

Two Welsch Putti

Hans Leinberger





TWO WELSCH PUTTI

————— Hans Leinberger —————



documented in Landshut 1510 - 1530

Lindenwood

Height 30 and 36 cm

c. 1515

Literature:

Paul M. Arnold, 'Hans Leinberger und die welsche Kunst. Ein Puttenpaar aus der Zeit des Moosburger Hochaltares',

lecture manuscript, 2001

Collecting Treasures of the Past, Blumka Gallery, Julius Böhler, Brimo de Laroussilhe (eds), exh. cat., Blumka Gallery,

New York 2002, cat. no 32

Hans Thoma, 'Meister Hans aus der Barfüßergasse:

Notizen zu Person und Werk des Bildhauers Hans Leinberger' in Weltberühmt und vornehm: Landshut 1204–2004. Beiträge zu 800 Jahren

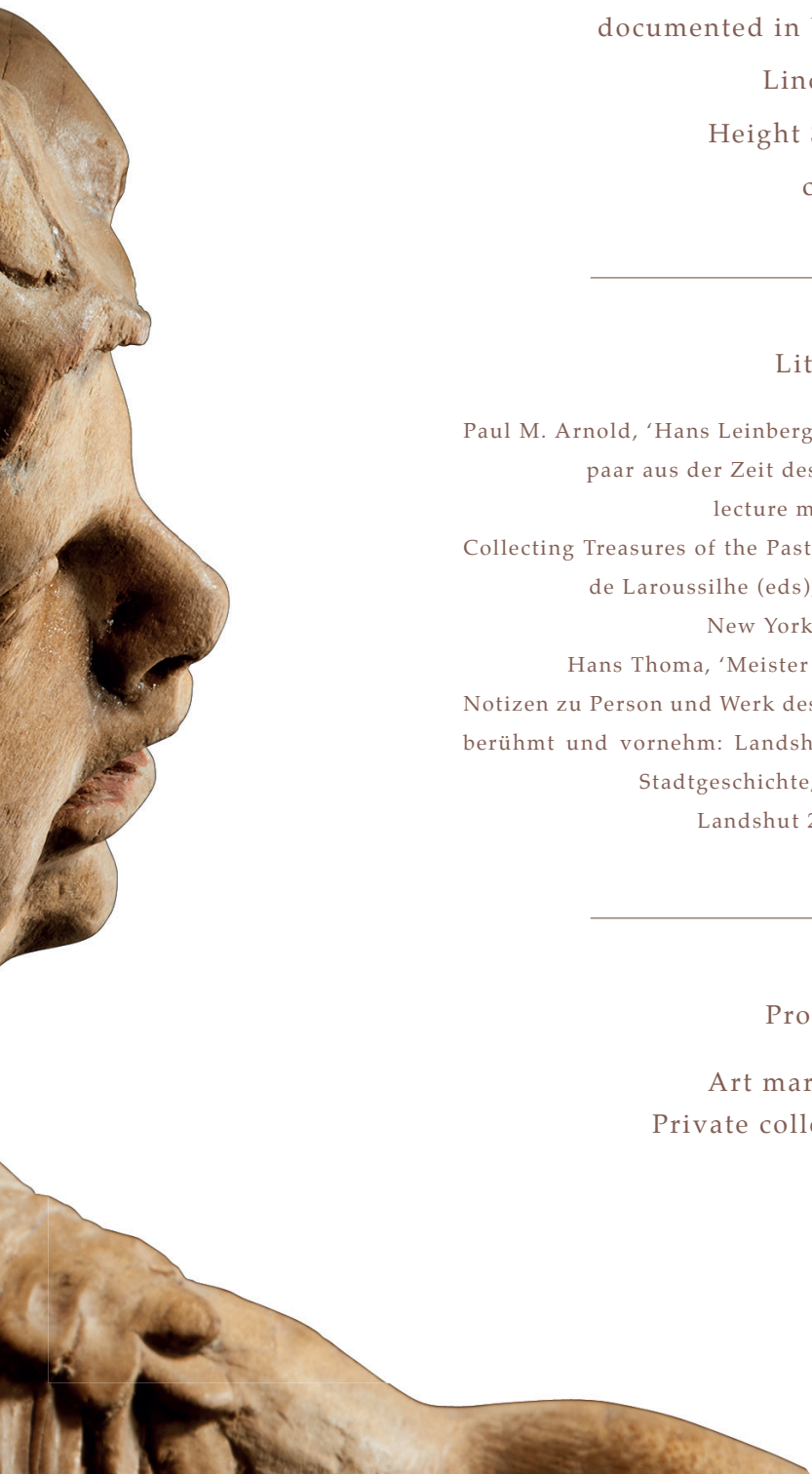
Stadtgeschichte, Stadt Landshut (ed.),

Landshut 2004, pp. 185–196

Provenance:

