

A Pilgrim as a Memento Mori

————— Balthasar Permoser —————





A PILGRIM AS A MEMENTO MORI

Balthasar Permoser, attributed to

b. 1651 in Kammer – d. 1732 in Dresden

Boxwood

Height 38 cm (15in.)

Florence, c. 1685

Provenance

Titta Ruffo (1877–1953) Florence,
by descent in the family until 2010;
auctioned in Florence in 2010;
sold on the London art market;
private collection, USA, until 2017







Dear Art Lovers and Friends,

We are all familiar with the many attempts made throughout history to capture the end of life on earth in pictorial form. These include sculptural works of the deceased resting in eternal sleep, depictions of skeletons and skulls, and vanitas pictures. In the Baroque period, this genre took on new forms in a revolutionary way. Artists analysed states of heightened emotion in the human soul and depicted feelings, pushed to an extreme, through the use of powerful metaphors and expressions. This can be seen in all major works of the period. The viewer can barely avoid being drawn right into this emotional turmoil. The works created are exceptional in every respect and timeless in their artistic stylisation.

Early on in my career as an art dealer I developed a deep appreciation for the art of the 16th and 17th centuries. Therefore, I am especially pleased to be able to present an utterly exceptional and marvellous work from this period to you this year which has been attributed to the major sculptor Balthasar Permoser. The figure, 'A Pilgrim as a Memento Mori', is of unique importance both on account of its masterly execution and its singular iconography.

What fascinates me, is how, through my close study of the 'death as a pilgrim', I have taken a journey through time, right back to Balthasar Permoser's world of emotions in the Baroque era. I can sense the innate, animalistic 'angst' that surrounded death and the fear and agony of the tormented soul that does not know what lies ahead. Permoser stages the drama of this with masterful ingenuity. Just as in those days, the pilgrim forces us to question the meaning of life; it serves to show our limitations. This work also supports my belief that people are increasingly attracted to Old Master paintings and sculpture, on an international level, there has been an notable increase in interest in this field over the past few years that is set to rise.

My American business partner, Anthony Blumka, and I invite you to take a closer look at this magnificent and enigmatic work by Balthasar Permoser that is rooted in the European pictorial tradition.

Yours,

Florian Eitle-Böhler

February 2018







A PILGRIM AS A MEMENTO MORI



A pilgrim recognisable, by his staff, the long cloak and the scallops on his hat and collar – the traditional emblem for pilgrims on the Way of St James – stands upright looking straight at the viewer, his open right hand beckoning us in an animated and expressive gesture. The very first impression, however, is deceptive: this is, after all, a figure of Death with both the face and the body already showing signs of advanced decay. Beneath the broad-brimmed hat the dark shadows around the eye sockets stand out, the nose is already missing and the mouth is torn open widely to emit a silent scream of despair. Upon closer inspection this picture of horror becomes more intense: the abdominal wall has opened up, the bowels and maggots are spewing out and winding themselves around the figure's hips. A snake and a lizard on the sinewy, bare legs are even crawling their way up the body.



This seemingly macabre sculpture with a body in the grips of decay stands in the tradition of the so-called 'Tödlein', literally 'Little Death' figures – a form of the 'Grim Reaper' and similar personifications of Death. These are small skeletal figures carved out of ivory or wood, created in the 16th and 17th centuries. They were especially widespread in Germany following the Black Death and the devastation of the Thirty Years' War.

The exquisite carving of this pilgrim figure testifies to the work of a highly skilled sculptor. The wavy hair, the tense sinews on the arms and legs, the toe and finger nails as well as the snake's scaly skin have all been executed with extreme precision. The hat has finely meshed cross-hatching, the naturalistic surface structure of the shells and the hint of blades of grass on the pedestal demonstrate how every single detail has been carved with equal care.

The classical 'contrapposto' pose lends the figure a certain monumentality despite its small dimensions. The treatment of the folds in the cloak reveal that the artist must have been familiar with Roman Baroque. As the subject stands very much in the German tradition but the technique shows a close affinity to Italian art, it can be assumed that the sculptor was a German who was active in Italy. The provenance also speaks in favour of this. Clad in the apparel of a pilgrim, this figure was included in the collection of the great Italian opera singer Titta Ruffo of Florence for many years. It was not until his descendants sold the sculpture in 2010 that it was attributed to Balthasar Permoser for the first time by an expert in this field.¹ Permoser lived for several years in Florence during the first period he spent in Italy between c. 1676 and 1690. The 'Pilgrim as a Memento Mori' was very probably carved in Florence and remained there until the present century.







THE SCULPTOR



Balthasar Permoser (1651–1732)² (fig. 1), one of the most important Baroque sculptors, was born in the small village of Kammer in Upper Bavaria, Germany, that came under the authority of the archbishopric of Salzburg, Austria. Much has been speculated about his training; there are however no definitive historical sources.

