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The Importance of Frankfurt Printing before 1550. Sebald Beham Moves from Nuremberg to Frankfurt*

Alison G. Stewart

My father always said a person needs a reason to leave and a reason to go. But I think sometimes the reason to go is so big, it fills you so much, that you don't even think of why you are leaving, you just do.¹

Five hundred years ago, Sebald Beham had reasons enough to leave Nuremberg and more than enough reasons to move to Frankfurt.² That town's attraction as a printing center became one of the factors that resulted in Beham's settling permanently in the city on the Main in 1531, leaving behind his home town of Nuremberg, best known as the artistic center of the Renaissance master Albrecht Dürer. Despite the high regard the Franconian town and Dürer received, the authorities there did not treat other painters in Dürer's circle particularly well. The dubbing of Beham as 'godless painter' in 1525 constituted one of several encounters with the Nuremberg town council that resulted in his expulsion and later exile, after which he sought a new home.

Beham's early life in Nuremberg and the reasons he may have had for moving away, including his encounters with Nuremberg's council, form the first part of this essay. I will then address what drew Beham to Frankfurt in 1531, including new opportunities in painting and book publishing and the production of prints. Using Beham's move to Frankfurt as a case study, this paper claims a greater importance for Frankfurt and its fair for both the history of printing and art history during the first half of the sixteenth century before Frankfurt rose to what Hans-Jörg Künast has called its "prominence as a centre of printing during the second half of the sixteenth century, when important publishers such as Sigmund Feyerabend established their workshop[s] in the city".³

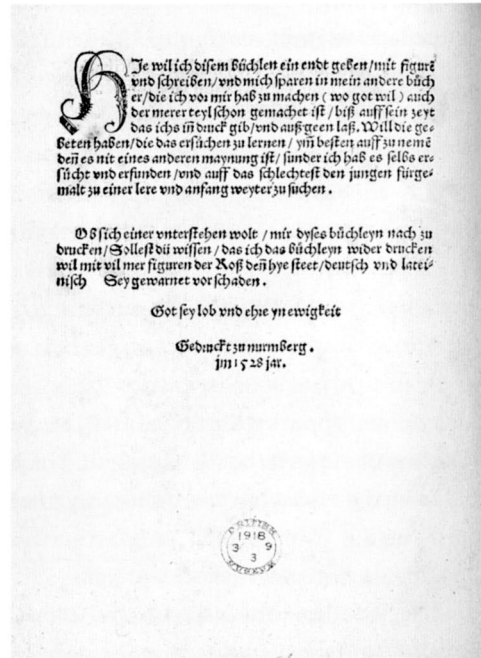
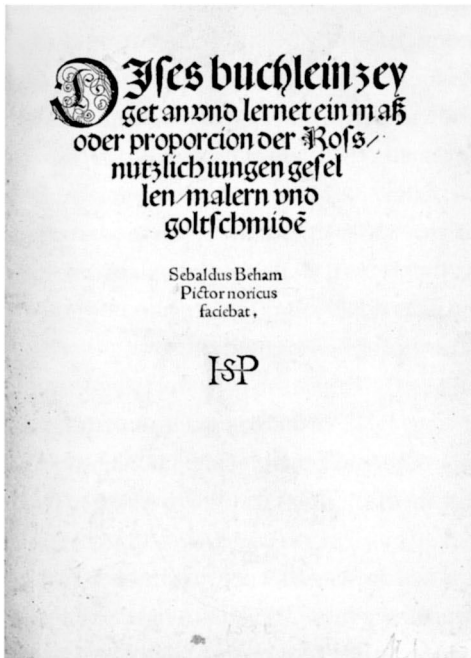
I argue that what drew Beham to Frankfurt was the town's relative lack of importance for printing, in particular its absence of book publishing and resulting openness to it, and its important fair. My work supports the speculation of Peter Parshall and David Landau on the importance of what they call "the great trade fairs" for the exchange of prints by those engaged in dealing and publishing prints and of book publishers for distributing prints before the middle of the sixteenth century.⁴ It is just this link between book publishing and prints that must have clinched Beham's decision to move to Frankfurt and not somewhere else.

Nuremberg: why Beham moved away

Sebald Beham (1500-1550) was born at Nuremberg where he was trained either directly by Albrecht Dürer or under his influence in 1515 or the years soon thereafter. By 1518 Beham signed his first works and in the next few years he produced a steady stream of engravings, woodcuts, and designs for stained glass. He was a master by 1525, the year Nuremberg officially became Lutheran and its town council interrogated him for his unorthodox religious and social attitudes, earning him—along with his brother Barthel and Jörg Pencz—the *gottlosen Maler* or ‘godless painter’ epithet he never entirely shed. Banished from Nuremberg for the better part of 1525, Beham appears to have returned to Nuremberg, at least in part, over the next few years where he wrote and illustrated his booklet on the proportions of the horse in 1528.⁵ Once again Beham’s timing was unfortunate. Dürer died earlier that year and his widow, Agnes Frey, saw to the enforcement of the imperial privilege against the copying of her husband’s yet-to-be published book on human proportions, before and after it was printed. She worked with the town council to ensure that Dürer’s book was the first one published in the German-speaking lands on the proportions of humans and proportions of any kind.⁶

1 left | Sebald Beham, title page, 118 x 128 mm (woodcuts, average), 1528, *Dises buchlein zeyget an und lernet ein maß oder proporcion der Ross* (*Treatise on the Proportions of the Horse*), London, © Trustees of the British Museum, 1918.0309.3

1 right | Sebald Beham, Last page, *Dises buchlein zeyget an und lernet ein maß oder proporcion der Ross* (same as fig. 1 left), London, © Trustees of the British Museum, 1918.0309.3



Beham prominently named himself on the title page of his booklet on the proportions of the horse (fig. 1, left) as painter from Nuremberg, “Sebaldus Beham Pictor noricus”, over his monogram HSP.⁷ The booklet was printed at Nuremberg in 1528 as stated in the very last lines (“Gedruckt zu nurmberg./im 1528 jar”) (fig. 1, right). Although no printer’s name is given in the text, two Nuremberg names have been offered—Hieronymus Andreae (ca. 1485-1556), the highly talented woodcutter Dürer preferred, and Friedrich Peypus (1512-1535), a printer and bookstore owner.⁸ Beham’s booklet, which he wrote and designed himself, included some twenty double-paged openings with text and illustrations showing horses and grids for drawing them. He included both folio numbers and pagination, the latter relatively new for the time (fig. 2).

At the end of the introduction Beham wrote that he had wanted to include three topics in his booklet but to be obedient, meaning to the town council, he published only the part addressing horses in linear proportion, thereby leaving to the future his work on heads for apprentices (*gesellen*) and proportions of heads of a man and woman.

Solches ist von mir vermeint gewest/alles in ein Buchlein zu bringen ist vnterkommen/das ich es nun taylen musz ausz gehorsam etc. Doch wens Got haben will/mit der zeyt wil ich ymmer eins nach dem andern in druck gehn lasse. Dar mit wil ich meyner vorred ein end geben.⁹

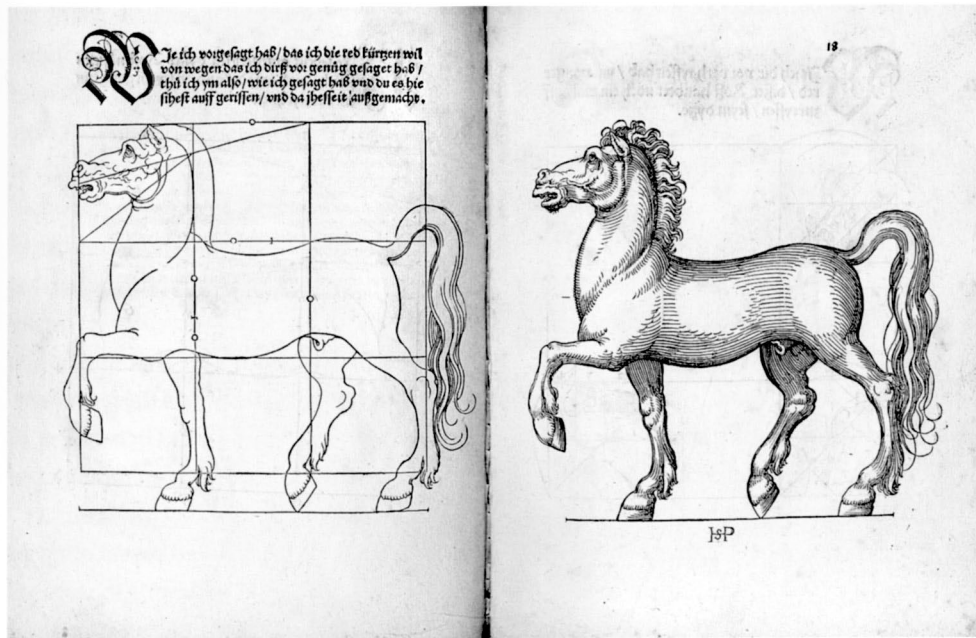
Beham appears to have selected for inclusion the section least like Dürer’s book on human proportions as a compromise to the council.

