placed Christ's cloak in the foreground to further define the space. The copyist has reversed the composition and eliminated all but three of the figures, Christ and two of the men. The top of the image has been cropped, giving the impression of a much smaller space. Additionally, the artist has added the detail of a tiled floor to add to the illusion of depth, which is not as skillfully rendered as in Schongauer's design. The

¹²⁵ Included on the same page is an image of the Deposition not copied after a Schongauer design.

costumes of the two soldiers flagellating Christ are copied closely, right down to the seam in the jacket of the soldier with his back to the viewer. The scene retains the intensity and tension of the original, as the violent movement of the torturers collides with the serene acceptance of the Christ figure.

The inclusion of images appropriated from Schongauer in both the *Tesoro de la Pasion* and *Viaje de la Tierra Santa* suggests that Hurus considered Schongauer to be one of the most effective models for emphasizing the devotional nature of the two texts. Two images included in the *Tesoro de la Passion*, *The Arrest and Betrayal of Christ* and *Christ before Pilate*, are repeated in this edition (Fig. 30 and Fig. 31). No changes are made to the two images, which suggests that Hurus likely retained the woodblocks for reuse. Similarly to the previous images, the woodcuts were inserted directly after textual descriptions of the Garden of Gethsemane where Christ was betrayed and the palace room where Pilate washed his hands.

Efforts undertaken by Pablo Hurus to promote the growth of his commercial enterprise were in direct response to public tastes for religious texts. His press adapted popular contemporary volumes to meet this demand. By including Schongauer's images in a previously unillustrated text, the *Tesoro de la Passion* acquired popular visual devotional content. The visual program of Breydenbach's Mainz edition is transformed from a pilgrims account of peoples and places into a devotional narrative of the Passion by the additions of woodcuts after Schongauer. These efforts not only ensured the success of his press, but also introduced Schongauer's designs to print craftsmen and artists working in Zaragoza. Hurus' copyists made calculated choices about which compositional elements to retain and which to alter, while actively maintaining the emotional integrity of the Schongauer original. The insertion within Hurus publications of the devotional images appropriated after Schongauer's engravings significantly altered the tenor of their narratives. These types of choices were also repeatedly made in the paintings after Schongauer executed by Aragonese artists, whose appropriations will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE: PANEL PAINTINGS AFTER SCHONGAUER IN ARAGÓN

In a monastery outside of Toledo at the end of the fifteenth century, Maestro de la Sisla completed his panel painting fashioned after the *Death of the Virgin* engraving by Martin Schongauer (Fig. 32; c. 1500). Now in the collection of the Museo del Prado, Madrid, the panel evidences a familiarity with both the Schongauer engraving and the Hurus woodcut (Fig. 25, c. late 1470s; Fig. 33; 1498).¹²⁶ The large size of the panel, which measures over 6' x 3', suggests the likelihood of its prominent display within the Hieronymite monastery dedicated to the Virgin, Santa María de la Sisla, for which it was commissioned.¹²⁷ Scholars have made little inquiry into the appropriations of Schongauer engravings by Spanish artists for their religious commissions. While scholarship tends to downplay the role of this Hurus press in the introduction of Schongauer's prints within Spain, the appropriation of his engravings by Spanish artists begins shortly after the establishment of this press in Zaragoza. In this chapter, I argue that both Schongauer's engravings and Hurus's woodcuts functioned as effective pictorial models for Spanish painters who appropriated from both for their religious commissions.

Inquiry into the influence of Schongauer's images on Spanish artists has been undertaken by scholars studying the medieval art of the Northwest and Central provinces in Aragón, Navarra, and, to a lesser extent, Castile. María del Carmen Lacarra Ducay, the leading authority on the subject, primarily catalogs rather than formally analyzes the

¹²⁶ Provenance for this panel is unknown save it having been acquired by the Prado from the Trinidad Museum. It is likely that it was sold only after the Hieronymites order's suppression in Spain during the mid 1800s.

¹²⁷ The monastery founded by the Iberian Hieronymites is no longer in existence, but during the late fifteenth-century it reached the height of its influence with the Catholic Kings and members of their Royal Court as requests for masses and prayers from kings and queens well into the sixteenth-century can attest. See: Cayetano Rosell, et al., *Cronicas de los Reyes de Castilla desde Don Alfonso el sabio hasta los Catolicos Don Fernando y Dona Isabel*, vol. 2 (Madrid: Aribau y Compania, 1877), 186; Catholic University of America, *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 2 (Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America, 1967), 1099-1100.

numerous instances in which a Schongauer print was appropriated by an Aragonese artist, without suggesting what these appropriations might signify.¹²⁸ While compositional reliance on foreign engravings is documented, only brief descriptions of the paintings and short artist biographies are included. Due to the scope of her study, which enumerates painted panels fashioned after engravings by many German printmakers, detailed analyses were not possible.¹²⁹

The limited approach taken in the literature is due to its reliance on a local style referred to in scholarship as the hispanoflamenco style. First championed by Chandler Post (1933), the term, hispanoflamenco, has essentially come to signify all paintings completed after a foreign source be it Flemish or German.¹³⁰ In actuality, the

¹²⁸ María del Carmen Lacarra Ducay, “”Huella de Martin Schongauer en los primitivos aragoneses,” *Archivo Español de Arte* 207 (1979): 347-50; and “Influencia de Martin Schongauer en los primitivos aragoneses,” *Boletín del Museo e Instituto Camón Aznar* XVII (1984): 15-39. Lacarra Ducay’s foundational study has spurred a few scholars to examine the extent of Schongauer’s influence in Iberia. While this study focuses on Schongauer’s influence in Spain, there have been a few studies dedicated to the influence of German prints in Portugal that deserve mention: João José Alves Dias, *No quinto centenário da Vita Christi: Os primeiros impressores alemães em Portugal* (Lisboa: Presidencia do Conselho de Ministros, Secretaria de Estado da Cultura, Instituto da Biblioteca Nacional e do Livro, 1995); Joaquim de Vasconcellos, *Albrecht Dürer e a sua influencia na peninsula* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1929).

¹²⁹ Maria Pilar Silva Maroto, “Influencia de los grabados nordico en la pintura hispanoflamenco,” *Archivo Español de Arte* 243 (1988): 271-89. This article enumerates panels after: Schongauer, Iam von Zwolle, Master ES, Master FVB and Isreal van Meckenem. Alberto Aceldegui Apestegua, “El pintor y su época,” in *El retablo mayor de la Catedral de Tudela* (Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, Departamento de Educacion y Cultura, 2001); Alberto Aceldegui Apestegua, “Pintura Medieval,” in *La Catedral de Tudela* (Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, Departamento de Cultura y Turismo-Institución Príncipe de Viana, 2006). Alberto Aceldegui acknowledges the influence of German prints in the Tudela Cathedral Altarpiece, in particular the engravings by Martin Schongauer, as the compositional source for some of the panels, but as his study focuses upon the restoration of the Cathedral and the altarpiece, he does not explore the artistic appropriations contextually, going only so far as to suggest that Pedro Ovideo might have been the student of Martin Bernat, an Aragonese artist living and working near the Hurus Press in Zaragoza.

¹³⁰ Chandler Post, *A History of Spanish Painting: The Hispano-Flemish Style in North-Western Spain* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1933), 33. Post is the source most cited by other scholars when mentioning this particular term.

hispanoflamenco style can be more accurately described as a market-driven trend that had its beginnings in the court of Ferdinand and Isabel. The influence of Flemish and German art on Spanish artists was promoted by the Aragonese and Castilian courts. The trend had its nascent beginnings during the reign of Henry IV of Castile (1454-1474) and John II of Aragón(1458-1479), but reached its apex during the reign of the Catholic monarchs.¹³¹ Appropriations after Martin Schongauer's engravings are included, although the trend ultimately declines after Isabel's death. Due in part to Queen Isabel's enchantment with Flemish painting and German prints, the ascendancy of this trend at court also depended largely upon the economic prosperity and relative political stability brought about by the union of Castile and Aragón, which in turn encouraged its growth outside the royal court.¹³²

Prior the union of Aragón and Castile under the Catholic Kings, Iberia was a conglomeration of more or less independent nation states with strong economic and political ties to Flanders.¹³³ The marriage of Ferdinand and Isabel in 1469 united two kingdoms forming a mercantile juggernaut, comprised of Aragonese international expertise that strengthened and expanded the existing Castilian commercial trade system, especially its lucrative exportation of raw materials, such as wool.¹³⁴ The importation of luxury goods—particularly tapestries, paintings and prints—also increased along with the exportation of raw materials.¹³⁵ The Spanish court, which was located in the Aljafería

¹³¹ Ibid., 3.

¹³² To my knowledge there is no record of Isabel's active collection of Schongauer's engravings, but there is some evidence for their collection at court. See: Mark P. McDonald. *Ferdinand Columbus: Renaissance Collector, 1488-1539* (London: British Museum Press, 2005).

¹³³ J.H. Elliot, *Spain, Europe & the Wider World, 1500-1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 6-8.

¹³⁴ J. H. Elliott, *Imperial Spain, 1469-1716* (New York: Penguin Books, 2002), 31, 174-77.

