

Introduction: A “Renaissance” in Early Modern Augsburg

Abstract: This book examines the central role of print to local antiquarian pursuits and generation of a style *all'antica* in early sixteenth-century Augsburg, Germany. The introduction presents the topic, research questions, and dominant frameworks for the study of Renaissance, or early modern, objects. It argues for a rejection of art historical narratives that promote Augsburg as the first German center to adopt Renaissance art and architecture but reduce the story to one of imitation spurred on by German artists' and patrons' supposedly revelatory visits to the Italian peninsula.

Keywords: Renaissance, early modern, print, exchange, antiquity, Augsburg

“By order of the pious, faithful, august, invincible, and most happy prince Emperor Maximilian, I researched and collected the fragments of the ancient Roman inscriptions in this city of Augsburg and its diocese, on marble stones, displaying ancient learning and traces of nobility ...”

– Konrad Peutinger, *Romanae Vetustatis Fragmenta* (Augsburg: Erhard Ratdolt, 1505)¹

Two wild men hold aloft Augsburg's *Pyr*, a pine cone device with links to ancient Rome, on a limestone relief carved circa 1450 for the Augsburg Rathaus (fig. 1).² On the edges of the shallow image, the pair of wild men, nude and covered by a thick

1 Peutinger, *Romanae. Vetustatis. Fragmenta*, USTC 691414.

2 The limestone relief adorned the east façade of the Augsburg Rathaus until the outdated structure was destroyed in 1614. From 1615 until 1890, it was mounted on the façade of the Stadtbibliothek in the Anna-Hof, and it is now located on the rear of the current Augsburg Rathaus. The panel *Der Perlach – der Rathausplatz im Winter* by Heinrich Vogtherr der Jüngere circa 1540 (after Jörg Breu's design for a glass roundel for the Höchstetter family) shows the limestone relief, then with polychromy, on the Gothic Rathaus. Morrall, *Jörg Breu the Elder*, 108; Stephanie Leitch, *Mapping Ethnography*, 40–41, 198; Emmendorffer, “Der Perlach – der Rathausplatz im Winter,” 192, no. 3.

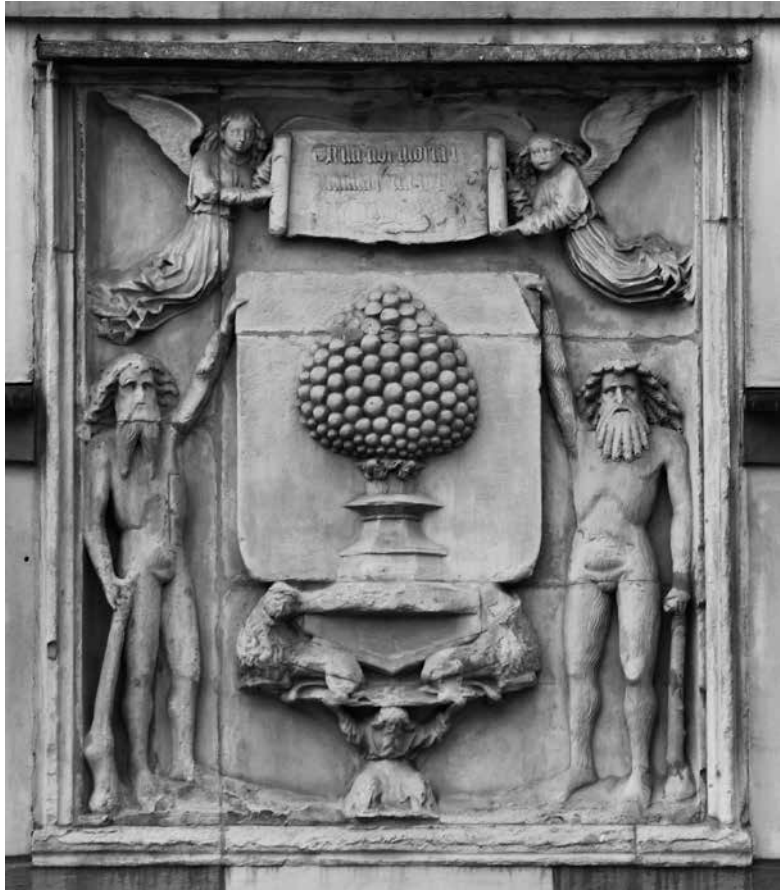


Figure 1. Anonymous,
Wild Men with Pyr,
ca. 1450. Limestone relief,
270 × 220 cm. Rathaus,
Augsburg. Image Credit:
Photograph by Rachel M.
Carlisle.

layer of hair, grasp clubs and peer out toward the viewer. Above the wild men and heraldic *Pyr*, two angels display a banderole reading: “Christi tibi gloria in Augusta Retia, Urbe vere Regia.”³ In its prominent position decorating the Rathaus, the complex image reflects Augsburg’s late medieval and early modern identity caught somewhere between city and occasional imperial court, grounded in German soil by folkloric roots but increasingly aware of physical ties to the Roman Empire buried beneath the cobblestones.