But concerning his publication and the council’s response to it, Beham was very wrong. Town council records indicate that on 22 July 1528 the council forbade Beham and Andreae against punishment to body and property from publishing the pamphlet on horses until Dürer’s book on human proportions was issued. The record indicates the council wished to ensure that Dürer’s book would be the first publication in German on the topic of human proportions.

Iheronimus, formschneidern, und Sebald Behem, malern, soll man verpieten, nichts der proporcionen halben ausgeen zu lassen, pis das exemplar, vom Dürer gemacht, ausganngen unnd gefertigt ist, beystraff eins erbern rats, die man gegen iren leib und gütern furnemen würd.¹⁰

After Beham appealed the decision in late August to no avail, he fled town. On September 1st the council decreed that Beham should be placed in the tower prison. The booklet was forbidden to be sold again and previously printed copies of the book should be returned from Frankfurt¹¹.

Records also indicate that on September 2nd the council decreed that because he had escaped town Beham should be placed in the Hole or Loch prison, a more threatening place of incarceration, and the books and frames, presumably the printing blocks, should not be printed



2 | Sebald Beham, Horse and grid, from *Dises buchlein zeyget an und lernet ein maß oder proporcion der Ross* (same as fig. 1 left), London, © Trustees of the British Museum, 1918.0309.3

again (“Sebald Beheim, so er betretten, in das Loch legen, weil er gewichen, auch die bücher und form niderlegen”). On the same day the council stated that both Sebald, painter, and Peypus should receive a “streffliche rede”, apparently a reprimanding speech or verbal warning, because of the printed book (“Dem Peypus Sebald, maIers, gedruckten buchs halben ein streffliche rede sagen”).¹² Peypus, active ca. 1510-1535 in Nuremberg, may have been the printer and/or distributor of the booklet, the *buchfuerer*, and Andreae the block cutter.¹³ Less than five months later, on 6 February 1529, Beham was allowed to return to Nuremberg with what appears to be a reprimanding speech or verbal warning, of the kind just mentioned: “Sebolten Beheim, maIer, sein straff nachlassen mit einer strefflichen redt”.¹⁴

The importance at this time of Dürer and the emperor for the imperial city of Nuremberg, coupled with Dürer’s imperial privilege for his book on human proportions, resulted in a collision course for Beham with the council. The reason: his booklet on horses appeared in print before Dürer’s, not because Beham’s book plagiarized Dürer’s. Although privileges or copyrights were not new in 1528, their enforcement proved difficult at a time when copying remained common practice for artists.¹⁵ With the council backing the enforcement of the imperial privilege, as Dürer’s widow Agnes Frey insisted, Beham had one recourse, to leave town. Judging from the few existing copies, Beham’s booklet on the proportions of the horse remained in circulation in limited quantity. Only the illustrations of horses were re-printed, albeit outside the Holy Roman Empire and the purview of the imperial copyright.

When Beham returned to Nuremberg in February 1529, after living in self-exile for nearly six months, he seems to have been ready to leave town for good. That exile of 1528/29 constituted Beham's fourth recorded conflict with the Nuremberg authorities in the 1520s. In 1521 Beham was taken into custody and punished four days in a tower because he used unsuitable language when he scolded a Dominican preacher for preaching the "gospel like a villain or rogue". In 1525 Sebald's interrogation as 'gottlosen Maler' took place over several weeks with the possibility of torture hanging over the proceedings. Beham was banished from late January until late that year. The council stated that after their release Beham, along with his brother Barthel and Pencz, would receive special attention and observation, in other words, surveillance. Finally on August 15-16, less than a year after Sebald's return, council decrees indicate that the council summoned both Behams to appear before that body concerning their views on the sacrament. If the Beham brothers did not come before the council, they would be led to the Loch dungeon. Although documents do not reveal what happened that August, Barthel left Nuremberg a few months later, settling in Munich and working for Duke Wilhelm IV at the Bavarian court.¹⁶ From the perspective of Nuremberg's authorities, these incidents constituted repeat offenses that drew unwanted attention to the town and its new Lutheran religion despite its status as an imperial city under the Catholic emperor. From Beham's perspective, the accusations and hearings before the council created a hostile environment that threatened a peaceful home life and a continuous and prosperous business. As Gert Schwerhoff has suggested in his recent discussion of the 'godless painters', Barthel Beham's move to Munich in 1526 may have resulted from the certainty of living under constant watch by the Nuremberg authorities.¹⁷ For his brother Sebald, the same question could be asked in regard to his booklet on the horse. Did Sebald leave Nuremberg in September 1528 because he experienced both confrontations with the authorities and the possibility of future surveillance? With at least four recorded conflicts with the council during the 1520s, which involved interrogation, banishment, exile, and surveillance, and with sixteen months living away from Nuremberg between 1525 and 1529, is it any wonder that Beham chose to leave Nuremberg to ensure some semblance of a settled personal and professional life in another town?

Frankfurt: why Beham moved there

Why Beham chose Frankfurt and not Augsburg or Strassburg, the two most important centers for printing in the German-speaking lands aside from Nuremberg, can be answered in several ways. First, Augsburg and Strassburg had more than enough printers around 1530 while few printers were active in Frankfurt.¹⁸ In addition to Frankfurt's wide-open book printing industry, other factors appear to have attracted Beham: patronage from Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg; the printer Christian Egenolff; and the Frankfurt fair. Before discussing these attractions, I will address the specific individuals who connected Beham to Frankfurt.



31 Albrecht Dürer, *Portrait of Albrecht of Brandenburg in Profile*, 1523, engraving, 174 x 127 mm, London, © Trustees of the British Museum, 1895,0915.360

Professional contacts in Nuremberg brought Beham into contact with Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg (1490-1545) and related individuals. Albrecht's many professional accomplishments—cardinal, archbishop of Mainz and Magdeburg, imperial elector, margrave of Brandenburg, among others—Dürer recorded in two engraved portraits made at Nuremberg in 1519 and 1523 (fig. 3).¹⁹ Beham's association with Cardinal Albrecht appears to have been made through Melchior Pfinzing (1481 Nuremberg-1535 Mainz) who served as priest and provost of Nuremberg's church of St. Sebald from 1512 to 1521, and as provost of St. Alban's in Mainz beginning 1517. Shown in profile in a medal dating ca. 1519 (fig. 4), Pfinzing

successfully interceded in 1525 for Beham and the other ‘godless painters’ after the Count of Mansfeld and others had attempted, but failed, to do so on their behalf.²⁰ Pfinzing also served as canon of Mainz and as advisor and private secretary to Emperor Maximilian, and he represented Cardinal Albrecht at the Reichstag at Speyer in 1529.²¹ Pfinzing’s residences included Nuremberg and Mainz, southwest of Frankfurt by 40 km/25 miles. A ‘Coat of Arms of Melchior Pfinzing’, an engraving from ca. 1530 (fig. 5), earlier attributed to Beham, points to the relationship of Pfinzing and Beham. The small coat of arms, two inches in diameter, may have been made by Beham or an assistant judging from the style. The print gives Pfinzing’s title as “Brobst ZV S. Albani” and retains the Nuremberg dialect’s replacement of P with a B, suggesting a date before Beham settled in Frankfurt in 1531.²² Pfinzing’s advocacy for Beham and his position as canon of Mainz point to the likelihood that he recommended Beham to Cardinal Albrecht who, in turn, invited Beham to Mainz for at least two painting projects begun in 1531: a prayerbook completed 1531 today in Aschaffenburg (fig. 6) and a tabletop dated 1534 in the Louvre (fig. 7).²³ Beham’s tabletop constitutes his only surviving panel painting and shows scenes from the life of King David. Drawings for both painting projects date to 1531 and are signed with Beham’s Frankfurt monogram, HSB. The dates 1531 and 1534 point to the likelihood that Cardinal Albrecht assisted Beham’s move to Frankfurt by paying him for these projects or by otherwise supporting him in his change of residence.²⁴ The promise of two painting projects in the Frankfurt area undoubtedly increased the town’s appeal at a time when the demise of much church art, including Beham’s designs for stained glass, resulted from the Reformation.²⁵ And new possibilities for employment in printing and the Frankfurt fair must have clinched the deal for Frankfurt which, although not exactly close to Nuremberg, must have constituted an acceptable distance for a permanent move. Dürer had traveled the 250 km/155 miles from Nuremberg to Frankfurt over the course of nine days in 1520 en route to the Netherlands with his wife and maid.

