ALLEGORY AND INTERPRETATION IN HEINRICH ALDEGREVER'S SERIES *VIRTUES* AND *VICES*

A Thesis
Submitted to
the Temple University Graduate Board

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Art History

---

by
Jennifer Marie Murphy
Diploma Date August 2017

Thesis Approvals:

Dr. Ashley West, Advisor, Department of Art History

Dr. Jonathan Kline, Department of Art History

©
Copyright
2017

by

Jennifer Marie Murphy

All Rights Reserved

ABSTRACT

Heinrich Aldegrever (1502-1555) was a highly skilled and innovative printmaker working around the area of Westphalia during the sixteenth century. He used complex systems of allegory and adapted established visual codes, such as those of traditional heraldry, to engage his audience to unpack the meaning of his work and set himself apart from his contemporaries. However, due to Aldegrever's stylistic similarities to both Albrecht Dürer and the so-called German 'Little Masters' working in Nuremberg, his prints are often given the short shrift by modern historians, who have considered his images unoriginal or derivative. Through a close study of Aldegrever's 1552 series of engravings depicting the Christian Virtues and Vices, this paper rectifies this scholarly oversight and attempts to restore Aldegrever's place among the great masters of the printed image in the generation immediately following Dürer. As this subject matter of Virtues and Vices was popular among printmakers and their targeted audiences, I compare Aldegrever's series with similar works from his immediate predecessors and contemporaries to show that his *Virtues* and *Vices* are, in fact, more innovative than previously thought in their invocation of ancient texts and complex iconographic twists, and worthy of scholarly discussion on their own terms for values of effective marketability and artistic imitation.

For my grandparents,

Donald and Antoinette

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am indebted to my primary advisor Dr. Ashley D. West, for cultivating my love of printed images and the Northern Renaissance. I would particularly like to thank Dr. West for her unending encouragement as well as her much needed constructive criticism throughout this project, particularly in my final section. I would also like to thank my second reader, Dr. Jonathan Kline for his insightful comments and patience, without which this thesis could not have been completed.

Lastly, I would like to thank my friends and fellow Temple students, Shannon Stearns and Genevieve Arnone. I can never thank you two enough for your humor and emotional support. You never let me quit.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

ABSTRACT iii

DEDICATION iv

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS v

LIST OF FIGURES/ILLUSTRATIONS vii

INTRODUCTION xi

CHAPTER

1. TEXT AND IMAGE: EXPANDING ON A STORY 1

2. ALLEGORY AND INTERPRETATION:
CRACKING ALDEGREVER'S CODE 16

3. THE BUSINESS OF ART:
ALDEGREVER AND THE GERMAN PRINT MARKET 31

4. CONCLUSION: 42

BIBLIOGRAPHY 45

ILLUSTRATIONS 50

LIST OF FIGURES/ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure Page

1.1 Heinrich Aldegrever, *Chastity* from *Virtues*, 1552, engraving, 10.2 x 6.1 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 50

1.2 Heinrich Aldegrever, *Lust* from *Vices*, 1552, engraving, 10.2 x 6.2 cm. Philadelphia Museum of Art 50

1.3 Heinrich Aldegrever, *Wrath* from *Vices*, 1552, engraving, 10.3 x 6.3 cm. Philadelphia Museum of Art 51

1.4 Heinrich Aldegrever, *Patience* from *Virtues*, 1552, engraving, 10.2 x 6.1 cm. de Young, San Francisco 51

1.5 Heinrich Aldegrever, *Pride* from *Vices*, 1552, engraving, 10.2 x 6.1 cm. Philadelphia Museum of Art 52

1.6 Heinrich Aldegrever, *Modesty* from *Virtues*, 1552, engraving, 10.1 x 6.1 cm. Philadelphia Museum of Art 52

1.7 Heinrich Aldegrever, *Temperance* from *Virtues*, 1552, engraving, 10.4 x 6.2 cm. Art Institute of Chicago 53

1.8 Heinrich Aldegrever, *Gluttony* from *Vices*, 1552, engraving, 10.2 x 6.2 cm. Philadelphia Museum of Art 53

1.9 Heinrich Aldegrever, *Charity* from *Virtues*, 1552, engraving, 10.4 x 6.2 cm. Art Institute of Chicago 54

1.10 Heinrich Aldegrever, *Avarice* from *Vices*, 1552, engraving, 10.2 x 6.2 cm. Philadelphia Museum of Art 54

1.11 Heinrich Aldegrever, *Compassion* from *Virtues*, 1552, engraving, 10.5 x 6.5 cm. Philadelphia Museum of Art 55

1.12 Heinrich Aldegrever, *Envy* from *Vices*, 1552, engraving, 10.4 x 6.2 cm. Philadelphia Museum of Art 55

1.13 Heinrich Aldegrever, *Diligence* from *Virtues*, 1552, engraving, 10.5 x 6.4 cm. Philadelphia Museum of Art 56

1.14 Heinrich Aldegrever, *Idleness* from *Virtues*, 1552, engraving, 10.2 x 6.3 cm. Philadelphia Museum of Art 56

1.15 Anger Commits Suicide, Choir of Notre-Dame-du-Port, Clermont-Ferrand, early 12th Century 57

1.16 Hans Burgmair, *Justice* from *Seven Virtues*, ca.1510, woodcut, 15.9 x 7.1 cm. British Museum 58

1.17 Hans Burgmair, *Hope* from *Seven Virtues*, ca.1510, woodcut, 15.8 x 7.1 cm. British Museum 58

1.18 Hans Burgmair, *Temperance* from *Seven Virtues*, ca.1510, woodcut, 15.8 x 6.8 cm. British Museum 58

1.19 Hans Burgmair, *Love (Charity)* from *Seven Virtues*, ca.1510, woodcut, 15.9 x 7.1 cm. British Museum 58

1.20 Hans Burgmair, *Faith* from *Seven Virtues*, ca.1510, woodcut, 15.8 x 7.2 cm. British Museum 58

1.21 Hans Burgmair, *Fortitude* from *Seven Virtues*, ca1510, woodcut, 15.9 x 7.2 cm. British Museum 58

1.22 Hans Burgmair, *Prudence* from *Seven Virtues*, ca.1510, woodcut, 15.9 x 7.3 cm. British Museum 58

1.23 Hans Burgmair, *Lust* from *Vices* ca.1510, woodcut, 15.8 x 7.3 cm. British Museum 59

1.24 Hans Burgmair, *Pride* from *Vices* ca.1510, woodcut, 15.9 x 7.4 cm. British Museum 59

1.25 Hans Burgmair, *Wrath* from *Vices* ca.1510, woodcut, 16.0 x 7.3 cm. British Museum 59

1.26 Hans Burgmair, *Gluttony* from *Vices* ca.1510, woodcut, 15.9 x 7.3 cm. British Museum 59

1.27 Hans Burgmair, *Avarice* from *Vices* ca.1510, woodcut, 15.8 x 7.3 cm. British Museum 59

1.28 Hans Burgmair, *Sloth* from *Vices* ca.1510, woodcut, 22.5 x 11 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 59

1.29 Hans Sebald Beham, *Knowledge of God*, from *The Knowledge of God and the Seven Cardinal Virtues*, 1539, engraving, Cleveland Museum of Art 60

1.30 Hans Sebald Beham, *Prudence*, from *The Knowledge of God and the Seven Cardinal Virtues*, 1539, engraving, Cleveland Museum of Art 60

1.31 Hans Sebald Beham, *Charity*, from *The Knowledge of God and the Seven Cardinal Virtues*, 1539, engraving, Cleveland Museum of Art 60

1.32 Hans Sebald Beham, *Justice*, from *The Knowledge of God and the Seven Cardinal Virtues*, 1539, engraving, Cleveland Museum of Art 60

1.33 Hans Sebald Beham, *Faith*, from *The Knowledge of God and the Seven Cardinal Virtues*, 1539, engraving, Cleveland Museum of Art 60

1.34 Hans Sebald Beham, *Hope*, from *The Knowledge of God and the Seven Cardinal Virtues*, 1539, engraving, Cleveland Museum of Art 61

1.35 Hans Sebald Beham, *Fortitude*, from *The Knowledge of God and the Seven Cardinal Virtues*, 1539, engraving, Cleveland Museum of Art 61

1.36 Hans Sebald Beham, *Temperance*, from *The Knowledge of God and the Seven Cardinal Virtues*, 1539, engraving, Cleveland Museum of Art 61

2.1 Silver Medallion with Name and Title of Johanns II of Cleve, after design by Heinrich Aldegrever 62

2.2 Heinrich Aldegrever, *William, Duke of Julich, Cleve and Berg*, 1540, engraving, 31.3 x 23.7 cm. Harvard Art Museums 63

2.3 Heinrich Aldegrever, *Lust* from *Vices*, 1552, engraving, 10.2 x 6.2 cm. Philadelphia Museum of Art (detail) 64

2.4 Albrecht Dürer, *The Men's Bath*, 1496, Detail, woodcut, 39.3 x 28.5 cm. Royal Collection Trust, London 64

2.5 Master DS, *Basilisk Supporting the Arms of the City of Basel*, 1511, woodcut, 23.7 x 16.7 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 65

3.1 Bonifacio Bembo, *The Queen of Swords*, Visconti-Sforza *Tarocchi*, ca.1450-80, 17.3 x 8.7 cm, Morgan Library & Museum, New York 66

3.2 Bonifacio Bembo, *Temperance*, Visconti-Sforza *Tarocchi*, ca.1450-80, 17.3 x 8.7 cm, Morgan Library & Museum, New York 66

3.3 Master of the E-Series, *Prudentia (Prudence)*, The Mantegna *Tarocchi*, ca.1530-1561, engraving, 17.5 x 9.9 cm, British Museum 67

3.4 1541 *Luther Bible* owned by Hans Plock, volume 1, featuring a portrait of Martin Luther by Heinrich Aldegrever, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin 68

3.5Martin Schongauer, *Death of the Virgin*, c. 1450-1491, engraving, 25.6 x 16.8 cm. From the Plock Bible, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin 69

3.6 Heinrich Aldegrever, *Self-Portrait at Age Twenty-Eight*, 1530, engraving, 14.4 x 10.3 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 70

3.7 Israhel van Meckenem, *Self-Portrait of the Artist with his Wife, Ida*, c. 1490, engraving, 13.3 x 17.9 cm. Philadelphia Museum of Art 71

3.8 Albrecht Dürer, *Self-Portrait*, 1500, oil on wood panel, 66.3 x 49 cm. Alte Pinakothek, Munich 72

INTRODUCTION

During the mid-sixteenth century, following the success of Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528) and his contemporaries, a small group of Nuremberg engravers began to turn their attention from the monumental to the miniscule. The most widely celebrated of these artists, Hans Sebald Beham (1500-50), Barthel Beham (1502-40), and Georg Pencz (ca. 1500-50), became known to later scholars as the *Kleinmeister* or "Little Masters," a name that speaks not only to the miniature size of many of their prints, typically ranging between that of a modern postage stamp and a playing card, but also to the skill with which these images were meticulously rendered. While the Nuremberg *Kleinmeister* remain the most well-known printmakers to take on the artistic challenge of working in small scale, they were by no means the only ones to do so.

Heinrich Aldegrever (1502-1555), who lived and worked predominantly in Westphalia, is perhaps the most widely misunderstood and misrepresented contemporary of the Little Masters. Despite being active as a printmaker in a center other than Dürer's Nuremberg, modern scholars have nonetheless classified Aldegrever as a member himself of the *Kleinmeister,* albeit a minor one, often relegating him to footnotes and off-handed comments in the scholarship surrounding them.[1] In doing so, many of Aldegrever's innovations and contributions to the history of printmaking and the German Renaissance have been glossed over, conflated or confused with other Little Masters, as

[1] See Linda C. Hults, *The Print in the Western World: An Introductory History* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996), 100; Antony Griffiths, *Prints and Printmaking: An Introduction to the History and Techniques* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 46; and David Landau and Peter Parshall, *The Renaissance Print, 1470-1550* (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1994), 30, 319, 320, and 356. While Landau and Parshall appear to mention Aldegrever rather frequently, each page devotes only one or two sentences to him, and then only in relation to other artists.

just one of a group.[2] In many cases Aldegrever has been completely forgotten, in favor of an established, modern narrative of the German Renaissance and of the history of printmaking that continues to favor notions of originality above other values. I argue that Aldegrever was, in fact, a successful and ambitious printmaker—even going so far as to design and publish two printed self-portraits, an unusually bold act in his day—who excelled in his own lifetime at producing highly marketable, if not completely novel, images with appealing layers of visual signs and a style invoking the familiar line and erudition of Albrecht Dürer.

Aldegrever's work is often considered to be derivative of more famous artists, notably Albrecht Dürer. Print scholar Peter Parshall has described Aldegrever as "Dürer's more brittle imitator,"[3] referring to Aldegrever's meticulous and laborious imitation of Dürer's linear style, suggesting that Aldegrever should be considered a more rigid copyist than loose draughtsman or original maker. While Aldegrever often chose to imitate Dürer's manner and even adapted the master's iconic monogram for his own, he did not take his mimicry so far as to copy the compositions or subject matter of Dürer's prints exactly. Additionally, while Aldegrever worked on a similar small scale to the *Kleinmeister,* his handling of allegorical themes was more complex than that of his contemporaries, packing his images' small size with a density of meaning that compensated for his less delicate handling of line. Aldegrever's distinctive ways of representing humanist subject matter in an updated and memorable manner have been

---

[2] A prime example of this scholarly bias can be found in a catalog of Mannerist prints by Hans-Martin Kaulbach and Reinhart Schleier in which the authors praise the artist Jacob Matham's (1571-1631) use of heraldic shields within his images of the Christian Virtues and Vices. As we will see, this trope was adapted by Aldegrever decades before and to greater effect. See Kaulbach and Schleier, *"Der Welt Lauf": Allegorische Graphikserien des Manierismus* (Ostfildern Ruit: Hatje, 1997), 26-27.

[3] Landau and Parshall, 319.

over-looked and underappreciated by modern art historians, and shall be reconsidered here, using his series of *Virtues* and *Vices* from 1552 as a primary focus.

