

**Master Hartmann and Ulm at the Beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> Century.  
Between the Middle Rhine and Bohemia**

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Resumo

*No ano 1377, a cidade de Ulme entrou numa nova época cultural com a construção monumental da nova igreja matriz, e, no início do século XV, os trabalhos sobre a torre da fachada ocidental já estavam em andamento. Um dos artistas responsáveis pelas esculturas da fachada foi o mestre Hartmann, que era também líder de uma produtiva oficina de escultura em madeira. O seu trabalho foi caracterizado pela mistura do estilo Boémio ("estilo belo") com a arte do Médio Reno. A sua escultura de São Martinho no pilar sul da arcada da igreja matriz de Ulme reflete as ligações artísticas e culturais entre a Mogúncia e Ulme. Este artigo foca-se sobre esta peça artística e o seu significado no contexto histórico contemporâneo.*

Abstract

*In 1377, the city of Ulm entered a new cultural epoch with the monumental construction of the new parish church, and by the early 15<sup>th</sup> century the work on the impressive western front tower was already in progress. One of the artists working on the sculptural decoration of the facade was Master Hartmann, who was also the leader of a productive woodcarving workshop. His work was characterized by the blending of the Bohemian Beautiful Style with the art of the Middle Rhine. His sculpture of St. Martin in the southern pillar of the Ulm Minster hall arcade reflects the artistic and cultural connections between Mainz and Ulm. This article focuses on this artistic piece and its meaning in the contemporary historical context.*

In the Middle Ages, Ulm was a strong Free Imperial City. It profited not only from an advantageous location on the Danube River, but also running through it was the important mercantile road between Italy and Netherlands. This strategic location turned Ulm into a wealthy city as was evidenced by the important role it played in the politics of Central Europe. With the construction of the monumental parish church, Ulm built its position as one of the most important cultural centers in Central Europe.<sup>1</sup>

The written history of Ulm dates back to the 9<sup>th</sup> century. In 854, the city was mentioned as a palatinate in the document of King Louis the German, and it was a common destination for royal visits. This trend fades out in the 10<sup>th</sup> century, but with the accession of the Salian dynasty, Ulm was again in the king's favor. During the time of Henry IV, it became a place where the South-German nobility elected the anti-king Rudolf of Rheinfelden, but it was also in Ulm that Henry IV took back his crown. In the 12<sup>th</sup> century, the House of Hohenstaufen chose Ulm as its seat, but during the war with Welfs, the city was burnt down. Later, it was rebuilt by King Conrad III and new city walls were erected.

In 1316 the city grew, and a new fortification was constructed. In the same year, Louis of Bavaria tried to attack Ulm, but without success, since it was the only city where Frederick the Handsome was elected as king, instead of Louis. This decision was a reflection of the contemporary political situation in the city, where the guilds, which supported the Bavarians, and the patricians, traditional champions for the House of Habsburgs, were in rivalry. Frederick lost the battle of Mühldorf in 1322, and the guilds

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<sup>1</sup>This article is based on one part of the PhD thesis: "Mistr Hartmann a švábské řezbářství počátku 15. století" ("Master Hartmann and Swabian Woodcarving at the Beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> Century"), developed at the Institute of History of Christian Art, Catholic Theological Faculty, Charles University in Prague, Czech Republic. The research in Germany was supported by DAAD.

saw their status improved in the municipal management. However, Louis pawned the city to Berthold von Greispach und Marstetten. This came as a big shock to all the citizens since they were never subjected to anyone other than a king or an emperor. In 1342 Greispach died and in 1345 the guilds and patricians finally reached an agreement, as confirmed in the so-called "Kleines Schwörbrief" document, the new city constitution. In 1346, King Charles IV was elected, and in the following year he confirmed the constitution and gave the city its autonomy. Later on, Ulm became a leader of the Alliance of Swabian cities. By 1397 the city constitution had changed to the so-called "Größes Schwörbrief", which provided the hegemony of the guilds in the city council.<sup>2</sup>

Already in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, Ulm was at its peak, being one of the richest and strongest cities of the Holy Roman Empire, and owner of extensive property. Due to the increasing migration into the city, in 1417 the city increased the requirements for those seeking to acquire citizenship.<sup>3</sup>