4 | Melchior Pfinzing, bronze on lead medal, ca. 1519, photo: <https://www.sixbid.com/browse.html?auction=967&category=20004&lot=918288> (30. April 2016, 10:35)

5 | Attributed to Barthel Beham, *Coat of Arms of Melchior Pfinzing: roundel with an escutcheon with two donkeys*, ca. 1530, engraving, 52 mm diameter, London, © Trustees of the British Museum, 1895.0617.55

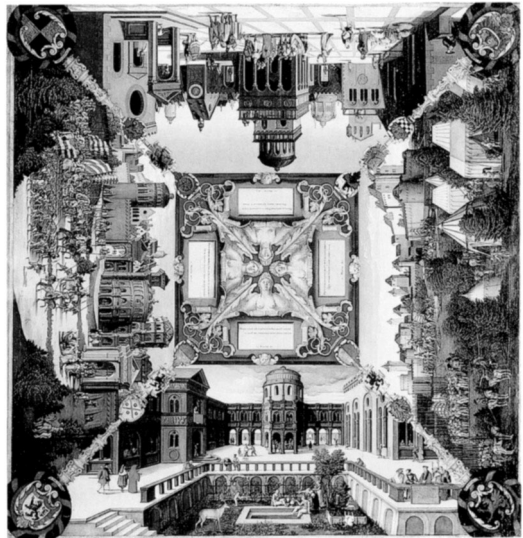




6 | Sebald Beham, *Confession*, from the *Prayerbook of Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg*, 1531, painting on vellum, 235 x 177 mm, Aschaffenburg, Hofbibliothek, Ms. 8, fol. 65v-66r

Beham's dated works from 1531 bear his Frankfurt monogram HSB, changed from his Nuremberg monogram HSP made with the Nuremberg pronunciation of B as a P.²⁶ That Beham signed his Frankfurt monogram and the date 1531 on both his drawings for the Louvre tabletop and on an engraved printed goblet, and with HSP on another engraved goblet dated 1530 (figs. 8 and 9), provides visual evidence of his being settled in Frankfurt during 1531.²⁷ Beham must have moved to Frankfurt in 1531 soon after the printer Christian Egenolff (1502-1555) relocated there from Strassburg during the last months of 1530.²⁸

After Egenolff relocated from Strassburg to Frankfurt, some 217 km/135 miles away or nearly as far as Beham would move, he became the first permanent



7 | Sebald Beham, *Tabletop with Scenes from the Life of David*, 1534, oil on panel, 1.28 x 1.31 m, Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. 1033



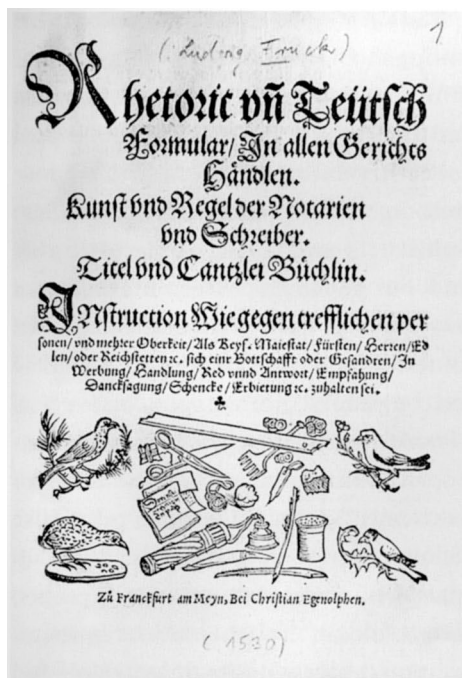
8 | Sebald Beham, *Double Goblet with Medallions of Knights*, 1530, engraving, 92 x 54 mm, London, © Trustees of the British Museum, 1882,0812.362

9 | Sebald Beham, *Double Goblet with Leaf Ornaments and Half-Length Figures*, 1531, engraving, 93 x 52 mm, London, © Trustees of the British Museum, 1845, 0809.1240

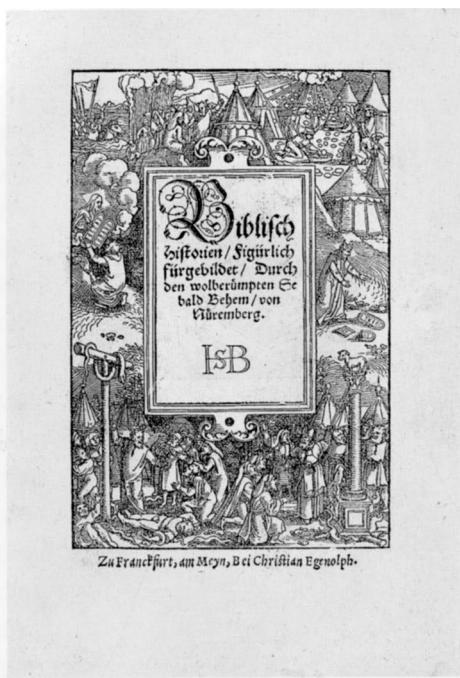


printer in Frankfurt. Before 1530, Frankfurt's only book printer was Beatus Murner, active there from 1511-12.²⁹ According to Hans-Jörg Künast, a comparison of the numbers of books printed in Strassburg and Frankfurt between 1524 and 1529 shows that little if any activity in book printing took place in Frankfurt during the years leading up to 1530 and Beham's move there, a fact indicating that the town would be a good place to set up a print shop and start a business, other conditions being favorable.³⁰ Künast states that Frankfurt published only one book in 1524 and none in 1529. By contrast, Nuremberg published 164 and 94 books in those years, Augsburg more with 277 and 72, and Strassburg 213 and 91.³¹ Despite the decreased numbers shown here as a result of the Reformation, these towns published a good number of books in 1529, with the sole exception of Frankfurt.

Egenolff arrived in Frankfurt late 1530 with his Strassburg type and printing materials. He appears to have printed his first book at Frankfurt in December 1530, Ludwig Fruck's *Rhetoric vnd Teütsch Formular*, yet the book may have actually been printed at Strassburg but with the inclusion of Egenolff's Frankfurt location where the books were brought and sold.³² The title page (fig. 10) shows Egenolff's Strassburg approach to book design and illustration—simple, cluttered, and two-dimensional. Beham's influence on the design of Egenolff's book illustrations published a few years later is obvious. They feature boldly illustrated, three-dimensional figures and spatially developed settings. In *Beham, Biblische Historien, Figürlich fürgebildet, Durch den wolberümpften Sebald Behem, von Nüremberg*, 1533, the title page (fig. 11) depicts episodes from Moses' life as prelude to the eighty Old Testament scenes included in the book. Egenolff prominently displayed Beham's Frankfurt monogram at center underscoring the title's emphasis on Beham as the "illustrious" or "celebrated Sebald Behem, from Nüremberg".³³ Whether promotion or fact, this statement suggests that Beham and his high quality illustrations may have constituted one reason why Egenolff's books became renowned over time.

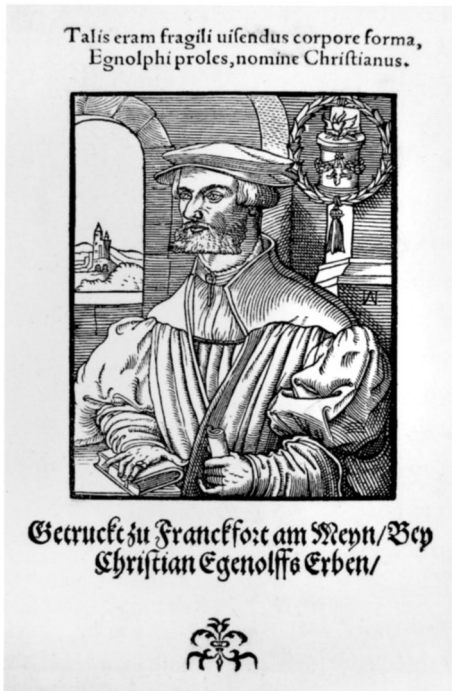


10 | Ludwig Fruck, *Rhetoric vñ Teütsch Formular*, woodcut, 1530, title page, Frankfurt am Main: Christian Egenolff, December 1530, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, VD16 F 3149



