Ben Stolurow

A Prince of Art

Hans Daucher's Allegorical Portrait of Albrecht Dürer, 1522

Anliegen Kunst, Hg. v. Reimann-Pichler, Scherke und Stadlober, 2024, S. 141–180
https://doi.org/10.25364/978-3-903374-41-6_11

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Zusammenfassung

1522 schuf der Augsburger Bildhauer Hans Daucher eine Kalksteinplakette, die Albrecht Dürer in einem Duell mit einem unbekannten Gegner zeigt. Sie stellt Dürer als höfischen Kämpfer dar und steht im Gegensatz zu anderen Darstellungen, die seine intellektuellen und kreativen Begabungen betonen. Das Daucher-Relief lenkt die Aufmerksamkeit auf den Körper des Künstlers und präsentiert ihn als kraftvolle männliche Präsenz, deren künstlerische Fähigkeiten – wie geschickte Gewalt – es ihm ermöglichen, seine kulturellen Konkurrenten zu dominieren. Im vormodernen Europa ermöglichte ritualisierte Gewalt aristokratischen Männern, ihre Tugendhaftigkeit auszudrücken und sich von Männern anderer Klassen zu unterscheiden. In der höfischen Kultur des 16. Jahrhunderts wurden künstlerische Fertigkeiten und geschickte Gewalt zunehmend als austauschbare Formen instrumenteller Macht angesehen, die es einem Höfling ermöglichten, die Vorherrschaft über seine Konkurrenten zu erlangen. Es soll aufgezeigt werden, dass das Daucher-Relief die symbolische Bedeutung des rituellen Kampfes und die zunehmende konzeptionelle Gleichstellung von künstlerischem Geschick und geschickter Gewalt ausnutzt, um Dürer als einen kulturellen Krieger darzustellen, der der Ehre und Wertschätzung seiner aristokratischen Kollegen würdig ist.

Schlagwörter: Daucher, Dürer, Augsburg, Relief, höfisch, Kampfkunst

Abstract

In 1522, the Augsburg sculptor Hans Daucher created a limestone plaquette, depicting Albrecht Dürer, engaged in a duel with an unidentified adversary. It imagines Dürer as a courtly combatant and stands in contrast to other representations, which emphasize his intellectual and creative gifts. Drawing attention to the artist's body, the Daucher relief presents it as a powerful masculine presence whose artistic skills – like skillful violence – enable him to dominate his cultural competitors. In pre-modern Europe, ritualized violence allowed aristocratic men to express their virtue and differentiate themselves from men of other classes. In the courtly culture of the sixteenth century, artistic skill and skillful violence were increasingly viewed as interchangeable forms of instrumental power which allowed a courtier to assert dominance over his competitors. In what follows, I hope to demonstrate that the Daucher relief exploits the symbolic significance of ritual combat and the increasing conceptual parity between artistic skill and skillful violence, in order to present Dürer as a cultural warrior worthy of the honor and esteem of his aristocratic counterparts.

Keywords: Dürer, Daucher, Augsburg, relief, courtly, martial arts

In 1522, the Augsburg sculptor Hans Daucher created a limestone plaquette, now in Berlin, depicting his fellow artist, Albrecht Dürer, engaged in a duel with an unidentified adversary (Fig. 1).[1] Dürer is clearly in control of the contest, towering over his opponent and effortlessly pinning him to the turf as he prepares to deliver the *coup de gras*. The artist's physical appearance — his domineering posture and powerful, athletic physique — stands in stark contrast to that of his supine opponent whose splayed legs and exposed belly leave him open to multiple forms of penetration. The plaquette's modest proportions and heavily weathered surface belie its art historical significance; it is the first image in northern European art in which a living artist appears as the protagonist of an allegorical drama — an honor previously reserved for noted historical figures and elite patrons — and the only portrait of Dürer executed during his lifetime that he did not create or commission.[2] As such, it provides a unique hermeneutic counterweight to the better known pictorial and literary portraits produced by the artist and his humanist peers, highlighting important and undertheorized aspects of Dürer's public image. Specifically, the relief depicts the artist as a skilled combatant, a representational choice without precedent in northern art.

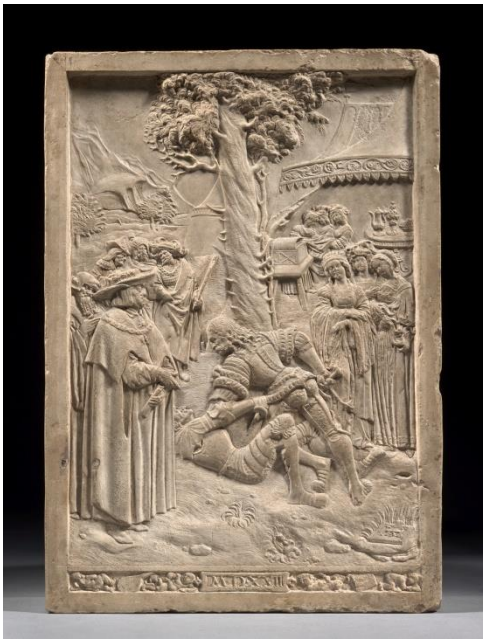

Fig. 1 Hans Daucher, *Daucher Relief*, Staatliche Museen. Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, "804: Allegorie auf Dürers Tugenden (Albrecht Dürer im Zweikampf vor Kaiser Maximilian)," , last modified October 6, 2023. https://smb.museum-digital.de/object/140845. CC BY-SA 4.0.

In the appendices to his Latin translation of Dürer's *Vier Bücher von menschlicher Proportion*, published in 1532, Joachim Camerarius claimed that the artist had continued to practice „the art of wrestling and the art of poetry," even into old age.[3] With the exception of the fencing manual that Dürer designed for emperor Maximilian I around 1512, this single comment is the only historical source that associates Dürer with the kind of belletristic behavior depicted in the Daucher relief.[4] If Dürer had indeed participated in such a public and theatrical display of violence, the event would likely have left some mark on the historical record. However, no such marks have been found and most contemporary scholars now understand the relief to be an imaginative allegory of Dürer's virtues rather than an illustration of an historical event.[5] While many interpreters have sought the key to the relief's meaning in the identity of Dürer's adversary, my analysis will instead focus on Daucher's decision to portray his fellow artist as an agent of violence. By considering the role that violence played in shaping male identity across premodern Europe, I hope to suggest that Daucher's use of violence as a structuring metaphor for artistic expression serves to elevate the status and prestige of his artist-protagonist.

In his monograph on Dürer, Erwin Panofsky described the artist as the first German to conceive of art as „both a divine gift and an intellectual achievement requiring humanistic learning, a knowledge of mathematics and the general attainment of a 'liberal culture,'" and to actively distance himself from the „late Medieval view" that the artist was „an honest craftsman who produced pictures as a tailor made coats and suits."[6] While subsequent generations of scholars have complicated and nuanced this claim, Dürer continues to be associated with the intellectualization of the arts in northern Europe. He is often credited with elevating the status of the arts both by fashioning images of himself (the artist) as a humanist intellectual and by promoting more rigorous methods of art making grounded in mathematics and humanistic learning.

Francis Ames-Lewis has suggested that, first in Italy and then in northern Europe, „artists began to recognize that education in more intellectual fields was vital to the advancement of painting and sculpture from craft to profession."[7] Joanna Woods-Marsden has posited that the coincident development of the autonomous self-portrait documents a similar desire to reshape the public's perception of the visual arts and, in so doing, to improve the artist's social standing.[8] Both studies outline a process of intellectualization, involving the promotion of art's liberal values, and the suppression of its dependence on craft skill. The artist's body plays an understandably vexed role in this narrative, serving both as an essential media-

tor between conception and execution and as an indelible reminder of art's grounding in manual labor.

As Ames-Lewis notes, efforts to differentiate the visual arts from other craft practices were accompanied by a desire to downplay their grounding in the manual drudgery associated with the mechanical arts. A comparison between Cennino Cennini's *Il libro dell'arte*, an artist's manual composed around 1400, and the curriculum presented to new apprentices by the Paduan painter Francesco Squarcione a little over a half-century later reflects this conceptual shift. While Cennini still viewed the arist's *botega* as a locus of „craft activity," largely indistinguishable from any other space where high quality products were created through skilled labor, Squarcione's studio is more akin to a university classroom; rather than emphasizing the importance of „manual, artisanal processes," Squarcione instead focuses on the mastery of spatial geometry and perspective.[9]

Andreas Beyer has suggested that the strategic obfuscation of the artist's body and bodily labor in Renaissance discourse has led to a pervasive neglect of these aspects of artistic identity in modern scholarship.[10] In Beyer's view, this neglect has been exacerbated by Art History's grounding in a Hegelian teleology of art, which values the progressive supremacy of ideas over material and process, and by modern aesthetics' preference for a „conceptualism detached from bodily practice."[11] In an effort to rectify this disciplinary oversight, Beyer has advocated for a historical method that responsibly accounts for the „stubbornness" of the artist's body without reinstating outmoded notions of „genius" or „personal authenticity."[12] Beyer's research highlights an array of understudied ego-documents, including drawings, diaries, letters, and theoretical writings, which help to expose the various way in which early modern artists understood and related to their own bodies. His work also considers the evolution of the term *artist* and its linguistic variants over the course of the early modern period, and its development from a vocational label to a subject-category characterized by specific physical and temperamental qualities. His findings suggest that that the artist's body was not so much effaced during the early modern period, as transformed — that it assumed new meanings and, reciprocally, conditioned new understandings of the artist and their craft.

Dürer is a key figure in Beyer's research. Building on the contributions of Joseph Koerner, Beyer discusses the ways in which Dürer represented and related to his body, both as a physical matrix mediating his relation to the world, and as a site for the construction of various, and at times contested, meanings and identities.[13] Oddly, however, while Beyer's research is dedicated entirely to male artists, and

thus to an artistic body that is presumed, unproblematically, to be male, he never explicitly addresses the role of gender in the construction of artistic identity, or the ways in which this role might have shifted over the course of the Renaissance as cultural attitudes towards art, the artist, and the body evolved.

The Daucher frieze allows us to consider the social significance of the artistic body — and the gendering of that body — in a new light. Here, Dürer's artistic achievements are represented in entirely physical terms. His idealized body, engaged in an act of heroic violence, foregrounds the artist's superior might and manhood rather than his intellectual or creative gifts. In fact, by presenting Dürer as a courtly combatant, the relief suggests that his artistic skills should be viewed as a form of skillful violence, which enables him to dominate other artists as a warrior might dominate his opponents on the battle field or tournament grounds. In premodern Europe, skill in violence was a key feature of elite masculinity.[14] Ritualized acts of violence, like jousts and duels, served as an important means for aristocratic men to express their virtue and to differentiate themselves from men of other classes. At the same time, this period witnessed a shift away from the chivalric ideal of the knight-at-arms and towards that of the courtier.[15] For the courtier, artistic skill and skillful violence served as increasingly interchangeable forms of instrumental power which enabled him to assert his dominance over other men and gain honor and favor within the highly competitive arena of the court. In what follows, I hope to demonstrate that the Daucher relief exploits the symbolic significance of ritual combat — namely its association with elite masculinity — in order to present its artist-protagonist as a cultural warrior worthy of the honor and esteem of his aristocratic counterparts. Additionally, I will suggest that the work insists on the conceptual parity of artistic skill and skillful violence in order to present its artist-protagonist as an ideal courtier.