He rose to fame primarily thanks to the magnificent sculptures he created for the Zwinger palace in Dresden (1711–28). Frederick Augustus, Elector of Saxony (1670–1733), later Augustus the Strong – since 1694 Elector of Saxony and from 1697 onwards King of Poland – made the acquaintance of the artist Balthasar Permoser in Florence while on his ‘grand tour’ in 1687–89. He succeeded in winning over the sculptor for the Baroque redesign of Dresden and appointed him court sculptor in 1689. Permoser followed the Elector to Dresden in summer 1690.³



fig.1 Balthasar Permoser, etching by Moritz Bodenehr (1665–1749)

We know that ‘Baldassare’, as he was called in Italy, visited Venice, Rome and Florence. The first biography about him was by Francesco Maria Niccolò Gaburri (1676–1742) who devoted a whole paragraph to the German in the work he compiled on artists in the 1730s.



fig.2 Balthasar Permoser, Saint Cajetan, 1689–90, marble, Florence, Santi Michele e Gaetano



Due to his position as court sculptor in Dresden, Permoser is described as a Saxon:⁴ ‘Baldassare Permoser di Sassonia’ is an “excellent sculptor in marble, wood and ivory” who “went to Florence after several years in Rome” where he “lived for a number of years.”

Gaburri writes more precisely that Permoser had lived in Florence over a period of several years but at different times, having returned to his native country every now and again in the meantime. Many works created in his

hand can be admired in Florence to this day. In addition to sculptures for the façade of the church of SS. Michele e Gaetano, Gaburri mentions ‘figurine’– in other words, small figurative sculptures, in particular. As can be seen in documents confirming payments, Permoser received a number of commissions from the Medici family of Florence.⁵ The sculptor’s career, that later proved so important for German Baroque art, began at the court of the Florentine grand dukes with small-format sculptures made of ivory or wood in particular.⁶



On 30 August 1686, he signed an agreement with the Theatine Order to produce marble statues and carved the order's coat of arms for the façade of SS. Michele e Gaetano in Florence.⁷ The figures depicted also include a Saint Cajetan which has stylistic similarities to our pilgrim. The figure of the saint stands in a niche and turns to passing viewers with an inviting gesture (fig. 2).



fig. 4a opposite page: Balthasar Permoser, Triumph of the Cross, detail 'Death'

The 'contrapposto' pose has a similarly dynamism. The cloak is also gathered above the right (or left) thigh, respectively, and hangs in voluminous, funnel-like folds. The two figures, that of the patron saint of the Theatines and the pilgrim, mirror each other.⁸ Similar stylistic features also include the curly hair of the right-hand gable figure.⁹

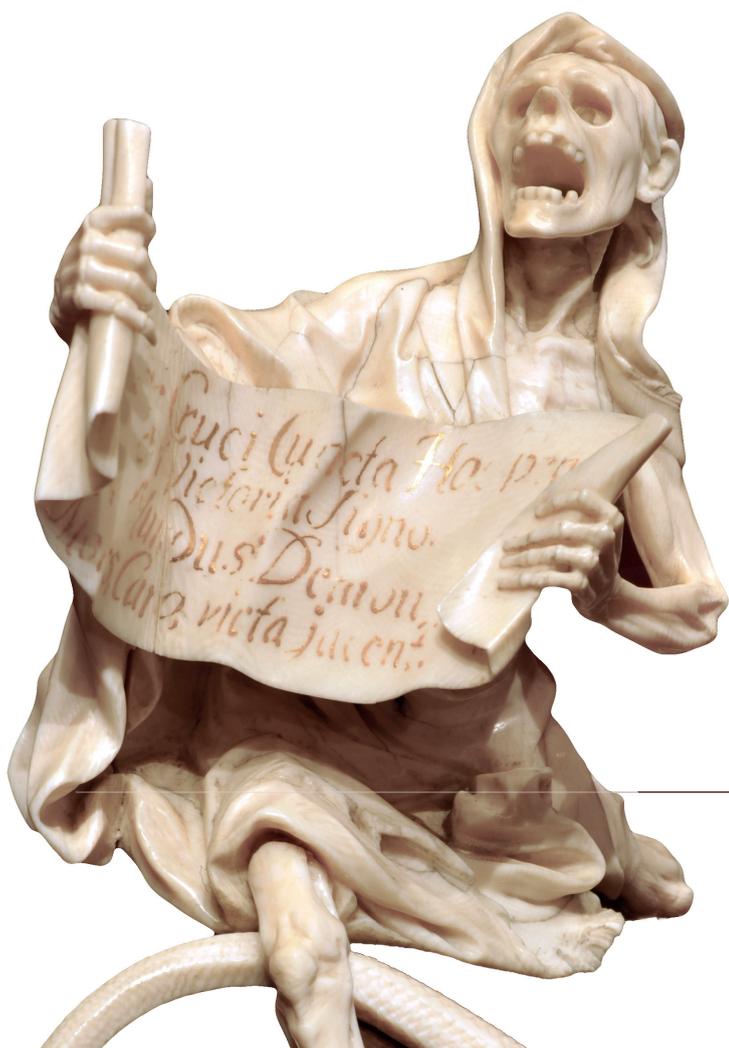
A comparison with another work created during or just after his time in Florence, supports the attribution of the pilgrim to Permoser. The work, entitled 'Triumph of the Cross'¹⁰ shows a crucifixion figure (fig. 3) surrounded by a radiant corona. Death, in the form of a semi-putrefied figure, is seated at his feet on a globe around which a serpent has wound itself. Like our pilgrim, he too wrenches open his mouth to emit a silent scream of despair (fig. 4). Death is not a skeleton here either, but depicted as a corpse at the beginning of the decaying process.