Augsburg, known in antiquity as *Augusta Vindelicorum* after the Roman Emperor Augustus, lies at the convergence of the Lech and Wertach rivers in southern Germany.⁴ During the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the free imperial

3 “Glory be to you lord in the imperial city Augsburg Retia.” Leitch, *Mapping Ethnography*, 40–41, 199.

4 The Roman military founded *Augusta Vindelicorum* as a fortress in 15 BCE on the orders of Emperor Augustus. Augsburg became the capital of the Roman province *Raetia* in 120 CE.

city flourished as a cosmopolitan center, no doubt buoyed by the economic successes of the Fugger and Welser families and imperial favor of Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I.⁵ Art historical scholarly interest in Augsburg has largely adhered to two topics: imperial and mercantile patronage and developments in printmaking, especially highlighting the contributions of Hans Burgkmair and development of the so-called *chiaroscuro* woodcut.⁶ Timely not only for its participation in growing scholarly interest in antiquity outside of Italy during the early modern period, this book engages with the present dialogue between art historians, museum professionals, and the broader public regarding the importance of local antiquities to the cultivation and preservation of cultural identity. Recent calls for the repatriation of antiquities and indigenous artifacts to their origins by activists around the globe have foregrounded the importance of cultural patrimony, but the issue is hardly new. Amateur archeologists, scholars, artists, and printers in early modern Augsburg staked a claim to their Roman heritage on the printed page. The central role of print to local antiquarian pursuits and generation of a style *all'antica* in early sixteenth-century Augsburg, Germany is the subject of this book. Essential to its thesis is a rejection of art historical narratives that promote Augsburg as the first German center to adopt Renaissance art and architecture but reduce the story to one of imitation spurred on by German artists' and patrons' supposedly revelatory visits to the Italian peninsula.

The two dominant art historical frameworks employed to study the centuries between the medieval and modern periods are indexed by the terminology "Renaissance" and "early modern." Giorgio Vasari's *The Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects* of 1550 and 1568 represents the formative text for the Italicentric perception of the Renaissance.⁷ Vasari dubbed the new artistic age *la rinascita*, or rebirth, in reference to a rebirth of classical antiquity in Italy. Important here are

5 For an overview of late medieval and early modern Augsburg, see Tlusty and Häberlein, eds., *A Companion to Late Medieval and Early Modern Augsburg*. The 500th anniversary of the death of Maximilian in 2019 led to increased interest in the emperor, manifested as museum exhibitions and scholarly publications. Representative of this scholarship is Terjanian, ed., *The Last Knight*; Lange-Krach, ed. *Maximilian I*; Frenzel, Gepp, and Wimmer, eds. *Maximilian I*; Helmuth, Kocher, and Sieber, eds. *Maximilians Welt*.

6 The exhibition and accompanying catalog, *Imperial Augsburg: Renaissance Prints and Drawings, 1475–1540*, jointly curated by Gregory Jecmen of the National Gallery of Art and Freyda Spira of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, directly reflects this scholarly trend. Jecmen and Spira, *Imperial Augsburg*. The significance of print production in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Augsburg is thoroughly examined in German by Hans-Jörg Künast in his seminal guide "*Getruckt zu Augsburg*": *Buchdruck und Buchhandel in Augsburg zwischen 1468 und 1555* and the recent exhibition catalog *Augsburg macht Druck: die Anfänge des Buchdrucks in einer Metropole des 15. Jahrhunderts*. Künast, *Getruckt zu Augsburg*; Hägele and Thierbach, *Augsburg macht Druck*. While overshadowed by his contemporary Hans Burgkmair, the Augsburg artist Jörg Breu is the subject of two monographs in English. Cuneo, *Art and Politics in Early Modern Germany*; Morrall, *Jörg Breu the Elder*.

7 Vasari, *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors and Architects*.

the lasting effects of the author's biases, especially the elevation of central Italian painters, sculptors, and architects at the expense of artists working elsewhere in Europe and in other media.⁸ For example, the author's lamentation that Albrecht Dürer did not possess the ability to draw the nude as an Italian, namely because he hailed from northern Europe instead of Tuscany, is representative of prejudices present throughout Vasari's *Lives*.⁹ The nationalistic agendas of nineteenth-century art historical scholarship perpetuated Vasarian perceptions of the Renaissance, and until the turn of the twentieth century, Renaissance art outside of Italy received inadequate scholarly attention and focused primarily on painting, largely excluding sculpture, architecture, printed and other media dismissed as "decorative arts" or "minor arts."¹⁰ A shift in terminology from "Renaissance" to "early modern" reflects an attempt in recent decades to overturn established art historical biases.¹¹ Far from a mere relabeling, this reconceptualization of the period shifts focus away from origins toward the present and encourages the inclusion of marginalized cultures and media.¹²

