Hanse Cultural Geography and Communal Identity in Late-Medieval City Views of Lübeck

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Abstract

This article examines painted and printed city views of Lübeck, Germany, from ca. 1465 to 1540 as a lens to examine the corporate body of Hanse merchants and towns in the Baltic late-medieval urban environment. Previous studies on painted views of Lübeck in the background of Bernt Notke's Lübeck Dance of Death and Hermen Rode's Altarpiece of Sts. Nicholas and Viktor interpret the cityscape as a marker for the dominance of Lübeck in the Baltic Sea. In identifying the manipulated monuments and spatial distortions in representations of Lübeck, this article draws upon the social context of patronage and recent studies on the Hanse network to argue that city views of Lübeck attest to the shared urban group and cultural practices between Hanse merchants and towns. The Lübeck city view, displayed locally and extraterritorially, and further proliferated in early printed geography books, catered to the Hanse collective of intertwined consumers and markets.

Keywords

art history, Hanse, premodern trade, prints, city views

On the night of Palm Sunday in March 1942, the British Royal Air Force bombed Lübeck, Germany, deliberately targeting the city's medieval historic center and beloved St. Mary Church (*Marienkirche*).[1] Made in the Gothic Brick (*Backsteingotik*) style, St. Mary Church served as a model for numerous parish churches across medieval northern Germany and the Baltic Sea region. In the immediate postwar years of a divided Germany, the reconstruction of St. Mary Church progressed quickly—especially compared with the timeline of other restored churches in northern German cities—and was rebuilt exactly as the monument stood prior to 1942.[2] This expeditious and cautious rebuilding campaign itself became a symbol of German perseverance on local, regional, and national levels, and in turn, ensured that the local St. Mary Church, the "Mother Church of North German Gothic Brick," ultimately re-emerged as a vestige of German national identity from the medieval past.[3] The postwar cultural patrimony assigned to St. Mary Church was due in large part to Lübeck's medieval geographic position as the gateway to the Baltic as the "Head of the Hanse." As such, local politicians and the Federal Republic of Germany

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Figure 1. Bernt Notke (?) and workshop, "Lübeck" *Dance of Death*, ca. 1463-1466. Painting on canvas on panel, in situ in St. Marienkirche, Beichtkapelle, Lübeck. 1701 copy, destroyed 1942. Photo: Wilhelm Castelli, before 1940 © Fotoarchiv der Hansestadt Lübeck.

Chancellor, Konrad Adenauer, manipulated the image of St. Mary to face the contemporary struggles of two Germanies.[4]

This brief account on the appropriation of the image of St. Mary Church in the postwar years has medieval precedence. Among the many casualties of the 1942 bombing included the complete destruction of a painting located in the Confessional Chapel in St. Mary, the so-called *Dance of Death*.[5] Nearly twenty-six meters long and two meters high, the painting uniquely paired the popular medieval *Dance of Death* with the earliest known painted representation of Lübeck in the background (Figure 1). Attributed to the local workshop of Bernt Notke (ca. 1440-1509) and dated to the 1460s, this painting structures the Lübeck cityscape around the centrality of St. Mary Church, where the painting itself was housed. In sum, St. Mary Church plays the key role in constructing Lübeck's urban image, both in the medieval and in the modern periods.

This article looks back to the late-medieval visual construction of the city's urban image within the seafaring context of regional Hanse trade. Lübeck stood as a leading trade city in the Hanse network, a late-medieval trading coalition of merchants and towns across the North and Baltic Seas. The term Hanse derives from the Old High German *hansa* (lat. *cohors*), meaning troop or crowd.[6] In the fourteenth century, the term *Hansen* denoted a group, band of people, community, or guild of long-distance merchants traveling to foreign territories in northwestern Europe.[7] From its conception, the Hanse network depended on the dual cooperation of traveling merchants and towns; in other words, the Hanse functioned as a community of merchants who maintained citizenship as burghers in participating Hanse towns. Following the structure of the Hanse network as a collective comprised of both merchants and towns, this study focuses on the role of Lübeck city views in the shared cultural geography of Hanse towns and the construction of an urban group identity of Hanse merchants.

I approach the developing role of the late-medieval Lübeck city view in three ways that have yet to be adequately considered. First, I analyze the distorted composition of the *Dance of Death*

in Lübeck, looking at the ideas and concepts behind the spatial manipulation of select monuments in fifteenth-century profile city views. Second, I turn to two large-scale works destined for St. Nicholas Church in Reval (Tallinn, Estonia), a Hanse trade city in the eastern Baltic, where the Lübeck workshops of Bernt Notke and Hermen Rode sent a *Dance of Death* painting on canvas and a carved and painted high altarpiece featuring a painted view of Lübeck, respectively. I argue that the painted views of Lübeck by Notke and Rode stand apart from typical late-medieval cityscapes, as demarcated by walls and boundaries, to operate as iconic images of Lübeck's extraterritorial connections in the Baltic Sea region. Finally, I examine how printed city views of Lübeck relied upon earlier painted urban images by local artists as source material for printed geography books to further cultivate trade and civic identities for the Lübeck burgher and merchant classes.

City views of Lübeck—represented in painted works both locally and extraterritorially and later in printed geography books—promote both the city's long-distance commercial trade enterprises and its local civic identity, providing insight into how the Lübeck urban elite positioned themselves geographically and conceptually in the mobile network of Hanse trade. Indeed, even modern Gemany's beloved writer Thomas Mann casts Lübeck's legacy and identity back to its late-medieval past. Setting his 1901 novel *Buddenbrooks* in his hometown of Lübeck, Mann frequently describes the city without explicitly identifying Lübeck by name: in place of citing Lübeck, Mann characterizes the city through specific "old monuments out of our great period,"[8] especially the "medieval sights of the town—the churches, the gates, the fountains, the market, the town hall, the Seaman's Guild."[9] Those monuments from the medieval period—Lübeck's greatest heritage—became synonymous with its lasting spirit and civic pride, retaining the same urban image today protected as a UNESCO World Heritage site.[10]

The View of Lübeck in the Lübeck *Dance of Death*

The Lübeck *Dance of Death* transforms the conventional iconography of that medieval moral tale to include a profile panorama of Lübeck taken from the Northeast along the Wakenitz Canal. Also known as *Totentanz* and *Dance macabre*, the *Dance of Death* emerged as a widespread literary and pictorial theme throughout late-medieval Europe.[11] The inclusion of a cityscape in the *Dance of Death* motif was entirely novel: despite the urban context of the *Dance of Death* as a genre across northern Europe, no other work situates a city view within the traditional *memento mori* (reminder of death) iconography.[12] The combination of death against a local city view must have reinforced the immediacy of the mortal tale to a residential audience—death comes to all, even in your home city.

As mentioned above, this painting irretrievably perished during the war and survives solely through the prewar documentary photographs from Wilhelm Castelli.[13] From its fifteenth-century installation until its destruction in 1942, the painting was located along the seven walls in the Confessional Chapel (*Beichtkapelle*) in the north transept of the city's main patrician church, St. Mary Church. The Lübeck's *Dance of Death* features forty-seven figures, alternating between skeletons and costumed social types, dancing with linked hands in front of a maritime landscape stretching inland to the sea. The painted Lübeck cityscape in the *Dance of Death* is often considered as an "accurate" or "authentic" landscape, since the physical structures resemble identifiable landmarks and topographic elements specific to Lübeck, especially the spires of the city's seven churches: the Cathedral, St. Giles, St. Peter, St. Mary, St. Catherine, St. Jacob, and the Dominican Castle Monastery and Cloister (*Burgkloster*), as well as the Town Hall (*Rathaus*) and town gates (Figure 2).[14]

The city view of Lübeck is located in the center of the composition on the fourth wall, situated between the *Dance of Death* character types of the Carthusian Monk, Burgher, Canon, Nobleman, Physician, Usurer, Chaplain, and Merchant.[15] The cityscape serves as a backdrop to the social
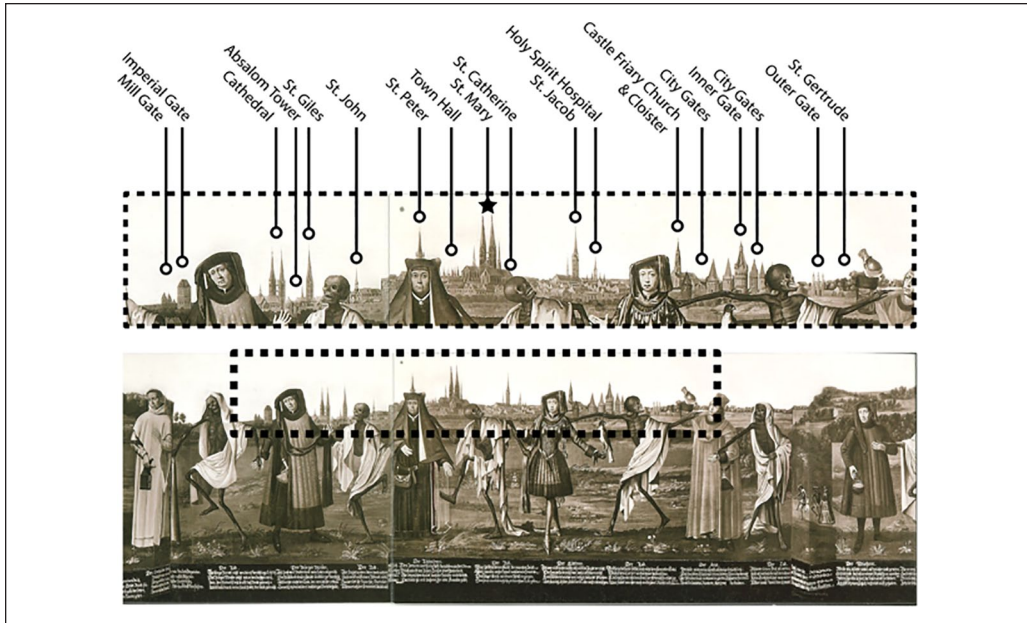
Figure 2. Bernt Notke (?) and workshop, details of "Lübeck" *Dance of Death*, ca. 1463-1466, with author's figure & monument identification © Fotoarchiv der Hansestadt Lübeck.

figures of the Burgher and Merchant, referencing the city's civic status as a free imperial city and economic status in Hanse trade. As second largest medieval city in German-speaking lands after Cologne, Lübeck's population reached 20,000-25,000 before 1350, making it one of medieval Europe's ten largest cities.[16] Lübeck was granted the status of an imperial city (*civitas imperii*) by Emperor Frederick II in 1226, indicating that the city was not controlled by a ruler from the region but answered directly to the Holy Roman Emperor. Except for seven years during the Napoleonic wars, Lübeck remained a free imperial city until 1937, when it was annexed to Schleswig-Holstein. As a result, Lübeck citizens remained relatively autonomous: the city leaders formed a council of twenty-four members, comprised of local residents, often from elite trading companies, who stood free to decide on internal affairs and maintained the right to defend themselves. Civic practices served not only to enhance the political power of a small ruling elite but also to protect the burgher and merchant classes, on whom Lübeck's economic prosperity in the Hanse depended. The inclusion of the city view behind the metaphorical portraits of the Burgher and Merchant character types, in addition to the explicit representation of Lübeck opening to the sea, underscores the mercantile and citizen-controlled character of the city.