Art market, England

Private collection, New York







FOREWORD

More than eighteen years ago I discovered a couple of angels in flight at a sculpture sale held by an auction house in London. The catalogue entry read: 'Pair of gilded angels, Italian, 18th century'. Together with Tony Blumka, who was not able to be in London at that time, I discussed the purchase of the two figures at great length on the phone. We decided to bid for them. It was a risk as, due to the thick layer of gesso that was not original and the gilding that had been added on top, I could not judge their artistic quality exactly. However, we were convinced that the attribution 'Italian, 18th century' was wrong. Even at that time we suspected that the angels were by a sculptor in the close circle of the Landshut woodcarver Hans Leinberger. After their purchase came the thrilling part that demanded a lot of patience from both of us. My restorer at that time, Benno Gantner sen., since deceased, with whom our company had worked since the 1950s, freed the two angels of the thick layers of paint and gilding over a period of several months. He successfully brought their individual quality to light in full. And thanks to painstaking research, we have finally been able to attribute the putti to the hand of Hans Leinberger himself.

In 2002 we wanted to present the two figures at a joint show in Tony's gallery for the first time. A private collector in New York, however, had already seen the angels in our exhibition catalogue and was so fascinated that he bought them before the opening, after seeing

them briefly, and took them home with him. For Tony Blumka and me it is a great pleasure to be able to show you these magnificent sculptures now, for the first time on the public stage, at TEFAF. They testify to the masterly skill of this unique sculptor who was way ahead of his time. The catalogue in hand is an appreciation of the two heavenly Putti and places them within the context of the work of the important artist about whom little information has been handed down.

A special thank-you goes to Dr. Matthias Weniger whose profound knowledge of Hans Leinberger helped us enormously. He also kindly provided us with comprehensive photographic material, as did Markus T. Huber. Paul M. Arnold, who has been researching Leinberger for several decades, assisted us and gave advice at all times. A big thank-you is due to Andreas Huber, our exceptionally skilled photographer. Through the intensive study of works of art during hour-long photo sessions with him I have often gained new and important insights – as was also the case with the Leinberger angels.

I would particularly like to mention Eva Bitzinger in this foreword who has been responsible for the research work carried out and Julia Scheid who added a final linguistic polish to the text.