The methodological shift toward a global conception of the Renaissance, for all of its benefits, has produced occlusions in scholarship including insufficient attention to intraregional exchange. While intraregional exchange admittedly lacks some of the appeal of those across dramatic cultural boundaries, the everyday migration of objects and artists among regional locales and transalpine exchanges merits scholarly attention.¹³ It is precisely this type of quotidian exchange across the Alps that lies at the core of this book.¹⁴

Inherent to artistic exchange is reception, a participatory act marked by varying degrees of cultural translation (that is, the articulation of the self by one group in

8 Rubin, *Giorgio Vasari*; Gregory, "Vasari and the History of Printmaking," 7–61.

9 "If this man, so able, so diligent, and so very versatile, had had Tuscany instead of Flanders for his country, and had been able to study the treasures of Rome, as we ourselves have done, he would have been the best painter in our land ..." Vasari, *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, 6:94; Smith, "'Germania' and 'Italia' Albrecht Dürer and Venetian Art," 174.

10 Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*; Silver, "Arts and Minds: Scholarship on Early Modern Art History (Northern Europe)," 351.

11 According to Rebecca Zorach, an early modern framework may resuscitate the study of the period since the Renaissance holds a declining position within the field of art history, functioning as a traditionalist pole representative of the canon. Zorach, "Renaissance Theory," 3–36.

12 Marcus, "Renaissance/Early Modern Studies," 41–63.

13 Roberts, "A Global Florence and its Blind Spots," 22, 25.

14 Transalpine exchange drives Marina Belozerskaya's *Rethinking the Renaissance: Burgundian Arts across Europe* and Paula Nuttall's *From Flanders to Florence: The Impact of Netherlandish Painting, 1400–1500*. By reversing the typical center and periphery model, the volumes work to dislodge the Italiocentric Renaissance framework by emphasizing the exchange of objects between the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Netherlands and Italy. Belozerskaya, *Rethinking the Renaissance*; Nuttall, *From Flanders to Florence*.

relation to another).¹⁵ Developments in the field of early modern literature provide a model for grappling with issues of translation. In recent decades, agency has shifted from original texts to translations, thereby rebalancing the traditional structure of textual authority. By centering early modern translators and printers, as in the scholarship of A. E. B. Coldiron, a translation is no longer reduced to the status of inferior copy.¹⁶ In this book, translation theory provides a useful framework for analyzing copied images, especially those modeled after foreign prototypes. By aligning the visual language of imagery with text (where copied images or images rendered in a borrowed, foreign style are translations), the primary task is no longer to identify elusive origins or discuss perceived aesthetic deficiencies but to interrogate processes of transmission, reception, and manipulation.¹⁷

The underlying principles of a global perspective, namely inclusivity and a focus on reception, are highly beneficial for studies of transalpine exchange during the early modern period. For artists and media marginalized in favor of their canonical counterparts, reframing early modernity as a cosmopolitan phenomenon invites the study of objects which do not conform to typical conceptions of Renaissance aesthetics; lie outside of painting, sculpture, and architecture; or produced anonymously or within a collaborative environment. As relatively inexpensive, mass-produced, portable works of art often resulting from collaborative processes, early modern prints frustrate the nationalistic distinctions of traditional Renaissance

15 The concept of cultural translation is indebted to Stephen Greenblatt's seminal study on the malleability of the self through the imposition of a manipulated identity, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare*. Through case studies of sixteenth-century English authors, Greenblatt argues for the inseparability of author, nation, and cultural climate and demonstrates an increase of consciousness in the sixteenth century of the ability to self-fashion identity through a manipulatable, artistic process. Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*. According to Stephen J. Campbell and Stephen J. Milner, the term "cultural translation" encompasses "the ways in which a self-consciously distinct group (this may be a population, an elite, a profession, an ethnic, or religious enclave) articulates itself in relation to another in an act of self-definition which may involve an assimilation and refashioning of the other." Campbell and Milner, "Art, Identity, and Cultural Translation in Renaissance Italy," 1–2. Importantly, encounters with "the other" are often imperialistic and best considered through a global and post-colonial lens, like those presented in the groundbreaking 1995 volume *Reframing the Renaissance: Visual Culture in Europe and Latin America, 1450–1650*. Farago, ed. *Reframing the Renaissance*.

16 Bassnett, "When is a Translation Not a Translation?," 25–40. In particular, the scholarship of A. E. B. Coldiron emphasizes the crucial contributions of early modern translators and printers. With a translator- and printer-oriented narrative of textual production, Coldiron explores the inextricability of foreign and native literary culture during the period, even arguing that alterity was paradoxically central to establishing a national literature. Coldiron, *Printers without Borders*; Coldiron, "Visibility Now," 189–200.

