
The Mining Town of Jáchymov: Reformation and Art

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(Prague)

Several mining towns emerged in the border region of Bohemia and Saxony in the last third of the fifteenth and the first third of the sixteenth centuries thanks to the discovery of mineral deposits on both sides of the Ore Mountains.¹ Schneeberg (1477), Neustadt-Annaberg (1521), Jáchymov (1516), Měděnec (1520) and Hora sv. Kateřiny (1528) were among them. Other towns of northwestern Bohemia shared in mining enterprises and trading in ores, for instance, Most.² Merchants of the mining towns maintained lively contacts with German commercial centres, such as Nuremberg, Augsburg, Zwickau, Leipzig and Freiberg. Cultural contacts and stimuli also naturally emerged from this relationship. As a result the nouveau riche noble entrepreneurs and the towns became customers for works of art.³ An outstanding example of an art donation by a mining guild is the so-called miners' altar in the St. Ann's Church of Annaberg from 1521.⁴ Its author, the Saxon painter Hans Hesse, depicted on the back side of the middle board and on the two side boards the legend about the origins of Annaberg and its mining operations. While the Wettins of Meissen dominated the mining on the Saxon side, families of the Šliks and the Pflugs of Rabštejn played this role in northwestern Bohemia.

The Reformation substantially influenced the intellectual climate of northwestern Bohemia in the first half of the sixteenth century.⁵ The religious conditions began to change radically after Luther's debut. Domestic and foreign nobility,⁶ as well as the towns (still marked as *sub una* in 1517 on Klaudián's map of Bohemia) very rapidly embraced the Reformation. The Protestant surge was accelerated by certain nationality and property conditions, as well as by the lively commercial and family ties with Saxony, whose rulers had turned into the Reformation's adherents and protectors. Lutheranism was adopted by the Šlik

¹ Concerning mineral mining in northwest Bohemia see Jiří Majer, *Těžba cínu ve Slavkovském lese v 16. století* (Prague, 1970); *idem*, "Těžba stříbrných rud v Jáchymově," *SNTM* 5 (Prague, 1968) 111-279; Lubomír Nemeškal, *Jáchymovská mincovna v 1. polovině 16. století* (Prague, 1964).

² Heide Raková-Mannlová, *Kulturní památka Most. Děkanský kostel a jeho stavitelé* (Most, 1989) 8-9.

³ Concerning the Saxon mining enterprises and the art acquisition in the mining towns, see Ingo Sandner, *Spätgotische Tafelmalerei in Sachsen* (Dresden and Basel, 1993) 9-29.

⁴ *Ibid.* 256-290, Taf. 69a-d.

⁵ Ferdinand Hrejsa, *Dějiny křesťanství v Československu*, vv. 4-5 (Prague, 1948); Lubomír Kocourek, "Vrchnost a luterská reformace v severních Čechách," in: *Poddanská města v systému patrimoniální správy*. [Sborník příspěvků z konference v Ústí nad Orlicí 12.- 13. září 1995] (Ústí nad Orlicí, 1996) 63-69; *idem*, "K náboženským dějinám doby reformační I," *Vlastivědný sborník Podřipsko* 6/1 (1996) 87-96; *idem*, "K náboženským dějinám doby reformační II," *Vlastivědný sborník Podřipsko* 7 (1997) 32-44; *idem*, "Luterská reformace a její ohlasy," *Východočeské listy historické* 11-12 (Hradec Králové, 1997) 63- 72. For a critique of Kocourek's views, see J. Horský, "Příspěvek k diskusi o luterství v Čechách v 16. a na počátku 17. století," *Ústecký sborník historický 2000* (Ústí nad Labem, 2001) 224-235.

⁶ Lenka Bobková, "Cizí šlechta usazená v severních Čechách," in: *Život na šlechtickém sídle v XVI. a v XVII. století*, AUP, Philosophica et Historica 1, Studia Historica 1 (1992) 99-113.