¹³⁵ J.V.L. Brans, *Isabel la Católica y el arte hispano-flamenco* (Madrid: Ediciones Cultural Hispanica, 1952),19.

just outside of Zaragoza, was the primary consumer of the imported luxury items, but by the close of the fifteenth century, its taste for all things Flemish had spread beyond its confines.¹³⁶

Although a number of art historians have argued that the imitation of Flemish art in Spain can be directly traced back to the visit of Jan van Eyck to the Iberian peninsula in 1428-29, it has been persuasively argued that van Eyck's visit had no immediate influence on Spanish art.¹³⁷ Two primary factors support the latter argument: first, serving as a diplomatic emissary, van Eyck would have had little time to construct a workshop; and second, the evidence suggests that the Flemish craze actually began more than 25 years after his visit.¹³⁸ It is more likely that the economic prosperity brought about by the union of Castile and Aragón in 1469 not only made the large scale importation possible but also fueled market demand. As previously noted, Queen Isabel championed the hispanoflamenco style.¹³⁹ In addition to works by Memling, Bouts and van der Weyden, Isabel's royal collection also included several painted panels by lesser Flemish masters. Furthermore, Isabel openly encouraged imitation of these works by her native court painters who worked along side Flemish and German artists at her court.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁶ The Aljafería during the fifteenth-century was located just outside the city walls, but with urban expansion it is now within the city limits.

¹³⁷ Post, 15. Those who have argued that van Eyck's visit may have had influence include Jonathan Brown, *Painting in Spain, 1500-1700* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 7; Juan Pablo Fusi and Francisco Calvo Serraller, *El Espejo del Tiempo: la historia y el arte de España* (Madrid: Santillana Ediciones Generales, 2009), 34; George Kubler and Martin Soria, *Art and Architecture in Spain and Portugal and their American Dominions, 1500-1800* (Baltimore, Maryland: Penguin Books, 1959).

¹³⁸ Post, 15.

¹³⁹ Brans, *Isabel la Católica y el arte hispano-flamenco*, 19. Brans suggests that it was through Spain, and the court of the Trastamara's, that Flemish painting and German prints reached both Portugal and the kingdom of Naples. In addition to the importation of art, Brans notes the exportation of Spanish artists into Bruges for training in the Flemish style.

¹⁴⁰ Post, 33; John Oliver Hand and Martha Wolff, *Early Netherlandish Painting* (Washington DC: National Gallery of Art, 1996), 123, 288. Post only mentions that

It is clear from Isabel's patronage and collecting habits that her predilection for all things Flemish was relegated to devotional works.¹⁴¹ Artists and other patrons within the Kingdoms of Aragón and Castile soon mirrored her tastes.

Schongauer's prints provided ready models for artists to expediently complete their commissions according to the court's tastes. While the re-establishment of the Spanish Inquisition by Ferdinand and Isabel in 1478 might seem too reductive a cause in the demand for Spanish devotional imagery, it is my contention that it is a cultural phenomena that should be considered when discussing the historical context for the production and growth of this particular trend. Four years before the official re-establishment of the Inquisition, in 1474 Bartolome Bermejo, one of the major artists identified with the hispanoflamenco style, was threatened with excommunication if he did not finish his work for the Church of Santo Domingo de Silos.¹⁴² Much later, Francisco de Herrera was imprisoned several times for not completing contracts within the specified time.¹⁴³ It is possible that part of the appeal of foreign compositions to Iberian artists might have been the ease of their appropriation—after all, Flemish compositions not only held royal favor, they also provided templates that greatly increased an artist's rate of production. Schongauer's engravings may have provided a variety of ready models for Spanish artists working under these constraints. These artists could quickly translate Schongauer's engravings from small-scale devotional engravings into large-scale religious commissions for a public audience.

The popularity of Schongauer's engravings across the continent provided assurance that paintings fashioned after them would be well received. In addition to the commissions by the Spanish court, ecclesiastical patronage of works in this style also

painters of German and Flemish nationality were present. Hand notes the painters Juan de Flandes and Melchior Aleman as in Isabel's court.

¹⁴¹ Manuel Reyes Ruiz, *Las Tablas de devoción de Isabel la Católica: la colección de pintura del museo de la capilla real de Granada* (Granada: Cabildo de la Capilla Real, 2004).

¹⁴² Marjorie Trusted, *The Arts of Spain, Iberia and Latin America, 1450-1700* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007), 25.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

increased. The print medium provided a suitable solution for the dissemination and selection of popular devotional compositions. Since the hispanoflamenco trend was devotional in nature, Schongauer's engravings, especially those from his *Life of the Virgin* and *Passion* series, would have been the most suitable for Aragonese and Castilian commissions. Due to the scope of this study, only the panels fashioned after Schongauer's engravings will be examined; however, it should be noted that many other German artists' prints were appropriated by Spanish artists. Some larger altarpieces, like those examined herein, were created using a variety of printed templates.

The altarpiece of the Church of the Holy Cross (Iglesia de la Santa Cruz) in Blesa, Aragón includes two panels fashioned after Schongauer's engravings (Fig. 34; after c. 1485). This once enormous altarpiece, now separated into its individual panels, is currently housed the Museo provincial de Bellas Artes, Zaragoza. All the panels are said to be the work of Miguel Jimenez and Martin Bernat, two Aragonese artists, who were contracted in 1485 to make the 100 km journey south to Blesa for the completion of their commission.¹⁴⁴ Jimenez and Bernat had strong documented ties to the Hurus Press. Both artists worked and lived in the same neighborhood and attended the same parish church as Pablo Hurus.¹⁴⁵ Furthermore in 1482, Hurus served as witness for both artists on their contract for the completion of an altarpiece for the chapel of San Salvador in Zaragoza.¹⁴⁶

Of the twenty-one panels which make up the Blesa altarpiece, only two are based on Schonaguer's compositions, *Christ Carrying the Cross* and *Christ before Annas* (Fig. 35 and 38 respectively; after c. 1485).¹⁴⁷ Their appropriation of Schongauer's engravings has been interpreted as "liberal" by Lacarra Ducay.¹⁴⁸ The panels display some affinity with Hurus's woodcuts which suggests that these artists also used other variants in

¹⁴⁴ Lacarra Ducay, *Influencia de Martin Schongauer*, 18.

¹⁴⁵ Pallares Jimenez, 300.

¹⁴⁶ Lacarra Ducay, *Influencia de Martin Schongauer*, 19.

¹⁴⁷ Since both artists worked on the panels at the same time, it is difficult to ascertain which artist completed which panel.

¹⁴⁸ Lacarra Ducay, *Influencia de Martin Schongauer*, 19.

addition to Schongauer's original engraving. It is possible that these artists, given their personal connection with Pablo Hurus, may have seen woodcuts fashioned after Schongauer included in Hurus's earlier published editions.¹⁵⁰ The *Christ carrying the Cross* panel resembles the Schongauer original of the same name only in its use of the central figure of Christ (Fig. 36; c. 1470-5). Unlike the engraving, the panel's dense crowd is created by stacking the figures vertically in the upper left corner. This bears some resemblance to the woodcut in Hurus' publication that also piles figures on top of each other (Figure 37). The Hurus woodcut and the Blesa panel both replace the kneeling Veronica figure in Schongauer's original with a male figure whose back is turned to the viewer. Jimenez and Bernat retain the central figure, the beleaguered figure of Christ, who gazes at the viewer in an appeal for compassion from both the Schongauer and Hurus' models.

The panel by Jimenez and Bernat after Schongauer's *Christ before Annas* evidences a similar use of devotional content (Figure 38; after c. 1485). As before, Jimenez and Bernat have retained only the central figural grouping of Christ and Annas from Schongauer's original engraving (Fig. 39; c. 1470-5). As in the engraving, Christ's arms are bound in front and his manner appears deflated while Annas sits on an elevated throne and points menacingly with his right hand. Lacarra Ducay suggests the composition is Jimenez and Bernat's invention.¹⁵¹ Hurus's woodcuts may provide an alternative explanation (Fig. 40). Within Breydenbach's text, Hurus inserted two versions of Christ before an authority figure, the first, *Christ before Annas* after Schongauer on the left side, and the second *Christ before Pilate* from an unknown source on the right. In both cases, these images come before text explicating Breydenbach's visit to the courtroom where Christ was thought to have been judged. Together these images may have provided the basis for Jimenez and Bernat's departure from Schongauer's engraving. Both the woodcuts place the figures within more enclosed interiors and eliminate the classicizing arcade seen in Schongauer's original. In addition to reversing the original composition, the Hurus woodcut also compresses the

¹⁵⁰ See footnote 89.

¹⁵¹ Lacarra Ducay, *Influencia de Martin Schongauer*, 19.

background figures together and closer to Annas—a feature also evident in the painted panel. The painted panel includes the column at the center of the composition as well as the geometric floor pattern that establishes linear perspective, both of which derive from the woodcut *Christ before Pilate*. As in the case of *Christ carrying the Cross*, the artists have retained those compositional elements that elicit sympathy from the viewer, namely the contrast between the accusatory figure of Annas and the humility of Christ.

Begun shortly after the signing of the contract in December 1489, the altarpiece (Fig. 41) for the Cathedral of Tudela, still in situ, contains three panels fashioned after Schongauer's engravings (after 1498, Figures 42, 45, 46).¹⁵² Executed by Pedro Diaz de Ovideo, the altarpiece is dedicated to the life of the Virgin, but also includes a predella dedicated to the Passion.¹⁵³ While it is unknown whether or not the artist had any connection with the Hurus Press or the Jimenez-Bernat workshop, there are noticeable similarities. The panels after Schongauer's compositions in the Tudela altarpiece clearly show Oviedo's reliance on more than one printed source for his compositions. While no documentary connection can be found between Oviedo and Hurus, his panels suggest that he was likely aware of either the two Hurus publications published in 1488, *Officium beatae Mariae* and *Legenda aurea sanctorum*, both of which were illustrated with devotional images or broadsheets,

The three panels—the *Annunciation* (Figure 42), *Christ before Pilate* (Figure 45), and the *Flagellation* (Figure 46)—are derived from the Schongauer engravings and possibly from Hurus's woodcuts. The third scene in the narrative cycle of the Life of the Virgin, the *Annunciation* panel located in the top register of the altarpiece is fashioned after the Schongauer engraving of the same theme (Fig. 43; c. 1470-75). Oviedo retains Schongauer's primary figural grouping while including the arched window and inscribed banderol from the Hurus woodcut (Fig. 44; c. 1498). This pattern of appropriation is continued in *Christ before Pilate* panel on the right side of the predella (Fig. 45; after 1489). Here Oviedo more closely follows the Hurus model (Fig. 31), which condenses the scene into the central figures, while including Schongauer's detail of the two dogs

¹⁵² Ibid., 24.