Scholars have given several conflicting accounts and anecdotes of Aldegrever's life and work. For example, the great biographer of northern art, Karel van Mander (1548-1606), relates in *Het Schilderboek* (1604) an incident in which Aldegrever was entrusted with the task of painting violets onto an incomplete altarpiece by Dürer for a Nuremburg church, suggesting perhaps involvement in a more monumental project directly related to Dürer and suitably involving a miniaturist's exactitude in skills of decoration.[4] However, Alan Shestack insists that this story is apocryphal and unsubstantiated, stating that: "there is no documentary evidence, however, that Aldegrever ever journeyed to Nuremberg or came into personal contact with Dürer or his circle."[5] It is likely that this story arose as a way to explain Aldegrever's stylistic similarity to Dürer and would later be referenced as a way to strengthen the argument for his status as a viable *Kleinmeister*. It is unknown whether Aldegrever had any direct affiliation with Dürer or the *Kleinmeister,* or if he was instead familiar with them only through the study of their work. Aldegrever's rendering of line and particular monogram strongly suggest that, as with the *Kleinmeister,* Aldegrever was a close imitator of Dürer; however, unlike painting and sculpture, printed artwork, by its very nature, allowed artists the opportunity to study another's particular aesthetic without ever having to

---

[4] Karel van Mander, *Het Schilderboeck* (Amsterdam, I6I8 ed.) 148, as cited in Alan Shestack, "Some Preliminary Drawings for Engravings by Heinrich Aldegrever," *Master Drawings* 8, no. 2. (1970): 141-148.

[5] Shestack, 141.

journey outside their own locality or region.[6] So direct contact, training in Dürer's workshop, or collaboration with any of these Nuremberg artists would not have been necessary to account for Aldegrever's own manner of imitation.

It is clear from these accounts that scholars have been primarily interested in discussing Aldegrever's work in terms of his similarity to more famous masters, rather than addressing the areas of his own inventiveness and mastery.[7] Indeed, the nineteenth-century scholar Adolf Rosenberg seems to have set the tone for scholarship to follow when he described both Aldegrever and Lucas van Leyden as "Neither [...] a genuine born artist, but only a well-balanced and gifted mind, who replaced want of natural genius by unwearied industry and a large capacity for assimilation."[8] While the nature of Lucas van Leyden's skillfulness has been revisited and restored by scholars in the past three decades, Aldegrever has not yet received his fair due.[9] Rosenberg's characterization of artistic genius as narrowly linked to novelty and contrasted with laboriousness and the assimilation of visual sources is an ahistorical generalization guided by the biases of nineteenth-century notions of modernity. His derogatory relegation of Aldegrever as a diligent imitator can be updated and historically contextualized to take on positive

---

[6] In this respect, prints complicate the usual models of centers and peripheries raised by Enrico Castelnuovo and Carlo Ginzburg, "Centre and Periphery," in *History of Italian Art*, eds. Ellen Bianchini and Claire Dorey (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1994), II, 29-113.

[7] Stephen H. Goddard, *The World in Miniature: Engravings by the German Little Masters, 1500-1550* (Lawrence, KS: Spencer Museum of Art, 1988), 13. Goddard is one of the few scholars who does not fall into the pattern of discussing Aldegrever as simply working in the style of other artists.

[8] Adolf Rosenberg, "The German Little Masters of Dürer's School," in *The Early Teutonic, Italian and French Masters* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1880), 180.

[9] On Lucas van Leyden, see Peter Parshall, "Lucas van Leyden's Narrative Style," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 29 (1978): 185-237; and Hults, 115-16.

connotations with respect to Aldegrever, a task that I shall undertake in order to explain his success, as well as to reassert Aldegrever's artistic distinctiveness.

Rather than dismissing his images as unoriginal—or over-argue for their complete novelty— it is worth taking a moment to place his work within the common artistic practices of the period. In our modern era of copyrights and intellectual property laws, to follow another artist's style so closely in one's own work is seen as akin to theft. However, in the sixteenth century, Aldegrever's mode of imitation instead would have been seen as standard, even savvy, artistic practice.[10] By replicating the grand subject matter and the detail associated with Dürer's style, but on a small scale, Aldegrever was making the claim that his skills were equal to, or perhaps even surpassing, those of the great master. Furthermore, Aldegrever's imitation of Dürer's engraving manner and style in serial format was also part of an effective visual and commercial strategy, fitting well within the desire of collectors for Dürer prints and for other forms of precious collectibles. In his essay on the origin and use of miniature engravings in German-speaking lands, Stephen H. Goddard observed that:

> …after the format [small scale engraving] was adopted from the Italians, the small print assumed a life of its own in renaissance [sic] Germany in response to specific habits and tastes in collecting (mounting prints in books, and the rise of the aesthetic of the miniature object). With the advent of *Kunstkammers* (collectors' cabinets) in the mid-sixteenth century, the aesthetic appreciation of the small and curious object became well established.[11]

---

[10] For more on the change in attitudes towards copying and artistic originality from the early modern to modern eras, see Lisa Pon, *Dürer and Marcantonio Raimondi: Copying and the Italian Renaissance Print* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

[11] Goddard, 13-29.

As Goddard suggests, Aldegrever's technique would have served him well as a way to market his prints to the prevailing tastes of collectors, as well as fit a particular niche within emerging methods of print collecting, particularly in the wake of Dürer's death.

Perhaps the finest example of this dual strategy of both celebrating and challenging Dürer on a miniature scale can be seen in Aldegrever's series created in 1552 showing the Seven Virtues and Seven Vices, each measuring roughly 10 centimeters by 6 centimeters in size. Though rendered in small scale, these images are by no means simplistic in nature. Rather than bowing to convention, Aldegrever chose to depict his allegorical figures dynamically as warriors, rather than immobile and statuesque. Indeed, the particular theme of spiritual struggle embodied by these images suggests a link between Aldegrever's series and a fifth-century text entitled the *Psychomachia,* which would have been recognizable to discerning scholars. However, these prints should not be considered purely illustrative. Instead I suggest that Aldegrever's images served as pedagogical and memory-related devices, which assisted the viewer to better recall specific scenes and moral lessons within the text yet were able to stand independently of the source material.[12]

Aldegrever's images are densely packed with symbols, particularly in the form of animals, which relate to contemporary teachings on Virtue and Vice as well as to bestiaries and the heraldic tradition, which would have been familiar to Aldegrever's intended audience. Each of Aldegrever's allegorical figures is accompanied by a banner emblazoned with a unique identifying image and by a heraldic coat-of-arms, which when

[12]On the art of memory and the role of rhetoric in Reformation era humanist studies see: Frances Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966); Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400-1200* (New York: Cambridge UP, 2000); and Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (New York: Cambridge UP, 2008).

decoded would further explain the nature of each Virtue or Vice. Additionally, Aldegrever's Vices are shown astride the animal most often associated with each Sin. In order to better understand the complex set of attributes accompanying each personification, I will examine how these particular animals were treated by medieval bestiaries, possible visual sources and iconographic standards for Aldegrever and for his presumed audience.[13] By exploring the ways in which scholars viewed these animals, both symbolically and even in the realm of natural philosophy, I will be able to highlight Aldegrever's particular innovations within a pre-established allegorical tradition. Aldegrever's series may show a particular form and handling of line that carries with it the 'feel' of a Dürer, but his use of complex symbols and unusual treatment of allegorical figures and their attributes reveals an artistry that is distinctly his own.

The sixteenth century in German-speaking lands is often seen as an early highpoint for the printed image. With works by so many famous artists flooding the market, one can easily see how an artist such as Aldegrever, known for his stylistic imitation of Dürer's engraved line, has fallen through the proverbial cracks in the scholarship. Rather than dismissing Aldegrever and similar artists as mere copyists or as dismayingly derivative, historians need to delve deeper in order to paint a more complete picture of the print culture of the early modern era. Aldegrever did more than simply mimic Dürer's distinctive style; he built upon the artistic and marketing foundations that the great master left behind. Aldegrever's mastery of small-scale printed images and his ability to engage earlier visual models while asserting his own complex compositions and

[13] See Janetta Rebold Benton, *The Medieval Menagerie: Animals in the Art of the Middle Ages* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1992); and Thorsten Fögen, "Animal Communication," *The Oxford Handbook of Animals in Classical Thought and Life* (Oxford University Press, 2014), 216-232.

modes of conveying meaning make him as worthy of study as any of the *Kleinmeister*. A study of Aldegrever's *Virtues* and *Vices* series also provides key examples of how printed images, especially miniature ones, played an oversized role in the history of images for their primacy with respect to texts, and in the history of collecting, both for their materiality and flexibility as a tool for structuring knowledge.

CHAPTER 1

TEXT AND IMAGE: EXPANDING ON A STORY

In the year 1552, Heinrich Aldegrever created two distinct yet interconnected series of engravings depicting allegorical representations of the Cardinal Virtues and Capital Vices, also called Deadly Sins (Fig. 1.1-14), each print about 10.2 cm. x 6.1 cm. Unique among his contemporaries, Aldegrever chose to depict female personifications, not as statuesque individuals or angelic ideals, but rather as dynamically posed warriors. While this method of depicting the Virtues and Vices as characters in a spiritual struggle did not originate with Aldegrever, he is one of the first artists to fully realize its aesthetic, educational, and commercial possibilities.

To better understand Aldegrever's contribution to allegorical and serial printed images, it is important to explore some of the textual sources that undergird his imagery and that likely would have been evoked for sixteenth-century beholders. I shall explore the relationship between Aldegrever's *Virtues* and *Vices* and earlier texts in which Virtues and Vices are presented together, namely in Plato's *Republic* and the antique *Psychomachia,* or *The Battle for Man's Soul,* by the fifth-century poet Prudentius.[14] Additionally, I shall examine the ways in which early Christian authors have dealt with the concept of Cardinal Virtues and Capital Vices prior to the publication of Aldegrever's series and then delve further into specific parallels, as well as divergences, between Aldegrever's representations of Virtues and Vices and the *Psychomachia*, where the Virtues and Vices are reconceived as battling personifications within the soul of a

---

[14] Prudentius, *Prudentius Volume 1*, "The Fight for Mansoul" (Loeb Classical Library, volume 387), ed. and trans. H.J. Thomson (Harvard University Press: 1979), 275-343. All further references to, and translations of, the *Psychomachia* will be taken from this edition.

Christian Everyman. I shall then discuss the possible theological and socio-historical implications behind Aldegrever's militant theme and how *Virtues* and *Vices* likely would have been received by collectors on either side of the sixteenth-century conflict between Catholics and Protestants in Northern Europe. Finally, I shall discuss other artists' portrayals of the Virtues and Vices in order to show the ways in which Aldegrever's interpretation differs from those of his contemporaries. What we shall find is that Aldegrever's choice in presenting oppositional Virtues and Vices and their general association with the *Psychomachia* allowed his series to break free of convention in order to revive and celebrate these ancient texts, as well as to introduce original visual commentaries on the nature of Virtue and Vice and their relationship to post-Reformation Christian life.

Virtues and their corresponding Vices have long been a popular subject among Christian artists and writers alike. Similar to the Commandments, they serve as a way to educate and guide the faithful in proper Christian behavior. However, the concept behind the creation of a list of desirable and undesirable spiritual (or indeed social) qualities pre-dates Christianity by several centuries. One of the earliest discussions of Virtue and Vice can be found in the fourth book of Plato's *Republic* where the character of Socrates states:

> 'Now, then,' I [Socrates] said, 'I hope I'll find it in this way. I suppose our city—if, that is, it has been correctly founded—is perfectly good.'
> 'Necessarily,' he [Adeimantus] said.
> 'Plainly, then, it's wise, courageous, moderate and just.'[15]

During this exchange, Plato introduces what will later be known as the four Cardinal or Pagan Virtues: Justice, Wisdom, Moderation and Courage. He goes on to explain that

[15] Plato, *The Republic of Plato*, trans. Allan Bloom (New York: Basic Books, 1991), 105 v. 427e.

while each Virtue is vital to the success of this hypothetical society, what is paramount is to maintain the proper attitude between each Virtue and its antithesis. He continues:

> 'To produce health is to establish the parts of the body in a relation of mastering, and being mastered by, one another that is according to nature, while to produce sickness is to establish a relation of ruling, and being ruled by, one another that is contrary to nature.'
> 'It is.'
> 'Then, in its turn,' I said, 'isn't to produce justice to establish the parts of the soul in a relation of mastering, and being mastered by, one another that is according to nature, while to produce injustice is to establish a relation of ruling, and being ruled by, one another that is contrary to nature?'
> 'Entirely so,' he said.
> 'Virtue, then, as it seems, would be a certain health, beauty and good condition of a soul and vice a sickness, ugliness and weakness.'[16]

According to Plato's logic, in order for one to achieve a "healthy" soul, one must exist in such a way that Virtue is always in mastery over Vice. This concept would later be adapted to suit Christian teachings by St. Ambrose and St. Augustine, both writing in the fourth century and transposing some of these concepts of good citizenship to good Christian believers.

St. Ambrose (330s-397 A.D.) is perhaps the earliest theologian to coin the phrase 'Cardinal Virtues' in his commentary on the Gospel of Luke, in which he writes, "And we know that there are four cardinal virtues: temperance, justice, prudence, fortitude."[17] St. Augustine would go a step further in his discussion of Virtue by defining each as follows:

> […] that temperance is love giving itself entirely to that which is loved; fortitude is love readily bearing all things for the sake of the loved object; justice is love serving only the loved object, and therefore ruling rightly;

[16] Plato, *The Republic,* 124 v. 444e.

[17] St. Ambrose, *Commentary on Luke,* v. 62, as cited in Saint Thomas Aquinas, Magnus Albertus Saint, and Philip the Chancellor, *The Cardinal Virtues: Aquinas, Albert and Philip the Chancellor*, ed. R. E. Houser, Vol. 4, (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2004), 33.

> prudence is love distinguishing with sagacity between what hinders it and what helps it.[18]

This list would be expanded by Prudentius and others to include the Virtues of Faith, Hope and Charity, also known as the Heavenly, or Theological, Virtues.