17 This "copied images as translations" metaphor is not to suggest that printed images functioned primarily as images to be read. For an alternative framework to hybridity or translation in a non-European context, see Porras, *The Viral Image*, 12–13.

frameworks.¹⁸ The portability inherent to the print practically ensured its circulation across permeable borders, while the development of cosmopolitan content, including maps, atlases, and costume books, cultivated the transnational market for which they were produced. In addition to the development of cosmopolitan subject matter, the technical refinement of printmaking techniques provides evidence of savvy printers and artists producing works predicated by the expectations of an international, open market. No medium of the early modern period matched the international ramifications of the print.¹⁹

While this book sets out to demonstrate the significance of a local antiquity in early sixteenth-century Augsburg, it is important to acknowledge the dissemination

18 Benedict Anderson implicates early modern printed media in the formation of nationalistic “imagined communities” in his polemical 1983 text *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. For Anderson, the printing of vernacular languages, versus the privileged languages of Latin and Arabic, is the key to understanding the development of national consciousness. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*. The authority of the nationalistic categorization of art is interrogated by Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann in his 2004 volume *Toward a Geography of Art*. Kaufmann’s primary purpose is to expand art historical methodologies to better integrate geographical considerations; especially pointed is the author’s discussion of diffusionism, a theory of diffusion or the process of spreading ideals and knowledge from an origin to areas where they are adopted, and its application to the history of art. Kaufmann’s diffusionism is implicit in the concept of center and periphery but allows for consideration of reception (including assimilation, rejection, and negation) of artistic forms. Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art*, 187–216. The identification of art with national boundaries is further challenged by Emanuele Lugli, who argues that the Mediterranean basin represents not only a zone of contact but a network of conduits comprised, stripped to its core, of numerous links and nodes. Lugli’s application of network theory to the Mediterranean acknowledges powerful nodes within a “circuit network,” a spatial system characterized by the uneven distribution of information amongst hubs and loosely connected nodes. Lugli, “Linking the Mediterranean,” 158–85. Cross-cultural exchange within the contexts of emerging global trade and the production, accumulation, and exchange of commodities is the theme of *Merchants and Marvels*, a collection of essays exploring the intersection of the natural world and artistic representation. The editors Pamela Smith and Paula Findlen foreground the importance of commerce in shaping scientific and artistic developments of the early modern period and thus alter the conventional stories of both the Scientific Revolution and Renaissance art history. Smith and Findlen, eds., *Merchants and Marvels*.

19 An overview of Renaissance printmaking including technical and aesthetic experimentation, workshop practice, materiality and value of the print, and social contexts of their production is provided in the seminal guide to early modern printmaking, *The Renaissance Print: 1470–1500*. Landau and Parshall, eds., *The Renaissance Print*; Leitch, “Cosmopolitan Renaissance,” 186–217. Arguably, no early modern patron harnessed the power of print more effectively than Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I (March 22, 1459–January 12, 1519). Maximilian reigned as King of the Romans from February 16, 1486 and was proclaimed Holy Roman Emperor by Pope Julius II at Trent on February 4, 1508. The literary and artistic means through which Maximilian manipulated history via a network of genealogists, advisors, and artists to appropriate to his person “the fullest aura of imperium” are addressed by Larry Silver in his seminal volume *Marketing Maximilian: The Visual Ideology of a Holy Roman Emperor*. Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*. Christopher S. Wood demonstrates Maximilian’s direct engagement with material artifacts and architecture increasingly took precedence over literary evidence. In his creative antiquarianism, Maximilian failed to distinguish between ancient and medieval, secular and sacred objects. Wood, “Maximilian I as Archeologist,” 1128–78.

of knowledge of antiquities and physical, antique objects from a point of high concentration, the Italian peninsula, to northern Europe through networks of exchange. For commercial and economic reasons, Augsburg formed close ties with Italy, especially Venice, and a number of German artists, often linked either directly or indirectly to the city of Augsburg, proved especially receptive to the imported *welsch* style.²⁰ Despite major gaps in documentary evidence, a series of presumed journeys by artists across the Alps has been offered as the most logical means by which Venetian works of art and knowledge of the *welsch* style reached Augsburg.²¹ Without rejecting the possibility of artists' journeys for which documentary evidence is no longer extant or not yet found, this book investigates the transmission of Italian models to Augsburg via images circulating on the drawn and especially, printed page.²²

The *welsch* style quickly became associated with elite classes including aristocrats, bourgeoisie, and the transient imperial court in Augsburg; in response, a large population of individuals in German-speaking lands perceived the imported style negatively.²³ The terms *welsch* and *deutsch*, with its emphatic sense of "German-as-

20 The exhibition catalog *Renaissance Venice and the North: Crosscurrents in the Time of Bellini, Dürer, and Titian* presents the most robust literature on this subject available to an English-speaking audience. Important topics covered include commercial trade between Augsburg and Venice, correspondences between the visual arts and architecture of the two cities, and the integration of northern European artists into the governmental and commercial apparatuses of early modern Venice. Roeck, "Venice and Germany," 44–55; Aikema and Martin, "Crosscurrents with Germany," 332–39; Matthew, "Working Abroad," 60–69; Bushart, "Venice and Augsburg," 160–69.