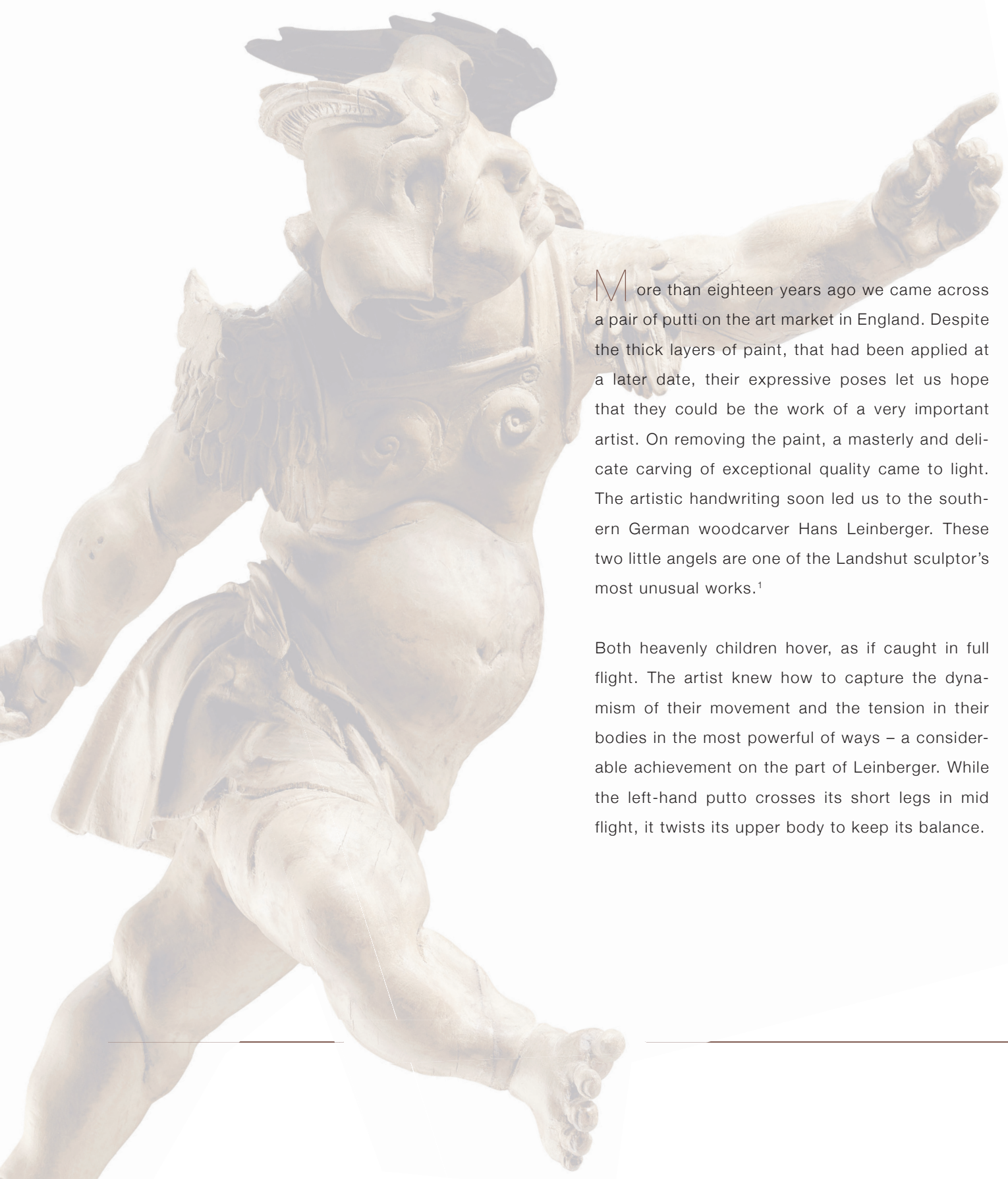
Florian Eitle-Böhler

Starnberg, February 2019





TWO WELSCH PUTTI



More than eighteen years ago we came across a pair of putti on the art market in England. Despite the thick layers of paint, that had been applied at a later date, their expressive poses let us hope that they could be the work of a very important artist. On removing the paint, a masterly and delicate carving of exceptional quality came to light. The artistic handwriting soon led us to the southern German woodcarver Hans Leinberger. These two little angels are one of the Landshut sculptor's most unusual works.¹

Both heavenly children hover, as if caught in full flight. The artist knew how to capture the dynamism of their movement and the tension in their bodies in the most powerful of ways – a considerable achievement on the part of Leinberger. While the left-hand putto crosses its short legs in mid flight, it twists its upper body to keep its balance.



The torsion is especially pronounced. Its arms are also turned in a correspondingly expressive manner. The angel looks upwards to the right, its pointing arm gesturing to its counterpart. The tension extends through the whole body right down to its splayed toes. The right-hand putto looks as if it has been caught while leaping. The right-hand side of its torso is foreshortened, the figure's right leg is bent while its left leg is thrust dynamically away from its body. The right hand is raised in a slightly defensive position; its left hand balances the movement. As these two exceptional sculptures are no longer in their original context, the question arises as to what was between them when first carved. What is certain is that these are not little angels in a conventional sense. They are wearing armour like warriors from Antiquity. Their headgear is also reminiscent of Herculean heroes. The helmet of the putto on the right is in the shape of a lion's head, embellished on the sides with fantastic spirals of ram horns. Leinberger even equipped

the winged boy with a leg pad, rounded off with a rosette. The left-hand figure, on the other hand, boasts a crested helmet with a bear-like face on it. Both putti are wearing soft cuirasses that take on the shape of their well-nourished stomachs. Only the feathered wings growing from their shoulders indicate that both are celestial beings. Another feature that is most unusual for an angel can be seen on the left-hand putto: behind his back, his hand and fingers are making a so-called *mano in fica* (fig-hand) gesture.²

Influences in the so-called Welsch³ or Romanic manner – stylistic characteristics from the Italian Renaissance that were largely unknown at that time north of the Alps – are especially noteworthy in this work by Hans Leinberger. Our investigation traces the artist's footsteps, comparing and contrasting the putti with elements in Leinberger's first documented work – the Moosburg Altar of 1513/14.



THE MOOSBURG ABBEY



The imposing abbey church in Moosburg⁴ near Munich is dedicated to the Virgin Mary and Saint Castulus (fig. 1). Tradition has it that Castulus was chamberlain to the Roman emperor Diocletian (236/45–312) and an avowed Christian. He secretly organised religious services in the imperial palace and acted as a missionary on the streets of Rome. After being betrayed, Emperor Diocletian ordered Castulus to be executed in a gruesome way. The veneration of the martyr began at an early date. His remains were later removed from the Castulus Catacomb named after him and taken to the then recently founded Moosburg Abbey (as shown by evidence dating from 807); this strengthened the foundation's authority in its missionary work in the Holzland and Hallertau regions in Bavaria. Within a short time legends abounded about the miracle-working relics. The abbey church was altered many times in the course of the centuries. In 1468 the provost Johann von Pienzenau had the Romanesque apse demolished and replaced by a choir in the late Gothic style. Louis the Rich, Duke of Bavaria and Landshut, reputedly laid the foundation stone. In 1469, the remains of St. Castulus were moved to the new high altar. The financing of the extensive building work was secured thanks to the great veneration of the patron saint who protected

the faithful from lightning, drought and horse theft. His popularity had led to a continuous increase in the number of pilgrims and in revenue. This meant that subsequent provosts – Friedrich III of Maierkirchen (1479–1485), Theoderich Mair (1485–1507) and Bernhard Arzt (1507–1517) were able to modernise the furnishings of the abbey church. The late Gothic revamping of the church culminated in the installation of Hans Leinberger's lindenwood altarpiece, that is more than fourteen metres high, in 1514. His authorship is documented by invoices that have, unfortunately, only survived in part. They refer to 'Hans the woodcarver from Landshut' and date his stay in Moosburg to 1513/14. The same sources reveal that the painter Hans Wertinger, also from Landshut, completed paintings for the altarpiece in 1515/16. The high altar is considered to be Leinberger's most important work and highlights the experienced sculptor's mature style even to this day. The provosts in Moosburg would certainly not have given such a major commission to an unknown sculptor. However, no other work made by the artist 'Hans the woodcarver from Landshut' is known prior to the altarpiece. It is also not known where he was born or where he trained. Leinberger's biography still poses many questions.