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Dürer and his adversary dominate the center of the Daucher relief, their powerful bodies set off by the subtle contours of an arid alpine landscape. A jagged mountain range defines the horizon of the *ad hoc* arena, while the loose outline of a tent encampment fills much of the middle ground, providing a neutral backdrop for the relief's central drama. Eleven spectators — five male and six female — surround the combatants, as if awaiting Dürer's imminent victory. Dürer's erstwhile patron, Emperor Maximilian I, occupies a privileged position in the left foreground; dressed in the robe and beret of a judge he appears to be presiding over the contest taking place before him. The emperor's court historiographer, Johannes Stabius, stands to the left of his employer, peering at the contest from behind

the brim of his master's ample chapeau. Three male figures are visible in the left middle ground, their bodies partially obscured by those of the emperor and his advisor. They appear to be engaged in animated conversation with one another. The figure nearest the center of the composition gestures at Dürer with his right hand while leaning over to speak to his companion, indicating that it is the artist who is the subject of their discussion. These figures are generally identified as the historical heroes Hercules, Theodric, and King David.[16] However, only Hercules, standing nearest the center of the composition and brandishing his tell-tale club, can be identified with any certainty. The two groups of male spectators are counterbalanced compositionally by corresponding groups of female figures at right. At first glance, there appear to be six distinct female characters in the image, divided into two groups of three. However, scholars have demonstrated that the work actually contains a single trio of figures depicted at two distinct moments in time. Generally identified as the virtues Justice, Fortitude, and Prudence, these figures first appear in the right middle ground, removing a cloth from a lidded chest, only to reappear beside the combatants, waiting to present this textile to Dürer in recognition of his victory.[17]

As noted above, most scholars have sought the key to the relief's allegorical program in the identity of Dürer's opponent. Various possibilities have been suggested, including Lazarus Spengler, representative of the Nuremberg city council with which Dürer was embroiled in a financial dispute in the early 1520s; a personification of the stultifying „guild regulations," holding down the reputation of German artists; an allegory of „envy itself"; and Apelles, court artist to Alexander the Great and paragon of Classical artistic achievement with whom Dürer was often compared by his humanist peers.[18]

The figure could also represent the Bolognese printmaker, Marcantonio Raimondi, who counterfeited several sheets from Dürer's woodcut series, *The Life of the Virgin* (Fig. 2). According to Vasari, Dürer was outraged by the theft and successfully sued Raimondi before the Venetian Senate in what has been heralded as the first intellectual property dispute in European history.[19] While the veracity of Vasari's account has been questioned by modern historians, the final published edition of *The Life of the Virgin*, which appeared in 1511, was accompanied by a colophon that warned would-be copyists to keep their „thoughtless hands" off Dürer's designs.[20] This threat carried the weight of an imperial privilege that the artist had secured from Maximilian I, who promised heavy sanctions to those who reproduced the images without license. Contrary to the claims of many Italian humanists, Raimondi's illicit reliance on Dürer's designs proved that the vector of cultural influence between north and south was far from unidirectional and that Dürer

and his Germanic peers were not merely the passive recipients of foreign innovations but were themselves the source of inventions worthy of imitation. Allegorized as an act of chivalric heroism undertaken on behalf of the German Empire (as represented by Maximilian I), Dürer's legal victory assumes a kind of super-personal significance, testifying not only to the artist's singular genius but also to the ascendency of German culture more broadly.

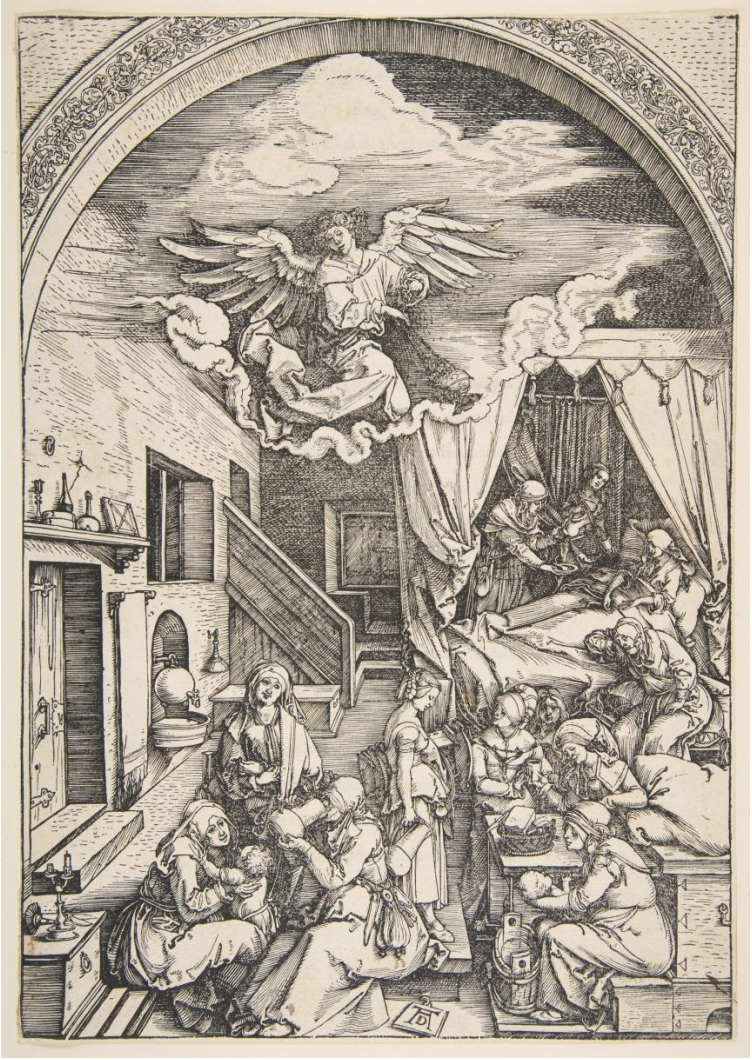

Fig. 2 Albrecht Dürer, *The Birth of the Virgin*, from *The Life of the Virgin*, woodcut, ca. 1503. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY. https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/387734. CC0 1.0 Universal.

While several of these theories seem plausible, the relief offers little material support for any of them. Dürer's opponent possesses no distinguishing attributes, nor has his portrait-like profile been convincingly associated with any known historical likenesses, leaving few remaining avenues for inquiry.[21] Rather than seeking to name this figure or associate him with a specific historical personality, I will instead focus on other aspects of his identity and the role that he plays in the image. If we understand the relief to be an allegory of Dürer's virtues, then the artist's fallen foe would seem to represent some combination of the challenges, challengers, and circumstances that Dürer was forced to overcome in his rise to preeminence. Portrayed as an aging knight whose sagging features and outdate plate armor bespeak both waning vigor and cultural obsolescence, this figure lies in striking physical contrast to the artist, whose lithe, athletic body and modish attire exude vitality and power. This juxtaposition associates Dürer's artistic powers with his idealized physique, suggesting that his cultural triumphs are the expression of superior masculine virtue. Equally significant is the fact that Dürer and his adversary are depicted as courtly combatants rather than artists. The resulting elision of artistic skill and skillful violence works to elevate the social value of artistic labor by associating it with the cultivation of chivalric honor. By imagining Dürer as a courtly combatant, Daucher also implicates the artist in a ritual drama reserved for members of the aristocracy and nobility, troubling any essential distinction between artist and aristocrat.

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As I have already noted, Dürer's is not the only portrait likeness in the Daucher relief; Maximilian I and his court historiographer, Johannes Stabius, are also pictured in the left foreground. While Dürer and Stabius were both alive at (or very near) the time of the relief's completion, Maximilian had been dead for nearly three years, making it unlikely that he had any involvement in the relief's design or execution.[22] This helps to explain certain compositional irregularities that bear on the work's interpretation. While Daucher's portrait of the emperor is by no means unflattering, the decision to relegate Maximilian to the periphery of an image dedicated to the heroic exploits of an artist-employee—even if that employee was the most famous artist of his day—is striking. The significance of this choice becomes clear when we compare Daucher's relief to other depictions of the emperor from the same period.

Daucher himself produced two other sculpted portraits of Maximilian around the same time as the Berlin relief. In the first of these images, now in Vienna, the emperor appears in the guise of Saint George atop an armored steed (Fig. 3). He is

rendered in strict profile in a clear allusion to his Roman predecessors. However, his fashionable armor, and the formal references to St. George, show him to be a modern, Christian knight, in whom classical and Christian virtues coincide harmoniously. While this work is no larger than the Berlin relief, the relative scale of the emperor and his mount — whose body seems ready to burst through the relief's arched frame — and their position at the center of the composition, lend the portrait a sense of monumental grandeur. In the second image — a complex, multifigured allegory of the virtues of Emperor Charles V, now in New York — Maximilian again takes pride of place beside his imperial successor, leading a procession of virtuous figures across a bridge to do battle with their Turkish adversaries (Fig. 4). In both works, Daucher relies on the position and scale of figures to emphasize and glorify the emperor and underscore his authority. These works reveal Daucher's keen awareness of the spatial protocols governing the visual representation of power in this period.

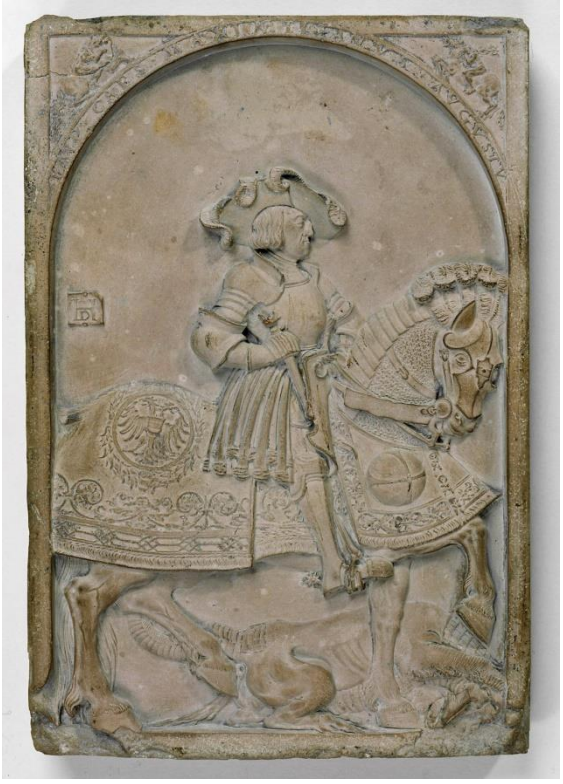

Fig. 3 Hans Daucher, *Maximilian I on Horseback in the Guise of Saint George*, Solnhofen limestone, ca. 1522. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Kunstkammer. https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/748462. CC BY-SA 4.0.

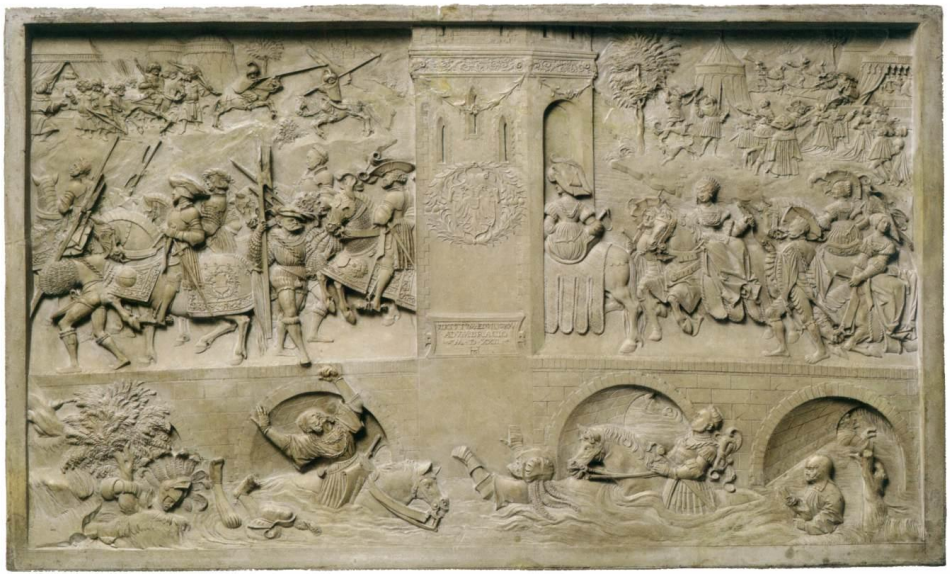

Fig. 4 Hans Daucher, *Allegory of Virtues and Vices at the Court of Charles V*, ca. 1522. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY. https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/193622. CC0 1.0 Universal.

Tournaments and other public rituals were organized by a similar set of spatial hierarchies; in a double-page illumination from René d'Anjou's „Traité de la forme et devis comme on peut faire les tournois," (Fig. 5) an illustrated tournament book compiled in the 1460s and now in Paris, the most important spectators appear in private boxes whose elevated position reflects their occupant's social prestige. Raised above the fray, these honored patrons are perfectly situated to see and to be seen, both by other figures within the fictive space of the image, and by readers perusing the illuminated text, a correspondence which seems to confirm that both the tournament and its pictorial representations were governed by a common and mutually dependent semiotics of space. In the illustration, the highest ranking noblemen are also located closest to the centerline of the composition, while noblewomen and members of their retinues are relegated to boxes on either side of the central seating area, placing them both closer to the ground and further from the center of action in accordance with their inferior status. Several illustrations from Maximilian's allegorical autobiography, *Freydal*, follow a similar pattern. In one particularly apt example, a group of noble spectators, including the emperor, observe a *melee*, or group combat, from an elevated balcony. Here, the high horizon line and exaggerated spatial recession—which seem to place the spectators at

a great remove from the combatants—underscore the social distinction between the groups. As these images attest, both works of art and public spectacles were governed by a shared set of spatial protocols determined by the relative prestige of those represented. Daucher was clearly aware of these protocols, employing them masterfully in his autonomous portrait of Maximilian to indicate his subject's regal status. Thus, it would seem that his decision to remove Maximilian from his expected position at the top or center of the Berlin relief and to place Dürer in this privileged location instead was a calculated choice intended through the transgression of both pictorial and social norms, placing the artist on a par with his imperial patron.