#### MINSTER AND ITS WESTERN FAÇADE

The parish church of Ulm, called "ennet Felds" ("over the field"), was located outside the city walls, and remained so even after the city extension in 1316. The location was not only uncommon but also a serious danger. In 1372 the Alliance of Swabian cities lost in the battle near Altheim, only 20 kilometers from Ulm, and in 1376 when the city was besieged by Charles IV and the nobility of Württemberg, the enemies used the church as protection. Ulm citizens wanting to attend the Holy Mass would be at risk of being attacked or killed. For these reasons, on 19<sup>th</sup> March 1376, the city council of Ulm received permission from the Bishop of Constance to build a new parish church inside the city walls. The old church was demolished and in the center of the medieval city a large area was cleared for the new construction. The ground stone was laid on 20<sup>th</sup> June 1377.<sup>4</sup> Because the old church had been recently rebuilt – extensive reconstruction of the church had begun in 1337 and continued up to 1370<sup>5</sup> – materials and pieces of the sculptural decorations were reused in the new building.<sup>6</sup>

The first architect of the new church was Heinrich II Parler. In 1383, Michael Parler came from Prague and is assumed to have replaced him, and in 1387 Heinrich III Parler took over the leadership of the Minster hut. By November 1391 this younger Heinrich left to work on another extensive cathedral project in Milan. He probably replaced the architect Ulrich von Ensingen, who would come to Ulm on 17<sup>th</sup> June of the following year to construct the monumental front tower.<sup>7</sup> Ulrich von Ensingen died in 1419 in Strasbourg and on his place came his son-in-law Hans Kun.

Despite being only a parish church, mostly paid for by the burghers, the size and beauty of new Minster was comparable with cathedrals. In the base of the impressive western tower facade is a large hall, open to the city with three tall arcade arches [**fig. 1**]. The oldest part of the decoration is a tympanum with a representation of the *Genesis*, taken from the old church "ennet Felds". The archivolt of the tympanum is decorated with the *Wise and Foolish Virgins* and scenes of the *Martyrs*. Under the tympanum, in the archivolts above the double church door, sit small figures of writing *Apostles* [**fig.**

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<sup>2</sup> Eugen Specker, *Ulm Stadtgeschichte* (Ulm: Süddeutsche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1977), 33–56.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 63.

<sup>4</sup> Information about the founding is preserved on the reliefs inside of the church.

<sup>5</sup> Reinhard Wortmann, *Das Ulmer Münster*, Große Bauten Europas, Bd. 4 (Stuttgart: Müller & Schindler, 1972), 7–26.

<sup>6</sup> About original order of the tympanum reliefs and their new installation in Minster: Brigitte Thanner, *Die Portalskulpturen am Langhaus des Ulmer Münsters* (Master thesis Universität München, 1980).

<sup>7</sup> Reinhard Wortmann, "Zu den Parlern in Ulm," in *Parlerbauten. Architektur, Skulptur, Restaurierung. Internationales Parler-Symposium Schwäbisch Gmünd, 17.–19. Juli 2001*, ed. Richard Strobel (Stuttgart: Theiss, 2004), 81; *Idem*, "Das Ulmer Münster unter den Parlern 1376/77 – 1391/92," in *Die Parler und der Schöne Stil. Europäische Kunst unter den Luxemburgern, 1350–1400*, Bd. 2 (Köln: Greven & Bechtold), 325.

2], dated approximately to 1410–1415.<sup>8</sup> On the arcade pillars stand four statues representing *St. Anthony* [fig. 4], *St. John the Baptist, Virgin and Child* [fig. 5 and 6] and *St. Martin* [fig. 10].<sup>9</sup> Above the arcade is a cycle of nineteen sculptures, composed of *Twelve Apostles*, six *Saint Virgins* and an *Enthroned Madonna* in the middle [fig. 3]. Not much later, in 1429, the *Man of Sorrow* was sculpted by Hans Multscher on the *trumeau*, where originally the statue of the *Virgin and Child* was placed. On the southern arcade pillar, where this *Virgin and Child* is today, probably stood another figure of a saint. The rest of the decoration was added at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

The first sculptor that can be identified in the Minster hall is the so-called "Kreuzwinkel-Meister", whose signature was a W with a cross. He is in the older literature designated as Master of Apostles and was most probably trained in the Parler hut. His twelve sand stone *Apostles* [fig. 2] sitting in the archivolts remain until today as one of the best sculptures preserved from the Minster hall. The artistic origin of Master of Apostles can be found in the Parler decoration of *St. Peter's portal*<sup>10</sup> in the Cathedral of Cologne. The *Apostles* are often compared with the prophet figures on the contemporary *Tomb of Archbishop Friedrich von Saarwerden* in Cologne.<sup>11</sup>

The sign of the Master of Apostles appears also in Horb am Neckar, visible on the front side of the plinth of a voluminous sculpture of a Beautiful Madonna.<sup>12</sup> It is also found in Vienna in St. Stephen's Cathedral. This does not necessarily mean that the sculptor was working in Vienna, because stonemason signs were inherited. However, the connection with Parler hut and the fact that Ulm and Vienna are both located on Danube River make it plausible. Regardless, the Master of Apostles probably did not stay in Ulm for an extended period of time.