Fig. 1 Hans Leinberger, Altarpiece, former abbey church Moosburg, c. 1511-14





(Figs. 2-5) Hans Leinberger, Scenes from the life of Saint Castulus, Reliefs from the Altarpiece, c. 1511-14, limewood, each about 118 x 105 cm, former abbey church Moosburg

Fig. 2 St Castulus Arrested While Preaching

Fig. 3 St Castulus Brought Before Diocletian

Fig. 4 The Torture of St Castulus

Fig. 5 St Castulus Buried Alive

In Moosburg Hans Leinberger relates the life of Saint Castulus in four chronologically arranged reliefs: *St Castulus Arrested While Preaching*; *St Castulus Brought Before Diocletian*; *The Torture of St Castulus*; *St Castulus Buried Alive* (figs. 2-5). Unlike the composition of figures in the manner commonly found on Gothic altarpieces, Leinberger uses a sculptural narrative style in his relief work that was not known at that time. The emperor's soldiers are depicted with considerable historical accuracy. Their tunics, cuirasses, belts and helmets are all references to sculptures in Antiquity. However, Leinberger allows himself a certain artistic freedom that comes from a contemporary, idealised notion of armour from that time. The helmets with their spiralled decorations on the sides are stylistically reminiscent of our pair of putti. The muscle plating also shows related motifs such as the snail

shell-shaped spirals on the breast (figs. 9, 10). The soldiers' leg pads are embellished with animal masks and ornamental shell motifs. The depiction is intended to suggest a scene in Antiquity and to create a plausible frame for the story of Castulus' martyrdom.

Where did Hans Leinberger pick up this innovative formal language? Motifs from Italy and Antiquity had spread to Germany through the medium of print as works on paper. In this respect Andrea Mantegna's cycle, *The Triumphs of Caesar*, that he created for the Marquis of Mantua, is of particular importance. This cycle became widely known in the form of copperplate engravings produced in Mantegna's workshop even during the artist's own lifetime. The henchman who presents Castulus to Diocletian (fig. 7) was obviously inspired by one of the soldiers in the engraving *The Senators* (fig. 6).



Fig. 6 The Triumph of Caesar: The Senators
Circle of Andrea Mantegna (Italian, Isola di Carturo
1430/31-1506 Mantua), Engraving, c. 1484-92
Sheet 27.6 x 27 cm, The Metropolitan Museum
of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1920, Accession
Number 20.73.1,
Fig. 7 detail of fig. 3



Fig. 8 Jacopo de' Barbari, Mars and Venus
c. 1510-1512, Engraving with additions in graphite,
ink and wash, 29.2 x 17.5 cm, Minneapolis Institute
of Art, Inv. Nr. P.68.117, Bequest of Herschel V.
Jones

The cuirasses that take on the form of the bodies of the putti and the winged helmets with spiral shapes recall the etchings of Jacopo de' Barbari (fig. 8). Barbari, a Venetian, worked at several European courts including those of Maximilian I in Nuremberg and Frederick III, Elector of Saxony. Evidence shows that he was in contact with Leinberger's colleague and contemporary, Albrecht Dürer.

In 1782, Moosburg abbey was elaborately restored under the direction of the Bavarian sculptor Christian Jorhan. Hans Leinberger's magnificent altarpiece was left in situ but was painted. The Castulus reliefs, probably conceived for the outer side of the shrine's doors, were removed. A second restoration and revamping took place in 1862. In 1937–1939 the Castulus reliefs were stripped of their paint and gilding and the very fine surface, artistically worked with no less than twenty-three different stamping and punching tools, brought to light again.⁵

Different changes have irrevocably altered the original altarpiece. The reliefs are now presented as individual panels and have been hung around the choir ambulatory. Only the original appearance of the surface of the sculptures can be reconstructed. Restoration work carried out in 2002–2003 revealed evidence that the retable and reliefs only had a thin, monochrome layer of brown varnish.⁶ The lips and eyes were highlighted in colour. In this way certain details in the carving stood out. This was, however, not unusual for altarpieces after 1500 – Tilman Riemenschneider's work in Rothenburg ob der Tauber being one such example. Doing without coloured paint required exceptional skill as

the woodcarver had to go without the possibility of covering up any imperfections with canvas and a layer of gesso before adding paint.