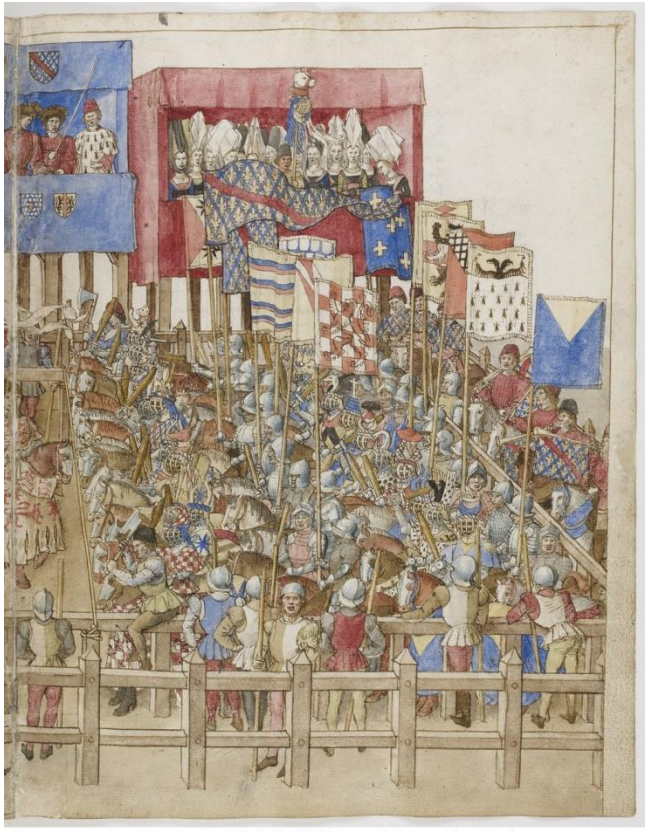

Fig. 5 René I d'Anjou, *Traité de la forme et devis comme on peut faire les tournois*, Folio 97v-Folio 98r. illustrated by Barthélémy d'Eyck, published 1401-1500. Collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84522067. CC BY 4.0.

Despite his relegation to the periphery of the relief, the emperor still serves an important function in its allegorical program. Situated between Dürer and the trio of mythic heroes gathered to witness his victory, Maximilian functions as a conduit of heroic virtue rather than as its terminus. His role as mediator is confirmed by the presence of the personified virtues at right. The fact that these figures appear twice, first in the middle ground on a shared axis with Hercules, Theodric, and David, and then again next to Dürer in the right foreground, suggests that it is the artist and not his patron who truly reembodies the virtues of the German *Ur-Väter*. Dressed as a judge, Maximilian serves to validate Dürer's victory—though the visual evidence leaves little room for doubt. The image implies that, by choosing Dürer as his imperial champion, Maximilian has helped to enable the artist's accomplishments, and with them, the reemergence of Germany's native virtues. In this way, the relief still honors Maximilian—not as a Christian knight or romantic hero—but as an enlightened patron of the arts.

However, even when compared to other works that celebrate Maximilian as a patron and protector of the arts, the Daucher relief stands apart from the norm. A woodcut illustration designed by Hans Burgkmair the Elder for *Der Weißkönig*, another of Maximilian's autobiographical projects, shows the young emperor during a visit to the atelier of his court artist (who looks conspicuously like Burgkmair) (Fig. 6). Maximilian stands authoritatively next to the seated painter, pointer finger extended, as if correcting some element of his composition. Burgkmair's brush, which reads almost as an extension of the emperor's guiding finger, is poised before the canvas, as if awaiting his master's animating word. The relative position of the two figures, and Maximilian's commanding gesture, implies a relationship of dependence in which the artist serves primarily as a vehicle for the expression of the emperor's creative agency.

In the Daucher relief, this relationship is reversed. Rather than guiding the action, the emperor's pointing finger directs the viewer's attention away from himself and toward his artist-hero, whose actions he endorses but does not control. Less a gesture of command than one of acknowledgement, it validates Dürer's accomplishments while at the same time renouncing any authorial involvement in them. The gesture creates a sense of parity between artist and patron, joining the two figures in a relationship of mutual dependence and ennoblement. While the emperor's patronage enables the artist's triumphs, Dürer's heroic actions take center stage, redounding on the artist and his imperial sponsor to their mutual benefit. While the image honors both emperor and artist, it allots the greater share of acclaim to Dürer. Not only is he allowed to replace his patron at the center of the composition, he also supplants him as the terminal link in the chain of virtue con-

necting *Germania's* present to its epic past — a gesture which implies that it is Dürer, and not Maximilian, who is the true paragon of modern German manhood. While this conceit would seem to constitute a grave breach of the social order, Hercules at least appears to acknowledge Dürer as his true heir. Turning to his companions, he points directly at the artist, bypassing the emperor entirely.

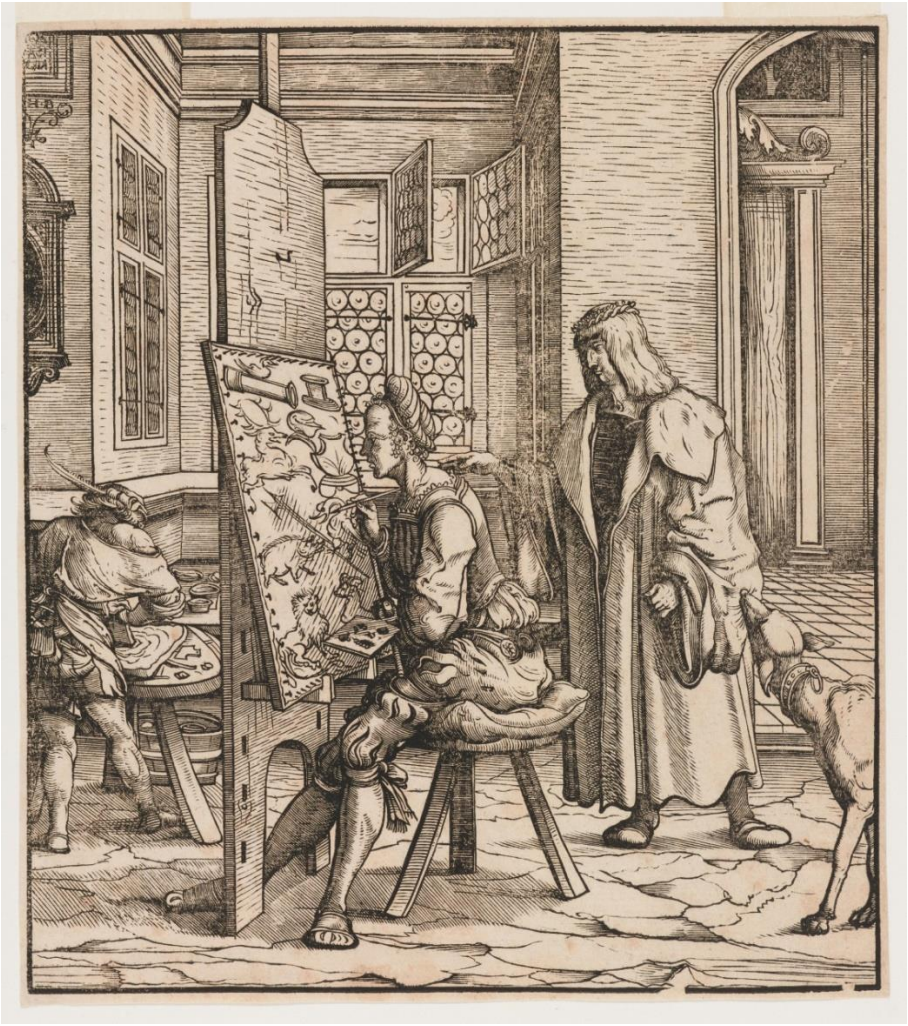

Fig. 6 Hans Burgkmair the Elder, The Young White King in the Studio of a Painter, from Der Weisskunig by Marcus Treitzsaurwein, published in Augsburg by Peutinger, 1514–1516, printed 1775. Woodcut. Philadelphia Museum of Art. Gift of Carl Zigrosser, 1974. Accession Number 1974-179-492. https://philamuseum.org/collection/object/256112. CC0 1.0 Universal.

Daucher's strategic reversals of space and position not only challenge the conventional relationship between painter and patron, they also assert the primacy of a new masculine archetype—the courtly artist—who is shown triumphing over his already-belated predecessor, the knight-at-arms. For this reason, the Daucher relief is a key document for the history of masculinity, as it pictures the emergence of a new model of manhood at a pivotal moment in northern European history. It is also an important artifact for the history of art, one which draws attention to the changing social significance of the artist's body and to the key role which various masculine ideals played in shaping artistic identity during the Renaissance.

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Thus far, I have focused on the ways in which Daucher manipulates established representational norms in order to amplify the status of his artist-protagonist. In what follows, I will turn my attention to the relief's allegorical pretext—namely, a ritual combat—and will consider how the depiction of Dürer as a courtly combatant, and the representation of his artistic skills as a form of skillful violence, help to present the artist as an exemplar of elite masculinity.

Several commentators have described the encounter between Dürer and his opponent as a „single combat" or „trial by combat."[23] These terms refer to judicially sanctioned duels, which were employed in place of a trial to decide the outcome of a legal or military dispute. While it is possible that Dürer and his opponent are engaged in this kind of juridical violence, the presence of the personified virtues seems to suggest otherwise.[24] Three nearly identical female figures appear in the *Traité de la forme,* offering a cloth of honor to a young champion in recognition of his triumphs at the tourney (Fig. 5).[25] That the female figures in the Daucher relief are shown with a similar textile, which they seem poised to present to Dürer in recognition of his victory, strongly suggests that the Daucher relief also shows a tournament combat rather than a judicial duel. This distinction is important because tournaments and tournament culture played a key role in the construction of masculine identity, both at the imperial court beyond.

For Maximilian, the tournament served as a powerful medium of personal and dynastic self-fashioning.[26] By revitalizing this venerable ritual of violence, which had deep roots in the chivalric culture of the late Middle Ages, he hoped to demonstrate his direct connection to the vaunted dynasties of the past. Maximilian was an avid and, by all accounts, skilled warrior and strategist who came of age on the tournament grounds and battlefields of Europe.[27] He earned the moniker, „The Last Knight," because of his commitment to the chivalric ideals and courtly

culture of an earlier age.[28] As Emperor, he organized jousts and melees at his residence in Innsbruck. Keenly aware of the spectacle-value of such events, he collaborated with artists, armorers, and clock makers to create mechanized shields that would burst into fragments when struck with a lance. This novel technology spawned a new style of joust, the *Geschifttartschen-Rennen*, in which the combatant's bodies were transformed into kinetic sculptures in a spectacle of artful violence.[29]

Maximilian continued to compete in tournaments after his election as Holy Roman Emperor in 1508.[30] Images of these contests and other martial exploits feature prominently in his allegorical autobiographies where courage and military prowess are upheld as key attributes of an ideal leader.[31] Maximilian meticulously edited these images, going as far as to cross out or correct designs that failed to meet his expectations, in order to ensure that they presented him in an appropriately heroic light.[32] Maximilian's frequent participation at tournaments and commitment to recording and publicizing these performances suggest that he viewed ritual combat—and its representation in various media—as an important aspect of his public image. Even when the emperor was not actively competing in a tournament, he still found ways of making his presence and authority felt. He had an ornate balcony added to his palace at Innsbruck to celebrate his second wedding to Bianca Maria Sforza. This architectural marvel overlooked the public square and sporting grounds; from their privileged vantage point, the imperial couple could survey the action in full view of the public and other noble spectators. The balcony's decorative façade also featured two sculpted likenesses of the emperor, ensuring that he would be remembered and honored by tournament goers even when not physically present.[33]

The emperor was a shrewd and innovative patron of the arts who utilized texts and images—especially in the new medium of print—to position himself as a modern, Christian knight in whom the blood and virtue of ancient Germanic heroes, like Armenius and Otto the Great, remained vital.[34] According to the emperor's court chronicler, Sebastian Rank, he was „innately drawn to the very old histories and tales" of Germany's medieval past, going so far as to commission a luxury compendium of epic stories and sagas known as the *Ambraser Heldenbuch* to honor the deeds of his Germanic predecessors.[35] This and other *Helder Bücher,* or books of heroic deeds, served as models for Maximilian's own autobiographical projects, as did early chivalric romances like Ulrich von Liechtenstein's *Frauendienst.* The imitation of these venerable literary exempla functioned in much the same way as the performative restaging of courtly rituals. Lke the tournament,

these rituals collapsed the distinction between past and present in order to link Maximilian's court to the great dynasties of the past.

As Maximilian's moniker, „The Last Knight," would suggest, the chivalric ideals that he prized, and which he promoted at court, were already something of an anachronism elsewhere in Europe, and would largely fall out of fashion in the German speaking lands after the emperor's death. However, elements of the chivalric ethos would continue to exert an influence on the expression of elite masculinity for generations to come.