Notke maintained a prolific workshop in Lübeck, capable of managing large-scale commissions outside the city, including Århus, Denmark and Reval (Tallinn), Estonia.[17] He is first recorded in 1467 as a painter to the Guild of St. Luke, to which local painters and carvers belonged.[18] Since no specific documents relate to the production or commission of Notke's oversized painting, until evidence proves otherwise, the precise dating, attribution, and patronage of Notke's work remains unconfirmed through archival sources. Lübeck clergyman Jakob von Melle dated the work to 1463 from an inscription, and Lübeck archivist Friedrich Bruns first attributed Lübeck's *Dance of Death* to the local Notke, based on style and sources attesting to his workshop in Lübeck.[19] Others have suggested a later completion date of 1466, noting the 1464 plague in Lübeck and the inability for the Notke workshop to execute such a large commission before 1466.[20] Local painter Anton Wortmann copied the deteriorating original onto canvas in

1701 with slight modifications to the image, including new verses adapted to modern German and the replacement of painted ships in the harbor with seventeenth-century models.[21] Thus, the prewar black and white photographs by Lübeck photographer Wilhelm Castelli document the Baroque copy of the fifteenth-century painting and not Notke's original.[22]

How Wortmann modified the city view from Notke's original, however, remains speculative. On the one hand, Bruns claims that Wortmann "faithfully copied" Notke's original city view.[23] On the other hand, Lübeck-based historians Hildegard Vogeler and Harmut Freytag identified monuments that reflect architectural additions made after Notke's time, including the tower expansions of the Cathedral and St. Jacob Church, to conclude ultimately that Wortmann did not fundamentally rework the image.[24] Yet, the artistic decisions to organize the city view have not been adequately considered. As I argue, the structures of the image are all likely conscious visual strategies from Notke's original city view: the selected vantage point to capture the city, the use of profile view, the centrality of St. Mary Church, and the interplay between the *Dance of Death* figures and landscape. These visual strategies correspond to fifteenth-century visual traditions of representing the city and, thus, should be traced back to Notke's original view. Perhaps, because of such complexities of this object as a modern copy of a medieval painting, now destroyed, Notke's urban image has been greatly understudied compared with other fifteenth-century painted urban images of contemporary northern European cities, especially Bruges.

The Lübeck cityscape in the *Dance of Death* positions all monuments in the city around St. Mary Church, where the painting was in situ. This placement not only gives prestige to the painting's own location but also serves as a multivalent marker for patrician churches in Hanse towns across the Baltic Sea region. Standing at the northeast vantage point on the Falken peninsula, the view pictures the city from the waters of the Wakenitz to structure the composition around the centrality of St. Mary Church. In doing so, the image presents a physically impossible view, condensing signature monuments located on the southern end of the island—the Mill Gate, the Imperial Gate, the Cathedral, and St. Giles—to be on axis with St. Mary. This visual distortion relocates the city's other monuments to fit into a view dominated by St. Mary Church. In reality, the monuments on the southern end of the island could not be seen from the northeast vantage point on the Falken peninsula, and the city itself was located inland from the Baltic shores (Figure 3). As a result of this spatial condensing from inland to sea, the twin spires of St. Mary Church dominate over the natural and built environments. Thus, the manipulation of the urban image to aggrandize St. Mary Church does not correspond with existing architecture and topography.

The chosen view from the northeast vantage point and the pictorial relocation of specific monuments assures that no other monument competes with or obstructs the view of St. Mary Church, and it displaces the Cathedral from the composition center. The Cathedral held the seat of the bishop, whereas the civic and mercantile population of the city used the parish St. Mary Church. Bishops of Lübeck, moreover, lived outside the city during the late-medieval period, and as such, guaranteed that the council of the imperial city maintained control within the city limits.[25] If the representational viewpoint came from a different direction, such as the west or south, the represented distance between the Cathedral and St. Mary would collapse considerably.

For Lübeck, the prestige of St. Mary Church was associated with the local power of the burgher and merchant class, and ultimately, its symbolic autonomy. St. Mary Church, along with the Town Hall and the main market square, operated as the foci of Lübeck corporate life and as emblems of civic pride in Lübeck, and likely served as the location of civic-sponsored plays and performances.[26] Simply put, St. Mary Church was undoubtedly the largest and most important structure in medieval Lübeck, and like many other churches in Hanse cities, it functioned as a site for not only worship but also communal gatherings and civic events.[27] The church became home to some of the city's most prestigious urban groups, including the trade guilds from Bergen (*Bergenfahrer*) and Scania (*Schonenfahrer*). Most importantly, St. Mary Church in Lübeck

Figure 3. Standpoint of Northeast from Wakenitz. Double tower in photo is St. Mary Church (photo: author).

served as a prototype for mercantile, patrician churches throughout the Hanse region. Merchant groups in Hanse cities founded churches in the Gothic brick style: Cloister Church in Bad Doberan, St. Nicholas in Lüneburg, St. Nicholas in Stralsund, St. Nicholas in Reval, St. Mary in Rostock, and St. Nicholas in Wismar were all modeled after St. Mary Church in Lübeck in style, material, scale, and plan.[28] Such patrician-controlled churches across Hanse cities in the Baltic region also housed urban and merchant confraternity chapels and civic-commissioned works of art.[29] Thus, these churches, conforming materially in a shared Gothic brick style, also similarly functioned as the centers of civic, commercial, and corporate life in Hanse towns.

The visual emphasis on St. Mary Church dually promoted the adjacent Lübeck Town Hall (*Rathaus*), a monument that further epitomizes the status and self-awareness of the city's burgher and merchant classes.[30] In Notke's view, the multiple turrets of the Town Hall's screen wall (*Schauwand*) are prominently visible next to St. Mary. The screen wall, an arcade of Gothic blind lancet panels and gables, was expanded in 1435, which adjoined the northern screen across from St. Mary. Just as other Hanse towns across northern German looked to St. Mary as a model for their parish churches, the Town Hall's screen wall also inspired the Town Halls in the closely connected Wendish Hanse cities of Stralsund and Rostock.[31] In addition to the daily municipal functions of the Council Hall on the ground floor, the Lübeck Town Hall also hosted Hanse affairs in Hanseatic Hall (*Hansesaal*) on the first floor. Yet, civic activities were not limited to inside the Town Hall and often carried into St. Mary, which also served as an accessory space for civic meetings.[32] In sum, the concepts and ideas behind the rendering St. Mary Church Lübeck in the *Dance of Death*, deliberately situated behind the social figure types of the Burgher and Merchant, propagate civic and mercantile identities shared by Hanse towns across the Baltic.

It is generally assumed that the *Dance of Death* was a donation to St. Mary Church. Earlier studies on the *Dance of Death* have specifically suggested the city council and local urban groups, like the prestigious Circle Society (*Zirkelgesellschaft*) or the Merchant Company (*Kaufleute-Kompanie*), as potential sponsors, partly because of the civic subject matter, and also due to the high cost of such a large painting in the city's leading parish church.[33] While no individual or

group patron can be definitively assigned to the work, the majority of proposed groups are mercantile, civic, or corporate in nature rather than individual. Notke's massive painting invited the local urban elite to look at themselves—to occupy an idealized vantage point to see the city and the church that currently housed them. The pairing of the death figures and the urban topography invites a mutually descriptive reading of morality and civic pride: the city will endure even if you perish. The enlargement of specific monuments, notably St. Mary Church, thus catered to the intended viewing communities of the work. In other words, Notke's urban image grounds the narrative to a particular location and as a direct message to the merchant and burgher classes of Lübeck, who habitually convened at St. Mary.[34]

In monumentalizing St. Mary Church, the Lübeck city view in the *Dance of Death* visually negotiates what is seen and how the city presents its civic pride and trade status. The discrepancies between the physical layout of cities and subsequent representations have been addressed in numerous studies on premodern city views of Venice, Florence, and Ghent, among others.[35] Representations of cities capture the city as a physical unit (*urbs*) as well as the human and religious associations of the city (*civitas*).[36] Indeed, the spatial turn in the discipline of urban history, especially espoused by Henri Lefebvre, underscores the multivalence of space as perceived, conceived, or represented.[37] The latter concept, representational space as a tool, is particularly productive for deconstructing the symbolic expressions of urban identity and civic social relations in premodern city views: how artists represent space—the distorted topographical layout and relocation of specific monuments—align with urban corporate ideologies or moralized values.[38]

The Role of the Profile View in Shaping Civic Identity

The select perspective from the Falken peninsula produces a legible urban image of Lübeck as a profile view. To be sure, the profile view served as the most dominant representational form of pictorial urban images in fifteenth-century northern European paintings. A profile view depicts the city from a slightly elevated angle from a distance as a silhouette with a skyline that highlights civic and religious monuments—a representational mode that Lucia Nuti argues is aptly suited for sea-based cultures.[39] In order to represent a silhouette of a city, the artist must employ a low exterior viewpoint where the physical shape of the city, its pinnacles, towers, and overall design, can be clearly articulated. This viewpoint enables the artist to render a city as a coherent civic body, distinct from the countryside by its conspicuous fortifications and built environment. To depict the city, fifteenth-century painters most frequently used the profile view over other representational viewpoints such as the oblique or bird's-eye view.[40] The representational tension between looking at a particular site or feature within a more complex geographic system stems from Ptolemy's definitions of geography and chorography, which was translated and printed in Florence between 1469 and 1472.[41] The Roman author likened geography to the face, and chorography to a particular facial feature, like an ear or a nose. In other words, chorography depends on specific description, not generalization, to show a city's plan and overall design.