Fig. 9 detail of fig. 4
Fig. 10 detail of fig. 3





Let us return to the armour-clad putti. Putto in Italian means 'boy' or 'child' (Latin: putus, puttus).⁷ Modelled on Eros from Antiquity and made popular by Ovid in his literary works, 'the image of the child-like, winged Amor, armed with a bow and arrow ... survived the Middle Ages'.⁸ The 'ornamentation' of the winged beings that peopled decorative friezes between acanthus leaves or, as genii of death, presenting images of the deceased on sarcophaguses, started in Late Antiquity. It was not until Donatello, who created the first free-standing putti in post-Antiquity, that the putto was given a life of its own.⁹

Virtually no other comparable putto is to be found in German sculpture around 1500.¹⁰ The term 'putto' did not exist at that time either. The wooden putti carved by the Augsburg sculptor Jörg Muskat for the City Hall in Augsburg were described as 'walschische kindlein' (welsch babes) in a document written in 1515.¹¹ Welsch, in a narrower sense, means 'Italian' (i.e. Romanic), as opposed to 'German'. There was no tradition north of the Alps of the use of putti as 'figurative ornaments' as most commonly found. Consequently they were referred to as 'walschische kindlein'. Significantly, early examples of putti can be found in the work of Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528). Dürer travelled to Italy twice and may have brought the motif back with him. One example in this context can be seen in his woodcut *Rest on the Flight* (created in 1502, published in 1511) in which a number of little angels can be seen romping around at the bottom of the picture.¹² The printing of books

and graphic works helped spread the motif of the child-like angel.

Several artists in Dürer's native city, Nuremberg, worked in the new 'Renaissance style' and employed his techniques like, for example, Peter Vischer the Elder in his bronze casts. The Renaissance fashion was especially manifest among the wealthy in the city of Augsburg, first and foremost within the Fugger family. Plans for the Fugger Chapel in St. Anna's in Augsburg, funded by Ulrich and Jacob Fugger as a chapel to house the family's tombs, were first drawn up in 1509. Construction started in 1512 on what was to be the first building in southern Germany in which the architectural and furnishing principles of the Italian Renaissance were consistently implemented. The Fuggers, a prosperous merchant and banking family, had numerous ties with Italy and had established their own commercial base in Venice – the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi*. As patrons of the arts, they played an important role in the reception of the Italian Renaissance on German soil. They imported Italian textiles and works of art, such as gold items and bronze plaquettes, on a grand scale. The Fuggers had a decisive influence in the spread of the welsch style in Germany. Putti on the balustrade are among the sculptures to have survived in the Fugger Chapel. One of these figures is also wearing armour.¹³







At approximately the same time as in Moosburg, Leinberger worked on the altarpiece of the Virgin and Child with Saint Anne for Gnadenthal Convent in Ingolstadt¹⁴ (fig. 11). This was privately commissioned by the Peringers and Riedlers, wealthy burgher families, whose daughters both lived in the convent. While the composition of the altarpiece in Moosburg is still rooted in the Gothic, that here is in the welsch style. Several details, such as the perspectival execution of the columns, decorated with climbing flowers and the ornamental patterns have been borrowed from the design vocabulary of the Renaissance. The small figure of Christ, with its lively gesturing and the exalted position of the legs has similarities with our putti (fig. 12). The plump, outwardly turned foot with its folds and splayed toes is reminiscent of both winged beings in their armour.

Fig. 11 Hans Leinberger, Virgin and Child with St. Anne, convent church St. Johann im Gnadenthal near Ingolstadt, dated 1513, limewood, painted, 140 x 106 cm



Fig. 12 detail of fig. 11

The Gnadenthal altarpiece is considered to be groundbreaking not least of all due to the new welsch style and the charming depiction of Christ. This can be seen in the many copies of this altarpiece that were subsequently made.¹⁵



A further work from this period is the monogrammed relief in the Bavarian National Museum dated 1516¹⁶ (figs. 13-15). It shows the Crucifixion of Christ, flanked by the two thieves. Among the foot soldiers mingling around the cross are several in armour in the Ancient Roman style.



Fig. 13 detail of fig. 14





Fig. 14 Hans Leinberger, Crucifixion, monogrammed HL,
dated (15)16, boxwood, 22 x 15,3 cm
Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich, Inv.-no. R 171,



Fig. 15 detail of fig. 14

The right-hand soldier is wearing a helmet that again is decorated with conspicuous snail-shell spirals. This motif is also repeated on the shoulders. The soldier is holding a young boy who is trying to free himself from the firm grip (fig. 14).

The boy's tense limbs are a motif repeatedly used by Leinberger and one that can also be seen in our putti in armour.







Fig. 16 design Albrecht Dürer, model Hans Leinberger, cast Stephan Godl, Count Albrecht IV von Habsburg (1188-1239), 1517/18, bronze, 230 cm, Hofkirche, Innsbruck

These reappear on another of the artist's works, the figure of Albrecht IV (figs. 16-19), created for the monumental tomb of Maximilian I (1459–1519).¹⁷ The emperor had planned to have a gigantic, bronze high tomb. Forty larger-than-life-sized ancestral figures were to provide a guard of honour after his death. The project was only completed under Maximilian's grandson, Ferdinand I (1503–1564). He had the bronze figures, albeit only twenty-eight of them, installed in the court church that had been specifically built for this purpose.