11 | Sebald Behem, title page, *Bibliche Historien, Figürlich fürgebildet, Durch den wolberümpften Sebald Behem, von Nüremberg*, Frankfurt: Egenolff, 1533, woodcut, 50 x 71 (woodcuts, average), London, © Trustees of the British Museum, 1899, 1018.1.1-41

His Frankfurt business appears to have thrived early on, although much else is uncertain about Egenolff's life. He may have been educated at the Latin school outside Frankfurt in Hadamar (northwest by 83 km/52 miles) until he was fourteen when he matriculated in 1516 at the University of Mainz, southeast of Frankfurt by 60 km/40 miles. In Mainz his studies probably centered on humanist subjects. Upon completion of his university work in 1520, he may have become acquainted with book printing at the Mainz offices of Johann and Peter Schöffer the Younger, whose father had worked with Johann Gutenberg.³⁴ Egenolff is shown in a posthumous print (fig. 12) as a well-educated man holding scroll and book and as solidly middle class through his unpretentious, well-made clothing. He is placed before a sturdy wall with arched opening, at left, and his printer's device of flaming heart, at right. Behem designed Egenolff's business device in 1535, a few years after the two began working together in book publishing (fig. 13). Egenolff's training as printer took place between 1520 and 1528; his first book was printed at Strassburg in the latter year. Typesetting he learned there from printer Wolfgang Köpfel whose Cöllnisch Current-Fraktur typeface Egenolff later used in Frankfurt. In Strassburg, he produced a wide variety of books written mostly in German for general readers. Egenolff married Mar-



12 | Posthumous portrait of Christian Egenolff, woodcut, Historisches Museum Frankfurt, Inv. No. K.271, C 4949, photo: author

In September 1530 Egenolff submitted to the Frankfurt town council an application to be considered as a citizen and printer of Frankfurt. Three months later, on 27 December, the council agreed that his application could go forward, but he would not be allowed to print. The nearly three dozen books he published at Frankfurt during the year 1531 indicate that the council's wishes were not enforceable.³⁷ Over a year later on 9 February 1532 Egenolff received citizenship. This protracted period between application and receipt of citizenship has led to the consideration whether the council viewed Egenolff as a Lutheran sympathizer which, if true, would have proved problematic for the imperial city of Frankfurt for several reasons. Some Frankfurt patricians were still devout Catholics and the town stood under the oversight of the archdiocese of Mainz and Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg. Perhaps equally important was the imperial town's allegiance to the Catholic emperor and the possible loss of both the imperial right to its fair or *Messe* and

garethhe Karpff who may have worked in his printing shop. Her leadership of the Egenolff publishing house after the death of her husband in 1555 indicates many years of experience in the printing field.³⁵

Strassburg's fifteen printers active around 1530 resulted in Egenolff being a little fish in a big pond, but he may have seen in Frankfurt a flowering book trade without an established business centered on book printing, as Gustav Mori conjectured. According to Carsten Jäcker, Frankfurt similarly appeared to have been an open book offering many possibilities for an extremely smart businessman-printer like Egenolff who recognized the city's many advantages: no permanent, settled book printer; a favorable location on the Main River, a transportation center where barrels of books and print material were shipped; a flourishing book market that numbered only five book dealers in 1530; the successful Frankfurt fairs; and the proximity to humanists in Frankfurt especially Hamann von Holzhausen.³⁶



13 | Sebald Beham, *Printer's Device of Christian Egenolff*, 1535 (first printed), woodcut, 35 x 25 mm (Pauli 1355), from Erasmus Sarcerius, *Loci communes theologici, methodico ordine tractati*, <http://www.pitts.emory.edu/dia/detail.cfm?ID=15194> (1 May 2016)

to its location as the election site for emperors. The location of Egenolff's first workshop is unknown although a letter dating from March 1533 to the Frankfurt council states he was evicted from his workshop-residence and sought assistance with seeking a new, more pleasing location. The reason for his eviction was the dirt or *Sudelei* from his business. With a loan guaranteed by the council, Egenolff purchased a house on Bleidengasse on 7 July 1533 at a price of 550 gulden for which the council guaranteed him a loan of 400 gulden to be repaid at each Frankfurt fair with 25 gulden.³⁸ Egenolff purchased another house in 1542, Zum Wiltperg, on the corner of Sandgasse and Grosser Kornmarkt along with the house behind it, Zur alten Münze, for 800 gulden. Egenolff had both buildings torn down and replaced by a large building for use as business and home, the latter including his wife Margarethe and their nearly one dozen children. A plaque on that building commemorated Egenolff's role as Frankfurt's first printer. Torn down in 1907, it was illustrated and described in the *Frankfurter Nachrichten* (fig. 14) as a large, two-story, half-timbered building in the style of a medieval burgher house, standing in the center of the area with book dealers. It included under its roof areas for printing, type foundry, publishing, and selling books.³⁹ In 1549 Egenolff once again purchased another house, the Starkenburg house behind his, for 800 gulden and another house on Fahrgasse, among others.⁴⁰ By the time Egenolff died in 1555 he left to his heirs property that included meadows (*Wiesen*), vineyards (*Weingärten*), a paper mill in Gengenbach in the Black Forest, along with woodcuts and 1,418 bales of paper, worth three gulden apiece. Each bale of paper was roughly equivalent to a case of today's printer paper with twelve reams. The enormous amount of paper in Egenolff's shop at the time of his death points to a very large-scale operation.⁴¹ After Egenolff's death, his widow Margarethe took over the shop, which by 1562 had three presses, six printers, and six typesetters.⁴² During his lifetime Egenolff printed over 400 publications with a wide range of subjects from illustrated books on medicine, anatomy, and geometry to theological, humanistic and legal writings and practical books on accounting, cooking, calendars, and language. Egenolff's books were carefully printed and well illustrated, artistically so, including title pages with rich borders and ornamentation and numerous woodcut illustrations throughout the text.⁴³ Egenolff's homes and property make clear that he was an extremely ambitious and successful businessman whose publishing house and large family, housed together in the same building, flourished and expanded and increasingly required more space.



14 | Workshop-home of Christian Egenolff, corner of Sandgasse-Grosser Kornmarkt, Frankfurt, 1907, from *Frankfurter Nachrichten*, 29 March 1907, Frankfurt, Institut für Stadtgeschichte, S3/R 27.973, photo: author

Surely his success was partly connected to Frankfurt's importance as a trading center, which arose from its central geography and long history as a trading town.⁴⁴ Since the fourteenth century its fair tied together the entire European system of long-distance trade, affording Frankfurt an importance second only to its location as the selection site of the Roman kings, a fact that increased the town's political and imperial significance. Frankfurt held the title of imperial city, as did Nuremberg, but the town on the Main was a mercantile center and a smaller one with a population of approximately 10,000 around the year 1500. By comparison, Nuremberg's and Cologne's populations of 40,000 each qualified them as cities, ones exporting their art, not importing it as did Frankfurt. Cologne's export trade extended to the Hanse cities of Lübeck, England, and Antwerp in the North that connected with the Frankfurt fairs. By contrast, Nuremberg's trade connections went south to Venice, Italy, Spain, and east European areas, and also to Frankfurt's fairs.⁴⁵

Frankfurt held its fair or *Messe* twice yearly in the fall and spring, a month beginning mid August and, shorter in length, during Lent. The fair has been described by Landau and Parshall as "The most likely place for print dealers and publishers to have exchanged prints in large numbers" and beginning in the early sixteenth century "as the major clearing house for new publications as well as a place to buy stocks of paper, maps, prints, and many other sorts of commodities".⁴⁶ By 1564 lists of books sold at the fair appeared in printed form, but these lists post-date by a decade the end of Egenolff's and Beham's lives.⁴⁷ The fair dates served as deadlines for the publication of books sold there.