¹⁵³ Post, 429. Oviedo completed several works within Aragon.

fighting at the bottom (Fig. 24, c. 1470-5). Located on the far right of the predella, *The Flagellation of Christ*, like the panels before it, supplements Schongauer's major compositional elements with details from the Hurus woodcuts (Fig. 46; c. after 1489). Oviedo deviates from the original engraving, but maintains the core composition, which in this case includes Christ and two of his oppressors (Fig. 29, c. 1470-5). From the Hurus woodcut, Oviedo borrows the enclosed arched interior complete with a tiled floor (Fig. 28, c. 1498).

Two large panels fashioned after Schongauer's *Life of the Virgin* series were completed by the Maestro de la Sisla. Taken together these panel paintings form their own abbreviated Life of the Virgin cycle, beginning with the *Annunciation* (Fig. 47) and concluding with the *Death of the Virgin* (Fig. 32), both of which are based on Schongauer's engravings.¹⁵⁵ The size of these panels (most measuring over six feet in height) suggests that they likely were part of the convent's main altarpiece completed around 1500. Primarily created using wood panels, these large altarpieces were relatively inexpensive.¹⁵⁷ Usually designed for private devotion, prints provided ready templates for the expedient completion of these large-scale religious commissions.

Maestro de la Sisla's appropriation of Schongauer's *Death of the Virgin* engraving shows a reliance on both the Schongauer engraving (Fig. 25) and the Hurus woodcut (Fig. 33) as the template for his panel painting. For the most part, the original

¹⁵⁵ The other panel paintings are: the *Visitation*, the *Adoration of the Shepherds*, The *Presentation in the Temple*, and the *Circumcision*. There may have originally been more panels, but only these six are extant.

¹⁵⁷ Judith Berg Sobré, *Behind the Altar Table: The Development of the Painted Retable in Spain, 1350-1500* (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1989), 3. During the fifteenth-century, altarpieces in Spain were by far the largest and most elaborate in all of Europe

composition was copied with only slight alterations like the billowed sleeve of the figure to the right of the Virgin, embroidered crosses on the sash of the balding figure directly behind him, and a halo. The only major addition is the window in the upper left corner and a landscape beyond. The woodcut version of the same engraving for the 1498 publication of Breydenbach's *Viaje de la Tierra Santa* by Pablo Hurus includes a similar opening (Figure 33). Sisla's window is of the same size, shape and at the same height as the one added in the Hurus woodcut. The addition of this variation suggests that the artist may have seen the Hurus version, even though the landscape beyond reads as a Flemish convention.

In Sisla's *Annunciation*, the appropriation of both the Schongauer engraving and the Hurus woodcut suggest that these sources offered the artist effective models for constructing his composition (Fig. 47, c.1500). In this version, Sisla has not altered the original physiognomies of either the Virgin or the Angel Gabriel to any great extent (Fig. 43, c. 1470-5). The composition still reads as a very faithful translation, except that Sisla has placed the figures within an interior setting, while retaining Schongauer's round tent. In this panel, as with the latter, Sisla has included a window behind and to the left of Gabriel. Additionally, he has added a curved border that runs along the top of the panel. These particular additions are all apparent in the Hurus' woodcut version (Fig. 44, c. 1498). Sisla's placement of the figures in an interior, as well as the additions of the lancet window and the curved frame likely derives inspiration from this woodcut, which includes all three.

Following the common practices of their day, the Spanish artists discussed in this chapter all used foreign compositional sources for their painted panels. Their appropriations from the original Schongauer's engravings and Hurus woodcuts suggest that they searched for variations on the same theme that would most effectively benefit their devotional compositions. Together, these painted panels and the Hurus woodcuts that influenced them speak to the repeated replication of Schongauer designs in Spain and testify to the enormous popularity of his prints as exemplary devotional images.

CONCLUSION

My thesis contributes to an understanding of the dissemination and appropriation of Martin Schongauer's engravings beyond the traditional issues of attribution and chronology offered by previous scholars. The wide circulation of Martin Schongauer's engravings in Europe is testament to his broad popularity with a variety of audiences during the early Renaissance. When compared to earlier fifteenth-century woodcuts, which reduce devotional images into outlined forms devoid of shading and perspective, Schongauer's complex engravings were efficacious devotional models for the contemporary viewer, who admired them regardless of the ephemerality of the medium. The insertions of Schongauer's compositions into texts such as Plock's Lutheran Bible and Hurus' edition of Breydenbach's *Viaje de la Tierra Santa* suggest that his images were admired not only for their devotional content and aesthetic value, but also as templates and repositories of the artist's reputation within his native ambient and abroad.

This study provides an examination of the intermediary role of the Hurus press as a case study for the dissemination of prints and their uses by earlier publishers in the marketing and sale of books. The inclusion of Schongauer's prints in the Spanish edition of Breydenbach's *Viaje de la Tierra Santa* transformed the well-known travel account into a devotional narrative complete with votive images. Hurus adopted Schongauer's images to ensure the marketability of his products in an ambient already primed to accept them. The German artist's popularity with the Spanish court assured the use of his images for a variety of publications including Andres de Li's apologetic manuscript, *Tesoro de la Passion*. Within Spain, Schongauer's images enjoyed court sanctioned esteem. Driven in part by market demand for devotional images fashioned after Schongauer, Spanish artists borrowed significant elements from both the original engravings and the Hurus' woodcuts. The resulting panels evidence the efficacy of Schongauer's works as devotional images.

The Alfajarín panel after Schongauer's *Tribulations of Saint Anthony* with which I began this study not only highlights the importance of prints in the diffusion of visual information, but also opens new avenues for inquiries into the study of Schongauer's

influence within Spain. Moreover, the existence of so many Spanish panels fashioned after Schongauer's engravings calls into question an Italian attribution for the Kimbell panel. The Aragonese panels in this study display not only a compositional similarity with Schongauer's engravings, but also suggest that the inclusion of Flemish elements, such as imagined landscapes, were typical elements of this local style. The Kimbell painting uses a similar appropriation of foreign artistic elements as the Spanish panels discussed. Given the evidence presented in this thesis, it is possible that the Kimbell painting was not the one completed by the young Michelangelo, but rather may have been executed by an anonymous painter in fifteenth-century Aragón—an ambient well versed in woodcuts and altarpieces fashioned after Schonaguer's engravings.

FIGURES



1. Attributed to Michelangelo, *Torment of Saint Anthony*, c. 1487-88. Oil and tempera on panel. Fort Worth, Kimbell Art Museum.



2. Martin Schongauer, *Tribulations of Saint Anthony*, c. 1470-5. Copperplate Engraving. London, British Museum.



3. Attributed to Martin Bernat, *Temptation of St. Anthony*, c. 1485-1500. Oil on panel.
Alfajarín, Sacristy of the Church of Alfajarín, Spain.



4. Martin Schongauer, *Death of the Virgin* (1470-75), Engraving and *The Man of Sorrows*, Drawing in grisaille from the Plock Bible (c. 1541), Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett (Landau and Parshall, 52, Figure 25).



5. Detail. Martin Schongauer, *Death of the Virgin*, Engraving, 25.5 x 16.9 from the Plock Bible. Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett (Hollstein, pg. xxxviii, Figure 8).



6. Master ES, *Madonna and Child with Flower*, c. 1460s. Engraving. Dresden, Kupferstichkabinett (Bartsch, 36, Figure 31).



7. Martin Schongauer, *Virgin of the Annunciation*, 1470s. Engraving. Washington, Rosenwald Collection (Bartsch, 215, Fig. 119-2).



8. Master ES, flora examples from four engravings, c. 1460s. Engravings (Bartsch vol. 8, 79, Fig. 81 (31); Bartsch vol. 8, 36, Fig. 31(14); Bartsch vol. 8, 38, Fig. 31(15); Bartsch vol. 8, 75, Fig. 77 (29)).



9. Martin Schongauer, lilies from four different engravings, c. 1470s. Engravings (Koreny, 591, Fig. 7-10).



10. Martin Schongauer, *Study of Peonies*, c. 1475. Watercolor on paper, 9.6 x 13.1 in (25.4 x 33.4 cm). Private Collection (Koreny, 592, Fig. 11).



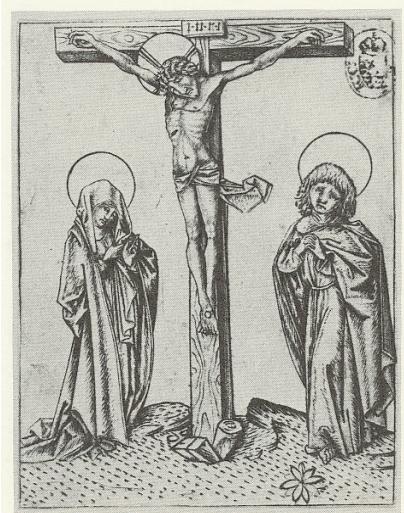
11. Master ES, *Madonna and Child with Flower*
1460s. Engraving. Dresden, Kupferstichkabinett
(Bartsch, 36, Figure 31)



12. Martin Schongauer, *St. Dorothy*, c. 1465-75.
Engraving. Berlin, Staatliche Museen (Koreny
“Schongauer as Draftsman,” pg, 142, Fig. 35).