The realisation of this ambitious project required the cooperation of several artists. A design had to be drafted and then translated into a three-dimensional form that, in turn, was to serve as a model for the casts. In 1514, Emperor Maximilian was on the lookout for additional artists and approached Hans Leinberger in Landshut. The design of the figure was from Dürer. Hans Leinberger used this as a model for a wooden sculpture that no longer exists and which served as cast model. In 1514/15 the emperor asked impatiently 'if the master from Landshut has cast his image or not'.

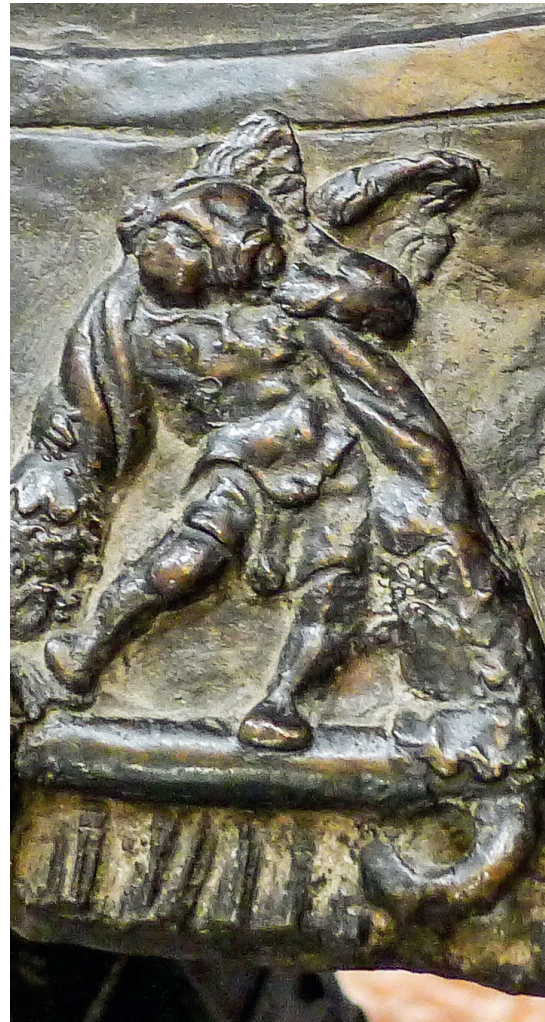


Fig. 17 detail of fig. 16

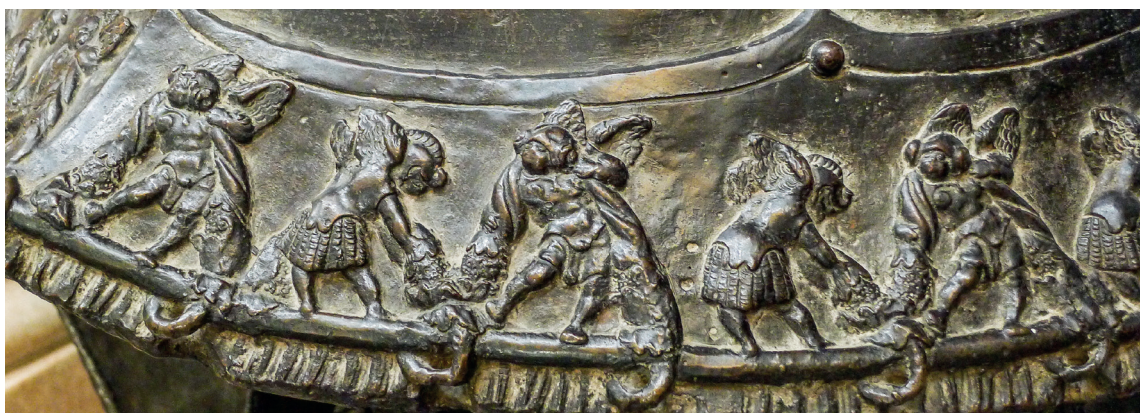


Fig. 18 detail of fig. 16

It would seem that Leinberger had wanted to cast the figure himself, something that he was not able to do. Ultimately the statue was cast in Stephan Godl's foundry in Innsbruck. Winged, welsch creatures appear on the lower border of Albrecht's tonlet skirt. Interestingly, this detail is lacking in Dürer's preliminary drawing. It can be assumed that Leinberger added them himself as they bear a close resemblance to the little angels in his œuvre.