The Frankfurt book fair of recent history represents just one part of the sixteenth-century fair's offerings. The Frankfurt fair was more than a place to buy and sell a very wide range of items from chairs and baskets to prints and printed books. It was the place where monetary transactions were made and currencies exchanged. At mid century the fair served as a place to pay debts and settle lawsuits.⁴⁸ By the last decades of the sixteenth century these practices were made official with the establishment of the exchange rate and rates for gold ('*Wechsel- und Geldkurse*').⁴⁹

Tina Terrahe's recent discussion of Frankfurt's rise in the sixteenth century as a print metropolis indicates that the fair in Frankfurt increased in importance within a few decades to make Frankfurt a European center of book printing and book trade and also a central element of the local cultural and literary environment. The fairs were centered at the Römerberg and spread increasingly to the Buchgasse and beyond (see fig. 18), with Frankfurt overtaking in importance the previous printing centers of Augsburg, Nuremberg, Basel, and Strassburg. Ever since the fair was placed under imperial protection in 1240, books had been sold at the fair in the form of manuscripts. Terrahe lists the following book-related items that could be purchased at Frankfurt's fairs: paper and parchment, leather and stamps for book binding, and gold leaf and colors for illustrating books.⁵⁰

A letter written at the time of the Frankfurt fair by Johann Cochlaeus (1479-1552 Breslau), who hailed from Wendelstein near Beham's hometown of Nuremberg, cemented the con-

nection between the sale of prints and the fair. Writing to his friend Willibald Pirckheimer, Nuremberg humanist (1470-1530), the Catholic theologian, humanist, and educator wrote on 5 April 1520, in Latin, that Dürer's prints were scarce at Frankfurt's fair, but prints by Lucas van Leyden (1494-1533) were available in good supply. Cochlaeus indicated that prints were nothing unusual at the fair and that he was surprised that the prints of Dürer, whose works he knew better and considered greater, were not as plentiful as the prints by Lucas, which were less familiar to him perhaps because Lucas came from the northern Netherlands. Cochlaeus's writing offers evidence that the fair regularly offered the opportunity to buy and sell prints and to see and look at new prints, an activity Andrew Pettegree has described more broadly for publishers as the "intercourse of the fair".⁵¹ Cochlaeus came from a village outside Nuremberg's town walls, held the rectorship of Nuremberg's Latin School of St. Lawrence from 1510 to 1515, and moved to the Frankfurt area after 1519 where he became dean of the Liebfrauenstift and later canon at Mainz.⁵² At the time of his writing he lived in Frankfurt where he hoped to become rector of the new Latin school.

Cochlaeus's example underscores one of the many connections between Nuremberg, Frankfurt, and its fair before Beham moved to Frankfurt. As Landau and Parshall have noted, the fair constituted "the main event" for European printers to purchase paper and sell their publications and for dealers to purchase and sell prints and books.⁵³ In those years the connection between Nuremberg and the Frankfurt fair can be seen from the small books and pamphlets the Nuremberg authorities wished to retrieve from the fair. In 1527 Hans Guldenmund (act. 1513-1560 Nuremberg), a colleague of Beham in Nuremberg who had worked with him on at least two woodcut series,⁵⁴ printed the blatantly anti-papal pamphlet *A Wondrous Prophecy of the Papacy* (*Eyn wunderliche Weyssagung von dem Babsttum*) at a time when Nuremberg, a free imperial city subordinate to the Catholic Emperor Charles V, had adopted Luther's religion two years earlier. On 27 March 1527 Nuremberg's council ordered the confiscation of all copies of the pamphlet and the wood blocks and attempted to retrieve 600 copies that had been sent to the Frankfurt fair for sale.⁵⁵ The fair clearly held a central role for prints, printed books, and pamphlets during the first decades of the sixteenth century in Nuremberg, Frankfurt, and beyond.

The importance of the Frankfurt fair for other printed booklets from Nuremberg continued.⁵⁶ In 1535 Guldenmund carried to the Frankfurt fair nine copies of what the Nuremberg council called "a most shameful and sinful little book, containing many obscene pictures of unconventional lovemaking", which he sold for the Augsburg woodcutter Hans Schwarzenberg.⁵⁷ The Guldenmund-Schwarzenberg booklet may have been a Northern European version of Marcantonio Raimondi's *I Modi* engravings made after drawings by Giulio Romano, which show various lovemaking positions. A decade earlier Willibald Pirckheimer authored a book on Ptolemy whose completion was set for the imminent deadline of the Frankfurt fair of 1525. The book was written in Nuremberg, produced at Strassburg by Johann Grüninger and, after much disagreement between author and printer, its deadline became the Frankfurt fair.⁵⁸

Connections between Beham's hometown of Nuremberg and Frankfurt also extended to the Nürnberger Hof owned by Jakob Heller, best known for Dürer's painted altarpiece and letters concerning the cost of the painting materials. Nurembergers stayed at the large Nürnberger Hof (figs. 15-17) when they traveled to Frankfurt and attended its fair, which was located closeby on the Römerberg.⁵⁹ The names of the individuals who traveled between Nuremberg and Frankfurt with imperial protection for a fee, listed in Nuremberg's *Freßgelderrechnungen*, include Guldenmund, who regularly visited the fairs between fall 1534 and spring 1546.⁶⁰ Much less information is known about Beham in Frankfurt. Non-citizens do not appear to have been recorded in Frankfurt's official records, thus documentation begins with Beham's becoming a citizen of Frankfurt with his wife Anna on 14 October 1540.⁶¹ Beham can be described as stateless for the five years after he relinquished his Nuremberg citizenship in 1535 and acquired Frankfurt's in 1540. Without protection from either town Beham may have been less mobile than at other times in his life. Whether this restriction had an impact on his artistic production remains to be explored.

The more plentiful information from the last years of his life includes his address. In 1547 Beham moved into the gatekeeper's apartment, or *Pförtnerwohnung*, at the Leonhard Gate, with a yearly rent of four gulden; he altered the dwelling with the support of the city. Beham first paid the yearly rent of four gulden in 1550.⁶²

In 1548 Beham wrote receipts for sizable payments from Niclas vom Sand, Augsburg printer, made through the Frankfurt Office of Accounting.⁶³ And on 16 October 1549 Beham, a widower, married Elizabeth, the daughter of shoemaker Mathes Wolf von Büdingen. In 1549 Beham received twelve taler honorarium from the town council for a painted panel with rhymed text that hangs in the old town hall.⁶⁴ In 1550 Beham painted the Holzhausen coat of arms for the patent of nobility that Justinian von Holzhausen, Frankfurt's most prominent



15 | Nürnberger Hof, 1904, Frankfurt, Institut für Stadtgeschichte, S7Vo/820, photo: author



16 | Entrance to the Nürnberger Hof, ca. 1930.
From Klötzer (same as fn 59), p. 44, photo: author

Egenolff offered on the title page of one of his books from 1533 (see fig.11). Beham's residence at the Leonhard Gate appears to have been sponsored by city authorities as a kind of *Dienstwohnung*, one of the perks given to favored artists as part of their employment benefits. Such excellent artists, described as working in city offices that required not much time, included Conrad Faber von Creuznach (ca. 1500-1553) and Martin Caldenbach called Hess (ca. 1470-1518).⁶⁸ Beham's name should probably also be added to that list. For a designer of woodcuts and woodcut book illustrations like Beham, the location of his dwelling at the town gate, outside the church of St. Leonhard, was advantageous. He lived directly across from the Main River and at the end of the Buchgasse, or Book Lane, a short walk to Egenolff's printing house and the nearby Römerberg where prints and printed books, including those by Beham, were offered for sale twice a year. Matthias Merian included these locations in his map of Frankfurt of 1628 (fig. 18).

patrician, received from the emperor. Beham had also painted a patent of nobility for Johann Fichard in 1541. Both coats of arms are painted on parchment and located today in Frankfurt's city archives.⁶⁵ In 1550 Beham presented a triumphal arch to the Frankfurt town council for New Year's for which he received twelve taler honorarium once again. Beham died late in the year 1550.⁶⁶

Although Frankfurt's town records do not indicate the date of his death, contemporary Johann Neudörffer (1497-1563) from Nuremberg gave the date as 22 November 1550.⁶⁷ Just a few months later, in January 1551, Beham's widow Elizabeth was allowed to continue living in their Leonhard Gate dwelling and the city forgave his debts. These acts of kindness for Beham's widow suggest the officials in Frankfurt viewed Beham as both important and worthy of support and respect, thereby continuing the early praise of Beham that

17 | Nürnberger Hof, 2014,
photo: author



During the 1530s and 1540s Beham designed hundreds of woodcuts, both as independent sheets and as illustrations for books that Egenolff published. Beham's designs appear to have been cut by professional woodcutters into wood blocks and printed by Egenolff's printers whose names have not survived. Beham could have also designed, cut, and printed his engravings on copper in Egenolff's shop.

The possibility of mixing intaglio and relief printing processes under one roof, namely Egenolff's print shop, points to a shift away from the earlier separation of woodcuts and engravings, and their production, during the incunabula period and the early sixteenth century. By the middle of the sixteenth century, engravings gradually replaced woodcuts for book illustrations, beginning a shift that resulted in seventeenth-century book illustrations employing engravings. The separation of these two early print techniques by art historians may, in fact, reflect both the general historical situation and the modern division of print techniques used in museums and library cataloguing.