family, which owned the Bassano County in Italy, and the towns of Loket, Sokolov and Klášterec nad Ohří in Bohemia. The Šliks' town of Loket became one of the first Lutheran centres, where the so-called articles of the believers' community were composed as early as 1521 by the local Protestant preacher, Parson Wolfgang Rappolt. His successor, Johann Freisleben, had them printed in 1522. The articles, eighteen in number, made the faithful adhere to Luther's teaching and required, among others, German as the liturgical language, particularly in baptism. The biblical accent was manifest in the requirement that ministers preach primarily on themes drawn from the Gospels. The articles opposed the sale of cemetery graves, and recommended joint praying by the minister and the congregation of the Our Father, the Creed, Hail Mary, and the Decalogue. Apparently under the influence of Bohemian Utraquism, the faithful were allowed to receive "at their own request" communion from the chalice. Šebastián Šlik permitted Lutheran preachers to settle also in Falknov and Ostrov nad Ohří. His close relations with Luther are attested, among others, by the fact that the latter dedicated to him his polemical treatise responding to the strictures of the English King Henry VIII. Henry had suggested that Luther might need refuge in Bohemia, and the German reformer noted in his dedication that he would undoubtedly choose Šlik's estates, if he ever had to flee to that country. The Reformation was also adopted by the barons of Salhausen, several members of the Lobkovic family, and the residents of a number of towns that had been hitherto *sub una*. After preaching in Zwickau since 1520, the Protestant extremist, Thomas Müntzer, arrived first in Žatec in the summer of 1521, and then proceeded to Jáchymov and finally to Prague.⁷ He was accompanied by another Protestant luminary, Marek Stübner. The administrator of the Prague Consistory *sub una*, Jan Žák, complained in 1523 that the barons of Salhausen exercised their ecclesiastical patronage in favour of the Lutherans on their manors of Děčín, Benešov na Ploučnici, and Česká Kamenice.

The town of Jáchymov likewise experienced a stormy development in the first half of the sixteenth century.⁸ Peter Albin's following verses attest to the importance of this municipality:

Auf Mariaberg das Bergwerk sind sich an,
S. Anaberg, die Frau, S. Joachimstahl der Mann
Und Mariaberg, die die Tochter, sein
Die drei Städte, die ich mein
So innerhalb 3 oder 24 Jahren auskommen seyn...⁹

Crucial to the town's origin was the powerful entrepreneurial alliance of the Šliks, Alexandr von Leisnig, Wolfgang von Schönberg, Jan Pflug, and Hans Tumshirn in 1515. The Fuggers also participated in financing the mining activity.¹⁰ On 22 June 1516, Štěpán Šlik established a settlement, called Jáchymov since 1517, near the rich ore deposits in the valley of Kondradsgrün. The rapid growth is indicated by a report that four hundred houses had already been constructed by

⁷ On him see Eduard Maur, *Tomáš Müntzer* (Prague, 1993).

⁸ For a survey of literature on Jáchymov, see Svatava Štejnerová, "Bibliografie Jáchymova," *Sborník pro dějiny přírodních věd a techniky* 12 (1967) 1a.

⁹ Richard Schmidt, *Soupis památek historických a uměleckých v politickém okrese Jáchymovském* (Prague, 1913) 29.

¹⁰ Josef Janáček, "Die Fugger und Joachimstahl," *Historica* 6 (1963) 109n.

1516. The origins of the town and its history are well covered by manuscript chronicles, as well as their later copies and prints, particular the work of David Hütter, the scribe of the mining establishment, who described the events of 1516-1560.¹¹ The Dean of Jáchymov, Gregor Lindner, the author of *Erinnerungen aus der Geschichte der k.k. freien Bergstadt Joachimsthal*, written in 1910-1913, utilized sixteenth-century sources, which are no longer accessible, such as the copy of Dean Böhm's chronicle, which was in turn inspired by the memoirs of H. Jindřich of Könnerritz, lost in the second half of the nineteenth century. Johann Meisel's chronicle of Jáchymov drew also on this collection of memoirs.¹² Two books by Johann Mathesius, *Sarapeta oder Bergpostill sampt Jochimsstälischen Chronicken*¹³ and *Chronica der freyen Bergstadt in S. Joachimsthal*, published in Nuremberg respectively in 1564 and 1587, also contain substantial information. Mathesius is an eminently reliable source in view of his pastoral service in Jáchymov in 1541 to 1565, and his brief stint as preacher in Luther's own Wittenberg. In the first eighteen chapters of his *Bergpostill*, he sought to sanctify the miners' work by numerous references to excavatory activities in the Bible.¹⁴ Accordingly, God himself is the source of ore and the miner is obliged to adopt a Christian attitude in his professional behaviour and occupational activity. In this connection it is understandable why depictions of mining activities should appear in numerous graduals (for instance, in the so-called Smíškovský gradual) and on church altars of the mining towns, as in Annaberg and Jáchymov.