fig. 3 Balthasar Permoser, Triumph of the Cross, Florence (?), c. 1685 (?), ivory, carved; wood, painted in part; copper, cast; copper sheet, cut, chased and fire-gilded; silver, gold, height 118.5 cm, width 56 cm, depth 24.5 cm, Leipzig, Grassi Museum, inv. no. 1954.31



Permoser uses the same means of expression: the silent scream and the deep but not empty eye sockets, as well as the missing nose. To the bottom left is a personification of lust – its wild, sensual head of curls is strongly reminiscent of the pilgrim’s full hair (fig. 5).

In his biographical notes on Permoser it is interesting to note that Gaburri mentions a wooden sculpture, owned by the Frescobaldi family in Florence, that was around one ‘braccio Fiorentino’ (approx. 58cm / 22¾in.) high and depicted Saint Roch.¹¹ As the patron saint of plague victims is similarly shown as a pilgrim, it was assumed that our pilgrim could be a Saint Roch.¹² Considering that our statue (H: 38cm / 15in.) would once have been on a pedestal, as was usual at that time, it could indeed have appeared much taller. It must also be remembered that Gaburri describes the figure from memory and can, therefore, only give approximate dimensions.



The Saint Roch statue obviously impressed him to such an extent that he included it in his short treatise.

Saint Roch is invoked to provide protection from the plague in particular and is depicted in art as a pilgrim with a staff and the pilgrim’s attribute, the scallop shell. According to legend, he lived between 1295 and 1327.

After the early death of his parents, Roch embarked on a pilgrimage to Rome. It was during this trip that he miraculously healed plague victims and has, since then, been venerated as the patron saint of plague sufferers. Roch returned to his native France where he was arrested as an alleged spy and died several years later in a dungeon.

As the Black Death, the most widespread epidemic in the Middle Ages, took its course, the universal worship of Saint Roch took on something of a folklore and became a popular theme in religious art.¹³ The iconography of Saint Roch generally includes a plague spot on his thigh to which the saint points with one hand while lifting his robe with the other.

The advanced state of physical decay in our figure is certainly not in keeping with conventional depictions of Saint Roch. This makes it all the more remarkable is that our ‘Little Death’ in the form of a pilgrim was considered to be Saint Roch while held in a collection in Florence. It is possible that this is simply what it had been called for years and handed down from one generation to the next. This was either the result of a misunderstanding or a rather free interpretation of the Saint Roch iconography in the late 17th century.

fig. 4b Balthasar Permoser, Triumph of the Cross, detail ‘Death’



Quite obviously there are several iconographical aspects that have been mixed together in the case of our sculpture.

It is also feasible that this work, the death of a pilgrim, was made on commission, perhaps as a *memento mori* for a relative who had died while on a pilgrimage. However, additional sources would be needed to prove whether this figure really was commissioned by the Frescobaldi family as mentioned by Garburri. It is certain, however, as our research has revealed, that – to date – no even remotely similar depictions of the death as a pilgrim are known.

Permoser's oeuvre includes several depictions of Death that lead to the assumption that the artist worked intensively on this subject. The first documented mention of Permoser in Florence is in conjunction with a commission that he executed for Vittoria della Rovere, the Grand Duchess of Tuscany. It was for the restoration of an ivory crucifix in 1682.¹⁴ There is

also mention of an ivory figure of Death, 'una morte d'avorio' that could refer to a missing skull at the base of the crucifix or to a little figure of death. Only the crucifix itself, however, has survived to this day.¹⁵ In the estate inventory of a cloth merchant from Florence, there is a description of a lime wood crucifix at the base of which a personification of Death in chains was originally to be seen.¹⁶

This description bears a strikingly resemblance to the figure of Death from the allegory of the crucifixion, 'The Triumph of the Cross', in the Grassimuseum in Leipzig.¹⁷ The cloth merchant bequeathed the crucifix to his niece who was a nun in the Augustinian Convento delle Stabillite in Florence, specifying that, on her death, it should remain in the ownership of the convent. When the convent was secularised in 1808, however, there was no trace of the crucifix.¹⁸

It is also reputed that Permoser carved a wooden skull for his own coffin, the whereabouts of which is unknown.¹⁹

fig. 5 Balthasar Permoser, Triumph of the Cross, detail, 'Lust'





DEATH AS A PILGRIM ON THE WAY OF ST JAMES



To date there is no known depiction of Saint James as a memento mori marked by death. In Admont Abbey in Austria, however, a sculpture can be seen of a pilgrim with Death (fig. 6).²⁰ Carved by Josef Stammel (b. 1695 in Graz– d. 1765 in Admont) around 1760, the ‘Pilgrim with Death’ belongs to the cycle ‘The Four Last Things’.