However, woodcuts and engravings may have been produced in Egenolff's print shop during Beham's Frankfurt period beginning in 1531. Visual evidence from the last decades of the sixteenth century supports the production of woodcuts and engravings together in such print shops. A drawing by Johannes Stradanus (1523-1605; Flemish, Italian) dating to ca. 1580-90 shows a half dozen engravers working metal plates while four men turn the large wooden screws of flatbed presses traditionally used for printing books and woodcuts.⁶⁹ The production of relief and intaglio prints together in one location, suggested here for Beham and Egenolff, jars modern ideas of their separation.

Yet if sixteenth-century printing-related professions are considered, a more historically grounded and richly diverse picture of the period results, one that brings together the varied activities and professions related to book printing, and sometimes more, under at least one roof: typesetter, printer, book seller, distributor, and wine seller and apothecary. During the second quarter of the sixteenth century, Lucas Cranach (1472-1553) ran a printing shop and paper mill and owned a bookshop with a fellow councilor at Wittenberg. In that bookshop he sold books, his own prints, and the writings of Martin Luther. He also owned a wine concession, *Weinschank*, and apothecary.⁷⁰ At the very same time, but far west on the other side of the Empire, Beham designed and cut engravings, worked with Egenolff designing books and book illustrations, and perhaps producing and printing all of them in that shop. The growth of Egenolff's business over the course of two decades resulted in an increasingly wealthy printing business and publishing house, which profited from Beham's book illustrations both during Egenolff's lifetime and after his death.

Decades earlier the two entrepreneurs from Strassburg and Nuremberg, Egenolff and Beham, seized the opportunities Frankfurt offered around 1530. Each man made the conscious choice to move to Frankfurt and work together, risking success or failure by doing so. While Egenolff's livelihood may have depended on his moving away from Strassburg, Beham's life appears to have depended on his moving away from his home town of Nuremberg, and he accom-



18 | A. Leonhard Gate and Church of St. Leonhard (bottom), B. Egenolff's workshop-home (top, corner Kornmarkt-Sandgasse), C. Frankfurt fair (right, Römer), D. Buchgasse (Book Lane), detail, Matthias Merian, map of Frankfurt, 1628, engraving, reproduced by Reichsdruckerei Berlin, 1911, Historisches Museum Frankfurt, Inv. No. C1628, photo: author

plished this by using his connections within the printing and religious sectors of that town. Beham established himself at Frankfurt in 1531, a date directly after the period Andrew Pettegree has called the “seminal period, between 1485 and 1530, when the book industry finally achieved its mature form ... now recognizably distinct from its manuscript predecessor”. Pettegree includes in that period what he called the “creation of a functioning international book market”.⁷¹

At the time the international book market had been established and books achieved their mature printed form, when artists including Beham were forced to rethink their professions due to dwindling commissions caused by the Reformation movement away from Catholic practices, and decades before Protestants sought refuge in the Frankfurt area, the town on the Main offered a place to work and a place to live without the religious and social oppression of Nuremberg in its early Lutheran years. Beham’s illustrations for Egenolff’s books anticipate the woodcut book illustrations of Jost Amman who worked in Nuremberg for the publisher Sigmund Feyerabend after he came to Frankfurt in the late 1550s.⁷² In a sense, Amman replaced

Beham as the best book illustrator in Frankfurt after the latter's death in 1550. The Nuremberg-Frankfurt connection, which predated Beham and Egenolff, continued well into the second half of the century.

This study has attempted to show that Frankfurt became an attractive new printing location during the second quarter of the sixteenth century, supporting for Frankfurt, Egenolff, and Beham's prints the speculation of Landau and Parshall that book publishers there dealt in prints and exported them before the middle of the sixteenth century.⁷³ The arrival of Beham and Egenolff in Frankfurt decades earlier fits neatly into the chronology and nexus of connections discussed here for the years around 1530. Rather than an isolated move by two men from different locations, the Beham-Egenolff relocations should be seen as planned events, with Frankfurt intentionally chosen for the many possibilities it offered, including its fair. In the future, Beham, Egenolff, and Frankfurt should be written into the history of art and printing as important players for the first half of the sixteenth century.

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- 1 Bauermeister, Erica: *The School of Essential Ingredients*, New York 2009, pp. 224-25.
- 2 Many of Sebald Beham's paintings and prints are illustrated, with clickable, enlargeable images, in Stewart, Alison G.: Sebald Beham: Entrepreneur, Printmaker, Painter. In: *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 4, 2012, 25 pages (no pagination). Stable URL: 10.5092/jhna.2012.4.2.3.
- 3 Künast, Hans-Jörg: Augsburg's Role in the German Book Trade in the First Half of the Sixteenth Century. In: Walsby, Malcolm / Kemp, Graeme (eds.): *The Book Triumphant. Print in Transition in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Leiden 2011, p. 332.
- 4 Landau, David / Parshall, Peter: *The Renaissance Print 1470-1550*, New Haven 1994, p. 349, including "that book publishers were involved in exporting prints well before the middle of the century, though we are unable to provide any more direct evidence to support this".
- 5 Where Beham was active in 1526 and 1527 and again in 1528 and 1529 after conflict with the council, over the booklet on the proportions of the horse, is not clear, although efforts have been made to link him with the towns where his books were published, such as Ingolstadt.
- 6 Whether Beham's book on the proportions of horses was, in fact, a copy of Dürer's book has not been adequately studied and proven, despite that assumption in the literature. See Stewart, Alison G.: *The Artist's Lament in 1528. Exile, Printing, and the Reformation*. In: Münch, Birgit Ulrike / Tacke, Andreas / Herzog, Markwart / Heudecker, Sylvia (eds.): *Die Klage des Künstlers. Krise und Umbruch von der Reformation bis um 1800*. Petersberg 2015, pp. 70-81.
- 7 Beham's monograms have traditionally been read as HSP and HSB to indicate Hans Sebald Beham in the dialects of Nuremberg and Frankfurt. However, recently I have discussed other possibilities for the monogram, including that the H may have been an I. See Stewart, Alison G.: *Sebald Beham's Names and Monograms. Exploring Aspects of One Second-Generation Dürer Pupil*, forthcoming.
- 8 Peypus's name is given as the printer of Beham's booklet on the proportions of horses by the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich. See *Das Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts (VD16)*, VD16 B 1483. URL: https://opacplus.bib-bvb.de/TouchPoint_touchpoint/start.do?SearchProfile=Altbestand&SearchType=2 (1 February 2016, 12:00). For Andreae as printer of the booklet, given by the British Museum, London, see: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3132030&partId=1&searchText=beham,+sebald+