The oldest ecclesiastical edifice in Jáchymov is the chapel of St. Joachimin Chlebný trh, erected in 1516, which holds the silver column of St. Joachim, noted by Mathesius. The latter also informs us that, before endorsing the Reformation, the Šliks considered founding a Dominican monastery. They negotiated for that purpose with the Dominican, Jan Bidnan of Annaberg, who briefly worked as a preacher in Jáchymov and bequeathed his books to the "Old Library" in 1530. It was typical for the Reformation's beginnings in Jáchymov that several ministers of diverse orientations preached there in quick succession from Reform Catholics to dedicated Lutherans. Master Jan Silvius Egranus became the first preacher in Jáchymov in 1519. A pupil of Erasmus, he had opposed the popular cult of St. Ann in Zwickau in

¹¹ Library of the Bergakademie in Freiberg, sig. XVII 157. See also Helmut Wilsdorf, "Die Joachimsthaler Chronik des David Hütter," *Freiberger Forschungshefte*, Reihe D18 (Berlin, 1957); Karl Siegl, *Die Joachimstahler Chronik* (Jáchymov, 1923).

¹² Archiv Národního muzea, F 67/Jáchymov.

¹³ Johann Mathesius, *Hornická postila s krátkou jáchymovskou kronikou, Norimberk 1564*, tr. and intro. Jan Urban (Prague and Příbram, 1981). See also. Heribert Sturm, "Johannes Mathesius und St. Joachimstahl," in: *Erbe und Auftrag*, 11/12 (1973-1974), 3-13. On the town's history and memorabilia, see Hans Lorenz, *Bilder aus Alt-Joachimstahl* (Jáchymov, 1925).

¹⁴ „Milovaní v Kristu! Že kovy jsou milostivým a bohatým požehnáním a dobrým darem božím a že provozovat hornictví je blaženou a počestnou obživou a horníci také mohou Bohu v pravdě vzývat a dosáhnout spravedlnosti a blaženosti, vysvítá nejenom z toho, že náš milý Bůh stvořil hory a údolí, trhliny a žíly a nechává ještě denně růst stříbro, zlato a veškeré kovy pro potřebu lidí, nýbrž také z toho, že věčný Syn boží, náš milý pán Ježíš Kristus, v kovech, hornickém nářadí a práci sam sebe a úradek a vůli Boží zpodobňuje a hornickými slovy a podobenstvími často vysvětluje a že své proroky a apoštoly do horních měst ustanovuje a z horníků v Sarapetě a Filipech nechal shromáždit věčnou církev, jak pak také svatě lidé na mnoha místech v Písmu mluví po hornicku a Bohu za jeho krásné dary, které vydává z hor, děkují a jeho velebí. Neboť jak píše Mojžíš, zobrazil se Syn Boží praotci Jakubovi ve vysokém fártu neboli žebříku, který sahal z nebe až na zemi a měl svá blažená ramena a příčky, po kterých můžeme fátat z této bídy do věčné radosti“. Johann Mathesius, *Hornická Postila [Bergpostill] Norimberk, 1564*. trans. and ed. Jan Urban (Prague, 1984) 43-44.

1517. After maintaining personal contacts with Luther, he parted ways with the latter in 1524 and embarked upon an ideosyncratic type of Reformation, not substantially different from the current practices of the Roman Church. Egranus sharply attacked Müntzer who during his brief stay in Jáchymov in 1521 attracted faithful adherents. Egranus's successor, Master Johann Schlangenhauff was a loyal Lutheran. So also was the first pharmacist in Jáchymov, Georg Sturz, who taught after 1523 at the University of Erfurt, then in Wittenberg, and was Luther's personal physician since 1537, and Melancthon's since 1540. A major accomplishment for Jáchymov was the founding of a Humanistic school,¹⁵ which gradually acquired an extensive library. In 1523-1525, Master Filip Eberhardt served as the school's headmaster. His background included the literary milieu of Wittenberg, where he had lectured on Quintilian and had become Karlstadt's devoted adherent. The Šliks published the first mining ordinance in 1518, and a year later their mint issued the first Joachimstahl Thalers, as well as the famous medals.¹⁶