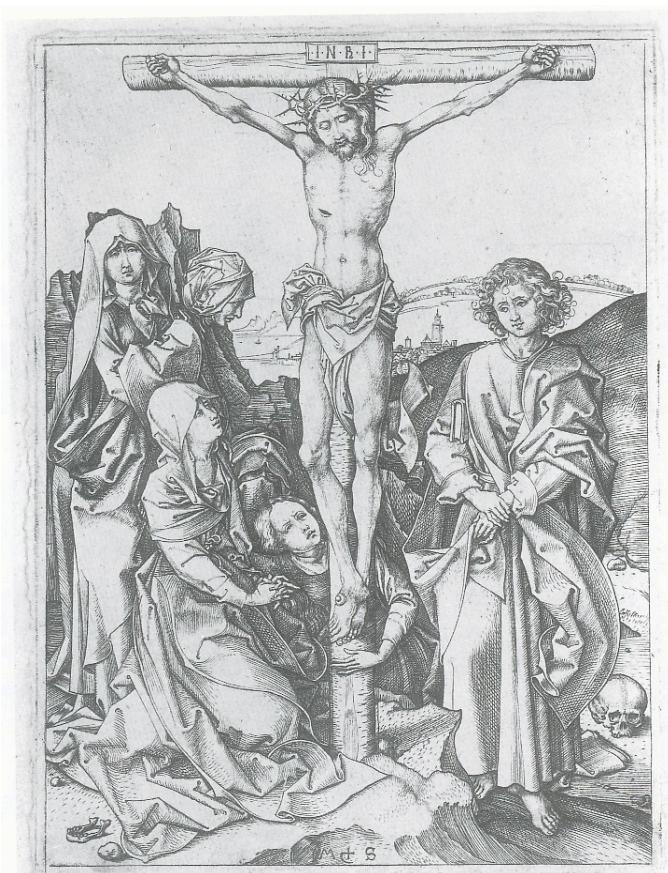
13. Anonymous, *St. Dorothy*, c. 1410. Woodcut (German). Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung



14. Master ES, *Crucifixion* from *Passion*,
c. 1450-1466. Engraving (Lehrs 44).



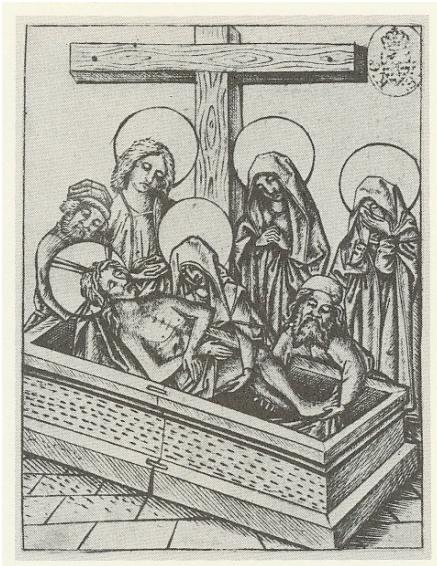
15. Anonymous, *Crucifixion*, before c. 1500. Woodcut (German). Donaueschingen,
Fürstlich von Fürstenbergische Sammlungen (Bartsch 111, Fig. S.487a).



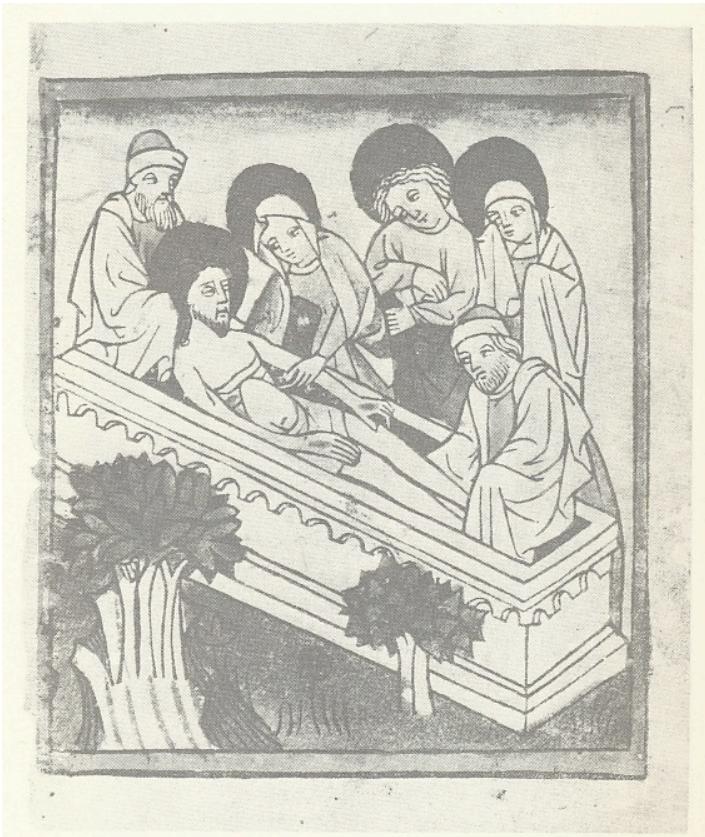
16. Martin Schongauer, *Crucifixion*, from the *Passion Series*, c. 1470-75.
Engraving (Stogdon, pg. 81, Fig. 27).



17. Martin Schongauer, *Entombment* from the *Passion Series*, c. 1470-75. Engraving (Stogdon, pg. 82, Fig. 28).



18. Master ES, *Entombment* from *Passion*, 1450-66. Engraving (Lehrs 46).



19. Anonymous, *Entombment*, before c. 1500. (German) Woodcut (Bartsch, pg. 141, Fig. S.525).

La segunda

dotes llorando y gemiendo cō tal amargura/ q̄ ala madre dicha maria boluer no le pudo respuesta alguna/quādo de mando de su dulce fiyo. Enel mismo lugar quedo la bēdicha muy cobdiciosa de ver a su xp̄o/ hasta q̄ al otro dia mañana jelo passarō atado delante: la q̄ amargosa sobre amargura siguió sus pisadas hasta la casa de poncio pilato.

CEnde a poco espacio vimos yna yglesia ya delolada: solo ceiyda de algunas piedras: donde la virgē madre de dios. viii. años estouo despues de la passion del redēptor hasta el fin de su



vida/ y al dia que fue subida por dios a los cielos: es otorgada ende indulgencia plenaria. Mo q̄da por culpa de los xpianos assi derrocada la dicha yglia emp̄o a causa de los infieles/ q̄ no dexā ende fazer hedificio. **E**n todos los otros lugares ya dichos/ y cada ql de llos hay. vii. años y. vii. xl. de indulgē. **C**Uerba del lugar donde la virgē señora muestra rēdio su alma: y fue sobida despues a los cielos: parece señal de yna cadilla/ en la ól sant iohān enauio

lista como capellan virgē dela virgen/ le dito missa despues dela ascencion de xp̄o. hay. vii. años y. vii. q̄rentenas.

CEnde se demuestra yn otro lugar/ y senalado de vna piedra bien colorada: donde sant mat̄ias fue escogido por apostol/ en lugar de judas. y ende mismo fueron escogidos. vii. diaconos: q̄ deuian tener preminencia si quier cura sobre las bindas. **E**n este lugar fue santiago menor escogido para obispo de jherusalem. hay. vii. años y. vii. qua rentenas de indulgencia.

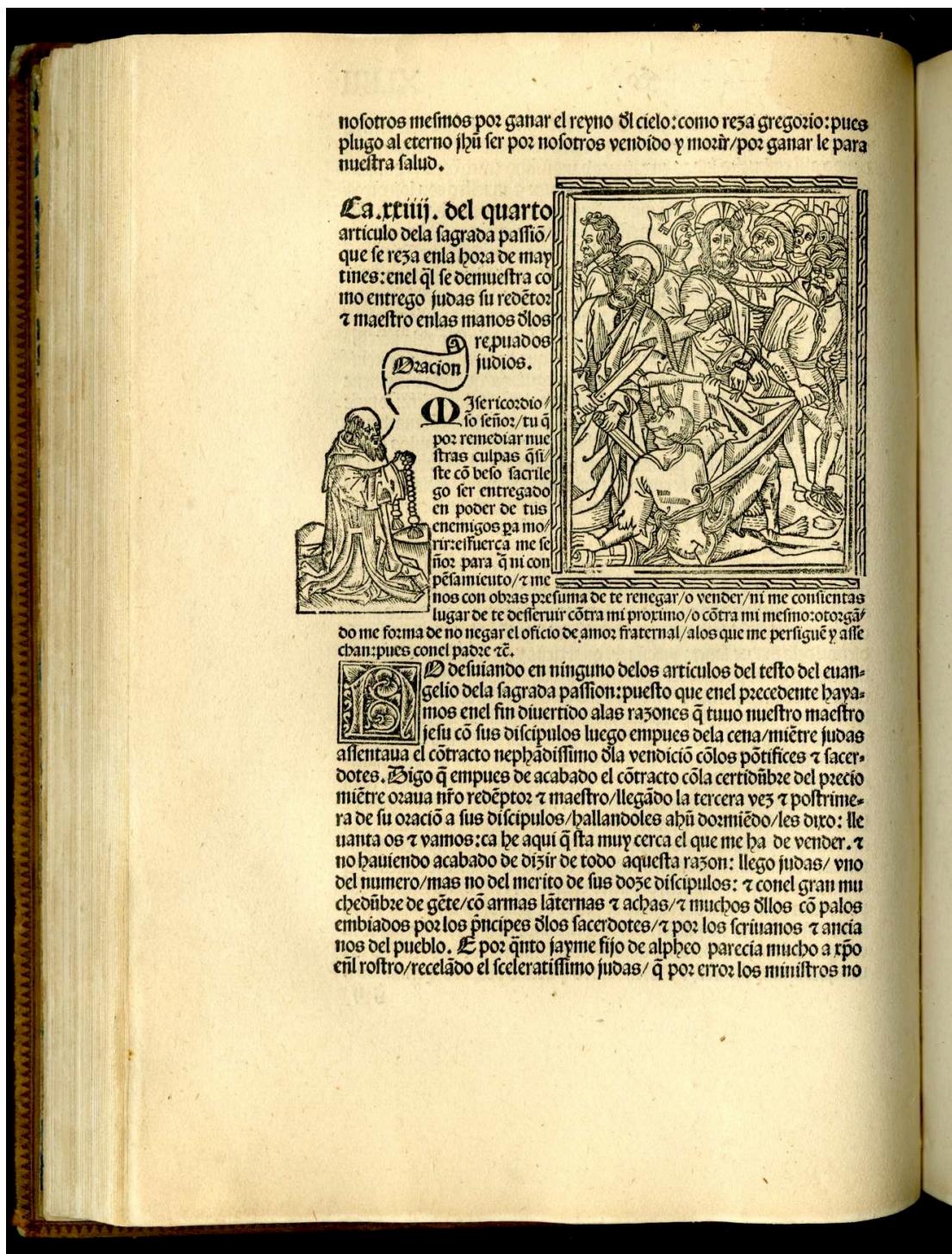
CEnde andando a monte Sponca be la yglesia/ hay vn lugar donde la virgen bienauenturada solia hazer su oracion: mucho deuota y cōtinuada. hay vii. años con sus quarentenas.