Death in the figure of a winged skeleton approaches a pilgrim on the Way of St James with a pilgrim’s staff and scallop shells and hands him an hour glass that shows that his time on earth has elapsed. In his right hand death has a dagger as a reference to the dangers of making a pilgrimage. The angels seated at the man’s feet are holding symbols of vanitas in their hands to underline ephemerality and death.

After being beheaded, the body of James the Great allegedly reached the Iberian peninsula on an unmanned ship. A church was built over the saint’s tomb in the 8th century; this was replaced by a cathedral that was begun in 1075. To this day, it forms the centre of the pilgrimage destination Santiago de Compostela at the end of the Way of St James.

The scallop shell became one of the attributes of Saint James long after his death and has been a symbol for pilgrims on their travels since the 11th century. The sale of scallops at the cathedral in Santiago de Compostela was a profitable business. They were also frequently gathered by pilgrims who continued to the sea at Cape Finisterre – the ‘end of the earth’.

The scallops, known in French and German as James’ or pilgrims’ mussels, were not only souvenirs and proof of having completed the pilgrim route, but were seen as a blessing for those who carried them and afforded pilgrims special protection. Attached to the wide brim of a hat or on a cape, they were a visible sign that the bearer was a pilgrim.

In the visual arts Saint James is shown as a pilgrim with a staff and scallops. Just as in the case of Saint Roch, however, he is not known as a corpse in the process of decay. The definitive meaning of the figure, therefore, has to be left open.

fig. 6 Josef Stammel (1695–1765), ‘Death’ from ‘The Four Last Things’ in the library at the Benedictine Admont Abbey, c. 1760