Jáchymov was elevated to the status of a free mining town in 1519,¹⁷ and the burghers purchased a building for the town hall in 1520. The town's founder, Count Štěpán Šlik perished in the battle against the Turks at Mohács in 1526. In Jáchymov, his memory is preserved by the decoration of the western portal in the dean's church that resembles a kind of triumphal arch. It is adorned by a relief portrait of Štěpán Šlik, sculpted for one gulden by the stonemason Jörg of Bamberg, and by a distich of Dr. Johann Neff: "His piety, loyalty to the king and renowned bravery deprived this man of his homeland, spouse, and dominion."¹⁸ A year after the unfortunate battle, Count Jindřich Šlik died as well. The rich inheritance devolved on Count Jeroným Šlik who transferred the mint to King Ferdinand I in 1528. In 1532, Jeroným and Jindřich Šlik agreed that each would manage for two years the family fortune for the other and for his own and his brother's cousins. Vavřinec Šlik assumed the lordship over the Valley of St. Joachim¹⁹ on the basis of this contract. Šliks' lordship over Jáchymov continued until 1545 when control passed on to Ferdinand I.

The Šliks maintained close contacts with the Saxon Electors. This is evident from their contract with electors Georg and Heinrich concerning the seventh talent of silver on St. Thomas's Day. The electors of Saxony paid numerous brief visits to Jáchymov, for instance, in 1532. The prominent Georg Agricola von Glauchau, famous for his treatise on mining, assumed the office of town physician of Jáchymov in 1527.²⁰

Numerous artists from Saxony participated in the building of the town and in the decorating of both secular and ecclesiastical edifices. The hospice church was

¹⁵ Fl. J. Vogel, "Die alte Lateinschule in Joachimstahl," *MVGDB* 9 (1871) 163-173. On the Jáchymov libraries, see Heribert Sturm, "Joachimstahler Privat bücherein aus dem 16. Jahrhundert," *MVGDB* 68 (1930) 3-9.

¹⁶ Viktor Katz, *Erzgebirgische Prägemedaille des XVI. Jahrhunderts* (Prague, 1931); Nemeškal, *Jáchymovská mincovna*.

¹⁷ Schmidt, *Soupis památek historických a uměleckých* 28-60; *Umělecké památky Čech* ed. Emanuel Poche (Prague, 1977) 1:563n.

¹⁸ "Hunc pietas regisque favor atque inclita virtus orbarunt vita coniuge at imperio. D. Stephanus Schlick Comes Z. G. An. 1526 aetatis 40."

¹⁹ Literal translation of "Joachimsthal," the German name for Jáchymov.

²⁰ Georgius Agricola, *Bermannus aneb Rozmluva o hornictví* (Prague, 1957).

the first one to be erected in 1516; the construction of its organ dates to 1520. The building of the principal temple of the city, St Joachim's Church, started in 1534 with Hanuš Kopp, a local burgher, as its architect. The church had the form of equal naves and religious services were inaugurated 25 November 1537. Lacking as yet the vaults and furnishings, the structure had only a provisional shingled roof. The Jáchymovites brought a large bell from Burckstein in 1542. The church was completed in 1550 with a total cost of 14,824 gulden. The town's founders, the Šliks favoured a moderate version of Luther's teaching, as can be judged from the orientation of the ministers, appointed to the church. In 1531, the Šliks enacted a public mandate against blasphemers and Anabaptists. The famous Melancthon honoured the town by several visits in 1552.

Reformation teaching also inspired the subjects on the panels on the altar of St. Joachim's, originating from the workshop of Lucas Cranach the Younger, in 1545. The counts Jeroným and Vavřinec Šlik ordered the panels during the last year of their dominion over the city in order to honour Štěpán Šlik, the city's founder, and evidently also to perpetuate the renown of their family. Unfortunately, this undoubtedly remarkable altar (both from the viewpoint of its art and iconography) perished during the great conflagration in the city in 1873. Its character and imagery are, therefore, known only from earlier descriptions.²¹

The altarpiece was a polyptych with a central panel with both firm and movable wings, and an altar extension with a predella. The panel in the centre of the altar depicted the crucified Christ between the two thieves and the Pharisees mocking the Redeemer; the road to Calvary was seen in the background. The internal side of the left movable wing portrayed Christ's resurrection; the corresponding side of the right wing – Christ on the Mount of Olives. The external side of the left wing showed Moses with the tablets of the law, representing the Law of fear and respect; the corresponding side of the right wing – Jesus as the Good Shepherd with his sheep, symbolizing Divine Grace or the Law of charity. The rigid left wing depicted Christ's baptism in the River Jordan with water serving to liberate man from sin; the corresponding right wing – the Flood with water serving for the punishment of sinners.