It should be mentioned at this point that receiving a commission from the emperor and being involved in such a prestigious project speak for the high esteem the artist must have enjoyed at that time. Of his bronze experiments, an exceptionally appealing example has survived, the Virgin and Child, now in the Bode Museum in Berlin.¹⁸

To conclude, Hans Leinberger's last documented work should be mentioned – the high altar for the Augustinian monastery in Polling near Weilheim in Upper Bavaria¹⁹. Commissioned by the provost Johannes Vendt II in May 1526, it was explicitly stipulated that the work should be executed in a welsch style. Vendt asked for 'carved' columns with 'welsch cornices of the best'; a picture of the sitting Virgin Mary with two angels to decorate the shrine, with an image of 'compassion' in the field above – i.e. a Man of Sorrows; in the



Fig. 19 detail of fig. 16

'third crown', in the uppermost field, a John the Baptist; two Renaissance portals were to flank the picture of the Virgin Mary. The commission was given to the carpenter Hans Bockschütz of Tölz who made the altarpiece's structure. Bockschütz asked Hans Leinberger of Landshut to go to Polling to help him with the execution of the figures. Leinberger, it would seem, had obviously made a name for himself for work in the Italian Renaissance style.²⁰





Fig. 20 Hans Leinberger, Virgin and Child, 1526 - 1527, limewood, painted, height 133 cm, formerly in the centre of the High Altar of the former monasterial church Polling, now parish church Polling

The overall impression of this work of art has now been lost today. During secularisation, the church was dissolved and the altarpiece with all the figures auctioned off on 16 April 1805. Only the figure of the Virgin Mary (figs. 20) and the Man of Sorrows are to be found in Polling today.

Finally, the question as to the putti's original position in relation to one another needs to be explored. As mentioned above, one putto is making the *fica* gesture. While this gesture is a vulgar symbol for the sexual act today, the motif itself actually comes from Antiquity when it stood for good fortune and fertility. Amulets in the shape of the fig-hand had an apotropaic function up until the modern era. They were to keep evil spirits – 'the evil eye' – at bay. Coral *fica* amulets for rattles or necklaces are frequently found and are supposed to protect children in particular from misfortune. The putto's fig-hand is certainly to be seen in this vein. The putti may also have been mounted in a secular context simply as a protection from the ill of unwelcome visitors.

This publication is not only intended as a tribute to a very special work of art, Hans Leinberger's armour-clad welsch putti, but to the artist himself. Even if biographical details and references in contemporary sources are sparse, the works attributed to him prove that Leinberger was an exceptional woodcarver at the time of Dürer – not just in Landshut but in Bavaria and beyond the boundaries of southern Germany.

The formal language of his works reflects the transition from Late Gothic to the Renaissance. He is one of the first artists to introduce the Italian Renaissance in sculpture north of the Alps.²¹ To date, the dimension of Leinberger's importance as an artist has not yet been fully recognised and honoured as such. This is also the conclusion reached in research on Leinberger. We would like to add to the growing appreciation of Hans Leinberger's importance through our presentation of the welsch putti.









BIOGRAPHY OF HANS LEINBERGER



Hans Leinberger is mentioned in archival records in Landshut between 1513 and 1530. However, these records are not complete and it could well be that he was active in Landshut before and after these dates. It is possible that he already had a workshop in Landshut prior to 1513 since he was working on the Moosburg altarpiece around 1513–14, as documentary evidence shows. Before Leinberger received the major commission for Moosburg, he must already have been successful elsewhere. It is believed that Leinberger was born around 1470–85, making him a contemporary of Dürer, Altdorfer and Cranach.²²

The last certain mention of Leinberger is in one of the ducal invoice ledgers from the year 1530 in Landshut. Leinberger was paid an annual salary (soldt) that would mean that his position was equal to that of a court sculptor. The payment of ‘five guilders is to be seen as a payment in waiting – i.e. compensation for declaring his will to carry out commissions for the royal household of Bavaria. The actual payment for a work of art would then, of course, be made separately, as the case may be’.²³ As no other payments or works are

known in this respect, it is possible that Leinberger died in spring 1531 or later that year. However, the ledgers from 1531 to 1539, kept by the Master of the Chamber, are missing. In 1540, another woodcarver is mentioned as being in the service of the duke who had been on the lookout for a new sculptor since 1536. It is therefore highly probable that Leinberger died between early 1531 and 1540 in Landshut.

An entry in an invoice in the City of Munich treasury from 1535, however, contradicts this assumption. A *Hanssen Pildschnitzer zwen LanndBhut*²⁴ was granted the right of citizenship in Munich. Whether this was actually Hans Leinberger cannot be confirmed with any certainty. The figure of St. George in the Church of Our Lady in Munich that is attributed to Hans Leinberger, on the other hand, would speak in favour of this. The figure, dated by Lill to around 1525/30, may indeed have been made after 1535²⁵ and, as such, may represent the last identifiable work by this exceptionally talented artist. If this was the case, Leinberger probably died shortly afterwards in Munich.





Notes

¹ The putti first achieved acclaim in 2001 in Paul M. Arnold's lecture 'Hans Leinberger und die "welsche" Kunst. Ein Putten paar aus der Zeit des Moosburger Hochaltares' (Hans Leinberger and welsch art. A pair of putti from the time of the Moosburg high altar). A copy of this lecture is held in the library at the Bavarian National Museum in Munich. We would like to thank Paul Arnold for forwarding the text to us in digital form. In this text Arnold summarises observations made up until that time on the Italian influences in Leinberger's work, supplemented by a number of new thoughts. Cf. also Arnold 1990 and Arnold 1991.