In densely populated Flanders, the profile view became the leading representational form of city views in the background of panel paintings.[42] Painted city views range from identifiable civic spaces, as previously discussed in Notke's portrayal of Lübeck in his *Dance of Death*, to fictitious urban spaces like Jan van Eyck's *Rolin Madonna* (1435, Louvre). Early Netherlandish painters, including Dirk Bouts, Hans Memling, and Gerard David, often paired a religious narrative against the backdrop of a generic cityscape, convincingly rendering an imaginary city as geographically specific.[43] Such examples intended to evoke Jerusalem—the historic city with the Temple denoted by a generic holy dome—to offer a fictious urban setting as Jerusalem. Yet, inhabitants of specific cities also tended to commission panel paintings featuring views of their hometown. Erwin Panofsky, in his monumental *Early Netherlandish Painting*, stated that city views in Flemish works "flattered the civic pride of their clients, and showed off their own

dexterity, by rendering the local landmarks in a manner that would do honor to graduate students in architecture."[44] Historian Jelle De Rock refers to such city views as "pictorial cityscapes," arguing that profile views of particular cities were created for a "heterogeneous group of ducal officers, local, mercantile and clerical elites, who increasingly embraced an aristocratic visual-ization of the city."[45] In other words, the audience and patrons of Flemish pictorial cityscapes cater to a specific group of urban elites who sought to promote their home city. Comparable to the burgher-funded Late Gothic spire expansion projects throughout the fifteenth century in cities such as Strasbourg, Bruges, and Antwerp, the commissioning of painted pictorial cityscapes served as a parallel form to symbolize wealth and prosperity through civic patronage.[46] The added height of these churches alters the silhouette of the city, and thus places great emphasis on the depiction of each major architectural monument in profile form. As a result, cityscapes visu-ally convey a compatible vision of the city for urban elites to present to the outside world—ducal, civic, or mercantile, among others.

The artistic image of Bruges in the late fifteenth century is closely connected to its civic pride and urban identity. In particular, the Master of the Legend of St. Lucy (ca. 1470-1500) and the Master of St. Ursula (ca. 1436-1505) prolifically painted identifiable views of Bruges between the years 1480 and 1520 with great attention to the towers of Our Lady's Church, the Belfry, the Burgher's Lodge (*Poortersloge*), and the Hanse trading house (*Oosterlingenhuis*).[47] Bruges served as one of the four Hanse outpost cities (alongside London, Bergen, and Novgorod), where German Hanse merchants were known as the *Oosterlingen* or Easterlings. The Easterlings main-tained special privileges in Bruges, partly because their raw materials from the eastern Baltic were crucial for local and regional consumption.[48] In the carefully rendered walls and towers of Bruges in the *Virgin of the Rose Garden* (Figure 4, 1475-1480, Detroit Institute of Arts), the Master of the Legend of St. Lucy shows the Belfry without the lantern, which was completed in 1487. The painting also includes other identifiable towers of the *Poortersloge*, Our Lady Church, Palace of Louis Gruuthuse, the Convent of Saint Catherine, and the Saint Catherine Gate.[49] Art historian Ann Roberts argues that the prominence of the pinnacles of St. Catherine's Convent in this work, which is absent in the artist's other cityscapes of Bruges, ultimately refers to the com-missioning party of this work.[50] Thus, this topographic embellishment may cater to a specific interpretive viewing community—in this case, the Convent of St. Catherine—to encourage asso-ciations between religious devotion and the local civic pride of Bruges.

The prominence of the Bruges Belfry and identifiable towers in Master of the Legend of St. Lucy paintings served to glorify the city. The Belfry, which originally held the town's charters and was adjacent to the central marketplace holding the stalls of the craft guilds, symbolized the civic and mercantile heart of the dwindling trade city.[51] The artist's conscious selection to repre-sent this monument in multiple paintings underscores its significance to Bruges burghers and merchants as it emblematizes the wealth, prosperity, and civic order of the town. Additional paintings by the Master of the Legend of St. Lucy show a different Bruges in terms of the city setting. For instance, the cityscape of the *Lamentation* (Figure 5, 1493-1501, Minneapolis Institute of Arts) is set against an entirely different landscape of water and not mountains. *The Lamentation* also includes the trading house of the Hanseatic League (*Oosterlingenhuis*) in addi-tion to the standard towers and monuments of the city.[52] From these specific examples of the Master of the Legend of St. Lucy's pictorial cityscapes of Bruges, the artistic decision to repre-sent specific identifiable monuments propagates a vision of the city catering to local viewing communities. What is more, the repetition of painting the Belfry also functions as a way for the artist to show his local currency with Bruges's civic growth.[53] In other words, the detailed render-ing of the Belfry from close observation of the built environment further attests to the artist's intimate knowledge of the city's architecture.

Notke similarly promotes the city's civic and mercantile identity as a visual strategy in his Lübeck *Dance of Death*, revealing local aspirations embedded in the physical appearance of the

Figure 4. Master of the St. Lucy Legend, *Virgin of the Rose Garden*, between 1475 and 1480, oil on oak panel. Detroit Institute of Arts, Founders Society Purchase, General Membership Fund, 26.387.

Figure 5. Master of the Legend of St. Lucy, Lamentation with Saint John the Baptist and Saint Catherine of Alexandra, 1493-1501, oil on oak panel. Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 36.7.87 (photo: public domain).

cityscape. As a local workshop master, Notke would have been intimate with the city's architecture and complex social relationships. The citizens of Lübeck had vested interest in seeing their city represented in a particular way: by accentuating the civic- and mercantile-supported St. Mary Church—akin to the Belfry in Bruges—the Lübeck *Dance of Death* does not simply just represent the physical landscape but produces a modified city view in line with the city's urban elite that would come to stand for a coherent civic ideal, repeated and reused in later painted and printed urban images of Lübeck.

Networked Cities: Lübeck and Reval

The second *Dance of Death* painting from the Notke workshop stands in the Church of St. Nicholas in Tallinn, Estonia (Reval) (Figure 6).[54] Consecrated to the patron saint of merchants and seafarers, the Church of St. Nicholas served as one of the two parish churches in medieval Reval, and it likely ordered the *Dance of Death* from the Notke workshop as part of the expansion and rebuilding of St. Matthew's Chapel from 1486 to 1493.[55] The *Dance of Death* in Reval includes thirteen preserved figures and altered verses in Middle Low German.[56] While the Lübeck *Dance of Death* locates the dancing figures within a wide panorama spanning inland to the sea with a specific city view, the Reval *Dance of Death* represents individual Lübeck landmarks independent of a coherent city silhouette or profile view. Hildegard Vogeler identifies specific monuments in the Reval *Dance of Death*, including the brick fortifications of Mill Gate, Imperial Gate, Fischer Tower, and Absalom Tower, as well as the twin spires of St. Mary Church.[57] In other words, the landscape setting in Notke's *Dance of Death* in Reval diverges from his earlier Lübeck version to depict a generic Hanseatic maritime landscape and built environment familiar to seafaring merchants across the Baltic.[58]

The arrival of Notke's *Dance of Death* in Reval likely stemmed from two earlier commissions from Reval merchant groups to the Lübeck workshops. Reval's most prominent merchant urban groups, the Brotherhood of the Black Heads (*Bruderschaft der Schwarzenhäupter*) and the Great Guild (*Große Gilde*), co-sponsored Lübeck artist Hermen Rode for the high altar of the Church of St. Nicholas in 1481—the same church that would welcome the *Dance of Death* by Notke nearly ten years later. The Great Guild went on to commission Notke directly for their own group altar, the *High Altarpiece of the Church of the Holy Spirit* in another local church (1483, Church of the Holy Spirit).[59] The Great Guild, founded in 1363, was comprised of established mercantile elite who were originally from the Lübeck region and had the status of citizens in Reval. The Brotherhood of the Black Heads differentiated themselves from the Great Guild in terms of marital status, citizenship, and mercantile status: a typical Reval merchant entered the Brotherhood of the Black Heads at age eighteen until his marriage—a short developmental period to learn the trade business before admission to the Great Guild for life.[60] The function of these leading urban groups in Reval included *memoria* for the dead, dedication and maintenance of altars in several churches in the city, and urban ritual.[61]

A German-speaking Hanse city in Livonia, Reval operated as an important Hanse trade partner in the late-medieval period, providing raw materials such as honey, fur, and amber to the northern European markets of Lübeck and Bruges. Reval and the other sister Hanse cities in Livonia, Riga and Dorpat (Tartu), were granted German laws, their *lingua franca* was Middle Low German, and their cultural practices—like food, festivals, and confraternities—were widely shared.[62] Black Heads' Brothers also belonged to Lübeck confraternities; for example, Bernd Pal, who lived in both Reval and Lübeck, served as a member of the Brotherhood of the Black Heads as well as three confraternities in Lübeck, including St. Anthony, St. Leonhard, and Corpus Christi.[63]

In 1481, the *Altarpiece of St. Nicholas and St. Viktor* arrived from the Hermen Rode workshop in Lübeck to adorn the high altar of the Church of St. Nicholas (Figure 7).[64] Rode (fl. 1468-1504) maintained an active Lübeck workshop as a painter and produced several altarpieces for local

Figure 6. Bernt Notke workshop, *Danse Macabre*, late fifteenth century. Oil and tempera on canvas. Art Museum of Estonia M5174.

Figure 7. Hermen Rode workshop, High Altar of St. Nicholas Church in Tallinn, First Opening/Second View, 1478-1481, tempera and oil on wood. Art Museum of Estonia S 1231.

groups as well as works destined for churches in Sweden, including Stockholm, Vansö, Sorunda, and Salem.[65] The Lübeck merchant Bertold Rikman organized the commission, and Heinrik van dem Brok managed the transport and installation of the work, further confirming strong links between Lübeck and Reval through the infrastructure of Hanse trade.[66] The altarpiece stood as a symbol for the collective enterprise of Reval merchants: the Brotherhood of the Black Heads and the Great Guild, whose coats of arms are repeated multiple times throughout the work; in addition, the town of Reval collectively pooled their resources to commission the high altar in 1478.[67] The commissioning parties clearly spared little cost in this impressive altarpiece for the parish church: the altarpiece costs 1,250 Riga marks, comparable to the period cost of two stone houses or a new ship, and it measures, open, at three and a half meters high and six meters wide, making this one of the largest high altarpieces in the Baltic region.[68]

The Lübeck-made altarpiece in Reval served as both a prestigious commission and acquisition for Reval merchants, and the iconography of the altarpiece shows that the Brotherhood of the Black Heads and the Great Guild dictated the program. For instance, the represented saints in the altarpiece program cater specifically to both urban groups and its destination in Reval. The altarpiece is dedicated to Saints Nicholas and Viktor, two patron saints with close ties to the region: St. Nicholas, the patron saint of merchants and sailors, also served as the patron saint of the parish church and the high altar; and St. Viktor of Marseilles was the patron saint of Reval. Both saints

Figure 8. Hermen Rode workshop, High Altar of St. Nicholas Church in Tallinn, St. Nicholas Saving Sailors, 1478-1481, tempera and oil on wood. Art Museum of Estonia S 1231.

are repeated in painted and carved forms throughout all openings of the altarpiece, as well as in the other local altarpieces sponsored by the Great Guild and the Brotherhood of the Black Heads.