Likewise, the specific nature and number of Capital Vices (also called Deadly Sins) tended to fluctuate from author to author. In addition to a host of comparatively minor sins, Prudentius lists eight main combatants on the side of Vice: Worship-of-Old-Gods, Lust, Wrath, Pride, Indulgence, Greed, Avarice, and Discord. Evagrius Ponticus (c. 345-99 A.D.), a Christian monk writing in Egypt, listed Gluttony, Lust, Avarice, Sadness, Anger, Sloth, Vainglory and Pride as the primary challenges to the righteous soul.[19] In the sixth century, Pope Gregory the Great (540-604 A.D.) simplified this list by cutting it down from eight to seven by replacing Sadness with Envy, and placing Pride as the root of all other sins.[20] The traditional list of seven found in Aldegrever's series, and indeed most sixteenth-century depictions of Capital Vices, is derived from Thomas Aquinas' *Summa Theologiae* (IaIIae 84.3-4) and are as follows: Lust, Gluttony, Avarice, Sloth, Wrath, Envy and Pride.[21]

While the specific list of Virtues or Vices would be changed and adapted several times over the centuries, the basic principle behind Plato's discourse remained the same. That principle was to assert that there existed certain traits one must acquire and nurture

---

[18] St. Augustine, *De Moribus Ecclesiae Catholicae*. XV.

[19] Columba Stewart, "Evagrius Ponticus and the 'Eight Generic *Logismoi*'" in *In the Garden of Evil: The Vices and Culture in the Middle Ages* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2005), 3.

[20] Kevin Timpe and Craig A. Boyd, *Virtues and their Vices* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 17.

[21] As referenced in Timpe and Boyd, 18.

that are most beneficial to the health and well-being of the human soul, and these traits exist alongside other undesirable qualities, which must be mastered. For the most part, writers have treated this as a theoretical struggle; however, one poet, Prudentius, chose instead to depict this internal struggle as a war waged actively by personified forms of Virtues and Vices for the fate of each man's soul.

Prudentius' *Psychomachia* is among the most vivid and frequently cited literary works devoted to the battle between Virtue and Vice. Writing in the 5th century C.E., Prudentius' text reflects a period of transition between Classical literature such as Plato's *Republic,* and texts by the early Church Fathers. Though not a Classical author himself, Prudentius drew heavily from the Roman literary tradition by adapting the form of epic poetry exemplified by Vergil in order to depict a uniquely Christian struggle, thus acting as a literary bridge between the Classical, Late Antique, and Early Medieval periods.[22] Unlike the writing of Sts. Ambrose and Augustine, Prudentius chose to connect with his audience on a more emotional level, rather than a purely intellectual one, by depicting each Virtue and Vice as a character in an allegorical narrative. Often considered by scholars to be the earliest example of fully-fledged personification allegory, the *Psychomachia* paved the way for a new genre of religious literature and theatrical performances popular in the Middle Ages.[23] The theme of spiritual conflict shown as personification allegory was also taken up with enthusiasm and invention by artists

---

[22] Macklin Smith, *Prudentius' "Psychomachia"* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), 4.

[23] S. Georgia Nugent, "*Virtus* or *Virago*? The Female Personifications of Prudentius' *Psychomachia,"* in *Virtue & Vice: The Personifications in the Index of Christian Art*. Vol. 1, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 13-28.

during the Romanesque period, with several examples surviving in sculptural form, especially ornamenting church portals and historiated capitals (Fig. 1.15).[24]

Unlike Classical texts such as Plato's *Republic* or Virgil's *Aeneid*, the *Psychomachia's* popularity during the medieval period meant that it did not require 'rediscovery' by humanist scholars. However, examples of the *Psychomachia* as a direct source for depictions of Virtue and Vice began to decline following the end of the Romanesque period. Scholars have proposed that one possible reason for this was the shift in theological writing from an interest in depicting a literal triumph of Virtue over Vice to analyzing the theoretical and spiritual nature of these qualities.[25] Whatever the reason, by the sixteenth century few artists chose to adorn the Virtues or Vices with trappings of war in reference to their perpetual battle as staged by Prudentius. One notable exception to this was the Westphalian print-maker Heinrich Aldegrever. In 1552 Aldegrever created two series of engraved images, one of Virtues and one of Vices, which, though not directly illustrative, bear several striking similarities to the *Psychomachia* as a recognizable literary source for knowing viewers.

The growing interest of humanist scholars in the relationship between Classical literature and Early Christian texts, exemplified the *Psychomachia*, was not the only possible reason behind Aldegrever's design. The theme of militant and spiritual struggle within Prudentius' text would have struck a particular chord for Aldegrever as an artist

---

[24] "The popularity of the *Psychomachia* in particular is evident in its direct influence on medieval writers ranging from the Carolingian poet Theodulf of Orleans to the C12th [sic] theologian Alanus de Insulis, and in its more general, often mediated inspiration for many others such as Alcuin, Isidore of Seville, the author of the treatise *De conflictu vitiorum et virtutum*, Hugh of St. Victor and even, in the later Middle Ages, vernacular writers like the author of the C15th *Assembly of the Gods."* Jennifer O'Reilly, *Studies in the Iconography of the Virtues and Vices in the Middle Ages* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1988), 1.

[25] O'Reilly, 54.

living and working in Germany largely during the second quarter of the sixteenth-century. Beginning in 1517 with Martin Luther's (1483-1546) Ninety-five Theses, his critique of doctrinal principles and denouncement of certain policies of the Latin Church, the Reformation launched a period of political and religious conflict in Europe. In German-speaking lands, this turmoil gave rise to the Schmalkaldic League, an alliance between the Protestant territories of the Holy Roman Empire in order to protect their right to practice the new faith and to stand against the Catholic armies of Emperor Charles V, until their defeat in 1548. Aldegrever published his images in 1552, just three years before the Peace of Augsburg brought a political resolution to the question of religious practices and sectarian alignments within the Empire. Within this historical context, Aldegrever's series adapts the metaphor of internal struggle at the heart of the *Psychomachia* and manifests it outwardly and visually in order to transform his series of Virtues and Vices into an allegory of the struggle between Catholics and Protestants during the Reformation and resulting Schmalkaldic War (1546-48). Indeed, as Peter Parshall suggests, "The appeal to conflict seems to have become essential to the appreciation of images in this tense and dynamic intellectual climate."[26] Although Aldegrever left the bulk of his images open to interpretation, the sin of Pride, in particular, contains several symbolic elements that could be read as openly anti-clerical as well as anti-imperial.[27] This does not suggest that his series was intended to be overtly in favor of Protestantism; however, it is possible that Aldegrever's image could be

---

[26] Peter Parshall, "Hans Holbein's Pictures of Death," in *Hans Holbein: Paintings, Prints and Reception,* ed. Mark Roskill and John Oliver Hand (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 88.

[27] Aldegrever depicts the Sin of Pride (Superbia) wearing the Papal tiara and includes several nods to the nobility in his design of both the banner and coat-of-arms within the image. The full details and implications of this will be discussed in chapter 2.

viewed by collectors as an admonition of both the Catholic Church and the ruling classes for allowing their pride and cultural rigidity to divide the Empire, and at great cost to civility and community.

As its title suggests, the *Psychomachia* (translated as *The Fight for Mansoul*) is an epic poem in which female warriors representing each of the Cardinal Virtues and Capital Vices meet in a series of symbolic battles within the soul of a Christian Everyman. This war consists of a series of seven distinct battles taking place along a rocky and scarred landscape, where each Vice is met and eventually defeated by its respective Virtue. After the last skirmish is won, the characters of Concord and Faith order the building of a magnificent temple in which Wisdom is finally enthroned.[28]

Each of Aldegrever's images shows a female figure either seated astride an animal relating to their inner nature, in the case of the Vices, or in relaxed contrapposto, as with the Virtues. Each is set within a barren and war torn landscape and depicted carrying a banner and an intricate coat-of-arms proclaiming either holiness or depravity by way of an intricate series of symbolic elements set within a frame of contemporary heraldic items. Below each image, Aldegrever includes a Latin inscription, which briefly declaims the nature of each figure as either a Virtue or Vice. Although these lines are not direct quotations from the *Psychomachia,* they function in a similar way to the text by describing each Virtue or Vice in terms of its primary traits as an allegorical individual, rather than as an abstract moral concept. For example, the inscription accompanying Pride (*Superbia* in Latin) emphasizes her vicious nature as the mother of all things bad.[29]

---

[28] Prudentius, 341, v. 865-77.

[29] "*Prima nefandarum vitiosa Superbia rerum Mater et omnigeni fons scaturigo mali*."

One may argue that a single image within a series does not, on its own, suggest the *Psychomachia* as his primary source material. However, upon closer inspection of this poem in relation to Aldegrever's prints, several key elements can be found which will more directly link text and image, beyond simple thematic adaptation, in the minds of thoughtful viewers.

The first of Aldegrever's combatants to take the field in the *Psychomachia* are Chastity and Lust. Chastity is described as a maiden, shining in beauteous armor, while her opponent, Lust the Sodomite, is clad in the fire-brands of her country.[30] In her hand, Lust wields a pine wood torch, which she uses in an attempt to blind her foe. Chastity, unperturbed by her attack, disarms her opponent with a stone before striking at her throat with a sword, beheading her as Judith dispatched Holofernes.[31] She then washes the foul blood from her sword in the river Jordan. In Aldegrever's image, Chastity is shown in relaxed contrapposto, adorned only in a swath of fabric (Fig. 1.1). In her left hand she holds a banner depicting a maiden and a unicorn, symbolizing her purity. Behind her, a ship travels along a river, possibly alluding to the Jordan, for close readers. The figure's right hand gestures downwards to several rocks, one of which may have been used by the Virtue to defeat Lust. Lust, on the other hand, is shown in a more active position, at the point of either mounting or dismounting her steed, a camel (Fig. 1.2). She also carries no

[30] Prudentius, 282-3, v. 40-45.

[31] Prudentius, 282-3, v. 60-63.

obvious weapon but instead holds aloft a banner emblazoned with a fox, declaring her identity as a deceiver of man.[32]

Following the defeat of her sister Vice, Prudentius' figure of Wrath dons her shaggy crested helm and charges into battle against the mild mannered Patience. Though Wrath hurls barbed insults and various projectiles at her foe, Patience is unmoved until, at last, Wrath takes her own life in a fit of rage and frustration.[33] Aldegrever's figure of Wrath wears no armor, although her hairstyle, consisting of loose curls that frame her face and are bound with tight netting, may suggest the shaggy helm mentioned by Prudentius (Fig. 1.3). She sits astride a powerful bear and holds in her hand a bow, which is partially drawn and nocked with three different arrows at once, suggesting both the caustic words thrown at her opponent, as well as her inherent impatience. As with Chastity before her, Patience is depicted in a relaxed contrapposto which suggests to the viewer both an inner serenity as well as a readiness of movement (Fig. 1.4).

The closest parallel between Aldegrever's series and the text of the *Psychomachia* can be found in the battle between Modesty and Pride. Of this clash Prudentius writes:

> It chanced that Pride was galloping about, all puffed up through the widespread squadrons, on a mettled steed which she had covered with a lion's skin, laying the weight of shaggy hair over its strong shoulders, so that being seated on the wild beast's mane, she might make a more imposing figure as she looked down on the columns with swelling distain. High on her head she had piled a tower of braided hair [...]. A cambric

[32] For similar depictions of the fox as deceiver in early modern art, see George Ferguson, *Signs & Symbols in Christian Art* (Oxford University Press, 1959), 18; and Franziska Schnoor, "Octopuses, Foxes and Hares" in *Early Modern Zoology: The Construction of Animals in Science, Literature and the Visual Arts,* V. 7, ed. Karel A. E. Enenkel and Paulus Johannes Smith (Boston: Brill, 2007), 529-543.

[33] Prudentius, 286-8, v. 110-150.

> mantle hanging from her shoulders was gathered high on her breast and made a rounded knot on her bosom…[34]

While not an exact recreation of this scene, Aldegrever's image includes several key elements described in this text. Pride is placed on a galloping charger, her braided hair transformed visually (and cleverly) into a heavy coiled chain around her neck and towering papal crown atop her head (Fig. 1.5). Her mantle is draped across her shoulders. Aldegrever here takes a direct anticlerical jab at the perceived pride and luxury of the Church and its hierarchy, at this critical moment shortly after the conclusion of the Schmalkadic War when Catholics and Protestants clashed mightily. Although not used to cover her horse's back, as suggested in the *Psychomachia*, a lion accompanies Pride, prowling alongside her rearing mount.

In stark contrast to this image of bravado is the figure of Modesty (Fig. 1.6). She is unique among Aldegrever's Virtues in that she is accompanied by an animal other than those depicted in either banner or arms—in this case, a lamb. According to the *Psychomachia,* in order to succeed Modesty had to "make Hope her fellow"[35] and is the only Virtue to require such direct assistance. Although Pride ultimately defeats herself by falling into a pit, it is only with Hope's help that gentle Modesty is able to behead her enemy. In Christian iconography, the lamb represents Christ as the perfect sacrifice. This Lamb of God included in Aldegrever's tableau likely would have been understood as a reference to the presence of Hope and abiding assistance cloaked in the Christian

---

[34] Prudentius, 290-1, *v.* 178-187: "forte per effusa inflata Superbia turmas/ effreni volitabat equo, quem pelle leonis/ texerat et validos villis oneraverat armos,/ quo se fulta iubis iactantius illa ferinis/ inferret tumido despectans agina fastu./ turritum tortis caput adeumularat in altum/ crinibus, extructos augeret ut addita cirros/ congeries celsumque apicem frons ardua ferret./ carasea ex umeris summon collecta coibat/ palla sinu teretem nectens a pectore nodum."

[35] Prudentius, 292-3, *v.* 201.

symbolism of salvation. This interpretation is reinforced by the images of the Man of Sorrows on Modesty's banner, as well as the figure of the Archangel Michael defeating Satan on her coat of arms, which will be discussed in further detail in the next chapter.