#### MASTER HARTMANN

At the same time, as the traces of Master of Apostles in Ulm disappeared, young Master Hartmann was working in the city. He was trained in the Ulm Minster hut, but his origin is most probably in the Middle Rhine. Hartmann's artistic qualities may not have matched those of his predecessor, but his important contribution can be identified in the historical records of the hut accounts.<sup>13</sup> These short notes frame a picture of the late medieval hut sculptor who, at the same time, had also been leading a productive woodcarving workshop.

Hartmann's name is mentioned in the book of hut records from the years 1417–1421 among the weekly paid artists.<sup>14</sup> Below the list of active craftsmen, there are recorded weekly notes with descriptions and prices of works and materials used. Hartmann is never mentioned in the first line and his salary is only average. Since 1418, he had been paid for more sculptural works and information about salaries for his helpers is also noted. In 1420, Hartmann received pay for the *Twelve Apostles* and for *Our Lady* ("*vm die zwelff botten vn vm vnser frowen*"). These works were once on the pillars of the middle nave of the Minster, but did not survive until today. Victor Curt

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<sup>8</sup> Gerhard Ringshausen, "Die Archivoltenfiguren des Ulmer Westportals," in *600 Jarhe Ulmer Münster*, eds. Hans Eugen Specker and Reinhard Wortmann, 209–241 (Ulm: Stadtarchiv, 1977).

<sup>9</sup> Replaced by copies except the St. Martin – originals are deposited in the interior of the church.

<sup>10</sup> Gerhard Ringshausen, "Die Archivoltenfiguren des Ulmer Westportals," 232.

<sup>11</sup> This connection is mentioned most recently in the catalogue *Schöne Madonnen am Rhein*, ed. Robert Suckale (Leipzig: Seemann, 2009).

<sup>12</sup> Madonna figure in Horb am Neckar belongs to the group of the so called "Beautiful Madonnas" with child above the free leg, as the figures from Thorn and Bonn. The model for this statue was the Madonna of Wrocław.

<sup>13</sup> First detailed research of the archive materials did Victor Curt Habicht – "Die Ulmer Hüttenbuch von 1417–1421," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* XXXIII (1910): 412–417. Later he concentrated on the personality of Master Hartmann in his dissertation thesis: *Ulmer Münster-Plastik aus der Zeit 1391–1421* (Darmstadt: Bender, 1911). More archive materials published Hans Rott – "Alt-Schwaben und die Reichsstädte," *Quellen und Forschungen zur südwestdeutschen und schweizerischen Kunstgeschichte im XV. und XVI. Jahrhundert* 2 (Stuttgart: Strecker & Schröder, 1934).

<sup>14</sup> Stadtarchiv Ulm, A [7077] Rechnung der Münsterbauhütte 1417–1421.

Habicht, based on archive research, assumed the sculptures were in the western hall and confused them with *Apostles* in archivolt. He related the reference to *Our Lady* to the *Madonna* on the arcade pillar, which was originally located on the *trumeau*. Even when Habicht's theory was proved wrong,<sup>15</sup> the *Madonna* on the pillar [fig. 5 and 6] and also the other pillar sculptures are still considered as Hartmann's works.<sup>16</sup> Another note in the hut book certifies Hartmann's responsibility for nineteen sculptures of *Saints and enthroned Virgin and Child* on the western facade [fig. 3], but this record is on one of the most damaged pages of the book. The work was supposed to be done between 9<sup>th</sup> August 1420 and the beginning of 1422.<sup>17</sup>

Hartmann was accepted as a citizen in Ulm in 1428, together with his son-in-law, Hans Schwigger. In a note in the book of burghers, Master Hartmann is mentioned as a sculptor.<sup>18</sup> Most likely, he had the same rights before the official acceptance, since he was referred to as a citizen in the Ulm tax records in 1417 and 1427.<sup>19</sup> This ambiguous situation could have been caused by the restricted conditions for new citizens from 1417.