The open view reveals an elaborate painted program around the lives of Sts. Nicholas and Viktor from *The Golden Legend* (*Legenda aurea*).[69] Two particular scenes in the first open view refer directly to the status of Reval as a trade city in the Hanse. In the fourth scene of St. Nicholas's *vita* (Figure 8), the holy figure saves sailors aboard a Hanseatic cog ship (*Hansekogge*), the primary seafaring vessel for Hanse merchants in the late fifteenth century.[70] The inscription in Middle Low German, the primary language of Hanse merchants, below the image reads, "Here the shipmen suffered greatly from the storm and wind; they invoked Saint Nicholas and he helped them."[71] With the cog in despair marked by a broken mast and barrels of goods lost into the sea, Rode casts this scene into a Hanseatic context: at the front of the cog hang four flags, marked with the coats of arms of the Brotherhood of the Black Heads and the Great Guild. Rode relates another scene from the life of St. Viktor to the Hanseatic community of Reval. In the final painted scene of the first view, Rode shows the death of St. Viktor with the skyline of Lübeck in the background (Figure 9). Viktor's decapitated corpse is thrown into the Wakenitz River by his persecutors; on the opposite riverbank, angels retrieve the martyr's body. The Middle Low German inscription, excerpted from the *Legends of St. Victor*, identifies the martyrdom scene: "Here they cast his body into the sea, and the angels bring him to the land and he is honorably buried."[72] The view of Lübeck in this scene likens the Wakenitz to purifying holy water, miraculously transforming the body of St. Nicholas.

The painted program of the first opening translates the lives of Sts. Nicholas and Viktor into a local context: these saints will protect you at sea. These scenes provide a familiar sight to many of the merchants involved in sponsoring this work and visually reinforce Hanseatic imagery for this Hanse mercantile audience. Representing Lübeck from the Northeast, Rode shows Lübeck's skyline of sacred and civic pinnacles rising above the medieval fortified walls. Rode orders the monuments according to the same composition as the Lübeck *Dance of Death*, which places emphasis on the centrality of St. Mary Church. Furthermore, Rode takes the same artistic liberties to ensure a pictorial view of the city to elevate the city's most important monuments to visual prominence. In other words, Rode condenses the physical space between the city's monuments to represent Lübeck; the space between the city's southern monuments—the Cathedral and St.
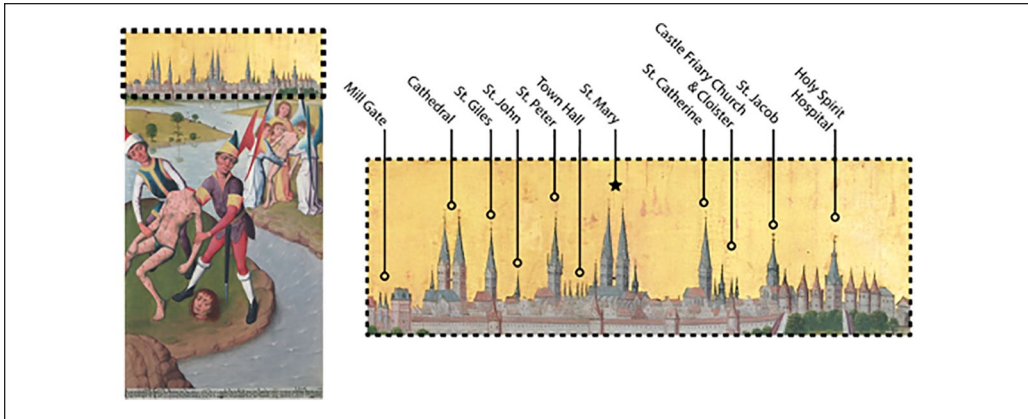
Figure 9. Hermen Rode workshop, High Altar of St. Nicholas Church in Tallinn, Martyrdom of St. Viktor with author's figure & monument identification, 1478-1481, tempera and oil on wood. Art Museum of Estonia S 1231.

Giles Church—and the center—St. Mary and the Town Hall—is compressed to fit the martyrdom scene and to provide a compact overall view. It seems likely, therefore, that the Rode view of Lübeck recreates the littoral or mercantile experience of entering and exiting the city—a view fit for the mercantile viewing communities dependent on seafaring trade.

Rode's view of Lübeck outside that city has traditionally been interpreted as a sign for the dominance of Lübeck in the Hanse. For instance, art historian Anja Rasche interprets Rode's view of Lübeck in Reval as a trademark of good quality, signifying the Lübeck-based artist's authorship, and the "good contacts of the 'head of the Hanse'."[73] However, reading Rode's city view as a visual marker for Lübeck superiority fails to account for the interwoven group practices and shared identities of merchants in Hanse towns. In modern historiography, the Hanse quickly became a source of national pride for the emerging German nation, with particular emphasis on the role of Lübeck as its primary leader.[74] Indeed, the promotion of the image of St. Mary Church as the "Mother Church of North German Gothic Brick" in the postwar periods eclipses the transregional cultural practices in the late-medieval era, to which Lübeck was one of many cities actively participating.

Recent studies on the Hanse reconsider the medieval trade organization outside a central governing German power, rather noting its strong regional ties, exchange of goods and ideas, and limited hierarchy as foundational principles of the trade network.[75] Therefore, I suggest reading Rode's view of Lübeck independent of the long-perpetuated notion of Lübeck supremacy, a view which opens up inquiries to account for the multifaceted interactions, exchanges, and collaborative interchanges occurring between premodern Hanse merchants and Hanse trade cities. A view of Lübeck in Reval signals multivalent associations between the merchant-founded St. Nicholas in Reval and the St. Mary Church in Lübeck as a confirmation of Reval's connected status as a leading trade city. She thus holds interwoven cultural connections and geographies to other nodal cities in the Hanse network. Simply put, Rode's view of Lübeck stands to symbolize the cultural geography of urban group identity that occurred through trade exchanges.

The Proliferation of Lübeck in Printed Views

Prints completely changed how fifteenth-century viewing interpretive communities interacted with city views. Views that were once only available to church-going publics now circulated in printed form, encouraging easy comparison of cities in terms of their size, topographical organization, and

Figure 10. View of Lübeck, *Nuremberg Chronicle/Liber Chronicarum/Die Schedelesche Weltchronik*, 1493, hand-colored woodcut, fols. 265v-266r (photo: public domain).

overall appearance.[76] Like countless other cities in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the image of Lübeck was printed and circulated in Hartmann Schedel's *Nuremberg Chronicle* (1493) and Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia* (1544). Most notably, the image sources for views of Lübeck in printed books derived locally from Notke's and Rode's earlier civic painted representations of Lübeck.

Schedel's *Chronicle of the World* (*Liber chronicarum, Book of Chronicles*) from 1493 served as the first major compilation of city views from around the known world, including 1804 woodcuts printed on 600 pages, including 116 city views.[77] While earlier printed views, especially Erhard Reuwich's designs for *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* (*Journey to the Holy Lands*) in 1486, reproduced the holy scenes along a pilgrimage journey, the *Chronicle* presents a universal history of the world in chronological order from the beginning of the world to the present, providing a historical account of city origins and several city views.[78] The *View of Lübeck* in Schedel's *Nuremberg Chronicle* was one of thirty "authentic" views of cities printed in this popular late fifteenth-century world history book (Figure 10).[79] Identifiable by the name "Lubeca" in the upper right quadrant of the printed view, the image is structured like many others in the *Chronicle*: the silhouette of the city rises above schematically rendered city walls. However, this printed view features specific monuments in the city, such as the Mill Gate on the left, the Castle Gate on the right, as well as the city's churches: the Castle Friary, Holy Ghost Hospital, St. Jacob, St. Catharine, St. Peter, St. John, St. Giles, the Cathedral, and the Imperial Gate. Moreover, St. Mary Church with her twin spires stands in the center of the view and towers over the other monuments.

Lubeca in the *Chronicle* shows the city the Northeast along the banks of the Wakenitz Canal on the Falken peninsula—the same vantage point as the painted view of Lübeck in the Lübeck *Dance of Death* and Rode's high altar in Reval. Notke's work likely served as image source material to record the "authentic" view of Lübeck in the *Chronicle*. Elisabeth Rücker reasons that Schedel's workshop must have sent reports from Hanse travelers and drawings of Lübeck from local artists to aid in the accurate view of Lübeck for the *Nuremberg Chronicle*.[80] Indeed, the contracts for compiling accurate designs for city views in printed geography books were extensive and often followed personal and trade networks.[81] The manuscript of the *Chronicle* was finished in 1491 and printed in 1493, making plausible that the designers relied on *Dance of Death's* view of Lübeck to represent Lübeck in print. Alongside the printed image of Lübeck, first-hand knowledge of the city is evident from the textual praise of the clean streets and the brick infrastructures.[82] The text further identifies Lübeck as a free imperial city with merchants
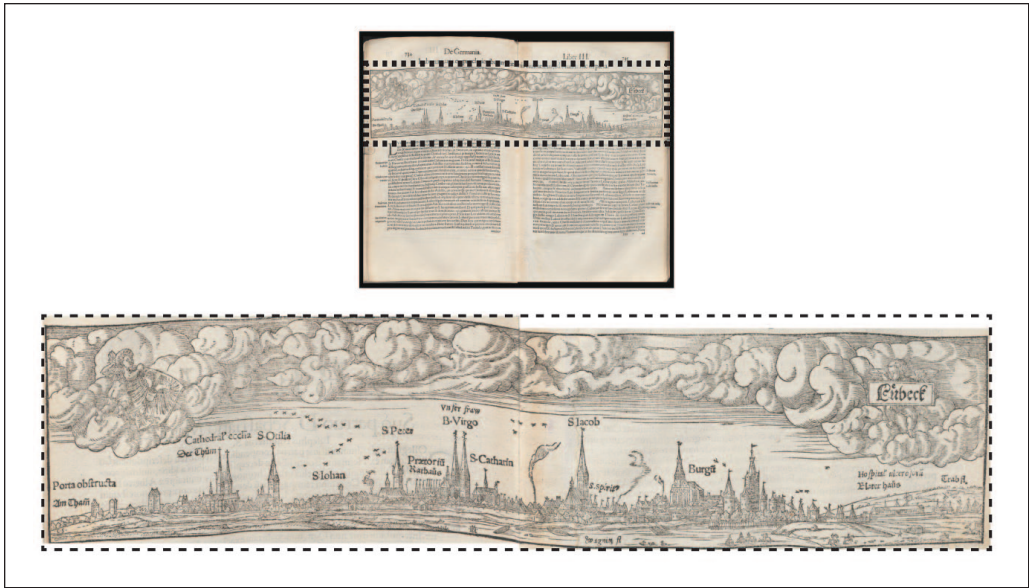
Figure 11. Christoph Schweitzer (draftsman and woodcutter), *View of Lübeck*, from Sebastian Münster *Cosmographia* (Basel: Heinrich Petri, 1550). Woodcut. Bayerisches Staatsbibliothek München, hbks/E. 4, pp. 734-745, urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00096223-4.

from the "upper and lower German lands and the lake of Norway, Sweden, Livonia, Russia, Lithuania, Prussia, Poland, Pomerania, Mecklenburg, Denmark, England, Flanders, Scotland, and France," but the Hanse consortium goes unnamed.[83] Lübeck's status as a trade city is visually reinforced by the city's placement on the water: a man commands a small flat-bottomed boat in the foreground, and the sails of ships are visible, as the Wakenitz connects to the Baltic Sea—in fact, a geographically impossible intersection.