Due to the decline in popularity of the *Psychomachia* following the Romanesque period, audiences began to develop a new language of symbols and attributes surrounding the Virtues and Vices. Aldegrever absorbed these current trends and signifiers into his images by choosing to follow the, by then, standard list of Virtues which included Compassion and Diligence in opposition to Envy and Idleness, respectively (Fig. 1.11-14). By creating images that alluded thematically to the *Psychomachia,* rather than limiting himself to merely illustrating this text, Aldegrever opened up the interpretive range of the works in order to appeal to a larger audience, while at the same time allowing his work to celebrate this once widely published didactic text. It is this ability to balance aspects of the most current market appeal with his own desire for originality that allowed Aldegrever to thrive as an artist.

Considering the primary criticism surrounding Aldegrever—that his work was derivative of other more famous artists—one could expect to find dramatic similarities between his 1552 series and depictions of Virtues and Vices created by his near and immediate contemporaries. Upon further examination, however, this is simply not the case. Visceral though the *Psychomachia* may have been, it appears to have been under-used by other artists of the early and mid- sixteenth century, who tended instead to depict the subject as a purely intellectual exploration of the nature of Virtue and Vice, rather than as a physical struggle. It is worth examining these other serial print approaches to

the Virtues and Vices in comparison to Aldegrever's series in order to better understand the distinctiveness and appeal of his images on the open market.

The German printmaker Hans Burgkmair (1473-1531) published two series of woodcuts around 1510, which depicted the Seven Virtues and Seven Vices (Fig. 1.16-28) each about 15.9 cm. x 7.3 cm. Burgkmair's personifications are set in their finished state within elaborately ornamented framing devices and niches, rather than in intricately designed landscapes, as with Aldegrever's images. Burgkmair's series are also not presented in an adversarial relationship countering one another. When creating his series, Aldegrever chose examples of Virtue and Vice that were in direct opposition to one another: Lust is opposed by Chastity, Wrath by Patience, and so forth. Burgkmair's series, on the other hand, are self-contained, with each set unified by a repeated matching woodblock frame, and with yet a third related series of *Seven Planets* staged similarly with its own heavily adorned frame. While his choice of Vices is identical to Aldegrever's, Burgkmair's Virtues instead reflect the Cardinal Virtues and Heavenly Virtues as established by Plato and later authors, namely Justice, Temperance, Prudence, Fortitude, Faith, Hope and Love (Charity). Burgkmair also does not limit his personifications to a single gender, as is consistent with classical allegory, as Aldegrever does, choosing to depict Wrath as male and including a second male figure in his depiction of amorous Lust. Rather than activating his figures within an overarching narrative, Burgkmair encourages his collectors to examine each image individually and as part of its respective series in order to meditate on the nature of Virtue and Vice as self-contained ways to organize categories of knowledge.

Nuremberg artist and fellow Little Master, Hans Sebald Beham, engraved a related series, *The Knowledge of God and the Seven Cardinal Virtues,* in 1539 (Fig. 1.29-36). It shows an even smaller scale (at around 4 cm. x 2.5 cm.) and more detailed level of craftsmanship than Aldegrever's. However, small scale and fine engraving is where such similarities end. Following Burgkmair's example, Beham's images do not suggest any specific text or narrative, nor do they line up with an oppositional figure in a corresponding series. Each of Beham's images shows a winged allegorical figure, and like Burgkmair's figures, each is accompanied by items and animals typically associated with each Virtue. Justice holds a set of scales and Prudence a mirror, and so forth. However, in Beham's series we can see a more fully labored sense of detail and line in comparison to Burgkmair's woodcuts, and also a desire in artists and collectors for more dynamic tableaus, instead of images featuring personifications and their attributes tucked into restrictive ornamented niches.

Thirteen years after Beham's series was first printed, Aldegrever would take these elements yet a step further. Not content to simply recreate the language of allegory surrounding Virtue and Vice, Aldegrever innovated by adapting some of the more conventional iconographic attributes into banners or heraldic items, which each figure could take into battle, or in the case of his Vices, onto mounted steeds of various sorts. In this way, Aldegrever was able to break with the representations of Virtue and Vice as shown by Burgkmair and Beham to assert his own original twist on the presentation and format of the figures. He did so by activating existing conventions to redirect them back to a closer referentiality to Virtue and Vice as oppositional figures in the *Psychomachia*

text and to militarize his personifications with the familiar language of battle and heraldry that invoked both the text and current events in the Holy Roman Empire.

As we have seen, the study and representation of Virtues and Vices in both Christian literature and art have followed two distinct paths. The first, followed by artists such as Burgkmair and Beham show the Cardinal Virtues and Vices as separate entities, and although it is made clear which of the represented traits are more desirable for a good Christian, they are not shown in direct opposition to one another. Aldegrever, apparently working more closely from Prudentius' example and during an immediate context of open warfare between Catholics and Protestants, represents instead the Capital Vices, and their corrective Virtues, surrounded by contemporary militant accoutrements. In this way, Aldegrever was able to harness the theme of internal personal struggle found in the *Psychomachia* and also invoke current open religious conflicts in order to differentiate his series from those of his contemporaries and appeal to a broad audience on both sides of the religious divide. And even more so than Burgmair and Beham's treatments, Aldegrever's presentation of figures might engage his viewers on multiple levels to put to memory the inscribed couplets below each image, match the appropriate Virtues with their respective Vices, and unpack their symbols and attributes encoded on banners and other devices.

CHAPTER 2

ALLEGORY AND INTERPRETAION: CRACKING ALDEGREVER'S CODE

Although Aldegrever's militant theme appears to have been derived at least in part from the *Psychomachia,* his images and their compositions should not be seen as simple illustration. Indeed, few works of art rely on any single text in order to relate meaning. *Virtues* and *Vices* utilizes but modifies a language of visual codes common to sixteenth-century classical allegorical depictions of Virtue and Vice, as well as visual codes rooted in the traditions of heraldry, thus creating additional layers of interpretation and intervisual dialogue beyond the textual sources.[36] Aldegrever paid tribute to the established tradition of aristocratic heraldry, whose emblems and syntax would have been recognizable to sixteenth-century viewers of the prints, in order to better incorporate his complex symbolic elements. In this chapter I shall further explore Aldegrever's artistic innovations in *Virtues* and *Vices* by breaking down the individual images into their component elements and examine Aldegrever's innovations with mixing established iconographies. His integration of heraldic codes and emblems both embraced and, in some cases rejected, contemporary allegorical conventions for his figures.

The use of personalized insignias on the battlefield is a practice thought to predate language, when simple emblems served the dual purpose of identifying one's own troops during the heat of battle while working to intimidate the opposition.[37] However, the complex system of heraldry as it exists today arose during the First Crusade in the

---

[36] Rudolf Wittkower, "Interpretation of Visual Symbols" in *Allegory and the Migration of Symbols* (London: Thames and Hudson Ltd, 1977), 178.

[37] Hubert -Allcock, *Heraldic Design: Its Origins, Ancient Forms and Modern Usage* (New York: Tudor Publishing Company, 1962), 7.

eleventh century when men from across Europe found themselves forced to join in the common cause of their neighbors while at the same time needing to remain close to their own countrymen.[38]

In later centuries, the prevalence of *impresa* as heraldic devices began to extend beyond the theatre of war and into the world of courtly society, serving as visual and cultural symbols representative of the noble ancestry and status of their possessor. As Hubert Allcock has discussed, the adoption of such embellishments was not limited to members of the noble class or even to individuals:

> At the same time, the shield was being adopted as a background for the emblems of many who had never borne arms in battle—clergymen and scholars, artists and craftsmen, merchants and notaries, burghers and even peasants. It became the custom for churches, universities, guilds, and cities, as well as for families, to display armorial bearings. Thus, although the ancient battle shield had disappeared, its images lived on, deeply ingrained in the imagination, tradition and culture of European society.[39]

Allcock observes that, as the purpose behind heraldic devices evolved beyond the battle field, the granting of arms became a highly sought after status symbol for both a growing class of merchants and affluent artists looking to emulate the nobility, as well as for organizations looking to engender a sense of legitimacy and a connection to the ruling elite.[40] Humanists, too, found not only cultural capital in the display of their own devices,

---

[38] Neubecker, *A Guide to Heraldry* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1979), 8. For additional reading on the origin and evolution of heraldic devices see Alfred Rubens, "Heraldry" in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2nd ed., ed. Michael Berenbaum and Fred Skolnik, Vol. 9 (Detroit: Macmillan Reference, 2007), 6; and Jesús D. Rodríguez-Velasco and Eunice Rodríguez Ferguson, "Poetics of the Chivalric Emblem," in *Order and Chivalry: Knighthood and Citizenship in Late Medieval Castile* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 199-227.

[39] Allcock, 7.

[40] Both Sebald Beham and Hans Burgkmair were awarded coats of arms by Emperor Maximilian as a sign of their esteemed status. See Karl Emich Leiningen-Westerburg, and George Ravenscroft Denis *German Book-Plates: An Illustrated Handbook of German & Austrian Exlibris* (London: George Bell & Sons 1901), 117. And Jennifer Spinks, *Monstrous Births and Visual Culture in Sixteenth-Century Germany*, Vol. 5 (London: Pickering & Chatto 2009), 53.

but also saw in them possibilities for exercising their visual wit and erudition in the development of new *impresa* that invoked not genealogical ties, but rather clever *emblemata*, other noble virtues, and visual jokes.[41]

Aldegrever, as many other artists of the sixteenth century, was well-versed in the production of coats-of-arms and other heraldic imagery.[42] He is credited as the designer for a heraldic medal bearing the name and title of John II of Cleve[43] (Fig. 2.1) and for the engraved portrait of William Duke of Julich in 1540 (Fig. 2.2), which included in its background the Duke's coat of arms, as was conventional for such portraits. Aldegrever's familiarity with members of the nobility, as well as their taste for certain visual codes may have acted as the inspiration behind his adaptation of heraldic themes within his series of *Virtues* and *Vices*. Further, as Allcock reminds us, the use of such arms were not necessarily limited to the aristocracy, so these visual codes structuring Aldegrever's engravings would have been legible and appreciated, too, by merchants, scholars, and others equally well-versed in principles of nobility based on the display of virtues and erudition, rather than purely in bloodline. Heraldic devices, in other words, were prevalent aspects of visual culture quite broadly during Aldegrever's career.

In *Virtues* and *Vices* each of Aldegrever's figures is accompanied by both a banner and coat of arms relating to her nature as the personification of a Virtue or a Vice. Sixteenth-century viewers of these prints would have understood that each of these two

[41] The device adopted by Albrecht Dürer famously shows a pair of open doors upon the crest and is considered by scholars to be a play on the name Dürer which is similar to the German 'Tür' or door.

[42] Designing and producing heraldic devices for homes, bookplates, portraits, banners, and other such works was a regular part of almost any painter's workshop practice. Among other artists whose work entailed such production are Albrecht Dürer, Lucas Cranach, and Hans Burgkmair.

[43] Georg Habich, "Heinrich Aldegrever Als Siegelstecher" *Jahrbuch Der Preuszischen Kunstsammlungen* 52 (1931): 83. Note that the date of 1449 on this medal is not the date of production but instead marks the year of the merger of Cleve with the county of Mark.

elements was created to serve a specific purpose, namely to identify the specific name, in the case of the device, and spiritual nature, shown by the banner emblem, of each allegorical figure. Commenting on the complex visual mechanisms of *impresa* and heraldic signs and symbols, the sixteenth-century author Julius Capaccio (1552-1631) wrote that:

> The emblem has only to feed the eyes, the device the mind. The former aims only at a moral; the latter has for its purpose the concept of things. The one is the more delightful the more it is adorned with objects, and, although such things do not pertain to the essence of the emblem, it needs other images, great or small, or grotesques and arabesques, to adorn it. The other sometimes has more loveliness to the eye when it is simple and bare, with no other ornament but a scroll.[44]

As Capaccio suggests, the elaborate coats-of-arms in Aldegrever's images were meant primarily as an identifying element "to feed the eyes" and as a result, while more heavily adorned, the symbols contained on either shield or crest tend towards the more straightforward interpretations inherent in images of Virtue and Vice. Conversely, the device found upon the banner of each figure, though far simpler in design, served a much more intellectual purpose, as a way to elevate and educate the mind. In the case of *Virtues* and *Vices,* the iconography upon each of the banners describes the hidden nature of each Virtue or Vice and would theoretically inspire deeper scholarly discussion, while the more complex arrangement of symbols within and surrounding the arms act to identify the central figure. Each coat of arms in Aldegrever's images consists of three essential elements: the crest, the helm and the shield. In heraldic terms, the crest is a symbol (often an animal), which rests on top of the helmet and is typically derived from the arms. The helm must be an authentic military helmet, scaled to the size of the shield, typically

[44] *Delle Imprese,* pp. 2vo-3, as cited in Mario Praz, *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery,* 2nd edition (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1964), 80.

accompanied with a ceremonial cloth mantle or feather embellishment. Finally, the shield bears the attribute or emblem of each allegorical figure (Fig. 2.3).[45] Aldegrever's choice to create heraldic arms *and* banner emblems for his figures would have solved the problem of visual overcrowding by compartmentalizing information within his images, while at the same time allowing the artist to integrate both classical and contemporary elements into each scene in a format that collectors of his era would have been poised to recognize, read, and interpret.

The appropriation of animals for allegorical purposes in Christian art can be traced to medieval bestiaries. These texts served as a storehouse of information for a variety of functions and people, at once acting as artist pattern books, treatises of natural history and philosophy, and as spiritual microcosms.[46] Bestiaries existed as an extended collection of images accompanying parables, in which Christian moralizing lessons were often applied to, or indeed derived from, the observed or behavior of animals. For example, an entry found in one of the earliest such works, the *Physiologus* from the second century A.D., describes the complex familial relationship of a particular bird called the hoopoe.[47] The entry in question suggests that this animal had been observed in the act of grooming and providing food for its elderly relatives, thus raising the question "if these irrational birds behave to each other like this, why do men, who are rational, fail

[45] For a more in-depth description of the proper arrangement and purpose of these and other common elements of armorial devices, see Allcock, 13-29, and Gerald W. Wollaston, "Heraldry," *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 81 (1933): 574-586.