"TÖDLEIN" FIGURES

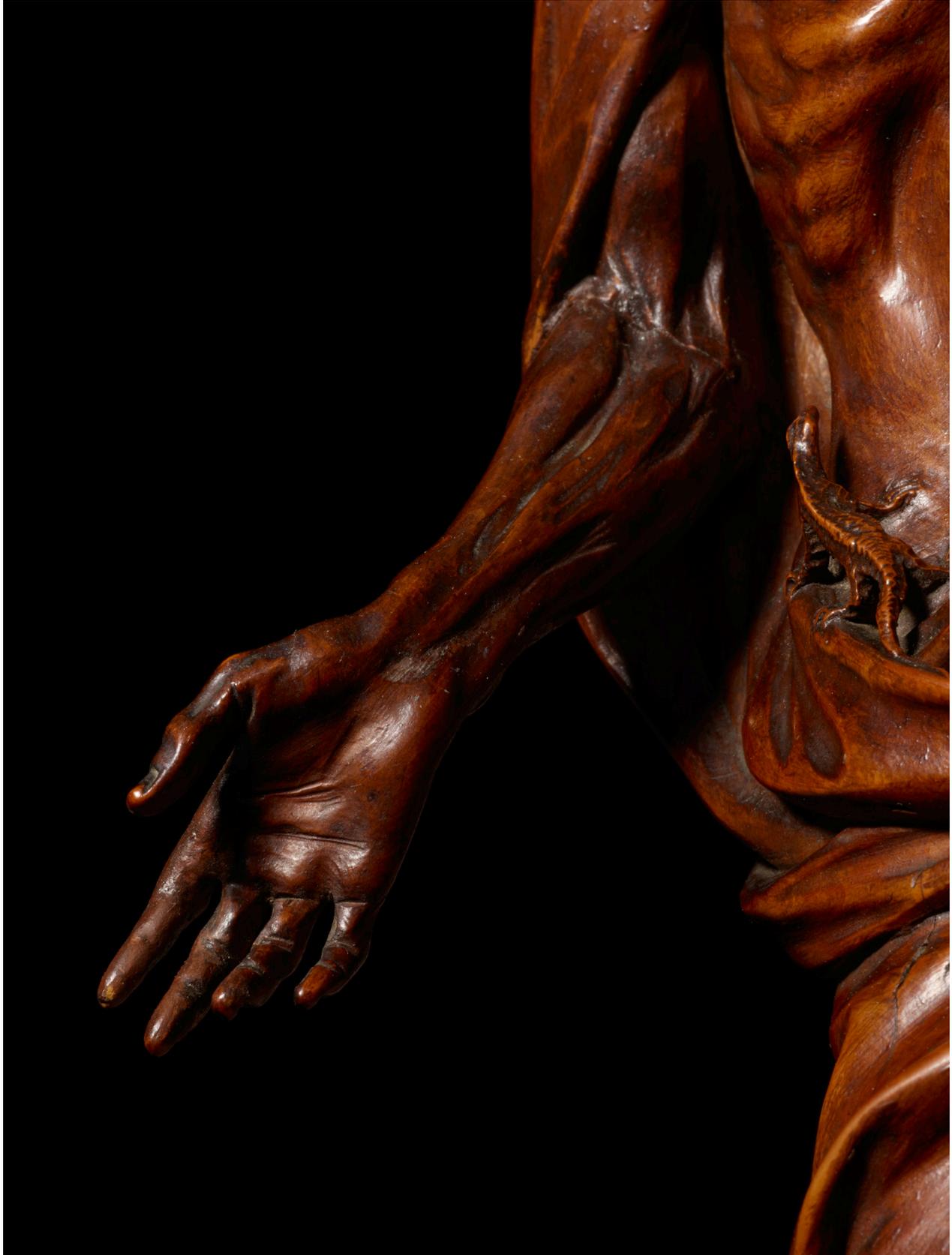


One of the earliest depictions of the so-called 'Tödlein' figure is to be found in the Kunstkammer in Ambras Castle near Innsbruck, Austria (fig. 7). This small figure of Death, carrying a bow and arrows, is attributed to Hans Leinberger and dates from around 1520/30.²¹ Leinberger was most probably commissioned to sculpt this work by Emperor Maximilian I. By inheritance, it reached the cabinet of artworks and curiosities owned by Archduke Ferdinand II and is recorded in the inventory of 1596: "Death with his bow and quiver, carved most artistically out of wood." This 'Tödlein' is purely skeletal, however, with flaps of skin hanging from the bones like remnants of material. With one foot stretched out to one side and with one arm raised, it seems to be performing some strange dance. This is reminiscent of earlier dances macabres that have decorated the walls of cemetery buildings and monasteries since the 14th century.²²

fig. 7 Hans Leinberger (c. 1470/80–1531), 'Tödlein', Landshut c. 1520, pear wood, height 22.5 cm, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Ambras Castle Collection, inv. no. PA 694











DEATH IN CABINETS OF CURIOSITY



fig. 8 Andrea Vesalius (1514–1564), Illustration from 'De humani corporis fabrica' (On the Fabric of the Human Body), pl. 164; original scan from 1543 edition

Tödlein figures were popular objects in cabinets of curiosity in the 16th and 17th centuries²³. These filigree skeletal works made of wood or ivory were greatly treasured thanks to the masterly quality of their execution. The additional comment “carved most artistically out of wood” made in the inventory of Ambras Castle testifies to this. Interest in the natural sciences may also have been satisfied by the anatomical accuracy of these skeletal figures.

The anatomy book 'De humani corporis fabrica' by the Flemish doctor Andreas Vesalius was published in 1542 and illustrated with woodcut prints. Interestingly, the picture of a musing skeleton propping itself up on its arm (fig. 8) inspired the sculptor Paul Reichel (active 1568–88)²⁴ to carve a skeletal figure out of ivory (fig. 9). This too has been in the cabinet of artworks and curiosities in Ambras since 1596 at the latest.

Not least of all, 'Tödlein' figures are a visualisation of the transience of all earthly life for the purpose of private devotional prayer. This may range from the Christian notion of redemption on the Day of Judgment to personal reflection in a contemporary philosophical sense.

fig. 9 Paul Reichel, active in Schongau 1568–88, 'Tödlein' shrine,
c. 1583, Kehlheimer limestone, ebony, gilded, mirror glass,
rhinestone, height 82.3 cm, width 32 cm
Kunsthistorisches Museum,
Vienna, Kunstammer,
inv. no. KK 4450





MEMENTO MORI



The Latin dictum ‘Memento mori’,²⁵ ‘remember that you have to die’, is a term that has been used since the Middle Ages, especially however in the Renaissance and Baroque eras. It is to be understood as a warning to reflect on death and the transience of earthly goods and pursuits. In the Middle Ages, the thought of redemption through death as the purification of the soul, was paramount. An exemplary righteous, selfless and devout life ensured that one would be saved on the Day of Judgment and lead to everlasting life.

That changed in the 14th century. Through increasing outbreaks of major epidemics and the political and social changes, the fear of a sudden death increased. As a result, thoughts associated with the memento mori were to be found much more frequently in the visual arts. The best known symbols associated with the notion of transience are the skeleton and the skull. The first skeletons appear as illustrations of the legend ‘The Three Dead Kings’, also known as ‘The Three Living and the Three Dead’, in illuminated manuscripts and

especially as frescos on the walls of cemetery buildings. The legend tells of how three kings out hunting on horseback are confronted by three skeletal corpses at different stages of decomposition. One of the Dead tells the Living: “What you are now, was what I was; what I am now, is what you will be.”²⁶ These illustrations show, for the first time, not only skeletons without any flesh but depictions of the body in the process of decaying. One motif that appeared at the same time in sculptural work on so-called ‘cadaver tombs’ or ‘transi’ is that of the body in the transitional stage being devoured by toads and worms.