The second large-scale printed book to feature an "authentic" view of Lübeck is Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia*, first published in Basel in 1544.[84] Like its precedent, the *Nuremberg Chronicle*, the *Cosmographia* served as a printed project to represent the world in a specific Germano-Christian world order. In particular, Münster (1488-1552) used city views in his book to define and glorify *Germania*: the thirty-eight city views in the *Cosmographia* chronicle the history of Germany and also express local pride and national identity through geography.[85]

The image of Lübeck in Münster's *Cosmographia* (Figure 11) stresses Lübeck's economic prosperity as a trade city. The city's major monuments are labeled to aid identification: the Town Hall, the Cathedral, the Holy Spirit Hospital, and the city's seven churches, St. Giles, St. John, St. Peter, St. Mary, St. Catherine, St. Jacob, and the Dominican Castle Friary. The low vantage point of the profile view of Lübeck elongates the city horizontally to place emphasis on easy access to the sea, which in turn is dually reinforced in the textual inscription above the city view: "The city Lübeck/one of the most noble places located on the sea/is depicted here."[86] This elongated profile view also creates the space to represent several ships in the foreground along the water and to show the billowing plumes of smoke that further punctuate the skyline. Such details show the local trade economy and industry.

Jasper van Putten categorized Lübeck in the *Cosmographia* as an "economic city view" in that the economic importance of Lübeck determined the perspective, layout, and structure of the view.[87] When compared with other double-page city views in the book, the profile form was used less frequently than other vantage points, as Münster seemed to prefer the bird's-eye

perspective.[88] Thus, despite more fashionable perspectives in line with Renaissance cartography, the *Cosmographia* ultimately translates Notke's structured view in the profile form and its purported civic and mercantile values into the sixteenth century.[89]

Münster's project required a massive system of organization from patronage to production, involving the collaboration of the artists, patrons, middlemen, draftsmen, woodcutters, and printers to determine the final form and content of the city views of the *Cosmographia*.[90] Moreover, such collaboration depended on the accurate, eyewitness authority of the artist or woodblock designer. Van Putten's study of the patronage network to acquire accurate designs for city views in the *Cosmographia* reveals that the commission of the view of Lübeck was connected to her sister Hanse city, Lüneburg.[91] In particular, Sebastian Münster's nephew, Joseph Münster—who was an attorney and a member of the city council in Lüneburg—served as a middleman to procure local sources for city views of Lübeck and Lüneburg.[92] He certainly would have been familiar with Lübeck and likely maintained close contacts with other patricians and merchants between the two cities. The views of Lüneburg and Lübeck, according to van Putten, became commodities themselves, purchased and transported across established trade routes, destined for print in the *Cosmographia*.[93] That is to say, the printed view of Lübeck functioned like a mercantile good that sustained the local economy within the wider Hanse trade network. From the production of city views in the *Cosmographia*, it is clear that cities participated in the construction of their own self-image as the city's trade status was continually accentuated.

The views of Lübeck in printed books frame the city's trade as its source of pride and livelihood by highlighting the role of Lübeck in the Hanse and its geographic position near the sea: a city grown by trade, made rich by trade, and sustained by trade. Adapted from earlier painted urban images of the city, Lübeck's dual collective ideology as a free imperial city and Hanse port continues to inform the structure of the city's beloved monuments and urban fabric in the profile form, constructing the city's urban image as an expression of enduring civic and mercantile pride.

Conclusion

Lübeck and Reval, separated today by national borders and languages, once shared the cultural geography of the Hanse region, linked to other Hanse cities through shared language, urban groups, and trade. This article argued that fifteenth- and sixteenth-century city views of Lübeck in painted and printed forms share similar visual strategies to organize the urban image around St. Mary Church. As profile views catered to seafaring cultures, such constructions of representational space ultimately reveal economic and social relations to extraterritorial networks. First employed in the *Dance of Death* in Lübeck and repeated in subsequent urban images of the city through the *Cosmographia*, the urban image of Lübeck manipulates the urban topography, not to illustrate its cultural dominance and superiority but to attest to its participation in the interwoven collectivity of mercantile and burgher viewing communities in the late-medieval maritime built environment of Hanse cities.

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Notes

1. The British Royal Air Force (RAF) bombed Lübeck on March 28-29, 1942, in direct retaliation of the Luftwaffe attack on Coventry on November 14-15, 1940. Lübeck marked the first bombing raid on a German city with no military or industrial significance. Nicola Lambourne, *War Damage in Europe: The Destruction of Historic Monuments During the Second World War* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press), 52-53; and Jeffrey M. Diefendorf, *In the Wake of the War: The Reconstruction of German Cities After World War II* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 100-107.

2. The reconstruction of St. Mary Church spanned from 1947 to 1959 and was funded by local and national efforts. In contrast, other North German *Backsteingotik* churches, such as St. Nikolai in Hamburg, St. Nikolai in Kiel, and St. Nikolai in Rostock, took decades longer to rebuild, and some monuments were not even rebuilt to their original prewar appearance. For a brief overview on Lübeck reconstruction, see *Kriegsschicksale deutscher Architektur: Verluste, Schäden, Wiederaufbau: eine Dokumentation für das Gebiet der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, ed. Hartwig Beseler, Niels Gutschow, vol. 1 (Neumünster: K. Wachholtz, 1988), 14-18.

3. Malte Thießen convincingly argues for the unique reconstruction campaign of St. Mary Church as the "Mutterkirche norddeutscher Backsteingotik" in "Wiederaufbau zum Sehnsuchtsort: Die Restaurierung der Lübecker Marienkirche als Symbolkirche des 'deutschen Ostens'," in *Wiederaufbau europäischer Städte/Rebuilding European Cities: Rekonstruktionen, die Moderne und die locale Identitätspolitik seit 1945/Reconstructions, Modernity, and the Local Politics of Identity Construction since 1945*, ed. Georg Wagner-Kyora (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2014), 142-62.

4. The 700th anniversary of Lübeck's St. Mary Church celebrated from August 31 to September 3, 1951, was branded as "Tag der zerstreuten Heimatkirche" (*Day of the Scattered Home Church*). West German (BRD) Chancellor Konrad Adenauer attended this anniversary celebration. The account is summarized in Thießen, "Wiederaufbau zum Sehnsuchtsort," 154-58.

5. On the impact of the bombing and survey of objects lost in St. Mary Church, see especially Thorsten Albrecht, "Palmarum 1942- Der Bombeangriff auf Lübeck und der Kunst- und Kulturgüterschultz," in *Palmarum 1942. Neue Forschungen zu zerstörten Werken mittelalterlicher Holzskluptur und Tafelmalerei aus der Lübecker St. Marienkirche*, ed. Ulrike Nürnberger and Uwe Albrecht (Kiel: Ludwig, 2015), 11-72.

6. On the definition of the Hanse, Justyna Wubs-Mrozewicz, "The Hanse in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: An Introduction," in *The Hanse in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Justyna Wubs-Mrozewicz and Stuart Jenks (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 5-6; Philippe Dollinger, *The German Hansa*, trans. D. S. Ault (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1970), xviii-xix; and Rolf Hammel-Kiesow, *Die Hanse* (Munich: Verlag C.H. Beck, 2000), 27.

7. Rolf Hammel-Kiesow, "The Early Hansas," in *A Companion to the Hanseatic League*, ed. Donald J. Harreld (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 39.

8. "die Denkmäler aus unserer großen Zeit," in Thomas Mann, *Buddenbrooks: Verfall einer Familie*, 1901 (Frankfurt am Main: Fisher Verlag, 2013), 361. Translated into English as *Buddenbrooks: The Decline of a Family*, trans. John E. Woods (New York: Random House, 2004), 352.

9. "alle mittelalterlichen Sehenswürdigkeiten, die Kirche, die Tore, die Brunnen, den Markt, das Rathaus, die "Schiffergesellschaft,"" in Mann, *Buddenbrooks*, 335; English edition: 330.

10. "The Hanseatic City of Lübeck" became a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1987, protecting the basic structure of the old city. In fact, the website describes the city as "clearly recognizable as a harmonious, complete masterpiece and its uniquely uniform silhouette is visible from far." "Hanseatic City of Lübeck," accessed February 19, 2020, https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/272/.

11. For the comprehensive studies on the Reval and Lübeck, *Dance of Death*, see Elina Gertsman, *The Dance of Death in the Middle Ages: Image, Text, Performance* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010); and Hartmut Freytag, ed., *Der Totentanz der Marienkirche zu Lübeck und der Nikolaikirche in Reval (Tallinn): Edition, Kommentar, Interpretation, Rezeption* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1993). The large literature on the *Dance of Death* includes the seminal monographs in English: Francis Douce, *The Dance of Death* (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1902); James M. Clark, *The Dance of Death in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Glasgow: University of Glasgow Publications, 1950); and more recently, Sophie Oosterwijk, "Of Corpses, Constables, and Kings: The Danse Macabre in Late-Medieval and Renaissance Culture," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 157, no. 1 (2004): 169-90; and Ashby Kinch, *Imago Mortis: Mediating Images of Death in Late Medieval Culture* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), esp. 185-226. On larger cultural readings of the *Dance of Death* and medieval death, see Johan Huizinga, "The Vision of Death," in *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*, trans. Rodney J. Payton and Ulrich Mammitzsch (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 156-72; Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (London: British Museum Press, 1996), 153-59.

12. The *Dance of Death* motif can be read as an urban phenomenon, with late-medieval works once present in London, Paris, Stratford, Berlin, Lübeck, Reval, and Basel, among others. Gertsman summarizes the motif across genres, especially paintings and murals in "The Dance of Death in Reval (Tallinn): The Preacher and His Audience," *Gesta* 42 (2003): 143. Like city views, the *Dance of Death* proliferated in printed form; Hans Holbein the Younger's woodcut series (Lyon: 1538) popularly translated this motif from paint to print, Werner L. Gunderscheimer, ed., *The Dance of Death by Hans Holbein the Younger: A Complete Facsimile of the Original 1538 Edition of Les simulachres et historiees faces de la mort* (New York: Dover, 1971).