Building on the work of Norbert Elieas, the historian, Ruth Karras, has suggested that chivalry developed as a „civilizing ethos" to help to control and regulate the use of violence among members of the knighthood.[36] Over the course of the 12th and 13th centuries, it evolved into a loosely defined code of conduct for the male aristocracy, in large part through its representation in courtly romance.[37] It was the literary portrayal of chivalry, with its valorization of specific virtues, including „skill in arms, bravery, [...] loyalty [...] piety, chastity, [...] humility [...] and courtly accomplishment," which ultimately had the greatest impact on Renaissance men at all levels of society.[38]

While chivalry demanded that violence be used only in certain ways and under certain circumstances, chivalric manhood still ultimately depended on a man's ability to dominate other men, often by force. As Karras notes, within chivalric culture „violence was the fundamental measure of a man because it was a way of exerting dominance over men of one's own social stratum as well as over women and other social inferiors."[39] Pierre Bourdieu has made the far more sweeping assertion that violence, either real or metaphoric, defines all forms masculinity under patriarchy, insisting that patriarchal societies always require that „manliness be validated by other men, in its reality as actual or potential violence."[40] Karras's detailed analysis of male coming-of-age rituals would seem to validate Bourdieu's hypothesis, at least in the context of late Medieval Germany. Karras has suggested that, while actual violence was necessary for the consolidation and preservation of elite masculinity, men from other social classes also depended on various forms of sublimated violence, including intellectual and economic competition, in order to prove their manhood and distinguish themselves from male challengers.[41] University students were expected to „prove[...] [their] masculinity by dominating other men intellectually" during public disputations.[42] According to Karras, these contests were „inherently competitive" and „antagonistic," and took the form of „ceremonial combats."[43] For the artisan class, full adult masculinity was achieved through the „domination of others (including women but mainly

men) economically through ownership of an independent workshop."[44] Skill was the primary differentiator amongst artisans, as it was through the demonstration of superior skill that an apprentice or journeyman might gain „economic independence, the ability to marry, civic participation, and the control of subordinates in a workshop," joining the ranks of the masters as a fully adult man.[45] In Karras's view, the need for young men of all social classes to earn and then defend their manhood in competition with other men, attests to the pervasive influence that chivalry and the knightly ideal had on masculine identity up and down the social ladder.

While the fundamentally combative and domineering foundations of elite masculinity served as a model for members of the lower social classes, the right to engage in actual violence at tournament became an increasingly important and protected index of both class and gender difference during the Renaissance. Over the course of the later Middle Ages, strategic and technological developments in warfare gradually rendered the knight in shining armor obsolete.[46] This change diminished the social value of the male aristocracy and threatened the foundations of elite masculinity, which had hitherto been defined by martial prowess and courage in battle.[47] This issue was compounded by a coinciding rise economic and political parity between the aristocracy and upper bourgeoise, a development which highlighted the increasingly symbolic nature of aristocratic power. According to Lawrence Stone, these changes contributed to a „crisis of the aristocracy," which provoked a search for new methods of self-definition to replace those that had been lost.[48] With their role in warfare radically diminished, elite men turned to public rituals and performances, including tournaments, in an effort to consolidate their class identity and differentiating themselves from men of lesser social rank.[49] Even as the distribution of economic and political power shifted, the tournament remained a protected domain of the nobility and aristocracy. In Germany, only those who could demonstrate knightly descent for four generations were allowed to participate in such events. As such, these rituals of violence assumed particular symbolic import as one of the premier venues in which elite men could showcase the qualities and privileges that distinguished them from their bourgeoise counterparts. By excluding members of the lower classes, nobles and aristocrats insured that the exercise of skillful violence, and the honor and virtue with which such violence was associated, was only accessible to them.[50] Karras sums up the situation admirably, noting that, while „men of low birth who rose through merit might acquire money and political power, [...] they could never acquire chivalric honor."[51]

As a commoner by birth, Dürer would never have been allowed to participate in a tournament even if he had wanted to do so. Such a privilege was only available to him in the fictional arena of the image. We do not know who the audience was for the Daucher relief, nor can we determine whether the artist's portrayal of Dürer would have provoked pleasure or outrage in its observers. What is clear, however, is that the relief draws its rhetorical force from the intentional transgression of both pictorial and social norms. By inverting the traditional spatial hierarchy between Dürer and his patron, Daucher ascribes a greater degree of honor and agency to the artist than was typical at the time; likewise, by portraying Dürer as a tournament champion—a status reserved for nobles and aristocrats—Daucher makes a bold, and perhaps transgressive, claim about the artist's social standing and the honor due to his art.

...

By 1522, Dürer had established himself as one of the best known and most celebrated artists in Europe. Returning home that summer after a year-long sojourn to the Netherlands, during which he had been feted by artists and potentates, he was commissioned by the Nuremberg City Council to oversee the renovation and modernization of the city hall, a massive undertaking and one of the defining public works project of the age.[52] In collaboration with his friend, the noted humanist and councilman, Willibald Pirckheimer, Dürer devised an elaborate decorative program for the new building, including a number allegorical fresco cycles which were to be located at strategic points throughout the complex. In her detailed analysis of the frescos, Heidi Eberhardt Bate describes the works—now lost—as „an exercise in mediated self-definition on the part of Nuremberg's inner council." Specifically, she argues that the frescos were intended to legitimate the patriciate's political authority by promulgating a notion of „patrician virtue."[53]

Nuremberg had been under the control of a city council since the middle of the thirteenth century.[54] This body consisted of a small or inner council of twenty-six men who enacted legislation and held most of the real political power, and a large council whose membership was unfixed and which had little real influence over policy making or governance.[55] Membership in the inner council was, in theory, restricted to members of the urban patriciate. However, as Valintin Groebner has demonstrated, this political monopoly came under threat in the late fifteenth century as newly wealthy members of the bourgeoisie began to buy their way into positions of power; by the early sixteenth century, several new names had been added to the list of families eligible to serve on the inner council, effectively diluting the power of the city's ruling elites.[56] In 1521, in an effort to reestablish control

and prevent members of the bourgeoisie from continuing to purchase political influence, the council fixed the membership of the patriciate by fiat. This document, known as the „dance statute," provided a comprehensive tally of the families allowed to attend social events at the town hall; it also doubled as a public register of the men eligible to serve on the city's inner council. The council also decreed *Tanzfähigkeit*, or dance eligibility, to be a hereditary privilege, thus ensuring that, once defined, the patriciate would remain a closed group, accessible only through the regulable processes of birth and marriage.[57]

Despite his critical contributions to the renovation of the Nuremberg *Rathaus*, Dürer, the son of a goldsmith, was left off the „dance list."[58] As a „free artist" practicing in the guild-free city of Nuremberg, Dürer existed outside the legally designated class system.[59] While he enjoyed relative financial success, international fame, and the respect of his Humanist peers and elite patrons, he was, and would always remain, a commoner by birth, an accident of heredity that he would struggle against throughout his life. While Dürer may have been excluded physically from the *Rathaus's* elite soirées, he was nevertheless present in his works, which served the delight and edification of the building's patrician guests. The irony of Dürer's absence is heightened by the fact that he was, in a sense, the author of his own exclusion. The rhetorical intent of the fresco programs that he designed was to differentiate the patriciate from men such as himself, reinforcing a hereditary social order that worked against his own aspirations.

Dürer was clearly concerned with his social status. He often voiced feelings of underappreciation, despite achieving unprecedented fame and financial prosperity. In a series of letters to his patron, Jakob Heller, Dürer expresses surprising frustration at Heller's unwillingness to grant him additional time and money to complete his work.[60] Though Heller's letters are lost, Dürer's responses make it clear that he expected the artist to honor the budget and deadline which the two men had agreed upon, and that he was peeved by Dürer's tardiness and by his efforts to extract greater compensation. Given that Dürer was the one asking for favors, his indignation comes as something of a surprise. It is only when we read Dürer's justification for his demands that the nature of his frustration becomes clear. Several times throughout the letters, Dürer reminds his patron that the work he is preparing is „something that not many men are capable of."[61] It is clear that Dürer believes this fact to be self-evident and is deeply aggrieved by Heller's unwillingness to acknowledge it by providing him the time and compensation he feels he deserves. For Dürer, Heller's attitude is especially galling because it violates the artist's sense of his own exceptionality. By treating Dürer as he would any other craftsman, Heller tacitly denies that he is any different from other members

of his profession or that his art might require more time to complete or justify a greater reward. Dürer also resented the fact that he was at the economic mercy of men like Heller, whom he clearly felt had means and status, but little refinement. While early commentators tended to view Dürer's parsimoniousness as distasteful—a weakness at odds with his otherwise enlightened and elevated outlook—his concerns seem justified when we consider that, in Dürer's eyes, money seems to have served as a surrogate for other, less tangible forms of value. Viewed in this way, his frustrations with penny-pinching patrons might best be understood as a reflection of his deeper dissatisfaction with the value being placed on his creative labor and, consequently, with the public perception of his social worth.

Dürer composed his first letter to Heller less than a year after his return from Venice in 1506. Jeffrey Ashcroft has suggested that the artist's „sense of his professional and artistic worth" had been fortified by his successes in the south and by his exposure to a culture where the arts were held in higher regard.[62] In a letter to Pirckheimer, written on the eve of his departure from Venice, Dürer reflects ruefully on the fate that awaits him upon his return, noting that, while the Venetians have treated him as a „Gentleman," in Nuremberg he will once again be regarded as a mere „scrounger."[63] Perhaps it was the sense of loss that accompanied his return to Nuremberg, and the realization that he was once again at the mercy of men like Heller—who dealt with him as they would any other craftsman-contractor—that induced Dürer to lash out at his patron with such ill-contained rancor.

Elsewhere in the same letter to Pirckheimer, Dürer's gloomy outlook gives way to self-effacing humor, with the artist both making light of his own social circumstances and poking fun at his patrician friend. Dürer jokes that Pirckheimer has become too important to „speak on the street with a poor painter" such as himself and claims that if the two were seen together it would cause „a great scandal." In mock condemnation of his friend's philandering, Dürer declares: „when I become Lord Mayor I'll clap you in the Belvedere."[64] This comment derives its humor as much from its tone of false censoriousness and from its patent impossibility: Dürer was not a member of the patriciate and thus not eligible to serve as mayor.[65] In other letters, Dürer playfully taunts his friend by sending „greetings" from his „French cloak and Spanish mantel."[66] According to historian Ulinka Rublack, this was a joking reference to Venice's lax sumptuary laws, which allowed skilled craftsman like Dürer to wear clothing which, in Nuremberg, would only have been available to men of higher birth.[67] Whether intentionally or not, Dürer's joke draws attention to the contingency of social distinctions — their dependence on arbitrarily enforced laws and customs rather than on essential and inalienable

differences between social groups. Dürer's familiar tone also speaks to the permeability of class boundaries. Pirckheimer, the eldest son of one of Nuremberg's oldest families and a standing member of the city council, would never have abided such insolence from a man of Dürer's rank had he not counted him a close friend and confidant. Dürer's license to tease his friend suggests that, at least in private, Pirckheimer allowed the artist a high degree of latitude, treating him largely as an equal. The mutual love and respect that the two men clearly shared reflects Pirckheimer's regard for Dürer both as an artist and individual. Even still, Dürer's joke exchanges with Pirckheimer tend to play up the very real difference in the two men's social status, and while they appear lighthearted and jocular, they open a counterfactual space in which the artist can indulge — however fleetingly —in otherwise unacceptable fantasies of power and control.

...

Clothing was an important indicator of social standing in pre-modern Europe. At a time in which the real disparity in political and economic power between classes was narrowing, sumptuary laws ensured that fashion remained a public and visible index of social difference.[68] While the mock greetings which Dürer sent to Pirckheimer from his cloak and mantel, reveal the private glee that he felt at being allowed to flout sartorial sanctions and the pleasure he took in rubbing this privilege in his friend's face, the artist's „Self-Portrait" of 1500 (Fig.8), now in Munich, constitutes a far more brazen assault on sartorial norms.