Closely associated with the ‘Memento mori’ is a tradition of writing termed ‘Ars moriendi’. The ‘Art of dying’ served as a proper preparation for death. Since the beginning of the 15th century texts on the ‘Art of living’, ‘Ars vivendi’, also appeared alongside those on death. Such devotional literature aimed at encouraging a virtuous lifestyle and as preparation for death that can come at any time. Parallel to this development an increasing number of



fig. 10 Michael Wolgemut (Nuremberg 1435–1519),
Dance of the Skeletons, 1493, coloured woodcut

depictions of Death appeared. Since the 15th century, Death has been part of everyday life in the visual arts, emphasising its permanent presence. Through the revolutionary medium of print, graphic works spread quickly across Europe. Michael Wolgemut (1434–1519), the German painter and printmaker, created his woodcut 'Dance of the Skeletons' (fig. 10) for the Nuremberg Chronicle (sometimes known as Schedel's World History) of 1493 as one of

the 'Seven Ages in World History' dealing with the subject of death.

This individual motif is not to be confused with the so-called 'dances macabres' which were depicted from 1400 onwards. These show representatives of different social classes, statuses and professions – from a pope to a child, from a king to a peasant – dancing with skeletons.



These are generally series of images on several sheets or monumental works such as the Groß-Basler 'danse macabre'.²⁷ Here, the fact that all people are equal in the face of death is the predominant message. This also applies to Hans Holbein the Younger's famous 'Dance of Death' series of around 1540. However, the depictions in this instance differ significantly as the figures are no longer shown dancing. Figures from various social classes are portrayed going about their everyday business. Death lies in wait and snatches its victims without warning.

From the mid 15th century individual images of Death appear: Death as the Grim Reaper, on horseback (as in the Book of Revelation 6:8) with a sword in its hand, as a hunter with a bow and arrow, as a gravedigger with a spade in its hand, as a drummer or piper striking up the last dance, or as Chronos with an hour glass. During the Baroque era memento mori blossomed, overlapped by the emergence of vanitas works of art. Death as a pilgrim, however, remained an extremely rare subject.

The reason for this is perhaps very simple: it may be that Permoser wanted to present an allegory in his figure of Death as a pilgrim in which the Christian on earth is shown as a traveller in his search for god and exposed to a multitude of perils. Like Christ the Redeemer he too must face suffering and bear pain, ultimately to leave his life behind him in the hope of attaining eternal life.

NOTES

¹ Correspondence between Rainer Zietz and Johannes Auersperg who drew attention to the mention of Saint Roch by Permoser's biographer, Nicolo Gaburri, around 1730. We would like to thank Stuart Lochhead for this information.

² Klaus Lankheit, *Florentinische Barockplastik*, Munich 1962, see pp. 167–72, on Permoser; first comprehensive monograph: Sigfried Asche, *Balthasar Permoser, Leben und Werk*, Berlin 1978; Joachim Menzhausen, 'Permoser Balthasar' in: *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 20 (2001), pp. 190–92 (online version), <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118592769.html> (last accessed Feb. 2018). Over the past few years, Eike D. Schmidt has published several essays with extensive notes from new archival material on Permoser. This throws a new light on Permoser's time in Florence and has permitted new attributions to be made. These are the most recent and detailed publications on Permoser: cf. Schmidt 2012, Schmidt 2001, Schmidt / Zikos 2001, Schmidt 1997.

³ Asche 1978 (see note 2), p. 12.

⁴ Francesco Maria Niccolò Gaburri (1676–1742), MS E.B. 9:5, vol. I; *Vite di pittori*, Florence c. 1730, Bibliotheca Nazionale, Florence, published in Lankheit, 1962, doc. 29, p. 229 and in Asche 1978, pp. 127–28: 'Baldassare Permoser di Sassonia [sic], eccelente Scultore in Marmo, in Legno e in Avorio. Innamorato della scultura parti dal Suo Paese, e venne in Italia.

Si trattenne alcuni anni in Roma, poi passo a Firenze e piacendoli il Paese, vi abito per piu anni, in diverse volte, dopo aver girato per il mondo, e di tanto in tanto visitata la Patria.