21 Bushart, "Venice and Augsburg," 168.

22 The *Census of Antique Works of Art Known to Renaissance Artists* undertaken by the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University and the Warburg Institute under the leadership of Phyllis Pray Bober marks the first attempt to identify specific ancient models of the style *all'antica* produced in the Renaissance. The culmination of her decades-long research for the *Census*, Bober's invaluable 1986 volume *Renaissance Artists & Antique Sculpture: A Handbook of Sources* provides an excellent overview of the relationship between Quattrocento artists and ancient source material. Bober, "The Census of Antique Works Known to Renaissance Artists," 82–89; Bober, *Renaissance Artists & Antique Sculpture*. The identification of definitive prototypes is difficult for two reasons: the circulation of antique representational formulae throughout the medieval period and the alteration of antique models to meet compositional needs. Gombrich, "The Style *All'Antica*," 31–41. Compared to sculptural antiquities such as marbles, vessels, and precious engraved cameos, coins of ancient Greece and Rome were plentiful, and as relatively inexpensive, transportable objects, coins circulated widely. As John Cunnally suggests, the growing popularity of coin collecting resulted in a scarcity of quality antique coins on the market; therefore, numismatic texts like the *Illustrium Imagines* probably functioned as both practical guides for collectors and as paper surrogates and supplements to physical collections. In addition to functioning as an effective means of circulating knowledge of antiquity, printed media preserved and, as Madeleine Viljoen argues, restored fragments of an antique past. Cunnally, *Images of the Illustrious*; Viljoen, "Prints and False Antiquities in the Age of Raphael," 235–47; Viljoen, "Raphael and the Restorative Power of Prints," 379–95.

23 Best known for his studies of Italian Renaissance painting, especially via the reinstitution of what he terms "the period eye," Michael Baxandall's 1980 volume *The Limewood Sculptors of Renaissance Germany*

opposed-to-*welsch*,” are useful as evidence of the formation of proto-nationalistic ideas in early modern Germany along artistic lines; however, this vocabulary implies a clearly defined and static binary that fails to register the varying degrees of assimilation or underlying impetuses of patrons and artists negotiating the physical application of cross-cultural exchange. Throughout this book, I employ the Italian term *all'antica*, meaning “in the manner of the ancients,” to describe the classicizing works of art and architecture produced in Augsburg previously described as Italianate or *welsch* by art historians. The term *all'antica* refers to a style “in the antique manner” not strictly “after the antique,” a distinction that I believe underscores the role of mediation in the generation of a classicizing style in Augsburg.²⁴ In some cases, genuine antiquities served as visual prototypes, but in many more instances, works executed in the style *all'antica* relied on antique forms as mediated by contemporary Italian humanists and artists and made available north of the Alps through networks of exchange. Critically, the antiquity to which *all'antica* refers is not bound by anachronistic geographic borders; it emphasizes the shared heritage of locales scattered throughout Europe once occupied by the Roman Empire.

During the early modern period, European regions, cities, and individuals fashioned their own identities according to local concerns, often through the creative manipulation of ancient texts and images which served as material evidence of distant, legitimizing origins.²⁵ By the sixteenth century, interest in civic histories, local antiquarianism, and the collecting of artifacts reached a zenith.²⁶ A growing number of publications challenge center-periphery models by considering the varied reception and manipulation of the classical past throughout early modern Europe.²⁷ The study of regional histories and antiquarianisms takes to task the

inaugurates a focus on the status and function of early modern art objects in northern Europe with a sensitivity to cross-cultural exchange and artistic style that anticipates scholarship of the following decades. Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy*; Baxandall, *The Limewood Sculptors of Renaissance Germany*, 139, 141.

24 “This relationship with the art of classical antiquity was described using the words ‘*all'antica*’ in the fifteenth century. The phrase means ‘in the antique manner,’ not ‘after the antique’ nor ‘as in the antique.’ It implies a degree of interpretation and adaptation, of emulation in short. Neri di Bicci could describe an altarpiece frame—a quintessentially Christian object—as *all'antica*, because it employed motifs derived from ancient architecture, not because it was a type that existed in antiquity.” Nethersole, *Art of Renaissance Florence*, 148; Brothers, *Giuliano da Sangallo and the Ruins of Rome*, 4.

25 Enenkel and Ottenheim, eds., *The Quest for an Appropriate Past in Literature, Art, and Architecture*.

26 The variant approaches to antiquity according to local or independent needs and the elusive nature of the style *all'antica* underlie two studies dating to the mid-twentieth century. Krautheimer, “Humanists and Artists,” 295–309; Onians, “Brunelleschi,” 259–72.

27 A notable scholarly contribution on antiquity in northern Europe, Marisa Bass’s first book *Jan Gossart and the Invention of Netherlandish Antiquity* redefines perceptions of the revival of antiquity in northern Europe via an exploration of Jan Gossart’s mythological paintings. Bass rejects an Italiocentric narrative

idea of a unified, Greco-Roman past revived in a single "Renaissance."²⁸ Cities and regions fashioned their own sense of the past, selectively employing Roman, pre-Roman, and indigenous histories from a variety of sources, both "correct" and "inventive" material and textual antiquities.²⁹ In the visual sphere, the deployment of antique sources likewise varied according to geographic region and artist, as each artist interpreted antique motifs through his own eye and translated the antique vocabulary to best meet specific compositional needs.