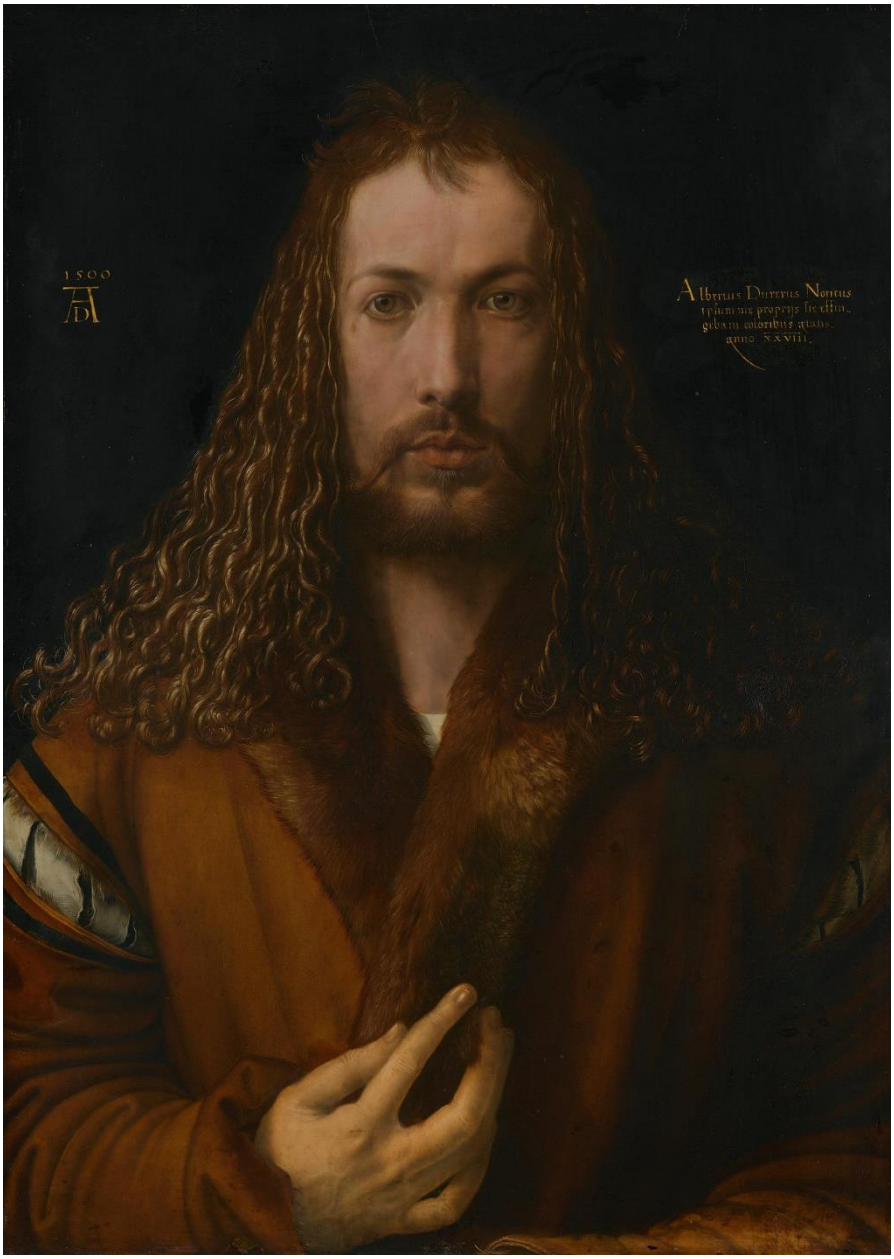

Fig. 8 Albrecht Dürer, *Self-Portrait*, 1500. Bavarian State Painting Collections - Alte Pinakothek, Munich. https://www.sammlung.pinakothek.de/en/artwork/Qlx2QpQ4Xq/albrecht-duerer/selbstbildnis-im-pelzrock. CC BY-SA 4.0.

In this now iconic image, Dürer depicts himself for the first time in an elegant, marten lined *Schaub*—a garment which would recur repeatedly throughout his pictorial oeuvre and which would become a veritable hallmark of the artist's public image.[69] The *Schaub's* fur-lined lapels fill much of the pictorial field and Dürer's meticulous rendering of their texture and hue is among the work's many technical marvels. During Dürer's lifetime, the wearing of marten fur was an important sign of social status and was controlled by civic ordinance. As several scholars have noted, Dürer would have been granted this sartorial privilege in 1509, after his appointment to Nuremberg's large council, but would not have been afforded the honor in 1500, the year in which he first depicted himself in his trademark *Schaub.*[70] Most scholars believe that this apparent transgression of sartorial mores is best understood as a bold, but ultimately harmless, expression of artistic licenses —an example of a young and ambitious artist playing out an as-yet-unrealized social fantasy in the relatively unrestricted arena of pictorial representation. However, the historian Philipp Zitzlsperger believes this reading dramatically downplays the subversiveness of the 1500 „Self-Portrait".[71]

According to Zitzlsperger, the presence of the illicit garment would have rendered the painting unfit for public viewing. As such, he rejects the work's traditional dating, arguing that it must have been created after Dürer's appointment to the large council in 1509, perhaps even in commemoration of this prestigious honor.[72] While I am not inclined to accept this conclusion, I believe that Zitzlsperger is right to emphasize the significance — and ultimately, the subversiveness — of Dürer's sartorial self-styling. It appears from archival records that the „Self-Portrait" remained in Dürer's possession until his death, upon which time it was donated to the Nuremberg City Council. As Zitzlsperger notes, Dürer's residence was not an exclusively private space; it also housed his workshop, and served host to clients, visitors, and dignitaries. Displayed in the artist's home, the 1500 „Self-Portrait" would thus have been visible to anyone entering to visit or do business with the artist. Rudolph Preimesberger has suggested that the portrait's Latin inscription, which describes Dürer as having painted himself in „proprijs coloribus," (appropriate colors) is tantamount to a truth claim and is meant to confirm that the portrait is a representation of its subject as he truly is.[73] If this is the case, and Dürer's violation of sumptuary law is as subversive as Zitzlsperger claims, then the 1500 „Self-Portrait" should be viewed as a defiant, even transgressive affront to the visual and legal protocols that defined Nuremberg's civic patriarchy.

In the Daucher relief, dress also operates as a key index of identity and difference. Dürer is depicted in a *geschlitztes Wams,* or slashed doublet, and tailored hose.[74] The doublet, which cinches at the hip before flaring outward in a short peplum,

accentuates Dürer's narrow waist and wide shoulders while exposing his muscular hips and legs to view. The corset-like fit of the bodice contrasts with the billowing excess of the pleated and slashed sleeves, which lend the artist's upper extremities a sense of super-human bulk; by the early sixteenth century, this ensemble had become fashionable with artisans and upper class men alike, who were inspired by the theatrical self-styling of the imperial *landsknechte*—hired soldiers who made up the bulk of the imperial army.[75] Dozens of prints and broadsheets from the first half of the sixteenth century attest to the public's fascination with these mercenaries and their flamboyant fashions, despite the fact that the *landsknecht* occupied a morally ambiguous place in public discourse.[76]

Most *landsknechte* came from the same social milieu as artists and artisans, and, like their artistic counterparts —who were forced to spend years away from home as apprentices and journeymen — they lived an itinerant lifestyle, at odds with the emergent protestant ideal of the married and propertied *Hausvater,* who was expected to stay at home, ministering to his social obligations and the needs of his dependents.[77] Unlike artists, however, *landsknechte* enjoyed a heightened degree of social mobility and legal freedom — they could gain honor and even ennoblement in recognition of their valor in battle, and they were exempted from traditional sumptuary laws, a privilege they took full advantage of.[78] It was believed that *landsknechte* looted the corpses of their adversaries—particularly those of rank and status—appropriating items of clothing as evidence of their bravery and skill. In fact, popular legend attributed the invention of the slashed style popular among mercenaries and their male imitators to Swiss mercenaries, who were said to have stripped the slashed and bloodied clothing from the bodies of the Burgundian nobles they defeated at the Battle of Grandson in 1476.[79] While the slashed garments that became popular in the early sixteenth century were largely tailor-made, they nevertheless called to mind these violent origin myths, allowing men with no combat experience to project an aura of martial competence. The fact that the *landsknechte* were allowed to wear the clothes of the noblemen they defeated in battle also served as a reminder that, in warfare, status offered no guarantee of survival; in combat, a peasant pikeman might easily be the better of a high-born lord.

Swiss artists, Urs Graf and Nikolas Manuel Deutsch, both served as mercenaries at various points in their careers and incorporated daggers into their monographs as a means of signaling and celebrating this aspect of their identity.[80] While both artists produced images that seem to ironize the lifestyle of the *landsknecte* and their Swiss competitors, the *Reisläufer*, their use of the dagger as a personal insignia—often accompanied by an elaborate pen flourish that connects this weapon of

war to the burin which the artists used to create their intaglio designs—suggests that both men were proud to advertise their military experience.[81] Furthermore, the allusive interplay of burin and blade that runs through their works, suggests a conception of artistic identity in which the capacity to kill and to create are closely related.

Peter Flötner's woodcut portrait of a sculptor-turned-*landsknecht*, entitled „Ueyt Pildharver" (1535) (Fig. 11), provides a different but no less complex view the relationship between artists and mercenaries. The print shows a former sculptor who has been forced into mercenary service by economic hardship. [82] While it is unsigned, a mallet and chisel — common signatural surrogates in Flötner's graphic oeuvre — appear atop a tree stump in the lower right corner as if recently abandoned their by their former owner. The handle of the soldier's polearm rests beside these discarded tools, creating a visual analogy between the artist's „weapons" and the warrior's. The stump functions as an open signifier. It can be read equally as the remnant of a tree felled to provide wood for a sculpture or other work of human ingenuity, or as a casualty of the conflict which has forced the sculptor to abandon his former profession. Set beside the chisel, whose blade creates and forms, and the halberd, whose cruel edge maims and murders, the stump indicates that the distinction between soldier and sculptor is permeable and uncertain—resting, as it were, on a razors edge. While the mallet and chisel may be read as an ersatz monogram, signaling Flötner's authorship, they also function as integral elements of the print's pictorial program—tools whose abandonment represents the artist's submission to the forces of fate. This ambiguity creates confusion about Flötner's relationship to the work; is he merely the image's author, or is the sculptor-solider meant to be a pictorial surrogate for the artist himself, as suggested by his association with Flötner's trademark tools? Finally, the figure's resemblance to Adam from Dürer's 1504 engraving, „The Fall of Man," seems to undermine the seriousness of the image's moralizing message by humorously comparing the sculptor's turn to mercenary soldiery to man's expulsion from paradise.

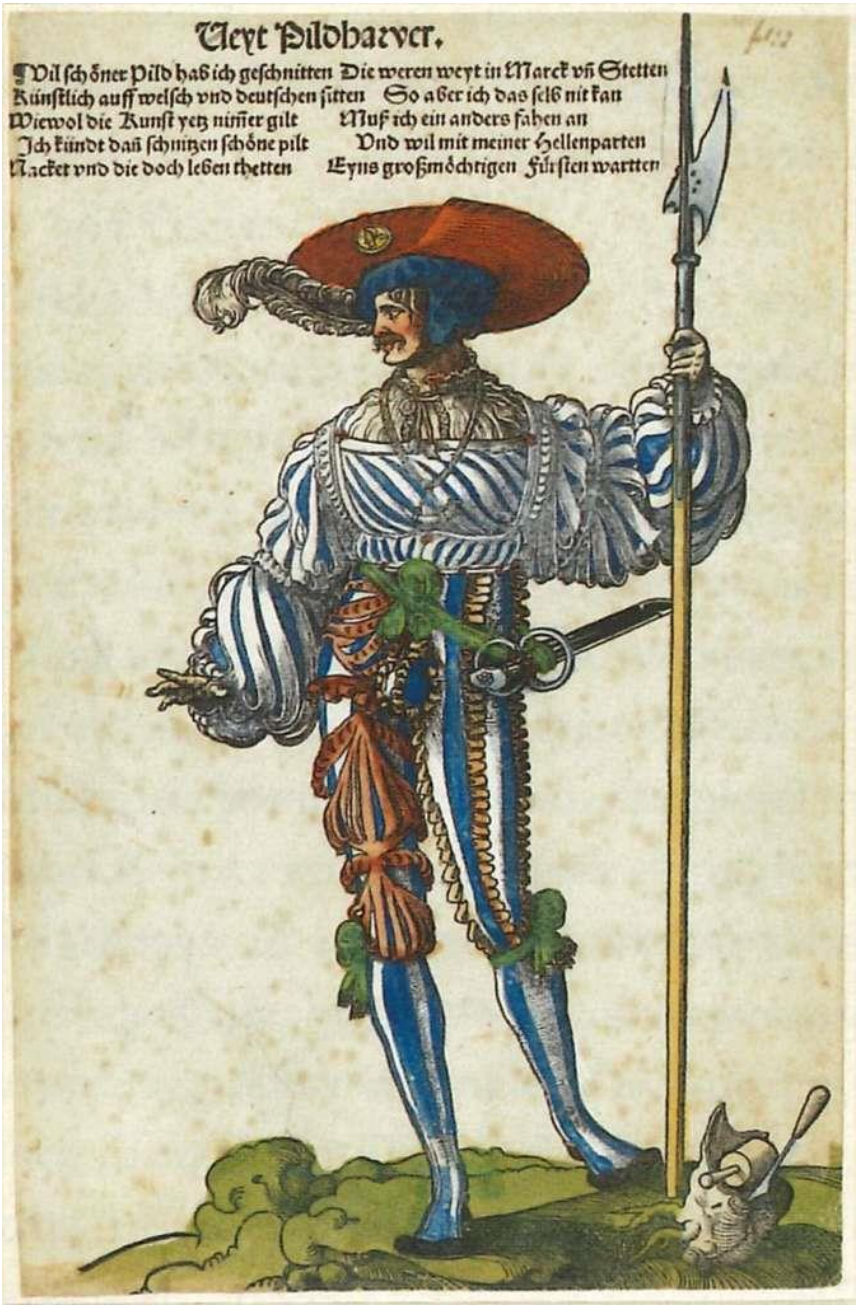

Fig. 11 Peter Flötner. *Landsknecht*, undated. Woodcut. Collection of Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett. Photographer unknown. https://id.smb.museum/object/1042405. CC0 1.0 Universal.