[46] Ron Baxter "Learning from Nature: Lessons in Virtue and Vice in the *Physiologus* and Bestiaries," in *Virtue & Vice: The Personifications in the Index of Christian Art*, Vol. 1, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 2000), 29-41.

[47] Baxter, 29.

to repay their parents for bringing them up?"[48] Conversely, the ibis, declared unclean due to its diet of carrion (Leviticus 11:17), serves as an example of un-acceptable behavior. This creature's behavior was considered representative of a man choosing to "ignore the teachings of Christ, to stay on the shores of the waters of understanding and eat the fetid corpses washed up on the shore."[49] The point here, of course, is not that these birds, or indeed any animal, is any more or less virtuous than humankind. Rather, in the eyes of the readers of bestiaries, a close study of the behavior of various creatures could provide lessons by which an attentive Christian may be guided in their religious and social duties.[50] In short, animals served in similar fashion as historical *exempla* and counter-*exempla* to shape and demonstrate proper human behavior for contemporary contexts. Alongside his skill as an engraver, Aldegrever's particular artistic genius lies in his ability to harness these moralizing stories surrounding each of his symbolic creatures within the tradition of heraldry in order to better relate to his viewer the complex nature of each Virtue and Vice in a way both memorable and thought provoking.

For the sake of brevity, I shall contain my arguments to the prints in both *Virtues* and *Vices* in which Aldegrever most clearly diverges from the established allegorical conventions, beginning with Chastity and Lust (Fig. 1.1-2). This is perhaps the most controversial pair of the traditional Capital Vices and their corrective Virtues. If, after all, God commanded Adam to "go forth and multiply" would it not stand to reason that

---

[48] As quoted in Baxter, 29. For the full entry, see *Physiologus Latinus: Éditions preliminaries, versio B,* ed. F. J. Carmody (Paris: Librairie E. Droz, 1939).

[49] Baxter, 31.

[50] See also Simona Cohen, *Animals as Disguised Symbols in Renaissance Art*, 1st ed. (Boston: Brill, 2008), for a more detailed look at the ways in which medieval bestiaries dictated the use of animals as symbolic elements in Renaissance art. The publication of numerous editions of the ancient text of Aesop's Fables served a similar function in early modern Christian society.

chastity should be considered a greater disobedience than lust? Colleen McCluskey has explained that this classification of chastity as virtuous and lust as sinful originated with the tradition of the desert fathers. These early Christian hermits considered sexual desire to be a temptation that "distracts one from the ultimate goal of the desert life, which is contemplation, whose purpose is closeness to God."[51] By this definition, someone guilty of the Capital Sin of Lust is not simply anyone who indulges in carnal activities, but rather one who is ruled by these desires and is consequently blinded from proper contemplation of spiritual matters. Prudentius manifests this quality in the *Psychomachia* by arming his personification of Lust with a pine wood torch with which to blind her foes.[52]

While Aldegrever was not quite as literal in his depiction of Lust's tendency to blind man from his spiritual duties (Fig. 1.2), careful reading of the heraldic elements within his scene reveals a similar warning about the nature of this particular Vice. Aldegrever's figure of Lust carries the banner of the fox, an animal traditionally appearing in Christian art as a symbol of cunning, trickery, and in some cases even as the Devil himself.[53] The crest above the figure's coat of arms, a position usually reserved for falcons or other such birds of prey, is taken up by a common rooster. In Christian iconography, the rooster or cock is often used as a symbol of the denial of St. Peter and of the Passion.[54] However, this animal can also be found in more secular printed works as a

---

[51] Colleen McCluskey, "Lust and Chastity," in *Virtues and their Vices,* eds. Kevin Timpe and Craig A. Boyd (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 116.

[52] Prudentius, 282-3, v. 40-45.

[53] George Ferguson, *Signs & Symbols in Christian Art* (Oxford University Press, 1959), 18.

[54] E.S. Whittlesey, *Symbols and Legends in Western Art: A Museum Guide* (New York: Charles Scribner & Sons, 1972), 67.

jocular reference to male sexuality, as shown in Albrecht Dürer's *The Men's Bath,* c.1496 (Fig. 2.4). The inclusion of this barnyard fowl within Aldegrever's scene was most likely a nod to such popular visual humor. The toad, on the other hand, which appears on Lust's crest, is used to represent "repulsive sin, sometimes of worldly pleasures, sometimes of heretics,"[55] or to symbolize those who snatch at life's fleeting pleasures.[56] When read as a whole, these images suggest that the central figure represents one who is deceitful, licentious, and indulging in fleeting worldly pleasures.

The shield within the figure of Chastity's coat of arms (Fig. 1.1), conversely, features a robed angel kneeling with its hands crossed in front of its chest. Within the context of the *Psychomachia*, the angelic figure could be read as a symbol of Sophia, the figural representation of Holy Wisdom (traditionally depicted as a winged female figure), which would be enthroned in her temple following the triumph of the Virtues. Prudentius writes: "Here mighty Wisdom sits enthroned and from her high court sets in order all the government of her realm, meditating in her heart laws to safeguard mankind."[57] This figure is also reminiscent of depictions of the angel Gabriel in scenes of the Annunciation (Luke 1:28-38), and would act as a mimetic device calling to mind the figure of the Virgin Mary who stands herself as the ultimate *exempla* of chastity. Continuing this theme of spiritual and physical purity, the banner held in the Virtue's left hand features a tableau showing a seated young woman, dressed in the classical style, doting upon a unicorn. One well-known myth surrounding the unicorn is that the only way to capture

---

[55] Whittlesey, 119.

[56] Ferguson, 19.

[57] Prudentius, 340-1, v. 875-7. *"hoc residet solio pollens Sapientia et omne/ consilium regni celsa disponit ab aula,/ tutandique hominis leges sub corde retractat."*

this elusive equine was with a young virgin. Sensing her, the animal would approach and lay its head upon her lap before falling asleep.[58] Together, these symbols in Aldegrever's engraving would identify the central figure as one who is both chaste and full of heavenly virtue.

As with lust, the sin of wrath does not encompass every possible expression of anger, but rather the act of allowing an excess of rage to distract one's thoughts away from spiritual matters. Thus, figures representing Wrath are often dressed in armor or brandishing swords, as if about to partake in unnecessary violence (Fig.1.25). Here, Aldegrever rejects the traditional symbols associated with this Vice by depicting Wrath without either armor or sword (Fig. 1.3). Instead, Wrath wields a bow and arrow to represent the harsh words hurled towards Patience in the *Psychomachia*. "Irked by her [Patience] hanging back, she hurls a pike at her and assails her with abuse."[59] Aldegrever's figure of Wrath also exchanges the typical bird of prey, a common sign of nobility when used as the crest, for loathsome Cockatrice. This chimerical creature was thought to be "of that nature, that its look or breath is said to be deadly poison,"[60] reinforcing the danger of words hurled while in a fit of rage. Thought to be the result of placing the egg of an elderly hen or male chicken beneath a dunghill and allowing it to be hatched by a toad, this European form of the mythical basilisk is generally accepted to be a symbol of evil and the Devil and therefore rarely seen in heraldry by the sixteenth century, except as a fierce supporter, the way the Wild Man functioned with heraldic

---

[58] John Vinycomb, *Fictitious & Symbolic Creatures in Art with Special Reference to Their Use in British Heraldry* (London: Chapman and Hall Ltd., 1906), 130.

[59] Prudentius, 286-87, *v.* 115-6. "…ut belli exsortem teloque et voce lacessit,/ inpatiensque morae conto petit, increpate ore"

[60] Vinycomb, 104.

devices, as well (Fig. 2.5).[61] Below the cockatrice in Aldegrever's engraving, the heart of Wrath's coat of arms is a bristling wild boar. This creature features several times in Greek mythology, often as a symbol of uncontrolled fury. One popular story suggests that the goddess Artemis sent the Calydonian Boar to terrorize the land of Oeneus for failing to honor her and was eventually destroyed by Hercules in one of his labors, those symbolic acts of a civilizing force; in another myth, Ares, the god of war, murders Adonis while disguised as a boar.[62] In both cases, this creature was chosen for its tendency towards irrational ferocity, charging and reaping destruction when provoked. Combined with the cockatrice in this way, the resulting coat of arms acts as a fitting, albeit non-traditional, visual description of the nature of Wrath. The banner carried in the crook of this figure's arm displays the images of a woodpecker and continues Aldegrever's association between the Greek god of war and the Christian sin of Wrath, as this bird was considered sacred to Ares.[63]

Wrath's counterpoint figure of Patience carries the banner of a white dove, one of the most recognizable symbols of the Christian faith (Fig. 1.4). In the Old Testament, it was the dove who brought back an olive branch to Noah as proof that the flood waters had receded (Genesis 8), and under the law of Moses, the purity of this bird allowed it to be used as an offering of purification following the birth of a child.[64] In Christian art, the

---

[61] See Jan Bondeson, *The Feejee Mermaid and Other Essays in Natural and Unnatural History* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999), 167; and Laurence A. Breiner, "The Basilisk," in *Mythical and Fabulous Creatures: A Source Book and Research Guide* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987), 116-17; also Whittlesey, 41. In heraldic terms, a supporter refers to an element of decoration, often an animal, which appears beside the shield (literally supporting it) in ceremonial coats of arms.

[62] Whittlesey, 47.

[63] Whittlesey, 355.

[64] Ferguson, 17.

dove is traditionally used as the symbol for the Holy Ghost. The presence of a white dove upon the banner of Patience does more than simply announce the purity of this particular Virtue. Indeed, for knowing viewers it may also have been understood as a reference to her victory over Wrath in the *Psychomachia,* where Prudentius states that, "Job had clung close to the side of his invincible mistress throughout the hard battle."[65] Patience's coat of arms features a parrot, the bird commonly associated with both Eve, due to its presence in the Garden of Eden, and Mary as it was the only creature known to be able to recite the phrase 'Ave [Maria]'[66], and is dominated by the figure of a small dog. Lapdogs such as these were often featured in wedding portraits, as in Jan Van Eyck's *Arnolfini Portrait*, and were regarded in these contexts as symbols of fidelity and faithfulness.[67]

In the Christian tradition, the sin of pride is considered to be both chief and originator of all others.[68] The self-aggrandizing attitude inherent in this particular Vice was considered to be a direct challenge to God as well as to others, as the prideful individual seeks to achieve greatness even at the cost or neglect of all others, including the divine.[69] In Chapter One, I discussed the similarities between Aldegrever's depiction of the sin of pride and the character of Pride within the *Psychomachia* (Fig. 1.5). These similarities are not the only elements that set Aldegrever's image of Pride apart. The

---

[65] Prudentius, 290-91, v. 163-4. *"…nam proximus Iob/ haeserat invictae dura inter bella magistrate."*

[66]Farrin Chwalkowski, *Symbols in Arts, Religion and Culture: The Soul of Nature* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016), 483.

[67] Ferguson, 15.

[68] Timpe and Boyd, 17.

[69] Craig A. Boyd, "Pride and Humility: Tempering the Desire for Excellence," in Timpe and Boyd, 245. Blasphemy was understood, in fact, to be related directly to the sin of pride, as exemplified by the story of Lucifer and the fall of the rebel angels.

inclusion of a peacock, for instance, while common to nearly all allegorical figures as a primary symbol of the sin of pride,[70] is here displayed as the heraldic crest in Pride's coat of arms, thus taking on an assisting role, rather than acting as a primary symbol. Below this figure, the shield contains a rather unusual creature for this circumstance, a lion. This animal was prized as a positive personal emblem across Western Europe and stands as a symbol of strength, agility and nobility. Its inclusion on the device of a Capital Sin at first appears out of place. However, when examined alongside other heraldic elements within this image, a possible interpretation becomes clear.

Aldegrever utilizes the image of a lion in several different ways throughout these two print series, distinguishing types of lions by using different visual modes, heraldic and more naturalistic. In each print in *Virtues* and *Vices*, Aldegrever depicts the symbolic elements on both arms and banner in a relatively naturalistic way, as he does with the actual striding lion positioned behind Pride's rearing horse. In the case of Pride's coat-of-arms, however, Aldegrever depicts the heraldic symbols within this print in the traditional style. The lion featured in Pride's coat of arms is in the rampant position, one hind paw on the ground with other limbs raised and tail erect, which is the most common attitude for lions in heraldry.[71] When combined with the peacock crest, Pride's coat of arms could be interpreted as a veiled warning against the sin of pride, and to some viewers also as an outright admonition aimed at the noble classes as the most able practitioners of this sin. The lion is the most frequently used heraldic beast, as suggested in the French

---

[70] Whittlesey, 272.

[71] Charles C. Boutell, Wilfrid Scott-Giles, and J. P. Brooke-Little, *Boutell's Heraldry,* revised edition (London: F. Warne, 1966), 64.

saying: *Qui n'a pas d'armes porte un lion* (He who has no arms bears a lion).[72] By adapting this most common heraldic creature, Aldegrever was free to make this visual commentary on the sins of nobility without the risk of accusation that his images targeted any specific individual or family. This theme is reinforced by the addition of a soaring eagle on the figure's banner. This bird is another well-known heraldic animal most closely associated with the imperial eagle of the Holy Roman Empire and can be found in the arms and devices of princes and lesser nobility in Western Europe as far back as the Emperor Charlemagne.[73] Aldegrever's association of the upper classes with this particular Vice was not uncommon. Hans Burgkmair (Fig. 1.24) depicts the sin of pride as an upper-class woman admiring her own reflection in a hand mirror (also accompanied by a peacock). Combined with the attribute of the papal crown, the sign of the heraldic lion and imperial eagle in Aldegrever's engraving forcefully indicate that the sin of pride was most grievously committed in history by the rulers of the world and those bearing power.