A global approach recasts the early modern collection, once seen as a mere reflection of taste, as an active agent of cross-cultural exchange. Traditional accounts of the history of collecting claim that unlike Italian collections of antiquities and art, Germanic collections took the shape of universal *Kunst-* and *Wunderkammern*, where patrons displayed artifacts of science, natural history, philosophy, art, and architecture.³⁰ The northern counterpart to the Italian *studiolo*, the development of the "cabinet of curiosities" maps neatly over an era of European exploration, when established networks of exchange and encounters with the "New World" via transatlantic routes expanded the known horizons of knowledge.³¹ In general, northern European collectors displayed encyclopedic knowledge through *naturalia*, *arteficialia*, and *scientifica*, and powerful merchant-banking families played a crucial role in amassing foreign objects and materials in northern European collections.³²

of the Renaissance and conception that intellectual and artistic developments in northern Europe resulted solely from revelatory encounters with Italy during the early modern period. While Gossart did travel to Rome in 1508 with his patron Philip of Burgundy, Bass demonstrates that Gossart's mythological paintings result from both classical and local art and history within a specific (and short-lived) historical moment and courtly context, ultimately contributing to an imagined local antiquity that nonetheless sought to equal and compete with the heritage of ancient Rome. Bass, *Jan Gossart and the Invention of Netherlandish Antiquity*. 28 The foundations for analysis of antiquities and antiquarianism were laid by Roberto Weiss and Arnaldo Momigliano in the mid-twentieth century. Published posthumously, Weiss's groundbreaking *The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity* surveys the rise and early development of classical archaeology by Italian Renaissance humanists from Petrarch to the sack of Rome in 1527; however, Weiss reduces the revival of antiquity to a collective, progressive change in taste and ignores the complexities of a diverse group of Renaissance collectors (many men but also women) with differing cultural and political interests. Despite limiting the scope of the volume to the Italian peninsula, the author's brief yet repeated inclusion of Konrad Peutinger acknowledges the permeability of national borders at the turn of the sixteenth century. Weiss, *The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity*; Momigliano, "Ancient History and the Antiquarian," 285–315.

29 Christian and De Divitiis, eds., *Local Antiquities, Local Identities*. While remaining within an Italian context, the publications of Patricia Brown on the relationship of the Venetian Republic to antiquity anticipated this shift as early as 1991. Brown, "The Self-Definition of the Venetian Republic," 511–48; Brown, *Venice and Antiquity*; Brown, "Acquiring a Classical Past," 27–39.

30 Taylor, *The Taste of Angels*.

31 Davies, "Catalogical Encounters," 227–54; MacDonald, "Collecting a New World," 649–63.

32 Kaufmann, "Remarks of the Collection of Rudolf II," 22–28; Kaltwasser, "The Common Roots of the Library and Museum in the Sixteenth Century," 163–81; Meadow, "Hans Jacob Fugger and the Origins of the

The rise of antiquarianism in Augsburg, exemplified by the collection of Konrad Peutinger, frustrates this reductive dichotomy.³³ Advisor to Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I, humanist, antiquarian, patron of the arts, and amateur-archaeologist, Peutinger displayed and studied his extensive collection of printed books and manuscripts, graphic arts, exotic objects from foreign lands, and ancient artifacts within a single physical space.³⁴ Today, most early modern collections have disappeared, their contents dispersed or lost altogether; therefore, inventories, letters, and rare examples of visual evidence represent invaluable resources for studies of collections.³⁵

The shift in nomenclature from “Renaissance” to “early modern” outlined on the preceding pages discourages studies which look backward to classical antiquity,

Wunderkammer,” 182–200. Most relevant in this context is Meadow’s case study examining Hans Jakob Fugger, great-nephew of Jakob Fugger “the Rich.” Meadow demonstrates Hans Jakob Fugger’s important role in the material and conceptual formation of the *Wunderkammer* in sixteenth-century Europe. Meadow’s brief history of the house of Fugger, including the highly effective business and communication strategies instituted by Jakob Fugger and the locations of numerous Fugger outposts throughout Europe and the known world, highlights the importance of commerce to the formation of collections. That is, through their numerous trading posts, the Fuggers gained access to natural and human artifacts circulating throughout the early modern commercial sphere. Furthermore, Meadow argues that *Wunderkammern* both projected connotations of wealth, power, erudition, and identity of the collector and served as practical repositories of knowledge.