CEnel mismo lugar parecen dos piedras: delas cuales la vna es aquella sobre la qual xp̄o jesu estaua quando pre



diciana a sus discípulos: y en la otra su madre bendita sentada/ oya la scā pala bra del mismo jesu: en cada yna destas piedras hay. vii. años y. vii. quarēte.

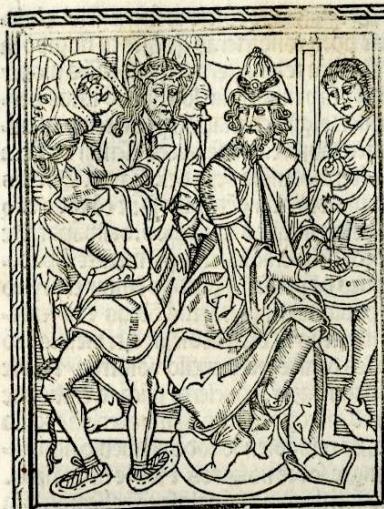
20. Anonymous, Copy of Martin Schongauer's *Death of the Virgin* from Breydenbach's *Viaje de la Tierra Santa*, c. 1498. Woodcut (Zaragoza: Hurus Press, 1498) INC 2070, fol. 60. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional.



21. Anonymous, *Arrest of Christ* from Andres de Li's *Tesoro de la Pasion*, 1494. Woodcut. (Zaragoza: Hurus Press, 1494). INC 1494. New York: Hispanic Society of America.



22. Martin Schongauer, *Betrayal and Capture of Christ*, c. 1480. Copperplate Engraving. Washington D.C., National Gallery of Art.



La. lxij. del articulo se
gundo dia sagrada passion/q
se reza en la hora de setta: el
qual nos enseña como pilato
por su sentencia condéno a mu
erte nro redemptor y maestro
jesu.

Oració.

A lemítissimo rey
redéptor de hu
mana natura/ tu q cō
sobrada humildad vo
luntariamente q'siste
oyr la sentencia/ cōla
qual por nros peccat
os te condépnauā a
muerte: plega te se
ñor q nunca yo en mi
cuerpo ni en mi alma merezca oyr justa causa de muerte/ ni tema los
imquos juyzios delos apasionados juezes; pues cōel padre y con el
spiritu sancto bines y reynas para siempre jamas/ y sin fin.



Iendo pilato q su trabajo en librar a xpo de muerte aprue
chaua poco ante tumultuaua mas el pueblo/ injungiendo le
crimē de rebellio/ y de lesa majestad contra cesar. queriendo fa
tissazer al desfeso ta desordenado del pueblo/ y vicio de huma
no temor/ siédo cierto dela innocencia de nro maestro jesus: y sabiendo q
por inuidia le hauia procurado la muerte/ por demostrar ser el immune de
culpa: se lauo delante del pueblo cō agua sus manos/ diciendo: en testigo
de todos vosotros me riédo sin culpa dia sangre de aqste justo. ca era co
stumbre anticissima qndo algū se qria demostrar immune de algū crimen
q se lauaua las manos delante del pueblo. y qriendo mostrar q solamēte
en la muerte de cristo era el mero ejecutor dela ley: y que las pertinaces
y sacrilegas acusaciones dellos derramauan la sangre del justo/ les di
xo: veed enello vosotros: como quien dice/ a vosotros y no a mi se demá
dara aqste pecado. O malauenturado de ti pilato: si vi poquito bolivie
ras los ojos alas lagrimas y gemidos dia gloria virge: algū espíritu de
vida huuieras quizá alcāçado: y si cō algū zelo de amor y los siego cata
ras los sospiros llorosos dela cōpañia noble q consigo trahia nra señora
si engaño no recibo/ alguna grā obtuuieras de cōpassion y constancia/

n iij

23. Anonymous, *Christ before Pilate* from Andres de Li's *Tesoro de la Pasion*, 1494. Woodcut engraving. (Zaragoza: Hurus Press, 1494). INC 1494. New York: Hispanic Society of America.



24. Martin Schongauer, *Christ before Pilate*, c. 1480. Copperplate Engraving (Lehrs, 2005, Fig. 14).



25. Martin Schongauer, *Death of the Virgin*, c. late 1470s. Copperplate engraving. London, British Museum.

La segunda

Cebato del dicho monte caluario descendiendo a mano yzquierda/ sta sumada otra capilla en honor de la virgen sin manzilla/ y de sant johé: en el lugar Golgatha llamado: donde se parece abun aquella hendedura grande que basta toda hasta la tierra por medio la pena. En este lugar fue fallada la misma cabeza del muy antiguo Adam padre nuestro: son otorgadas vii. años y vii. quarentenas de indulgencia.

Con el dicho monte caluario llegamos despues en aquel lugar que sta señalado con vna piedra blanca/ donde la virgen dolorosa recibio a su amado hijo en sus brazos despues de muerto dela cruz batido: ende lo emboluiero



en las sauanas blancas: y le vntaro de mirra y aloes para le poner en la sepultura. Es otorgada plenaria remissio. Al fin ya entramos con la procession en la capilla redonda/ dicha de arriba: donde sta puesto el glorioso sepulcro santo: en el qual cristo jesu/ despues dela cruz batido: embuelto en las sa-

uanas blancas/ en presencia de su madre bendita/ por Nicodemus y Joseph de arimathia fue puesto: y co la piedra



cubierto: dela qual piedra el vn pedazo esta en la iglesia de sant Salvador segun arriba dice. Orden continuas en el santo sepulchro. xvij. lamparas: y de lante aquel tres cirios: donde hay vna pequena capilla: gana se ende plenaria remissio de todos pecados.

Conde fallidos luego boluimos ala capilla de nuestra señora/ para q se acabe la procession en aquel lugar don de començo.

Cuando acabada fue la procession y cada uno ya houo comido: despues andoueron/ segun los votos y devociones/ andando aquellos lugares sagrados: el tiempo dela noche que nos quedaua/ y escogidos si quier diputados los confessores/ todos confessauan ende sus pecados/ era el alba ya esclarecida. y el. xiiij. dia de julio quando en el monte caluario tomauan los peregrinos el sacramento precioso dela comun

26. Anonymous, Copy of Martin Schongauer's *Deposition* and *Entombment* from Breydenbach's *Viaje de la Tierra Santa*, 1498. Woodcut. (Zaragoza: Hurus Press, 1498) INC 2070, fol. 75. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional.



27. Martin Schongauer, *Entombment*, 1480. Copperplate Engraving.

La segunda

Cahí assí mismo cō algunos pagos que dímos/ nos dieró entrada en casa de pótio pilato: emp o de noche/y muy de secreto. Ende visitamos cō diligencia los lugares donde fue açoñado nřo



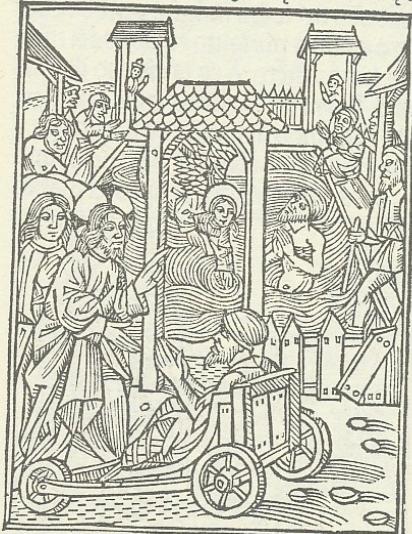
redētor: y puesta encima corona de spinas/ y dada sentencia pa lo poner en el crucifixo. Hay remissiō plenaria.