The arms and insignia of Aldegrever's image of Modesty (Fig. 1.6) are as complex as those of her counterpart Pride, but still legible by the engraving's knowledgeable viewers. In her hand, Modesty carries a banner emblazoned with the Man of Sorrows, an iconic distillation of one of the most important narrative cycles in sixteenth-century religious art. [74] Here the figure of Christ is shown wearing the crown of thorns and holding the Instruments of the Passion. Images of Christ as the Man of Sorrows were used as objects of meditation, meant to remind the viewer of the events

[72] Neubecker, 90.

[73] Neubecker, 110.

[74] Hults, 25-26.

surrounding Christ's sacrifice and, as in the case here, the humility shown by Him by allowing this sacrifice to take place for the sake of humanity. Modesty's coat of arms depicts yet another vital event in the Christian tradition, the casting down of Satan by the Archangel Michael.[75] This rather violent scene depicts the angelic figure quite literally defeating pride, which was considered to be Lucifer's primary fault causing him to rebel against God. These two images, Archangel Michael and the Man of Sorrows, together can be read as a lesson on the nature of humility and of sacrifice. That is to say that while actions done for one's own sake or glory constitute the sin of pride—that is, Lucifer's grave sin for which he was cast out of heaven by St. Michael—sacrifice for the sake of God or of others is a holy Virtue.

In each of Aldegrever's images, the creatures adorning the heraldic items act as mnemonic devices. They aid the viewer in calling to mind representative virtues or counter-exemplary vices raised in popular mythology, as in the case of Chastity's unicorn banner or the cockatrice above the arms of Wrath, or specific passages or narratives of Scripture, such as in the case of Modesty.[76] The inclusion of such complex symbolic elements suggests that Aldegrever designed the *Virtues* and *Vices* for an anonymous but likely intellectual audience. However, the collection of serialized allegorical prints was not limited to the intelligentsia, nor was their use limited to objects of meditative study. Indeed, it is likely that Aldegrever's unique designs would have appealed to a variety of collectors. By studying the structure of Aldegrever's images as well as the visual modes

---

[75] Whittlesey, 239.

[76] See Yates, *The Art of Memory*; and Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*.

they invoke, we can begin to discern both the function of these prints and their presumed audiences.

CHAPTER 3

THE BUSINESS OF ART:
ALDEGREVER AND THE GERMAN PRINT MARKET

Aldegrever's contribution to the medium of prints relied heavily on his ability to market his images effectively to multiple audiences. *Virtues* and *Vices,* in particular, can be said to appeal to two particular kinds of print collectors, those who curated their collections based on subject matter in order to fulfill an intellectual purpose and those who sought out works by specific artists, such as Albrecht Dürer, whose style Aldegrever follows rather close in his images. The symbolically dense images of Aldegrever's *Virtues* and *Vices* served as savvy marketing strategy for the artist and publisher and bear clues to their likely function as a pedagogical tool for a presumed targeted audience of learned collectors with humanist interests in antique and modern texts, images, and systems of knowledge. [77] In addition, Aldegrever's imitative style of Dürer—much maligned by scholars of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as compensating for a lack of natural genius[78]--would hardly have been a disadvantage. Collectors during the mid-sixteenth century were beginning to organize their collections by artist name, not just subject, suggesting that Aldegrever's close imitation of Dürer's engraved line would have been a highly desirable selling point. Rather than casting Aldegrever in negative terms for his perceived unoriginality, his ability to assimilate and refresh Dürer's style for new subjects in serial format was a marketable asset. Within the context of sixteenth-century

---

[77] Ilja M. Veldman, "Seasons, Planets and Temperaments in the Work of Maarten van Heemskerck: Cosmo-Astrological Allegory in Sixteenth-Century Netherlandish Prints," in *Simiolus* 11/3-4 (1980): 149-176 esp. 174: "… descriptions of temperaments and children of the planets could have an educational and moralistic significance…" On the appeal of the miniature to collectors, see John Mack, *The Art of Small Things* (Cambridge, M.A.: Harvard University Press, 2007), 5.

[78] Adolf Rosenberg, "The German Little Masters of Dürer's School," in *The Early Teutonic, Italian and French Masters* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1880), 180.

print collecting, Aldegrever's ability to render small-scale images with a distinctly Dürer-like sense of monumentality was a testament to his skills as an engraver and a shrewd marketing ploy cultivating the prevailing aesthetic tastes of collectors, allowing his images to thrive within the competitive print market of sixteenth-century Germany.

For those collectors primarily interested in subject matter, the serial nature of the *Virtues* and *Vices* and their moralizing themes would have found an audience on either side of the religious divide. Humanist scholars, those with an interest in the study of classical Greek and Roman literature and the rhetorical arts and their relation to Early Christian literature, in particular would have appreciated Aldegrever's ability to wed classical elements, such as his Roman style allegorical figures, with contemporary elements in his prints, as well as their potential use as a tool for meditation on the nature of Virtue and Vice. In their compact density of meanings and visual codes, *Virtues* and *Vices* invoked exercises in the art of rhetoric and memory by providing a system of ancient and timeless knowledge in condensed forms.[79] Such images that helped to codify systems of knowledge while encouraging mental and physical interaction with them through handling, shuffling, and reordering them find precedent in Italian *tarocchi* from the late fifteenth century.

Unlike the modern tarot cards, popular with fortune-tellers and occultists, the Italian *tarocchi* of the early modern period were used in an elaborate card game, enjoyed by members of the ruling elite.[80] While the original nature of this game has been lost to

---

[79] See Yates, *The Art of Memory*; and Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*.

[80] On this popular misinterpretation of these playing cards see Michael Dummett, *The Visconti-Sforza Tarot Cards* (New York: G. Braziller, 1986). Michael Dummett explains: "The first esoteric interpretation of tarot cards recorded in print appears in the eighth volume of a vast unfinished work of misconceived scholarship, Antione Court de Gébelin's *Le Monde primitive* of 1781," 3. According to

history, the theme of each suit and the hierarchical arrangement of the cards would suggest that this pastime acted as an amusing method of learning and studying various subjects, including the states of man and the planets.[81] In considering *tarocchi* as a possible model for the manner of viewer engagement and function of Aldegrever's series of *Virtues* and *Vices,* it is noteworthy that what had originally been crafted as hand-painted and gilded luxury *tarocchi* for a courtly context would soon take the form of engraved images by the late fifteenth century—similar in size to Aldegrever's and overlapping in subject. It is clear from the existence and design of the Visconti-Sforza illuminated *tarocchi* (Fig. 3.1-2) and similar sets of engraved images in the manner of Andrea Mantegna that such a game was widely enjoyed, especially in northern Italy in the second half of the fifteenth century and early sixteenth century.[82]

Perhaps the best known example of engraved *tarocchi* was created by followers of Mantegna around the year 1465 (Fig. 3.3).[83] These so-called Mantegna *tarocchi* consist of fifty engravings identified by inscriptions at the bottom of each bearing the name of

---

Dummett, Gébelin claimed that the tarot was a product of ancient Egyptian priests; however this is entirely unsubstantiated.

[81] The Visconti-Sforza set of *tarocchi* contains fifty-six suit cards, which fall into one of four suits; swords, batons, cups and coins, and twenty-two separate picture cards. Each suit contains the familiar numerical range of ace to ten and four court cards: king, queen knight and jack. The remaining cards, which were generically referred to as *trionfi*, or trumps in Italian, form several hierarchical sequences which depict a series of standardized subjects including: the States of Man, the Celestial Spheres and the Platonic Virtues. Each of the Visconti-Sforza cards were hand painted and illuminated on heavy cardboard measuring 17.5 x 8.7 centimeters, only slightly larger than Aldegrever's prints. See Dummett, 1.

[82] On the Visconti-Sforza *tarocchi,* see Gertrude Moakley and Vonifacio Bembo, *The Tarot Cards Painted by Bonifacio Bembo for the Visconti-Sforza Family: An Iconographic and Historical Study* (New York: New York Public Library, 1966).

[83] This date refers to the E-series of these *tarocchi* rather than its reproduction, often called the S-series which was printed around 1475 and is a reversed copy of the original. See Kristen Lippincott, "Mantegna's Tarocchi," *Print Quarterly*. 3. (1986): 357-60. Although there is wide consensus that Mantegna did not create these *tarocchi* cycles, scholars continue to use the misnomer 'Mantegna *tarocchi*' to refer to what is now presumed to be by an unknown artist or artists from the area of Ferrara.

the card, as well as a letter and a numerical value identifying each figure's suit and hierarchical position within the deck. The Mantegna *tarocchi* can be separated into five distinct suits that ultimately relate to systems of knowledge: the States of Man, Apollo and the Muses, the Liberal Arts, the Virtues—the subject taken up by Aldegrever—and the Celestial Spheres. Each suit, in turn, is arranged hierarchically by number. These markings suggest that the set would be of little use as typical playing cards and instead hint at a different type of game based on an implied knowledge of complicated cosmological subjects. Kristen Lippincott writes: "There is also the game described by the Franciscan friar, Thomas Murner, in which the fifty- two cards of the pack are arranged in sixteen suits according to the steps of logic."[84] The act of physically arranging the cards would not only allow a player to better learn and remember these steps but would also aid in the visualization of interrelated spheres of knowledge. Considering the subject matter and design of these cards, scholars now think it likely that the so-called Mantegna *tarocchi* were utilized in this fashion as an educational game or rhetorical exercise. Jean Seznec also suggests a possible educational purpose behind these cards based on the theological order of the Universe:

> Their proper order, indicated by the letters A, B, C, D, E for the groups, and the numbers 1 to 50 for the separate figures, reproduces the order assigned by theology to the Universe. Placed edge to edge, they form, as it were, a symbolic ladder leading from Heaven to earth. From the summit of this ladder God, the *Prima Causa,* governs the world—not directly but stepwise, *ex gradibus,* by means of a succession of intermediaries. The divine power is thus transmitted down to the lowest level of humanity, to the humble beggar.[85]

---

[84] Lippincott, 358.

[85] Jean Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods: The Mythological Tradition and its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), 139.

Seznec notes that this ladder could be read in the opposite direction, teaching man that he may gradually raise himself within the spiritual order. The hierarchical structure of the Mantegna *tarocchi* is consistent with the model of the universe devised by St. Thomas Aquinas, and it may be assumed that the original collectors of these prints, as educated and literate individuals, would have recognized this.[86] Therefore, there is little doubt that this was a game to be played seriously, as though each piece were "from the divine chessboard."[87]

Aldegrever's *Virtues* and *Vices* share certain similarities with the Italian *tarocchi,* which may help us better understand their possible function and desirability as flexible images for contemporary collectors. Firstly, working in a similar scale to *tarocchi* decks, Aldegrever's series could easily be held in the collector's hand or pasted side by side within an album for private examination. Secondly, while not arranged hierarchically, the two series by Aldegrever encourage viewer contemplation and interactive engagement with higher ideas pertaining to the spheres of moralizing knowledge inherent in Virtues and Vices, reflecting subjects in the Visconti-Sforza *trionfi* cards and those featured in the engraved Mantegna *tarocchi.* Aldegrever's images also promote reading across series in both a directed and open way for the viewer to consider the nature and relationship of Virtue with Vice, and the modern applications of them. Thus, as with the *tarocchi*, Aldegrever's images were able to act as tools for private study and memory. Indeed, judging by his use of complex allegorical themes and references to classical literature, it is likely that Aldegrever's presumed audience for *Virtues* and *Vices* would have been

---

[86] Eva Skopalová, "The Mantegna Tarocchi and the View of the World in Northern Italy in the 15th Century," *Umeni Art* 62, no. 6 (2014): 506.

[87] Seznec, 140.

similar to the printed *tarocchi* in targeting humanists, theologians, and learned collectors interested in the relationship between Early Christian texts and contemporary theological debates.

It is clear from the overall design of *Virtues* and *Vices* that Aldegrever was interested in cultivating a sophisticated clientele for his images. He was not alone in this endeavor, as Stephen H. Goddard writes: "the Little Masters' engravings were intended for an educated and literate audience upon whom complex allegories and recondite references to Roman history and mythology, and Latin quotations would not be lost."[88] Indeed, it is likely that Aldegrever designed his series to serve as a useful visual aid for humanist study, rhetorical exercises, and meditation on these larger truths and orders of knowledge that included the Virtues and Vices. This nature of Aldegrever's images follows a particular trend in humanist print collection in Northern Europe, which was systematically cultivated among the book-orientated intelligentsia by increasingly larger publishing houses beginning around the 1530s and accelerating in the mid-sixteenth century. According to the preeminent print scholar, Peter Parshall, "A major innovation of these houses was the conversion of the print into an important arena for humanist literary invention, such that putting together a print collection could be a useful exercise in moral rhetoric."[89] In this way, artists and publishers were able to nurture an environment in which buyers would desire purchasing sophisticated print series, such as the fourteen image *Virtues* and *Vices* at least as eagerly as individual images, for their receptivity to being open-ended and pliable in their uses.

[88] Goddard, 17.

[89] Peter Parshall, "Art and the Theater of Knowledge: The Origins of Print Collecting in Northern Europe," *Harvard University Art Museums Bulletin* 2, no. 3 (1994): 13.

The desire among collectors for a series of printed images relating to a single subject like the Virtues and Vices may have grown out of this practice of humanist study. However, as Parshall suggests, the emergence of large scale print collecting also reflects the relationship between early print collectors and the development of private libraries during the same period.[90] The growth of private libraries in Northern Europe appears to coincide with the rise of Protestantism during the Reformation. Parshall explains that, "religious reformers encouraged the increase of private libraries, the very locations where print collections would eventually be housed and quietly consulted."[91] These private compilations often contained personally curated selections of printed images complete with inscriptions, and it is thought that the tradition of collecting prints in the form of an album was related to this specific practice. One frequently practiced method of print collection in Northern Europe evolved alongside the development of printed books and the desire for abundant, inexpensive, and flexible illustrations for them. The early habit of gluing small prints into books, both devotional and secular, seems to have led to the practice of collecting prints in separate albums or folders, which collectors often stored in private libraries as parts of larger *Kunstkammern* (collectors cabinets).