The woodcarving workshop of Master Hartmann produced many statues, which can be found in the surroundings of Ulm and the whole of Upper Swabia until today. The main piece of this wooden production, *Dornstadt Altarpiece* [fig. 7],<sup>20</sup> was connected with Master Hartmann after comparison of the central statue of *Virgin and Child* and the stone *Madonna* from the arcade pillar of Ulm Minster [fig. 5 and 6].<sup>21</sup> In a panel the retable shows a figure of *Virgin Mary with Jesus* standing on a half moon, accompanied by *St. Barbara* and *St. Catherine*. The painted wings are preserved only from the inner side. On the left there is the scene of *Joseph's Doubts* and on the right wing the *Adoration of the Magi*.

There are more parallels between the retable and Hartmann's cycle from west facade of Ulm Minster. Some frontage saint figures in Ulm repeat the compositions of *St. Barbara* and *Catherine* statues on *Dornstadt Altarpiece*. Some authors point the difference in quality between the retable and the facade cycle,<sup>22</sup> but other researchers explain this disparity with the function of sculptures and advocate Hartmann's authorship of the altarpiece.<sup>23</sup> The Ulm cycle is placed high on the facade, the sculptures are not detailed and their proportions are changed so that they can be seen correctly by believers facing the monumental front of the Minster. On the other hand, the *Dornstadt*

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<sup>15</sup> Karl Friederich, "Meister Hartmann und Kreuzwinkelmeister," *Ulmer Tagblatt* (June, 1, 1940).

<sup>16</sup> Claudia Lichte, "Meister Hartmann in Ulm. Ein Bildhauer zwischen Hütte und Zunft," in *Hans Multscher. Bildhauer der Spätgotik in Ulm*, ed. Brigitte Reinhardt and Hans Roth (Ulm: Süddeutsche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1997), 57.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 54.

<sup>18</sup> Stadtarchiv Ulm, *Bürgerbuch II (1428–1449)*, A 3732. Note from Saturday before St. Michael (September 25, 1428): "Eodem die empfiengen Wir zu buerger Hartman den Bildhower und Hannsen Schwigger sinen tochterman also daz sy furbas zehn Jare unser ingessen Burger syn und stewern, dienen und aller gebott gehoersam und wärtig syn solln als andre unsre bürger ungewarlich".

<sup>19</sup> Hans Rott, "Alt-Schwaben und die Reichsstädte," 46; Claudia Lichte, "Die Skulpturen des Meisters Hartmann," in *Zwischen Hütte und Zunft, Meister Hartmanns Dornstädter Altar*, ed. Wolfgang Schürle, 31 (Ulm: Alb-Donau-Kreis, 2003).

<sup>20</sup> Landesmuseum Württemberg Stuttgart. Most recently: Wolfgang Schürle, ed., *Zwischen Hütte und Zunft, Meister Hartmanns Dornstädter Altar* (Ulm: Alb-Donau-Kreis, 2003); Claudia Lichte and Heribert Meurer, *Stein- und Holzskulpturen 1400–1530. Die mittelalterlichen Skulpturen II.* (Stuttgart: Landesmuseum Württemberg, 2007), 34–35.

<sup>21</sup> The reconstruction of Hartmann's activity: Claudia Lichte, "Meister Hartmann in Ulm. Ein Bildhauer zwischen Hütte und Zunft," 53–60.

<sup>22</sup> Especially Gertrud Otto, who considered using the name "Master of the Dornstadt Altarpiece". Gertrud Otto, *Die Ulmer Plastik des frühen 15. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen: Fischer, 1924), 49. Her theory accepted: Adolf Feulner and Theodor Müller, *Geschichte der deutschen Plastik* (München: Bruckmann, 1953), 254; Eva Zimmermann, "Eine thronende Madonna des weichen Stiles," *Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Württemberg* 1 (Berlin–München, 1964), 134–135, 141–142; Karl Heinz Clasen, *Der Meister der Schönen Madonnen: Herkunft, Entfaltung und Umkreis* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1974), 96, 176.

<sup>23</sup> Hartmann's authorship for both works admitted as possible: Julius Baum, *Gotische Bildwerke Schwabens*, (Augsburg: Filser, 1921), 117–118, 120, 147, 160 and recently Claudia Lichte, "Die Skulpturen des Meisters Hartmann," 31.



*Altarpiece* was most probably created for the monastery in Elchingen.<sup>24</sup> The piece was intended for private devotion, following the *devotio moderna*, a strong individual religious movement in the late 14<sup>th</sup> century. It is obvious that the facade stone cycle and the delicate wooden retable are beyond comparison. During the restoration of the *Dornstadt Altarpiece* the date "1417" was found. This finding supports the hypothesis that Hartmann's woodcarving workshop was running already while he was working in the Minster hut. It is not clear, however, if he was the head of this workshop or only a member, because at the same time he was supposed to be trained in the Minster hut and he is mentioned in the records only as Hartmann, not as a Master.