Oetros lugares muchos sagrados ahun visitamos en este tiēpo: los q̄les ante nřos cōpañeros visto no hauia: por q̄ a causa delas caluras grādes no podimos andar el desierto d synai: assí la fiesta dela señora santa Ama/ que fue a. xxvi. dias del mes de julio : por la industria y fauor de vn moro/ fuemos de secreto puestos en la casa de la dicha santa madre dela virgē nřa seño-
ra: en dōde houo vna yglesia hecha en su nōbre: la q̄l agora tienen mezq̄ta su-
ya los moros: y alla no deixá entrar cri-
stianos sino atarde/ y muy escōdidos.
cercamos la toda/ y descēdimos despu
es en vinas cuevas/ o cauernas todas tenebrosas: dōde acendidas algūas lū-
bres fuemos al lugar en q̄ la dicha se-

nora bienauētura da santa alma redio su alma . y dende passamos a otro lu-
gar donde el' nřima pario ala madre de xp̄o jesus nřo redēptor. Es otorga-
da ende plenaria remission.

Bel lugar donde nacio la virgē ma-
dre de dios houimos algunas piedras
cō nosotros: por ser medicina para las
mujeres al tiempo del parto.

El mismo dia entramos en la pbatia
ca piscina/ que sta cerca la dicha yglia
donde xp̄o curó por vezes muchos do-
liētes: de la q̄l sant joan en su euāgelio
recita como el angel de dios en su tiem-
po cierto mouia el agua: y era sano he-



cho el prímero q̄ descēdia delos dolie-
tes q̄ ya esperauā.

En aqllos días andouimos otros
muchos lugares/ q̄ son vezinos a jeru-
salé y en su comarca: delos cuales lue-
go por muy entero escreuiremos.

Sigue yna compendiosa
scriptura/ en que se contienen muchos
lugares dla tierra santa: cuyos nōbres
toma el papel pintado en cosmogra-
phia/puesto adelante.

28. Anonymous, Copy of Martin Schongauer's *Flagellation of Christ* from Breydenbach's *Viaje de la Tierra Santa*, 1498. Woodcut. (Zaragoza: Hurus Press, 1498) INC 2070, fol. 77. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional.



29. Martin Schongauer, *Flagellation of Christ*, c.1480. Copperplate Engraving (Lehrs, 2005, fig. 22).

al huerto donde jesu cristo la vez terce
ra desperto a sus discípulos/ dijendo:
dormid y bolgad. viene ya la hora q se
ra traydo siq̄er vendido el hijo del hom
bre entre las manos delos pecadores.
Alhe q acerca es ya el que me vendio.
Este lugar sta señalado/ y coberto de
piedras; dōde hablādo estas palabras
nro redēptor y maestro jesu con sus di
scípulos: allego judas escarioth con los
judios, y saludando le con estas pala
bras. Aue rabi/ le dio el beso. A quien
jesu respondio como humilde. Amice
ad quid vennisti: y luego boluiédo alos
judios dixo las palabras. Si ergo me
queritis finite hos abire. Entóces ca
yeron todos en suelo. hay. vii. años y
+ vii. quarentenas de indulgencia,



Ende a. vii. passos corto la oreja
san pedro a malcho: la q̄ jesu le boluió
sana en su lugar como paímero: y man
do a pedro boluer el cuchillo en la vay
na: y ende fue preso nuestro redenptor
por los judios. hay indulgencia de. vii
+ años y. vii. quarentenas.

Gobiendo arriba venimos en dōde
jesu fizó llato el dia de ramos sobre la
ciudad de jerusalē: dijédo Si conocie
sies los grádes daños/ que por la paz
agora no siétes/ los qles deuē sobre ti



venir: por q̄ llegarán los días q̄ serás
cercada en roeno de causas por tus ene
migos hasta entera destruciō turpa y de
tus hijos: y no detarā piedra sobre pie
dra de tus hedificios: y esto porque no
conociste el drecro tiepo d tu visitaciō
q̄ere dezir q̄ no conoció al redēptor/ ni
su doctrina. y bien parece q̄ nūica dios
da penitēcia/ ni hace justicia/ smo que
vaya su misericordia jnto con ella/ o q̄
se demuestre: como hizo ende llorando
sobre la ciudad de jerusalē.



Hende passando llegamos arriba
en vii collado/ adonde el angel/ segñ se
dice/ dio ala virgē señora nra vii ramo
de palma: y le annuncio el postrimero
dia dela muerte. vii. años y. vii. qren.



Gobiendo un poco mas arriba llega
mos a otro collado/ dicho galilea la
menor: por q̄ el angel ende annuncio a
los discípulos la resurrecio de xp̄o: y q̄ se
hij

30. Anonymous, Copy of Martin Schongauer's *Betrayal and Arrest of Christ* from Breydenbach's *Viaje de la Tierra Santa*, 1498. Woodcut. (Zaragoza: Hurus Press, 1498) INC 2070, fol. 60. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional.

La segunda

† mañana hay vii. años con sus xl.
Cuando pasiamos en otro lugar q
 vimos puestas encima un arco aquellas
 dos piedras/ donde pilato sentencio a
 muerte a xpo jesus nro redemptor siendo
 asentado sobre la vna: y el señor jhesus
 oyo la sentencia puesto encima dla otra
 piedra. Este lugar es aqul mismo dicho
 licostratos: donde pilato se asento por
 tribunal: segun q lo canta el euágelista
 señor sant jobá a. xviiiij. de sus ca. y sta
 de fuera cerca de su casa: es vn pañado
 ala entrada . donde primero los judíos
 llamauan a voces al pñdete dicho pi
 lato. crucifige/crucifige. y el no podie
 do escusar la muerte del redemptor: lauo
 se las manos en pñencia dellos diziédo



yo soy innocente siqer sin culpa en esta
 sangre del justo jesi. hay vii. años con
 sus quarentenas de indulgencia. Bien se
 demuestra en este lugar haner llamado
 los ciegos y endurecidos judíos. Sa
 guis eius sup nos t sup filios nros: y
 bié los alcago esta maldicion/q ahü fa
 sta hoy les dura/ y les durara pa siépre

CSalido del susodicho lugar/fue
 mos a casa de pilato/ en la qual cristo
 fue acotado y scarnecido: y recibio mu
 chas bofetadas en su faz preciosa: en
 de le pusieron corona de spinas sobre
 su bendita y sancta cabeza. segun atesti



guan los euangelistas/ Johan a.xix.
 y Marco a. xv. de sus capítulos. Bi
 ñen que tornando los caualleros al re
 demptor/ llamaron los príncipes delos
 sacerdotes: en cuya presencia le vestie
 ron de purpura: pusiendo le vna caña
 en la mano drecha por escarnio: y le de
 zian. Quic rex iudeorum. Hay ende re
 mission plenaria de todas las culpas
 y defectos.

Despues de todas estas injurias ha
 uer padecido el redemptor jhesus/ le saco
 poncio pilato de su judicio/ si quier pre
 torio a donde stauan fuera los judíos
 por les demostrar que no fallaua cul
 pa en jesi. y como le sacasse así man
 zillado/ con la corona de spinas muy
 fuertes/ corriendo la sangre suya pre
 ciosa por el vulto santo de su faz bendí

31. Anonymous, Copy of Martin Schongauer's *Christ before Pilate* from Breydenbach's *Viaje de la Tierra Santa*, 1498. Woodcut (Zaragoza: Hurus Press, 1498) INC 2070, fol. 77. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional.



32. Maestro de la Sisla, *Transito de la Virgen*, c. 1500. Painted Panel.
Approximately 6'11" x 3'8" (212 cm x 113 cm). Madrid, Museo del Prado.

La segunda

dotes llorando y gemiendo con tal amargura q̄ la madre dicha maria boluer no le pudo respuesta alguna/quādo de mando de su dulce hijo. Enel mismo lugar quedo la bēdicha muy cobdiciosa de ver a su xp̄o/ hasta q̄ al otro dia mañana jelo passarō atado delante: la ql amargosa sobre amargura siguió sus pisadas hasta la casa de poncio pilato.

CEnde a poco espacio vimos vna

yglesia ya delolada: solo cenyda de al-

gunas piedras: donde la virgē madre

de dios. viii. años estouo despues de

la passion del redēptor hasta el fin de su



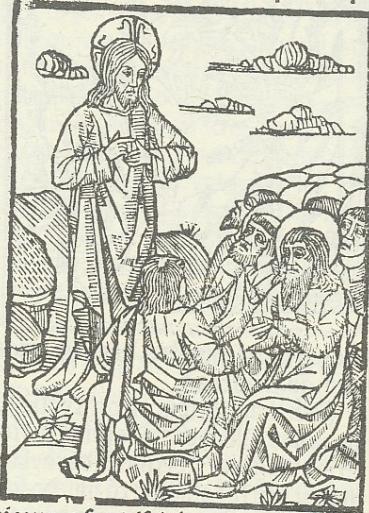
vida/ y al dia que fue subida por dios a los cielos: es otorgada ende indulgen-
cia plenaria. No q̄da por culpa delos xpianos assi derrocada la dicha yglesia
empo a causa delos infieles/ q̄ no detā
ende fazer hedificio. **E**n todos los
otros lugares ya dichos/ y cadaql de-
llos hay. vii. años y. vii. xl. de indulgē.
Cacerca del lugar donde la virgē se-
nora muestra rēdio su alma: y fue sobi-
da despues alos cielos: parece señal de
vna capilla/ en la ql sant johan enauge

lista como capellan virgē dela virgen/
le dito missa despues dela ascencion de +
xp̄o. hay. vii. años y. vii. q̄rentenas.

Ende se demuestra vn otro lugar/ y
senalado de vna piedra bien colorada:
donde sant mathias fue escogido por
apostol/ en lugar de judas. y ende mis-
mo fueron escogidos. vii. diaconos: q̄
deuian tener preminencia si quier cura
sobre las biudas. **E**n este lugar fue
santiago menor escogido para obispo
de iherusalem. hay. vii. años y. vii. qua +
rentenas de indulgencia.