This particular practice has in turn become a great boon to art historians, as the surviving albums and collection inventories show us not only which prints were considered worthy of collecting, but also the possible illustrative, meditative, or

---

[90] Peter Parshall, "Prints as Objects of Consumption in Early Modern Europe." *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 28, no 1 (1998), 19-36, esp. 24.

[91] Landau and Parshall, 365. According to Landau and Parshall, it was around this time in the universities of Germany began to encourage the creation of *alba amicorum*, or albums of friendship. These albums contained collections of signatures, commemorative emblems and coats of arms of a person's friends and encountered acquaintances, tracking a kind of network of social relationships, and perhaps sharing a similar fondness for notions of compiling, cutting, and pasting seen in early print collections.

contemplative purposes behind each collector's desire for them. One of the prime examples of prints being used in this way during the artist's lifetime can be found in a copy of Luther's 1541 edition of the Bible belonging to the embroiderer, Hans Plock, in which Plock pasted numerous prints throughout the book, sometimes relating to the text, other times not at all.[92] For the title page of this personalized book, Plock cut out and composed engraved portraits of leaders of the Protestant Reformation, including images of Martin Luther and Philip Melanchthon by Aldegrever, situated below Albrecht Dürer's own printed image of Luther's protector, Elector Frederick the Wise (Fig. 3.4). It is notable that while these images were clearly selected based on their subject matter—to introduce the main Protestant Reformers— Plock chose to include an engraving by Aldegrever, rather than one of Lucas Cranach's numerous printed portraits of Luther. This suggests not only that Aldegrever was considered an important artist in his own time, but also that his skills and style were seen, at least by Plock, to be of a similar caliber to Dürer's. Indeed, Aldegrever's portrait style and compositions featuring each figure's bust in three-quarter view above a simulated inscribed stone tablet mimic Dürer's so closely that, upon initial inspection, these three portraits appear to have been created by the same hand.

Plock filled his two-volume edition of Luther's translation with a variety of prints, including some by Aldegrever and others that had little or nothing to do with the corresponding scripture. This peculiarity suggests that Plock chose his prints and the locations in which to paste them in the book out of a range of motivations, not simply out of a clear devotional or illustrative function arranged by subject matter. Indeed, Plock said as much when he added the following inscription beneath an impression of Martin

[92] Goddard, 18-19.

Schongauer's engraving of the *Death of the Virgin,* c.1450-1491 (Fig. 3.5), a subject that had nothing to do with the text of the adjacent pages:

> This image [by Schongauer] was judged in my youth to be the finest work of art ('*das beste Kunststuck'*) to have come out of Germany, therefore I pasted it into my Bible, not because of the story, which may or may not be true [properly portrayed]. However, since the unsurpassed engraver Dürer of Nuremberg began to make his art, this [estimation of quality] no longer holds. The engraver was called "Handsome Martin" on account of his skill ('*Kunst*').[93]

Plock makes it clear that the image was collected and valued not for its subject matter or as an illustration of the text, but rather for its artistic merits as a work of art by Martin Schongauer. Plock also singles out Dürer as the preeminent engraver who was considered to have surpassed all others in this developing canon of artists. In this respect, then, once again, it is notable that Aldegrever's engraved portraits imitate those of Dürer so closely. While modern scholars may not consider Aldegrever's work to be on a similar level to Schongauer's, his prints were valued and put to good use by collectors in his own lifetime, both for their subject matter and at times also for their ability to mimic Dürer's linear style. A little later, this shift from collecting and organizing by subject matter to artist is further developed. Indeed, the great biographer of northern artists, Karel van Mander (1548-1606) once stated outright that the prints of Aldegrever were excellent and worthy of collecting.[94] Additionally, an inventory of the Nuremburg collector Paul von

[93] As quoted and translated by Parshall in "Art and the Theater of Knowledge," 8. Original text is as follows: "Dise figur ist meiner jugent vor das beste kunststuck geacht worden das im theutschen land is aus gangen, deshalben ich es auch in meine bibel han geleimt nit von wegen der hystorien, sie kan war vnd auch nit sein. Aber do der Durer von nurnburck seine kunst liess auss geen, do galt dise nit mer welche auch alle kunststhdecker vberthrift. Diser Kunststhdecher hat der Hubsch martin geheissen von wegen seiner kunst."

[94] Goddard, 18.

Praun (1548-1627) contained several portfolios of printed images, one of which featured engravings by Aldegrever.[95]

Aldegrever's style may have been purposefully similar to Dürer's, however it is unlikely that Aldegrever saw himself solely as another nameless copyist of the Master. In 1530, at the age of twenty-eight, Aldegrever created and distributed an engraved self-portrait (Fig. 3.6). In this image, the artist presents himself in three-quarter view, wearing traditional dress including a rather large brimmed hat. Above his left shoulder, Aldegrever displays a rather prominent example of his AG monogram, derived from Dürer's iconic AD, placed on a decorative element, which appears to be halfway between a scroll and a heraldic device. The design of Aldegrever's self-portrait appears very similar to the convention for printed portraits of members of the nobility, as well as for the financial and intellectual elite. In doing so, Aldegrever was making a statement in regards to his own artistic nobility. To create a self-portrait at all, let alone one with such strong visual connotations, was an unusually bold move, especially for a sixteenth-century printmaker. Such a statement was attempted by very few of this profession prior to Rembrandt (1606-1669), whose printed self-portraits are well-known and still considered novel in the following century. Indeed, prior to 1530, only Israhel van Meckenem (1445-1503), famously appearing ca. 1490 in an engraving with his wife Ida, attempted to make such a statement in printed multiples (Fig. 3.7); even Dürer, ambitious as he was and also known for his self-portraits, preferred to depict himself only in paint

[95] Goddard, 21. These images can be found in "Portfolio F" of the Praun Collection which contained 276 engravings, among which the prints of Aldegrever figured prominently.

(Fig. 3.8). In this way, Aldegrever was not only elevating the value of his own artistry, but also that of the craft of printmaking, in general.[96]

In order to find success in the increasingly flooded print market of mid-sixteenth century Germany, Aldegrever cultivated the needs and expectations of a variety of collectors without sacrificing his own distinctiveness. This fine balance was achieved in several different ways. Like the *tarocchi,* Aldegrever's complex allegorical themes would have enticed humanist collectors, looking to utilize these images for their subject matter as tools for study and contemplation of categories of moral and cosmological knowledge. The themes of Virtue and Vice also could find favor among both sides of the religious divide and avoided promoting any particular theological ideology, promoting open-ended discussion instead of hardened doctrine. Additionally, Aldegrever's use of Dürer's signature stylistic elements would have appealed to collectors such Plock and later collectors like Praun, when collections mid-century were increasingly built around specific artists rather than subject matter. In this way, Aldegrever was able to capitalize on Dürer's popularity in order to market his images in suitable serial format to the widest possible learned audience.

[96] Seven years after the publication of this self-portrait, Aldegrever would publish a second printed portrait in which he depicts himself as a grown man with a beard.

CONCLUSION

Heinrich Aldegrever was an artist who possessed a great technical and intellectual talent. However, despite working in a center other than Nuremburg and with questionable anecdotal evidence to suggest any personal contact with Dürer or his circle, Aldegrever has been unfairly dismissed by modern historians as an unimaginative copyist, or at best just another member of the *Kleinmeister* whose work is least deserving of academic attention. Aldegrever's images may contain a similar linear style to that of Dürer and a similar miniature scale to members of the *Kleinmeister,* yet it is here that these similarities end. Aldegrever's complex symbols and unusual treatment of allegorical figures was not something stolen from the images of more popular masters, but was instead derived from a kind of genius all his own, one based on knowing how to create desirable, marketable, flexible, and effective images to sustain viewing attention. In this context, attempts to bury Aldegrever within the scholarship surrounding the Nuremburg *Kleinmeister* appear wholly misguided. Rather, it is far more likely that Aldegrever adapted these elements into his own work in an attempt to market his prints to a similar audience as his Little Master contemporaries, taking positive advantage of reinterpreting and renewing the legacy of Dürer among that next generation of printmakers.

Aldegrever, like the creators of the Italian *tarocchi* before him, sought to tailor his images to the interests of the intellectual classes who would have collected them for reasons other than mere aesthetic appreciation. Aldegrever's primary audience, made up of scholars and others sharing humanist interests, would have had a particular desire for collecting series such as *Virtues* and *Vices,* which, with their small scale, serial nature, and moralistic subject matter, could act as tools to aid in the study and contemplation of

spiritual and cosmological subjects. Aldegrever's adaptation of recognizable elements and emblems from aristocratic heraldry and familiar iconographic traditions allowed him to effectively incorporate his complex symbolic elements into each tableau in a way that was visually engaging for the viewer. Such as system of dense attributes and signs would also act as a set of codes that could be deciphered to reveal the intrinsic nature of each Virtue or Vice by invoking a related web of ancient philosophical, mythological, or scriptural textual sources.

Additionally, the discerning collector would have noted Aldegrever's break with the traditional method of statuesque and solitary depictions of the Virtues and Vices and would perhaps have appreciated the visual link between Aldegrever's figures and the characters of the *Psychomachia*. Without revealing his personal theological or political beliefs, Aldegrever was able to harness the theme of spiritual struggle found in the *Psychomachia,* particularly in the description of Pride, as a metaphor for the open religious conflicts between Catholics and Protestants. Such moralizing subjects would appear both ancient and timely, and appeal to audiences on both sides of the divide, while at the same time promoting an open-ended discussion of shared humanity over divisive doctrine.

Aldegrever may not be as famous or as widely celebrated by modern scholars as Albrecht Dürer, few printmakers are; however that does not mean that his images were not appreciated and used during his own lifetime. Both Karel van Mander and Paul von Praun notably considered Aldegrever's images to be skillfully rendered and worthy of collection. Indeed, the fact that an artist—collector such as Hans Plock would display Aldegrever's work alongside that of Dürer suggests that his skills and style were seen, at

least by the discriminating eyes of Plock, to be nearly equal to, or at least consistent with, the great Master's.

As art historians, we cannot continue to ignore such fascinating and indeed successful artists as Heinrich Aldegrever, simply because they do not fit the constructed narrative of the wholly original artist, or the modern canon of the first generation of German Old Masters who lived during the first decades of the 1500s. Rather, by taking the time to study and understand Aldegrever's contributions to mid-sixteenth-century print production, we are able to perceive a richer and more complex view of printed art and its role within sixteenth-century society as a medium that could initiate contemplation and discussion—about humanist education, warfare and conflict, religion, and moral virtues—in an open and flexible, even irresolvable manner. By taking Aldegrever and his ambitions seriously—seen clearly by his early imitation of Dürer, his application of a monogram, and his printed self-portrait—we gain a more full view of early modern success rooted in values other than 'pure originality,' such as in an astute ability to market oneself and imitate a range of visual and textual sources that are both familiar and new at once.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Allcock, Hubert. *Heraldic Design: Its Origins, Ancient Forms and Modern Usage*. New York: Tudor Publishing Company, 1962.

Aquinas, Thomas, Saint, Magnus Albertus, Saint, and Philip the Chancellor. *The Cardinal Virtues: Aquinas, Albert and Philip the Chancellor*. Edited and translated by R. E. Houser. Vol. 4. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2004.

Battistini, Matilde. *Symbols and Allegories in Art*. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2005.

Benton, Janetta Rebold. *The Medieval Menagerie: Animals in the Art of the Middle Ages*. New York: Abbeville Press. 1992.

Bondeson, Jan. *The Feejee Mermaid and Other Essays in Natural and Unnatural History.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999.

Breiner, Laurence A. "The Basilisk." In *Mythical and Fabulous Creatures: A Source Book and Research Guide,* edited by Malcolm South. New York: Greenwood Press, 1987.

Boutell, Charles C., Wilfrid Scott-Giles, and J. P. Brooke-Little. *Boutell's Heraldry.* Rev. ed. London: Frederick Warne and Company, 1966.

Cohen, Simona. *Animals as Disguised Symbols in Renaissance Art*. Boston; Leiden: Brill. 2008.

Carruthers, Mary. *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

---. *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400-1200.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Castelnuovo, Enrico, and Carlo Ginzburg. "Centre and Periphery." In *History of Italian Art*, edited by Ellen Bianchini and Claire Dorey, 29-113. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1994.

Chwalkowski, Farrin. *Symbols in Arts, Religion and Culture: The Soul of Nature.* Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016.

Dummett, Michael. *The Visconti-Sforza Tarot Cards*. New York: G. Braziller, 1986.

Ferguson, George. *Signs & Symbols in Christian Art.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1959.

Fögen, Thorsten. “Animal Communication.” *The Oxford Handbook of Animals in Classical Thought and Life,* Oxford University Press, 2014.

Griffiths, Anthony. *Prints and Printmaking: An Introduction to the History and Techniques.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996.

Goddard, Stephen H. *The World in Miniature: Engravings by the German Little Masters, 1500-1550*. Lawrence, KS: Spencer Museum of Art, 1988.

Habich, Georg. "Heinrich Aldegrever Als Siegelstecher." *Jahrbuch Der Preuszischen Kunstsammlungen* 52 (1931): 81-90.

H. R. S. "The "Little Masters" in the *Exhibition of Early German Prints*. *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin* 11, no. 64 (1913): 41-43.

Hourihane, Colum. *Virtue & Vice: The Personifications in the Index of Christian Art*. Vol. 1. Princeton: Index of Christian Art, in association with Princeton University Press, 2000.

Hults, Linda C. *The Print in the Western World: An Introductory History*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996.

Isolde, Hausberger, Rolf Biedermann, et al. *Hans Burgkmair, 1475-1973: das Graphische Werk,* Stuttgart: Staatsgalerie, 1973.

Kaulbach, Hans-Martin, and Reinhart Schleier. *"Der Welt Lauf": Allegorische Graphikserien des Manierismus*. Ostfildern Ruit: Hatje, 1997.

Koerner, Joseph Leo. “Albrecht Dürer: A Sixteenth-Century *Influenza.*” In *Albrecht Dürer and His Legacy*, edited by Giulia Bartrum, 18-38. London: British Museum Press, 2002.

Landau, David, and Peter Parshall. *The Renaissance Print, 1470-1550*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994.