33 Seminal German texts on Konrad Peutinger and his library are Hans-Jörg Künast’s 2001 essay “Die Graphiksammlung des Augsburger Stadtschreibers Konrad Peutinger” and reference volumes *Die Bibliothek Konrad Peutingers: Edition der historischen Kataloge und Rekonstruktion der Bestände* collaboratively written with Helmut Zäh. Künast, “Die Graphiksammlung des Augsburger Stadtschreibers Konrad Peutinger,” 11–19; Künast and Zäh, *Die Bibliothek Konrad Peutingers*. A notable collection of antiquities in Germany is the later Antiquarium of the Wittelsbach Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria at the Munich Residenz. The collection of antiquities once belonging to Hans Jakob Fugger represents the foundation of the Munich Antiquarium. Dorothea and Peter Diemer contrast approaches to antiquity in Augsburg and Munich: “Im Unterschied zum nahen Augsburg, dessen römische Vergangenheit unübersehbar vor aller Augen stand und wo seit Konrad Peutinger die Antike wissenschaftlich erforscht und gesammelt wurde, bedurfte es im traditionsarmen München eines den höfischen Repräsentationsformen der Renaissance aufgeschlossenen Fürsten, um eine Antikensammlung aufzubauen—die dann allerdings auch nicht regionalen Charakter trug, sondern in Umfang und Niveau mit den großen italienischen Sammlungen rivalisierte.” Diemer and Diemer, “Das Antiquarium Herzog Albrechts V. von Bayern Schicksale einer fürstlichen Antikensammlung der Spätrenaissance,” 55; Jansen, *Jacopo Strada and Cultural Patronage at The Imperial Court*, 383–429.

34 Ashley West explores the value of images within the collection of Peutinger and his humanist enterprises, especially those produced by Augsburg artist Hans Burgkmair. West considers the relationship between physical artifacts and printed projects. Her analyses of the collaborations between Peutinger and Burgkmair reveal a shared interest in the innovative use of print technology, the intermingling of antique and modern, and the use of graphic objects as repositories of knowledge. West, “Konrad Peutinger and the Visual Arts,” 62–73; West, “Hans Burgkmair the Elder (1473–1531) and the Visualization of Knowledge.”

35 Two sixteenth-century inventories help reconstruct the collection of Konrad Peutinger, which included manuscripts, printed books, ancient coins and artifacts, foreign objects, and art. Both inventories are held at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München (Clm 4009, Clm 4021d). For a catalog and reconstruction of Konrad Peutinger’s library, see Künast and Zäh, *Die Bibliothek Konrad Peutingers*.

especially those perpetuating a Vasarian framework of revival and diffusion of classical ideals from the Italian peninsula to northern Europe. Yet, the visual evidence overwhelmingly indicates that in early sixteenth-century Augsburg, artists and patrons actively sought to produce antique-related works of art and architecture and often looked to Italy for their models. This book calls for the reintegration of Greco-Roman antiquity into conceptions of German early modernity.³⁶ The standard associations of antiquarianism with Renaissance Italy and scientific and technological innovations with early modern Germany highlights the nationalistic biases of art history's own historiography. My analyses show that the rise of antiquarianism in Augsburg and the emphasis upon knowledge acquisition via direct observation are, in fact, two sides of the same coin articulated, if not stimulated, via technical innovations in mechanical reproduction.

The themes of transmission and translation of artistic styles within a cross-cultural network, artists' negotiation of evolving patronage frameworks and development of the open market, the value of decorative arts and works on paper, and the viability of claims to antiquity made outside of the Italian peninsula are woven throughout this book. Print is a welcome constant—as an agent of transalpine exchange, stabilizer of fragmentary remains, and widely circulated advertisement of a notable past, I argue for the primacy of print in the artistic "Renaissance" of early modern Augsburg.

The chapters in this book are organized into three parts: "Documenting Evidence," "Borrowing Sources," and "Picturing a Local Past." Eschewing strict chronology in favor of thematic groupings, these chapters are designed to reflect the collaborative production of objects under discussion which includes the involvement of important figures like Konrad Peutinger, Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I, Jakob Fugger, and the scholars, artists, and printers in their employ. Augsburg, Germany represents the geographical center of the book; however, its emphasis on cross-cultural networks of exchange means that objects originating in other locales throughout northern Europe and Italy frequently appear.

Chapter 1, "Local Antiquities and the *Romanae Vetustatis Fragmenta*," begins with an overview of early modern conceptions of antiquity and pinpoints Augsburg humanist Konrad Peutinger's collection as a nexus for the development of antiquarianism as a methodology for the study of classical texts, images, and artifacts. The chapter revolves around Peutinger's *Romanae Vetustatis Fragmenta*, the first sylloge printed north of the Alps. The book, published by Erhard Ratdolt

36 Christopher S. Wood's *Forgery, Replica, Fiction* and Frank Borchardt's *German Antiquity in Renaissance Myth* highlight the importance of antiquity to the Germanic past during the medieval period and Renaissance while underscoring the significance of invention in the processes of history-building and self-fashioning of cultural identity. Wood, *Forgery, Replica, Fiction*; Borchardt, *German Antiquity in Renaissance Myth*.

using innovative color and metallic printing techniques, documents twenty-three antique inscriptions local to Augsburg. The chapter demonstrates the centrality of print to Peutinger's antiquarian enterprise, with the printed page functioning both as a faithful repository of knowledge and vehicle for the circulation of Germany's prestigious past.