In northern Europe, *landsknecht* imagery and mercenary-inspired fashions reached the zenith of their popularity in the first half of the sixteenth century.[83] This rise in popularity coincided with the onset of the Reformation, a period of substantial social upheaval which witnessed disruptions in gender relations and the dissolution or weakening of certain masculine ideals, among many other changes.[84] Despite these disruptions, scholars have argued that the Reformation ultimately resulted in the expansion and consolidation of patriarchal power across European society. Thomas Robisheaux has demonstrated that the spread of Lutheranism and the adoption of Lutheran marriage practices in Germany's rural communities increased the power of local patriarchs by enabling them to select their sons-in-law and to manage the distribution of land and property rights from beyond the grave.[85] Steven Ozment has argued that the idealization of the patriarchal family served to formalize and naturalize a gendered domestic hierarchy in which husbands were expected to rule and wives to serve.[86] Merry Wiesner has demonstrated that employment opportunities for women declined during the sixteenth century, further undermining female independence and increasing women's reliance on fathers and husbands.[87]

While these studies clearly demonstrate that certain groups of men gained greater power and influence during the Reformation—and that many women lost their economic independence and autonomy—historian Lyndal Roper has argued that these facts alone do not support the idea that the Reformation brought about a „golden era of patriarchal relations," as many scholars have suggested.[88] Roper suggests instead that, while the Reformation may have helped certain groups of elite men consolidate power, it did not have a uniform or uniformly beneficial impact on all male subjects. Rather, by promoting a singular masculine ideal — that of the married and propertied *Hausvater* — protestant reforms disenfranchised and, in a sense, emasculated a substantial percentage of men who were unable, or unwilling, to attain to this ideal.[89] Roper also suggests that the concept of the *Hausvater* was itself afflicted by intrinsic instability; domestic patriarchs were both expected to exert absolute dominion over their households and workshops and to submit willingly to the rule of male superiors — be they fatherly councilors or local lords. To make matters worse, the civic authorities regularly intervened in domestic affairs, siding against husbands and fathers when their behavior violated community standards or interfered with the smooth perpetuation of the patriarchal order — for instance, in cases of adultery, incest, or rape. This led to friction when petty patriarchs — feeling their masculine identity threatened by the demands of the civic authorities — rebelled against efforts to curtail their autonomy.[90]

While many Protestant communities instituted discipline ordinances, efforts to regulate male behavior were often ineffectual.[91] Men of all classes continued to engage in adultery, frequent brothels, drink to excess, and fight with one another, despite increasing social pressure and enforcement.[92] Moreover, many men — even those sympathetic to the reformist cause — including journeymen artists and mercenary soldiers, actively rejected the peaceable domestic ideal of the *Hausvater*. Disenfranchised by a patriarchal order that privileged marriage and masterhood, these men adapted an alternate value system, directly anathema to that of the protestant mainstream, which prized itinerancy, drunkenness, and violent excess.[93] The persistence of extra-legal practices like dueling, binge drinking, and adultery, even in the face of harsh legal censure, attests to the substantial gulf that existed between the behavioral ideals promoted by protestant reformers, and the actual behavior of individual men. It also suggests that it was often the most antisocial aspects of male identity that proved the most resistant to reform.[94]

The rising popularity of mercenary fashions in the early sixteenth century can itself be seen as a manifestation of anti-authoritarian attitudes spurred on by increasing efforts at social control. The „Trouser Devil" literature published in this period makes it clear that the tight hose and prominent codpieces being worn by young bachelors were perceived as extravagant, even threatening, signs of masculine excess. The moralist, Gregorius Wagner, raged against the prurient provocation of the codpiece, which — he charged — provoked desire for the male member by swaddling it in brocade like „sweet honeycomb."[95] Wagner's remarks reflect the social anxiety that attached itself to young, unmarried men during the Reformation. Equally capable of seducing husband or wife, their threatening allure underscored the instability of a patriarch order that depended on pre-marital chastity, marital fidelity, and the ability to control one's patrimony. However, as Roper notes, the bachelors' brazen bodily displays, and the sexual libertinism with which they were associated, masked an actual loss of sexual power and autonomy.[96]

The shuttering of brothels left men with less access to pre- or extramarital sex, while changes in marital law and a lack of opportunities for advancement within the artisan classes meant that fewer men were able to marry. The result, in Roper's view, was that many young men were trapped in a kind of perpetual adolescence which rendered them, „not securely male" according the standards of mainstream society.[97] As Marry Wiesner Hanks has demonstrated for journeymen artists and Stefanie Rüther for mercenary soldiers, certain groups of men responded to this situation by rejecting normative standards of male behavior.[98] Faced with the fact that they were increasingly „a group distinct from the masters,

rather than … masters-in-training (Gesellen rather than Knechte)," and thus that they would likely never attain the patriarchal power associated with masterhood and marriage, some journeymen renounced female contact all together, joining all male communities, or „journeymen's guilds," and lobbying for the exclusion of women from skilled labor positions.[99] Unable to marry, participate in civic politics, or amass substantial real capital, these men became obsessed with what Andreas Griessinger has termed „the symbolic capital of honor;" a currency which only held real value amongst other members of the skilled proletariat.[100] Ironically, while these men sought to exclude women almost entirely from their lives, the honor which they sought still depended on the subjugation of female subjects — not through marital servitude, but through economic exclusion. The anthropologist, R.W. Connell has characterized similar behavior by men in modern western societies as „masculine protest," which she defines as a compensatory response by individuals or groups of men to a real or perceived loss of power or authority.[101]

As Rüther has demonstrated, while *landsknechte* were often viewed with skepticism and fear by the authorities, who saw them as a potential threat to civic order, many members of the public looked on them with admiration as „powerful men, wild and untamed," who enjoyed an enviable freedom from the demands of polite society — including both sartorial and sexual norms.[102] As such, it is easy to see why they served as figures of identification for men who —rightly or wrongly — felt that their own autonomy, and masculinity, were being placed under threat. The *landsknechte's* associations with violence and warfare also suggest that those laymen who embraced mercenary fashions were, at least in part, motivated by a desire to signal their own martial competency and capacity for violence. This is striking given the fact that, by the early sixteenth century, elite manhood had evolved away from its grounding in military service and toward a courtly ideal based on the expression of polish, self-mastery, and effortless nonchalance.[103] It suggests that, even as society sought to regulate the use of force, both artisanal and elite masculinity remained grounded in abstracted forms of violence, including interpersonal competition and the pursuit of dominance.[104]

As Carolyn Springer notes, the early modern court was a „theater of power" where aristocratic actors engaged in „competitive performance[s]" with and against one another, seeking to best their opponents through superior skill or ingenium.[105] These competitions took many forms, from jousts and duels to public disputations and poetry readings. The stakes were high, with competitors standing to lose or gain honor and influence on the basis of their performance. Artists also competed with one another for prestigious commissions and the favor of powerful patrons. The Florentine painter Benvenuto Cellini's „Autobiography" is filled with episodes

of verbal sparring in which the author and his artistic competitors vie for a patron's favor. At times, these verbal exchanges give rise to real and lethal violence.[106] In other cases, aesthetic disputes were resolved through violence, with young men breaking lances to decide questions of taste.[107] As these examples suggest, artistry and violence were never far from one another in the competitive arena of the court; artful courtiers and courtly artists alike might turn to either, or both, when forced to defend their honor or assert their dominance over a rival.[108]

The historian Heidemarie Bodemer has argued that during the Renaissance, the martial and visual arts gained an unprecedented degree of conceptual parity. According to Bodemer, while both had initially been classed among the „proprietary arts" — disciplines considered to have merely economic or utilitarian value — they experienced a reversal of fortune in the fifteenth century, rising to join the liberal arts as essential elements the aristocratic curriculum.[109] No less an authority than Baldassare Castiglione, author of *Il Cortegiano* — the defining treatise on courtly conduct in the period, recommended that young aristocrats be educated in both the martial and the visual arts[110] — not because he viewed the two fields as antipodes representing the full breadth of knowledge that a young lordling should be expected to master, but rather because he saw them as analogous means of cultivating courtly virtue. Both required deep theoretical knowledge, exceptional bodily control, elegant self-stylization, and the capacity for spontaneous and seemingly effortless improvisation — attributes essential to the success of the modern courtier.

For Castiglione, the violent spectacle of the tournament was as much an opportunity for artful display as it was an expression of martial prowess. This is clearly illustrated in a passage from *Il Cortegiano* in which the character Federigo Fregoso describes how a courtier should present himself during such occasions:

[[He] will strive to be as elegant and attractive in the exercise of arms as he is skillful, and to feed his spectators' eyes with all those things that he thinks may give him added grace; and he will be careful to have a horse gaily caparisoned, to wear becoming attire, to have appropriate mottoes and ingenious devices that will feed the eyes of the spectators even as the loadstone attracts iron.][111]

Clearly, the courtier's appearance is as important as his performance. He is to fashion himself into a kinetic work of art, emblazoned with „ingenious devices" which enthrall the eye of his audience as readily as the painter's art. Nor does this passage reflect a mere literary ideal with little relation to lived practices. At the wedding of Costanzo Sforza, Lord of Pesaro, in May 1475, a chronicler notes that the groom was honored with a cloth of silver brocade, as much for his prowess

with the lance during the pre-nuptial festivities, as for his „polish" and „politeness," with everyone in attendance agreeing that he was „one of the most beautiful and polished … knights seen for a long time."[112] While Constanzo may have acquitted himself well on the field of battle, it was his artful and elegant expression of aestheticized masculinity that seems to have struck most spectators as his most notable achievement.

The essential fungibility of artistic skill and skillful violence is represented in the frontispiece of a fencing manual written by the Italian engineer and polymath, Camillo Agrippa, in 1533 (Fig. 9). Here, artistic acumen and artful violence merge in a unified expression of masculine prowess. The full-page engraving shows the author seated at a low table opposite an older, bearded man in a robe. This figure's left hand rests on a book lying open before him on the table; more books are visible at his feet and on the high shelf above his head. Camillo faces him across the narrow table, holding a compass in his right hand and an armillary sphere in his left. An unsheathed dagger —visible behind the upright compass legs —points directly at his adversary's heart. Like the Daucher relief, the image centers on an allegorical contest — in this case, a learned disputation rather than a ritual combat. On its face, this competition is between opposing pedagogical models: Camillo's, which, according to Sydney Anglo „us[es] both pure and applied mathematics to place personal combat on a scientific basis" — a novel approach at the time — and that of his opponent, which relies solely on textual sources rather than personal experience or praxis.[113] However, the frontispiece presents the viewer with a choice between opposing masculine types — one young and vital, the other senile and timid — biasing the reader toward Camillo's methods before they have read a single passage of text.