Leiningen-Westerburg, Karl Emich, and George Ravenscroft Denis. *German Book-Plates: An Illustrated Handbook of German & Austrian Exlibris*. London: George Bell & Sons, 1901.

Lippincott, Kristen. “Mantegna’s Tarocchi.” *Print Quarterly* (1986) 357-60.

Mack, John. *The Art of Small Things*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007.

Moakley, Gertrude, and Vonifacio Bembo. *The Tarot Cards Painted by Bonifacio Bembo for the Visconti-Sforza Family: An Iconographic and Historical Study*. New York: New York Public Library, 1966.

Neubecker, Ottfried. *A Guide to Heraldry*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1979.

Newhauser, Richard. *In the Garden of Evil: the Vices and Culture in the Middle Ages.* Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2005.

O'Reilly, Jennifer. *Studies in the Iconography of the Virtues and Vices in the Middle Ages.* New York: Garland Publishing, 1988.

Parshall, Peter. "Art and the Theater of Knowledge: The Origins of Print Collecting in Northern Europe." *Harvard University Art Museums Bulletin* 2, no. 3 (1994): 7-36.

---. "Hans Holbein's Pictures of Death." in *Hans Holbein: Paintings, Prints and Reception,* edited by Mark Roskill and John Oliver Hand, 83-95. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001.

---. "Lucas van Leyden's Narrative Style." *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 29 (1978) 185-237.

---. "Prints as Objects of Consumption in Early Modern Europe." *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 28, no. 1 (1998) 19-36.

Plato. *The Republic of Plato*. Translated by Allan Bloom. New York: Basic Books, 1991.

Pon, Lisa. *Raphael, Dürer and Marcantonio Raimondi: Copying and the Italian Renaissance Print.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004.

Praz, Mario. *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery,* 2nd Edition. Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1964.

Prudentius. *Prudentius Volume 1.* Edited and Translated by H.J. Thomson. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 1979.

Rodríguez-Velasco, Jesús D. "Poetics of the Chivalric Emblem" In *Order and Chivalry: Knighthood and Citizenship in Late Medieval Castile*, edited and translated by Eunice Rodríguez Ferguson. 199-227. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010.

Rosenberg, Adolf. "The German Little Masters of Dürer's School." In *The Early Teutonic, Italian and French Masters.* Edited by Augustus Henry Keane, 132-185. London: Chatto and Windus, 1880.

Rubens, Alfred. "Heraldry" In *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2nd ed., edited by Michael Berenbaum and Fred Skolnik, Vol. 9. Detroit: Macmillan Reference, 2007.

Seznec, Jean. *The Survival of the Pagan Gods: The Mythological Tradition and its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972.

Schnoor, Franziska. *Early Modern Zoology: The Construction of Animals in Science, Literature and the Visual Arts,* Vol. 7. Edited by Karel A. E. Enenkel and Paulus Johannes Smith, 529-543. Boston: Brill, 2007.

Shestack, Alan. "Some Preliminary Drawings for Engravings by Heinrich Aldegrever." *Master Drawings* 8, no. 2. (1970): 141-209.

Skopalová, Eva. "The Mantegna Tarocchi and the View of the World in Northern Italy in the 15th Century." *Umeni Art* 62, no. 6 (2014): 502-515.

Smith, Macklin. *Prudentius' Psychomachia: A Reexamination.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015.

Spinks, Jennifer. *Monstrous Births and Visual Culture in Sixteenth-Century Germany*. Vol. 5. London: Pickering & Chatto, 2009.

Stewart, Columba. "Evagrius Ponticus and the 'Eight Generic *Logismoi.*'" In *In the Garden of Evil: The Vices and Culture in the Middle Ages,* edited by Richard Newhauser, 3-34. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2005.

Timpe, Kevin, and Craig A. Boyd. *Virtues and their Vices*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Veldman, Ilja M. "Seasons, Planets and Temperaments in the Work of Maarten van Heemskerck: Cosmo-Astrological Allegory in Sixteenth-Century Netherlandish Prints." *Simiolus* 11, nos. 3-4 (1980): 149-76.

Vinycomb, John. *Fictitious & Symbolic Creatures in Art with Special Reference to Their Use in British Heraldry.* London: Chapman and Hall Ltd., 1906.

Whitman, Jon. *Interpretation and Allegory: Antiquity to the Modern Period*. Boston; Leiden: Brill, 2000.

Whittlesey, E.S. *Symbols and Legends in Western Art: A Museum Guide.* New York: Charles Scribner & Sons, 1972.

Wittkower, Rudolf. *Allegory and the Migration of Symbols*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1977.

Wollaston, Gerald W. "Heraldry." *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 81 (1933): 574-586.

Yates, Frances A. *The Art of Memory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 1.1 *Heinrich Aldegrever,* Chastity *from* Virtues*, 1552, Engraving, 10.2 x 6.1 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art*

Fig. 1.2 *Heinrich Aldegrever,* Lust *from* Vices*, 1552, Engraving, 10.2 x 6.2 cm. Philadelphia Museum of Art*

***Fig. 1.3** Heinrich Aldegrever,* Wrath *from* Vices*, 1552, Engraving, 10.3 x 6.3 cm. Philadelphia Museum of Art*

***Fig. 1.4** Heinrich Aldegrever,* Patience *from* Virtues*, 1552, Engraving, 10.2 x 6.1 cm. de Young, San Francisco*

Fig. 1.5 *Heinrich Aldegrever,* Pride *from* Vices*, 1552, Engraving, 10.2 x 6.1 cm. Philadelphia Museum of Art*

Fig. 1.6 *Heinrich Aldegrever,* Modesty *from* Virtues*, 1552,*
Engraving, 10.1 x 6.1 cm.
Philadelphia Museum of Art

Fig. 1.7 *Heinrich Aldegrever,* Temperance *from* Virtues*, 1552, Engraving, 10.4 x 6.2 cm. Art Institute of Chicago*

Fig. 1.8 *Heinrich Aldegrever,* Gluttony *from* Vices*, 1552, Engraving, 10.2 x 6.2 cm. Philadelphia Museum of Art*

Fig. 1.9 *Heinrich Aldegrever,* Charity *from* Virtues, *1552, Engraving, 10.4 x 6.2 cm. Art Institute of Chicago*

Fig. 1.10 *Heinrich Aldegrever,* Avarice *from* Vices, *1552, Engraving, 10.2 x 6.2 cm. Philadelphia Museum of Art*

Fig. 1.11 *Heinrich Aldegrever,* Compassion *from* Virtues, *1552, Engraving, 10.5 x 6.5 cm. Philadelphia Museum of Art*

Fig. 1.12 *Heinrich Aldegrever,* Envy *from* Vices, *1552, Engraving, 10.4 x 6.2 cm. Philadelphia Museum of Art*

Fig. 1.13 *Heinrich Aldegrever,* Diligence *from* Virtues*, 1552, Engraving, 10.5 x 6.4 cm. Philadelphia Museum of Art*

Fig. 1.14 *Heinrich Aldegrever,* Idleness *from* Virtues*, 1552, Engraving, 10.2 x 6.3 cm. Philadelphia Museum of Art*

Fig. 1.15 *Anger Commits Suicide, Choir of Notre-Dame-du-Port, Clermont-Ferrand, early 12th Century (Inscription reads: Ira se occidit [Anger kills herself])*

Fig. 1.16-22 *Hans Burgkmair,* Seven Virtues*, ca. 1510, Woodcuts, British Museum*

From Top Left: Justice, Hope, Temperance, Love (Charity), Faith, Fortitude, and Prudence.

Fig. 1.23-28*Hans Burgkmair,* Vices*, ca. 1510, Woodcuts, British Museum (23-27) and Metropolitan Museum of Art (28)*

From Left: Lust, Pride, Wrath, Gluttony, Avarice and Sloth

Fig. 1.29-33*Hans Sebald Beham,* The Knowledge of God and the Seven Cardinal Virtues*, 1539, Engraving, Cleveland Museum of Art*

From Top Left: Knowledge of God, Prudence, Charity, Justice, and Faith

Fig. 1.34-36 *Hans Sebald Beham,* The Knowledge of God and the Seven Cardinal Virtues*, 1539, Engraving, Cleveland Museum of Art*

From Left: Hope, Fortitude and Temperance

Fig. 2.1 Silver Medallion with Name and Title of Johanns II of Cleve, *after design by Heinrich Aldegrever*

Fig. 2.2 *Heinrich Aldegrever,* William, Duke of Julich, Cleve and Berg*, 1540, Engraving, 31.3 x 23.7 cm. Harvard Art Museums*

Fig. 2.3 *Heinrich Aldegrever,* Lust *from* Vices, *1552, Detail*

Fig. 2.4 *Albrecht Dürer,* The Men's Bath, *1496, Detail, Woodcut, 39.3 x 28.5 cm. Royal Collection Trust*

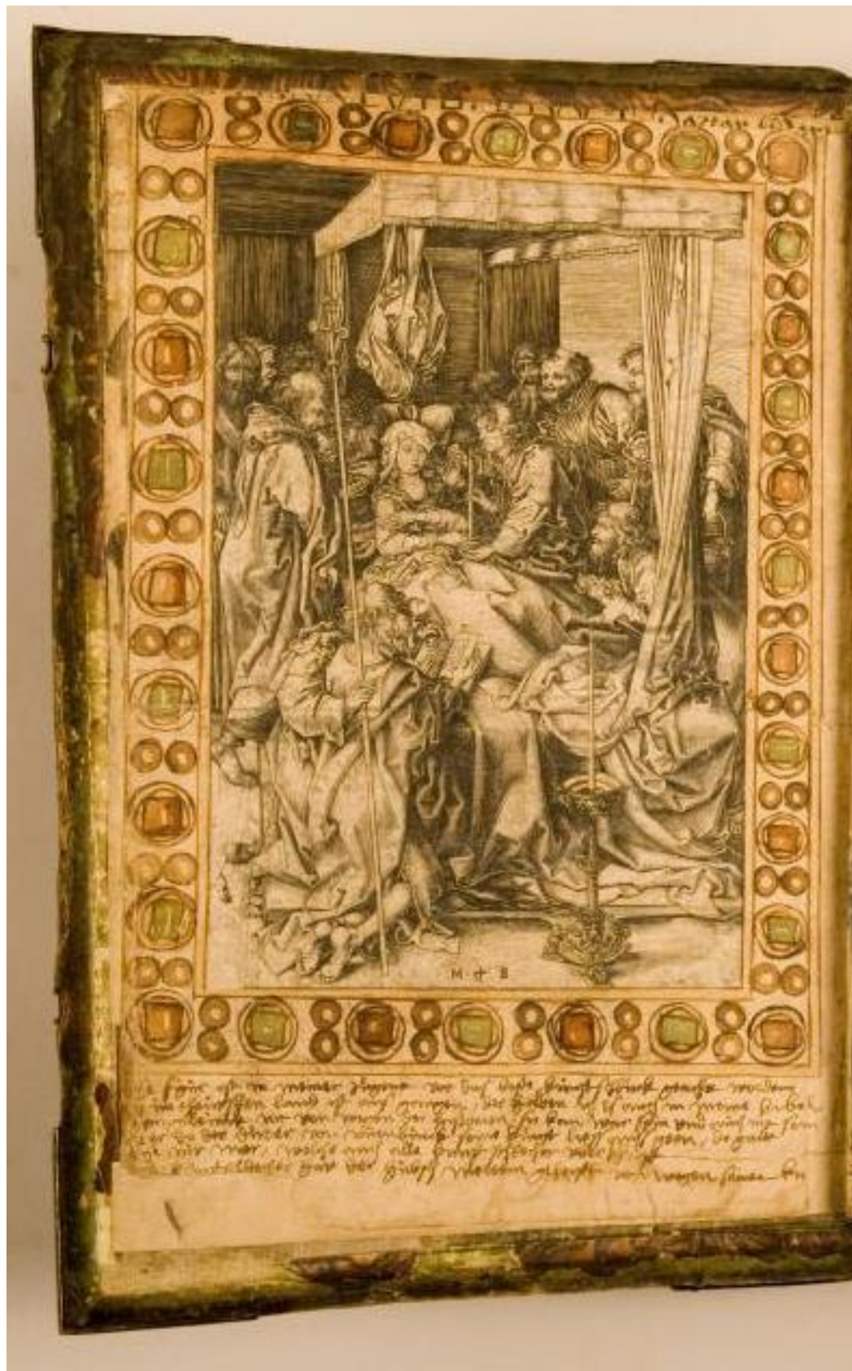
Fig. 2.5 *Master DS,* Basilisk Supporting the Arms of the City of Basel, *1511, Woodcut, 23.7 x 16.7 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art*

***3. 1** Bonifacio Bembo,* The Queen of Swords, *Visconti-Sforza* Tarocchi, *ca. 1450-80*, *17.3 x 8.7 cm, Morgan Library & Museum*

***3.2** Bonifacio Bembo,* Temperance, *Visconti-Sforza* Tarocchi, *ca. 1450-80*, *17.3 x 8.7 cm, Morgan Library & Museum*

3.3 *Master of the E-Series,* Prudentia (Prudence), *The Mantegna* Tarocchi, ca. 1530-1561, *Engraving,17.5 x 9.9 cm, British Museum*

3.4 1541 Luther Bible *owned by Hans Plock, volume 1, featuring a portrait of Martin Luther by Heinrich Aldegrever (bottom right), Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett*



3.5*Martin Schongauer,* Death of the Virgin, *c. 1450-1491, Engraving, 25.6 x 16.8 cm, From the Plock Bible, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett*

3.6 *Heinrich Aldegrever,* Self-Portrait at Age Twenty-Eight, *1530, Engraving, 14.4 x 10.3 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art*

3.7 *Israhel van Meckenem,* Self-Portrait of the Artist with his Wife, Ida, *c. 1490, Engraving, 13.3 x 17.9 cm, Philadelphia Museum of Art*

3.8 *Albrecht Dürer,* Self-Portrait, *1500, Oil on wood panel, 66.3 x 49 cm, Alte Pinakothek, Munich*