The segmented extension depicted the sending of the Holy Spirit. The top of the extension supported a statue of Archangel Michael engaged in the weighing of souls. The notable predella contained an image of the Last Supper. Some of the apostolic participants depicted persons relevant to Reformation history, such as Luther, the Saxon Elector Johann Friedrich the Magnanimous, and even the painter, Lucas Cranach the Elder and his son.²² The right corner of the predella bore Cranach's signature in the form of a small griffin.

The reverse side of the free-standing altar was also painted. According to the surviving descriptions, there was an image of God the Father with the following inscriptions: "Ich glaube in Gott Vater, allmechtigen Scheppfer Himmels und der Erden," "Decretu nicenoe Synodi /contra Cikoma Xays hub./ Cantant. ao 787/ Jus: ipsa: Nam Deus est quod imago docet. Sed non Deus: /Hanc videas sed mente

²¹ Schmidt, *Soupis památek historických a uměleckých* 44-45; Jiří Kropáček, "K renesančnímu umění v regionu severozápadních Čech," in: *Renesanční sochařství a malířství v severozápadních Čechách*, ed. Michaela Hrubá and Petr Hrubý (Ústí nad Labem, 2001) 18-19

²² Lorenz, *Bilder aus Alt-Joachimstahl* 214-215.

colas quod cernis in ipsa.” The other subjects included eschatological themes, the Last Judgment, the Kingdom of God, as well as various episodes from the miners’ lives in Jáchymov. A portrait of Count Štěpán Šlik commemorated the town’s founder with a Latin inscription by the Humanist, Dr. Neff:

“CHro servatori sacrum. Generoso comiti et Dno D. Stephano, Schliconi Com. Passaun Dno Weisskirchen et Elnbogn, sub cujus auspiciis hae Valles Joach. coli et evangeliu doceri et metala florere coeperunt anno MDXVI, qui contra Turcos fortiter pugnando pro Ludovico rege, pro lege et pro grege honeste ad Moesch occubuit in die decollationis S. Johannis MDXXVI., fratri et patruo charis. inclyti fratres D. Hieronimus et Laurentius unacum D. patruis perpetuae memoriae ergo hoc monumentum posuerunt. Posteritas nostra hoc et has Valles sancte conservanto. Anno Dni MDXLV.”

An idea of the destroyed altar in Jáchymov can be derived from the altar polyptych by Lucas Cranach in the parish church of St. Wolfgang in the mining town of Schneeberg in Saxony.²³ Johann Friedrich the Magnanimous and Johann Ernest, electors of Saxony, donated the altar to the church in 1539. The middle panel of the polyptych depicts a segmented scene of the crucifixion. The figures of drummers and soldiers are dressed in period costumes and one of them even wears a garment reminiscent of a cardinal’s robe, which may be a reference to the Roman Church highlighting its alleged unfaithfulness to the legacy of Christ. The composition and certain details of the central panel with the crucifixion scene in Schneeberg (the blessing officer on horseback, the soldiers below the cross, etc.) resemble those of the panel image of the crucifixion by Lucas Cranach the Elder, in Dessau (Staatliche Galerie, 1537). The internal sides of the movable wings on the left depict Christ on the Mount of Olives with upper torso of the kneeling Elector Johann Friedrich the Magnanimous, the wings on the right – the Resurrection with the upper torso of the kneeling Elector Johann Ernest, the other donor. The external side of the movable wings and the rigid wings portray the allegories of Law and Gospel, and of Sin and Grace (inspired by Luther) accompanied by texts from St. Paul’s Epistles. The Last Supper appears on the predella. Paintings adorn also the reverse side of the altar with the Last Judgment on the central panel; the Flood, and Sodom and Gomorrah on the wings. The pope of Rome is included among the denizens of hell.