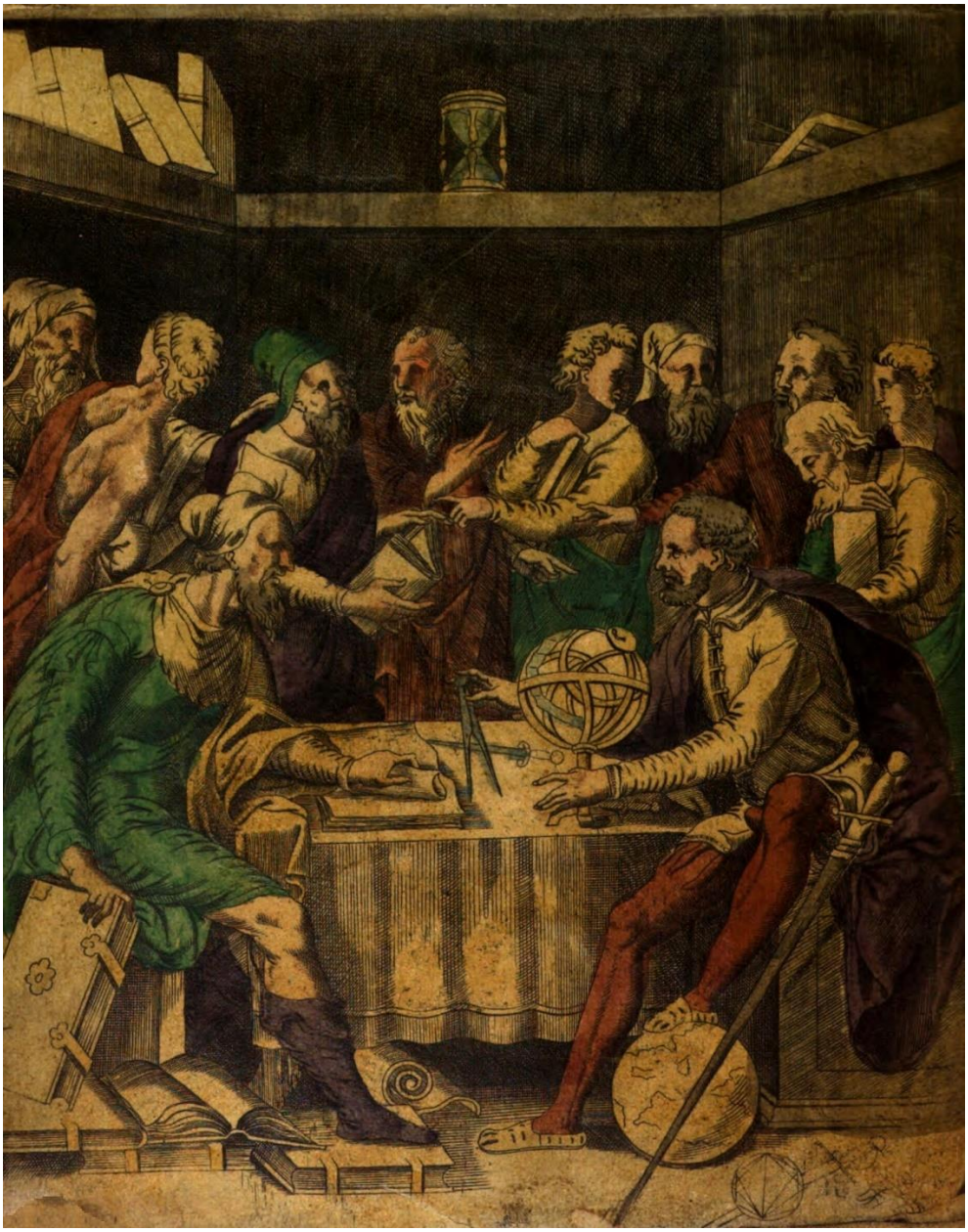

Fig. 9 Camillo Agrippa. *Trattato Di Scientia d'Arme, con un Dialogo di Filosofia* (*Frontispiece from Camillo Agrippa's Treatise on the Science of Arms with Philosophical Dialogue)*, 1553. Collection of Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. https://onb.digital/result/107BDB08. CC0 1.0 Universal.

Various aspects of the image sway the contest in Camillo's favor while at the same time blurring any clear distinction between intellectual and physical prowess. The author's upright posture, youthful countenance, and fashionable attire, which highlight his athletic body and elegant, well-muscled legs, contrast with the diffident demeanor, shaggy beard, and theatrical archaism of his adversary, whose toga-like shroud not only evokes his outdated methods, but also feminizes his physique by swaddling any visible musculature in soft folds of fabric. While the two men are meant to be debating the relative merits of their pedagogical methods, the dynamic interplay of their bodies recalls the figures in contemporary fencing manuals. Camillo in particular resembles a courtly combatant. Wielding compass and armillary sphere like a sword and buckler, he dominates the center of the action, forcing his opponent to draw back his hand, crumpling the page he is holding in the process. The sword hanging sheathed but ready at Camillo's side and the menacing silhouette of the dagger, unused but within easy reach on the table, attest to the lethal potential lying behind the fencing master's exacting intellect. Moreover, the superimposition of compass and dagger — which merge into a unified attribute in Camillo's hand — implies that these instruments serve a common purpose — that, for Camillo, the compass — a tool associated with scientists as well as artists — is as powerful as a blade.

The Daucher relief stages a similar contrast between masculine types, manipulating both compositional and sartorial norms to present its artist-protagonist as a paragon of modern masculinity. Forgoing any direct reference to Dürer's achievements as an artist, Daucher instead highlights his virtues as a man; the artist is dressed in the modish attire of a courtier. His dispassionate expression, elegant self-mastery, and facile dominance, convey the *sprezzatur*a, or effortless grace, which Baldassare Castiglione accounted the chief virtue of the courtier.[114] By contrast, his hapless adversary appears in the outmoded plate armor of a medieval knight, suggesting that both he, and the masculine archetype that he represents, are no-longer-vital artifacts of a former age. In much the same way that the frontispiece to Camillo's fencing manual implies that the fencing master's techniques are superior to those of his straw-man adversary because Camillo himself is more of a man, the Daucher frieze attributes Dürer's success as an artist to his superior masculine virtue. Represented as the better of both his regal patron and his aristocratic foe, Dürer appears as the ideal modern man — a courtly adept, equally skilled with burin and blade, who deserves to be regarded among the empire's social elites.

In letters to mutual friends and in his epitaph for the artist, completed shortly after his death in 1528, the humanist and reformer, Erasmus of Rotterdam de-

scribed Dürer as an Apellian prince of art.[115] While Erasmus intended this epithet to reflect Dürer's unparalleled artistic achievements, in the Daucher relief, the title assumes a provocative new valence; no longer a prince among artists, Dürer now appears as an artist-prince, seizing honor and acclaim by force. While the relief relates in general terms to other texts and images seeking to elevate the status of art and of the artist in this period, as I have tried to demonstrate, it does so in an unfamiliar fashion, highlighting the power of the artist's body and presenting him as a noble warrior rather than as a humanist intellectual or *pictor doctus*. By portraying artistic skill as a domineering force akin to violence, Daucher creates a heroic vision of the artist aligned with the masculine ideals of his age. Furthermore, his portrayal of Dürer as an imperial champion, doing battle on behalf of the empire, invests the artist's achievements with vital political importance. The duel stands as a synecdoche for the Holy Roman Empire's struggle for political and cultural supremacy against its chief competitors, France and Italy—a struggle in which not only the artist's honor, but also that of the Empire and its people, was at stake. In this way, Daucher presents the artist as a cultural hero, who, like the aristocracy of old, defends the fatherland from foreign challengers. While he may wield a burin rather than a blade, his contributions are no less vital to the fortunes of the nation. In the allegorical space of Daucher relief, Dürer finally achieves the ennoblement that he would never attain in life; long recognized as a prince among artists, here, at least, he will forever be an artist-prince.

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[1] The most comprehensive modern analysis of the relief can be found in, Thomas Eser, *Hans Daucher: Augsburger Kleinplatik der Renaissance* (Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1996), 124–132.
[2] Eser, *Hans Daucher,* 124; Jeffrey Ashcroft, ed., *Albrecht Dürer: Documentary Biography* (Yale University Press, 2017), 685.
[3] Johannes Camerarius quoted in Hans Rupprich, ed., *Dürer: Schriftlicher Nachlaß,* 3 volumes (Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1956), 308: „... et ipse per aetatem non neglexerat, et probabat etiam senex, cuius modi sunt gymnastices et musicae reliquiae." As Rupprich notes, 'gymnastices' must be translated as 'art of the ring,' rather than 'gymnastic arts,' as it comes from the Latin *gymnas.* The English translation is my own.
[4] For a discussion of the fencing manual, see Dierk Hagedorn, *Albrecht Dürer: Das Fechtbuch* (VS-BOOKS Torsten Verhülsdonk, 2021).
[5] Eser, *Hans Daucher*, 128.
[6] Erwin Panofsky, *The Life and Art of Albrecht Dürer,* 4th edition (Princeton University Press, 1971), xxxix.
[7] Francis Ames Lewis, *The Intellectual Life of the Early Renaissance Artist* (Yale University Press, 2000), 30.
[8] Joanna Woods-Marsden, *Renaissance Self-Portraiture: The Visual Construction of Identity and the Social Status of the Artist* (Yale University Press, 1998).
[9] Ames-Lewis, *The Intellectual Life,* 57.

[10] Andreas Beyer, *Künstler, Leib und Eigensinn: Die vergessene Signatur des Lebens in der Kunst* (Verlag Klaus Wagenbach, 2022), 9-23.
[11] Ibid, 18.
[12] Ibid, 25.
[13] Joseph Koerner, *The Moment of Self-Portraiture in German Renaissance Art* (Chicago University Press, 1993); Beyer, *Künstler*, 63–76, 85–92, 94–108.
[14] See Jennifer Low's extensive discussion of this theme in, Jennifer A. Low, *Manhood and the Duel: Masculinity in Early Modern Drama and Culture* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 11–93; see also, Ruth Mazo Karras, *From Boys to Men: Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 20–65.
[15] According to George Mosse, the „ideal of chivalry was produced by feudal society in its decline, when the aristocracy clung to a code of honor as a symbol of its autonomy. As military officers, courtiers, and civil servants, the aristocracy now cultivated a code of honor linked on the one hand to the performance of duties and, on the other, to trying to preserve self-respect and sense of cast;" George Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (Oxford University Press, 1998), 18.
[16] Karl Oettinger, „Hans Daucher's Relief mit dem Zweikampf Dürers," *Jahrbuch für fränkische Landesforschung* 34/35 (1975): 303.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Eser, *Hans Daucher*, 128-130.
[19] The most complete account of the suit is Grischka Petri, „Der Fall Dürer v. Raimondi. Vasaris Erfindung," in *Fälschung — Plagiat — Kopie: künstlerische Praktiken in der Vormoderne,* ed., Andreas Tacke (Petersberg, 2014): 52-69.
[20] Lisa Pon, *Raphael, Dürer and Marcantonio Raimondi: Copying and the Italian Renaissance Print* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004); Rolf Quednan, „Raphael und 'alcune stampe di maniera tedescha'," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 46: 129-75.
[21] Eser, *Hans Daucher,* 128.
[22] As Oettinger notes, Stabius died on January 1st, 1522, likely before the relief was completed. However, because he died in the same year, possibly only a few months before the relief was completed, he may still have played a substantial role in its conception, Oettinger, "Hans Daucher," 305
[23] Ashcroft, *Albrecht Dürer*, 685.
[24] Eser uses the non-specific term „Wettkampf" (duel), noting that duels were a common form of aristocratic conflict resolution at the Burgundian Court; Eser, *Hans Daucher*, 128. For a length discussion of the differences between tournament combats and „single combat" or "trial by combat," see, Jennifer Low, *Manhood and the Duel: Masculinity in Early Modern Drama and Culture* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), especially „Introduction" and chapter one, „The Duellist as Hero."
[25] For a concise account of the manuscript, see Christian de Mérindol, „The book of Tournament of King René. New Readings," *Bulletin of the National Society of Antiquaries of France,* (1992): 177-190; the illustrations are attributed to Barthélemy d'Eyck.
[26] For a compelling overview of Maximilian's self-fashioning as Christian knight, see *The Last Knight: The Art, Armor, and Ambition of Maximilian I*, ed. Pierre Terjanian (New York: The Metropolitan Musuem of Art, 2019); see also, Natalie Margaret Anderson, *The Tournament and its Role in the Court of Emperor Maximilian I (1459–1519)*, (PhD thesis, University of Leeds, 2017).
[27] Larry Silver, *Marketing Maximilian: The Visual Ideology of a Holy Roman Emperor*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008), 2.
[28] Christina Posselt-Kuhli, *Kunstheld versus Kriegsheld: Heroisierung durch Kunst im Kontext von Krieg und Frieden in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Ergon, 2018), 40.
[29] Dirk H. Breiding and Helmut Nickel, „A Book of Tournaments and Parades from Nuremberg," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 45 (2010): 134.
[30]Natalie Anderson, "Power and pageantry: the tournament at the court of Maximilian I," in *The Medieval Tournament as Spectacle: Tourneys, Jousts and Pas D'armes, 1100—1600*, eds. Alan V. Murray and Karen Watts (Boydell & Brewer, 2020), 186–199.
[31] Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*, 2.