The art in Ulm in 1420s descends from Parler hut, mostly from Cologne and Prague, which blends with other branches of International Gothic. There are influences from the art of the Middle Rhine, Bohemian painting, and a strong mysticism which is characteristic of "Seeschwaben", north of Lake Constance.

In the sculptures of Master Hartmann and the contemporary art of Ulm, there are traits of the Czech Beautiful Style<sup>25</sup> painting and the limestone statues of Virgin and Child. From the Bohemian Beautiful Madonna stone statues which still exist, the most recent (1410s) is in the monastery of Chlum sv. Maří. The drapery detail in this *Madonna* served as an inspiration in Hartmann's work. An example is the folds-triangle falling from the knee of the free leg of the statue. In the middle of this triangle is a vertical fold which fractures at the bottom in the right angle to both sides, similar to the upturned "T".<sup>26</sup> This detail, which appears also in contemporary Bohemian panel paintings, is found on sculptures connected with Master Hartmann's woodcarving workshop. This is most noticeable in the *Madonna from Dornstadt Altarpiece* [fig. 7], statues of *Virgin and Child* in Orsenhausen and monastery Sießen, *Apostel* from Landesmuseum Württemberg in Stuttgart, the figures from choir stalls in Überlingen Minster, and *St. John under the Cross* and *St. Stephen* in St. Klemens Church in Poltringen. The same composition detail can be found also in the stone *Virgin and Child* from arcade pillar in Ulm Minster [fig. 5].

Other connections to the Czech Beautiful Style are also present in the contemporary painting in Ulm. At the time, Bohemian artworks were exported to far away destinations, although pattern books as well as panel and book paintings were the main medium through which Czech art spread. There is a well-known record in Strasbourg, about a high quality image of Maria from Prague in Bohemia ("*ein künstlich Marienbild von Prag aus Böhmen*"), which was imported in 1404.<sup>27</sup> Another record mentions "*Ymago beatae virginis sculpta de Praga*" which used to stay on a marble column in Mainz.<sup>28</sup> Despite the strong connections to Czech art in Hartmann's style, his experience was probably limited to the Bohemian artworks and artists in Ulm and Rhineland.

The role of Rhineland was however much more important, as this was Hartmann's artistic origin. This influence is visible in the *Dornstadt Altarpiece*, which is the oldest artwork attributed to Master Hartmann. The composition of *St. Catherine* [fig. 7 and 8] with the coat resting only on her shoulders and the mostly vertical folds of drapery is common in the Middle Rhine cities and Cologne, an old pattern frequently used in the 13<sup>th</sup> and first half of 14<sup>th</sup> centuries. This return to simple and conservative

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<sup>24</sup> Heribert Meurer, "Zur Herkunft des Retabels," in: *Zwischen Hütte und Zunft, Meister Hartmanns Dornstädter Altar*, ed. Wolfgang Schürle, 11, (Ulm: Alb-Donau-Kreis 2003).

<sup>25</sup> "Beautiful Style" is an expression mostly used in Czech (*krásný sloh*) and German (*Schöner Stil* or *Weicher Stil*) history of art. Beautiful Style is a specific branch of International Gothic which arised in Prague in the two last decades of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. For the development of the sculpture of Beautiful Style had the main influence the Prague cathedral hut production led by Peter Parler, and the Parler woodcarving workshop. More about Czech Beautiful Style in studies of Jaromír Homolka.

<sup>26</sup> Gertrud Otto, *Die Ulmer Plastik des frühen 15. Jahrhunderts*, 24.

<sup>27</sup> More about this pietà sculpture: Friedrich Kobler, "man nente es ein trawrige Mariabild", in: *Die Parler und der Schöne Stil 1350–40. Europäische Kunst unter den Luxemburgern. Handbuch zur Ausstellung*, ed. Anton Legner, Bd. 5, (Köln: Greven & Bechtold, 1980), 41–44.

<sup>28</sup> Friedrich Back, *Mittelrheinische Kunst. Beitrage zur Geschichte der Malerei und Plastik im vierzehnten & fünfzehnten Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt am Main: Baer, 1910), 7.

schemes is characteristic of the late phase of International Gothic.<sup>29</sup> At the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, a similar composition can be found on the *Tombstone of Anna von Dalberg* in St. Catherine Church in Oppenheim (died 1410) [fig. 9]. The relief has a very simple but impressive scheme of drapery, consisting of rich, long vertical folds. A similar character is also observed on the clay statue of *Madonna of Hallgarten*. Both assistant figures from the *Dornstadt Altarpiece* have analogies in clay statues of *St. Catherine* and *St. Barbara* in St. Martin Church in Bingen.<sup>30</sup> The same scheme of *St. Catherine* from the *Dornstadt Altarpiece* can be found on the *St. John the Baptist* on the arcade pillar of Ulm Minster and also in the figure of *St. John the Evangelist* from the front cycle. For Master Hartmann, reusing the same composition on more works is typical, even those created by his predecessors.