13. Photographers Wilhelm Castelli (1901-1984) and Johannes Nöhring (1834-1913) captured several now-destroyed works of art in St. Mary Church prior to 1942. Such photographs accompany several prewar publications on Lübeck art, including Friedrich Bruns and Hugo Rahtgens, *Die Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler der Freien und Hansestadt Lübeck*, Bd.1, T.1, *Stadtpläne und -Ansichten, Stadtbefestigung, Wasserkünste und Mühlen*, (Lübeck: Bernhard Nöhring, 1906); and Carl Georg Heise, *Die Gregormesse des Bernt Notke mit 42 Aufn. von Wilhelm Castelli* (Hamburg: Ellermann, 1941). On Castelli, see Thorsten Albrecht, *Lübeck-schwarz-weiß: Photofachmann Wilhelm Castelli 1901-1984. Begleitpublikation zur Ausstellung vom 20.1.2002 bis zum 5.5.2002 im Museum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte der Hansestadt Lübeck*, exh. cat. (Lübeck: Behnhaus, 2002).

14. "Gertsman describes as "accurate" in *Dance of Death*, 105, and Hildegard Vogeler as an "authentic city silhouette" ("authentischen Stadtsilhouette") in "Zum Gemälde des Lübecker und des Revaler Totentanzes," in *Der Totentanz der Marienkirche in Lübeck und der Nikolaikirche in Reval (Tallinn)*, ed. Harmut Freytag (Cologne: Bohlau, 1993), 78.

15. The traditional order of *Dance of Death* figures alternates between skeleton and the following character types in descending hierarchal order: King, Bishop, Princess, Duke, Abbot, Knight, Carthusian Monk, Burgher, Canon, Nobleman, Physician, Usurer, Chaplain, Merchant, Sacristan, Craftsman, Hermit, Peasant, Youth, Maiden, and Child (often represented in a cradle). See Gertsman, *Dance of Death*, 3-6.

16. Only Cologne, Nuremberg, Ulm, Strasbourg, and Danzig had populations over 10,000 at this time in German- speaking lands. Fritz Rörig, *The Medieval Town*, trans. Don Bryant (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), 199.

17. Only three works can firmly be attributed to Notke through written documentation: the *Triumphal Cross* (1479, Lübeck Cathedral), the *Århus Altarpiece* (1479, Århus Cathedral), and *The Great Guild Altarpiece* (1483, Church of the Holy Spirit, Tallinn/Reval). All other works are attributed to Notke based on style and have been hotly disputed in modern scholarship. Notably, Erik Moltke first questioned the large corpus of works assigned to Notke in *Bernt Notkes altertavle i Århus Domkirke og Tallinntavlen*, 2 vols (Copenhagen: Gad, 1970); and Peter Tångeberg rejects Notke as the artist of the oversized sculpture, *St. George and the Dragon*, in Stockholm, in *Wahrheit und Mythos: Bernt Notke und die Stockholmer St.-Georgs-Gruppe. Studien zu einem Hauptwerk niederländischer Bildschnitzerei* (Ostfildern: Ian Thorbecke Verlag, 2009). On the disputes over attribution and dating of Notke's corpus in general, see Martin Wangsgaard Jürgensen, "Do We Need Bernt Notke? Some Reflections on Workshops and Masters," in *Art, Cult, and Patronage: die Visuelle Kultur im Ostseeraum zur Zeit Bernt Notkes*, ed. Uwe Albrecht and Anu Mänd (Kiel: Ludwig, 2013), 15-24.

18. Since Notke is listed only as a painter (*maler*) in the Guild records, there remains great debate if he also worked as a carver. For a summary on this debate, see Kerstin Petermann, *Bernt Notke: Arbeitsweise und Werkstattsorganisation im späten Mittelalter* (Berlin: Reimer, 2000), 137-53.

19. Jakob von Melle dated the work to 1463 based on an inscription found before the Wortmann copy replaced the original painting in 1701: "Anno Domini MCCCCLXIII. in vigilia Assumcionis Marie" (am Vorabend vor Mariä Himmelfahrt, also am 14. August 1463), in Harmut Freytag, "Literatur- und Kulturhistorische Anmerkungen und Untersuchungen zum Lübecker und Revaler Totentanz," in *Der Totentanz der Marienkirche in Lübeck und der Nikolaikirche in Reval (Tallinn)*, ed. Harmut Freytag (Cologne: Bohlau, 1993), 16. Friedrich Bruns first suggested Notke as the artist in "Meister Bernt Notkes Leben," *Nordelbingen* 2 (1923): 37-57. Carl Georg Heise later supported this attribution in "Der Lübecker Totentanz von 1463. Zur Charakteristik der Malerei Bernt Notkes II," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft* 4 (1937): 187-202.

20. On the history of the dating of the painting, see most recently Petermann, *Bernt Notke*, 26-28.

21. Jakob von Melle praised Wortmann's accuracy in replicating the original *Dance of Death* frieze. See Vogeler, "Zum Gemälde des Lübecker und des Revaler Totentanzes," 84. Nathanael Schlott updated verses from *Mittelniederdeutsch* to modern German. On verses between the Lübeck and the Reval versions, see most recently Susanne Warda, "Bernt Notke's *Dance of Death*: Word and Image and Their Repercussions in Art and Literature," in *Art, Cult, and Patronage: die Visuelle Kultur im Ostseeraum zur Zeit Bernt Notkes*, ed. Uwe Albrecht and Anu Mänd (Kiel: Ludwig, 2013), 81-95.

22. Unfortunately, there is no visual documentation of the Notke original, such as reproductive engravings, aside from Jakob von Melle's written description, in Freytag, "Literatur- und Kulturhistorische Anmerkungen und Untersuchungen zum Lübecker und Revaler Totentanz," 16.

23. Bruns claims the city view was "faithfully copied" ("getreu kopiert sind"), in Bruns and Rahtgens, *Stadtpläne*, 19.

24. The Cathedral Towers were expanded in 1500, and St. Jacob in 1658, well before Notke's proposed date of completion. Moreover, the seventeenth-century fortifications on the Wakenitz are absent in Wortmann's edition. Hildegard Vogeler and Harmut Freytag, "Lübeck," in *Das Bild der Stadt in der Neuzeit*, ed. Wolfgang Behringer and Bernd Roeck (München: Beck, 1999), 276-77. For a comprehensive summary of slight building alterations by Wortmann, see Vogeler, "Zum Gemälde," 96-101.

25. Anja Voßhall maintains that the nominations of Bishops in Lübeck ultimately stemmed from the city's urban elite and patrician family networks, ensuring a coordinated not competitive relationship between the bishopric and city council, "A Matter of Distance? The Bishops and the City of Lübeck in the Late Middle Ages," in *A Companion to Medieval Lübeck*, ed. Carsten Jahnke (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 166-84. This relationship is further apparent in the character types of the work: the Lübeck edition replaced the archbishop with the bishop, placing the work more in line with a specific Hanseatic context, in Gertsman, *Dance of Death*, 273.

26. Fritz Rörig summarizes the history of the market square in *Der Markt von Lübeck* (Leipzig, 1922). On Hanse town planning, see the seminal Hans Planitz, *Die deutsche Stadt im Mittelalter* (Graz: Böhlau-Verlag, 1954). On the role of the marketplace in northern medieval towns generally: Peter Stabel, "The Market Place and Civic Identity in Late Medieval Flanders," in *Shaping Urban Identity in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. Marc Boone and Peter Stabel, Studies in Urban Social, Economic and Political History of the Medieval and Modern Low Countries (Leuven: Garant, 2000), 43-64. On Lübeck civic plays, Eckehard Simon, "Organizing and Staging Carnival Plays in Late Medieval Lübeck: A New Look at the Archival Evidence," *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 92 (January 1993): 57-72.

27. The original foundation of St. Mary Church dates to ca. 1200, when the city council commissioned a Romanesque basilica to rival the size, style, and importance of the Cathedral. After the thirteenth century, St. Mary Church was expanded in three additional building campaigns to modernize in the new Gothic style: first, a hall church style derived from Westphalia, and then a three-aisled basilica in the French form. Finally, the spires were completed in 1350. Paderborn, Soest, Minden, and Marburg have some of the earliest hall churches in Westphalia. On the German hall church, see Norbert Nussbaum, *German Gothic Church Architecture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 64-70; and Paul Frankl and Paul Crossley, *Gothic Architecture*, Pelican History of Art (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 91-100.

28. On *Backsteingotik*, see Nussbaum, *German Gothic Church Architecture*, 76-83; Frankl and Crossley, *Gothic Architecture*, 187-200; Paul Crossley, "'Monuments to the Mighty Will of Their Builders':

A Footnote on Prussian Backsteingotik and the Problem of 'German' Vaults in the Territory of the Teutonic Knights," in *Borders in Art: Revisiting Kunstgeographie*, ed. Katarzyna Murawska-Muthesius (Warsaw: Institute of Art, 2000), 161-80; Gottfried Kiesow, *Backsteingotik* (Bonn: Monumente Publikationen, 2000); and Nikolaus Zaske, "Bedeutungskomplexe in der Backsteingotik," in *Kunst im Ostseeraum: Mittelalterliche Architektur und ihre Rezeption* (Greifswald: Wissenschaftliche Beiträge der Ernst-Moritz-Arndt-Universität Greifswald, 1990), 5-15.

29.　Max Hasse provides a complete history of the monument in *Die Marienkirche zu Lübeck* (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1983). On Reval, see Anu Mänd, "Symbols That Bind Communities: The Tallinn Altarpieces of Rode and Notke as Expressions of the Local Saints' Cult," in *Art, Cult, and Patronage: die Visuelle Kultur im Ostseeraum zur Zeit Bernt Notkes*, ed. Uwe Albrecht and Anu Mänd (Kiel: Ludwig, 2013), 119-41. On St. Nicholas in Stralsund, see Sabine-Maria Weitzel, *Die Ausstattung von St. Nikolai in Stralsund : Funktion, Bedeutung und Nutzung einer Hansestädtischen Pfarrkirche* (Kiel: Ludwig, 2011).