Molto sono le sue opere che se vedono di sua mano in Firenze in Marmo, in Legno e in Avorio. Bellissimi sopra ogni credere sono le quattro stagioni, con altra figurine in Avorio, di altezza si circa un palmo, le quali si conservano nel Museo dei SS.i. Senatori Ginori. Una statuetta in Legno, di altezza poco meno di braccio Fiorentino di un S.o. Roco che e appresso i SS.i. Frescobaldi, due Putti in Legno al Naturale in Casa Gaburri, e due Statue al Naturale in Marmo bellissime, che una nella Casa Diacceti, e l'altra posta nella Facciata si San Michele dagli Antinori. Quando, e dove seguisse la Morte di questo dignissimo arteface, non e a mia notizia, ma si crede che potesse seguire circa al 1725 in eta molto avanzata.'

⁵ Cf. Asche 1978, pp. 16–21 and docs 3a, 3b, 4a–g, 5; cf. on payments made by the Grand Prince of Tuscany Ferdinando de' Medici to Permoser also Schmidt 1997, pp. 101+ note 110.

⁶ Schmidt 2002, p. 203.

⁷ Asche 1978, p. 129, doc. 5

⁸ A comparison between small and large-format sculptures in Permoser's œuvre is surprisingly easy, the artist having worked in both dimensions with extraordinary skill. Cf. the comparison of the sculpture of Cajetan with cutlery handles carved out of ivory in: Schmidt, 1997, p. 94. figs 3, 4, 5.

⁹ Cf. Schmidt, 1997, p. 95, fig. 9.

¹⁰ Asche 1978, p. 34f, W. 15, around 1685; Schmidt 1997, around 1700, p. 97.

¹¹ 'Una statuetta in Legno, di altezza poco meno di braccio Fiorentino di un S.o. Roco che è appresso i SS.i. Frescobaldi', Francesco Maria Niccolò Gaburri (1676–1742), MS E.B. 9:5, vol. I; *Vite di pittori*, Florence c. 1730, Bibliotheca Nazionale, Florence, published in Lankheit, 1962, doc. 29, p. 229 and in Asche 1978, doc. 3a, pp. 127–28. One 'braccio fiorentino' is 0,587 m.

¹² See note 1.

¹³ Wolfgang Braunfels (ed.), *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, Freiburg i.B. et al. 1976, vol. 8, pp. 275–78; ¹⁴ Schmidt, 2001, p. 682.

¹⁴ Schmidt, 2001, p. 682: 'lo scultore o intagliatore Baldassarre che sta in via Guicciardini deve avere lire dieci p(er) valuta di una Morte d'avorio e rassettatura di un Christo simile p(er) la Capp(ella) d(e)ll'Inperiale'.

¹⁵ Schmidt identifies the crucifix restored by Permoser as one found in Villa del Poggio Imperiale, attributed to Leonhard Kern, and regrets that the skull has not survived; cf. Schmidt, 2001, p. 71ff, esp. p. 75.

¹⁶ First published in Schmidt/Zikos 2001, p. 96 and Schmidt 2012, p. 208.

¹⁷ As mentioned in Schmidt/Zikos 2001, p. 97.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 96 f.

¹⁹ Iccander Johann Christian, 1731, printed in Asche 1978, p. 138, doc 13b.

²⁰ We are grateful to Dr. Matthias Weniger for putting us in contact with Dr. Fabian Pius Huber with regard to information on the figure of Death in Admont Abbey.

²¹ Inv. no. Am PA 694, cf. Seipel 2008, no.71, pp.122-23.

²² 'Basler Totentanz', c. 1440, Jürgen Donien, 'Kurze Einführung zur Geschichte des Totentanzes' in: Georg Laue (ed.), Memento Mori, Munich 2002, pp. 32–35.

²³ Silvia Müllegger, Der Tod in der Kunstammer der frühen Neuzeit. Zur Verortung und Funktion von Tödleinfiguren in den Kunstammern der frühen Neuzeit, Saarbrücken 2014; Andrea von Hülsen-Esch, 'Elfenbein in der Kunstammer. Zu Funktion und Materialität von Memento mori-Objekten' in: Zum Sterben Schön. Alter, Totentanz und Sterbekunst von 1500 bis heute, 2 vols, Regensburg 2006.

²⁴ Inv. no. KK 4450, c. 1583 H. 82.3 cm, W. 32 cm, cf. Seipel 2001, no. 39, p. 69; and Seipel 2008, Meisterwerke der Sammlungen Schloss Ambras, Vienna, Milan 2008, no. 48, pp. 118–19.

²⁵ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Memento_mori (last accessed Feb. 2018).

²⁶ "Quod fuimus, estis; quod sumus, eritis". The adage first appeared in Arabian poetry and, via Spain under the Moors, was absorbed into works in western European literature from the 10th or 11th centuries onwards; cf. Karl Künstle, Die Legende der drei Toten und der Totentanz, Freiburg i.B. 1908.

²⁷ Cf. Jürgen Donien, op.cit in note 22.