#### ST. MARTIN

The arcade pillar sculptures [fig. 4, 5, 6 and 10] in the western hall of the Minster in Ulm belong to the same style as the cycle of nineteen figures on the facade, although the former is of much higher quality. Their full volumes of drapery, deep shaped faces and big eyes with thick eyelids originate in the Parler hut sculpture. However, they already take form in an independent style, with more precisely carved decorative elements on the surface, and the dynamic core of the figure fades out.

The sculpture of *St. Martin* [fig. 10] differs from the other pillar statues in the form of his face. The modeling moves away from the round, full shapes covered with decorative details, such as the eyes with contoured eyelids and precise regular locks of hair or beard. The face of St. Martin is more physical without any decorative wrinkles. Small almond-shaped eyes are sculpted softly but flat. The face is framed by rich, airy locks of hair, however with the tendency to repetition of the same pattern. The young martyr is depicted cutting his cloak with his sword to give it to a poor beggar kneeling next to his feet. The small and naked figure of the beggar with ugly face and without teeth, catching the tip of the coat, refers to the poverty of the medieval world, which contrasts sharply with the noble elevated saint. Such divide between the reality of the recent world and expectations of life in Eden were very present in the art around 1400.<sup>31</sup>

However, the composition and iconography of *St. Martin* in Ulm is not original. Its model dates back to the Middle Rhine, into the Mainz Cathedral dedicated to St. Martin. In the 1420s *Portal of Memoria* was built, a representative entry to the space between the southern church nave and cloister, which used to be a chapter house and later a burial site of canons. Although not certain, the author responsible for this excellent portal is believed to be Madern Gerthener, the genius architect from Frankfurt am Main who worked for the archbishop Konrad III von Dhaun.<sup>32</sup> Gerthener's authorship is only mentioned in historical records relating to his architectural works and heraldic reliefs.<sup>33</sup> His activity as a sculptor, author of the tympanum with the *Adoration of the Magi* on the cathedral in Frankfurt, or the *Portal of Memoria* in Mainz, is ascribed to him based only on the similarity with his previous work on reliefs and architectural details. However, even if the *Portal of Memoria* was Gerthener's concept, more artists participated in the sculptural decoration.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Same tendency can be observed in the work of Master of Seeon in the Archbishopric of Salzburg.

<sup>30</sup> Bingen belonged to the property of Mainz. These sculptures date from around 1415.

<sup>31</sup> *Kunst um 1400 am Mittelrhein. Ein Teil der Wirklichkeit*, ed. Herbert Beck, Wolfgang Beeh, Horst Bredekamp (Frankfurt am Main: Liebieghaus, 1975), 51–52.

<sup>32</sup> Adolf Feulner, "Der Bildhauer Madern Gerthner," in: *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft* 7 (1940): 1–26; Ernst-Dietrich Haberland, *Madern Gerthener "der Stadt Franckenfurt werkmeister"*. *Baumeister und Bildhauer der Spätgotik* (Frankfurt am Main: Knecht, 1992).

<sup>33</sup> In 1427 Madern Gerthener was paid for two reliefs of eagles at Eschenheim Tower, signs of Holy Roman Empire and city of Frankfurt am Main, and he also did the alleged self-portrait in the archivolt key stone; in 1409 he was supposed to sculpt a not preserved keystone with Frankfurt eagle in the St. Bartholomew cathedral. Gerhard Ringshausen, "Madern Gerthener. Leben und Werk nach Urkunden" (Dissertation thesis, Philosophische Fakultät der Georg-August-Universität Göttingen, 1968), 30.

<sup>34</sup> Friedrich Back, *Mittelrheinische Kunst. Beitrage zur Geschichte der Malerei und Plastik im vierzehnten*

The jamb figures of St. Martin [fig. 11] and St. Stephen are high quality examples of International Gothic sculpture. It is exactly the statue of St. Martin from *Portal of Memoria* that can be seen as a model of the same saint in Ulm. When comparing the faces of both sculptures, it is clear that the author of the figure in Ulm attempted to copy the statue from Mainz. However, his artistic skills are considerably lower than those of the sculptor of St. Martin from the *Portal of Memoria*.