In his essay for the Leinberger exhibition in Landshut in 2006/07 Matthias Weniger provides a good overview of the state of research on Leinberger: '1906–2006: Hundert Jahre Leinberger' (1906–2006: Leinberger 100 years on). The first monograph, by Georg Lill, published in 1942, is still well-worth reading. Georg Habich, who 'discovered' the artist, draws attention to the Italian influences in 1906. His affinity with Italy and the question as to whether Leinberger ever went to Italy have most recently been discussed in Rückert 2018 and Spina 2018.

² On the 'fig-hand' see Hansmann, Kriss-Rettenbeck 1977, pp. 258–59.

³ Welsch is the general term for Italian, French, Romanic or Latin, or simply 'foreign' and is used here as a counterpoint to German. See Baxandall 2004 (1985), p. 144 ff, who lists the different and sometimes contradictory meanings; Eser 2000 provides an in-depth discussion on the term within the context of sculpture in Germany between 1500 and 1550, p. 332 note 31: 'Since around the second half of the 15th century, the words 'wälsch', 'wehlich', 'Walchen' etc. have been used exclusively to mean Italian.'

⁴ Lill 1942, pp. 35–101, Arnold 1990 and 2001; Kahsnitz 2005, pp. 304–23.

⁵ Taubert 2015, p. 80f and pp. 97–104, exh. cat., Landshut 2006/07, cat. no. 2, pp. 106–15, exh. cat., Frankfurt 2015, cat. no. 15, pp. 58–59.

⁶ Jocher 2011, p. 12.

⁷ 'Putto' – Italian for 'boy' or 'child' – is, in German speaking countries, a collective term dating from the post-Baroque era', Wilfried Hansmann, Putten, Worms 2010, p. 7.

⁸ Körner 2007; in this essay Körner provides a good overview on the history of putti (pp. 64–69), here p. 65.

⁹ Ibid. pp. 65–67.

¹⁰ Eser 2000, p. 328: 'Putti – figures of little naked children, that are used as figurative ornaments often without any direct involvement in the overall context – did not have any tradition in art north of the Alps.' Cf. Daniel Mauch, Bieselbacher Altar, Kahsnitz 2005, plates 154, 157. Here, the children around the Holy Family have been incorporated thematically. Mauch also uses them ornamentally, seated on horns of plenty.

¹¹ Eser 2000, p. 333 and note 32.

¹² Albrecht Dürer, Rest on the Flight, from 'The Life of the Virgin', woodcut, c. 1502, e.g. in the Albertina, Vienna: [http://sammlungenonline.albertina.at/?query=Inventarnummer=\[DG1934/418\]&showtype=record](http://sammlungenonline.albertina.at/?query=Inventarnummer=[DG1934/418]&showtype=record).

According to Arnold 2001 this is probably the first time that a putto appears in armour.

¹³ On the Fugger Chapel, see Bushart 1994, fig. putto in armour, pl. XXVI; and Eser 1996, cat. no. 27, p. 208ff.

¹⁴ Lill 1942 p. 104f. and p. 313.

¹⁵ As pointed out by Lill who lists the altarpieces subsequently created, pp. 107–08. Cf. also exh. cat., Landshut 2006/2007, cat. nos 20, 27.

¹⁶ Lill 1942, pp. 113–16; exh. cat., Frankfurt 2015, cat. no. 37, with ref. to graphic works; Spina 2018, pp. 278–79.

¹⁷ Oberhammer 1935; Lill 1942 pp. 122–30; exh. cat., Frankfurt 2015, cat. no. 127.

¹⁸ The Madonna is reputed to have come from the Town Hall in Moosburg, Lill pp. 131–36, fig. 132, exh. cat., Frankfurt, cat. no. 127; Bredekamp 2018.

¹⁹ Lill 1942, pp. 144–50.

²⁰ '... mit ausgeschnittenen colonnen und welschen symsen nach dem pesten, auch in das corpus ein sitzend Maria pild, und in die feldung daruber ein barmhertzigkeit, und in den dritten kron darob sandt Johannis des gotzdeufer und unten neben dem mariapild zwein engel und ob in die aussern feldungen zeven welsch porthen ...' Lill 1942, p. 311; translated by Baxandall 1981, p. 316: '... with carved columns and welsch cornices of the best; also in the corpus a sitting image of Mary, and in the section above a Man of Sorrows and, in the third section, above that St John the Baptist; and below, next to the image of Mary two angels, and, above, in the outer sections two welsch doors'; cf. Rückert 2018, on Leinberger's reputation working in the welsch style, pp. 257–58.

²¹ Rückert 2018, p. 256: 'Leinberger demonstrates considerable freedom in his combination of traditions north of the Alps with the wealth of forms from the art of Italy and Antiquity. The synthesis is brilliant'; Spina 2018 attributes his affinity with Italy to a familiarity with Lombardic/Venetian art, p. 275.

²² Lill 1942, p. 10ff.

²³ Liedke 1976, S. 33.

²⁴ Liedke 1976, S. 35.

²⁵ Liedke 1976, S. 36.

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