Werner Schade is of the opinion that the altar was erected under the direction of Lucas Cranach the Younger, who prepared the preliminary drawings.²⁴ While the predella of the Jáchymov altar depicted, in addition to the historical *dramatis personae*, also contemporaries, such Luther and the Cranachs both Elder and Younger, the predella of the Schneeberg altar displays the Last Supper with only the biblical participants in this sacred feast. However, a mix of biblical and contemporary characters often occurs in the depictions of the Last Supper or the allegory of Law and Grace by Lucas Cranach the Younger. Thus, Luther and Cranach the Younger are portrayed in the allegory of Law and Grace in a central panel, located on the

²³ *Kunst der Reformationszeit. Katalog der Ausstellung. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin* (Berlin, 1983) 365-366; Heinrich Magirius, *Schneeberg, St. Wolfgang* (Passau, 1996) 18-25; H. Magirius, Ch. Kelm, M. Eisbein, M. Mühlfriedel, L. Mühlfriedel, “Der Cranachalter in der St. Wolfgangskirche zu Schneeberg,” *Zeitschrift für Kunsttechnologie und Konservierung* 6,2 (1992) 298-314

²⁴ Werner Schade, *Die Malerfamilie Cranach* (Dresden, 1974) 86, 92, 388; plate 185. See also Oskar Thulin, *Cranach: Altäre der Reformation* (Berlin, 1955) 33n.

altar (dated to 1555) of the city church of SS. Peter and Paul in Weimar.²⁵ Leaders of the Protestant Reformation, headed by Luther and Melancton, joined Christ in the Last Supper that was depicted on a panel in the epitaph of Joachim of Anhalt (1565) in Dessau-Mildensee.²⁶

A description of the St. Joachim Church furnishings in the *Liber memorabilis* by Dean A. P. Böhm²⁷ indicates that the Epistle side was adorned by an image of St. Christopher by a disciple of Cranach. Later transferred to the hospital church, the painting is now deposited in Museum of Karlovy Vary. The image loosely follows a graphic model by Cranach the Elder from 1509, and it resembles the painting of St. Christopher on the altar of St. Catherine's Church in Gdańsk (1515, Muzeum Narodowe in Gdańsk).²⁸ Böhm's description also mentions three paintings allegedly by Albrecht Dürer.²⁹

The influence of Cranach the Younger is also evident in the altar paintings of the cemetery church of All Saints in Jáchymov. The central panel depicts the mystical engagement of St. Catherine; the internal side of the movable wings – the Annunciation and the Visitation of the Virgin; and the external side – St. John the Evangelist and St. James the Great. A bipartite extension portrays the Dormition and the Coronation of the Virgin; the predella – the Epiphany. According to the signs on the internal sides of the wings, the altar was financed by the mining captain, Jindřich of Könnertitz (1519-1545). The difference in artistic quality between the central panel and the paintings on the wings is striking at first sight. It is possible that the central panel with the mystical engagement of St. Catherine was a product of Cranach the Younger's workshop. It is suggested by the expert presentation of the landscape in the background, as well as the typology of figures. This artistic excellence contrasts with the weaker details in the other paintings, such as the figures of the angels who crown the Virgin. The donor undoubtedly employed an average domestic artist to decorate the two-sided wings, as well as the extension and the predella.

The disastrous fire of 1873 in the parish church of St. Joachim destroyed many art works, including the altar, a work of Cranach the Younger. Judging from the description and the surviving art works, it is obvious that Jáchymov was oriented in painting toward Saxony, and that the Cranachs' workshop in particular had a great influence. Undoubtedly, Jáchymov belonged to the oldest Bohemian towns which entirely succumbed to the Lutheran Reformation. As in a number of German towns, the new religion found a reflection in artistic creation that is also documented in the descriptions of the no longer extant altar in St. Joachim's Church.

[Translated from the Czech by Zdeněk V. David]

²⁵ Schade, *Die Malerfamilie Cranach* 92 plate 229.

²⁶ *Ibid.* 96 plate 250.

²⁷ A. P. Böhm, Gedächtnis: *Beitrag über die freye Bergstadt Joachymstahal vom Ursprung 1515-1835*, f. 304, cited in Schmidt, *Soupis památek historických a uměleckých* 4.

²⁸ Claus Grimm, Johannes Erichsen, and Evamaria Brockhoff, ed., *Lucas Cranach. Ein Maler – Unternehmer aus Franken*, [Katalog zur Landesausstellung Festung Rosenberg, Kronach 17. Mai – 21. August 1994] Augsburg, 1994 158-159, the etching of St. Catherine no. A 103 on 158; the panel painting from Gdańsk no. A 104 a on 158. 29

²⁹ Schmidt, *Soupis památek historických a uměleckých* 41.