This finding is not new, but in previous research, this connection is explained only in the context of International Gothic. It is assumed that this relation is similar to that of the figures of *Apostles* from archivolts in Ulm Minster hall [fig. 2] and Prophets in the niches of the *Tomb of Archbishop Friedrich von Saarwerden* in the Cathedral of Cologne.<sup>35</sup> However, this is not fully correct, as the connection is much more complex. Upon closer comparison of the Ulm and Cologne works, there is a dissimilar expression and different artistic process of creation, especially noticeable in the modeling of shapes.<sup>36</sup> This resemblance can be understood from a perspective of International Gothic. Both works originated in the environment influenced by the art of Parlers. The unity of style which dominated all Europe around 1400 meant that in different places different artists could achieve similar results. In the case of the Ulm *Apostles* and the *Saarwerden Tomb*, there is no reason to disagree.<sup>37</sup>

On the other hand, comparison of the figures of St. Martin shows a direct connection between the model artwork in Mainz and the copying artist in Ulm. The style and drapery of the figure in Ulm follows the pillar sculptures, differing only in the face. The hypothesis that the St. Martin in Ulm and the other pillar sculptures were works of different artists is very unlikely. From the shapes of drapery to the small details, as the handling of the neck or not very skillfully sculpted hands and arms, the St. Martin in Ulm is connected with the stone *Madonna* of Master Hartmann.

Nonetheless, the question remains as to why the St. Martin in Ulm was created as a copy of the sculpture in Mainz.<sup>38</sup> The Minster in Ulm was built by the city council and its citizens. The older parish church belonged to the monastery in Reichenau, from which the citizens of Ulm earned the rights to the new Minster and later to the patronage above the church with the purchase contract in 1441.<sup>39</sup> This implies that the city council, not the church, ordered the sculpture decorations and its iconographic program. Victor Curt Habicht mentions the original function of the western hall as the place where poor people were allowed to beg every Sunday, as well as on the feast of Twelve Apostles and on the feasts of Virgin Mary.<sup>40</sup> Habicht connects this fact with the iconography of the hall, designed by Ulrich von Ensingen. When entering the church, the first thing an observer would see are the pillar figures of the saints looking down to the believers. Furthermore, because the main street leads to the church entrance from the south, the statue of the protector of beggars, St. Martin on the southern pillar, is particularly noticeable due to its prominent position. The reproduction of a sculpture from the *Portal of Memoria* on such an important place cannot have been solely an artistic decision.

The *Portal of Memoria* was commissioned by the Archbishop of Mainz, Konrad III von Dhaun (1419–1434), who reigned in difficult times. The economic situation of the city was unfavorable as it was close to bankruptcy, and in Mainz culminated the long conflict of citizens and guilds against the archbishops and gentry. In 1429 a mayor was elected candidate of guilds, a position typically held by the aristocracy, which escalated the conflict and the gentry started to leave the city, followed by the clerics. Later in 1432,

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& fünfzehnten Jahrhundert, 19; Adolf Feulner, "Der Bildhauer Madern Gerthner", 16; *Kunst um 1400 am Mittelrhein. Ein Teil der Wirklichkeit*, 49sq.

<sup>35</sup> This connection is mentioned for example in Moritz Woelk, ed., *Bildwerke vom 9. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert aus Stein, Holz und Ton im Hessischen Landesmuseum Darmstadt* (Berlin: Reimer, 1999), 212–213; Robert Suckale, *Schöne Madonnen am Rhein* (Leipzig: Seemann, 2009), 204.

<sup>36</sup> Gerhard Ringshausen, "Die Archivoltenfiguren des Ulmer Westportals", 232.

<sup>37</sup> Another example of this phenomenon is the work of the Master of Eriskirch in Swabia, the Master of the Dumlos Crucifixion in Wrocław and the Master of the Teyn Crucifixion in Prague.

<sup>38</sup> The transfer of new ideas between Mainz and Ulm was busy thanks to the mercantile road.

<sup>39</sup> Hans Eugen Specker, *Ulm Stadtgeschichte*, 53.

<sup>40</sup> Victor Curt Habicht, *Ulmer Münster-Plastik aus der Zeit 1391–1421*, 22.

Konrad escaped to Eltville where he died in exile.<sup>41</sup>

The portal, especially the inner side, was an extraordinary work of art in its time. It was executed by an artist from Frankfurt, the city loyal to Archbishop. The Archbishop's patronages for artistic work followed the last trends of International Gothic and were of the highest quality. In contrast, the citizens preferred a conservative style, characterized by a special type of crowned *Madonna* with Child on one hand, and carrying a vine-cross with the dead Christ in the other.<sup>42</sup> This difference illustrates how the political situation in Mainz was represented on contemporary art.