- and+horse&page=1 (18 March 2016,15:32). On Andreae, see Reske, Christoph: Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet. Auf der Grundlage des gleichnamigen Werkes von Josef Benzing, Wiesbaden 2007, p. 669; and Benzing, Josef: Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet, 2nd enl. ed., Wiesbaden 1982, p. 356; for Peypus, p. 354.
- 9 Fol. Aii-v/p. 2. Beham included both folio and page numbers.
 - 10 Hampe, Theodor (ed.): Nürnberg Ratsverlässe über Kunst und Künstler im Zeitalter der Spätgotik und Renaissance, Vienna 1904, vol. 1, p. 243, no. 1621; Rupprich, Hans (ed.): Dürer: Schriftlicher Nachlass, Berlin 1956-69, vol. 1, pp. 236-37, no. 12, for the imperial privilege of 14 August 1528.
 - 11 Stewart: Artist's Lament (same as fn. 6), p. 73; the essay cites contemporary documents.
 - 12 Stewart: Artist's Lament (same as fn. 6), pp. 74-75.
 - 13 Stewart: Artist's Lament (same as fn. 6), p. 75. On Friedrich Peypus (1512-1534) as both printer and bookstore owner, see Benzing (same as fn. 8), p. 354; Reske (same as fn. 8), pp. 64-65.
 - 14 On October 6th the council stated that Beham's coat could be sent to his wife, indicating that the council was in possession of that article of clothing and Beham was still living outside Nuremberg. Stewart: Artist's Lament (same as fn. 6), pp. 75-76.
 - 15 Examples of books with imperial privileges include Dürer's four large books of 1511, with copyright from Emperor Maximilian. See Schmid, Wolfgang: Dürer's Enterprise. Market Area, Market Potential, Product Range. In: North, Michael (ed.): Economic History and the Arts. Cologne 1996, p. 33.
 - 16 For details and sources on Beham's conflicts with Nuremberg's town council, see Stewart: Artist's Lament (same as fn. 6), pp. 77-78.
 - 17 Schwerhoff, Gert: Wie Gottlos waren die 'Gottlosen Maler'? In: Die gottlosen Maler von Nürnberg. Konvention und Subversion in der Druckgrafik der Beham-Brüder. Exh. cat. Dürer Haus, Nuremberg 2011, p. 36.
 - 18 On Nuremberg, Augsburg, and Strassburg as printing centers before 1550, see Reske (same as fn. 8), pp. 654-80, 26-40, and 808-89; for Frankfurt, pp. 223-28. On Nuremberg, see Smith, Jeffrey Chipps: Nuremberg. A Renaissance City, 1500-1618. Exh. cat. Archer M. Huntington Art Gallery, Austin 1983, pp. 58-9; Gothic and Renaissance Art in Nuremberg, 1300-1550. Exh. cat. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 1986; and Maué, Hermann / Eser, Thomas / Hauschke, Sven / Stolzenberger, Jana: Quasi Centrum Europae. Europa kauft in Nürnberg 1400-1800, Nuremberg 2002, especially pp. 390-99. On Augsburg, Künast (same as fn. 3); Gier, Helmut / Janota, Johannes: Augsburg Buchdruck und Verlagswesen, Wiesbaden 1997; and Jecmen, Gregory / Spira, Freyda: Imperial Augsburg: Renaissance Prints and Drawings 1475-1540, Washington 2012. On Strassburg, Chrisman, Miriam Usher: Lay Culture, Learned Culture. Books and Social Change in Strasbourg, 1480-1599, New Haven 1982; Chrisman, Miriam Usher: Bibliography of Strasbourg Imprints, 1480-1599, New Haven 1982.
 - 19 For Dürer's portrait of Cardinal Albrecht from 1519, see the impression in New York, The Metropolitan Museum. URL: <http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/391270> (3. May 2016, 10:20).
 - 20 Pauli, Gustav: Hans Sebald Beham. Ein kritisches Verzeichnis seiner Kupferstiche, Radierungen und Holzschnitte, Strasbourg 1901, reprint Baden-Baden 1974, p. 2, citing Bauch, Alfred: Der Aufenthalt des Sebald Beham während der Jahre 1525-1535. In: Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft 20, 1897, p. 194.
 - 21 Beham designed small stained glass windows in Nuremberg for Pfinzing's successor, Georg Pessler, as provost of St. Sebald; Butts, Barbara / Hendrix, Lee / with Wolf, Scott C: Painting on Light. Drawings and Stained Glass in the Age of Dürer and Holbein. Exh. cat. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles 2000, p. 174, and cat. 64; vom Imhoff, Christoph (ed.): Berühmte Nürnberger aus neun Jahrhunderten, Nuremberg 1984, pp. 96-7. On Pfinzing, see Smith (same as fn. 18), cat. 140; Butts and Hendrix (same as fn. 21), p. 127 fn. 2; and Cupperi, Walter / Hirsch, Martin / Kranz, Annette / Pfisterer, Ulrich (eds.): Wettstreit in Erz. Porträtmedaillen der deutschen Renaissance. Exh. cat. Münzsammlung, Munich 2013, p. 204, no. 104. In 1529 Archduke Ferdinand named Pfinzing as negotiator with Frankfurt and Cologne for provisions to assist against the Turks.
 - 22 The small size of the Pfinzing coat of arms indicates a possible bookplate. Pauli (same as fn. 20), no. 264, attributed the print to Sebald Beham for its extremely delicate and regular technique, and he rejected the association with Barthel Beham. I see the general style of Sebald, perhaps to someone in his circle, but no firm attribution to him.
 - 23 On Albrecht of Brandenburg, see Schauerte, Thomas/Tacke, Andreas (eds.): Der Kardinal Albrecht von Brandenburg. Renaissancefürst und Mäzen, 2 vols. Exh. cat. Moritzburg, Halle, Regensburg 2006. Al-

brecht's connection to Nuremberg artists is seen in a full-length sculpted image of him in the Schloss Johannisburg, Aschaffenburg. It is inscribed below the image: NORMBERGE 1525. For the Cardinal's prayerbook, see Ermischer, Gerhard / Tacke, Andreas (eds.): *Cranach im Exil. Aschaffenburg um 1540. Zuflucht, Schatzkammer, Residenz, Regensburg* 2007, pp. 346-47; Wiemers, Michael: *Sebald Behams Beicht- und Messgebetbuch für Albrecht von Brandenburg*. In: Tacke, Andreas (ed.), *Kontinuität und Zäsur. Ernst von Wettin und Albrecht von Brandenburg*, Göttingen 2005, pp. 380-90; and Biermann, Alfons W.: *Die Miniaturenhandschriften des Kardinals Albrecht von Brandenburg (1514-1545)*. In: *Aachener Kunstblätter* 46, 1975, 15-310; Merkl, Ulrich: *Buchmalerei in Bayern in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts. Spätblüte und Endzeit einer Gattung*, Regensburg 1999, pp. 372-3, cat. 58, with reproductions of some drawings in Berlin for or after the book illustrations. On the tabletop, Foucart-Walter, Élisabet (ed.): *Catalogue des peintures britanniques, espagnoles, germaniques, scandinaves et diverses du musée du Louvre*, Paris 2013, p. 117.

- 24 Jan Gossaert received pensions from various court patrons as fixed income to which he added outside commissions. Ainsworth, Maryan W.: Introduction. Jan Gossart, the 'Apelles of Our Age'. In: Ainsworth, Maryan W. (ed.): *Man, Myth, and Sensual Pleasure. Jan Gossart's Renaissance. The Complete Works. Exh. cat. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New Haven* 2010, p. 3. Whether Beham received fixed income from Christian Egenolff and from Cardinal Albrecht as an outside commission remains to be established.
- 25 For Beham's stained glass designs in Nuremberg, see Butts / Hendrix (same as fn. 21), pp. 174-83.
- 26 On Beham's monogram and name, see Stewart: *Beham's Names* (same as fn. 7), forthcoming.
- 27 Few dates in Frankfurt are recorded for Beham before he became a citizen of the town in 1540. He relinquished his Nuremberg citizenship in 1535.
- 28 Egenolff submitted a request for application for Frankfurt citizenship 20 September 1530, which was approved 12 December 1530. His oath of citizenship dates over one year later to Feb. 9, 1532. On Egenolff, see Reske (same as fn. 8), pp. 224-26.
- 29 Only one printer at Frankfurt before Egenolff is listed in Josef Benzing's lexicon from 1952 and Reske's enlarged edition of Benzing from 2007. Benzing (same as fn. 8), pp.120, 224. However, more individuals worked in the broad area of printing in Frankfurt before Egenolff's arrival. See Zülch, Walter Karl / Mori, Gustav: *Frankfurter Urkundenbuch zur Frühgeschichte des Buchdrucks. Aus den Akten des Frankfurter Stadtarchivs*. Frankfurt 1920.
- 30 Künast (same as fn. 3), p. 331.
- 31 Künast (same as fn. 3), p. 331.
- 32 Reske (same as fn. 8), p. 224; VD16 (same as fn. 8), no. F3149, F3150; Jäcker, Carsten: *Christian Egenolff, Leben und Wirken eines Frankfurter Meisters des frühen Buchdrucks aus Hadamar*. In: *Kulturvereinigung Hadamar* (ed.): *Christian Egenolff 1502-1555. Ein Frankfurter Meister des frühen Buchdrucks aus Hadamar, Limburg* 2002, p. 34.
- 33 'Biblich Historien, Figürlich fürgebildet, Durch den wolberümpften Sebald Behem, von Nüremberg,' Museum number 1899,1018.1.1-41, British Museum, London.
- 34 Jäcker (same as fn. 32), pp. 26-28.
- 35 Jäcker (same as fn. 32), pp. 30-31.
- 36 Jäcker (same as fn. 32), pp. 31-32.
- 37 Jäcker (same as fn. 32), pp. 52-54, lists Egenolff's Frankfurt publications from 1531.
- 38 Reske (same as fn. 8), p. 225. Jäcker (same as fn. 32), pp. 35-36, states the house Egenolff purchased in 1533 was that of Johann Jeckel on Bleidengasse.
- 39 Jäcker (same as fn. 32), pp. 36-37, where he cites the Frankfurt newspaper.
- 40 Reske (same as fn. 8), pp. 224-25.
- 41 Reske (same as fn. 8), p. 225; Jäcker (same as fn. 32), p. 39, who cites Mori, Gustav: *Christian Egenolff, der erste ständige Buchdrucker in Frankfurt am Main*, Leipzig 1907, p. 309.
- 42 Reske (same as fn. 8), p. 225.
- 43 Jäcker (same as fn. 32), pp. 37-38.
- 44 Terrahe, Tina: *Frankfurts Aufstieg zur Druckmetropole des 16. Jahrhunderts. Christian Egenolff, Sigmund Feyerabend und die Frankfurter Buchmesse*. In: Robert Seidel / Regina Toepfer (eds.): *Frankfurt im Schnittpunkt der Diskurse. Strategien und Institutionen literarischer Kommunikation im späten Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*, Frankfurt am Main 2010, p. 177.