Chapter 2, "Ancient Coins, Printed Portraits, and the Idea of Authenticity," examines the *Kaiserbuch*, a collection of imperial biographies and numismatic portraits collaboratively produced by Konrad Peutinger and Hans Burgkmair. The ultimately unpublished volume sought to visually represent through portraiture an unbroken lineage from Julius Caesar to the soon to be Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I and visually cues to its viewers a reliance upon antique prototypes, thereby lending each imperial portrait a connotation of authenticity. Both the *Romanae Vetustatis Fragmenta* and *Kaiserbuch* indicate Peutinger's commitment to direct observation of material antiquities and confidence in print to reliably preserve historical information in a new form. Examination of other early sixteenth-century portraits, including printed, painted, and cast examples with and without textual claims to mimesis like *contrafactum*, *ad vivum*, and their vernacular variants, points to a collective trust in metallic models, both ancient and modern, as accurate prototypes and the efficacy of prints as repositories of visual information.

Chapter 3, "Transalpine Exchange, the *Welsch*, and the *Deutsch*," shifts focus from material artifacts and the documentation of local antiquities to the impact of transalpine exchange on the classicizing imagery emerging from Augsburg's workshops. The chapter opens with an overview of printmaking in Augsburg and Venice that highlights pictorial experimentation and technological advancements, including color printing and etching, spurred on by contact. I consider the appearance of two distinct artistic styles, verbally indexed by the terms *welsch* and *deutsch*, which emerged as a by-product of cross-cultural exchange and the varied reception of the imported Italianate in Germany. The chapter includes a critical examination of the utility of *welsch* and *deutsch* as terminology in twenty-first-century scholarship. I suggest *all'antica* more accurately describes the classicizing works of art and architecture produced in Augsburg previously dubbed Italianate or *welsch* by art historians.

Chapter 4, "Archaeology of the Printed Page," argues that the systematic cataloguing of antiquities in print at the turn of the sixteenth century set the stage for the development of a style *all'antica* that pervades the early modern art and architecture of Augsburg. Peutinger's antiquarian methods—collecting artifacts, analyzing objects via direct observation, and replicating antique sources—later extended beyond the study of physical remnants of antiquity to contemporary Italian illustrations. Examination of examples from the oeuvre of Augsburg painter, printmaker, and designer of glass roundels Jörg Breu reveals one local artist's reliance upon

Italian prints as source material and selective application of the antique manner. In particular, I treat the artist's marginal drawings in the *Prayer Book* of Maximilian. Konrad Peutinger organized the manuscript's decoration from Augsburg, and I pinpoint the humanist-artist collaboration as the driving force behind Breu's embrace of Italianate motifs as gleaned from printed prototypes. Furthermore, I identify the *Prayer Book* as the site of development for a proto-emblem representing *festina lente* over fifteen years prior to the publication of the *Emblematum Liber* in 1531. Breu's reliance upon Italian printed images is clear, and yet, the classicizing manner generated in Augsburg recalls the city's Roman heritage, evident in the material artifacts of antiquity displayed locally and recorded on the printed pages of the *Romanae Vetustatis Fragmenta*.

Art historians have traditionally organized pictorial strengths along proto-national borders which might be surmised as an Italian figure/German landscape dichotomy. The German forest was associated with barbarism by outsiders; in Italian visual arts, dense forests like those painted by Albrecht Altdorfer symbolized moral corruption or confusion. Chapter 5, "Locating Antiquity in the German Landscape," considers how and why German artists, printmakers, and patrons embraced the "formless terrain and harsh climate, dismal to till or to behold, unless it were one's native land" described by Tacitus.³⁷ The chapter argues that the integration of figures and motifs *all'antica* into the densely wooded landscape amounts to a reclamation of the region's local Roman past. Most famously, Maximilian and his team of scholars, artists, and printers harnessed the power of print to visualize the *translatio imperii* of the Holy Roman Empire to Germany. While the *Arch of Honor* combines antique references and modern elements, the *Triumphal Procession* inserts an imperial convoy into the German landscape, no doubt familiar to participants of the simultaneous viewing of the monumental prints on display throughout Maximilian's loosely held empire.

Chapter 6, "Architecture *All'antica*," considers the architecture and decoration of the Fugger Chapel of St. Anna. Often reductively described as the first Italian Renaissance structure constructed north of the Alps, analysis of the Fugger Chapel shows how foreign design principles, motifs, and materials were modified according to the cultural and climatic concerns of the local, resulting in a synthesis of architectural styles. The chapter examines a pair of organ shutters painted by Jörg Breu and sculpted putti that originally adorned the Fugger Chapel balustrade, a line of research prompted by the recent rediscovery and 2019 sale of two of the putti carved by Hans Daucher. The Fugger Chapel marks an expansion of classicizing architecture's association with humanist learning and imperial grandeur to include the interests of mercantile patrons. For the city's elite merchant class, who

37 Quoted in Wood, *Albrecht Altdorfer and the Origins of Landscape*, 151.

aspired to rival northern Italian court culture with their own allusions to antiquity, architecture *all'antica* expertly evoked commercial ties with Italy, Augsburg's Roman origins, and imperial favor.

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