There is the opposite tendency in Ulm, as the city tried to become equal to the rich and powerful church representatives.<sup>43</sup> The extraordinary reflection of the Archbishop's personality by the Ulm citizens raises questions beyond the scope of this research. For the facade of the Ulm City Hall, the cycle of sculptures of *Prince-electors* was created around 1423–1427. The ecclesiastic electors on the southern wall can be connected with Master Hartmann and the author of secular electors was Hans Multscher. Only the *Archbishop of Mainz* was sculpted by a different artist. His abstract figure and concerned expression is not comparable with any of the other statues. The sword, the typical attribute of a secular power, is missing. Instead, the figure of one of the most important politics in the Holy Roman Empire is depicted with open mouth. This iconographic detail can be interpreted, as the words being the Archbishop's weapon.<sup>44</sup>

The desire of the Free Imperial City of Ulm to have also the latest and best decoration on the parish church, as the powerful Archbishop of Mainz wanted for the very exclusive place, indicates the high ambitions and self-confidence of Ulm citizens. The sculpture of St. Martin shows an example of cultural transfer without any connection to high aristocracy or royal courts. The reproduction of the very recently sculpted figure of St. Martin from Mainz can be understood, as well as the entire Minster, as a demonstration of the strength and richness of Ulm citizens. It was an important mark in the path of the city to becoming one of the most important cultural centers of the Late Gothic in Europe.

## Figures:

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<sup>41</sup> *Kunst um 1400 am Mittelrhein. Ein Teil der Wirklichkeit*, 46.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 60. In German so called "Weinstrauchmadonnen".

<sup>43</sup> The Rhine ecclesiastic electors, archbishops from Cologne, Trier, Mainz, and secular elector count palatine of the Rhine in the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century tend to be independent on the Emperor's will. In 1424, as a reaction on expansive Hussite hordes from Bohemia, four Rhine electors grounded a unity "Bingerer Kurverein" without even mentioning the king (*Kunst um 1400 am Mittelrhein. Ein Teil der Wirklichkeit*, 34).

<sup>44</sup> The cycle from southern wall is described most recently in: *Hans Multscher. Bildhauer der Spätgotik in Ulm*, eds. Brigitte Reinhardt and Michael Roth (Ulm: Süddeutsche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1997), 274–282.



*Master Hartmann and Ulm at the Beginning of the 15th Century.  
Between the Middle Rhine and Bohemia*

1. The Minster of Ulm, western facade. Photo by Kateřina Hladká.
2. Seated Apostle, Master of Apostles, Ulm Minster, western hall. Photo by Kateřina Hladká.
3. Cycle of Twelve Apostles, six Saint Virgins and the Madonna enthroned, Master Hartmann, western facade of Ulm Minster. Photo by Kateřina Hladká.
4. St. Anthony, Master Hartmann, from the northern pillar of the western hall of Ulm Minster. Photo by Kateřina Hladká.
5. Virgin and Child, Master Hartmann, from the southern pillar of western hall of Ulm Minster. Photo by Kateřina Hladká.
6. Virgin and Child, Master Hartmann, from the southern pillar of Ulm Minster western hall, detail. Photo by Kateřina Hladká.
7. Dornstadt Altarpiece, the middle panel, Master Hartmann, Landesmuseum Württemberg, Stuttgart. Photo by Kateřina Hladká.
8. Dornstadt Altarpiece, detail of St. Catherine, Master Hartmann, Landesmuseum Württemberg, Stuttgart. Photo by Kateřina Hladká.
9. Tomb stone of Anna von Dalberg, Katharinenkirche, Oppenheim. Photo by Kateřina Hladká.
10. St. Martin, Master Hartmann, southern pillar of Ulm Minster western hall. Photo by Kateřina Hladká.
11. St. Martin, Portal of Memoria, St. Martin Cathedral, Mainz. Photo by Kateřina Hladká.



Figure 1



Figure 2

*Master Hartmann and Ulm at the Beginning of the 15th Century.  
Between the Middle Rhine and Bohemia*



Figure 3



Figure 4



Figure 5



Figure 6



*Master Hartmann and Ulm at the Beginning of the 15th Century.  
Between the Middle Rhine and Bohemia*



Figure 7



Figure 8



Figure 9



Figure 10

*Master Hartmann and Ulm at the Beginning of the 15th Century.  
Between the Middle Rhine and Bohemia*



Figure 11

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