- 45 Schmid, Wolfgang: Köln—Frankfurt—Nürnberg. Lokale Traditionen und überregionaler Austausch. In: Brinkmann, Bodo / Schmid, Wolfgang (eds.): Hans Holbein und der Wandel in der Kunst des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts. Turnhout 2005, p. 94. Schmid's contention that Frankfurt imported its art rests largely on panel painting and sculpture.
- 46 Landau & Parshall (same as fn. 4), p. 349. On book dealers, see Grimm, Heinrich: Die Buchführer des deutschen Kulturbereichs und ihre Niederlassungsorte in der Zeitspanne 1490 bis um 1550. In: Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens 7, 1967, pp. 1153-1771.
- 47 Fabian, Bernhard (ed.): Die Messkataloge des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts, 4 vols., Hildesheim 1972-78, for the years 1564-159.
- 48 Künast (same as fn. 3), p. 162.
- 49 Dietz, Alexander: Frankfurter Handelsgeschichte, vol. 1, Frankfurt am Main 1910, p. 74.
- 50 Terrahe (same as fn. 44), pp. 177-78. For additional information on the Frankfurt fair, but later than the early sixteenth century that concerns me here, see Miriam Kirch's essay in this volume.
- 51 Landau / Parshall (same as fn. 4), p. 349, cite for the Frankfurt fair Dietz (same as fn. 49), vol. 1, pp. 8-76. Pettegree, Andrew: The Book in the Renaissance, New Haven 2010, p. 80, and for the Frankfurt fairs more generally, pp. 78-82, including for the importance of settling accounts at the fairs, of credit and barter transactions, and what he calls the credit and debt economy. On Cochlaeus, Landau / Parshall cite the letter in Latin on the fair from Rupprich (same as fn. 10), vol. 1, p. 265. Wagner, Berit: Bilder ohne Auftraggeber. Der deutsche Kunsthandel im 15. und frühen 16. Jahrhundert. Mit Überlegungen zum Kulturtransfer. Petersberg 2014, p. 319, n. 1399, also gives the Latin document in full. Using Grotefend's calculator, Miriam Kirch found that in 1520 the fair ran from 11 March (Oculi Sunday) to 30 March (Palm Sunday was 1 April). In her chapter in this volume, she indicates that Cochlaeus's letter dates from right after the fair. See: <http://www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de> (1. September 2016, 9:56).
- 52 Landau / Parshall (same as fn. 4), p. 349, discuss the letter to Pirckheimer and identify Lucas of Holland as Lucas van Leyden. Wagner (same as fn. 51), p. 206, for additional, helpful discussion of the Dürer prints mentioned in the Cochlaeus letter (*St. Jerome in his Study* and *Melencolia I*), and that Cochlaeus and the mayor of Frankfurt, Philipp Fürstenberger, looked at these prints together, probably at the Frankfurt fair. See also Miriam Kirch's essay in this volume that addresses Cochlaeus's letter from the perspective of collecting.
- 53 Landau / Parshall (same as fn. 4), p. 349.
- 54 For the *Besiegers of Vienna* and *Dancers at a Wedding* woodcut series dated 1529 and 1535, see Pauli (same as fn. 20), pp. 748, 757. For the *Dancers* series, see also the British Museum's on-line catalogue, museum number E,8.117. The attributions of the wedding series to Beham and Hans Schäufelein have not been satisfactorily sorted.
- 55 Landau / Parshall (same as fn. 4), p. 224, for a discussion of Guldenmund's hardship and financial compensation, and for the return of his wood blocks; Smith (same as fn. 18), p. 167, for related bibliography including civic censorship. Correspondence between town authorities was common practice for the time. The Nuremberg council wrote to Frankfurt's when Beham and others printed his book on the proportions of the horse in 1528. See also note 59, below.
- 56 On Frankfurt's fair and Augsburg, see Künast (same as fn. 3), pp. 161-66; 161, for Barbara Bämmler's visit to the Frankfurt fair in 1484 followed by other printers and publishers whose business extended beyond a local or regional market or who sought literature for specific customers.
- 57 Landau / Parshall (same as fn. 4), pp. 225-226. Of the booklets Guldenmund carried he said he "disposed of them later in Leipzig" meaning the Leipzig fair. The Nuremberg council wrote a letter to its counterpart in Augsburg warning of the booklet's publication because of the lustful images that provoke youth to "sinful vices."
- 58 Landau / Parshall (same as fn. 4), p. 242.
- 59 On the Nürnberger Hof, see Die Baudenkmäler in Frankfurt am Main, vol. 3: Privatbauten, Frankfurt am Main 1914, figs. 251 and 252, for illustrations and plan of the Nürnberg Hof before its destruction in 1944; Klötzer, Wolfgang: Zu Gast im alten Frankfurt, Munich 1990, pp. 44-45, with illustrations of the entrance to the Nürnberger Hof before its destruction.
- 60 Wagner (same as fn. 51), fn. 1403; Timann, Ursula: Untersuchungen zu Nürnberger Holzschnitt und Briefmalerei in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts mit besonderer Berücksichtigung von Hans Gulden-

- mund und Niclas Meldemann. Münster 1993, pp. 162-63, and personal correspondence. I am grateful to Dr. Timann for generously providing this information.
- 61 Zülch, Walther Karl: *Frankfurter Künstler 1223-1700*, Frankfurt am Main 1935, pp. 330-31, for Beham in Frankfurt. Hampe (same as fn. 10), vol. 1 no. 2125, for Beham relinquishing his Nuremberg citizenship on 24 July.
- 62 Zülch (same as fn. 61), 331.
- 63 Stewart (same as fn. 6).
- 64 Gwinner, Philipp Friedrich: *Kunst und Künstler in Frankfurt am Main vom dreizehnten Jahrhundert bis zur Eröffnung des Städelschen Kunstinstituts*, Frankfurt am Main 1862, p. 65. This document is not included in Zülch (same as fn. 61), indicating that it was probably destroyed in 1944.
- 65 Institut für Stadtgeschichte, Frankfurt am Main; illustrated in Stewart: *Entrepreneur* (same as fn. 2), fig. 12.
- 66 Goddard, Stephen H. (ed.): *World in Miniature. Engravings by the German Little Masters 1500-1550*. Exh. cat. Spencer Museum of Art, The University of Kansas, 1988, p. 223. The information given here on Beham's later life is not intended to be exhaustive.
- 67 Gwinner (same as fn. 64), p. 65.
- 68 Gebhardt, Carl: *Conrad Faber und die ältesten Ansichten von Frankfurt*. In: *Alt-Frankfurt. Vierteljahrsschrift für seine Geschichte und Kunst* 4, 1912, p. 11. Faber von Creuznach was both painter and the city *Eisenwieger* responsible for determining the weight of iron sold in the city. Caldenbach Hess was a city *Eichmeister (Visierers)* responsible for assuring the accuracy of weights used for products sold in Frankfurt.
- 69 Stijnman, Ad: *Engraving and Etching 1400-2000. A History of the Development of Manual Intaglio Printmaking Processes*, London 2012, fig. 84, for the Stradanus drawing, Royal Collection Trust, for which see URL: <https://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/904760/engravers-at-work> (28 April 2016, 12:04).
- 70 Parshall, Peter: Book review Cranach. In: *Art Bulletin*, 91 2009, p. 235; Heydenreich, Gunnar: *Lucas Cranach the Elder. Painting materials, techniques and workshop practice*, [Amsterdam] 2007, pp. 131 and 268, the latter page on the varied duties and projects of Cranach's workshop centered on painting (flags, costumes, carriages, designs, etc. including prints); Ruhmer, E: *Cranach*, trans. Joan Spencer, London 1963, pp.15-16. On Cranach documents, Lücke, Monika: *Die Wittenberger Archivalien zum Leben und Wirken von Lucas Cranach d. Ä.* In: *Lucas Cranach d. Ä. und die Cranachhöfe in Wittenberg*, ed. Cranach-Stiftung, Halle 1998, pp. 11-59, especially pp. 12, 20, 22, 23, 27.
- 71 Pettegree (same as fn. 51), 82.
- 72 Belkin, Kristin Lohse: *Feyerabend, Sigmund*. In: *Grove Art Online*. URL: www.oxfordartonline.com (28 April 2016, 12:45).
- 73 Landau / Parshall (same as fn. 4), p. 349.