[32] Ibid.
[33] Vinzenz Oberhammer, *Das Goldene Dachl zu Innsbruck* (Tyrolia, 1970).
[34] Stephanie Leitch, "The Wildman, Charlemagne and the German Body," *Art History* 31, no. 3 (June 2008): 290–298; Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*, 41–76.
[35] Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*, 22.
[36] Karras, *Boys to Men,* 21.
[37] Ibid, 23.
[38] Ibid, 24.
[39] Ibid, 21.
[40] Pierre Bourdieu, *Masculine Domination,* trans. Richard Nice (Stanford University Press, 2001), 52.
[41] Karras, *Boys to Men*, 21–22.
[42] Ibid,
[43]Ibid, 90; on the combative nature of university disputation, and the often antagonistic relations between pupils and masters, see Walter Ong, *Fighting for Life: Contest, Sexuality, and Consciousness* (Cornell University Press, 1981), 118–148.
[44] Karras, 109.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558–1641,* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965), 265; Heidemarie Bodemer, „Das Fechtbuch," PhD diss., (Universität Stuttgart, 2008), 30-31.
[47] Low, *Manhood and the Duel*, 97–98.
[48] Stone, *Crisis*, 156-157.
[49] Bodemer, „Das Fechtbuch," 33–35; Low, *Manhood and the Duel*, 15–19.
[50] Karras, *Boys to Me*n, 23; Bodemer, „Das Fechtbuch," 27–40.
[51] Karras, *Boys to Men*, 27.
[52] My discussion of the project's relationship to the construction of civic masculinity is heavily indebted to the work of Heidi Eberhardt Bate, see Heidi Eberhardt Bate, „The Measures of Men: Virtue and the Arts in the Civic Imagery of Sixteenth-Century Nuremberg" (PhD thesis: University of California Berkeley, 2000).
[53] Bate, „Measure of Men," 33–35.
[54] Alfred Wenderhorst, „Nuremberg, the Imperial City: From its Beginnings to the End of its Glory," in *Gothic and Renaissance Art in Nuremberg 1300–1550*, ed. Alfred Wenderhorst (Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1986), 16.
[55] Ibid, 16–19.
[56] Valentin Groebner, „Ratsinteressen, Familieninteressen. Patrizische Konflikte in Nürnberg um 1500," in *Stadtregiment und Bürgerfreiheit. Handlungsspielräume in deutschen und italienischen Städten des Späten Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Klaus Schreiner and Ulrich Meier (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), 284–285.
[57] Bates, *Measures of Men,* 47–48; see also, Philipp Zitzlsperger, *Dürer's Pelz und das Recht im Bild: Kleiderkunde als Methode der Kunstgeschichte* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2008), 89: „...the social structure of southern German cities was subject to major changes around 1500. With increasing social mobility, the traditional urban elites came under existential pressure. In commercial cities such as Augsburg and Nuremberg in particular, the craftsmen and merchants who had gained strength through trade demanded greater participation in municipal self-government. Even before the peasant wars, i.e. before 1525, this meant that in some imperial cities such as Esslingen, Reutlingen or Hall the city nobility left the commune. In Nuremberg, the old patriciate was able to assert its primacy, but the pressure to legitimize it must have been great amidst the developments in the other southern German imperial cities."
[58] Bate, „*Measures of Men,"* 47*;* „neither in 1521 nor after did critera other than relationships of blood or marriage to established patrician families result in the privilege of certain invitation to civic functions."
[59] Rainer Brandl, "Art or Craft? Art and the Artist in Medieval Nuremberg," in *Gothic and Renaissance Art in Nuremberg 1300-1550*, ed. Alfred Wenderhorst (Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1986), 51–55.

[60] Dürer composed nine letters to Heller between August 28th, 1507 and October 12th, 1509. The original letters are reproduced in full with commentary in Hans Rupprich, ed., *Albrecht Dürer: Schriftlicher* Nachlaß, volume 1 (Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1956), 61–74; all nine letters are reproduced in English translation, with commentary, in Ashcroft, *Albrecht Dürer*, 208-227. My citations are from Aschcroft.
[61] Dürer first makes this claim in his letter of August 28th, 1507, Ashcroft, *Albrecht Dürer*, 212.
[62] Ashcroft, *Albrecht Dürer*, 209.
[63] The letter was written Venice on or around the 13th of October, Ashcroft, *Dürer*, 67–68.
[64] Ibid, 67.
[65] Wenderhorst, "Nuremberg, the Imperial City," 16–17.
[66] Ashcroft, *Dürer*, 163; this quote is from a letter dated 23, September 1506.
[67] Ulinka Rublack, *Dressing Up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 78: „There can be few more telling examples of the rhetorical and social use of clothes as incarnated signs of esteem in this period as Dürer triumphantly writing from Venice to his friend Pirckheimer 'my French mantle and brown coat send you best wishes."
[68] Rublack discusses the key role that fashion played in „establish[ing] and maintain[ing] identity" and class difference in pre-modern Europe, Rublack, *Dressing Up*, 7–65.
[69] The significance of this garment is discussed extensively by Koerner, see Koerner, *The Moment of Self-Portraiture*, 160–187; see also, Zitzlsperger, *Dürer's Pelz und das Recht im Bild*, 48–55.
[70] The original record of Dürer's election is in the State Archives in Nuremberg: State ARchive Nuremberg, records of offices and status no. 28: register of Genannten (manuscriop dated 1700 but copied form older sources): nominees for the year 1509 are listed on page 61; Ashcroft, *Dürer*, 266.
[71] Zitzlsperger, *Dürers Pelz,* 28–29, 37: „A collection of Nuremberg police regulations, which was probably written on parchment in 1496, represents an anthology of such municipal regulations from the 15th century. nevertheless, it clearly shows that the fur types ermine, sable, marten and deer already represented a luxury problem for the city council, which endangered the visual separation of nobility and bourgeoisie. As a countermeasure, the citizens of Nuremberg were generally forbidden to use furs as lining and collar trimmings. Only a few privileged people, who are not further defined in the text, were allowed to wear a fur collar, which was not allowed to cost „more than one and a half gulden Rheinisch;" Niethard Bulst, Thomas Lüttenberg, Andreas Priever, "Abbild oder Wunschbild? Bildnisse Christoph Ambergers im Spannungsfeld vom Rechtsnorm und gesellschaftlichem Anspruch," *Saeculum* 53 (2002): 33–36.
[72] Zitzlsperger, *Dürers Pelz*, this is a key argument of the entire work; as Zitzlsperger notes, the work's dating has been contested by several other scholars, including Wölfflin (1905), John Pope-Hennessy (1966), and Omar Calabrese (2006).
[73] Rudolph Preimesberger, Hannah Baader, Nicola Suthor (eds.), *Porträt (Geschichte der klassischen Bildgattungen in Quellentexten und Kommentaren, vol. 2)* (Berlin: Dieter Riemer Verlag, 1999), 216–218.
[74] Eser, *Hans Daucher*, 126.
[75] Eser, *Daucher*, 126; Rublack, *Dressing Up*, 60; Amy Morris, „The Artist's Lament in Early Modern Germany: Complaint or Self-Promotion?" in *Die Klage des Künstlers: Krise und Umbruch von der Reformation bis um 1800*, ed. Andreas Tacke (Munich: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2015), 19–21.
[76] Andrew Morrall, „Soldiers and Gypsies: Outsiders and their families in Early Sixteenth Century German Art," in *Artful Armies, Beautiful Battles: Art and Warfare in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Pia F. Cuneo (Brill, 2002): 159-180.
[77] Lyndal Roper, *Oedipus and the Devil: Witchcraft, Religion and Sexuality in Early Modern Europe* (Routledge, 1994), especially chapter seven, „Drinking, Whoring and Gorging: Brutish Indiscipline and the Formation of Protestant Identity," 146–169.
[78] Low, *Manhood and the Duel*, 29; as Stephanie Rüther notes, „a sumptuary law in the Reichspolizeiordnungen (Imperial Police Ordinance) of 1530 permitted some men of war to dress themselves as they liked," though this privilege was not extended to all mercenaries, Stefanie Rüther, „Dangerous Travellers: Identity, Profession, and Gender among the German Landsknechts (1450–

1570), in *Travelers and Mobilities in the Middle Ages*, eds., Marianne O'Doherty and Felicitas Schmieder (Brepols, 2015), 196.
[79] James Laver, *The Concise History of Costume and Fashion* (Scribner, 1979), 78; Andrew Arthur Hodnet, „The Othering of the Landsknechte," PhD diss. (North Carolina State University, 2018), 42.
[80] Low, *Manhood and the Duel*, 47–51.
[81] Morrall, „Soldiers and Gypsies," 169.
[82] Another state of the image (not pictured here) is accompanied by an explanatory poem attributed to Hans Sachs, which explains that the *landsknecht* was formerly a sculptor.
[83] Amy Moris, „The Artist's Lament in Early Modern Germany: Complaint or Self-Promotion?", in *Die Klage des Künstlers: Krise und Umbruch von der Reformation bis um 1800*, eds. Andreas Tacke, Birgit Ulrike Münch, Markwart Herzog, and Sylvia Heudecker (Michael Imhof Verlag, 2015), 18–19.
[84] Roper, *Oedipus and the Devil*, 3753.
[85] Thomas Robisheaux, *Rural Society and the Search for Order in Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge University Press, 1989).
[86] Steven Ozment, *When Fathers Ruled: Family Life in Reformation Europe* (Harvard University Press, 1988).
[87] Merry Wiesner, *Working Women in Renaissance Germany* (Rutgers University Press, 1987).
[88] Roper, *Oedipus and the Devil*, 38.
[89] Ibid, 37–53.
[90] Ibid, 46; Lyndal Roper, *The Holy Household: Women and Morals in Reformation Augsburg* (Oxford University Press, 1989), 165–205.
[91] For the history of social discipline see, Heinz Schilling, „History of Crime or History of Sin? Some Reflections on the Social History of Early Modern Church Discipline," in *Politics and Society in Reformation Europe*, eds. E. I. Kouri and Tom Scott (Palgrave Macmillan, 1987); William J. Wright, *Capitalism, the State, and the Lutheran Reformation: Sixteenth-century Hesse* (Ohio University Press, 1988); Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, *Social Discipline in the Reformation: Central Europe 1550–1750* (Routledge, 1989).
[92] Roper, *Oedipus and the Devil*, 46.
[93] According to Rüther, „...barred from participation in the forms of masculinity available to the settle, propertied house father, mercenaries adopted the models of identity of other groups of males that lived together unmarried and without a proper household," such as journeymen artists, and „valorized the opposite of the head of household and husband...," Rüther, „Dangerous Travelers," 197–198; Merry Wiesner-Hanks has suggested that journeymen artists developed an alternative masculine ideal, directly at odds with that of the protestant mainstream, Merry Wiesner-Hanks, „Wandervogels and Women: Journeymen's Concepts of Masculinity in Early Modern Germany," *Journal of Social History* , vol. 24, no. 4 (Summer, 1991):767–782.
[94] Low, *Manhood and the Duel,* 20–21.
[95] Gregorius Wagner, „Prefatory poem to Andreas Musculus's, *Vom Hosen Teuffel Anno MDLV,*" in *Teufelbücher in Auswahl*, 5 volumes, ed. Ria Stambaugh (De Gruyter, 1970–1980), vol. 4, p. 5.
[96] Roper, *Oedipus and the Devil*, 46.
[97] Ibid.
[98] Rüther, „Dangerous Travelers," 191–215; Wiesner-Hanks, Merry Wiesner-Hanks, „Guilds, Male Bonding, and Women's Work," *Gender and History*, vol. 1, no.2 (1989): 125–137.
[99] Wiesner-Hanks, „Guilds, Male Bonding, and Women's Work," 129.
[100] Andreas Grießinger, *Das symbolische Kapital der Ehre: Streikbewegungen und kollektives Bewusstsein deutscher Handwerksgesellen im 18. Jahrhundert* (Ullstein, 1981), 455–456.
[101] R.W. Connell, *Masculinities*, 2nd ed. (University of California Press, 2005), 16.
[102] Rüther, „Dangerous Travelers," 192.
[103] Timothy McCall, *Making the Renaissance Man: Masculinity in the courts of Renaissance Italy* (Chicago University Press, 2023), 22–23: McCall has suggested that over the course of the Renaissance, aristocratic masculinity evolved to encompass both „bellicos[ity] .. and enchanting charisma," as courtiers were increasingly expected both to awe and seduce onlookers through the spectacular display of „virility and elegant courtliness."

[104] For the role of violence in the formation of artistic masculinity, see Margaret A. Gallucci, *Benvenuto Cellini: Sexuality, Masculinity, and Aartistic Identity in Renaissance Italy*, 3rd ed. (Pallgrave Macmillan, 2005), 109–143.
[105] Carolyn Springer, *Armour and Masculinity in the Italian Renaissance* (University of Toronto Press, 2010), 9.
[106] Gallucci, *Benvenuto Cellini*, 133.
[107] Eser, *Hans Daucher*, 131: Eser refers to an episode in 1515 in which the Count Palatine and Charles de Lannoy broke lances to determine whether or not music at court was an effeminate indulgence.
[108] Gallucci, *Benvenuto Cellini*, 126: According to Gallucci, „Cellini's *Vita* illustrates how, by the early sixteenth century, art had joined arms and letters as a means of winning honor."
[109] Bodemer, "Das Fechtbuch," 27.
[110] Baldesar Castiglione, *The Book of the* Courtier trans. Charles Singleton, ed. Daniel Javitch (Norton, 2002); As Francis Ames-Lewis notes: „The Book of the Courtier (Il Corigiano) purports to record discussions at the court of Guidobaldo da Montefeltro of Urbino between 1504 and 1508 but it was not completed until 1516-18 and not published until 1527. That it quickly became a book that aspiring intellectuals — including painters — needed to read is suggested by its appearance in the list of books left in Florence by Rosso Fiorentino when he departed for France in 1529," Francis Ames-Lewis, *The Intellectual Life of the Early Renaissance Artist* (Yale University Press, 2000), 280.
[111] Castiglione, *Libro del Cortegiano*, 72–73.
[112] Making the Renaissance Man, McCall (n. 26), 36.
[113] Anglo, *The Martial Arts of Renaissance Europe* (Yale University Press, 2000), *25.*
[114] Eduardo Saccone, „Grazia, Sprezzatura, Affettazione in the Courtier," in *Castiglione: The Ideal and the Real in Renaissance Culture*, eds., Robert W. Hanning and David Rosand (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983): 34–54
[115] Desiderius Erasmus, *Dialogue concerning the Proper Pronunciation of Latin and Greek Words*, translated in Ashcroft, *Albrecht Dürer*, 859–860.