30.　The Lübeck *Rathaus* had undergone interior renovations prior to its severe damage during the RAF bombing in 1942, and as a result, the original medieval interior does not survive. While there were no known medieval urban images of the city in the Town Hall, the Town Hall today contains a modern city view of Lübeck that recalls the visual strategies as first employed by Notke. On the Lübeck Town Hall, see Friedrich Bruns and Hugo Rahtgens, *Die Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler der Hansestadt Lübeck*, Bd. 1 T. 2: Rathaus und öffentliche Gebäude der Stadt (Lübeck: Max Schmidt-Römhild, 1974), 1-28; Stephan Albrecht, *Mittelalterliche Rathäuser in Deutschland: Architektur und Funktion* (Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2004), 39-49; and Keyvan Claude Rafii, "Public Buildings and Civic Pride: Town Halls in Northern Germany, 1200-1618" (PhD diss., University of Illinois at Urbana–Champaign, 2003), 80-126. Madeline H. Caviness convincingly argues for the complex relationship between the Town Hall and its function in the sister Hanse city, Lüneburg, in "The Law (En)acted: Performative Space in the Town Hall of Lüneburg," in *Glas. Malerei. Forschung: Internationale Studien zu Ehren von Rüdiger Becksmann*, ed. Hartmut Scholz, Ivo Rauch, and Daniel Hess (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 2004), 181-90.

31.　Manfred Finke, "'Building History': Lübeck in the Architectural History of the Middle Ages," in *A Companion to Medieval Lübeck*, ed. Carsten Jahnke (Leiden: Brill, 2019), esp. 127-31.

32.　Max Hasse, "Die Marienkirche und der Lübecker Rat," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 64 (1984): 39-50.

33.　Petermann, *Bernt Notke*, 29-30. Anu Mänd also claims mercantile group patronage seems likely because of the Merchant and Burgher character types, *Bernt Notke: Between Innovation and Tradition* (Tallinn: Eesti Kunstmuuseum, 2010), 19. Vogeler and Freytag assume the work was an anonymous donation, which was typical of the period, in Hildegard Vogeler and Harmut Freytag, "Art, Belief, and Calculation: On the Churches and Christian Endowments of Medieval Lübeck," in *A Companion to Medieval Lübeck*, ed. Carsten Jahnke (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 277-81. On the Circle Society, see Sonja Dünnebeil, *Die Lübecker Zirkel-Gesellschaft: Formen der Selbstdarstellung einer städtischen Obersicht*. Reihe B, Bd. 27 (Lübeck: Veröffentlichungen zur Geschichte der Hansestadt Lübeck, 1996).

34.　Lübeck hosted Hanse Diets (*Hansetage*) in the Town Hall up until 1669. It is plausible that long-distance merchants who traveled regularly to Lübeck would attend services in St. Mary, and also would have seen this work. The merchant guilds from Scania and Bergen maintained altars in St. Mary, so undoubtedly long-distance merchants from Scandinavia would have experienced this work, among other Hanse merchant groups. Gertsman elaborates on issues of visual literacy and viewership of Notke's *Dance of Death* in Reval, but does not extend to Lübeck explicitly, in *Dance of Death*, esp. 115-18.

35.　Accordingly, Lübeck, in both its proclaimed status and in its urban representations, is comparable to Italian republican city-states, like Venice, and trade cities in the Low Countries, such as Ghent and Bruges. On city views in German-speaking lands, see the comprehensive *Das Bild der Stadt in der Neuzeit, 1400-1800*, ed. Wolfgang Behringer and Bernd Roeck (Munich: Beck, 1999). Related studies on specific cities include Frederik Buylaert, Jelle De Rock, and Anne-Laure Van Bruaene, "City Portrait, Civic Body, and Commercial Printing in Sixteenth-Century Ghent," *Renaissance Quarterly* 68, no. 3 (2015): 803-39; Bronwen Wilson, "Venice, Print, and the Early Modern Icon, Chorographic Impressions: Early Modern Venice through Print," *Urban History* 33 (2006): 39-64; and David

Friedman, "'Fiorenza': Geography and Representation in a Fifteenth Century City View," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 64 (2001): 56-77.

36. Richard L. Kagan, "Urbs and Civitas," in *Urban Images of the Hispanic World, 1493-1793* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 1-18.

37. Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 38-42. For excellent surveys on the spatial turn in urban history, see Peter Arnade, Martha Howell, and Walter Simons, "Fertile Spaces: The Productivity of Urban Space in Northern Europe," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 32, no. 4 (2002): 515-48; and Martha C. Howell, "The Spaces of Late Medieval Urbanity," in *Shaping Urban Identity in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. Marc Boone and Peter Stabel (Leuven: Garant, 2000), 3-19.

38. Juergen Schulz's foundational article on moralized geography demonstrates how values and beliefs can be embedded into the urban image, in "Jacopo de' Barbari's View of Venice: Map Making, City Views, and Moralized Geography before the Year 1500," *The Art Bulletin* 60 (September 1978): 425-74.

39. Edith Ennen, *The Medieval Town*, trans. Natalie Fryde (New York: North Holland Publishing Company, 1979), 1; Lucia Nuti, "The Perspective Plan in the Sixteenth Century: The Invention of a Representational Language," *The Art Bulletin* 76 (March 1994): 109-10.

40. Jelle De Rock, "The Image of the City Quantified: The Serial Analysis of Pictorial Representations of Urbanity in Early Netherlandish Art (1420-1520)," in *Portraits of the City: Representing Urban Space in Later Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, Studies in European Urban History 31 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 74.

41. On the reception of Ptolemy's second-century treatise, *Geography*, translated into Latin by Jacobus Angelues, see Patrick Gautier Dalché, "The Reception of Ptolemy's *Geography* (End of Fourteenth to Beginning of the Sixteenth Century)," in *The History of Cartography*, ed. J. B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 285-367; and Naomi Miller, "Mapping the City: Ptolemy's *Geography* in the Renaissance," in *Envisioning the City: Six Studies in Urban Cartography*, ed. David Buisseret (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 34-74.

42. Flemish cities include Ghent, Bruges, Ypres, Lille, Tournai, Brussels, Leuven, Antwerp, and Mechelen. Jelle De Rock, *The Image of the City in the Low Countries (1400-1600): Representations of Urbanity from Early Netherlandish Painting to Sixteenth-century Printed Town Views* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019), 21; and Peter Stabel, "Social Reality and Artistic Image: The Urban Experience in the Late Medieval Low Countries. Some Introductory Remarks on the Occasion of a Colloquium," in *Core and Periphery in Late Medieval Urban Society*, ed. Myriam Carlier et al. (Leuven: Garant, 1997), 11-31.

43. Craig Harbison argues that the visual language of realism reinforces the conviction that cities are identifiable in "Fact, Symbol, Ideal: Roles for Realism in Early Netherlandish Painting," in *Petrus Christus in Renaissance Bruges: An Interdisciplinary Approach*, ed. Maryan Wynn Ainsworth (Turnhout and New York: Brepols and Met Museum, 1995), 21. On Memling's specific cityscapes, see M. Kirkland-Ives, *In the Footsteps of Christ: Hans Memling's Passion Narratives and the Devotional Imagination in the Early Modern Netherlands* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013).

44. Panofsky specifically refers to late fifteenth-century painters of Brussels and Bruges. In *Early Netherlandish Painting* (New York: Praeger, 1971), 346.

45. An average of thirty-five percent of 550 extant Flemish panel paintings contain a city view. Moreover, from 1450 to 1475, thirty-eight paintings used profile views—more than any other representational category; and from 1475 to 1500, that number increased to 130. De Rock, "The Image of the City Quantified," 75.

46. Commissioning painted cityscapes were certainly a less expensive example of civic patronage than the urban spire expansion projects. On the fifteenth-century phenomena of civic-sponsored spire projects, see Robert Bork, *Great Spires: Skyscrapers of the New Jerusalem* (Cologne: Kunsthistorisches Institut der Universität zu Köln, 2003).

47. In particular, Master of the Legend of St. Lucy painted eighteen, and Master of St. Ursula painted eight. In De Rock, "Image of the City Quantified," 76. Max J. Friedländer attributed a handful of painted works to the hastily named "The Master of the Legend of St. Lucy" after a single painting, *The Legend of St. Lucy* (Bruges, Sint-Jacobskerk), and eventually he identified twenty-five paintings by the artist in *Early Netherlandish Painting*, trans. Heinz Norden, Vol. 6a Hans Memlinc and Gerard David (New York: Praeger, 1971), 62-64.

48. The general relations between Bruges and the Hanse are well summarized in Dollinger, *The German Hansa*, 246-52; 298-302; and James M. Murray, "That Well-Grounded Error: Bruges as Hansestadt," in *The Hanse in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Justyna Wubs-Mrozewicz and Stuart Jenks (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 181-90.

49. Ann Roberts, "The City and the Convent: 'The Virgin of the Rose Garden' by the Master of the Legend of St. Lucy," *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts* 72, no. 1/2 (1998): 57.

50. Ibid., 62-63.

51. The Belfry also housed civic charter and archives and could only be opened with a combination of keys and locks apportioned to local guilds. Craig Harbison correlates the decline of Bruges as a trade center in the last decades of the fifteenth century with the increased prominence of the Belfry and Bruges city views in the background of Flemish panel paintings, in "Fact, Symbol, Ideal," 27-30.

52. Notably, the Brotherhood of the Black Heads commissioned the Master of the Legend of St. Lucy for their altar in St. Nicholas Church in Reval.

53. Ann Roberts, "The Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy: A Catalogue and Critical Essay" (PhD Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1982), 72.

54. Notke's Reval painting suffered significant damage throughout the modern era so only a fragment remains today. The fragment measures seven and a half meters, yet it is estimated that the original might have reached thirty. On the complex history, conservation, dating, and attribution of this object, see Vogeler "Zum Gemälde," 72-95; and Krista Andreson, "Research on Tallinn's *Dance of Death* and Mai Lumiste—Questions and Possibilities in the 20th Century," *Kunstiteaduslikke Uurimusi/Studies on Art and Architecture* 22 (2013): 96-114.

55. St. Matthew's Chapel was later renamed St. Anthony's in the Church of St. Nicholas, which is now the Niguliste Museum, housing the medieval ecclesiastic collection of the Art Museum of Estonia. The *Dance of Death* in Reval was first mentioned in a 1603 account book of the warden of St. Nicholas Church and is dated to ca. 1500, in ibid., "Research on Tallinn's *Dance of Death* and Mai Lumiste," 96-114.

56. Thirteen figures are preserved on the fragment, including the character types of the Pope, Emperor, Empress, Cardinal, and King. On the altered verses, see Warda "Bernt Notke's *Dance of Death*," 81-95.

57. Vogeler, "Zum Gemälde," 94; Gertsman identifies the Lübeck landmarks as Mühlentor (Mill Gate), Kaisterturm (Imperial Gate), and St. Mary Church, but assumes that the absence of a local cityscape in the Reval *Dance of Death* likely indicates that Notke never traveled to its city of destination, in *Dance of Death*, 105-106; and "The Dance of Death in Reval," 144.