PHOTO CREDITS

Admont – Benediktinerstift, Foto Marcel Peda, fig. 6

Munich – Hirmer Verlag, Eike D. Schmidt, Das Elfenbein der Medici, 2012, fig. 143 on page 203, photo – Luigi Artini fig. 2

Leipzig – GRASSI Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Foto Gunter Binsack figs 3+4a+5, detail 4b on page 16, 'Death' Karola Bauer

Wien – KHM Museumsverband figs 7+9

Wikipedia:

fig. 1 https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3ABalthasar_permoser_moritzbodenehr.jpg

fig. 10 [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Wolgemu_t_-_1493_-_tanz_der_gerippe_\(coloriert\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Wolgemu_t_-_1493_-_tanz_der_gerippe_(coloriert).jpg);

fig. 8 https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/8/88/Vesalius_164frc.png

Balthasar Permoser

For all other photographs:

Starnberg – Kunsthandlung Julius Böhler, photos: Andreas Huber

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Asche 1978: Sigfried Asche, Balthasar Permoser. Leben und Werk, Berlin 1978

Bottineau 1987: Yves Bottineau, Der Weg der Jakobspilger. Geschichte, Kunst und Kultur der Wallfahrt nach Santiago de Compostela, Bergisch Gladbach 1987

Herbers 2011: Klaus Herbers, Jakobsweg. Geschichte und Kultur einer Pilgerfahrt, Munich 2011

Hülsen-Esch 2006: Andrea von Hülsen Esch, 'Elfenbein in der Kunstkammer. Zu Funktion und Materialität von Memento mori Objekten', in: Cologne 2006, vol. 1, pp. 301-309

Cologne 2006: Zum Sterben schön ! Alter, Totentanz und Sterbekunst von 1500 bis heute, ed. Andrea von Hülsen-Esch, Hiltrud Westermann-Angerhausen, in cooperation with Stefanie Knöll, exhibition catalogue Museum Schnütgen Cologne, Schloß Jägerhof Düsseldorf, Kunsthalle Recklinghausen, vol. 1+2, Regensburg 2006

Künstle 1908: Karl Künstle, Die Legende der drei Toten und der Totentanz, Freiburg i.B. 1908

Lankheit 1962: Klaus Lankheit, Florentinische Barockplastik. Die Kunst am Hofe der letzten Medici 1670–1743, Munich 1962

Manno 2015: Antonio Manno, San Rocco, Venezia e la peste, Venice 2015

Memento Mori 2002: Memento Mori, ed. Georg Laue with texts by Frank Kammel, Jürgen Donien, Christiane Zeiller, Munich 2002

Müllegger 2014: Silvia Müllegger, Der Tod in der Kunstkammer der frühen Neuzeit. Zur Verortung und Funktion von Tödleinfiguren in den Kunstkammern der frühen Neuzeit, Saarbrücken 2014

Schmidt 1997: Eike D. Schmidt 'Ein dokumentierter Kalvarienberg aus Elfenbein von Balthasar Permoser in Florenz', in: Pantheon 1997, pp. 91-112

Schmidt 2001: Eike D. Schmidt 'Balthasar Permosers Schnitzwerk für den Brautwagen der Prinzessin Violante Beatrix von Bayern', in: eds. Klaus Bergdolt and Giorgio Bonsanti, Opere e giorni. Studi su mille anni di arte europea dedicati a Max Seidel, Venice 2001, pp. 673-686;

Schmidt/Zikos 2001: Eike D. Schmidt und Dimitrios Zikos 'Ein Kruzifix von Baltasar Permoser im Nachlassinventar eines Florentiner Tuchhändlers des 18. Jahrhunderts', in: Jahrbuch des Historischen Vereins für den Chiemgau zu Traunstein e.V., yr. 13. 2001, pp. 95-115

Schmidt 2012: Eike D. Schmidt, Das Elfenbein der Medici, Munich 2012

Seipel 2001: Wilfried Seipel, Alle Wunder dieser Welt. Die kostbarsten Kunstwerke aus der Sammlung Erzherzog Ferdinands II. (1529-95), exhibition catalogue Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum Sammlungen Schloß Ambras, 30 June – 31 October 2001, ed. Wilfried Seipel, Vienna 2001

Seipel 2008: Wilfried Seipel, Meisterwerke der Sammlungen Schloss Ambras, Vienna, Milan 2008

© 2018 Julius Böhler Kunsthandlung GmbH, Starnberg
Blumka Gallery, New York

Editor: Florian Eitle-Böhler
Photography: Andreas Huber, Aufhausen
Text: Eva Bitzinger
Editing: Julia Scheid
Graphic design: Christine Oyntzen, Apfeldorf
Translation: Christopher Wynne, Bad Tölz
Production: Hans Michel, omb2 Print GmbH, Munich

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced,
stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means electronic,
mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise except for the quotation of
brief passages in criticism.

Julius Böhler Kunsthandlung
Unterer Seeweg 4
82319 Starnberg

www.boehler-art.com

Blumka Gallery
209 East 72nd Street
New York, New York 10021

www.blumkagallery.com



Julius Böhler

Blumka Gallery