CEnde andando a monte Spon ca
be la yglesia. hay yn lugar donde la vir-
gen bienauenturada solia hazer su ora-
cion: mucho deuota y cōtinuada. hay
vii. años con sus quarentenas. +

Enel mismo lugar parecen dos pie-
dras: delas quales la vna es aquella so-
bre la qual xp̄o jesu estaua quando pre



dicaua a sus discipulos: y en la otra su
madre bendita sentada/ oya la sca pala-
bra del mismo jesu: en cadayna destas
piedras hay. vii. años y. vii. quarēte. +

33. Anonymous, Copy of Martin Schongauer's *Death of the Virgin* from Breydenbach's *Viaje de la Tierra Santa*, 1498. Woodcut. (Zaragoza: Hurus Press, 1498) INC 2070, fol. 60. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional



34. Miguel Jimenez and Martin Bernat, *Main Altarpiece of Santa Cruz, Blesa, Spain*, after c. 1485. Painted Panels. Zaragoza, Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes.



35. Miguel Jimenez and Martin Bernat, *Christ Carrying the Cross* from Main Altarpiece of Santa Cruz, Blesa, Spain, after c. 1485. Painted Panel. Zaragoza, Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes.



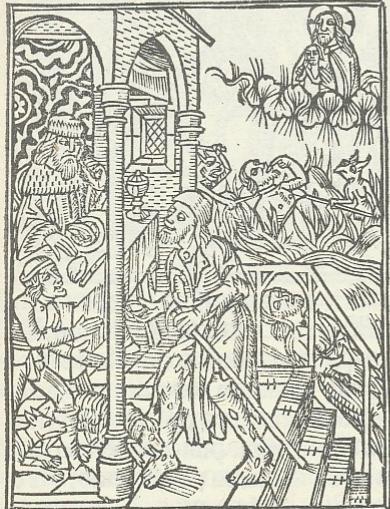
36. Martin Schongauer, *Christ Carrying the Cross*, c. 1470-75. Copperplate Engraving.

Parte.

LXVI

CDespues q salimos por esta casa de la veronica/luego llegamos en otra/q fue del rico Epulon: el qual cobro la se pultura enel infierno.

CSan lucas en su euágelio a. xvij.ca. trahé dos ricos hóbres/ q jesu xpó dio por enxeplo a sus discípulos. y el vn rico es aqste epuló/ de qen scriuimos: ahú q lucas no lo ha nobrado: empo pare ce ser aq'l mismo/ segñ la histori. Este como fuese lleno de riquezas/ andaua siempre muy vestido: comia p'ciosas y buenas viandas. Lazaro al tiepo de su comer stava sperado fuera dela puerta



pobre y llagado/ q bien comiera delas migajas dela mesa caydas: y no se les diero: empo los canes a el se llegado la miá sus llagas. Quádo morio este pobrezito/fue por los angeles al cielo sobido. y el rico moriedo/gano sepultura en los infiernos: y qndo vido al dicho lazaro puesto en la gloria: rogaua mucho al padre abraa: q jelo embiasse por amatar sus grádes tormentos del terrible fuego cõ sola vna gota d'agua Empero entóce no fue a tiepo.

CBende venimos en aql lugar delas dos vias: donde lloraua muchas muje res a xpó jesu/ qndo le trayan a crucifi car/ cõ la cruz acuestas: alas qles dixo

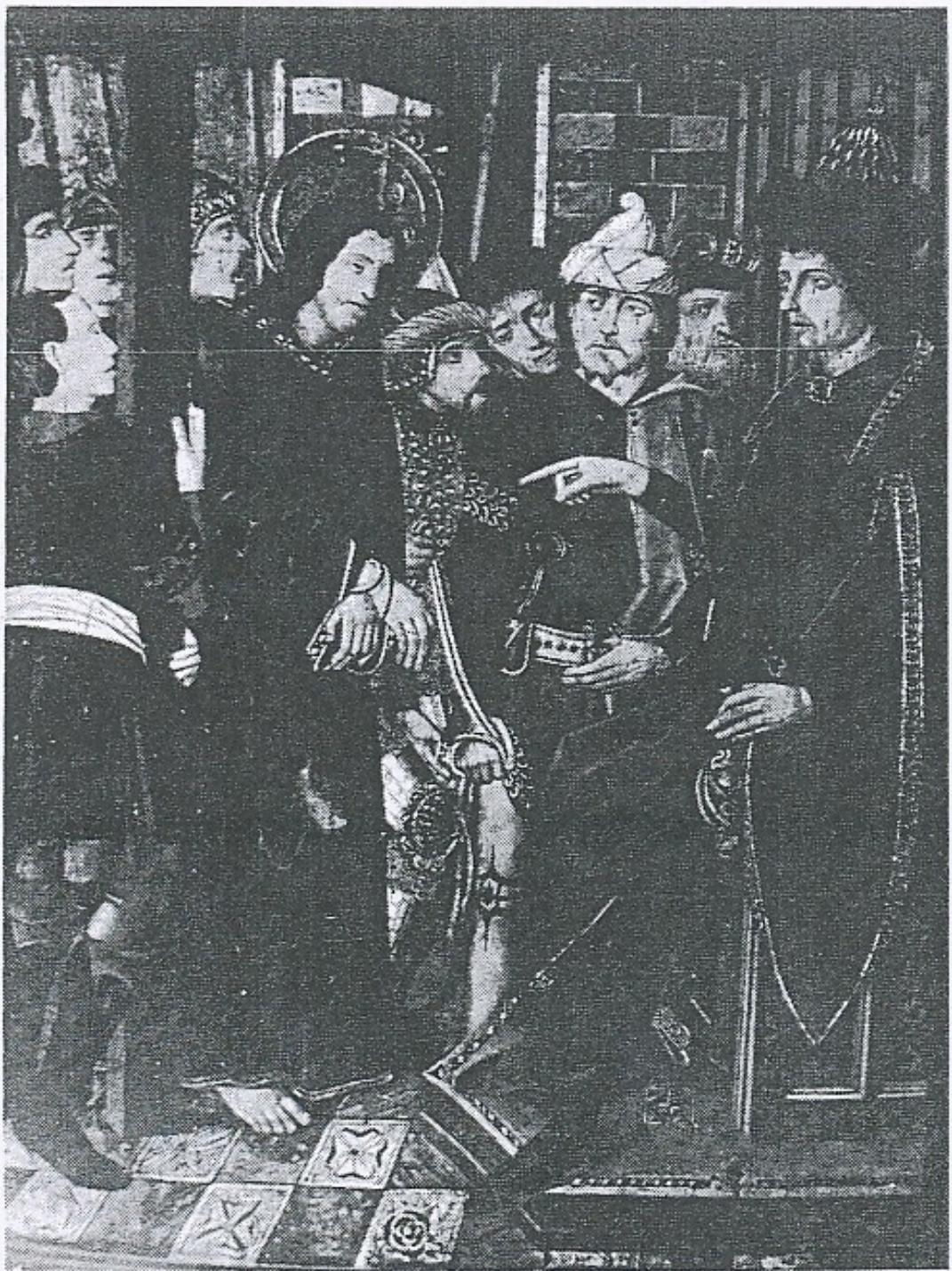


el redéptor. Fijas de syon: no querays llorar agora por mi: empero llorad so bre volotras y vuestras fijos. hay. viij. años y. viij. qrentena de indulgencia. †

CLlegamos despues en otro lugar de las dos vias: donde los judios fizieró por fuerça: si quer constrinyeró a Symo cireneo: veniendo dela villa/ para q le uasse la cruz de cristo.

CPassamos despues en otro lugar: donde la virgē bienaueturada se fallo quádo salio a su fijo/ q la cruz traya: y por el dolor muy gráde que houo: se vi do pasmada/fuera de sentido. En este lugar fue ya fundada vna yglia por santa helena: la ql es agora del todo perdi da: y fue nobrada sancta maria del pasmo. en ella no puede algun pagano fazer hedificio. y esto viene (segñ se cree) por misterio diuino. hñ muchas veces aq'llo atentado: empo es cierto q obra ninguna estar se consiente/ por arte ni

37. Anonymous, *Christ Carrying the Cross* from *Viaje de la Tierra Santa*, c. 1498.
Woodcut (Zaragoza: Hurus Press, 1498).



38. Miguel Jimenez and Martin Bernat, *Christ before Annas* from *Main Altarpiece of Santa Cruz, Blesa, Spain*, after c. 1485. Painted Panel. Zaragoza, Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes.



39. Martin Schongauer, *Christ before Annas*, c. 1470-5. Copperplate Engraving.

los judíos por fuerza quisieron tomar el cuerpo de nra señora: quando la passauā los santos apóstoles en aquél valle de jesusaphat a dar sepultura, hay. vii. años y. vii. quarentenas de indulgencia.

Cuando llegamos ala spelúca gallica to/en q̄ san pedro hizo sus lláatos muy amargosos/despues q̄ nego al rededor vii. años y. vii. quarentenas.

Cy pcediendo mas adelante entramos en una yglia nobrada delos angeles/casa q̄ fue de amas pontifice/en la q̄ jesu nro redor quando los judios lo descediā del mōte olivero/houo la primera injuria de todas/en la bosetada que



† se le dio por el ministro, hay. vii. años y. vii. quarentenas.