58. Gertsman describes the work as a "Hanseatic cityscape," in *Dance of Death*, 105.

59. Notke's commission for the *Great Guild Altarpiece* is dated to 1483 based on a letter requesting payment.

60. Black Heads members are addressed in documents as journeymen (*geselle*), whereas the Great Guild members were burghers (*bogere*). In Anu Mänd, "Membership and Social Career in Tallinn Merchants' Guilds," in *Guilds, Towns, & Cultural Transmission in the North, 1300-1500*, ed. Lars Bisgaard, Lars Boje Mortensen, and Tom Pettitt (Odense: Univ. of Southern Denmark, 2013), 236; and Anu Mänd, "The Richest Bachelor in Late Medieval Reval," in *Rund um die Meere des Nordens. Festschrift für Hain Rebas*, ed. Michael von Engelbrecht, Ulrike Hanssen-Decker, and Daniel Höffker (Heide: Boyens, 2008), 176.

61. Anu Mänd, "Church Art, Commemoration of the Dead and the Saints' Cult: Constructing Individual and Corporate *Memoria* in Late Medieval Tallinn," *Acta Historica Tallinnensia* 16 (2011): 3-30.

62. Lübeck law was developed in Lübeck and adopted in several Baltic towns after the thirteenth century; the law dictates the city council as the ultimate governing body, in which merchants maintained the majority. On the linguistic unity of the Hanse region, see Dollinger, *The German Hansa*, 260-62. On shared cultural practices and cultural life in Reval, see especially Anu Mänd, *Urban Carnival: Festive Culture in the Hanseatic Cities of the Eastern Baltic, 1350-1550* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005); and Anu Mänd, "The City of Tallinn (Reval) in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance," in *Michel Sittow: Estonian Painter at the Courts of Renaissance Europe*, exh. cat. National Gallery of Art, ed. John Oliver Hand and Greta Koppel (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), 19-25.

63. Carsten Jahnke identified several individual members of Lübeck confraternity members in "The Corpus Christi Guild in Lübeck," in *Guilds, Towns, & Cultural Transmission in the North, 1300-1500*, ed. Lars Bisgaard, Lars Boje Mortensen, and Tom Pettitt (Odense: Univ. Southern Denmark, 2013), 203-28; and ibid., "Gott gebe, dass wir alle selig werden mögen" *Die Mitgliedverzeichnisse der Heilig-Leichnams-, St. Antonius- und St. Leonhards-Bruderschaft zur Burg in Lübeck* (Veröfftlichungen zur Geschichte der Hansestadt Lübech, Reihe B), forthcoming.

64. Rode's attribution of this work is through stylistic comparison to his *St. Luke Altarpiece* (St.-Annen Museum, Lübeck, 1484), where Rode inscribed his name on a garment. Anja Rasche, *Studien zu Hermen Rode* (Michael Imhof Verlag, 2013), 55.

65. The precise dates of Rode's birth and death remain unknown, yet it is clear he was nearly contemporaneous with Notke in Lübeck. Adolph Goldschmidt was the earliest art historian to compare these two masters in "Rode und Notke, zwei Lübecker Maler des 15. Jahrhunderts. Mit 14 Abbildungen" *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* 36 (1900): 31-39, 55-60. More recently, see the reassessed Rode corpus in Rasche, *Studien zu Hermen Rode*, 50-220.

66. Merike Kurisoo "The Rode Altarpiece," in *Rode Altar* (Tallinn: Eesti Kunstikadeemia, 2015), 10-11. On the role of merchants in facilitating artistic transactions in the Hanse, see Jan von Bonsdorff, *Kunstproduktion und Kunstverbreitung im Ostseeraum des Spätmittelalters* (Helsinki: Helsingfors, 1993), 17-20.

67. In the following year, 1479, the wardens of St. Nicholas initiated a collection to the entire town and encouraged individual donations. Merike Kurisoo, "Who Was Hermen Rode? On a Master from Lübeck in the Late Medieval Baltic Region," in *Rode Altarpiece in Close-Up. History, Technical Investigation and Conservation of the Retable of the High Altar of Tallinn's St. Nicholas' Church (2013-2016)*, ed. Hilkka Hiiop and Merike Kurisoo (Tallinn: Eesti Kunstikadeemia, 2016), 42.

68. Mänd, "Symbols that Bind Community," 121.

69. St. Viktor was also venerated by the town council, the two merchants' associations, and other social groups. Anu Mänd points out that St. Viktor of Marseilles is an unusual holy saint to venerate, in "The Patron Saint of Medieval Tallinn," in *Maasta, kivestä ja hengestä/Earth, Stone and Spirit: Markus Hiekkanen Festschrift*, ed. Hanna-Maria Pellinen (Turku: Kulttuurien tutkimuksen laitos, arkeologia, 2009), 363.

70. A Hanseatic cog is a modern term for a type of vessel with a large carrying capacity for goods, often flat bottomed. On the cog, see Dollinger, *The German Hansa*, 141-42.

71. "Hir lyden schyplude groten not van storm vnd winde vnd se repen sunte nyclaus an vnd he halp en." Trans. Anu Mänd in *Rode Altar: Altarpiece of the high Altar of Tallinn St. Nicholas' Church*, ed. Merike Kurisoo (Tallinn: Estonian Museum of Art, 2015), 102. Jacobus de Voragine, "Saint Nicholas," in *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 21-26.

72. "Hir werpen se synen lycha in dat mer und de engele brochten en to lande und wart erliken begraven." Trans. by Mänd in *Rode Altar*, 128.

73. Rasche has published this interpretation of Rode's city view in Reval in "Hermen Rode: The Painter of Medieval Lübeck and His Art Production," in *A Companion to Medieval Lübeck*, ed. Carsten Jahnke (Boston: Brill, 2019), 335; "Lübeck in Reval: Die Stadtansichten auf Hermen Rodes Retabel in der Revaler Nikolaikirche," in *Sakrale Kunst im Baltikum. Zehn Beiträge zum 8. Baltischen Seminar 1996*, ed. Claudia Annette Meier (Lüneburg: Carl-Schirren-Gesellschaft, 2008), 113; and "Lübeck und Reval: zwei Altarretabel Hermen Rodes im Vergleich," in *Stadt im europäischen Nordosten: Kulturbeziehungen von der Ausbreitung des Lübischen Rechts bis zur Aufklärung* (Lübeck: Aue Stiftung, 2001), 499-525.

74. Such as Georg Friedrich Sartorius, *Geschichte des Hanseatischen Bundes*, 3 vols. (Göttigen: H. Dietrich, 1802-1808); and Dietrich Schäfer, *Die Deutsche Hanse* (Bielefeld, 1914).

75. In particular, see Carsten Jahnke, "Introduction: "Queen of the Baltic Coast," in *A Companion to Medieval Lübeck*, ed. Carsten Jahnke (Boston: Brill, 2019), 1-17; and Wubs-Mrozewicz, "The Hanse in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: An Introduction," 20-25.

76. Wilson, "Venice, Print, and the Early Modern Icon," 9.

77. Printed in either Latin or vernacular German, the book is also known as the *Nuremberg Chronicle*, named after its place of production. It is estimated that thirty-two city views are authentic panoramas;

twenty-one are imaginary cities. The only double city view spread is Nuremberg. See Adrian Wilson, *The Making of the Nuremberg Chronicle*, ed. Peter Zahn, Joyce Lancaster Wilson, and Edith Goodkind Rosenwald (Amsterdam: Nico Israel, 1977), 125.

78. Elizabeth Ross, *Picturing Experience in the Early Modern Book: Breydenbach's Peregrinatio from Venice to Jerusalem* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2014).

79. Bruns and Rahtgens, *Die Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler*, 20-21.

80. Elisabeth Rücker, *Die Schedelsche Weltchronik: Das Grösste Buchunternehmen der Dürer-Zeit* (München: Prestel, 1973), 167.

81. In particular, Jasper van Putten's monograph on the *Cosmographia* traces the collaborations to acquire accurate city views from local authorities in *The Networked Nation: Mapping German Cities in Sebastian Münster's Cosmographia* (Leiden: Brill, 2017).

82. Peter Sahlmann, *Die alte Reichs- und Hansestadt Lübeck. Veduten aus vier Jahrhunderten.* Veröffentlichungen zur Geschichte der Hansestadt Lübeck, Reihe B, Bd. 23 (Lübeck: Schmidt Römhild, 1993), 31-34.

83. "Darnach hat diese Stadt [in] wunderbarlicher Weis zugenommen von Besuchen der Kaufmannschaft aus oberen und niederen deutschen Landen und über die See von Norwegen, Schweden, Livland, Russland, Litauen, Preussen, Polen, Pommern, Mecklenburg, Dänmark, England, Flandern, Schottland, und Frankreich."

84. By 1550, Münster printed its fifth edition, printed in both Latin and German. Lübeck had a title page in the Latin edition but not the German. On the various editions, see Harold L. Ruland, "A Survey of the Double Page Maps in 35 Editions of the *Cosmographia Universalis* 1544-1628 and His Editions of Ptolemy's *Geographia* 1540-1552," *Imago Mundi* 16 (1962): 84-97. The most recent studies on the *Cosmographia* include van Putten, *The Networked Nation*; and Matthew LcLean, *The Cosmographia of Sebastian Münster: Describing the World in the Reformation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007). The foundational study on the book remains Karl Heinz Burmeister, *Sebastian Münster: Versuch eines biographischen Gesamtbildes*, Basler Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft 91 (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhan, 1963).

85. The geography and history of German lands comprised forty-eight percent of the entire book, more than any other region, in McLean, *The Cosmographia of Sebastian Münster*, 192-93.

86. Die Statt Lübeck/eine auß den fürnemsten stetten so am moere gelegen/ab contrafehet [German edition]; and Lubecum, una ex praeclarioribus maritimus ciuitatibus, ad uiuum hic depicta ["Lübeck, one of the famous distinguished cities of the sea, is depicted here according to life"] [Latin edition].

87. According to van Putten, the views in the *Cosmographia* can be categorized based on the function that the view relays, such as economic, civic, or ancestral, in *The Networked Nation*, 15, 123.

88. McLean, *The Cosmographia of Sebastian Münster*, 227. On Renaissance representational strategies, see Nuti, "The Perspective Plan in the Sixteenth Century," 105-28.

89. In 1552, local woodcarver Elias Diebel designed the largest print of Lübeck, *The Great View of Lübeck from 1552*. Only two impressions survive from the sixteenth century (located in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg and the British Library, London). In contrast to the urban images mentioned here, Diebel's woodcut combines the profile and oblique perspectives. See Vogeler and Freytag, "Lübeck," 276-77.

90. Van Putten, *The Networked Nation*, 7-12.

91. Ibid., 122-24.

92. Ibid.; and Friedrich Bruns and Hugo Rahtgens note David Kandel as the designer and Christoph Stimmer as the woodcutter, in *Die Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler*, 21.

93. Van Putten, *The Networked Nation*, 122-24.

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