Cpartimos despues a otra yglia llamada sant salvadorez/dónde primero fuo la casa grāde y hermosa de cayfas: en la q̄ jesu fue affigido c̄ mucho escarmo/la faz batida y muy auiltaida:y toda la noche le dieron passiones muy amargosas: ahū se demuestra un lugar angosto donde el redor pusieron/santa q̄houiesen los seniores sijer ma-

gnates delos judios delibelado lo que del haria, y es llamada esta casilla/carcel del señor, y a ninguno parezca fer esto no verdadero/por q̄ no lo dije el euangilio: ca todos los actos a cerca de xpo no son scriptos, y esta carcel se gun percebimos da testigo del nōbre q̄ tiene: por ende a nadie se le antoje ser como ajenio dela verdad lo q̄ della scriuo hay. vii. años y. vii. xl. de indulgencia. †

Cuando sta la milma piedra muy grā de la q̄ por el angel fue levantada del monumēto de xpo jesu/segun que leemos:y agota sirue por mesa de un altar grande en la dicha santa yglia del sacerdotez, hay. vii. años y. vii. quarentenas. †

Cuimos endonde tener solia la core a parte de mano yzquierda/vn arbol cercado en torno de piedras: dónde los ministros delos judios/ y pedro cō ellos estauā al fuego por el grā frío: quando nego a xpo. Alla pte drecha de una pla-



ca saliendo fuera dela dicha core hay una piedra sobre vn angulo/endonde la virgen señora nra stava quando san pedro salio de casa del pñcipe delos sacer-

40. Anonymous, *Christ before Annas* (left) and *Christ before Pilate* (right), fashioned after Schongauer's engravings from *Viaje de la Tierra Santa*, c. 1498. Woodcut. (Zaragoza: Hurus Press, 1498).



41. Main Altarpiece from the Cathedral of Tudela, Spain.



42. Pedro Diaz de Oviedo, *Annunciation*, from the Main Altarpiece of the Cathedral of Tudela, Spain, after 1489. Painted panel in situ.



43. Martin Schongauer, *Annunciation*, c. 1470-75. Copperplate Engraving.

Parte.

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de tyberiadis: dōde se allegaron gran cōpañía de publicanos y pecadores a comer. esto se scriue alos capí. v. de lutas: y alos. ix. del mismo matheo. hay indulgēcia. viij. años y. viij. qrentenas
 ¶ Ende acerca es aq̄l lugar donde el mismo n̄o jesu resuscito la hija del p̄ncipe dela synagoga: segū se scriue alos cap. ix. de matheo. Esta ciudad es mucho luéga por la ribera d̄l mar adelate y en la parte de austro tiene vonos bue nos baños medicinales/ y hēdificios p̄tidos y grādes. es tierra gruesa/ fertil y habūdosa: dōde cresce palmas/ viñas/ oliuos/ muchos y grādes. Ende se acaba toda la region decapolea: cuyos extremos siq̄er fines de ancho toman el mar de oriente dela vna pte/ y de la otra occidētal sydon la grāde. en largo tiene dēde la ciudad tyberiadis y la ribera por trasmontana del mar galileo hasta damasco. Biene se decapolis por estas ciudades diez principales/ tyberiadis/ sephet/ cedes neptalim/ asor/ cesarea philippo/ capharnaum: la qual josepho julia llama/ jacopata/ bethsayda/ corosaym/ bethsan/ que se dezia satopol ante. Hay ahū otras muchas ciudades menos delas dichas. Es de saber que la dicha tierra suele ser nombrada por nombres diuersos. Biuen le yturea/ segū arriba ya se ha dicho/ traconitida/ campo de libano/ tierra de roab/ nabul/ galilea la alta/ y galilea delas gētes. y todo esto es vna misma regiō y tierra/ puesto que le den assi tātos nobres: y toda entera no tiene muy mas de dia y medio de andodura: poco excede lo ancho de luengo que acerca viene a vna medida. ¶ Despues de la tierra toda de sydon y d̄la montaña hasta baruto es la verdadera regiō ytre a en val de balkar: y porq̄ se tiende fa-

sta las saldas de monte libano/ llaman le agora salto de libano. ¶ Boluiēdo vij. leguas de tyberiadis contra poniente/ y a. iij. leguas de chana galilea para medio dia/ esta la ciudad sephorum lama da/ y vn hermoso castillo encima: del qual joachim padre de la virgē nuestra señora dizē que salio. ¶ Se sephorum alla dos leguas contra el austro quier medio dia vn poco boluiēdo para oriente/ y a tres dias de andadura de jerusalem es la bendicha ciudad nazareth/ donde la virgen madre sin manzi lla nacida de la rayz de jesse/ fue saludada del angel gabriel: y concibio por



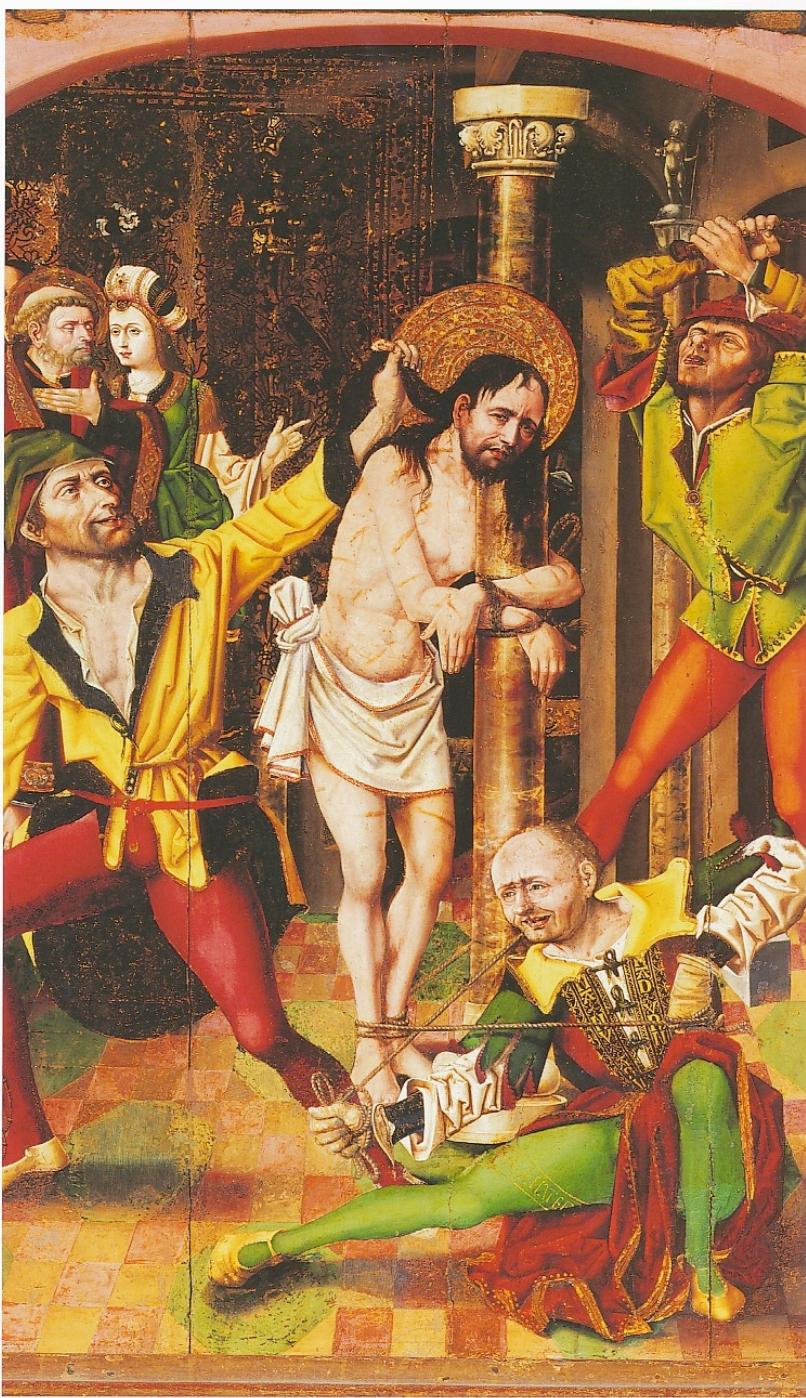
el spiritu sancto el fruto bēdito jesu de su viētre, hay de accō a ella. vij. leguas. houo por tiempo vna yglesia de n̄ra señora q̄ fue touida en grā reuerēcia: empero agora es ya destruyda y desolada esta en ella vna capilla en aq̄l lugar de la anūciaciō/ dōde hay ahū vna columna de piedra marmol/ ala ql tomo n̄ra señora/ quando el nūcio le dio el aue gracia plena/ el señor contigo/ bendita se-

m ij

44. Anonymous, *Annunciation* from *Viaje de la Tierra Santa*, c. 1498. Woodcut (Zaragoza: Hurus Press, 1498).



45. Pedro Diaz de Oviedo, *Christ before Pilate* from the Main Altarpiece of the Cathedral of Tudela, Spain, after 1489. Painted panel in situ.



46. Pedro Diaz de Oviedo, *Flagellation of Christ* from the Main Altarpiece of the Cathedral of Tudela, Spain, after 1489. Painted panel in situ.



47. Maestro de la Sisla, *Anunciacion*, c. 1500. Painted panel. 6'x 3' (200 cm x 100 cm). Madrid, Museo del Prado.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Carolina Alejandra Alarcon was born in Concepción, Chile. She received a Bachelor of Arts in Art History and Psychology from Emory University in 1997. During her time at Emory, Carolina developed an interest in Medieval and Renaissance art. In the Fall of 2009, Carolina began her graduate studies at Florida State University. While at FSU, Carolina was encouraged to investigate Martin Schongauer's influence in Spain by Dr. Stephanie Leitch, under whom this thesis was written. During the summer of 2010, she conducted research in Spain after receiving a grant from the Penelope E. Mason Grant from the Art History Department at FSU. She will continue her studies at FSU under Dr. Leitch. In 2011, Carolina was awarded the Patricia Rose Teaching Fellowship. Carolina also holds graduate degrees in education and art history from Fordham University and American University respectively.